

15½ hrs.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

REVISION APPLICATIONS (PROCEDURE)
RULES, 1961, UNDER THE INDIAN BOILERS
ACT

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply (Shri P. S. Naskar): Sir, on behalf of Shri Mehr Chand Khanna, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Revision Applications (Procedure) Rules, 1961 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 1171 dated the 23rd September 1961, under sub-section (2) of section 28A of the Indian Boilers Act, 1923. [Placed in Library, See No. LT-95/62].

12.16 hrs.

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL
DISCUSSION

Mr. Speaker: Now, we take up the General Discussion on the General Budget for the year 1962-63. Out of 20 hours allotted, we have already consumed 14 hours 55 minutes; and there is a balance of 5 hours 5 minutes.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshanabad): May I request the hon. Finance Minister to reply to the debate tomorrow and not today? That will be better. He must have one day's rest, especially after his reply to the discussion in the other place. (Interruption). It should not be at the fag end of the day.

Mr. Speaker: In the programme of 20 hours the reply of the Finance Minister is also included. He may begin at four and finish at five.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: One hour tomorrow would be better.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Vidyalkar.

Shri A. N. Vidyalkar (Hoshiarpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have no doubt that the Budget proposals that the Finance Minister has placed before

the House will get general support from all sections of the House. In view of the shortage of time, before making general remarks and starting discussing, I would first of all refer to certain matters that deeply concern my constituency.

Mr. Speaker: I must give the caution that the time for each Congress member will be 10 minutes; and so they would kindly exercise self-restraint.

Shri A. N. Vidyalkar: It is too little, Sir.

In view of the shortage of time, before making general observations on the Budget, I would start with referring to certain local grievances of my constituency and the State to which I belong.

First of all, by the excise duty that has been imposed on textiles, the woollen industry, which is largely handloom industry in my State is very hard hit. You know that Amritsar and some other areas of the Punjab have prospered because of the small industry and woollen textile industry runs on small scale. By means of this industry Punjab is trying to industrialise itself. The textile industry in Amritsar is mostly handloom industry. By the imposition of the 10 per cent excise duty on woollen yarn and woollen textiles, and especially on processed goods—because the unprocessed goods are exempt from this duty—by the imposition of this duty on the processed goods, I think the handloom industry will be seriously affected. The impact of this duty on the industry is that, at present, in Amritsar many of the small scale factories are observing hartal and many workers have been affected.

Further, the shoddy which is generally used by the poorer sections is an entirely new industry, started due to the enterprise of certain industrialists in the Punjab, has also been included generally used by the poorer sections.

Rich people hardly use them. So, it should be exempted from duty and the handloom industry and woollen industry should also be given exemption. With regard to this excise duty the State Government also I understand, has made a representation to the Finance Minister. I do hope that the position will be sympathetically re-examined.

I propose to voice the feelings of Punjab that in the matter of industrialisation Punjab is not receiving that much attention as it deserves. I should not say that it is receiving raw deal. Punjabis are generally praised for their enterprise, hardwork and for their bold initiative. What is the result? There is practically no heavy industry in Punjab. Punjab is being deprived of many of the facilities that other States are enjoying. I do not grudge the position of other States. Punjab must get at least some units of heavy industries for which the Punjab Government and the Punjab people have been constantly representing. I do not say this in the spirit of grumbling because you know that Punjabis are not in the habit of the grumbling but Punjabis do feel that this enterprising spirit and the capacity will be fully utilised and they would get full scope to make their contributions in the industrial development of the State.

With regard to the Budget I have been listening to various speeches delivered by friends from different sections, especially from the Opposition. They have painted a harrowing picture; the Opposition always emphasises the dark side and paints a picture as if the country is making no progress at all. Comrade Gopalan started his speech with the statement that under the Congress rule it was impossible to build up socialism in our country. I was simply amazed at that statement. We are committed to the goal of socialist pattern of society in India. If Congress is incapable of achieving that goal which other Party, I ask, is capable of doing that? Is the Communist Party capable of achieving

that? In the last three successive general elections, the electorate have rejected Communists' claims; they have not been able to convince the electorate about their capacity to achieve the objective that is before us. Therefore, the general and sweeping statement made is a statement without a basis. The present position is, while admitting that the general rate of progress is not as much as we desired—that rate of progress which is desired by the people is not there—I also admit that there is dissatisfaction prevailing. The people feel discontented. They are largely discontented. But, I also feel that mostly the opposition parties have created a psychology of faithlessness. They have created a psychology of discouragement. They have not done anything concrete. They have just created a psychology which comes in the way of the people's efforts, of the people's coming forward and taking part in the building up of our country.

The development work and schemes are there. We want that the people should take initiative. The other day, our worthy President drew our attention that we should encourage people and see that they took initiative. We want to encourage people and to create a psychology of enthusiasm. In the communist countries, in Russia and China, for instance, the first thing that they did was, they created a psychology of enthusiasm. They created a feeling that the people should not groan and grumble but should work. But here, in our country, it is different: a psychology is created that the people should feel as if nothing was being done! The picture of the things that are painted is very dark. It is stated as if nothing is being done. I think this attitude should change. At least in the matter of development, we should take things in proper perspective and we should place before people a picture which is realistic.

For instance, it was stated that the improvement of the economic condition of the people is not what is generally claimed to be. It is to an extent

[Shri A. N. Vidyalankar]

true just as I have already stated that the economic improvement is not taking place at the same pace or rate as we desired; but it would be a travesty of truth, it would be shutting our eyes to the realities, if we said that no improvement had taken place. A general improvement is taking place, although I admit that the national income is not being properly distributed. The distribution is not just. No one can say that today the distribution of national income is absolutely just and fair. But if any one said that there has been no improvement in the lot of the common people, it would be wrong.

If we examined the figures—I do not propose to quote entire figures here, because the time at my disposal is short—it would be seen that the percentage of the lowest income-group is decreasing and the percentage of the middle income-group is increasing. The figures show that the number of people in the lowest income-group was decreasing and that they are converting themselves into the middle class. The people of the lowest income-group were coming into the upper group of middle class as I include in the middle classes those who earned more than Rs. 100. The number of people with an income of less than Rs. 100 was decreasing while the number of people in the income-group of Rs. 100 to Rs. 500 is increasing. This shows there is general improvement.

If you further examine the figures, it will also be seen that the standard of general comforts is also improving. For example, the consumption of cereals per capita per annum was 317 lbs. in 1950, while in 1961 the same was 344.5 lbs. Similarly, we see that sugar at present is surplus, and the supply is more than the demand at present. Again, let us take things of general use, for example, cycles. In 1950, there were only 75 cycles per 100,000. In 1961, the figure was 245 cycles per 100,000. Similarly, in regard to sewing machines, the number

was 15 per 100,000 in 1950 and now in 1961 the figures show 70 per 100,000. Similarly, the number of radio receivers per million has also increased from 125 in 1950 to 643 in 1961. Similarly, the use of electricity electric lights, fans, etc. has been becoming more common. This shows a general improvement in the general economic condition of the people. I do not mean to say that this is satisfactory. I am not satisfied with all that; I do want there should be more and more improvement. I do want that the people should get more and more especially the poorer sections of the people. They are not getting as much as they are entitled to. But to paint absolutely dark picture and to say that no improvement has been achieved is wrong and that is a misstatement. That is why I have quoted these figures.

Similarly, it was objected that we have been using foreign capital and Shri Gopalan said that our political and economic policies had been influenced by the foreign capital. I challenge him and other opposition Members to quote a single instance where our political and economic policies had been influenced on account of employment of foreign capital. We have been using foreign capital for our development, in order to get know-how and for all what was needed in the national interest.

I had to say many more things, but as you have rung the bell, I conclude with only these remarks.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh (Amravati): Sir, I would have liked to speak at greater length than is permissible today, but since I am likely to go out of India within the next few days, I would not have the opportunity of making a speech in this House. So, I have decided to make a few observations which time will permit. This is a general discussion on the budget and therefore, all observations anybody would like to make should, if he

wants to be relevant, be related to the budget provisions.

Here is a bold budget; it is as bold as the railway budget. It had to be so, because the House has already approved the third Five Year Plan and therefore, it is the responsibility of the Finance Minister to find the resources so as to achieve the targets that have been approved by the House. There is no Parliament in the world which can welcome taxation proposals and yet, we should not be blind to the decisions which we have already taken. Therefore, what the Finance Minister has done in the shape of getting additional resources would have to be welcomed by us by and large. It is usual that we criticise the budgets by saying that the poorer sections are taxed more and the richer ones are getting off. It should be borne in mind that even if we confiscate all the property which the rich people have it would not suffice for our needs. Therefore, increasingly, and especially when the country is progressing, the common man must be brought into the picture and he will have to bear a burden proportionate to his means. So we cannot expect that the common man would be left out. Of course, this unfortunate fellow gets sympathy even from an unusual quarter. I do not think the Swatantra Party has much to do with the common men. I think they are uncommon people and not concerned much with the interests of the common man. But even they want to speak on behalf of him and sympathise with the lot of the common man.

However, the story is different when we consider as to how the resources are spent, and I think here the administration does lend itself to considerable criticism. I think there is need for increased efficiency and stopping of wastage and also, in my own view, greater supervision and control by Parliament. Sir, if I were to deal only with this point my ten minutes would probably be exhausted. I feel that the experience of the last 14 years has shown that this Parliament

is entirely ineffective so far as financial control of our budgets is concerned. We have got two committees. We have got the Estimates Committee and we have also got the Public Accounts Committee. The Public Accounts Committee is a *post mortem* affairs, so is also the Estimates Committee which does a *post facto* examination. There is not scrutiny or any examination on behalf of the common man represented in this House, to be felt before a particular scheme or a particular plan or a particular expenditure is incurred. In the beginning of this Parliament of the independent India we had, Sir, the Standing Finance Committee, and it was an important committee which did function extraordinarily well. I do not know for what reasons it was given up. I would request the Finance Minister to consider this. I would also invite even the Estimates Committee to search its heart and find out if it has been able to really supervise administrative expenditure to the extent it should be done and whether there are not possibilities of exercising greater control and supervision by the Parliament over this.

Sir, everybody knows that I am interested in the farming community of India and agriculture. I welcome the steps that Government have taken in respect of supporting prices. It is not a whole-hearted scheme, I must say, but, nonetheless, a beginning has been made. The minimum price of wheat has been fixed at Rs. 13 and for jute at Rs. 30 a maund. This is a welcome thing. But we will have to move in this direction a little quicker than has been done, and we will also have to be a little more generous so far as minimum prices are concerned.

In respect of jute, we have in the country now a National Co-operative Marketing Federation. It is a co-operative institution and I am glad to say that it is performing a very good function in purchasing jute from the co-operative societies and selling it at Rs. 30 a maund which is the minimum

[Dr. P. S. Deshmukh]

price fixed by the Government. But latterly the mills are refusing to buy even at this minimum price. I am glad to say that the officers and ministers concerned are moving in this matter. But I hope they will move more quickly than they have done in the case of the cotton growers,

Sir, this year's cotton crop was exceedingly bad so much so they are not in a position to pay off the debts they have taken from co-operatives and unless they take some further debts they would not be able to cultivate their land. There has been a raising of the ceiling price but it has come in the month of May when all the cotton growers have already parted with their cotton. This increased ceiling will not benefit anybody except those people who usually benefit at the cost of the farmers. In this case also, therefore, there was need that we should have moved faster.

Then I would refer to the fertilizer pool. For several years past we have been importing fertilizer on Government account, pooling it with the fertilizer manufactured in the country and then selling it on "No profit; no loss" basis. Now an argument is advanced that if people can buy at a higher price, why not make a little profit by taking advantage of it. According to my way of thinking, it is not proper. We want the agriculturists and the farmers to produce more. So, I definitely feel that we should not try to take advantage of his difficulties as well as of short supply. That is not proper. Even if it is justifiable to make profits, I would beg of the Finance Minister to set apart this profit in a separate fund for the welfare of the farmers. That is the minimum submission that I would like to make in this respect.

The Bharat Krishak Samaj in embarking on a Farmers Co-operative Bank. One of the novel features of this bank is the linking up of life insurance with share capital. Here I

want to state that when I happened to go into the figures, I found that our life insurance premium is extraordinarily high when compared with that obtaining in America. Probably, we will not be able to go so far as America has gone, but I think there is every reason to go into the premium rate. Everybody knows that until a couple of years ago insurance companies were in the hands of the private sector and they have fixed the premium. Since then, our longevity has increased and the health of our people has improved. So, there is every reason why there should be a reduction in the premium. If that is done, it will be possible for the Farmers Co-operative Bank, which has linked life insurance with share capital, to do a very good job. Experiments have been made to increase life insurance among farmers in Rajasthan by giving commission to the panchayat secretaries and panchayats but I am told that the scheme has failed because after the first premium is obtained there is not sufficient incentive to collect the annual premium. All these difficulties can be obviated if the Farmers Co-operative Bank is made to operate in the way if has been proposed. I sincerely believe that if we assist the Farmers Co-operative Bank it will make the peasantry insurance minded and will help them in raising resources for various purposes. While making an appeal to the Government to accept this proposal of mine, I would suggest the appointment of some committee or commission to find out if the present rates of insurance premium are not exorbitant.

There are many other aspects of our activities which I would like to comment upon. Take co-operative credit, for instance. We have certainly made some progress. As the figures supplied by the Ministry will show, we have distributed about Rs. 240 crores as loans through co-operatives. But what does it mean?

when Rs. 240 crores is distributed to 2,10,00,000 members of the co-operatives what is the average? It will be Rs. 115 or Rs. 118 at the most. A pair of good bullocks will cost not less than Rs. 800 to Rs. 1000. So, what portion of a bullock would be available to a person who is getting a credit of Rs. 115? Some people may say: why take only Rs. 112, some would be getting more? But what does that mean? It means that if some people are getting Rs. 500, others are getting only Rs. 40 or 50 instead of Rs. 115. So, I allege that most of this credit becomes domestic credit and not agricultural credit. Unless it is sufficient in quantum, there is no possibility of a single pie of this credit being used for agricultural purposes. It may be used for purchase of Sarees for his wife or books for his children. As long as you give only Rs. 100 or 200 not a single pie will go towards the improvement of agriculture. Therefore, the farmers co-operative bank was thought of and has been embarked upon in order to supplement the present credit. It does not wish to do away with the existing credit. We feel that by giving the farmers their own bank it would be possible to have greater resources as they would be taking deposits and so on. At the present time, the rate of deposits is going down and not up. It is hardly Rs. 8 or Rs. 9 or Rs. 10 per individual member. This is ridiculous. So I would like to urge upon Government to consider this.

There are only a few observations about education that I would like to make. Of course, I want to say that we do many things by way of a fashion in the Government. Because something similar exists somewhere else we also do the same thing. In the case of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Community Development, we have two Ministries for agricultural extension. First of all we divide one whole into two and then fight for co-ordination by

appointing committees for co-ordination. And we get nowhere. These fashionable sort of things ought not to be allowed any more.

In the case of basic education also, it is something which we swear by. But I have heard many complaints that the people think that it is meant only for the rural areas, that it is some inefficient education and not the kind of education the richer people and those who are better off, the towns people would like to give to their sons and daughters. We have embarked on multi-purpose high schools and higher secondary schools. This is also in a mess. The societies and institutions do not get proper assistance in time. These are all experiments at the cost of the people. In the case of the three-year degree course also we have just removed the *choti* and given a tail! We have removed one year from the college and attached it to the high school. The intention in this three-year degree course was that the university examination should be minimised. But instead of the two examinations that existed, namely matriculation and the intermediate, we have now four examinations, the pre-university examination and every year in the three years there is a university examination. We aim at one thing do something absolutely different and strange.

Since my time is over I shall conclude with this.

Shri Mahida (Anand): Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the outset I would like to clear some misgiving about myself and my party. It is rather strange in this modern world that the Maharajas want to be commoners and the commoners want to be Maharajas. So, please do not be mistaken; I am a commoner since 1947, and do not have a misgiving about my turban or my dress.

Mr. Speaker: Every turbaned man is not a Maharaja!

Shri Mahida: But everybody takes me as a Maharaja. The real Maharajas want to be commoners. That is my complaint.

The Minister of Finance (Shri Morarji Desai): He was not a Maharaja at any time, there is no question of that.

Shri Mahida: Well, I am associated with the Maharajas. But probably the treasury benches have more Maharajas than we have. Anyway, I am a commoner and I should like to give some facts about myself in the beginning, so that there may not be any misunderstanding and everybody may understand me properly and the Party which I represent.

Mr. Speaker: That misunderstanding is removed. That was created because of the name beginning with the word "Maharaja". Now everybody knows.

Shri Mahida: Everybody takes me as a Maharaja. I am not a Maharaja at all. I was never one.

Sir, I represent a party about which there is a lot of misunderstanding—that we are opposed to the Plan, that we are opposed to the Budget and so on. I think that, if my friends on the opposite side on the Treasury Benches read our manifesto and our literature—they will find that there are many things common between us, except two or three points, one of which is about socialism.

The talk of socialism is going on everywhere, and everybody talks of socialism. People have been made to understand that the Swatantra Party is opposed to socialism. Well, Sir, I was a student of Harold Laski and as such how could I be opposed to socialism? I am opposed to the enforcement of 'socialism' to my Country which is a western concept. I desire to change it in a way and make it into humanism. I say that India is the greatest humanist country in the world. When we feed ants

and give them flour, when we give dogs and cows food, when we even feed sparrows and crows, when it is such a humanist country, how can we ignore our poor common people who are dying for food? Sir, we all talk about the common man. Even the rich,—Members of this House, talk about the common man. I represent the common man. I would like to draw attention particularly to the policy which has been adopted by the party in power towards the agriculturists. The hon. Shri Deshmukh, who just spoke before me, happens to represent the agriculturist classes also. I now refer about co-operative farming. We are not opposed to all co-operative movement. I have been going about the villages for the last 17 years and mostly on foot, in Gajarat area. I have come across many Co-operative Farming societies, which are working at losses and the people have been clamouring to get out of the societies. They cannot yet find a remedy. Our Prime Minister has been saying that Cooperative Farming is not compulsory. I have many instances where villagers have approached us and begged us to show a way how they could get out of these co-operative societies. I beg to bring to your notice that the late illustrious Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwad of Baroda in his State, started co-operative farming some 30 years back. When I went there a couple of months back, the people informed us that the Baroda State had made rules that the cooperative experiment may be tried upon the people, not at their cost, but at the cost of the Treasury. Since the resumption of the present Government, now, the experiment is being made at the expense of the people. We are not opposed to any experiment in this country but we must learn and change our ways from experience.

Our Prime Minister has since many a times said that this Swatantra party belongs to a past age and that it is 300 years old. He can say anything

as he likes. We are not so old as that. We were also in the past in the Congress. I was for 30 years in the Congress. What has made me leave the Congress is a different matter. The Congress policy as it is based today has more leaning to my friends on my right, the Communists and that is our fundamental difference. We are opposed to this communist policy in the Congress, statism and its ways, seeds of which are being laid today by the Congress and which will lead our country to total disaster. My hon. friends the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister, whom I know personally—and respect them—are good thinkers and planners. Their budget is also not bad. Somebody put it the other day that it is “a Swantantra budget”. I can take compliment on that if a member of Rajya Sabha has made such a reference. Of course, I can invite the Finance Minister to join us. We shall support him.

Shri Morarji Desai: What else could you do?

Shri Mahida: The Plan is, of course, on the pattern of the conditions prevailing in our country. We are all in agreement that the country must be brought out of the present poverty. To remove poverty, to look after about 400 million people with an additional 5 million mouths to feed every year, and to improve their standard of living, we must have a sound policy. On that, there is no disagreement among all the major parties in the country. The difference is only in the ways. In our enthusiasm we are trying to rob the rich and make them poor. It is on this very way that we are opposed. By looting the rich and making them poor, we cannot feed all the people in this country. So, my only plea is why do you kill the hen which lays golden eggs. I think the major part of the tax-payers are richer elements. I do not represent them. Tax them as much as you like. But, do not kill them. Let them survive. If they want to travel in the first class, let them travel in the first class. Tax them heavily. I am not opposed to that. We

say, as commoners, as we are all now in this country,—there is no distinction whatsoever—you can take away all the privy purses. I have no objection to that. I do not get one; nor have I any claim to one. Now, if the Princes are having privy purses, it is for the Princes and this House to decide among themselves what they should do. I particularly mention this as it is hampered at us, as if we represent the Princes. We do not represent the Princes. We represent the common people. Our turban should not be misunderstood, because, I can show my friends on the opposite side that thousands of people like me wear turbans in my area—people who are farmers, who are mazdoors.

Congress socialist pattern is only a pattern. If there is real socialism in this country, I am sure, my richer friends on the Treasury benches would not have remained there. This socialist pattern, I consider, is a farce on our country. In the name of socialism, you are showing something to look forward to the poor people, but in return, they get nothing. Yes; they have got some roads somewhere and some electricity. Their lot is not improved. If we go to the villages, there is a cry for education now. There is a cry for better standard of living. How to improve them? We are opposed to the priority given to heavy steel industries. We say that more money is spent on heavy industries than on education in this country. A sum of Rs. 520 crores has been spent on the steel plants put together while Rs. 135 crores will be the entire expenditure in the Five Year Plan on primary education in this country. Steel is important no doubt. But I say, education is more important. What things should we plan first? We say, let us have heavy industries too in this country. But, priority should be given to education and agriculture. I plead with the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister that for the sake of heavy industries, agriculture should not be neglected. Nor should education be neglected.

13 hrs.

About the controversy of the private sector and the public sector, we do

[Shri Mahida]

admit, that we have a mixed economy. As for the performance of the public sector, if I may point out, this is what has been published. One of the hon. Members did say that the Swatantra party would not miss such an opportunity and I would not—

“Hindustan Shipyard is not able to sell the ships because ships are available at a lower price from abroad. The result is that in order to offer a competitive price, the shipyard has to sell ships at a price which does not even cover the cost”.

In order to cover the losses, Government had to pay a heavy subsidy from year to year. The total amount of subsidy received by the shipyard by 1960-61 was Rs. 456 lakhs, which indicates the burden which the taxpayer has to bear in order to enable the State enterprises to remain in existence. There are various other enterprises like the Sindri Fertiliser Factory, the Hindustan Aircraft, which are also making very heavy losses, and yet we are continuing them with these losses. If the experiment succeeds, we shall be pleased to welcome it. But with the facts that are being presented to us today it is being said that the public sector would ultimately go over to the private sector. We say that the public sector may function, but let the private sector also function. We are of the opinion that if freedom has to be maintained in this country, if democracy has to be maintained in this country, let private enterprise also be there. Let also live, and let them choose their own way of life rather than have things forced upon them in the name of socialism.

I must also admire our Government for opening the Ashoka Hotel! What is more necessary in this country, an Ashoka Hotel or implements for farming? What is more necessary in this country, air-conditioning machines, water-coolers or something else? And yet we talk about socialism. The people in my region clamour for water. Yet we see new water-coolers estab-

lished in the Government Houses and in the Government offices.

Shri Morarji Desai: They are more used by your friends.

Shri Mahida: We see also air-conditioning machines in these places, when people are burning under the sun, and putting in hard labour for their livelihood—who our hon. Ministers talk to us, or rather teach us, to have simpler ways of living. This will not do now in this country. We shall not tolerate these things. We the agriculturists and the common people shall not tolerate this kind of higher living and simple talking. I should say that it should be quite the reverse of that. We still have a huge Rashtrapati Bhavan and vast staff to maintain it, body-guards, horses, carriages and canopy and all the show of the Britishers. And yet you tell us to live simply, when we have no food to eat, when we have no cloth to wear, and you ask us to tighten our belts! For whom shall we tighten our belts?

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member's remarks may be addressed to the Chair.

Shri Mahida: I am addressing you, Sir, but, at the same time, my eyes also go over to the other side. I look to you mostly, but at the same time, my purpose has been to convince the other side also. I am sorry if I have addressed the other side directly.

We get rare occasions to speak. So, my plea has been, and I particularly want to emphasise this, that the charge on the Swatantra Party that it represents the rich is baseless and false. We shall prove this in times to come that it is utterly undictive. If there is no harm when the Congress invites Maharajas and richer classes in its fold, well, we shall also invite Maharajas and the ordinary classes to our fold. Let them all come. Let there be a good and healthy competition between the Congress and the Swatantra Party. A time will

come in this country, when I think the socialists and the Communists will have to join or support the Congress, and the others like the Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha and such others will have to support the Swatantra Party. We want such a time to come, when there will be two parties only then only an alternative Government will be possible.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): That will never come.

Shri Mahida: If such time does not come, it is a sad thing, we shall remain divided in this House and in the country. If it is possible, it is good. We shall play the game well. If it is not possible, we exist as we are. But, nevertheless, let me at the same time explain that we are behind our nation; we are behind the Government when they are fighting the Chinese or opposing the Pakistanis. We have also thus a national policy.

Shri Ram Sewak Yadav (Bara Banki): You always remain behind, and still you want to remain behind.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Mahida: We are not anti-nationals or reactionaries. If we were reactionaries, then the Congress would not have harboured us for all these years. We are opposed to Statism, the control of all aspects of ordinary life being taken in the hands of the Congress Government. That is our main contention. Of course, we respect the Congress. We still have old affection for the old Congress. Because it was mainly the Congress which was instrumental in bringing Independence to this country. And they have done a lot of good too, for all of us; otherwise, we would not have been sitting in this House as we are doing now. Let there be no misunderstanding on that point that we are trying to run down the Congress unnecessarily or that we are against the Congress totally. We are with all nationalist forces in this country.

I have my individual opinions too. I am personally opposed to those who

further try to divide our country into north and south or into other regions. I am also personally opposed to those who quarrel over languages. I am also personally opposed to those who quarrel on rivers and hills, boundaries, quarrel for reservoirs and lake sites, and make petty affairs of this country. Of course, politically, if the Congress and the Muslim League can join hands, then, Sir, politically, the Swatantra leaders also may have to join hands with others. I have no quarrel about these election arrangements. But my main contention is that the Swatantra Party is a nationalist party. There should be no doubt about it. It should not be made to appear, that it is full of reactionaries. It should not be made the laughing-stock, inside or outside the House. In times to come, we shall see what progress the Swatantra party makes.

But, now fundamentally, talking about the General Budget, I congratulate the Finance Minister on giving a little relief here and there, as for instance, relief given in profit rates for transport of oil, so badly required in my region owing to coal shortage. I would further request him, however, to consider the tax levied on tobacco and tea. Although I do not consume tea or tobacco and it does not affect me personally, I must state that Gujarat is a tobacco-growing area. And 22 per cent of tobacco in this country is grown in Gujarat. The richness or the wealth that we see in Kairn Dist. of Gujarat for the last twenty years is also on account of growth of tobacco. So, I hope that the Finance Minister will reconsider about the tobacco taxes, and help these people to consume biris or cigarettes. There is a similar case in regard to tea also. Fortunately or unfortunately, the people in Gujarat consume greater amount of tea than other States. So, a remedy may be given to them by concessions on tea and tobacco whereby they may not be affected much.

The other day, I had pleaded for the third class passengers, and I re-

[Shri Pahida]

peat that the needs of the common-man should be considered more. His needs for education, for agriculture etc. should be heard more than the are being heard in this House, rather than that preference given to matters of industries alone. That is my humble submission.

Shri Biren Dutta (Tripura West): At this closing stage of the general discussion of the Budget, I again want to draw through you the attention of the House to the suggestions made by our leader, Shri A. K. Gopalan. We have seen that the suggestions made by our leader have been publicised throughout India in a big way. Most of the Press practically does not see eye to eye with the Communist Party. Yet this time his suggestions have been given wide publicity. This is because they have got some points which reflect the need of the nation to reorientate the financial policy of the Government.

I will, with your permission, quote from one of the widely circulated daily papers of West Bengal, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. It says that 'the Communist leader made the following suggestions: nationalise all banking institutions, mining, export trade, plantation and other heavy industries; restrict the operation of foreign investors, prevent export of profits by foreign monopolies, increase taxation on the rich, specially the corporation tax, take stringent measures against evasion of tax, tighten the machinery of tax collection, avoid wastage and extravagance in public administration, avoid all wasteful expenditure, eliminate corruption completely remove maladministration and check nepotism'.

These are the suggestions made here. I do not know whether any or some of these will be given consideration by the Finance Minister. Yesterday he spoke in the Rajya Sabha, and we have tried to see whether any impression has been made

on him by these suggestions. You know that none of these suggestions will lead us to any new path as pursued by our Government. The Treasury Benches declare that they are leading us towards the goal of socialism. I do not think that the adoption of any of these suggestions will lead us to socialism. These will only conform to the needs of national regeneration and nothing else. As my time is short, I do not wish to dilate on these points which our leader has ably expounded before the House.

I come straight to one item on the expenditure side. I would like to draw the attention of the House to those areas known as Union Territories. Many Members have spoken about the neglected areas. Even some Members from UP villages have expressed their grievance and anger at the fact that Government have not given proper attention to the villages. In this context, if you look at the map of India, you will find that those areas brought under the term Union Territories are most neglected. The expenditure there is growing. In the name of Plan, of course, there are some sanctions, but if you scrutinise the whole expenditure, you will find that the non-productive expenditure is growing and no productive investment is made there.

I come from Tripura. I want to place before the House the condition of Tripura as an example. I think the condition will be similar in other Territories also. Yesterday, when I heard the speech of Shrimati Jyotsana Chanda about Cachar, I was thinking that she had almost covered in her speech many of the points I wanted to make. In our territory, we have got only agriculture, no industry. The Tripura Administration publishes a statistical abstract in which is given year by year the falling rate of agricultural production. The Rural Credit Survey Report also clearly states that indebtedness of the peasant in Tripura is higher than that of any other area

in the eastern region. In Tripura we have got no railway line. So all essential commodities have to be air-lifted. That is why the price of consumer goods is 25 per cent higher there as compared to the price in other parts of India. When the produce is sold by our agriculturists, the price fetched is very low. You will find from government records that jute is sold at Calcutta at Rs. 25—30 per maund, but it is sold in Tripura for only Rs. 11 or Rs. 12. Such is the position.

We have been again and again demanding that Tripura should be connected with the rest of the country by a railway line, which will be only 120 miles long. Unfortunately, during these two Plan periods, we have not received this railway line. We wanted that our natural resources, mainly the Dumboro Falls, should be exploited by starting a hydro-electric project. The Irrigation and Power Ministry investigated it. There was an estimate made costing only Rs. 1.50 crores. There is no coal there. So no industry can grow there until and unless this project is taken in hand. Unfortunately, our Government has dropped it on the ground that Tripura could have power from Karnafuli. We hear in the House that Government has protested to the Pakistan authorities about the manner in which they have started this project. But we do not know why our Government, after spending much money on investigation and even drawing up some estimate, has dropped this project.

Again I request that Government should think about all these neglected areas especially Tripura which should be provided with a railway system and the project I have mentioned.

You know that the Union Territories have not even Legislative Assemblies. Tripura is administered directly by the Centre. So there are no difficulties in drawing up plans and executing them. Unfortunately it is seen that this territory has been made almost the kingdom of our Home Ministry. The

Finance Minister allots some money, and after that the money goes to the Home Ministry, and it spends this money through an administration which is practically like that of any Part A State. You will find there the Secretariat, Directorate and everything else as in any Part A State. The only distinction is that there is no legislative assembly, and the Chief Commissioner runs all this paraphernalia of this administration. This is very much costlier. We requested the Government to consider this size of the expenditure, but unfortunately nothing has happened. The Central Government has introduced there a Territorial Council. Now, what has happened? The Chief Commissioner has got his own machinery, the whole set-up like the Education Department, the P.W.D. and everything else. Now, the Territorial Council has started another machinery of the same type. There is duplication of services and most of the money granted to the territory is devoured by the administration itself. So, we were agitating for a legislature. We do not know why the Government of India is refusing to hand over this sum which they want to spend to the territory.

We are given to understand that because the people of Tripura do not pay the sum, they must not have a legislative assembly. We are learning after 15 years of independence that a person who is known as Chief Commissioner can be trusted more than the whole of the people of a particular area. The Chief Commissioner may be given the whole sum to be spent, to make all the proposals for the Five Year Plans and to execute them, but the people of the area cannot be trusted because they have got no money. This attitude seems to us to be queer. We request that Government should reconsider this. We have seen in the press that our Home Ministry is going to bring a Bill to give more power to the Territorial Council. So, we ask the Home Minister to reconsider whether only extension of the powers of the Territorial Council will suffice. We believe that it will

[Shri Biren Dutta]

not suffice. There must be some sort of a legislative assembly in all these territories.

13.24 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

As I have said, in our area we have got no railway system, no hydro-electric project, nothing of that kind. During these last ten years, what has happened? The people from the hill areas are moving to the towns for a living. You will be astonished to find from the records that there was not a single town in Tripura having more than 15,000 people before, but during the last ten years we find there is more than one town with a population of about one lakh, and six towns with a population of 30,000 to 50,000. These people had been depending so long on the grants made by the Rehabilitation Ministry for the displaced persons who had entered Tripura from East Pakistan. Now, this Rehabilitation Ministry has been closed, and these people have practically nothing to subsist on. There is no industry, there are no trade centres, there are no lands on which they can be settled. So, this is becoming a very serious problem for our territory. I request the hon. Finance Minister to think over the issue of these backward territories, especially Tripura, and see how these people can be given at least some medium or small-scale industries so that there may be growth of employment potentialities.

If that is not done during this Third Plan, what will happen? If you go through the statistical report which has been supplied to Members of Parliament, you will find that this growth of population in the towns in this backward territory has led to growth of criminal activities, dacoities and other things. People having no means of living are creating incidents. This is not a good sign.

With these few words, I thank you

for giving me a chance to participate in the debate.

श्री रामसेवक यादव : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय एक सैंकिड। आज सुबह हम लोगों को, राष्ट्रपति भवन से एक पत्र मिला है कि १३ तारख को शपथ ग्रहण समारोह में शामिल होने को आप लोग नेशनल ड्रेस में आएँ और नेशनल ड्रेस बताया गया है चूड़ीदार पाजामा और अबकन। वह सदस्य जो धोती कुरता पहनते हैं उन के लिये बड़ी मुश्किल होगी और हम तो इसे राष्ट्रीय पोशाक नहीं मानते। वह तो मुगल दरबार की पोशाक है जिसे शाहजहाँ का तबलची पहनता था। तो हम लोग क्या करें?

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह (वाराणसी) : नेशनल ड्रेस के लिये यह कहना कि उसे शाहजहाँ का तबलची पहनता था उचित नहीं है। इसको एक्सपेंज किया जाए।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We have nothing to do with it. It is the Home Ministry that has issued it.

Shri Parashar (Shivpuri): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I thank you for allowing me the floor.

At the outset, I welcome the budget proposals and I take this opportunity of congratulating the Finance Minister for recognising the potentiality of the co-operative movement and his promise to encourage consumer co-operatives to check the rise in prices and to utilise them for this purpose.

I would have been very much happier if, along with the abolition of the Expenditure Tax, the cess on salt had also been abolished. I do not want to dilate very much on the virtue of the abolition of the salt tax, but I would make a submission and suggestion to the hon. Finance Minister to take it into consideration and to give thought to it. It would not have affected the exchequer to a

very great extent, but I am perfectly confident it would have created a sense of confidence among the toiling masses and changed the face of this country.

I have been listening with attention and interest to some of the remarks made by my colleagues from the opposite side, especially the friend from Andhra who was making some remarks about the scarcity of drinking water in his constituency. He was telling us that trucks were supplying water to the farmers, and he was very much perturbed about this condition. I do not know whether he knows that there are regions in this country where water is not even supplied by trucks or by any other means, where the villagers, the womenfolk accompanied by the children, are going from early in the morning to get water not one or two miles away from their homes, but about four, five or even six or eight miles away, down precipices, up hills and through areas infested by tigers and other wild beasts of prey. After this adventure, they just come to a small rivulet or a small spring where water is trickling drop by drop, and, waiting for an hour or so, they get scarcely one pail of water for them to take back home.

I know the limitations set on Government. I know the difficulties which the Government is facing. But, I would like the Government to give due attention with reference to priorities, as to what things should be attended first. I know there is the National Water Supply Scheme formulated by the National Government. I would ask the Government to take into consideration these villages of our motherland where such conditions exist. I can say with the information at my command that there are at least a few villages like Piparisama and Benswardevan in my constituency in Madhya Pradesh where water supply has to be made through this scheme. I think it is their due and it is what they can expect from

this Government after 15 years of freedom.

There have been some complaints about housing. My friends from the other side have taken Government to task and have talked about the policy of Government of building up a socialist pattern of society in this country. If I can be permitted to speak with some authority about the conditions prevailing in the socialist countries of the world, I can say that even in USSR, after so many years of their experimenting with the building up of a socialist society, there are still mud walls and poorly thatched houses. Therefore, we cannot blame our Government for not being able to build houses in the country of the standard our friends want the Government to build.

But, at the same time, I would make a suggestion that if the cooperative movement had been utilised for solving this problem, I am perfectly confident that much more progress would have been possible by now. Therefore, I commend this suggestion to the Ministry of Housing, the Ministry of Cooperation and other Ministries, to sit together and find out whether they can solve the problem of the acute shortage, especially in the urban areas, of houses, by a planned potentiality of the movement.

I have to make a point about the law and order situation in our country. I am conscious of the fact that when we got freedom the conditions in the country were much worse than they are today. Of course, we find ourselves in a far better position. For that I must congratulate the successive Home Ministers, especially the one who is today. But, at the same time, I would like to draw attention to the conditions prevalent in the northern parts of Madhya Pradesh, especially in the districts of Bhind, Morena and Shivpuri and some parts of Rajasthan, where, even

[Shri Parashar]

with confidence in lands. Dacoits in police uniforms walk into the villages and exact their supplies in an authoritative manner. There is nobody to check them. In broad daylight they come and speak to the people and expect them to supply them cooked food. If it is not done, the people meet with punishment, not ordinary punishment but punishment with bullets. I know cases where some very patriotic young men refusing to do this unsocial duty being done to death in cold blood. This is not a description of the past that I am giving; this is the condition prevalent today. Some remedy has to be thought of for this menace. It is not a thing of today. When we go back through history we find such menace prevalent in the area for so many years. In the early years of this century, there was this menace for which the then ruler of the area found some remedy. We can just go through the pages of the book written by him. We can study the history of the region and all that. After studying these things we can apply some special remedy. Merely sending some police patrols or some I.A.F. Squadron or Special Police would not do. This will have to be tackled with special reference to the history of the area and of the problem.

Then, coming to Defence, I say I am very much proud of the fact that, in spite of what my friends from the other side have said about the Chinese and Pakistani problem, our Government is able not only just to protect our country but to take whatever action is thought right. But, I have got to make a point.

Shri Panikkar while speaking about the defence of our country has made out one significant point. He says:

“That pattern of India's defence has to be based on the total effort of the nation on all essential fronts, in the Defence Forces, in

the industrial and agricultural fields, in civilian morale, in the capacity to maintain the essential activities in the most trying circumstances and in continued search on sciences.”

I would like to draw the attention of our Defence Minister to the sentence—

“to maintain the essential activities in the most trying circumstances.”

I would like to draw the attention of this House to the erstwhile Goa action. I am proud of it and every national of India should be proud of it. But what happened during those days when just a handful of soldiers were being transported from the northern parts of the country to the western part. Times may come when we may have to transport millions and millions of our countrymen turned into soldiers from the north to the south or to the east or west and God knows not where. The transport conditions of this country had become so worse during this small action which lasted for a short time that it was difficult for our countrymen to travel from south to north; nay, even to travel from Gwalior, which is only 200 miles from here, right up to Delhi. It was a hazardous task. If that can be the position because of a small action like the Goa action, what would be the condition of our country in most trying circumstances!

I am perfectly confident, and God help us that most trying circumstances may not develop with reference to our country in the near future. But, if that comes true, our Defence organisation should take into consideration the development of a second line of communication. That should be to connect Bengal and Bihar direct to Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Punjab. They must have broad gauge railway line from Jhansi (U.P.)

to Sawai Madhopur (Rajasthan). I think this is most essential.

Our Government should take into consideration a second capital for India. I am putting this suggestion without reference to any special feeling. Our nation with such vast dimensions and borders should think of it on the basis of long-term planning. I commend these suggestions to the consideration of the House.

With these few remarks I welcome the Budget proposals.

श्रीमती रामदुलारी सिन्हा (पटना) :
 उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज के युग में और विशेषतः लोकतंत्रीय समाज और शासन व्यवस्था वाले देश में जो बहुत बड़े पैमाने पर योजनाओं के दौर से गुजर रहा है, बजट हमारी एस्टि-मेटेड आय और व्यय का व्यौरा नहीं हुआ करता है। बजट हमारी सरकार की नीति की एक ठोस तस्वीर हुआ करती है। मैं श्री मुगार जी देसाई के बजट भाग पर इसी नुकतेनिगाह से गौर करना चाहती हूँ। यूँ तो इस सदन में और सदन के बाहर देश के कोने कोने में इस बजट की चर्चा ही नहीं हुई है इस पर बड़ा विवाद चल रहा है और उद्योगपतियों ने चेम्बर आफ कामर्स ने इसकी तीव्र आलोचना भी की है। उनके कहने में, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, चन्द बातें महत्व की भी हैं। हमारे देश की मिक्स्ड एकोनामी में पब्लिक सेक्टर के साथ प्राइवेट सेक्टर भी महत्वपूर्ण रोल अदा कर रहा है और फीरेन एक्सचेंज प्राप्त करने वाली वस्तुएँ जैसे चाय, जूट, लाहे इत्यादि प्राइवेट सेक्टर के मातहत अवस्था हैं। एपी परिस्थिति में उनके ऊपर टैक्स का बोझ लादने का अंजाम यह होगा कि कैपिटल शार्ट हो जायगा और उसका बुरा प्रभाव एम्प्लायमेंट और उद्योगों के विकास पर पड़ेगा। उनका यह भी कथन है कि जिन शयर्ज पर पिछले पांच सालों में त्रेष टैक्स से मुक्ति थी, उन पर टैक्स लादने का अंजाम कैपिटल फार्मेशन

के लिय बुरा होगा। कुछ लोगों का कहना है कि कारपोरेशन टैक्स में जो पांच प्रतिशत वृद्धि का बजट परस्पर-विरोधी बजट है, क्योंकि जहाँ उसमें ईक्विटी कैपिटल पर जोर दिया गया है और कारपोरेशन-पूजी को ब्राड-बेस्ड बनाने की बात कही गई है, वहाँ उस पर टैक्सिज का बोझ भी लादा गया है।

हमारे देश की फीरेन-एक्सचेंज की स्थिति असन्तोषजनक है। श्री जी० एल० मेहता ने कहा है कि कीमतों की सतह की ऊँचाई के कारण हम आज एक्सपोर्ट मार्केट खोले जा रहे हैं। पता नहीं कि वित्त मंत्री साहब ने नियत के लिये जो सुविधायें प्रदान की हैं, वे कहाँ तक समुचित हैं। इसके सम्बन्ध में मैं कुछ भी नहीं कहना चाहती। लेकिन फिर भी मैं इतना देखती हूँ कि आज इन प्रतिवादों के बावजूद मद्रास, बम्बई और कलकत्ता के शेयर-मार्केट्स में खुशियाँ मनाई जा रही हैं और बम्बई स्टॉक एक्सचेंज के प्रजिडेंट, श्री के० आर० पी० शराफ़ ने इस बजट का स्वागत करते हुए कहा है कि यह एक परपजफ़ुल बजट बना है।

जो भी हो, मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय को मुबारकबाद देना चाहती हूँ कि उन्होंने डायरेक्ट टैक्सिज का बोझ ३ करोड़ से २७ करोड़ बढ़ा दिया है। आज तक डायरेक्ट टैक्सिज के मामले में समाजवादी दृष्टिकोण से हम आलोचना के पात्र रहे हैं। मैं तो चाहती थी कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय इस २७ करोड़ की रकम को बढ़ा कर कुछ और अधिक कर देते।

लेकिन इस बात पर आश्चर्य है कि एक्सपेंडीचर टैक्स को क्यों खत्म कर दिया गया है। कैम्ब्रिज के समाजवादी अर्थशास्त्रज्ञ, श्री कैल्डर, एक्सपेंडीचर टैक्स को वेल्थ टैक्स कैरेलेरी में लाया था, इस लिए कि इनकम टैक्स और एक्सपेंडीचर टैक्स के सहारे वेल्थ टैक्स को नापा जा सके।

[श्रीमती रामदुलारी सिन्हा]

खैर, जो भी हो, इस बजट की चन्द खूबियाँ भी हैं, जिन पर सारे देश के लोगों को संतोष भी हुआ है और वे हैं दवा-दारू के सम्बन्ध में, वेतन और पेंशन के सम्बन्ध में, जहाँ इनकम टैक्स ५ परसेंट से ढाई परसेंट कम किया गया है, निर्यात के प्रोत्साहन के सम्बन्ध में, डेफ्रिसिट को पूरा करने के सम्बन्ध में और भारत के चन्द नए नए उद्योगों के विकास के सम्बन्ध में, जहाँ विदेशी इस्पात, लोहे, मोटर-गाड़ियों और बनावटी रेशम के आयात पर रुकावट डाली गई है।

वित्त मंत्री के शब्दों में ही इस बजट के जो चन्द मुख्य पहलू सतह पर आते हैं, वे ये हैं—नेशनल आय में इजाफ़ा, प्राइस लाइन को होल्ड कर के रखना, निर्यात को प्रोत्साहन देना और उद्योगों का विकास। मैं चाहूँगी कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय के बजट के ये चारों लक्ष्य पूरे हों। लेकिन जब मैं इस बजट के भीतर जाता हूँ, तो समाजवादी उद्देश्यों और लक्ष्यों को देख नहीं पाती हूँ। राष्ट्रपति जी ने भी अपने भाषण में समाजवादी प्रोग्रामों की चर्चा की थी और हमारे इनेशन मैनेफेस्टो का भी आधार यही है। लेकिन वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने अपना बजट पेश करते समय राज्य सरकारों को यह चेतावनी दी है कि वे शीघ्रता से अपने अपने राज्यों में अतिरिक्त कर लगावें, इस पर बहुत आश्चर्य होता है। अब समझ में नहीं आता कि और कौन कौन से नय करों का शुभारम्भ हमारे देश में होने वाला है। फिर भी यह खुशी की बात है कि वित्त मंत्री ने डायरेक्ट टैक्सिज को बढ़ाया है।

लेकिन डायरेक्ट टैक्सिज के साथ साथ इनडायरेक्ट टैक्सिज के बोझ में, जो कि ५७.५ कोड़ या, उसमें ४४.५ करोड़ की और वृद्धि की गई है। मैं नहीं समझती कि इस प्रकार डायरेक्ट टैक्सिज और इनडायरेक्ट टैक्सिज के संतुलन को हम समाजवाद कह सकते हैं।

जहाँ तक एक्साइज ड्यूटी का सवाल है, इस सदन के सदस्यों ने भी उस तरफ संकेत किया है और मैं भी कहूँगी कि चाय, तम्बाकू, दियासलाई, बतन और कपड़े आदि छोटी छोटी चीजें उसकी लपेट में आ गई हैं, जिनका सोचा सम्बन्ध देश के निम्न और मध्यम श्रेणी के लोगों से है। ये मध्यम श्रेणी के लोग आजादी की लड़ाई में, निर्माण के युग में और समाज के हर पहलू में जिन्दगी और मौत के बीच झूलते रहें हैं, किन्तु बराबर अपने त्याग, कुर्बानी और तपस्या की बदौलत समाज की रीढ़ बने रहे हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में वित्त मंत्री महोदय को मध्यम श्रेणी के तरफ भी कुछ ध्यान देना चाहिय था।

जहाँ तक नेशनल इनकम को बढ़ाने का सवाल है, इस पर हर देशभक्त को नाज होगा। लेकिन मेरी इच्छा थी कि जहाँ वित्त मंत्री ने अपने बजट में नेशनल आय की वृद्धि का तजक़िरा किया है वहीं पर अगर वह पर-कैपिटल इनकम को बढ़ाने की भी बात करते और साथ साथ ईक्विटिवल डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन आफ वेल्थ की तरफ भी कदम बढ़ाए होते, तो मुक्त को सन्तोष होता। आज हमारे देश की पूरी आय का तीस प्रतिशत देश के चार प्रतिशत लोगों के बीच में महदूद रह जाता है। और सब से नीचे और सब से ऊपर के बीच ३० गुना का अन्तर है। काश, इस खाई को पाटने की ओर भी मुरारजी भाई का ध्यान जाता।

वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने नेशनल सेविंग्स स्कीम का विस्तार कराया और इसके माध्यम से नेशनल आय बढ़ी है। लेकिन मेरी इच्छा है कि अगर इसके साथ ही मजदूरों और गैर मजदूरों के बीच में प्राविडेंट फंड स्कीम को विस्तृत किया जाता और उसके साथ सोशल सिक्योरिटी की स्कीम भी गुंथी होती, तो गरीबों का कल्याण हो सकता था।

कल इस सदन में उप-वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने अपने स्टेटमेंट के दरमियान एक शब्द कहा था, जो कि अभी तक हमारे कानों में गूँज रहा है। श्री भगत ने बताया कि तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना का लक्ष्य योजना के टारगेट्स को पूरा करना है। योजनायें तो इसीलिय बनती हैं कि उनमें टारगेट्स को पूरा किया जाय और तभी देश का सर्वांगीय विकास हो सकता है। लेकिन मैं उनसे पूछना चाहती हूँ कि क्या सिर्फ तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के टारगेट्स को पूरा करने का लक्ष्य उनका है, या पहली और दूसरी योजनाओं के जो टारगेट्स पूरे नहीं हो सके हैं, उन्हें भी वह पूरा करेंगे। यदि इस तरह से चार बरस में टारगेट्स पूरे करने हैं, तो पन्द्रह बरस के टारगेट्स उन्हें इन तीन चार बरसों में पूरे करा होंगे। मैं चाहती हूँ कि इम्प्लीमेंटेशन के लिये एक इम्प्लीमेंटेशन कमेटी हर एक विभाग के लिये बने, जो इस बात का देख-रेख किया करे कि जो हमारे टारगेट्स हैं, वे सचमुच इम्प्लीमेंट होने हैं या नहीं।

मैं सभी विभागों के सम्बन्ध में तो नहीं कहना चाहती, क्योंकि आप इतना समय नहीं दे सकेंगे और मैं इसकी आवश्यकता भी नहीं समझती, क्योंकि बहुत से सदस्यों ने इस बारे में कहा है, लेकिन मैं कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट के बारे में कहना चाहती हूँ कि देश की अपार धन-राशि उसमें खर्च हो रही है, किन्तु उसमें टारगेट्स निचली सीढ़ियों तक जाते जाते विफल हो जाते हैं—वे सचिकाओं और फाइलों तक ही महदूब रह जाते हैं और शेष में उनका सम्बन्ध कार्यन्वयन नहीं हो पाना है।

मैं श्रम नीति के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहती हूँ कि तीन चार साल पहले वर्कर्स एडूकेशन की स्कीम बनी और देश के चार स्थानों में वर्कर्स एडूकेशन के लिये शिक्षण-केन्द्र खोले गए। लेकिन आपको यह जान कर ताज्जुब होगा और सदन के लिये यह एक हास्यास्पद बात होगी कि धनबाद में

जो वर्कर्स एडूकेशन केन्द्र खुला, उस के चार साल हो गये, लेकिन आज तक मुश्किल से दो तीन दर्जन मजदूर भी शिक्षित नहीं हो सके हैं। इसलिए टारगेट्स के इम्प्लीमेंटेशन पर सब से अधिक ध्यान देना जरूरी है।

प्राइस लाइन को होल्ड करने की बात वित्त मंत्री ने कही है। पिछले अगस्त महीने से प्राइस लाइन को होल्ड करने की वजह से देश में संतोष सा हो गया है, लेकिन मैं चाहूँगी कि उनमें साथ जनता की ऋण शक्ति का भी विकास होना चाहिए, क्योंकि जिस हिसाब से देश में प्राइसेस में उपल-पुथल हुई है, चीजों के दाम आत्मान को छूने लगे हैं, वेही स्थिति में आज मजदूरों के बतन और डायरेन्स भलाउन्स में जो वृद्धि हुई है, वह नकारात्मक साबित हो रही है और उन के रीयल वेजिज उस अनुपात से नहीं बढ़ पाए हैं। इसकी तरफ भी वित्त मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान अवश्य जाना चाहिये।

जहां तक यातायात की सुविधाओं का सम्बन्ध है, फरनेस आयाल के आयात का प्रबन्ध किया गया है और रेल के भाड़े में भी कुछ और सुविधाएँ प्रदान की गई हैं। लेकिन मैं फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब से निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि यातायात की सुविधाओं के साथ साथ वह कोस्टल शिपिंग और इन्लैंड नेविगेशन की ओर भी ध्यान दें। हिन्दुस्तान के आज़ाद होने के पहले गंगा में इन्लैंड नेविगेशन के माध्यम से बंगाल, बिहार और उत्तर प्रदेश का पूर्वी हिस्सा बहुत लाभान्वित होते थे। छोटे छोटे उद्योगों को भी फवने फूलने का मौका मिलता था और छोटे छोटे बणिज भी उससे लाभान्वित होते थे। आज उन्हें फिर से प्रोत्साहन देने की आवश्यकता है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं मुरारजी भाई को इस लिये भी धन्यवाद देती हूँ कि वे अपने टेक्सेज के माध्यम से राज्यों के लिये रेवेन्यू का एक अच्छा हिस्सा प्राप्त करा

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सकगे। मैं कोई प्रान्तवादिनी नहीं। यह रकम प्लानिंग कमिशन के जिम्मे रहेगी और वह निर्णय करेगा कि हर राज्य में इसका किस तरह से बटवारा हो। लेकिन मैं यह अवश्य कहना चाहती हूँ कि बिहार भारतवर्ष का हर (ruhr) रहा है। अपने तमाम खनिज पदार्थों के वावजूद भी वह आज भी पिछड़ा है और गरीब है। इसलिये सरकार का ध्यान बिहार की तरफ कुछ अधिक जाना ही चाहिये।

एक शब्द कह कर मैं अपनी बात को समाप्त करना चाहती हूँ। इस सदन में पब्लिक एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन और पब्लिक सैक्टर के ऊपर काफी नूतनाचीनी हुई है। मैं जब डेब्ट (debt) सर्विसेज की तरफ देखती हूँ तो मेरा ध्यान बरबस पब्लिक एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन और पब्लिक सेक्टर के तरफ चला जाता है। देश को आपार धनराशि दोनों में लगी हुई है। फिर भी यह इकानोमी और एफिशियेसी से कैसे दूर है।

श्री वी० के० आर० वी० राव ने इकोनोमिक सर्वे की रिपोर्ट में, एपलवाई कमेटी रिपोर्ट में, गोरवाला कमेटी की रिपोर्ट में, इन तमाम कमेटियों की रिपोर्ट में यही कहा गया है कि दोनों क्षेत्रों में इन्फ्लेशेसी आ गई और प्राइवकेशन कास्ट बढ़ गई है। हमारा नारा पब्लिक सैक्टर और पब्लिक एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में एफिशेसी और इकोनोमी का होना चाहिये। इन क्षेत्रों को बिजनेस लाइज पर एफिशेसी के साथ चलना चाहिये। पब्लिक सैक्टर में नो-प्राइडिट, नो-लास का सिद्धान्त सर्वथा अनुचित है। हमारी डेवेलपिंग एकानोमी के लिये यह आवश्यक है कि पब्लिक एन्टर प्राइजैज सरप्लस प्राप्त करें और उसे डेवेलपमेंटल फाइनेंस में जोड़ा जाए। कम से कम इन-पुट में अधिक आउट पुट प्राप्त करना पब्लिक सेक्टर का उद्देश्य होना

चाहिये। इसी में देश का कल्याण है और हमारे लक्ष्य को सार्थकता मिल सकेगी।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बजट के बारे में काफी चर्चा सदन के बाहर और सदन के अन्दर भी हो रही है। माननीय सदस्यों ने अपने अपने विचार यहां रखे हैं। मैंने भी इसका कुछ अध्ययन किया है। जहां तक मैं समझता हूँ इस में समाजवाद की कुछ झलक तो नजर नहीं आती है। हो सकता है कि मेरी समझ में कुछ कमजोरी हो या नातजुर्बकारी की वजह से यह बात हो।

बहरहाल जब इस देश में टैक्सिस लगाये जाते हैं तो कहा यह जाता है कि बड़े आदमियों पर कितने टैक्स लगाये जा सकते हैं। उन पर आगे ही टैक्सों का बहुत भार है। इस सदन में काफी बार वित्त मंत्री महोदय तथा उपवित्त मंत्री महोदय की तरफ से कहा गया है कि direct taxation has reached the state of saturation. यह कहा जाता है कि ८० परसेंट, ८५ परसेंट या ८७ परसेंट टैक्स लेने के बाद आज जो टोटल नम्बर आफ एसेसिज है इतना कम है कि अगर और टैक्स किया जाए तो शायद टैक्स देने की सीमा का अतिक्रमण हो जाए और वे टैक्स दे न सकें।

ज्यादा तर यह कहा गया है और और चुनाव के पहले भी हमारी रूलिंग पार्टी के सदस्यों ने जब भाषण दिये तो उनके दौरान में भी एक बात लोगों से कही कि अगर तुम ज्यादा स्कूल चाहते हो पढ़ाई लिखाई चाहते हो और चाहते हो कि कि तुम्हारे बच्चे अच्छी तरह से पढ़ें लिखें और साथ ही साथ चाहते हो कि देश उन्नति करे, तो तुम को टैक्स देने ही पड़ेंगे। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, लेकिन टैक्स देने के बावजूद भी जब लोगों को यह महसूस होता है कि टैक्स देने का फायदा उन्हें नहीं पहुंचा है तो उन्हें मायूसी का अनुभव होने लगता है। पहली योजना में समझता हूँ कि किसानों

के लिये बनाई गई थी। उसमें आबपाशी के साधन मुहैया किए गए और दूसरी चीजें की गईं। लेकिन जिन लोगों ने मेहनत करके अपने खेतों से सोना उगाया क्या वाकई में उनको फायदा हुआ ? इसका प्रमाण कि उनको फायदा नहीं हुआ मैं देना नहीं चाहता। मैं चाहता हूँ कि माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी खुद इसके बारे में सोच लें।

दूसरी योजना जब आई तो मुझे याद है कि १२ या १६ फरवरी १९५६ को अखबारों में सुखियां निकाली गईं कि ८ मिलियन यानी ८० लाख लोगों को नौकरियां मिलेंगी। उसके बाद क्या हुआ ? इसके ठीक तीन चार महीने बाद ३६,००० आदमी पब्लिक और प्राइवेट सैक्टर, दोनों के निकाल दिये गये। लोगों को ताज्जुब हुआ कि ८० लाख को कहां नौकरियां मिलने जा रही हैं जब कि ३६,००० आदमियों को निकाल बाहर कर दिया गया है। एक मजदूर के सामने सवाल उठा कि क्या दूसरी योजना में भी उससे कुर्बानी मांगी जाएगी ऐसी हालत में ? हमसे कहा यह जा रहा है कि तुम त्याग और बलिदान करने के लिये तैयार हो जाओ, देश के निर्माण के लिये त्याग या बलिदान तुम को करना ही होगा लेकिन क्या इसका भी कुछ लाभ उसको हुआ। तीसरी योजना की बात हो रही है। मैं योजना का समर्थक हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रीय उद्योग आगे बढ़ें। मैं चाहता हूँ कि देश की तरक्की हो। मैं चाहता हूँ कि संकुचित राजनीतिक दृष्टिकोणों से इन योजनाओं को न देखा जाए। लेकिन फिर भी, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे यह कहना पड़ता है कि आखिर यह प्लान, यह योजना किस के लिये है। क्या हिन्दुस्तान का किसान, हिन्दुस्तान का मजदूर इस लिये पैदा हुआ है कि वह प्लान के लिये कुर्बानी देता चला जाए और प्लान से उसको कोई फल न मिले। यह मुख्य सवाल आज हमारे देश के सामने है, देश की जनता के सामने है। जब भी

कोई सवाल आता है तो यह कह कर कि अभी और त्याग और बलिदान तुम को करना होगा, नए टैक्स लगा दिये जाते हैं। कहा जाता है कि सिर्फ ४५ करोड़ के टैक्स लगे हैं, अभी और भी टैक्स लगे हैं। यह सभी बाल बच्चों के नाम पर किया जाता है और कहा जाता है कि अगर तुम चाहते हो कि तुम्हारे बाल बच्चे अच्छी तरह से रहें तो तुम्हें इन टैक्सों का बोझ सहन करना ही होगा।

लेकिन एक सवाल उठ खड़ा होता है। चुनावों के दौरान मैंने देखा है कि माननीय मंत्री लोग, मेरा इशारा वित्त मंत्री महोदय की तरफ नहीं है क्योंकि मैंने उनके भाषणों को नहीं सुना है, अपने भाषणों में कई कई बातें कह जाते हैं। एक भाषण में उन्होंने अचानक किसी फटे पुराने कपड़े पहने हुए लड़के की तरह देख कर और उंगली दिखा कर कहा कि प्रजातन्त्रीय युग में आने वाले हिन्दुस्तान का होने वाला प्रधान मंत्री यहां बैठा हुआ है। बड़ी खुशी हुई उस बच्चे को यह बात सुन कर और साथ ही साथ उसके पिता को। उसके पिता उस बच्चे को लेकर घर गए और उन्हें अपनी धर्मपत्नी से कहा कि सुना है कि मुख्य मंत्री जी क्या कह गए हैं ? वह कह गए हैं कि तुम्हारा यह बच्चा आने वाले हिन्दुस्तान का प्रधान मंत्री होगा। उसको भी बड़ी खुशी हुई। लेकिन जब वह बच्चा पांचवीं क्लास से चढ़ कर छठी क्लास में गया तो होने वाले हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधान मंत्री का नाम ही स्कूल से फट गया और वह भी इसलिए कि किताबों की इतनी लम्बी चौड़ी लिस्ट दे दी गई थी कि उनके दाम उसके पिता नहीं दे सकते थे। उसके बाद आने वाले हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधान मंत्री की शकल दिखाई पड़ी, एक होटल में जूठे बरतन मांजते हुए। समझ में नहीं आता है कि हम भी जब लोगों को समझाने की कोशिश करते हैं तो लोग वज्राहत मांगते हैं और कई तरह के स्थाल ला खड़े कर देते हैं जिनके

[श्री स० मो० बनर्जी]

जवाब देना मुश्किल हो जाता है। जब टैक्स कोलैक्शन का सवाल आता है और

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur):
But many of these dishwashers have become great men.

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : छोटे मोटे दूकान-दारों से इंसपैक्टर लोग टैक्स बसूल करने जाते हैं तो मैंने देखा है कि सेल्फ टैक्स और इनकम टैक्स इंसपैक्टर लालपीली आखें करके उसे डराते हैं और कहते हैं कि तुम्हारी दुकान को मैं तबाह कर दूंगा और टैक्स नहीं भदा किया। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने उसी इंसपैक्टर को और उसके गुस्से को और उसकी लाल पीली आखों को भी देखा है जब वह किसी बड़े सरमायेंदार के पास जाता है तो उसका गुस्सा सलाम में बदल जाता है। समझ में नहीं आता है कि ऐसा क्यों होता है ?

Shri Morarji Desai: May I ask a question? If the hon. Member himself has seen this man getting angry with the smaller man, why has he not taken up the matter with the Government so that the man is brought to book? He has never written to me.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I would have written.

वहाँ पर टैक्सों की बसूली का भी सवाल आता है। एक सवाल इस सदन में मैंने किया था १ मई १९६२ को। मैं अपने आप को पूरे हिन्दुस्तान के पैमाने का लीडर नहीं समझता हूँ और न ही मेरी ऐसी सीरत है और न ही सीरत। बहरहाल कानपुर एक मामूली जगह है जहाँ से मैं चुन कर आया हूँ और उसका मैं नेतृत्व करता हूँ। मैंने सवाल पूछा था :—

“Whether the arrears of income-tax, wealth tax and gift

tax as on 1-1-1961 in Kanpur have since been realised; if not, the amount still outstanding; and the amount realised in 1961.”

माननीय वित्त मन्त्री जी ने इसका जवाब दिया :—

“The arrears are in the process of realization. The amount outstanding on 1-3-1962 was Rs. 193.8 lakhs. The outstanding demand has been reduced by Rs. 23.23 lakhs during the year 1961.”

कानपुर शहर में अगर आपका १ करोड़ ६३ लाख यानी लगभग २ करोड़ रुपया बाकी है ४ करोड़ ६८ लाख में से तो पूरे हिन्दुस्तान भर के पैमाने पर तकरीबन १२३ करोड़ रुपये ही हो सकते हैं जो बाकी हों। इससे कुछ कम या कुछ ज्यादा हो सकते हैं। मुझे इसका ठीक मालूम नहीं है। बहरहाल इन्फिक्टिव एरियज और नान-इन्फिक्टिव एरियज का सवाल आयेगा। इसिलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ टैक्सेज के क्लेक्शन के बारे में कि अगर उनका क्लेक्शन नहीं होगा तो आप गरीब आदमी को टैक्स करने की कोशिश करेंगे, और वह गरीब आदमी फिर एक सवाल पूछेगा वित्त मन्त्री जी से, कि क्या हम सिर्फ टैक्स देने के लिये पैदा हुए हैं ? टैक्स देने के बाद जो देश का निर्माण होगा उस का फल भोगने के लिये हम लोग पैदा नहीं हुए हैं, दूसरे लोग पैदा हुए हैं ?

14 hrs.

बेकारी की बात इस सदन में कही गई। अब बेकारी की बात कही जाती है तो कोशिश ये होती है कि बेकारी को दूर करने के लिये जो हमारे बड़े बड़े आदमी बेकार हैं, उनकी एक कमेटी बना दी जाती है और उसको काम दे दिया जाता है बेकारी दूर करने का। एक सवाल इस सदन में किया गया सिर्फ उत्तर प्रदेश के बारे में। सवाल यह था :

“Will the Minister of Labour

and Employment be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of persons (graduates and non-graduates) registered during the year 1961-62 in various employment exchanges in Uttar Pradesh; and
- (b) the number of such persons in both the categories who were provided with employment assistance during the same period?"

इसका जवाब माननीय श्री जयमुख लाल हाथी ने दिया :

"(a) and (b). The number of graduates registered during 1961-62 was 20,694. Placements during 1961-62 were 2,646. The number of non-graduates (Matriculates and Intermediates) registered during 1961-62 was 1,80,350 and placements during 1961-62 were 18,000."

यह मैं सिर्फ उत्तर प्रदेश की ही बात कह रहा हूँ, और वह भी रजिस्टर्ड बेकारों की बात कह रहा हूँ। अनरजिस्टर्ड की बात तो मैं कह ही क्या सकता हूँ। लेकिन मेरे शहर में जितने आदमी रिक्शा चलाते हैं वह कोई सेहत ठीक करने के लिये नहीं चलाते हैं, और वह अनरजिस्टर्ड बेकार हैं जिन की बेकारी दिन बदिन बढ़ती जा रही है। इमलिये प्लानिंग के सिलसिले में मैं कहूंगा कि इससे हमारे देश में बेकारी कम नहीं हुई है। योजनायें हमारे देश में बनी हैं, मैं उनका समर्थक हूँ और समझता हूँ कि उससे देश की तरक्की हुई है। मैं उन लोगों में नहीं हूँ जो कहते हैं कि तरक्की नहीं हुई है। लेकिन तरक्की के साथ लोगों की क्रय शक्ति, खरीदने की ताकत और लोगों का जीवन स्तर ऊंचा हुआ है या नहीं, यह मुझे मालूम नहीं है। चुनावों के दौरान कहा गया कि आप को मालूम है कि आज लोगों की क्रय शक्ति कितनी बढ़ी है? पहले जिस को १६० मिलता था उसको अब १६० ५ आ० मिलने लगा है। यह बात इससे भी जाहिर होती है कि पहले देश में १०

हजार रेडियो बनते थे और उनकी खपत भी लेकिन अब २० हजार रेडियो बनते हैं और बिकते हैं। कितना जबर्दस्त मजाक है कि कहा गया कि कानपुर शहर में; जहां पर जाड़े से सिकुड़ कर ६५ आदमी मर गये, वह उनका कुसूर था। उन की जेब में रुपया था, मन्त्री महोदय के कहने के अनुसार, लेकिन उन्होंने गलती यह की थी कि जबकि उनको कम्बल खरीदना चाहिये था, उन्होंने उस की जगह पर रेडियो खरीद लिया था। मैं दंग रह जाता हूँ कभी कभी जब इन्सान की जिन्दगी के साथ जबर्दस्त मजाक किया जाता है।

दूसरा सवाल है कि साधनों को किस तरह से लाया जाय। बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाय। बैंकों के राष्ट्रीयकरण के बारे में वित्त मन्त्री ने बैंक मैनेज्मन्ट विश्वास दिलाया था कि कोई ऐसी बात नहीं है। बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं होगा। कंसंश्रेशन आफ बेल्ट जो है, हमारी नेशनल इनकम का ज्यादातर हिस्सा जो कुछ लोगों के हाथों में बंट गया है, उसको जानने की कोशिश आप कैसे करेंगे यह मेरी समझ नहीं आता है। आखिर जो यह टेक्स इवेजन करके होर्ड्स में जो रुपया रख लिया गया है, जो चांदी सोना लोगों के पास पड़ा है उस को कैसे जाना जायगा और कैसे वह देश के निर्माण के काम में लाया जायगा, अगर बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं होता। हमारे जनरल इंशोरेंस का राष्ट्रीयकरण होना चाहिये, और यह जरूरी है। इस के बाद कुछ हमारी इंडस्ट्रीज हैं, जैसे कि मैं समझता हूँ हमारी कोल इंडस्ट्रीज की माइन्स हैं उन का राष्ट्रीयकरण होना चाहिये। शुगर इंडस्ट्री का राष्ट्रीयकरण होना चाहिये। हमें शुगर मैनेज्मन्ट को बतला देना चाहिये कि तुम ने देश में बहुत कमाता है, अब देश के हित में इस का राष्ट्रीयकरण हो जाना चाहिये। मेरे ब्याल में अगर कोई राष्ट्रीयता का जर्न उन से छू गया होगा तो वे इस में आपत्ति नहीं करेंगे।

[श्री स० मो० बनर्जी]

इसके बाद, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक छोटी सी चीज के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। प्राविडेंट फण्ड के बारे में बार बार इस सदन में कहा जाता रहा है कि वह अगर ६ १/४ प्रतिशत से बढ़ कर ८ १/३ प्रतिशत हो जाय तो काफी पैसा मिलेगा, और यहां पर जितने बड़े बड़े सरमायेंदार हैं वे दे सकते हैं। ऐसी बात नहीं है कि वे दे नहीं सकते। लेकिन हिम्मत कुछ कम है हमारी सरकार में और वह कह नहीं सकती कि तुम को इसे बढ़ाना चाहिये। तुम्हारे अन्दर देने की शक्ति है और तुम को देना पड़ेगा। ऐसा किया जाय तो काफी रुपया इस मिज़मिले में मिल जायेगा।

इसके बाद सवाल आता है लगाये जाने वाले टैक्सेज का। मेरे मोन्सिज़र दोस्त भगत साहब ने दामों के बारे में कल बतलाया और कहा कि हमने माचिस को भी देखा, सेगरेट को भी देखा, चाय को भी देखा, कोचीन के सिवा कहीं उसके दाम नहीं बढ़े हैं। माचिस के दाम आज दिल्ली शहर में ७ नये पैसे हैं। आज अगर वे कपट करके सेण्ट्रल हाल से बाहर जाने का प्रयत्न करें, हालांकि वे स्मोक नहीं करते, बड़ी अच्छी बात है, लेकिन हम लोग करते हैं, बहरहाल अगर वे चले जायें तो उन को ७ नये पैसे में ही माचिस मिलेगी। उन को देख कर भले ही वह ६ नये पैसे में मिल जायें, मुझ को देख कर तो ७ नये पैसे ही में मिलेगी।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Matches have been dealt with. It need not be repeated. There are two more unattached Members whom I have to call. Your time is up.

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : मैं दो मिनट में समाप्त करता हूँ। तो मैं कह रहा था कि जो चीजें बाहर जाकर मिलती हैं वे सब महंगी हो गई हैं। १५ नये पैसे का चाय का कप मिलता है। इसलिये आप इन चीजों को

देखिये कि वे किस तरह से बढ़ी हैं।

अन्त में एक बात कह कर मैं अपनी बात खत्म कर दूंगा। एक रिप्रेजेंटेशन आल इंडिया मैन्युफैक्चरर्स आर्गनाइजेशन की तरफ से दिया गया है जिस में उन्होंने कहा है कि मीडियम और कोर्स क्लाय पर एक्साइज इयूटी लगाने का जो असर पड़ा है अगर उसकी जांच करके देखा जाय तो बड़ी मेहरबानी होगी।

एक छोटी सी बात है फुजूलखर्ची के बारे में। रोरकेला से एक दफ्तर जो कि पर्चेज डिपार्टमेंट है रोरकेला स्टील प्लान्ट का, उसमें पहले उन्होंने सन् १९५७ में शिफ्ट किया रोरकेला में, बड़ी मुश्किलों के बाद जब यह महसूस हुआ कि उस को रोरकेला में रखने से नुकसान होगा तो उस को कलकत्ते में ले आया गया, और अब फिर कोशिश हो रही है कि उसे कलकत्ते से रोरकेला लाया जाय क्योंकि कुछ आदमी चाहते हैं, हो सकता है कि बीच में कुछ पोलिटिकल रीजन हो जिस की वजह से ऐसी बात हो रही है। इन तमाम चीजों पर हमारे मन्त्री महोदय ध्यान दें। टैक्स लेने के लिये जो उन्होंने अप्रत्यक्ष कर लगाये हैं वह बिल्कुल गलत होगा। इसलिये गलत होगा कि जब इस देश का निर्माण करना है तो सरमायेंदारों से सरमाया और गरीबों से मेहनत ले तभी काम बनेगा।

मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे वित्त मन्त्री राज्य सभा में जो जवाब दे चुके हैं उसके अलावा यहां पर कोई नई बात कहने को नहीं होगी, लेकिन फिर भी मैं उनसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वे जरा हिन्दुस्तान की हालत को देखें। उसे देखने के बाद उन को समझ में आ जायेगा कि यहां के लोगों की खरीदने की ताकत बढ़ती नहीं घटती जा रही है इसलिये वे मेहरबानी करके इस टैक्सेशन को कम करें।

Shri Ravindra Varma (Thiruvella):
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to take part in this discussion on the general Budget. I shall join the hon. Members who have congratulated our Finance Minister for the very skilful budget that he has presented to this House. These are days when it is very difficult for any Finance Minister in any country to balance requirements and resources and to see that the taxable capacity is fully tapped, without being sapped, that the expectations from the Government are fulfilled while the Government makes every effort to see that the repercussions of international events and changes do not register adverse effects on the economic system of a country. This task is all the more difficult in a country like ours which is struggling in a very short period of time to achieve the modernisation and industrialisation of our techniques of production.

You know that this House and this country believe that this modernisation of the techniques of production should not only be achieved rapidly, should not only be achieved through the process of democracy, but should also be achieved in such a way that the essence of socialism is achieved in the shortest possible time. We want to learn from the mistakes that others have committed. We want to take lessons from history and see that industrialisation does not lead to the accumulation or the concentration of the ownership of the instruments of production in the hands of a narrowing circle of people. When we have thus to transform our economic system rapidly in a democratic manner, to achieve the essence of socialism, the task of the Finance Minister is indeed a thankless and difficult one. I make bold to say that he has performed this task, as far as this budget is concerned, very skilfully.

No one from this side, including the Finance Minister, I presume, will say that this is a brilliant budget or an

aggressively socialist budget. But certainly it can be claimed on behalf of this budget that it is a skilful budget, a meticulous budget and a moderately socialist budget. Members on the other side who have spoken criticising the budget seemed to be speaking more out of a sense of duty than out of conviction. Some of them, especially the hon. leader of the communist group, bemoaned the import of capital from outside, inveighed against indirect taxation and suggested that the solution would be to strangle the private sector. He did not make any concrete suggestions, any alternative proposals; perhaps, it was not his intention to do so. But, Sir, if all that he has to suggest to the House is to emulate the examples of countries which have followed in this line, if all that he has to prescribe to this House is to seek the way of communes and famines, if all that he has to prescribe to this House is a way which after 40 years will lead us to doubt whether the magic or miracle of transformation will rest in the skies or also be brought down to earth, then this House has not heard any constructive proposals from him.

Sir, some of the industrialists of this country, I am told, have criticised this budget in a rather stringent way. This House and this country have by now got accustomed to hearing the cry of wolf from the industrialists of our country. Year after year when the budget is presented before the House we are told that the budget would cripple industry. Year after year, according to them, efforts have been made to cripple industry. And yet private industry is showing the resourcefulness, resilience and even the bellicosity that we see in them. Then, certainly, Sir, it can be said that this is a strange kind of a 'cripple'.

As far as the economic policy behind the budget is concerned, this House is in general agreement that our objective should be to guide our policy in such a way that we seek and obtain

[Shri Ravindra Varma]

the essence of socialism, that this cannot be done without increasing production, providing employment, increasing purchasing power and inducing the curtailing of consumption in some manner so that capital formation may take place. We know too that industrialisation cannot take place without capital, without machinery, without the technical skill necessary for it. We know that this capital cannot be raised in the current conditions of the country from within the country alone; that if we borrow capital from outside or import capital the conditions should be such as do not compromise our sovereignty; the conditions should be such as are conducive to the development of democratic socialism in our country.

Sir, I do not want to labour this point since many hon. Members from this side of the House have challenged the Opposition to show how the import of capital in any way has compromised democracy or sovereignty or socialism in this country. Our socialism, it has been pointed out, is not a doctrinaire variety of socialism. These are days when even doctrinaire socialists find it difficult to say which brand of socialism they believe in. The prelates and pontiffs of so-called scientific socialism are quarrelling among themselves, and they are not able to tell the world what particular brand is greater danger to the unity of the socialism which is democratic.

If you try to analyse one budget that the hon. Finance Minister has placed before the House from this point of view and you try to see whether this budget takes us towards socialism, then I have no doubt in my mind that the answer will be in the affirmative. It has not been claimed that this budget has already taken us to socialism. It is one thing to declare objectives, it is another thing to realise that those objectives are not realised in a day and that

year after year efforts have to be made. Nobody from this side of the House has claimed that the budget has transported us physically to the land of socialism.

Sir, if you look at the proposals that the Finance Minister has made, you will see that the steps that he has taken, and the suggestions he has made, like the one which says that in the private sector, industry should be discouraged, from borrowing from banks and encouraged to issue equity shares, are steps which widen the ownership of capital, curtail the tendency or the propensity to concentrate the ownership of the instruments of production in the hands of a narrowing circle of people. I do not want to take up the time of the House by listing the various proposals in this budget which tend to take us towards socialism.

Mention has been made of direct taxation and indirect taxation. Hair-splitting arguments have been placed before the House. It has also been said that to debate this question is like flogging a dead horse, that in no country is it possible to depend purely on direct taxation, that when the number of people who can be taxed is limited, when their taxable capacity is limited and when society has entered a complex stage of economy it is not possible for us to depend purely on direct taxation. Even in a communist country we know that there are many forms of indirect taxation. They have a way of naming things differently. But where the State owns the industry, where the State fixes the prices of products and when these prices are fixed without any relevance to the cost involved, certainly that is a kind of indirect taxation on the most essential commodities.

If you look at the proposals that the hon. Minister has presented to the House, whether it be the rise in the corporation tax or the rise in the

income tax and super-tax or the tax on capital gains realised in short periods or the increase in the wealth tax, you will see that these are all steps to promote the progress towards socialism.

Reference has been made to the abolition of expenditure tax, and it has been said that the Finance Minister will go down in the annals of history as the "oracle of ostentatious austerity". I leave it to the Finance Minister to decide whether he wants to accept or reject the compliment. But I see in this kind of argument a totemistic reverence or allegiance to outmoded contraptions of socialism. I am one of those who believe that the expenditure tax has a very useful task to perform. The objectives are laudable, and let me point out that the Finance Minister has not denied the validity of the objectives. He has only said that other means, more economic means should be found to fulfil these objectives.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member should try to conclude now.

Shri Ravindra Varma: There are many other things, which I would have liked to refer to, but for paucity of time, I shall leave them, since this is my first speech I hope you will give me at least two more minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There are still a large number of hon. Members who want to participate in this debate. He must conclude his speech now.

Shri Ravindra Varma: Sir, I will conclude.

As far as the disparity in distribution of the national income is concerned and the percolation of the national income to the masses is concerned I have to say that I support the hon. members who have suggested an enquiry. Regarding the question of regional disparity, I think the House should devote some attention to this

question. As far as the State of Kerala, for example, from which I come is concerned, there is a wide-spread feeling that there is disparity in development, that the Government is not giving equal attention to the demands and the requirements of the various States, that though all States are equal, some States seem to be more equal. It is a dangerous thing to allow a feeling to gain ground that either because some States are in the periphery or because they are numerically weak, there are States in India which are destined to be drawers of water and hewers of wood. It is most unfortunate, I must say, that especially during the election campaign, without any question of the differences among the parties from which we came, everywhere the people of the State voiced these feelings in our meetings. There is a growing disbelief in the professions of equality as far as States are concerned. This disbelief is fast deteriorating into a kind of cynicism, and there is no greater danger to the unity of the country or to democracy than cynicism among the masses.

With these words, Sir, I conclude, and I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to speak on the budget.

Shri Mohsin (Dharwar South): Sir, I rise to support the budget proposals put forth before this House by the hon. Finance Minister. I was told that Shri Morarji Desai is a miracle man, and I feel that he is so. People from various groups described him in different ways. Some call him a capitalist. Some call this budget a 'capitalist budget', some call it communist budget and some of us call it a socialist budget. There is a mixed reception, mixed feelings even from the public. Many industrialists have welcomed it and many poor people also have welcomed it, and it is very difficult to know what is the true nature of the budget.

However, I can only say that I am not convinced of the fact that it is a

[Shri Moshin]

socialistic budget. However, when I look into the budget proposals, I do not see any feature for the budget being called as a socialistic budget. Of course, ceiling on land has been fixed by many of the States and tenancy legislation are being brought forward. But those very landlords and big jagirdars who had invested large amounts of money have now industries and buildings. So, there is no ceiling on money derived from other ceiling on money derived from other properties except from agricultural land. If our Finance Minister has found out a way of putting a ceiling on that also, I would have called it a step towards a socialistic budget. But I am disappointed to see that there is not a step not even a suggestion, in that direction of the future set up that is to come.

Many hon. Members have spoken about the privy purse and many have called it pension. I feel that the very fact that we are paying privy purse itself shows that we are yet slaves. On the same analogy, why should we not give it to the Britishers also who ruled us? These people are in no way better than those Britishers. They had never established any democratic set up in the States when they were ruling the States. So, if we continue to pay privy purse, it shows that we continue to be slaves or we are reminded of the slavery. I feel it is high time that we stop the privy purses. We can never compare it with pension; we cannot call their rules, a service to the people. When they were ruling the States, some of them were even squeezing money from the people. We cannot call it a pensionable service. We cannot compare it at all with pension. So, it is high time that the Finance Minister should think of stopping the privy purse to these ex-rulers.

Many hon. Members have referred to the abolition of the expenditure tax. I welcome it because if rich people spend their money in the society, it

will be helpful to the society where they spend it. After all, they spend it in India. If they spend the money in foreign countries, of course, the Government could put a check on it by restricting foreign exchange. But if they spend the money in our own country, in some way it is a distribution of wealth. Therefore, there should not be any check on expenditure. Let the rich people spend more and more and let it be distributed among people at large. Let it not be concentrated at one place. So, for that reason, I welcome the move for abolition of expenditure tax.

Then, it is our common experience that the common man in the country is not at all moved by the budget; he has no feeling at all for the budget. Not even one-hundredth of the population ever thinks of the budget or the changes that it may bring into the society. The budget is nowadays mainly discussed in the industrial circles or in some interested groups. The common man feels that it does not concern him.

In spite of the fact that we boast of development projects in every field, slums are increasing, illiteracy has increased and unemployment is ever on the increase. We are not able to check any of them. Is there any hope at least that we can do something better for the future? Though we say that we have raised the economic standard of the people, it is only in paper. We are confirmed in our view when we see the actual economic condition of the average Indian. Whenever we go into the countryside we feel that there is not even an iota of change for the better. The poor man has become poorer. The prices of foodstuffs have increased. My father, who is hundred years old now, says that with his meagre income he was happier in his days. I am sure that Shri Morarji Desai's father, if he is living, would also be saying the same thing. They were much happier than what we are now, in spite of

the fact that we say that we are progressing.

Shri Morarji Desai: My father died 51 years ago.

Shri Mohsin: That is why he has forgotten him.

Shri Morarji Desai: I have not forgotten my feather.

Shri Mohsin: Old people say that with their meagre income they were happier before. Now with all the huge investments in the big projects we are not happier. We cannot get good food or cloth at a reasonable price. Of course, the Finance Minister has not taxed coarse cloth which is needed by the poor man. All the same, the poor man has not the capacity to buy even that coarse cloth. That is the pitiable condition of the common man. So, he is not at all moved by the budget. He does not think about the contents of the budget and how it will affect his life. I would say that the budget should be framed in such a way that it is welcomed by all sections of the people, hundred per cent. of the population. According to that standard, this budget is a disappointment.

Then there is a growing feeling in the south that it is being neglected. From the press reports we find that in the discussion on the President's Address in the Rajya Sabha one hon. Member pleaded for a separate Dravidasthan. I do not approve of it; I condemn it. All the same, we cannot completely ignore the fact that there is a strong feeling, strong dissatisfaction growing in the south that it is being neglected. In Mysore everybody feels that Mysore is neglected. Giving a few ministerships to people from the south will not satisfy them. Something more concrete should be done. There should be more investments in projects in the south. I am not against taxing the rich. Those who are in a position to pay must be taxed so that we can have a socialist pattern of society. Also in a growing and developing country deficit bud-

gets are inevitable. I have nothing to say against it. My only stress is that there should be a proper allocation of the available funds to all the States.

It may not be out of place to mention here that after integration, why, say, after independence, not a single inch of railway line has been put in Mysore State. Is that justice? On the contrary, even the link between sagar and Talguppa is now proposed to be dismantled. Is this development? How will the people feel happy when you ignore their legitimate claims? In spite of your saying that there is all round development, this part of the country has been neglected for centuries and even today nothing is being done in that direction. Then how can the people be enthused?

Then what about the roads? Out of a total allocation of Rs. 29 crores for the national highways, only Rs. 29.2 lakhs have been allocated to Mysore. This is a very meagre allocation. Out of a total of 13,258 miles of national highways in the country, only 533 miles of national highways are in Mysore State. Even though Mysore State has pressed for inclusion of some more national highways in the budget, that request has not been accepted.

Then, there has been a long-standing demand for an aerodrome at Hubli. A survey was undertaken and even a site was searched. Now I learn that proposal has been dropped, on the flimsy ground that Belgaum aerodrome is so very near. I want to ask, if there was an aerodrome 60 miles away, why was the survey undertaken and why was the site searched and chosen and ultimately dropped later on? These are some of the factors which make the people of Mysore feel that Mysore has been neglected. I appeal to the Central Government that it should do proper justice to the south, specially to Mysore to wipe out the feeling that we are not treated properly. We do not want Dravidasthan or any other stan-

[Shri Mohsin]

which will destroy the unity of India. We are for the unity of India and we want to preserve it at any cost. But, at the same time we should see that no part of the country is neglected. No amount of mere legislation will satisfy the people. Now there is a proposal to make the demand for secession from India penal. But that won't mend matters.

Shri Hanumanthaiya (Bangalore City): The Railway Board must be properly constituted.

Shri Mohsin: That will be one of the means of doing justice. Of course, if the Railway Board is properly constituted and one Member from Mysore is taken on it, I think that that might improve matters.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi (Jodhpur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, when my hon. friend Shri A. N. Vidyalkar said that he deplored the tendency of the opposition to oppose for the sake of opposition and paint a picture that was harrowing, I thought I should take exception to it. I believe it is largely due to the contribution of the opposition and their constant criticism where the Government lapses that we have been able to make some progress and the Government has been kept on its toes.

The general discussion of the budget affords us an opportunity to voice our diagnosis, our prognosis and our precautions about matters economic. Sir, the budget proposals reflect the ailments and infirmities of the economic life of the country, just as they reflect the resilience and the health of our economy.

We have embarked on a very ambitious plan and I would say that we could not have done less, for the expectations of our people even now far outstrip our achievements. Because, as it is said, there is the revolution of rising expectations, and if we have to reconcile the needs of revolutionary development with stability in

this country, we must aim at ever higher targets in the economic field. I feel that neither the beaten track of doctrinaire socialism nor irresponsible capitalism can afford a solution to the ills of our country's economy. I feel, therefore, that we have to approach the problems of this country in a novel spirit with courage, with a sufficient measure of self-appraisal and self-criticism and with a sense of humility, so that we can really attempt what is most urgent in this country.

I would concede that the Finance Minister has succeeded in juggling with the figures, in most skilfully performing, what I may be permitted to call, his annual rope trick. But I also feel that the budget has neglected the common man who remains a forgotten and a frustrated entity. What is more, the budget has relegated to the oblivion the pressing needs, the misery, the pathos in the life of the middle classes in this country. For the ever-rising prices have reduced the situation of the middle classes to a most bewildering state. Indeed, even the industrialist and business community has been voicing a chorus of complaints saying that there are no incentives, that there is meddlesome interference and that the public sector plays havoc with them every now and then.

I would say that the ideal of a self-generating economy would not be achieved unless we can enthuse and enlist the co-operation, and active co-operation at that, of the large masses of this country. In failing to have done this, those responsible for our economic policies have committed the greatest blunder. It seems to me that we have been too enamoured of statistical consolations and of cemented solutions. Swearing by socialism does not give bread to the hungry man, just as the Prime Minister's pronouncement that there is no corruption in the country does not wipe the corruption out of this country. It is like the

Russian bureaucrat who said that if a citizen failed to produce his birth certificate he would assume that he was never really born! That is the state of things to which our principle of thinking has reduced us. When we fail to face the realities and when we fail to come to grips with the realities, we are bound to lapse into fanciful and wishful thinking.

I would submit that the entire impressive array of figures cited by the treasury benches is put to naught by the hard facts of our economic life in the country. Many references to particulars have been made on the floor of this House, and I could certainly multiply those instances of misery. The fact remains that there has been a rise in prices, that we have not been able to solve the problem of poverty and to come to grips with the problem of unemployment which is increasing, and that we have not been able to solve the problem of greater yield on investments which are being ploughed in huge quantities into the public sector.

I am not one who is opposed to the public undertakings. But I certainly feel that it is our bounden duty to consider that the public undertakings have not functioned well, that the public undertakings have been really a drain on our resources, and to ponder over the ways which could be devised to check this state of affairs.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: Which public undertaking is a drain?

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: I shall particularise my allegations.

I would also like to say in general that while Government has been waxing eloquent about export promotion, very little has been done in that respect. Only the other day a Minister admitted that there has been very little increase in our exports in the last ten years.

My hon. friend Shri Nath Pai pointed out that the earnings of the agricul-

tural labourer had gone down from Rs. 447 to Rs. 437 and that his indebtedness had increased from Rs. 105 to Rs. 130. Can we then testify in truth and good conscience that we have been making the desired measure of progress, that we have been marching towards the much-advertised goal of socialism and social justice? I think that if we are not to be guided by a mere fanfare of publicity, we would have to concede that the measure of progress, the pace of progress in this country has been far less than what would reasonably be expected.

My hon. friend here asked as to which of the public undertakings had been a drain. I shall give a review of the performance of the public undertakings in this country; because the most disconcerting feature in our economy has been the huge investment in public undertakings and also the fact that there has been a very little measure of accountability of these public undertakings to Parliament, although a very great deal of our resources are engaged in these public undertakings. I do so, not in a spirit, as I have submitted, of decrying public sector as a whole, but I think it is necessary to point this out in order to seek a rectification of the evils which have accompanied the public sector in our country.

By 1961-62 a sum of Rs. 709.30 crores was estimated to have been invested in public undertakings in this country. A further investment of Rs. 160.10 crores is estimated in the year 1962-63. The profits of these investments are only 0.3 per cent. It is true that some of these government companies are still in a period of gestation. But even companies which have already entered the production stage are not making any profits, that is not any substantial profits. A survey of 16 government companies covering about 91.4 per cent. of all the Central Government companies in terms of paid-up capital which was conducted by a periodical devoted to economic matters has yielded the following findings. Profits before

[Dr. L. M. Singhvi]

tax as percentage of total capital employed in the case of government companies was 6.0 percent in 1960-61 as against 8.2 percent in the private sector. Then, the ratio of gross profits to net worth plus borrowing was 5.1 percent in 1959-60 and 7.8 percent in 1960-61 for government companies as against 13.1 percent in 1959-60 for the private sector.

Profits after tax as percentage of net worth: 5.5 percent in 1959-60 and 9.1 percent in 1960-61 for Government companies as against 11.0 per cent for the private sector.

I would like to point out here that the level of borrowings of Government companies for the year 1960-61 stood at about Rs. 43 crores. The rate of interest paid on these loans worked out to about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, which is the private sector. If you considered this, and this is particularly necessary to bear in mind, the profits of the public undertakings would be substantially wiped out.

The Minister of International Trade in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry (Shri Manubhai Shah): Which units are a drain?

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: Here I would like to point out that there have been very low tax receipts from these public undertakings, and also the fact that the earning capacity of these public undertakings does not show any solicitous concern for the consumers, while the private sector realised on an average, according to the survey of the Reserve Bank of India about 10 percent profit on sales, the State undertakings realised a profit of 15.31 percent on sales in 1959-60 and 24.9 interest during 1960-61.

I would point out the case of Sindri Fertilizers, where, I understand, eight of the nine generators lie corroded because there has been use of coal which was not of the required quality and also cracks are reported to have appeared in some of these

generators. This is a matter of great concern, not less concern than the cracks that appeared in the Bhakra dam I would also point out that the fertilisers produced in this country in the Government undertakings are sold at about Rs. 420 per ton whereas imported stuff is available to the country at Rs. 200 per ton. This vast difference goes to show the fact that these have not been functioning efficiently.

My submission is, I am speaking for the Independent group and there is a balance of 30 minutes....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: You are unattached. There is one more speaker I have to call. Please wind up.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: I will finish in a minute.

I would also cite another example, the example of Rourkela, which is again a monument of many mishaps. I would like to sound a note of warning here that the expectation of the Finance Minister that about Rs. 300 crores would accrue from the Central Government under takings during this Plan period is not likely to be fulfilled in view of the fact that during 1960-61 only about Rs. 2 crores accrued and in 1961-62, about Rs. 1.65 crores accrued to the Government. In that perspective of things, certainly we cannot expect more than about Rs. 10 crores in all to accrue to the exchequer from these undertakings. I would say that there is a great deal of over-capitalisation and a great deal of overhead charges in these public undertakings. What is needed most is a thorough investigation and a continued check and scrutiny of these public undertakings. Otherwise, most of our resources are likely to be frittered away by the economic bureaucracy which has gained ascendancy in the public undertakings.

श्री गोपाल बत्त (जम्मू तथा काश्मीर):
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आजादी के बाद से कांग्रेस ने जब से सरकार बनानी शुरू की है, तब से

वह हर बरस बजट पेश करती जा रही है। हमेशा ही उस बजट का एक खास तरह का नज़रिया रहा है। वह यह रहा है कि हिन्दुस्तान में सोशललिस्टिक पैटर्न पर सोसाइटी कायम की जाए। इस नज़रिये के तहत जो बजट साल-ब साल पेश किए गए हैं, उनके नताइज़ आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता हिन्दुस्तान के सामने आ रहे हैं। आज यह बात फ़ख़ के साथ कही जा सकती है कि चाहे बहुत ज्यादा नुक़ताचीनी, बहुत ज्यादा क्रिटिसिज़्म बजट पर होता रहा है, सोशललिस्टिक बुनियादों पर हमारा इन्त-सादी ढांचा जो कायम होना है उसकी बुनियाद रखी जा चुकी है। सोशललिस्टिक पैटर्न पर इकोनोमी कायम करने के लिये सबसे ज़रूरी यह है कि जो बेसिक इण्डस्ट्रीज़ हैं वे पब्लिक सैक्टर में हों। इस बात की यकीनन हमें खुशी है और इस बात के लिए सरकार मुबारिकवाद की मुस्तहिक है कि स्टील, फटिलाइज़र्स और दूसरी बेसिक इण्डस्ट्रीज़ तमाम की तमाम १९४७ के बाद से जो भी कायम की गई हैं, उनमें से ज्यादातर पब्लिक सैक्टर में कायम की गई हैं। इसी वजह से आज हमारी इकोनोमी इस स्टेज पर पहुंची है कि आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता पब्लिक सैक्टर तरक्की कर रहा है और हम सोशललिस्टिक पैटर्न की तरफ़ आगे बढ़ रहे हैं। प्राइव्शन में नुमायां इज़ाफ़ा हुआ है और इसी वजह से आहिस्ता आहिस्ता मन्क की दौलत बढ़ रही है। आज हम फ़ख़ के साथ कह सकते हैं कि हम उस मोड़ से मुड़ चुके हैं जिसके के आगे यकीनी तौर पर हमारे लिये बेहतर दिन आयेंगे।

एक बात मैं अज़ करना चाहता हूँ। यह ठीक है कि पैदावार बढ़ी है। यह भी ठीक है कि मूल्य की दौलत बढ़ी है। इसके साथ ही साथ यह भी एक हकीकत है कि पर कैपिटल इनकम हमारी बढ़ी है। लेकिन जब उसे हम डिवाइड करते हैं लोअर-क्लासिस में और अपर क्लासिस में तो यह मानना पड़ेगा कि उसका बहुत ज्यादा हिस्सा अपर क्लासिस को गया है, लोअर क्लासिस को नहीं गया है। हमें कोई न कोई डंग या तरीका सोचना होगा

कि आगे के लिये ऐसी बात दोहराई न जा सके। आइन्दा के लिए ज्यों-ज्यों देश की बेहतरी हो, ज्यों-ज्यों देश की खुशहाली बढ़े, उसके मुफायद लोअर क्लासिस को मिलें, वकिंग क्लासिस को मिलें।

यह ठीक है कि हमारे देश के रिसोसिस बहुत महदूद थे। इसलिए यह ज़रूरी था कि बजट में टैक्सेशन प्रोपोज़लज़ रखी जातीं। अब तक जो कुछ होना था हो गया। लेकिन आगे के लिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि लखरी गुड़ज़ पर ज्यादा टैक्स लगे, कंज्यूमर गुड़ज़ पर कम लगे ताकि जो लोअर-क्लासिस के लोग हैं उन पर कम बोझ पड़े। अपर-क्लासिस के लोग टैक्स एफोर्ड कर सकते हैं, उन पर इसका ज्यादा बोझ नहीं पड़ता और अगर उन पर थोड़ा सा ज्यादा बोझ बढ़ जाए तो कोई मुज़ायका नहीं। लेकिन लोअर क्लासिस को हमें हर कीमत पर बचाना होगा, हर कीमत पर उनकी मदद के लिए हमें आना होगा क्योंकि लोअर क्लासिस के लोग मजीद बोझ बरदाश्त करने के काबिल नहीं हैं।

जब मैं लोअर क्लासिस का जिक्र करता हूँ तो मेरे सामने हिन्दुस्तान के देहातों का नक्शा आ जाता है। लोअर क्लासिस का बहुत बड़ा तबका देहातों में रहता है। यह ठीक है कि वकिंग क्लासिस के जो लो पेड एम्पलायीज़ हैं वे भी लोअर क्लासिस में आते हैं। लेकिन उनके मुकाबले में लोअर क्लासिस की बहुत बड़ी तादाद गांवों में रहती है और गांवों के लिए अभी तक हम बहुत कुछ नहीं कर पाए हैं और न हम फ़ख़ के साथ सिर बुलन्द करके कह सकते हैं कि हम बहुत कुछ उनके लिए कर रहे हैं। अगर हम अपनी एग्रीकल्चरल इकोनोमी को बेहतर करना चाहते हैं, क्योंकि उसके जरिये ही किसान का भला हो सकता है, उसके जरिये ही गांवों में रहने वाले लोगों का भला हो सकता है, तो उसके लिये सब से ज़रूरी और बुनियादी बात जो है वह कोअ्रोप्रि-टिव फार्म्स की है। हमने हिन्दुस्तान के म्स्त-लिफ हिस्सो में लैण्ड रिफार्म्स लागू किये हैं, सीलिगज़ मुकरर किये हैं। लेकिन जब फ्रैंग-

[श्री गोपाल दत्त]

मेंटेशन आफ लैंड होंगे, छोटे-छोटे जमीन के टुकड़े होंगे तो उसके बाद पोजीशन क्या होगी ? यह नहीं हो सकता आज के हिन्दुस्तान के हालात में और कांग्रेस को जो पोजीशन है और हिन्दुस्तान के भ्रवाम जो चाहते हैं, उस में कि बड़े-बड़े प्राइवेट फार्म्स हिन्दुस्तान में कायम रहें। लेकिन यह तो हो सकता है कि कोओपरेटिव फार्मिंग के उमूलों पर ज्वाएंट फार्म्स कायम किये जायें और उस के लिये मुल्क के किसानों को तैयार किया जाये ? मैं बड़े प्रदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि इस मद में हम बहुत कम कर पाये हैं, बल्कि मुझे यह कहना चाहिये कि इस मामले में हम ने जो कुछ किया है वह मायूसी की हद तक नाकाफी है। और अगर हम इस देश की पैदावार को बढ़ाना चाहते हैं तो हमें जो छोटी-छोटी लैंड होल्डिंग्स हैं उन को किसी न किसी ढंग से बड़ी-बड़ी यूनिट्स में ग्रुपिंग करनी होगी, और वह सिर्फ कोओपरेटिव फार्मिंग के ढंग से हम कर सकते हैं। वह सिर्फ कोओपरेटिव बेसिस पर हो सकता है। नागपुर सेशन को अब कई साल हो गये हैं उस के बाद हम नें कुछ घाटम इस हाउस के अन्दर कम्प्यूनिटी डेवेलपमेंट के लिये पास की हैं, लेकिन क्या यह हकीकत नहीं है कि अभी तक हिन्दुस्तान की हर तहसील में एक-एक कोओपरेटिव फार्म भी कायम नहीं किया जा सका ? क्या यह हकीकत नहीं है कि कोओपरेटिव फार्मिंग का जो हमारा प्रोग्राम है वह एक हद तक कागजों में ही बन्द पड़ा है ? और जब तक कोओपरेटिव फार्मिंग की तरफ हम ख़ास तवज्जह नहीं देंगे तब तक हम ऐग्रेरियन एकोनामी को बेहतर नहीं कर सकेंगे, हम अपनी पैदावार को नहीं बढ़ा सकेंगे ? क्योंकि छोटी-छोटी लैंड होल्डिंग्स से न तो इंटेंसिव कल्टिवेशन हो सकता है और न लोगों के पास वह रिसोर्सिज हो सकते हैं जिन के जरिये वे फर्टिलाइजर वगैरह खरीद सकें। इसलिये मेरी तजवीज है कि जैसे भी हो हमें कोशिश करनी चाहिये और अपनी तवज्जह मरकूज कर देनी चाहिये कि को-

ओपरेटिव फार्मिंग कायम हो जाय और हिन्दुस्तान का कोई हिस्सा भी न रहे जहां कम से कम नमूने के तौर पर एक-एक ब्लक में एक-एक कोओपरेटिव फार्म कायम हो जाये।

दूसरी बात जो देहात की बेहतरी के लिये कही जा सकती है वह यह है कि जो हेवी इंडस्ट्री हैं, बिग इन्डस्ट्रीज हैं उन के लिये तो यह मुमकिन नहीं है कि वह गांवों में कायम हों लेकिन स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज, काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज जो हैं उन्हें हिन्दुस्तान के मुखलिक हिस्सों में और पार्टिकुलरी गांवों में या छोटे छोटे कस्बों में बिखरने में कुछ मुश्किल नहीं आ सकती। उम में एक ही मुश्किल है जो इस वक्त तक मंगे राह रहा है। वह मुश्किल यह है कि जो रा मैटीरियल्स हैं उन को यूनि-फार्म प्राइस कायम नहीं हो सकी है हिन्दुस्तान में। अगर हमें अपनी इंडस्ट्रीज को मुल्क के मुखलिक हिस्सों में बिखरना है तो यह जरूरी है कि किसी न किसी किम्म का इक्वलाइजेशन फंड कायम किया जाय जिस के जरिये चाहे कोई इंडस्ट्री पठानकोट में कायम हो, चाहे कोई इंडस्ट्री डलहौजी में कायम हो, चाहे कोई इंडस्ट्री मैसूर के किसी कस्बे में कायम हो, चाहे कोई इंडस्ट्री बंगाल के किसी हिस्से में कायम हो, हर जगह रा मैटीरियल्स तकरीबन एक कीमत पर मिल सकें। जब तक ऐसा नहीं हो जायेगा, मैं नहीं समझता कि छोटी छोटी इंडस्ट्रीज हम गांवों में बिखर सकेंगे। इसलिये अगर हम चाहते हैं, और सही तौर पर चाहते हैं, इमानदारी से चाहते हैं, कारखानों को तमाम हिन्दुस्तान में बिखरना, तो मेरी राय में यह बहुत जरूरी है कि हम ऐसे हालात पैदा करें कि छोटी इंडस्ट्रीज वहां पर कायम हो सकें।

इस के बाद जो बात मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूं वह यह है कि मैं एक ऐसे हिस्से से आया हूं जो हर लिहाज से पसमांदा है। मेरी रियासत को जम्मू और काश्मीर कहते हैं। क्या हिन्दुस्तान में जम्मू और काश्मीर के अलावा

कोई और भी स्टेट ऐसी है जहां पर कोई हेवी इंस्ट्री न हो, जहां कोई रेल लिंक न हो, जहां कोई रिसर्च के लिये इन्स्टिट्यूट न हो और जहां पर पावर पोटेंशियल को एक्सप्लायट करने के लिये कोई बड़ी प्रोजेक्ट न चलाई गई हो ? जब मैंने पहली दफा इस हाउस में कदम रक्खा, और अपने बुजुर्ग साथियों के साथ कसम लेने के लिये आगे आया तो तमाम हाउस ने इसे ओवेशन दिया, जिस से मेरे जिस्म में एक अजीब सरसराहट पैदा हुई और मैंने कहा कितनी मोहब्बत और कितना एहतराम, कितने दिली जजबात, दिली हमदर्दी काश्मीर और जम्मू के लिये इस हाउस के दिल में मौजूद है ? लेकिन मैं देखता हूं कि काश्मीर में रेल लिंक नहीं है । इस के लिये पिछले दस वर्षों से बाकयदा हर सेशन में यहां चिल्लाहट होती रही है, यहां मतालबा किया जाता रहा है, लेकिन आज भी पोजीशन यह है कि यही जवाब मिलता है कि सन् १९६४ तक सिर्फ कठुआ तक रेल आ सकेगी । इस का मतलब है कि सिर्फ ४ मील तक रेल जायेगी । अगर १४ वर्षों में चार मील रेल की गई तो मैं पूछता हूं कि जम्मू तक, काला कोट तक और रियासत के उन हिस्सों में जहां मादनियात के बेशुमार जखायर जमीन के नीचे दबे पड़े हैं और एक्सप्लायटेशन का इन्तजार कर रहे हैं, वहां तक रेल ले जाने में क्या सदियां नहीं लगेगी ? इसलिये मेरी अर्ज यह है कि जहां तक ताल्लुक है रियासती सरकार का वह अपना फर्ज अदा कर रही है, उस ने पिछले दो प्लान्स के अर्से में एजुकेशन को फ्री कर दिया और वहां डिस्पेन्सरीज का जाल बिछा दिया । वहां पर छोटी-मोटी सड़कें बनाई, लेकिन जहां तक ताल्लुक सेन्टर का है, मुझे यह कहने में कुछ मायूसी होती है, लेकिन कहना पड़ता है कि सेन्टर की तरफ से हमदर्दी तो हुई लेकिन अमली तौर पर काश्मीर के लिये कुछ नहीं हुआ । जब कि बख्शी सरकार जद्दोजहद कर रही है लोगों का मेयार उठाने का, वहां पर बजाय इस के कि हमारे लिये कुछ किया जाता, फाइनेंस कमिशन ने तकरीबन १ करोड़

६० सालाना की हमारी ग्रान्ट को खत्म कर दिया ।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह (वाराणसी) : यह तो वापस होनी चाहियें ।

श्री गोपालबत : मैं अर्ज कर रहा था कि जो स्टेट की सरकार है वह कोशिश कर रही है लेकिन सेन्टर को भी इस तरफ तवज्जह करनी चाहिये और प्लानिंग कमिशन से और सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट से यह मतालबा करूंगा, मैं भीख नहीं मांगता, ऐज ए मॅटर आफ राइट मतालबा करता हूं कि वह काश्मीर की तरफ तवज्जह दें । वह देखें कि काश्मीर को भी हक है कि वहां रेलवे लाइन जल्द से जल्द हो जो कि माइन्स तक जानी चाहियें, उन को हक है कि वहां के नैशनल हाई वे ठीक हों । वहां पर जो नैशनल हाई वे है वह मामूली सी वारिश हो जाये तो कई-कई दिन बन्द रहता है । वहां रेल नहीं है, हेवी इंस्ट्रीज कोई नहीं है, उब वहां की खुशहाली का क्या इन्तजाम किया जा सकता है ? इसलिये मैं यह अर्ज करूंगा कि सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट को और उस के साथ साथ प्लानिंग कमिशन को काश्मीर के मसायल की तरफ खास तवज्जह देनी चाहिये ।

श्री वि० सि० चौधरी (मथुरा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे योग्य वित्त मंत्री ने जो बजट प्रस्तुत किया है उस का मैं स्वागत करता हूं । मैं समझता हूं कि हमारी सरकार की जो समाजवाद लाने की नीति है उस की ओर यह एक छोटा सा कदम है, और हमारी जो तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना है उस की सफलता का एक अंग है । मैं ज्यादा विस्तार में न जा कर यह बतलाना चाहता हूं कि बजट में क्या होना चाहिये और क्या नहीं होना चाहिये । अगर उन के आंकड़े मैं आप को सुनाऊं तो उस के लिये बहुत समय चाहिये जब कि वह बहुत थोड़ा है । लेकिन थोड़ी सी बातें मैं आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूं ।

मुझे इस बारे में कहने में समय नहीं लेना चाहिये कि हमारा जो बजट है उस की बहुत

[श्री दि० सि० चौधरी]

सी विशेषतायें हैं। जैसा कि मेरे एक साथी कह रहे थे, एक दृष्टि से बहुत आश्चर्य होता है कि कम से कम सब पार्टियों के लोगों ने एक न एक तरह से उस का समर्थन किया है। कम्यूनिस्ट भी कहते हैं, सोशलिस्ट भी कहते हैं, जनसंघ वाले भी कहते हैं। कुछ का समर्थन करते हैं और कुछ का विरोध करते हैं। मैं इस बारे में ज्यादा न कह कर इतना ही कहूंगा कि इस देश में किसी भी पार्टी का कोई आदमी ऐसा नहीं है जिस ने इस बात का समर्थन न किया हो कि हमारा देश तरक्की कर रहा है। किसी पार्टी का ही नहीं, हिन्दुस्तान का कोई व्यक्ति, हिन्दुस्तान का ही नहीं बल्कि विदेश का हर आदमी, चाहे वह कम्यूनिस्ट देश का हो चाहे सोशलिस्ट या कैपिटलिस्ट देश का ही क्यों न हो, इस का समर्थक है कि हमारा देश आगे बढ़ रहा है। हमारे बड़े-बड़े बांध, और बड़े-बड़े कारखाने और शक्तिशाली सेना इस बात के साक्षी हैं। मुझे यह कहने में कोई संकोच नहीं कि हमारी राष्ट्रीय आय बढ़ी है, केवल आंकड़ों से ही नहीं बल्कि वास्तव में बढ़ी है। लेकिन इस के साथ ही साथ मैं इस सम्बन्ध में ज्यादा न कह कर कुछ थोड़ी सी बातें आलोचना की दृष्टि से कहना भी चाहता हूँ। मैं कहना यह चाहता हूँ कि समाजवाद जो हम लाना चाहते हैं उस समाजवाद को लाने के लिए जो रास्ता हम चल रहे हैं वह बहुत धीमा है। इतना धीमा है कि आम जनता को यह विश्वास नहीं होता कि उनके या उनके बच्चों के समय में यह समाजवाद आ सकेगा।

15 hrs.

मैं तो यहां तक कहने के लिए तैयार हूँ कि हमारे देश में उत्पादन बढ़ रहा है, राष्ट्रीय आय बढ़ रही है, लेकिन उसका वितरण इस तरह हो रहा है कि वह आम आदमी तक नहीं पहुंच रहा है। मैं एक उदाहरण दूँ। जैसे कभी-कभी दावतों में होता है जहां बैरा वगैरह सामान लाते हैं। तो जो लोग सामने होते हैं वे उस सामान को साफ कर देते हैं, दोबारा जब

वे फिर लाते हैं तो आगे वाले फिर उसको साफ कर देते हैं। नतीजा यह होता है कि कुछ आदमी जो कि पीछे होते हैं उनको नहीं मिल पाता। इसी तरह से देश तरक्की कर रहा है लेकिन उसका लाभ कुछ आदमी ही उठा लेते हैं। हम देखते हैं कि जितने लोग पांच सौ तन्ख्वाह पाते थे उनकी संख्या बढ़ गयी है। हम यह भी देखते हैं कि जिन लोगों की आमदनी चार और पांच हजार थी ऐसे लोगों की संख्या बढ़ गयी है, आप बड़े-बड़े कसबों और शहरों में देखेंगे कि बड़े-बड़े मकानों की भी संख्या बहुत बढ़ गयी है। लेकिन इन सब बातों के बावजूद अगर आप किसी झोंपड़ी को जाकर देखें तो आपको मालूम होगा कि उसमें जितना फूस पहले होता था वह भी कम हो गया है। अगर आप किसी किसान और मजदूर के घर की हालत को देखें तो आपको पता चलेगा कि उसके खाने में दो पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के पूरा होने के बाद भी कोई सुधार नहीं हुआ है।

हम यह भी देखते हैं कि कपड़े का उत्पादन बढ़ा है। उसका उपयोग चाहे बड़े-बड़े मकानों में परदे डालने के लिए या फर्स पर बिछाने में अधिक होने लगा हो लेकिन एक गरीब के घर में जाकर देखिए कि जितना कपड़ा पहले इस्तमाल होता था उससे अधिक नहीं होता। मैं उनकी हालत को जानता हूँ क्योंकि मैं उनमें बीच में रहता हूँ।

मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि भाखरा नंगल को दिखाकर, या चित्तूरंजन और दुर्गापुर के कारखानों को दिखाकर या दिल्ली के महलों और सड़कों को दिखाकर देश की उन्नति का सबूत आम जनता को नहीं दे सकते इसके लिए तो हमें जनता के उनके स्वयं के घर को दिखा कर कहना पड़ेगा कि तुम स्वयं भी हर क्षेत्र में तरक्की कर रहे हो। ताकि जनता यह न कह सके कि जो गरीब हैं वह और अधिक गरीब होते जा रहे हैं और जो धनी हैं वह और अधिक धनी होते जा रहे हैं।

यह भी कहा जाता है कि बेकारी दूर की जा रही है। इसके सबूत में जो आंकड़े दिए जाते हैं उनसे ठीक पता नहीं चल सकता। यह ठीक है कि बेकारी दूर हो रही है, लेकिन यह इस तरह से हो रहा है कि जिस घर में ६ आदमी नौकर थे, और दो बेकार थे उन को नौकरी मिल जाती है। लेकिन जिस परिवार में कोई भी नौकर नहीं है उस परिवार के व्यक्तियों को दो योजनाएं पूरी हो जाने के बाद भी नौकरी नहीं मिलती। जिनकी पहुंच होती है उनको स्थान मिल जाता है इस प्रकार जिनके घर में पहले से चार आदमी नौकर थे उस घर के ही अन्य व्यक्तियों को नौकरी मिल कर बेकारी दूर हो जाती है।

मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हम चाहते हैं कि हमारी राष्ट्रीय आय बढ़े लेकिन उसका हिस्सा गरीब आदमियों को भी मिले। कभी कभी हमारे पंडित जी कह देते हैं कि हम गरीबी को बांटना नहीं चाहते। लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कि हमें गरीबी को बांटना चाहिए। सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि विषमता के कारण लोगों में असंतोष पैदा होता है। जब हम लॉग चुन कर आते हैं और देखते हैं कि एक को तो रहने को अच्छा प्लैट मिल गया और दूसरे को वैसा नहीं मिला तो हमको तो बुरा मालूम होता है। अगर सब के लिए एक ही प्रकार के मकान होते तो किसी को यह ख्याल न होता। इसी तरह से जब एक आदमी देखता है कि एक आदमी साधन सम्पन्न है और वह नहीं है तो उसको दुःख होता है और वह इसको बरदाश्त नहीं कर सकता।

मैं तो यहां तक कहने के लिए तैयार हूँ कि जो आपने टैक्स लगाए हैं अगर इनके बजाए आप प्राइवेट मोटरों पर टैक्स लगाते तो सड़कों की भीड़ कुछ कम हो जाती होती। डिनर और डांस के लिए जो मोटरे दौड़ी फिरती हैं व खत्म हो जातीं। मैं कहता हूँ कि आपको टैक्स लगाना चाहिए प्राइवेट मोटरों के पेट्रोल पर और पाउडर और लिपस्टिक पर जिनको

केवल बड़े आदमी इस्तमाल करते हैं। ऐसा किया जाए तो आम जनता के दिल में उत्साह पैदा होगा। अगर समाजवाद लाना है तो इस तरह के कदम उठाने चाहिए। धीमे ढंग से समाजवाद लाने का प्रयत्न करेंगे तो जनता इन्तिजार नहीं करेगी।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह हमारा दुर्भाग्य है कि हमारे देश में कोई पार्टी ऐसी नहीं है जिस पर जनता को विश्वास हो। उसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि यद्यपि जनता ने पिछले चुनावों में पार्टियों के अच्छे नेताओं को हरा दिया क्योंकि उनका विश्वास हो गया है कि पार्टियों से उनकी भलाई नहीं होती।

मेरा निवेदन है कि यदि हमने पूंजीवाद को खत्म नहीं किया तो ये पूंजीवाद हमें खत्म कर देगा। आप वर्षों से चिल्ला रहे हैं कि हम समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं। यह तो ऐसा हुआ कि जैसे कोई आदमी जो चोरों और डकैतों को पकड़ना चाहता है वह ऐसा पहले से कह कर उनको आगाह कर दे ताकि व बच जाएं। हम अगर कोई ऐसी योजना या कार्यक्रम बनाते हैं तो लोगों को पहले से कह देते हैं। जैसे कि सीलिंग का ही मामला लीजिए। पहले से कह दिया था इसलिए लोगों ने पहले से जमीनों का बटवारा कर लिया। इसी तरह से हम समाजवाद लाने के लिए कह रहे हैं। लेकिन अगर हमने पूंजीपतियों की पूंजी खत्म न की तो मैं कहता हूँ कि उसी पूंजी से व हमको खत्म कर देंगे। अगर आप पूंजीपतियों को खत्म कर दें तो देश का भ्रष्टाचार आज खत्म हो जाए और हम अपने सरकारी कर्मचारियों से अच्छे काम की आशा कर सकें। क्योंकि योग्य पूंजीपति स्वयं पूंजीपति न रहने पर सरकारी कर्मचारियों पर भ्रष्टाचार करके पूंजीपति न बनने देगा।

मैं आपसे निवेदन करूंगा कि हमारे गांवों की जितनी उन्नति सरकार को करनी चाहिए वह नहीं कर रही है। मैं इसका सबूत देना चाहता हूँ। खादी उत्पादन आदि

[श्री दि० सि० चौधरी]

में सरकार मूल्य कम करके आर्थिक सहायता देती है। जिन चीजों को पूंजीपति बनाते हैं, जैसे कार है, उनके बाहर से लाने पर सरकार टैक्स लगाती है इससे बाहर की चीज यहां सस्ती नहीं हो पाती। और पूंजीपति उन चीजों को यहां बना कर ज्यादा से ज्यादा कीमत पर यहां बेच लेते हैं। मगर किसान जो अपना उत्पादन करता है उसके गल्ले के मुकाबले में हम बाहर से गल्ला मंगा कर सस्ता बेचते हैं जिससे किसान को अपनी पैदावार के उचित दाम नहीं मिल पाते। जहां हम पूंजीपतियों को उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिये सहायता देते हैं वहां किसानों के लिये उल्टा करते हैं।

मुझे तो उस समय यह सुन कर दुःख हुआ जब कृषि मंत्री ने कहा कि किसान उस चीज का उत्पादन करना चाहता है जिसमें कि उसे पैसा ज्यादा मिले। और उन्होंने कहा कि कोई ऐसा कानून बनायेंगे जिससे ऐसा न हो सके। मैं कहता हूँ कि किसानों की हालत वैसे ही खराब है। यदि सरकार कोई ऐसा कदम उठायेगी तो उनकी हालत और ज्यादा खराब हो जाएगी।

मैं आपके द्वारा माननीय मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि समाजवाद लाने के लिए हमें कोई और मजबूत कदम उठाने चाहिए। इस धीमी गति से नहीं चलना चाहिए। अगर हमने अपनी गति नहीं बदली और हमने जमाने को नहीं बदला तो जमाना हमें बदल देगा। मैं कहता हूँ कि ये पूंजीपति अपनी पूंजी के द्वारा चुनावों में विजय प्राप्त करके और दूसरे तरीकों से ऐसी व्यवस्था ले आयेंगे जिसको हम नहीं चाहते। और जिस व्यवस्था को हम लाना चाहते हैं उसको नहीं लाने देंगे। अगर हमने मजबूत कदम उठाये तो हमारे किसान और मजदूर यह समझ जायेंगे कि पूंजीपतियों के साथ भी उचित व्यवहार हो रहा है और

जब उनको यह पता चल जायेगा कि पूंजीपतियों की भी स्थिति खराब हो रही है और उनकी स्थिति हम से अच्छी नहीं है तो वे मेहनत से काम करेंगे और आपको पूरा सहयोग देंगे क्योंकि उनको विश्वास हो जायेगा कि अब गरीब अधिक गरीब नहीं होगा और पूंजीपति अधिक धनी नहीं होगा।

अब मैं अपने निर्वाचन क्षेत्र मथुरा के बारे में कुछ निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। वहां के किसानों की हालत बहुत खराब है। मैं एक बैंक का मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर होने के नाते जानता हूँ कि बीस लाख से उनका कर्जा प्रति वर्ष बढ़ रहा है। मथुरा नगर कृष्ण भगवान की जन्म भूमि है। इसने बड़े-बड़े प्रहार सहे फिर भी अपने को कायम रखा। मथुरा का अपना एक विशेष स्थान है। केवल उत्तर प्रदेश के नाते या हिन्दुस्तान की दृष्टि से ही नहीं उसका संसार में एक विशेष स्थान रहा है। आज वहां की हालत यह है कि आर्थिक कठिनाई के कारण लोग बाहर से वहां आकर कम दान देते हैं। इसलिये वहां के पंडा पुजारी और जनता की हालत खराब हो रही है और उनको कोई आमदनी नहीं है। कोई उद्योग वाला नहीं है। परिणाम यह है कि वहां के चतुर्वेदी जो पहले भांग पीते थे और पहलवानी करते थे उनको आप देखें उनकी सूरत ही बदल गई है। उनकी हालत पहले के मुकाबले में बहुत खराब हो गई है। इस प्राचीन नगरी व इस जिले की गरीबी और भूखमरी दूर करने के लिए यहां कोई बड़ा उद्योग खुलना चाहिये।

इसलिए मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि अगर हम चाहते हैं कि हमारा देश तरक्की करे, अगर हम चाहते हैं कि हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में गांव के मजदूर और किसान पूरा सहयोग दें अगर हम चाहते हैं कि लोगों में जो अविश्वास पैदा हो गया है वह दूर हो

जाये तो हमें मजबूत कदम उठाने होंगे और उसके लिये हमारे मंत्री महोदय और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री पूर्ण रूप से समर्थ हैं। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं यही निवेदन करूंगा कि अब समय आ गया है कि हम कोई क्रांतिकारी कदम उठाएँ और समाजवाद को जल्दी से जल्दी लाने की कोशिश करें।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (बिजनौर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, किसी भी देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था अथवा आर्थिक स्थिति उस देश की रीढ़ की हड्डी होती है। विशेष रूप से ऐसे समय में जब कि वह देश विकास की ओर अग्रसर हो रहा हो, उसकी आर्थिक स्थिति को संतुलित रखना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है पिछले कई वर्षों का अनुभव इस बात का साक्ष्य है कि हमारे देश की नीति आदर्शवादी पक्ष की ओर अधिक बढ़ती जा रही है और उसमें व्यवहारिकता का अभाव है। आकस्मिक परिवर्तन वित्तीय नीति में जो समय-समय पर होते रहते हैं उसका दुष्परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि उत्पादन के उपक्रमों पर भी उसका बुरा प्रभाव पड़ रहा है और देश में टैक्सों की व्यवस्था का भार भी ज्यादा बढ़ता चला जा रहा है।

दूसरी बात जो मैं तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि जिस समय तृतीय पंच वर्षीय योजना का प्रारूप तैयार हो रहा था उस समय यह निश्चय किया गया था कि हमारे देश पर ११०० करोड़ रुपये के कर लगाये जायेंगे। इस ११०० करोड़ रुपये के करों के सम्बन्ध में उस समय भी पर्याप्त आलोचना हुई थी परन्तु प्रतीत ऐसा होता है कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय अथवा हमारी सरकार इस को और भी तेजी से आगे ले जाना चाहते हैं। पिछले वर्ष हमारे देश पर जो टैक्स लगाये गये थे उनकी संख्या ४५० करोड़ रुपये थी लेकिन जैसे कि सरकार की नीति है कि राजस्व की प्राप्ति को वह हमेशा कम करके दिखाती है और उस आधार पर अपना बचट बनाती है, उसे ध्यान में रखते हुए अनुमान

है कि हमारे देश में पिछले वर्ष में लगभग ५५० करोड़ रुपये की प्राप्ति होगी। इस वर्ष भी जो प्रस्ताविक करों की योजना सामने आई है उसमें भी ६०० करोड़ रुपये की प्राप्ति हो सकेगी। ५ वर्षों में जो ११०० करोड़ रुपये के कर लगाये जायेंगे वह तो इन दो वर्षों में पूरे हो रहे हैं। इससे प्रतीत होता है कि आने वाले ३, ४ वर्षों में हवा का रुख बहुत ऊंचा उठेगा। मैं नहीं कह सकता कि हमारी सरकार अर्थ नीति में इस प्रकार के आकाशीय परिवर्तन क्यों कर रही है और देश के कर्णों पर करों का और टैक्सों का इतना भारी बोझ किस दृष्टि से लादा जा रहा है? यह स्थिति सामान्य करों के सम्बन्ध में है जब कि रेलवे बजट से भी २५० करोड़ रुपये हमें प्राप्त होने हैं।

तीसरी बात जो मैं विशेष रूप से कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि इस समय हमारे देश की राष्ट्रीय आय १३ खरब रुपये की है। इस १३ खरब रुपये की आय में से १ खरब ७० अरब रुपये अर्थात् १४ प्रतिशत धन केन्द्रीय तथा प्रान्तीय सरकारों के रूप में हमसे ले लेती हैं

वित्त मन्त्रालय में उपमन्त्री (श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा) : रेलवेज के बारे में माननीय सदस्य ने क्या कहा? २५० करोड़ रुपये की आमदनी हमको रेलवेज से होगी यह जो उन्होंने कहा वह सही नहीं है।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : मैं यह कह रहा था कि जो सामान्य कर लगाये जा रहे हैं उसके अतिरिक्त रेलवेज से जो आय होगी वह २५० करोड़ रुपये की होगी। इसलिए पहले ही जब आय इतनी पर्याप्त थी तो उसके होते हुए इतने अधिक करों का भार देश के कर्णों पर लादना यह समय और परिस्थिति को देखते हुए संगत नहीं प्रतीत होता

श्री भोरारजी बेसाई : २५० करोड़ रुपये की रेलवेज से कौंसे आमदनी होगी, मेरी समझ में नहीं आया ।

श्री प्रकाशबीर शास्त्री : अभी रेलवेज ने जो अपना टैक्स बढ़ाया है वह तथा अन्य आय २५० करोड़ रुपये की होने का अनुमान है ।

श्री भोरारजी बेसाई : आगामी चार साल ही तो रहे । उन में सालाना २१, ०० करोड़ रुपये के कर लगें तो भी यह ८५, ८६ करोड़ रुपये से ज्यादा नहीं होगा । यह २५० करोड़ आप कहाँ से ले आये ?

श्री प्रकाशबीर शास्त्री : मेरा अनुमान समस्त आय के सम्बन्ध में है । इन सब को मिला कर ही मैं अपने आंकड़े प्रस्तुत कर रहा हूँ ।

चीथी बात केन्द्रीय और प्रान्तीय सरकारों के सम्बन्ध में है । १३ खरब रुपये की हमारे देश की राष्ट्रीय आय है । उस १३ खरब रुपये में १ खरब ७० अरब रुपये हमारी केन्द्रीय और प्रान्तीय सरकारें टैक्स के रूप में ले लेती हैं अर्थात् १४ प्रतिशत भाग राष्ट्रीय आय का सरकारें ले लेती हैं । इसमें जो देश की ४४ करोड़ ३० लाख की जनसंख्या है करीब १० लाख व्यक्ति ऐसे हैं जो आय कर देने हैं और यहाँ १० लाख व्यक्ति ऐसे हैं जो छोट और बड़े सब मिला कर निर्माण का कार्य भी करते हैं । मैं चाहता हूँ कि प्रान्तीय तथा केन्द्रीय सरकारें टैक्सों के रूप में जो रुपया प्राप्त करती हैं, थोड़ा अपने व्यय के ऊपर संतुलन रखें जिससे कि देश पर करों का भार अधिक मात्रा में न बढ़े ।

पिछले पांच वर्षों में ८ अरब रुपये का कराधान हुआ है किन्तु केन्द्रीय सरकार का खर्च आमदनी से ज्यादा बढ़ता चला जा रहा है । इसमें आधे के लगभग व्यय तो इस प्रकार का है जिससे कोई उत्पादन होता ही नहीं । अनुपादक कार्यों पर पैसा खर्च होता है । प्रतिरक्षा पर व्यय होता है और अर्सेनिक प्रशासन पर होता है अथवा जो

हमारे ऊपर ऋण है उसका सूद भ्रदा करने में यह खर्च हो जाता है । बाकी रुपया कुछ इस प्रकार का है जिससे कुछ उत्पादन का औसत बढ़ता है और उसमें सरकारी उद्योगों का या पबलिक सेक्टर का नम्बर विशेष रूप से आ जाता है ।

सरकार के द्वारा जो उद्योग चालू हैं उनकी संख्या ७३ है । मार्च १९६१ के अन्त तक कुल मिलाकर इन ७३ उद्योगों में ६०६ करोड़ रुपये की पूंजी लगी हुई थी । १९६०-६१ में केवल २.१ करोड़ रुपये का लाभ हुआ जो कि ३५ प्रतिशत है । १९६१ और ६२ में १०३.५ करोड़ रुपये की और अतिरिक्त पूंजी इनमें लगायी गयी पर यह आय १.६५ करोड़ से अधिक होने की आशा नहीं है अर्थात् २४ प्रतिशत लाभ है । बजट जो इस साल प्रस्तुत हुआ है उस को देखने से यह भी प्रतीत होता है कि सन् १९६२-६३ में १६०.१० करोड़ रुपये की पूंजी का विनियोग इनमें और किया जायेगा । इस प्रकार कुल मिला कर सरकारी उपक्रमों में ८६९ करोड़ रुपये की पूंजी हो जायेगी । इतनी अधिक पूंजी जहाँ लगी हुई हो और उससे जो आय होनी चाहिए वह सर्वथा नगण्य न होनी चाहिए लेकिन हो चूकि वास्तविक स्थिति यह है कि वह नगण्य है इसलिए यह प्रतीत होता है कि कहीं न कहीं उममें कोई दुर्बलता अवश्य अपेक्षित है ।

सरकार के इन ७३ उद्योगों में केवल एक उद्योग हिन्दुस्तान मशीन टूल्स इस प्रकार का है जो सरकार और देश दोनों के सन्तोष का विषय है बाकी जो ७२ उद्योग हैं उनको देखते हुए जितनी अपेक्षित आय उनसे होनी चाहिये उसकी संभावना कम है ।

एक अन्य बात जो मैं विशेष रूप से कहना चाहता हूँ वह अर्सेनिक व्यय के सम्बन्ध में है । सरकार जहाँ देश के कर्णों पर इतना भारी बोझ लाद रही है । मेरा अभि-

प्रायः सैनिक व्यय से नहीं है हमारे देश में जो प्रतिरक्षा के ऊपर व्यय होता है वह तो परिस्थितियों को देखते हुए अत्यन्त आवश्यक ही है। हाँ, सावधानी उसमें भी अपेक्षित है यह बात दूसरी है। परन्तु मैं असैनिक व्यय के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ कि उसकी मात्रा आज बराबर बढ़ती जा रही है, सरकार जब देश से यह अपेक्षा करती है कि वह त्याग करे और कर दे तो सरकार को भी उसमें मितव्ययिता बर्तनी आवश्यक है। दूसरे देशों में जो कर लिये जाते हैं उन जकी अपेक्षा हमारे देशों में करों की मात्रा बहुत बढ़ी हुई है। व्यक्तिगत आय पर हमारे देश में जो टैक्स लगता है वह सब मिला कर ८७ प्रतिशत के लगभग लगता है। अमरीका में एक लाख रुपये की आय पर २३ प्रतिशत और ब्रिटेन में ४६ प्रतिशत टैक्स है लेकिन भारत में यह ५४ प्रतिशत से लेकर ६३ प्रतिशत तक आकर बैठता है। अमेरिका में करों की अधिकतम दर १५ लाख रुपये की आय पर व ब्रिटेन में २ लाख रुपये की आय पर लागू की जाती है जबकि भारत में यह ७० हजार रुपये के निम्न स्तर पर ही लागू हो जाती है। दूसरे उन देशों में भारत की तरह सम्पत्ति कर भी नहीं है।

श्री मोरारजी बेसाई : यह मैं कह सकता हूँ कि यहाँ की एक लाख की आमदनी अमरीका में ५० लाख की आमदनी से भी ज्यादा होगी।

श्री प्रकाशबीर शास्त्री : सम्भव है आप के कहने में कुछ सच्चाई हो. . . .

श्री मोरारजी बेसाई : काफी सच्चाई है।

श्री प्रकाशबीर शास्त्री : इस देश की स्थिति को देखते हुए यह प्रतीत होता है कि हम जब संसार के साथ प्रगति में कंधे से कंधा मिला कर खड़ा होना चाहते हैं तो आर्थिक व्यवस्था में हम इतना संतुलन आवश्यक रखें ताकि आगे आने वाली पीढ़ी के लिए वर्तमान समय सन्तोष का कारण बन सके।

एक अन्य बात जो मैं विशेष रूप से कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि हम जिस समय टैक्सों का बोझ अपने देश के कंधों पर लाई तो इस बात का ध्यान अवश्य रखें कि विदेशी पूँजी का अधिक से अधिक विनियोग हम देश में करें, हम देश में करों को लगाते समय इस बात को न भूल जाय कि हमारे देश में पूँजी लगाने की अपेक्षा वह लोग दूसरे देशों में पूँजी लगाना अधिक पसन्द करते हैं। इसलिये इस सम्बन्ध में भी सतर्कता आवश्यक है।

मैं अपने वक्तव्य को उपसंहार की ओर ले जाते हुए एक जरूरी बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में जो टैक्सों को प्राप्त करने वाली मशीनरी है वह शुद्ध नहीं है। जहाँ हमारे वित्त मन्त्री जीने प्रतिवर्ष नया कर देश के कंधों पर लगा कर अपनी बुद्धिमत्ता का परिचय दिया है उससे कहीं अधिक अच्छा हो कि जितने टैक्स अब तक देश पर लगे हुए हैं उन को व्यवस्थित रूप से प्राप्त करने की दिशा में भी वह जतने ही सतर्क रहें। मेरा यह विश्वास है कि जितने टैक्स अब तक हमारे देश पर लगे हुए हैं अगर वह टैक्स पूरे प्राप्त हो जायें तो देश में और कोई नया टैक्स लगाने की आवश्यकता ही नहीं होगी। लेकिन मेरा अनुमान है कि जितने टैक्स लगे हुए हैं उनका एक बहुत बड़ा भाग इस प्रकार का है जो कि बीच में भी अटक कर रह जाता है और सरकार के कोष तक वह पूरा भाग नहीं पहुँच पाता।

एक दूसरी बात जो मैं विशेष रूप से कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है जिसकी कि और हमारे माननीय राष्ट्रपति ने अभी परसों अपने विदाई भाषण में संसद् सदस्यों को संकेत दिया और वह है निर्वाचन व्ययों के सम्बन्ध में।

हमारे देश में लोक-सभा के जो निर्वाचन होते हैं उन के लिये २५ हजार रुपये की राशि आपने निर्धारित की है। अब आर्थिक दृष्टि से कितने व्यक्ति इस देश में आपको मिलेंगे जो कि लोक-सभा का चुनाव लड़ सकेंगे ?

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

जैसा मैंने पहले आपको बतलाया कि हमारे भारतवर्ष में ४४ करोड़ ३० लाख की जनसंख्या में केवल १० लाख व्यक्ति ही ऐसे हैं जो कि आय कर देते हैं। अब आप स्वयं समझ सकते हैं कि इसके रहते कितने व्यक्ति इस देश में लोक-सभा का चुनाव लड़ सकेंगे ?

इसमें एक सबसे बड़ी आश्चर्य की बात यह है कि जो लोग चुनाव लड़ कर आते हैं, बम्बई का ही चुनाव में उदाहरण के रूप में रखना चाहता हूँ, बम्बई में अभी हाल में जो चुनाव हुआ, उन व्यक्तियों का नाम लेना संसदीय परम्परा के विपरीत हो जायेगा, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि मेरे बम्बई का नाम लेने से ही सब लोग समझ गये होंगे कि मैं किस ओर संकेत कर रहा हूँ। क्या आप विश्वास के साथ कह सकते हैं कि उस चुनाव के ऊपर केवल २५००० हजार रुपये व्यय हुए थे ? जब ऐसी स्थिति हो तो यह कहना कि २५००० रुपये से जो उम्मीदवार चुनाव में अधिक व्यय करेगा उसके चुनाव को अवैध घोषित कर दिया जायगा कहां तक तर्कसंगत है ? क्या सरकार निष्पक्ष होकर इस दिशा में कोई निर्णय ले सकेगी और कोई जांच कर सकेगी कि वास्तविकता क्या है ? मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि इस प्रकार का नियम और विधान बनाने की क्या आवश्यकता है जो कि वास्तविकता पर आधारित न हो या जिसमें चोरी और झूठ सिखाये जायें ?

एक अन्तिम बात जो कि मैं विशेष रूप से कहना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि अभी परसों हमारी सरकारी बैंचों पर बैठने वाले एक व्यक्ति ने अपने भाषण में यह संकेत दिया था कि समाजवाद का नारा हमारी सरकार लगाती तो है लेकिन पंडित जी के दायें, बायें कुछ ऐसे व्यक्ति बैठते हैं जिनके कि गले के नीचे समाजवाद का शब्द बिल्कुल नहीं उतरता है। पर मैं उससे बिल्कुल उल्टी बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि समाजवाद का नारा तो हमारी सरकार लगा रही है, लेकिन कहीं

पंडित जी के दायें बायें ऐसे व्यक्ति तो नहीं बैठते, जो कि समाजवाद की आड़ में साम्यवाद को देश पर ठूसना चाहते हैं, या इस देश में साम्यवाद को लाना चाहते हैं। इसलिये इन दोनों दिशाओं से ही देश को सजग रहने की आवश्यकता है। पूंजीपतियों के हाथों से भी हम बचें और साम्यवाद के भी शिकार न हो जायें।

श्री चं० ला० चौधरी (महुआ) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज कई दिनों से बजट पर बहस मुवाहिमा हो रहा है। मैं आप से यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने राष्ट्रीय दृष्टिकोण से, सारे देश के हितों को सामने रखते हुए और इस मुल्क से गरीबी को ज्यादा से ज्यादा दूर करने के उद्देश्य से यह बजट हाउस के सामने रखा है। वह इस मुल्क से गुरुत्व को दूर करने के लिये सारे दिलो-दिमाग और बड़ी मुस्तेदी से काम कर रहे हैं।

मेरा अपना ख्याल यह है कि जिस देश की इकीनोमिक हालत खराब हो जाय और आर्थिक स्तर गिर जाय, उसके नागरिक और नौजवान कभी तरक्की नहीं कर सकते हैं। कई माननीय सदस्यों ने देश की सेनाओं पर ज्यादा खर्च किया जाने का आरोप लगाया है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज हमारे सोलजर्ज लहाख जैसे क्षेत्र में दुश्मन के मुकाबले में डटे हुए हैं, जहां यह स्थिति है कि अगर कोई बर्फ की चट्टान से गिर जाय, तो वह दो तीन हजार फीट नीचे लुढ़क कर मर जाय। आज वे लोग अपने देश के लिए अपनी जान की बाजी लगा रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि उन पर जितना भी खर्च किया जाय, वह उचित है। जो लोग इस बात की नुक्ता-चीनी करते हैं, वे मुल्क को कमजोर करते हैं और दुश्मनों के हाथ मजबूत करते हैं।

मैं समझता हूँ कि जब हमारी भारतीय सेना एटम बम या मशीनगन या राइफल लेकर

दुश्मनों के सामने खड़ी होती है, तो वह अपनी जान की परवाह नहीं करती और अपनी भूमि के एक-एक इंच टुकड़े के लिये हंसते हंसते जान देने को तैयार रहती है। इस तुक्ता-ए-दिगाह से मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे वित्त मन्त्री महोदय ने बजट में सेना के लिए जो खर्च रखा है, वह बहुत कम है। अगर अपने सोल-जर्ज पर हम उससे भी अधिक खर्च करें, जिससे हम अपने तमाम दुश्मनों पर कामयाब हो जायें और उन के छत्रों छुड़ा दें, तो फिर यह बजट एक बिल्कुल कामयाब बजट होगा।

माननीय सदस्यों ने बजट के सम्बन्ध में कई बातें कही हैं। कई माननीय सदस्यों ने हरिजनों और शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स के बारे में कहा और कुछ ने यह कहा कि हमारे मुल्क में इण्डस्ट्री नहीं हैं। मेरे एक दोस्त ने कहा कि कृष्ण की जन्म भूमि पर जो पंडे लोग रहते हैं, जो कि भांग पीकर और मक्खन मन्दीदा खाकर मस्त रहते थे और जिन के चेहरों पर मुखी और लालिमा रहा करती थी, उनके हितों का खयाल रखा जाये। मैं समझता हूँ कि मुल्क को गंगा के किनारे पर भांग पी कर मस्त रहने वालों की ज़रूरत नहीं है। मुल्क को उन लोगों की ज़रूरत है, जो कि मार्च करें और लड़ाई पर दुश्मनों का मुकाबला करें।

श्री रामसेवक यादव : गंगा के किनारे तो प्रधान मन्त्री जी रहते हैं।

श्री चं० ला० चौधरी : वे रहते हैं, इसलिए मुल्क में उनका मुकाबला करने वाला कोई नहीं है। वह मुल्क का अकेला जवाहर है।

हिन्दुस्तान में इस वक्त जो फ़िरापरस्ती और जातीयता फैली हुई है, मैं उसके सख्त खिलाफ हूँ। मैं कह देना चाहता हूँ कि हरिजनों, बैकवर्ड क्लासिज और शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स के नाम पर जो छात्रवृत्तियाँ और स्कालरशिप्स दिये जाते हैं, वे बड़े बड़े धनाढ्यों

के बच्चों जिनके दरवाजों पर मोटर होती हैं, को मिल जाते हैं और गरीबों, मस्कीनों और यतीम बच्चों को नहीं मिलते हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि स्कूलों और कालेजों में जो ब्राह्मण, राजपूत या कायस्थ बच्चे पढ़ते हैं, जिनके फ़ादर या ग्राण्ड-फ़ादर सौ या पचास रुपए महीने पर सरकारी दफ़तरों में काम करते हैं, उन के लिए इस युग में पढ़ना बहुत मुश्किल है। सरकार हरिजनों को तरजीह दे, इस में मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं है, लेकिन मैं आपका ध्यान उन गरीब ब्राह्मणों तथा दूसरी जातियों की तरफ़ आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ, जो दरवाजे-दरवाजे भिखाटन करके संस्कृत के विद्वान बनते हैं, लेकिन आर्थिक रूप से इतने कमज़ोर हैं कि वे पढ़ने से मजबूर हैं।

15-26 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

इस दृष्टिकोण से मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारा देश विद्या से खाली होता जा रहा है। मुझे आशा है कि मन्त्री महोदय इस तरफ़ ध्यान देंगे।

पिछली दफ़ा भी मैंने इस सदन में कहा था कि भारतवर्ष की स्थिति यह है कि जो स्त्री विधवा हो जाय और उसके चार बच्चे हों और उनके पास आजीविका का साधन न हो, तो फिर उन मामूिम बच्चों के खाने-पीने दूध और एजुकेशन का कोई उपाय नहीं होता है। हमारे यहां दूसरी शादी की गुंजाइश नहीं होती है। हमारे यहां की स्त्रियाँ जान दे देती हैं, लेकिन दूसरी शादी करना पसन्द नहीं करती हैं। कुछ वर्गों में, जिन का नाम मैं नहीं लेना चाहता, दूसरी शादी हो जाती है। इस लिये मैं नम्र निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि उन गरीबों की तरफ़, उन वेवाओं की तरफ़ भी ध्यान देना चाहिए।

जहां तक मेरा ख्याल है, मुस्लिम कंट्रीज में, मुसलमानों में हज़रत मुहम्मद मुस्तफ़ा

[श्री च० ला० चौधरी]

सल्ललाह हू वाजिही व सल्लम की धार्मिक तौर पर खायत है कि मस्कीनों और बंबाओं की मदद करनी चाहिए। धार्मिक तौर पर उन का यह कर्तव्य है। हमारे धर्म में भी कहा गया है कि विधवाओं और उन के बच्चों की मदद करनी चाहिये, क्योंकि इस से मुल्क शक्तिशाली होगा। मालूम नहीं, उन में से कोई कितना बड़ा इंजीनियर हो, अगर हम उनके पढ़ाने का इन्तजाम करें और उन की मदद करें। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि हरिजनों और बैकवर्ड लोगों की मदद न की जाये, लेकिन विधवाओं की तरफ़ खास तौर पर तवज्जह दी जानी चाहिये।

मैं अपने दो तीन लड़कों को पढ़ाता हूँ। एक एक बच्चे पर चालिस पैतालिस रुपये खर्च करने पड़ते हैं। मैं करता हूँ। लेकिन अगर बिहार गवर्नमेंट या यू० पी० गवर्नमेंट में ५०, ६० रुपये पर मुलाजिम किसी क्लॉक के चार बच्चे हों, तो वह कैसे उन को पढ़ा सकता है? इस लिय उनके बच्चों की एडुकेशन का खास इन्तजाम किया जाना चाहिये, ताकि हमारी मुल्क शक्तिशाली हो।

माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने जो बजट हाउस के सामने रखा है, मैं उस का तहे-दिल से समर्थन करता हूँ। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर बराबर इस किस्म का बढ़िया बजट आता रहा, तो हमारा मुल्क निहायत कामयाब होगा। आज़ादी के बाद सारे मुल्क ने जो तरक्की की है, शायद दूसरी पार्टी वालों ने अपने मुल्क के गोशों गोशों में जा कर उस को देखने की कोशिश नहीं की है।

हम देखते हैं कि आज़ादी के बाद हरिजन आदि कई वर्ग, जो कि जात-पात पर आधारित होते हैं, अपना अपना हक मांगने के लिये खड़े हो गए हैं। मैं इस बात का कायल नहीं हूँ। मैं इस बात का कायल हूँ कि महज कांग्रेस ही ऐसी संस्था है, जिस के जरिये अलग-

अलग वर्गों का नहीं, बल्कि हर एक हिन्दुस्तानी का भला सोचा जाता है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आप का आभारी हूँ कि आप नें मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया।

श्री राधे लाल व्यास (उज्जैन) : अग्र्य मंत्री जी ने जो बजट पेश किया है, मैं उसके लिये उन्हें बधाई देता हूँ और उसका हार्दिक समर्थन करता हूँ।

इस बजट पर दो तीन दिन से बहस हो रही है। विरोधी दलों के कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने इस बजट की टीका टिप्पणी की है। यह स्वाभाविक था क्योंकि उनको विरोध करके ही खिन्दा रहना है। उनसे समर्थन की आशा नहीं की जा सकती है। उन्होंने इसको एक कैपिटलिस्ट बजट बताया है। उनको इसमें समाजवाद की गंध भी नहीं आती। कुछ तीखी टीका-टिप्पणी भी उन्होंने इस बजट की है। इस पर मुझे कोई आश्चर्य नहीं हुआ। लेकिन इस तरफ से बोलने वाले एक माननीय सदस्य श्री अंसार हरवानी ने उन से दो कदम आगे बढ़ कर यहां तक कह दिया कि इस बजट से लोगों का समाजवाद में और प्लानिंग में विश्वास घट गया है। इससे ज्यादा अतिशयोक्तिपूर्ण बात, मैं समझता हूँ दूसरी नहीं हो सकती है। समाजवाद ऐसी चीज नहीं है, कोई धर्म या मत नहीं है जिस की रूपरेखा या जिस की परिभाषा ठीक ठीक की जा सके। प्रत्येक देश की स्थिति अलग अलग होती है, वहां का इतिहास, वहां की समाजिक स्थिति, वहां के लोगों का रहन-सहन अलग अलग होता है और उस सब पर उसके विकास का कार्य निर्भर करता है। इस लिये प्रत्येक देश में जो भी कदम समाजवाद की ओर उठाया जाता है, वह भिन्न भिन्न ही हो सकता है।

आज़ादी के बाद संविधान सभा ने

जब संविधान बनाया , तो उसने राज्य की नीति के निदेश सूचक जो व्यवस्था उस में की, जो निर्देश दिए, वे बतलाते हैं कि हमें किस दिसा में आगे बढ़ना है। सही मानों में उन्हें कार्यान्वित करने का जो कार्य है, वह हमें समाजवाद की ओर ले जायगा।

समाजवाद के सम्बन्ध में यह शंका की गई है कि हमारे यहां बहुत थोड़े से पंजीपति हैं जो काफी मालदार हो गए हैं। कुछ ने काफी पैसा कमाया, काफी भुनाफा बांटा है। लेकिन हमें यह नहीं भूलना चाहिये कि हमने आज देश में मिक्स्ड इकोनोमी को मंजूर किया है। इसके साथ ही जनतांत्रिक पद्धति से हम को अपने कार्य को आगे बढ़ाना है और वह भी लोगों की सहमति से, लोगों की रजामन्दी से करना है। लोगों को राजी रखते हैं हुए, कानूनों के द्वारा हमको आगे बढ़ना है। यह डिक्टेटोरशिप का नहीं जनतंत्र का तरीका है। जिस समय से पंचवर्षीय योजना को इस माननीय सदन ने स्वीकार किया, एम्ब्रूव किया, तब से यह हमारी जिम्मेवारी हो गई है कि उसी को कार्यान्वित करने के लिये हम बजट बनायें। प्रतिवर्ष बजट पेश किया जाता है और इनको प्लान बजट कहा जा सकता है। जो उस वर्ष की योजनायें होती हैं, उनको कार्यान्वित करने के लिये और जो टारगट्स निर्धारित किये गये होते हैं, उनको पूरा करने के लिये बजट पेश किये जाते हैं।

आज से चौदह बरस पहले हमारे देश की जो हालत थी, वह किसी से छिपी हुई नहीं है। इन चौदह वर्षों में हम कितना आगे बढ़े हैं यह भी किसी से छिपा हुआ नहीं है। प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को मानना पड़ेगा कि हमारे देश ने काफी तरक्की की है काफी उत्पादन हमारा बढ़ा है, कृषि के क्षेत्र में और औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में भी। लेकिन जहां सारे देश की तरक्की को हमें देखना है वहां हमें यह भी नहीं भूलना चाहिए कि हमारे देश में कुछ हिस्से हैं, कुछ ऐसे भी प्रदेश हैं, जो अभी भी बहुत पिछड़े हुए हैं कई दृष्टियों से। यह प्रसन्नता की बात है कि

प्लानिंग कमिशन ने एक स्टडी टीम मुकर्रर की है और उस के सुपुर्द यह काम किया गया है कि वह देखें, अध्ययन करे, कि अलग-अलग राज्यों में क्या स्थिति है, कोई राज्य ज्यादा पीछे तो नहीं रह गये हैं वहां पर विकास जितना होना चाहिये, हुआ है या नहीं हुआ है। इस टीम को मुकर्रर हुए दो साल होने को मेरे ख्याल में आये हैं। स्टडी टीम ने क्या काम किया है, अपने काम में क्या प्रोग्रेस की है, कितना आगे वह बढ़ी है, कितने आंकड़े एकत्रित किये हैं, अभी मालूम नहीं हो सकता है। मैं चाहता हूं कि जल्दी से जल्दी वह टीम अपना कार्य पूरा करे और रिपोर्ट पेश करे ताकि सदन के सामने वह रिपोर्ट आ सके और सही चित्र जो देश का है, अलग-अलग राज्यों का है, उस का हमें पता चल सके और हम निश्चय कर सकें कि और कौन-कौन सी कार्यवाही करने की आवश्यकता है जिस से जो प्रदेश बहुत ज्यादा पिछड़े रह गये हैं, वे कुछ आगे बढ़ सकें।

समाजवाद को लाने के लिये सर्वतोमुखी विकास आवश्यक है। एक दम वह नहीं आ जायेगा। एक साल के बजट में या दो साल के बजट में समाजवाद अगर कोई समझता है कि आ जायेगा तो यह बहुत बड़ी भूल होगी। अगर कोई समझता है कि अगले चार पांच साल में समाजवाद आ जायेगा तो यह भी उस की बहुत बड़ी भूल है। समाजवाद लाने के लिये चौथी योजना पांचवीं योजना और शायद और भी योजनाओं को हमें कार्यान्वित करना होगा। तब कहीं सही मानों में समाजवाद की स्थापना हो सकेगी। समाजवाद को लाने के लिये शिक्षा का प्रबन्ध हमें करना होगा। काफी शिक्षा का प्रबन्ध हुआ है। हम देखते हैं कि कितने ही स्कूल, कितने ही कालेज, कितनी ही यूनिवर्सिटियां देश में खुली हैं। लेकिन एक बात की ओर मैं बिन मंत्री जी का ध्यान जरूर दिलाना चाहता हूं। शासन ने व्यवस्था की है कि जहां शिक्षा महंगी है वहां गरीबों के बच्चे जो योग्य हैं, वे शिक्षा पाने से पीसे के अभाव में

[श्री राघेलाल व्यास]

बंचित न रह जायें, इसलिए उनको स्कालरशिप दिये जायें। लेकिन मुझे जहां तक मालूम हुआ है जो फर्स्ट क्लास में पास होते हैं, उन में से ज्यादा से ज्यादा सात आठ परसेंट को ही स्कालरशिप मिल पाने हैं सैकड़ों और हजारों का संख्या में गरीब विद्यार्थियों को जो मंहगी शिक्षा है, इंजीनियरिंग की, मैडीकल की या एग्रीकल्चर की, नहीं मिल पाती है, वे इस से बंचित रह जाते हैं मैं मानता हूं कि स्कालरशिप प्रत्येक विद्यार्थी को तो नहीं दिया जा सकता और न ही इतने रुपये की व्यवस्था की जा सकती है लेकिन कुछ ऐसा रूपया जरूर प्राप्त निकालें जो कि उन लोगों को कर्ज के रूप में दिया जा सके और बाद में जिस समय वे अपनी शिक्षा पूरी कर दें और किसी व्यवसाय में लग जायें, नौकरी पर लग जायें, किसी धंधे में लग जायें, तो उस रुपये को इंस्टालमेंट में वापिस दे सकें। यदि यह व्यवस्था कर दी जाय तो जो गरीब विद्यार्थी हैं, जो मध्यम वर्ग के विद्यार्थी हैं और जो साइंटिफिक और टेक्नीकल शिक्षा प्राप्त करने से वंशों के अभाव में बंचित रह जाते हैं, वे उस से बंचित नहीं रहेंगे। यह केवल फर्स्ट क्लास में जो पास होते हैं, उन के लिये ही नियम नहीं होना चाहिये बल्कि जो सैकंड क्लास में भी पास होते हैं, और जो आगे दो तीन महाने पढ़ने के बाद यह बता सकें कि उन्होंने अच्छी प्रोग्रेस की है, उन को भी इस का लाभ मिलना चाहिये।

हमें रिजनल डिसपैरिटीज की ओर भी ध्यान देना होगा मध्य प्रदेश आप जानते हैं कि क्षेत्रफल के लिहाज से सब से बड़ा और मोटा राज्य है। हमारे कुछ मित्रों ने अपने राज्यों का कुछ बातें कहीं हैं। किसी को यह शिकायत है कि वहां रेलें नहीं हैं और किसी को यह शिकायत है कि वहां हैवी इण्डस्ट्रीज नहीं हैं। मैं माननीय सदस्यों से निवेदन चाहता हूं कि वे मध्य प्रदेश पर भी विचार करें। यह बीच का एक बड़ा प्रदेश है, कृषि प्रधान देश है लेकिन कृषि प्रधान देश होते हुए

भी वह कृषि के क्षेत्र में बहुत ज्यादा पीछे है। हमारे यहां इरिगेशन फैसिलिटीज बहुत कम हैं—केवल ७.३ हैं इसलिये उत्पादन भी बहुत कम होता है। वहां पर खेती मानसून पर ही निर्भर करती है। सिंचाई के साधन नहीं हैं। जहां हम को डिसपैरिटी को हटाना है आर्थिक असमानता को दूर करना है और विकास करना है, वहां हम को मध्य प्रदेश जैसे राज्य की ओर भी विशेष ध्यान देना होगा। वहां काफी आदिवासी और हरिजन लोग रहते हैं। काफी फारेस्ट हैं सड़क आदि के साधन नहीं हैं। बल्कि मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि वहां ऐसे क्षेत्र हैं जहां हम पहुंच नहीं सकते हैं, जहां रेल का जाना तो दूर गोटार गाड़ियां बगैरह भी नहीं जा सकती हैं। वहां पर सड़कें नहीं हैं। इस तरह के वहां कई बड़े बड़े हिस्से हैं। उनके विकास की अगर उचित व्यवस्था नहीं की गई तो दूसरे प्रदेश बहुत आगे बढ़ जायेंगे, दूसरे राज्य बहुत आगे बढ़ जायेंगे और हमारा बहुत बड़ा प्रदेश जो अभी भी पीछे है वह और भी पीछे रह जाएगा। इस वास्ते उसकी ओर विशेष ध्यान आपका जाना चाहिये।

हमें देश की आर्थिक स्थिति को सुधारना है, असमानता को दूर करना है। यहां पर ऐतराज किया गया है कि थोड़े से विजिनेस हाउसिस जो हैं वे बड़े मालदार होते जा रहे हैं। जब कि हमने मिक्सड इकोनोमी को स्वीकार किया है तो हम को एक दम उनको समाप्त नहीं करना है। हमने सिद्धान्त मंजूर किया है कि प्राइवेट और पब्लिक और कोओप्रेटिव सैक्टर, इन तीनों को साथ साथ ले कर हम चलना चाहते हैं। इन तीनों के सहारे हम देश का विकास करना चाहते हैं। अगर उनकी अभी कमरतोड़ दी जाए तो मैं समझता हूं कि जो हमारी आशाएँ हैं, वे पूरा नहीं हो सकती। हम चाहते हैं कि प्राइवेट सैक्टर भी देश को इंडस्ट्रियलाइज करने में अपना योगदान करे। लेकिन जहां उसका विकास हो उससे देश का किसी सूरत में अहित नहीं होना चाहिये। टैक्सों के द्वारा ज्यादा से ज्यादा उनसे वसूल किया जाना चाहिये लेकिन

ऐसी कोई बात नहीं की जानी चाहिये जिससे इनिशियेटिव और कैपिटल फार्मेशन में बाधा उत्पन्न हो। ऐसा कोई कदम उठाना देश के लिए बहुत ही घातक होगा।

अब जो और कुछ आवश्यक बातें हैं, उनकी ओर मैं आपका ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ। लोग अच्छा जीवन, स्वस्थ जीवन बिता सकें, इसके लिए कुछ बातें प्लान में निर्धारित की गई हैं। उन कुछ बातों में से एक बात यह है कि पीने का पानी लोगों को सुलभ हो। आज कई गांव ऐसे हैं जहां पर कि पीने के पानी के साधन बिल्कुल नहीं हैं। इस के लिये बहुत थोड़ा रुपया रक्खा गया है। इस तृतीय पंच वर्षीय योजना में यह जरूर वादा किया गया है कि हम पानी पीने के साधन हर एक गांव में बढ़ायेंगे। लेकिन मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे मध्य प्रदेश में कई ऐसे गांव हैं जहां मीलों तक पानी नहीं मिलता है, वहां कुएँ नहीं हैं और इस से लोगों को बड़ी तकलीफ होती है। अगर सब गांवों में नहीं तो कम से कम ७५ फी सदी गांवों में पानी मुहैया करना चाहिये और इस के लिये काफी खर्च की व्यवस्था करनी होगी।

इंडस्ट्रीज के सम्बन्ध में मुझे थोड़ा सा निवेदन करना है। इंडस्ट्रीज के मामले में मध्य प्रदेश बहुत पीछे हैं। यह जरूर है कि हेवी एलेक्ट्रिकल्स और स्टील प्लान्ट यह दो बड़ी इंडस्ट्रीज हमारे यहां कायम की गई हैं, लेकिन इन से जनसाधारण को कोई लाभ नहीं मिल सकता है जब तक कि स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज और मीडियम साइज इंडस्ट्रीज का फैलाव नहीं होगा। हम देखते हैं कि हमारे यहां शिकायत है नान फेरस मेटल वगैरह का जो कोटा होना चाहिये मध्य प्रदेश के लिये वह मध्य प्रदेश को नहीं मिलता है। नई इंडस्ट्रीज के लाइसेन्स के लिये जो ऐप्लिकेशन्स दी जाती हैं उन में काफी टाइम लग जाता है। उन के लिये जितनी इजाजत मिलनी चाहिये वह नहीं है। इस मामले में मध्य प्रदेश काफी पिछड़ा हुआ है और इस बात की उस को खास तौर से शिकायत है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस ओर

हमारे माननीय मंत्रियों को और शासन को देना चाहिये।

मुझे प्रसन्नता है कि कल हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने राज्य सभा में यह घोषणा की कि कीमतों को बढ़ने से रोकने के लिये एक ही तरीका है कि कंज्यूमर्स को आपरेंटिज ज्यादा से ज्यादा बनें। यह एक स्वागत योग्य बात है। लेकिन साथ ही हम कुछ वस्तुयें बाहर से मंगाते हैं। देखना यह होगा कि जो वस्तुयें बाहर से मंगाते हैं और जिन के लिये हम फोरन एक्स्चेंज की व्यवस्था करते हैं, उन के लिये जो कीमत हम अदा करते हैं और जो मूल्य कंज्यूमर्स से लिये जाते हैं उन में बड़ा अन्तर है। जैसे स्टेनलेस स्टील को ले लीजिये या किसी और चीज को ले लीजिये, जो भी चीज बाहर से मंगाई जाती है वह कंज्यूमर्स को बहुत महंगी मिलती है। जिस इंडस्ट्री को आप लोन देते हैं उत्पादन के लिये उन से ऐसा ऐग्रीमेंट होना चाहिये, जिन को इम्पोर्ट लाइसेन्स देते हैं उन से ऐग्रीमेंट होना चाहिये कि वह निश्चित मुनाफे के अलावा और मुनाफा नहीं लेंगे। यह व्यवस्था की गई तो मुझे विश्वास है कि कीमतें ज्यादा नहीं बढ़ेंगी।

श्री गु० सि० मुसाफिर (अमृतसर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, बजट के मुताल्लिक मेरे जो विचार थे, इस हाउसके अन्दर कुछ स्पीचेज सुन कर, उनमें थोड़ी सी तबदीली आ गई है। हमारे अपने साइड के एक मेम्बर साहब ने कहा है कि इस बजट को कोई कुछ कहता है कोई कुछ कहता है और कोई कुछ कहता है। इससे मैं सहमत हूँ कि विशाल भारत का यह बजट एक विशाल समुद्र है। किसी शायर ने किसी और मौके के लिये कहा होगा लेकिन यह शेर इस जगह मौजू आता है :

‘एक आंख से क्या बुलबुला कुल बहर को देखें,
‘साहिल को, मझधार को या लहर को देखें।’
एक मेम्बर ने यहां तक कह दिया कि कोई तरक्की किसी पहलू में हुई ही नहीं। इत्फाक से मेरे पास कुछ फिगर्स हैं पंजाब के बारे में कि हर शोबे में, हर तरफ तरक्की हुई है। जहां नहीं हुई वह भी मैं बतलाऊंगा। पंजाब में

[श्री गु० सि० मुसाफिर]

३हजार किलोवाट से $4\frac{1}{4}$ लाख किलो-वाट बिजली हो गई है और २५ हजार किलो-वाट और पैदा करने का इन्तजाम है। पहले सिर्फ ५० गांवों में बिजली थी अब ३१०० गांवों में बिजली है और $4\frac{1}{4}$ हजार गांवों में और बिजली का इन्तजाम इस फाइव इअर प्लैन में किया गया है। प्रोडक्शन के बारे में यह है कि जहां ३२ लाख टन अनाज पैदा होता था पंजाब में, और पंजाब अनाज के सिलसिले में एक घाटे का सूबा था, वहां $6\frac{1}{4}$ लाख टन अनाज पैदा हुआ है और यह फख्र की बात है कि १२ या १३ लाख टन अनाज दूसरे सूबों में भेजा जाता है। एक बाव की तरक्की यह भी हुई है कि लोगों में कांफिडेंस पैदा हुआ है। अगर गवर्नमेंट ने इतना कांफिडेंस पैदा न किया होता तो इतनी तरक्की नहीं होती। जहां तक मुझे बांडर के जिले अमृतसर का पता है जो कि मेरी कांस्टिट्यूएन्सी भी है, एक वक्त ऐसा था कि लोगों में जरा भी इत्मीनान नहीं था। लेकिन हमारे जो किसान हैं वह अब बांडर के सिरे तक अपने कर्धों पर बन्दूक रखते हैं और हल जोतते हैं। यानी पाकिस्तान वालों की जमीन की हद्द उसके साथ मिलती है। हमारे किसान तो हद्द पर जाकर काशत करते हैं लेकिन दूसरी तरफ के लोग वहां पर कोई काशत करते हैं इसका पता भी नहीं लगता है। उन्होंने दूर तक जमीन को खाली छोड़ा हुआ है। यह तो कांफिडेंस की बात है।

हमारे काश्मीर साइड के भाई ने कहा कि हमारा इलाका पसमांदा है। अमृतसर वैसे तो काश्मीर के साथ लगता है, लेकिन उसे पसमांदा नहीं कहा जा सकता। मगर मुझे यह डर जरूर है कि कहीं वह पसमांदा हो न जाय।

कुछ माननीय सवस्य : पसमांदा के क्या माने हैं ?

श्री गु० सि० मुसाफिर : इस के माने हैं बैकवर्ड इलाका, पिछड़ा हुआ इलाका।

इस सिलसिले में मैं एक दो बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। मुझे डर है कि जो हमारा बना बनाया खल है पंजाब का कहीं बिगड़ न जाय। पंजाब के लोग किसान हैं, तब भी अगर कोई इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स हैं वे ऐसे ढंग से काम चलाते हैं जिसका ठिकाना नहीं है। वहां पर कोई बड़े जमीदार नहीं हैं। वहां न बड़े बड़े लैण्डलार्ड हैं और न पंजाब में कोई बड़ीहेवी इण्डस्ट्री है। वहां इण्डस्ट्रीज हैं तो काटेज इण्डस्ट्री हैं और अगर वहां किसान है तो मालिक किसान है जिसके पास थोड़ी सी जमीन होती है और वह खुद ही उस पर काशत करता है, मिट्टी के साथ मिट्टी होता है। तब ही उस ने कुछ नामाफिक हालात में भी प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाया है। मेरा मकसद यह है कि अमृतसर मेरी कांस्टिट्यूएन्सी है मुझे वहां का इल्म है। वहां ज्यादातर काटेज इण्डस्ट्रीज हैं। हमारे पंजाब में जिनकी बुलन स्माल स्केल इण्डस्ट्रीज हैं उन में से ६० फी सदी अमृतसर में है। कुल हिन्दुस्तान में कोई २६६८ यानी २७०० के करीब गर्म कपड़े के लूमस हैं, उन में से ६०० स्माल स्केल इण्डस्ट्री में हैं और बाकी के १७६८ यानी १८०० के करीब बड़े यूनिट्स हैं। इन ६०० लूमस के २५० कारखाने ऐसे हैं जिन में चार-चार लूमस हैं और २०० के करीब कारखाने ऐसे हैं जिनमें एक-एक लूमस हैं और। इन ४ लूमस पर भी और १ लूम पर भी पहले कोई एक्साइज ड्यूटी नहीं थी। उसके बाद ही कम्पाउण्डेंट लेवी के लिहाज से ३ या ४ परसेंट की एक्साइज ड्यूटी लग गई। उसका यह नतीजा निकला जैसा कि पिछले बजट के वक्त पर भी मैंने फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब की तवज्जह दिलाई थी और उन्होंने बड़ी मेहरबानी भी की, मगर कि ३ या ४ परसेण्ट की लेवी से भी, करीब आधे कारखाने अमृतसर में बन्द हो गये थे। अब वह ३ या ४ परसेण्ट से बढ़ कर १० परसेण्ट हो गई है। मेरा मतलब यह है कि जो बड़े कारखाने हैं उन के ऊपर तो वह ११ $\frac{1}{4}$ परसेण्ट से १० परसेण्ट आ गई है लेकिन

फ्लैट एक्साइज ड्यूटी करने से ३ या ४ परसेन्ट वालों की बढ़ कर १० परसेन्ट हो गई। यहां तक कि जो एक-एक लूम वाले हैं वह भी एक्साइज ड्यूटी की जद से नहीं बच सके। तो अमली तौर पर इस वक्त जो स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्री के कारखाने हैं वह बन्द पड़े हैं। श्री मनुभाई शाह ने कहा था पालियामेंट में श्रीर में उनसे इतिफाक करता हूँ कि जो लोग स्ट्राइक की घमकी देते हैं उससे कोई फायदा नहीं हो सकता। आज हमको प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाने की जरूरत है और हमको एक दिन के लिए भी काम नहीं रोकना चाहिए। इससे कोई फायदा नहीं हो सकता इस बात का मुझे इतिफाक है। मगर मेरा कहना है कि उनकी मजबूरी पर भी ध्यान देना चाहिए। श्री मुरारजी भाई ने एक तकरीर में कहा था कि जो युनिट चार चार की थी उन्होंने भी एक्साइज ड्यूटी से बचने लिए अपनी युनिट की छोटा करके एक्साइज ड्यूटी से बचने के लिए अपनी युनिट को कम करने की कोशिश की है। तो इसमें यह समझ लेना चाहिए कि वह चार की युनिट से भी अपना काम नहीं चला सकते इसीलिए वे मजदूर हुये हैं कि अपनी युनिट को छोटा करके एक्साइज ड्यूटी से बचें। मगर इनमें से सौ सवासी के करीब एक एक लूम के कारखाने हैं, उनका परमिट ही एक एक का है। जिस रोज से यहां बजट पेश हुआ है उनका माल जो फिनिशिंग के लिए गया हुआ था वह भी पड़ा है, वापस नहीं मिल रहा है। इसलिए अमली तौर पर जो छोटे कारखाने वाले हैं उनके लिए बड़ी मुसीबत है। बड़े कारखानों में और छोटे कारखानों में एक्साइज ड्यूटी के फर्क को कायम रखना चाहिए। लेकिन एक्साइज ड्यूटी के सिलसिले में उनका फर्क नहीं रह गया जैसा कि दूसरी जगह रखा गया है। मसलन आइल मिल, जो बड़े बड़े एक्सपैलर हैं, उन पर ड्यूटी है मगर जो स्माल स्केल के कोल्हू और छोटे एक्सपैलर हैं उन पर कोई एक्साइज ड्यूटी नहीं है। और अगर है तो बहुत कम है। इसलिए वह बड़ी मिलों का

मुकाबला कर सकते हैं। वहां उस फर्क को कायम रखा गया है लेकिन खास करके गम कपड़े के स्माल स्केल के कारखानों में उस फर्क को नहीं रखा गया है। इसलिए यह चीज ज्यादा नुकसान देह हो रही है।

दूसरी बात जो मुझ कहनी है वह धाग के सिलसिले में है। श्री मनुभाई शाह ने इस बात को बड़े ध्यान से सुना है और मुझे उम्मीद है कि वह इसका कुछ इलाज करेंगे। मगर यह बात स्पष्ट है कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान में २५-३० वे करीब मानापालिस्ट हैं जो स्पिनिंग करते हैं। नौ करोड़ का लाइसेंस सरकार उन्हें देती है। जो यान उनके घर में ८ रुपये पाउंड पड़ता है उसको वह १६ रुपये पाउंड बचते हैं। तो सीधी बात है कि इतने बड़े कारखानों से १६ रुपये पाउंड लेकर छोटे लोग कैसे काम कर सकते हैं।

पिछले साल फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने बड़ी मेहरबानी से एक लाख ७० हजार पाउंड यान सस्ते भाव पर यानी ११-१२ रुपये पाउंड पर देने की वान कही थी। १० हजार पाउंड को उनको पहले भी मिलना था। लेकिन आज मुझे इस हाउस में यह कहना पड़ता है कि उनको अभी तक सिर्फ परमिट ही मिला है लेकिन यान का एक धागा तक नहीं मिला। इसलिए वे लोग अपने कारखाने बन्द करने के लिए मजबूर हैं और १५ हजार आदमी बेकार पड़े हैं और एक करोड़ की मगिनरी आइडिल पड़ी है। तो मेरा कहना है कि इसकी तरफ जरूर ध्यान देना चाहिए।

टेरिफ कमीशन के मामले में मन्त्रालय का आग्रह डेढ़ साल हो गया। जब में टेरिफ कमीशन बैठी है उस वक्त में उनको ११-१२ रुपये पाउंड में कहीं से कुछ धागा मिल जाना था वह भी मिलना बन्द हो गया।

[श्री गु० सि० मुसाफिर]

इसी तरह से हमारे लुधियाने में साइकिल इंडस्ट्री है। वह स्टील ट्यूब और स्टील पाइप से फ्रेम बनाती है। लुधियाने की साइकिल पार्ट्स की इंडस्ट्री बड़ी मशहूर है। उन पर भी जो ड्यूटी लग गई है उससे उनको बड़ी मुश्किल हो गयी है। उनकी तरफ से बहुत से डेपुटेशन और मेमोरेंडम आए हैं। इस वजह से मैं समझता हूँ कि थोड़ा सा ध्यान पंजाब की तरफ देना चाहिए क्योंकि जैसा कि मैंने पहले अर्ज किया था, गोकि पंजाब में तरक्की हो रही है और सरकार हिन्द ने काफी मदद की है, लेकिन जो यह काम करते हैं उनको बड़ी मुश्किल पैदा हो गई है।

मैं अब शेडी यार्न के सम्बन्ध में कुछ अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ जिनका कुछ थोड़ा सा इशारा रॉडित अमर नाथ जी ने अपनी तकरीर में किया था। सरकार हिन्द ने २५ लाख रुपया पंजाब गवर्नमेंट को दिया था शेडी यार्न हैंडलूम की तरक्की के लिए। और जो बहुत से शरणार्थी लोग आए थे अमृतसर में उनको ट्रेनिंग दी गई इस काम के लिये और उन्होंने इस काम को खड़ा किया और बड़ी मेहनत से काम लिया। और मैं यह भी बता दूँ कि शेडी यार्न के हैंडलूमस का भी ज्यादातर काम, यानी ९० परसेंट के करीब अमृतसर में होता है। इसके बारे में एक स्टेज पर जाकर जो ड्यूटी लगा दी गई है उसकी वजह से उसकी कोई चार गुनी कीमत बढ़ जाती है। यही हालत काश्मीर की है जहाँ सारा काम काटेज इंडस्ट्री में होता है। वहाँ वह रफल पर काम करते हैं...

अध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्य मेरी तरफ देखते तो नहीं मगर कान भी नहीं देते कि घंटी तीन बार बज चुकी है।

श्री गु० सि० मुसाफिर : माफ करना सचमुच में मैंने सुना नहीं। बस एक मिनट में मैं अपनी तकरीर खत्म करना चाहता हूँ।

पंजाब में पहले ही काफी तकलीफें हैं। पहले वहाँ हिन्दी मूवमेंट चलता रहा, फिर उसके बाद अकाली आन्दोलन चलता रहा। मैं यह बात फर्रुख के साथ कहता हूँ कि हमारी तरक्की हुई है। मैं उन मेम्बर साहिबान से इतिफाक नहीं करता जो कहते हैं कि हमारी तरक्की नहीं हुई। लेकिन उनकी एक बात से मैं इतिफाक करता हूँ कि हमारी एक जगह तरक्की-ए-माकूस हुई है, हमारे यहाँ प्राविशियल-लिज्म बढ़ गया है, कम्युनलिज्म बढ़ गया है और कास्टीज्म बढ़ गया है। यह हर तरफ बढ़ा है।

मरीजे इस्क पर रहमत खुदा की, मर्ज बढ़ता गया ज्यों ज्यों दवा की। यह तो चीज तो हर तरफ बढ़ी है। पंजाब में हालत खराब रहे और पंजाब सरकार को काफी कशमकश में मूब्तला होना पड़ा। यह तहरीक इतनी बढ़ी कि ३० लाख रुपया तो आन्दोलन करने वालों को जेल में रोटियां खिलाने पर खर्च हो गया। लेकिन फिर भी आसाम जैसा प्राविशियल-लिज्म वहाँ नहीं हुआ और जबलपुर जैसा कम्युनलिज्म वहाँ नहीं हुआ। फिर भी पंजाब में शान्ति रही है। तो अब लोगों को बेकार करके वहाँ अशान्ति न पैदा की जाए यही मेरी तजवीज है।

Shri Morarji Desai: Mr. Speaker, Sir, you had very kindly suggested when the debate on the budget started that it would be more useful if the budget proposals are considered more than other subjects. But, as is the convention in this House and as is the privilege of hon. Members according to that convention, the debate has gone very far and wide.

16 hrs.

Mr. Speaker: He has excused me. He could say that it was due to negligence on the part of the Presiding Officer.

Shri Morarji Desai: Far be it from me to say that. On the contrary, Sir,.....

Shri Hanumanthaiya: Sir, I rise to a point of order.

Mr. Speaker: That he was not given a chance to speak?

Shri Hanumanthaiya: Sir, in today's papers we read that the hon. Finance Minister had made a reply in the Rajya Sabha. So far as this House is concerned, since it has complete control over monetary measures, it was but right that the hon. Minister should have made the reply first in this House and subsequently in Rajya Sabha. Sir, I have not been in this House for some time.

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): You are right.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: But I would draw your attention and the attention of the House to consider whether the procedure adopted by the hon. Finance Minister is in consonance with the traditions and the powers and responsibilities of this House.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member himself realises that he has been absent for some time from this House and, therefore, he probably does not know that that question had been raised and decided that there is nothing improper in that.

Shri Morarji Desai: May I say, Sir, that it is not my fault at all.

An Hon. Member: It is the fault of the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs.

Shri Morarji Desai: I am to speak when I am directed, and I have absolutely no hand in the arrangement of the debates in the two Houses.

Mr. Speaker: There is one thing. That happened before also, but it

does not apply to the present case. If the hon. Minister has to make certain concessions and give certain other things making a change in the speech that he has made or the text that he has proposed, those rather require that they should be done here and not there.

Shri Tyagi: Otherwise, also, Sir, it is a good convention that he should reply to the debate first in this House.

Mr. Speaker: To safeguard the rights of the directly elected representatives very zealously, that is what we desire. But sometimes when the programme is to be arranged it is not possible. Because we wanted a longer time for the debate, he was asked to reply there yesterday. Normally it should be arranged in such a manner that this objection may also not be raised, though there is nothing legally objectionable to that.

Shri Morarji Desai: May I assure you, Sir, that there will be no default on my part as regards the suggestion or the order that you have made. I have not defaulted in the past, I have not defaulted this year and I will not default in future either. No concessions have been made there and I do not propose to announce any concessions now.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Jammu and Kashmir): Is that even after having heard Shri G. S. Musafir?

Shri Morarji Desai: May I say in this connection that several specific items of taxation have invited criticism from various quarters not only from hon. Members in the two Houses but also from outside. These are all matters which require very careful consideration. I am considering all these matters and when I come to a final conclusion I shall, Sir, take the opportunity on the Finance Bill to say what I have to say in the matter and the final decision that Government will take.

Mr. Speaker: That is exactly what I expected.

Shri Morarji Desai: And that is what I propose to do. Therefore, let there be no expectations today.

May I say, Sir, that as the discussion has been ranging on very many diverse subjects it is not possible for me to cover them all in what I have to say with respect to the criticism made, and I shall therefore confine myself to what has been said about the policies and programmes of the Government and its failures and shortcomings. I have no doubt that when the Demands of the various Ministries are discussed in the days to come, all those matters which have been raised will also receive careful attention from all those concerned. I may also say that I have noted carefully whatever has been said and I will continue to consider all those matters, will profit by the criticism and the suggestions and will take all the help that I can from all those criticisms. I am, therefore, very thankful to all the hon. Members who took part in this debate and made criticisms or made appreciative remarks. Even then I am very grateful to them because one has got to learn about oneself from others rather than from oneself, and it is on account of that attitude to life that I have no quarrel with all those who have made even wild criticisms because even in the wild criticisms there may be something which might help me to avoid saying or doing those things and which might also help me to improve myself by something which might have some basis. Therefore, I would only assure my hon. friends that I have not in any measure neglected any point that has been raised during the debate which, I must say, has been very useful and interesting.

But one thing has struck me on the whole, that the budget this year has been welcomed more than criticised, and it has also been practically agreed that the taxation which has been

levied and the amount of it are appropriate and are justified by the circumstances obtaining in this country.

Sir, before I come to the criticism of the policies and speak about it, I would like to refer to one basic factor which is responsible for some of the criticism that is offered against me, probably, personally. It has been generally whispered round and even said by some people here that I do not believe in the socialist policy of the Congress. I wish those people had the courage to say that openly. They make insinuations. But I take note even of the insinuations. I seldom speak about what I believe, because I believe in leading a life according to the ideals which I have without parading them, because if one tries to parade what one believes then the action becomes less meaningful and parading becomes more. It is, therefore, that I do not speak about it. But I find from what my hon. communist friends generally say that it has also an effect in some quarters outside though they may be fellow wanderers or fellow travellers. There are three categories. There are party members, then there are the fellow travellers and there are the "fellow wanderers" may not be fellow wanderers. Perhaps the term known to many people.

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Calcutta South) West): They are discontented Congressmen.

Shri Morarji Desai: No, I will just give you my version, if only you have some patience. Fellow travellers are well known though they are not members of the party, they are otherwise, communists but they have no courage to call themselves communists. But the fellow wanderers are very good people, idealistic in many ways who try to see good in everything. But they do not understand the

subtleties of evil ways and they get caught up by good professions. And they are the people who are utilized most by the Communist friends. And the fellow wanderers never realise that they are so utilised. We have got such people among all parties, including my own.

Shri Priya Gupta (Katihar): As we saw in the Bombay elections.

Shri Morarji Desai: It happens everywhere, not only in Bombay.

Mr. Speaker: It should not happen here

Shri Morarji Desai: The budget which I had the honour to present is a budget which does not belong to me personally; it is the budget of the Government of India, a budget framed by the Government, which is carried on by the representatives of the Congress, as they have been returned in a very large majority in the country. And the Congress has laid down its policies not only this year but for the last few years. As a matter of fact, the socialist policy that has been laid down by the Congress and accepted by the House dates back from the Karachi Congress in 1931. It is not a new policy. But before we were independent, it was not necessary to speak at length or specifically about what we wanted to do, because there was no occasion to do it and one did not know when one would be able to do it. It is only after we became the masters of our own house that it became necessary to specify what we had to say. The Congress took some time to do that because it wanted to be explicit and because it never wanted to go back on whatever it has said. It has been the peculiarity of the Congress that whatever it professes, it carries out; it speaks less but it does more, whatever my Communist friends might say or whatever the critics of the Congress may say. Individuals may falter, individuals may fail but the Congress as a whole has never belied its words and has never gone back on any programme that it has made. The

programme may be delayed on account of factors which may not be in its hands, but the programme has never been departed from. And if there has been any case in which it becomes necessary to depart from it, the Congress comes out in the open and says that it is necessary to change this because we have changed our view. The Congress is not ashamed to do so, because the Congress is not a body which believes in doing anything underground; it believes in doing everything which is above ground; not in the air either, nor under ground. It believes, in doing things in a straight manner and not in a subtle manner. It believes in doing things in a truthful manner, in a peaceful manner, in a correct manner and in a moral way. That is what the Congress believes in. That is the reason why my loyalty and attachment has been to the Congress. Personally, in my belief I go even a bit further than that; I believe in the sarvodaya ideal of Mahatma Gandhi. I do not believe in concentration of wealth. I believe that all people must be free from want because I believe everybody must be free from fear. And nobody can be free from fear unless he is completely free economically, socially and politically. That is the reason why the Congress has adopted this ideal of socialism. The Congress would also want to have sarvodaya, if it can, but the sarvodaya is not an ideal which can be achieved so quickly and so easily. It is not an ideal which can be obtained or achieved by violence. It is an ideal which can be achieved only by truthful and peaceful means. Therefore, it is an evolutionary process and not a violent revolutionary process. Therefore, to my mind, the socialism which the Congress has adopted is the first step to sarvodaya. That is how I look at it and that is how we work for it. But I must make it very clear that the socialism of the Congress is not the socialism of the Communist Party.

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Calcutta South West): We know that.

Shri Morarji Desai: I am glad that you know that. If they know it, it is all to the good. But let me assure my hon. friends opposite that I have no quarrel even with their socialism provided they shed all violence and hatred. It is because their beliefs and ideals cannot be separated from hatred and violence that I cannot approve of what they do. Therefore, I do not only not approve but I resist what they try to do, and it is that quarrel that they have with me. And if they have a quarrel with me, they are entitled to have it. Just as I want to resist them, they have every right to resist me. I have no quarrel with that.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Barrackpore): People will resist it.

Shri Morarji Desai: But they are not the people who come out in the open. They take shelter in subtle methods, behind the door methods, underground methods, calumniating and maligning me and spreading stories wherever they can. That is what they do. It is their method and that is exactly what I do not like; otherwise, I have no other quarrel with them. Therefore, when whispering campaigns are carried on and allegations are made that this budget or any other budget is not socialist, one must know what it means. Therefore, I am not going to speak about this any time again, but I want to speak this time, more particularly, because this is a budget which ought to be accepted by everybody. If he has reason and if he has any regard for truth, he must accept it that it is a step in the right direction. Right direction here means taking resources in such manner that we take the least from those who can afford the least and taking more from those who can afford to give the most.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Platitudes.

Shri Morarji Desai: Platitudes are given only to my hon. friend be-

cause there can be no greater platitude than the Marxist writers and their actual action. The Marxist writers have always attacked indirect taxes, just as my hon. friends here always do. They have always done so. But what does Soviet Russia do? They go on taking more and more by indirect taxation.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: They have given free education and free medical aid.

Shri Morarji Desai: No, not from the very beginning. It is only from now. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Let us hear him.

Shri Morarji Desai: I should like to give some facts in this connection. I am not annoyed when they speak against me. So, why do they not have the patience to hear me? But they do not want to be educated because they fear that when they hear the truth they will have to give up their ways, and they do not want to give up their ways. It is their fault. Well, I have no quarrel even about that.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: That is why people from your party join other parties.

Shri Morarji Desai: If my people go over to them, it is a good thing for my party. My party is rid of them. And if they come over to us, they will be properly disinfected and there will be no difficulty about them. I do not think they are going to give any trouble to us, because the Congress has sufficient vitality. Whatever people might say of this talk of infiltration and all that, it does not worry me at all. The Congress has such vitality that it will not be deflected from its course by any extreme people of one side or the other. It is going to follow its course, and follow it with determination. It will not rest until it rids this country of all fear. That is what it is going to do.

I have here with me some figures which are very revealing. Whatever series of years or items of taxes you take, the level of taxes in USSR is extraordinarily high and the tax burden is steadily rising from 1926 to 1936 and these are the years which ought to be compared with our present years. During this period of over ten years roughly speaking every householder paid back to the State 60 per cent of his total money income in the form of taxes. The burden declined during the relatively good years, but, then, it again went up and the burden was estimated in 1948 to have been almost 60 per cent. Then again it began to decline, and it came down to 57 in 1953. This is what could be imagined. I had myself, when I had gone there, estimated that it was about 45 per cent. But I find from this study that it is much more than that. This will show what a distance there is between the profession and practice of my hon. friends.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: What book is that?

Shri Morarji Desai: This book is *Soviet Taxation* by Hallsman. It is a study published by the Harvard University Press.

Some Hon. Members: Oh!

Shri Morarji Desai: This is from the study which is there, whatever it may be. They can refute it by facts and figures. Then there is no difficulty about it. But this is what I have myself seen in my visit there, and yet my hon. friends.....

Shri Dinen Bhattacharya (Serampore): But along with that statement the Minister must also state how many persons were at that time in the U.S.S.R. unemployed or uneducated.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. That also we will hear soon.

Shri Morarji Desai: My hon. friend should also know that he is asking me this question after forty-four years of working like this, under a totalitarian method, and even then there are people there whose living conditions are no better than the living conditions of many people here. It is no use saying what my hon. friends say. But let the conditions of this country be compared after forty years of development; they are bound to be better than those in Soviet Russia. What is the use of comparing in a wrong way, and comparing wrong factors and wrong circumstances? (*Interruption*). I was not, therefore, surprised when my hon. friend Shri A. K. Gopalan opened the debate with a wholesale condemnation of the policies followed by this Government and also with his reference to me. But I must confess, Sir, that I was surprised at the courage of my friend Shri A. K. Gopalan when he claimed on behalf of the whole nation and declared that nobody in this country ever believes that the Congress, constituted as it is today, can bring about socialism. And yet what is the result of the last election? The common man has accepted the Congress and rejected the Communist Party.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Shri Morarji Desai: Saying 'no, no' does not alter the facts. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. These shouts of 'no' and 'yes' would not change the circumstances.

Shri Morarji Desai: If that has not been so, my hon. friends would not have been there, and I would not have been here. But even this is sought to be deflected by saying sometimes that the Congress did not get a majority of votes. In the State from which I come, in that part of the country from which I come, the Congress got 52 per cent of the total votes polled in the Legislative Assemblies.....

An Hon. Member: What about the whole country?

Shri Morarji Desai: And in Parliament we got 51 per cent of the votes polled. Let them not therefore say that we do not represent the majority. And I was also opposed by a member of the Communist Party—he is not a member, he has been removed from it for some faults, but he was supported by the Communists.

An Hon. Member: What about Kerala?

Shri Morarji Desai: And I got nearly 100,000 votes more than him. That was the difference between him and me. Therefore, these hon. Members speak of the nation, but in their case there is no limit beyond which impudence cannot go.

The further surprising thing was that he went on supporting his wholesale condemnation of the Government by statistics. Well, Sir, I would like to examine these statistics. Of course, after he spoke, Shri S. S. Morarji turned statistics to lip-sticks. But, Sir, Shri A. K. Gopalan statistics are not only a means of concealing what is there but also of insinuating that which is not. That is how he uses them.

Before I come to his particular brand of statistics I would say categorically that the Government to which I belong and the party it represents have no reason to feel ashamed of their record before the people. We have sufficient faith in the people and in ourselves to acknowledge our mistakes, to acknowledge our shortcomings and to acknowledge the fact that, despite the achievement of the past ten or twelve years, we have a long way to go before achieving our cherished goals—goals of raising the levels of living of our toiling masses, of equality of opportunity, of narrowing the gulf between man and man, of reducing the concentration of wealth and economic power, of increasing the range and scope of State activity in the economic sphere without curbing the

initiative and enterprise of the people—the goal, in short, of a socialist pattern of society. But if we are impatient with our own pace of progress and are anxious to take a correct measure of the task that lies ahead, let no one mistake this impatience or anxiety with lack of real and substantial achievement or with lack of determination to tackle the problems that still remain.

I have said this because my hon. friends are utilising the statistics that we have given ourselves. It is not that the statistics are prepared by them. That shows the honesty with which this Government works. We are told that the national income in real terms has increased by only 42 per cent over the first two Plan periods and that the *per capita* income has increased at the rate of only 1.5 per cent per annum. But even this rate of growth in national well-being is not a mean achievement after decades of stagnation and subjugation; and it does not tell the full story of our progress over the past ten years. progress in changing the attitudes of the people, in imparting a new dynamism and greater diversification to the economy, in overcoming deadly diseases and prolonging the span of life of our people. No one contends that we can rest content with what we have achieved. But any one who looks around in our cities and villages, at our fairs and bazars, cannot fail to see the unmistakable signs of improvement in the levels of living of our people. If one is so inclined, one can look only at the ugliness of the poverty that still remains. And I for one would not want that we should shut our eyes to it. But we need not be imitators of Katharine Mayo and be gutter inspectors. That is all that I have to say. But the process of change has begun, and it has begun where it counts most, among the lower rungs of society.

A great deal has been said about the growth of luxuries in the country, of motor cars and the like. But the increase in the production of bicycles,

sewing machines, food, cloth and sugar which are consumed by the poor in the main has also been phenomenal, so that one has to look through very dark glasses indeed in order to conclude that the lot of the poor man has not improved. We produce today more than a million bicycles as against only 100,000 when the first Plan began. This is an increase of more than ten-fold. Over the first two Plan periods, the production of food-grains and cloth has increased by about 50 per cent. of sugar by as much as 168 per cent. Are we to understand, Sir, that these increases in the production of ordinary consumer goods have not raised the level of the common man? Yet, Shri A. K. Gopalan says that while industrial production increased by 50 per cent between 1947 and 1958, the rise in real wages during the period was only 27 per cent. I should have thought that a rise in real wages of 27 per cent in 11 years shows considerable improvement in the condition of industrial labour and that in relation to the overall increase in production in the country, it would put industrial labour in a rather privileged position.

But, apart from this, the idea that labour is being exploited if real wages do not increase as fast as output per man employed is clearly fallacious.

Shri Nambiar (Tirchirapalli): Is it 27 per cent increase in real wages of industrial labour?

Shri Morarji Desai: That is what Shri A. K. Gopalan himself said. Ask him; don't ask me.

Shri A. K. Gopalan (Kasergod): I have not only said that. I said that the money put by labour before was one rupee and now it is Rs. 2 and 39 p. Whatever the result of his labour is, he has not got much. That also was together with that.

Shri Morarji Desai: I am coming to that. Have a little patience. The growth of output per man employed

is also the result of a relatively greater use of capital in industry and of the shift in the industrial structure in favour of basic and heavy industries, which require more capital per unit of output. During the last decade, Indian industry has been greatly diversified and the amount of fixed capital invested per worker has gone up from Rs. 1758 per worker in 1950 to Rs. 3944 in 1958. When increase in output is associated with an increase in the amount of capital employed per unit of output, and a corresponding decrease in the amount of labour employed per unit of output, you cannot expect wages to increase in proportion to output. If Shri A. K. Gopalan cares to analyse the experience of the U.S.S.R., he will also find the same experience repeated in that country also, and even on a lower level in those years.

Take, again, the figures that Shri A. K. Gopalan quotes to show how profits have increased in recent years. He mentioned that the gross profits of the companies analysed by the Reserve Bank went up by 41 per cent between 1955 and 1959. He omitted to mention the fact that the net work of these companies increased by 31 per cent over the same period and their net fixed assets by as much as 71 per cent. This, he does not mention. Similarly, he argues by careful selection of industries and years that profits in many industries increased by a large percentage, by 149 per cent, for example, in tea plantations, between 1955 and 1959. Now, every one knows that profits vary from year to year. If Shri A. K. Gopalan had cared to compare 1956 with 1959, for example, which were both years of good profits for the tea industry, he would have found that the profits in 1959 were lower than in 1956. But, he does not choose that year at all.

The same familiar technique of suppressing truth and suggesting falsehood is employed in his reference to

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dividends distributed by a few companies. Apart from choosing a few out of a vast number of companies, Shri A. K. Gopalan relates the dividend merely to the paid-up capital. Here, again, it is well known that in older companies, the paid-up capital is valued at much lower initial prices and that in most companies it forms only a small part of the total capital actually employed. Profits expressed as a percentage of paid-up capital only and that too at out of date prices for capital, can hardly be taken as a true index of whether or not the profits earned are reasonable. In any event, the Reserve Bank study to which Shri A. K. Gopalan referred, shows that in the case of 1001 companies studied taken together, dividend as a percentage of the net work amounted to 5 to 6 per cent. And that, he does not quote. The general impression of fabulous profits made by industry that Shri A. K. Gopalan sought to create is thus a product only of his peculiar use of statistics.

It is not my intention to argue that all profits are always justified or that excessive profits are not being made here or there in private industry. Whenever there is a danger of excessive profits made in particular industries, we have tried to deal with the situation by price control or by excise duties to mop up the surplus profits. And in some cases, we have resorted to State trading as well. When general conditions in industry justify, we can also raise taxes on companies, as I have proposed this year, and I am glad that Shri A. K. Gopalan had at least a grudging word to say in favour of this proposal. We have these instruments at our command to ensure that excessive profits are not made, and we have not hesitated to use these instruments.

At the same time, I should make it clear that I do not consider all profits as unreasonable or unjustified. While we attach great importance to the development of the public sector, we

have assigned an important role to the private sector also in the development of the country. Without reasonable incentive of profits, as I said in my budget speech, neither the public nor the private sector can function efficiently and grow. By and large, profits in Indian industry are not large by international standards. They are much less than those obtaining in England. If we want the private sector to participate in the development of the country, we should be prepared to let private industry earn a reasonable return on capital, as long as it is earned honestly and by dint of enterprise.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: What is meant by 'reasonable'.

Shri Morarji Desai: As early as 1948, when we adopted the first Industrial Policy Resolution, we were aware of the fact that while we should let the private sector play an important part in the development of the country, such a course carried within it the danger of excessive concentration of wealth and economic power. Private enterprise cannot function without profit, and profit means concentration of wealth to some extent. It is in recognition of this fact that we embarked on the course of the State itself taking the initiative in industrial development, especially in the key sectors of the economy, and it is for the same reason that we have taken so many active steps to promote industrial growth in the small-scale and decentralised sector of the economy.

Shri Bade (Khargone): Can the hon. Minister read from a pamphlet or from his notes?

Shri Morarji Desai: I am reading with a privilege. Hon. Members many times read without privilege. I read it because I do not want what I say to be misused.

The small-scale sector has shown remarkable vitality in recent years. We are making considerable progress in the direction of public ownership

and control in key areas of industry, with our steel plants, fertiliser plants, heavy machinery plants, oil refineries and the like. I venture to think that in two or three Plan periods, when we would have a large and well-established complex of basic industries in the public sector, and a thriving sector on the decentralised sector, some of the legitimate misgivings that exist today about excessive concentration of wealth and economic power would loom less large. But in the meanwhile, little purpose would be served, and indeed much harm done, by treating private capital in general as if we are tolerating it on sufferance.

I mentioned in my budget speech that the time has come for private industry to spread the ownership of equity capital among a larger and larger number of people. All these efforts to strengthen and enlarge the public sector, to promote the growth of small units, to diversify the ownership of equity capital and to raise the general level of living for the masses and to give them more and more opportunities for economic betterment constitute our approach to a socialist pattern of society. I am well aware that the Communist Party and its spokesmen in this House have a different approach, as I said earlier. They are in favour of a total strangulation of the private sector, and ultimately, of all private initiative and enterprise.

Shri Nambiar: No, no; that is not our approach.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: That is only in regard to the strategic industries.

Shri Morarji Desai: I make no apology for saying that the concept of socialism, as I said before, that we in the Government have adopted is not that of Shri A. K. Gopalan and his friends. And as I said earlier, the country at large has given its verdict in our favour, and, therefore, at any rate, for the next four years, let my hon. friends recognise this fact . . .

An Hon. Member: For the next five years.

Shri Morarji Desai: No; in the last year, that is, the fifth year, they can again start their preparations; I have no objection to that, and I have no doubt that they will meet with the same fate.

Shri Tyagi: Or even worse.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: 51 per cent may become 49 per cent.

Shri Nambiar: 'Fate' means what?

Shri Morarji Desai: 'Fate' means defeat.

Shri Nambiar: See the number of votes; then you will see who has got the defeat, you or I.

Mr. Speaker: That might be done outside. Defeats and victories are not to be determined here.

Shri Nambiar: The Communist Party has not got defeated in the elections. We have got more votes than the Congress Party. So it is not a defeat to us.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Taking also the votes polled by the Swatantra Party, Jan Sangh and others, the defeat is yours (*Interruptions*)

An. Hon. Member: You have got more votes for less men (*Interruptions.*)

Shri Morarji Desai: Those who like to speak in terms of a Budget being socialistic or not have a simple way of identifying direct taxation with socialism and of equating indirect taxation with a negation of socialism and planning. This is a kind of criticism that we have heard often in this House. It was for that reason that I dealt with this general question of direct and indirect taxation at some length in my budget speech and even now. No amount of arguments would perhaps convince some people that indirect taxation, properly arranged, could be

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progressive. Hon. Members in the Communist Party continuously manage to overlook the fact, which has so often been pointed out in this House—which I have also pointed out just now—that it is precisely in the socialist countries such as the USSR that indirect taxes such as the turnover tax play a prominent part in the fiscal system.

During the debate itself, both my hon. friends, Shri A. C. Guha and Shri Morarka, have drawn attention to this fact. I think it is also pertinent to point out that in our country despite recent increases in indirect taxation, their production to the total national income works out to barely 6 per cent. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, turnover taxes in 1960 formed as much as 22 per cent of their estimated national income in that year. In relation to the national income, therefore, indirect taxation is four times as heavy in the Soviet Union as in India. I say this not in order to find fault with what is being done in the USSR, for they too must raise revenues, as they think fit, for their development. But I cannot help feeling that if despite all these facts which are well known hon. Members continue to insist that indirect taxation is a negation of socialism, they are indulging simply in propaganda.

It has been said—I think it was Shri A. K. Gopalan who said it—that *per capita* taxation has increased from Rs. 20.5 to Rs. 31.1 during the last decade. He has conveniently omitted reference to increase in *per capita* income during the same period, from Rs. 274 in 1951-52 to Rs. 327 in 1960-61. Undoubtedly the proportion of taxation to national income has gone up from 7.4 per cent. in 1951-52 to 9.4 per cent in 1960-61. But hon. Members are well aware that the proportion of tax revenue to national income in India is still much lower than in many countries at a comparable stage of economic development. As the Re-

port on the the Third Plan makes it clear, this proportion has to grow in the years to come if the public sector is to fulfil its growing obligations to society. A mere reference to the growth in the revenue from taxation cannot, therefore, justify the contention that the poor in the land are being impoverished further by taxation. There are always two sides to this question of taxation. If someone is taxed, he benefits also by the expenditure which is sustained by the taxation.

Another argument which is often advanced in criticism of the broad pattern of taxation in the country is that direct taxation is not as heavy as it should be. We have not hesitated to impose higher taxation of the direct variety whenever we have felt this to be justified. My proposals for this year include a significant increase in direct taxation. Without mentioning what I have actually proposed for this year, Shri A. K. Gopalan went as far back as 1957 to prove that the incidence of corporate taxation in India was lower than in many countries. If only he had cared to compare the position as it would emerge as a result of my proposals for this year, he would have noticed that the incidence of corporate taxation in India works out to 50 per cent. as levied this time, a little less than that in the United States or very nearly equal to it, and is much higher than in many countries such as the UK where it is 42.15 per cent, Canada 44 per cent. Australia, 40 per cent, West Germany 40.5 per cent. Japan 38 per cent. and Netherlands 43 per cent. But when I say this, there will be other friends who will say the Corporation Tax is very high and therefore ought to be reduced but there also there is no justification for that because the Corporations earn profits also on account of many steps and many facilities that Government has been giving them, and therefore Government is justified in raising the taxation on corporations as it has done this year.

Shri Gopalan also made the point that taxes assessed on individuals as a percentage of their assessed income have come down from 16.9 per cent in 1951-52 to 13 per cent. in 1959-60. While the hon. Member has quoted correct figures from the Income-tax return statistics, he does not seem to have drawn the right inference. The principal explanation for this decline in the over-all ratio is that the growth of assessed incomes during the period 1951-52 to 1959-60 was largely in the lower income brackets. To mention some facts, the total assessed income of individuals rose from Rs. 475 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 742 crores in 1959-60. This means an increase of Rs. 270 crores over a period of eight years. However, three-fourths of this increase was in the case of individuals with incomes below Rs. 25,000. The simple arithmetical result is that the over-all ratio of tax to assessed income shows a fall, and Shri Gopalan has taken notice of that. However, what has happened is the result of more equitable distribution among income-tax paying groups, and it is not correct to draw the sort of inference Shri Gopalan has cared to draw.

Moreover, a comparison based on incidence of income-tax alone is misleading. Since 1957-58 Wealth Tax is also being paid by rich individuals. If we take the combined burden of income-tax and Wealth Tax, we find that this burden has gone up from about 67 per cent in 1951-52 to 70 per cent. in 1959-60 in the case of individuals with assessed incomes above Rs. 1 lakh and my proposals this year would increase this proportion still further.

At this stage I should like to show some figures about individual incomes and how they have gone in the lower brackets and how in the highest bracket they have gone down. I tried to examine these figures, and therefore took out the figures in the light of the last three or four days, and I find that the number of assessees in the bracket Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 5,000 which were 151,511 in 1957-58 have increased to

272,859. That is many people have raised their incomes within this bracket from lower incomes. That is what has happened. Then, in the bracket Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 they have increased from about 177,000 to about 289,000, and they have increased in the next bracket of Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000 from 50,000 to 90,000; in the bracket Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 25,000 they have increased from 34,000 to 58,000; in the bracket Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 40,000 from 16,000 to 25,000; in the bracket Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 70,000 they have increased from 8,000 to 12,000; in the bracket Rs. 70,000 to Rs. 1 lakh they have increased from 2,100 to 2,700; and above Rs. 1 lakh they have gone down from 2,224 to 2,159. Therefore, in the brackets above Rs. 1 lakh they are going down and they have increased in the lower brackets. The increase is much more in the lower brackets because people who were getting much less income are now getting higher incomes. This process has been going on even below incomes of Rs. 3,000. That is how the conditions of the people are improving.

Of course, one cannot say that they have improved as much as we want them to improve. But, Rome was not built in a day; and socialism, at any rate, cannot be achieved in a day, nor in 5 years or 10 years. That will have to be done continuously and in such a manner that we all work together and not cut each other and not demoralise people by spreading wrong stories of poverty and penury increasing, and the rich people taking all the advantage and all that. That is only demoralising the common man, not raising him.

On a par with it is the talk about the prices going up. I was told, even now, here, by my hon. friend, Shri Banerjee that in the Parliament canteen a match box sells at 7 nP. I find that the canteen does not sell it. I find some people are sitting outside and selling it. I sent an unknown man to buy it and I bought it for 6 nP. Yet, it is said that it is selling high. This is the presumption which these

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people have, to say that the prices have increased.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: And, Shri Sharma also said that. (*Interruption*).

Shri Morarji Desai: For this I need not smoke; you smoke and be what you are. This is the match box that I have purchased. (*Interruptions*).

Shri A. K. Gopalan: Does the Finance Minister say that the prices are not going up in the country. Why is he not bold enough to say that? Let the Finance Minister say boldly that the prices have not gone up after the presentation of the Budget. Let him say that boldly. People will understand that.

Shri Morarji Desai: The monopoly of courage is not given to my hon. friend.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: You have been talking all this. I have been keeping quiet till now. Do you think I do not know what to reply to you? I can use the same words you have used.

Shri Tyagi: Address the Chair.

Shri Morarji Desai: I have not interfered with my hon. friend's speech. I have allowed him to say whatever he wanted. Let him not interfere with me. I do not understand why he is so much put out?

Shri A. K. Gopalan: Because you are not talking as I did. You are saying, 'suppressing the truth'. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. If I cannot stop the hon. Members, then, I shall have to stand.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: If anybody else had spoken like this he would have been pulled up.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: He has used the expression, 'suppressing the truth'. I was not saying like that.

Mr. Speaker: I was careful watching and taking note of what was being said. All that he said, I think, was with reference to the suggestions. He was saying that so far as the suggestions were concerned and not about the speech or the deliberations. 'Attempt at falsehood' and other things were about the suggestions that were made. (*Interruptions*). I have been generally following that; and I will again try to follow.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: He was saying, 'impudence', and all those things. He was also saying, 'suppressing the truth'. He can criticise me and I can criticise him. He can say that the figures are not correct, and not that it is suppressing the truth, as if I have given certain facts and suppressed the truth. We can also use the same language.

Mr. Speaker: So far as the figures were concerned, he said rather that the figures were correctly quoted so far as I remember.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: 'Suppression of truth' he said. I never said anything like that when he said all these things. I only asked him to say it boldly; I only said, 'Let him boldly say that the prices are not going up'. But he said that boldness is not my monopoly. I can also use the same expression.

Shri Morarji Desai: He can use stronger words.

Mr. Speaker: Now, let us settle down. The first essential of democracy is toleration and sufferance. (*Interruption*). Unless we become a little thick-skinned, it will become difficult for us to work for that. If any particular sentence or word is objected to at the very moment, certainly, I will mark it at that very moment.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: We could have used the same words against him. (*Interruptions*).

Shri A. K. Gopalan: We have been hearing everything. When I made a

mild statement and said: let him boldly say that prices had not gone up in the country, then he says that it is not my monopoly.

Mr. Speaker: There is no harm in saying this. If one Member says: let him boldly say and the other replies that it is not the monopoly of that person, there is no harm. I do not find anything objectionable. Is there anything objectionable?

Shri A. K. Gopalan: But he has also been saying that there was suppression of facts or truth and all those things... (Interruptions.)

Mr. Speaker: Let us proceed.

Shri Morarji Desai: I have no intention to raise the anger of my hon. friends but I thought that they would take it in the measure they give, which also I find they do not have the courage or strength to do. That is all that I can say... (Interruptions.)

An Hon. Member: You also used the word 'impudence'.

Shri Morarji Desai: I did use the word 'impudence'; it is not an unparliamentary word.

Shri Umanath (Pudukottai): Then we can use it also.

Shri Morarji Desai: Of course; it has to be decided in the context it is used. I have no objection to withdraw it at any time... (Interruptions.)

Shri Indrajit Gupta: Sir, please do not allow it to be withdrawn.

Shri Morarji Desai: Then you can adopt it... (Interruptions.) They have used far stronger words and I have never objected to them. I know what words they can use.

About the prices, my colleague had given figures yesterday and he explained everything yesterday. Therefore, I need not repeat it. My colleague had spoken about the criticisms

on wasteful expenditure, non-development expenditure, plan targets, public sector projects and their profits and he spoke also about the bank credit and prices. As he had given all these things, I do not want to repeat them. But if they want, I will certainly give them; after all there is nothing to be hidden about them. These prices have been taken from the markets in Delhi and they have been verified. They were taken only yesterday; they were not taken five or six days earlier. After all there are only three items on which one can say that the common man is affected; on no other items can one say that the common man has been affected.

Mr. Speaker: Yesterday the objection taken was whether the prices verified were through the sources of revenue authorities such as tehsildars or others? He has told us today that he sent a man to purchase a match box and found that the price was the same. The allegation made yesterday was that the retailer sold things at higher prices to the common man.

Shri Morarji Desai: Just half an hour ago I sent somebody outside and asked him to purchase this from a retailer selling it. Therefore, it cannot be said that it is planted here.

Shri J. B. Singh (Ghosi): Have you got a receipt also?.. (Interruptions.)

Shri Morarji Desai: You can see it here. I am not given to subterfuges. Even yesterday, I had stated this. The price of loose tea of one variety was Rs. 8.50 per kg; it has remained the same B.P. clean common tea has remained at Rs. 4.25 per kg. The price of sugar has gone up from Rs. 1.15 to Rs. 1.17 per kg. but no tax has been levied on sugar. The price of matches went up to 7 nP. per box for a few days but then it went down and it is now 6 nP. again. I cannot guarantee that in the whole country, wide country as it is, nowhere the prices have increased. But by and large I have enquired from everywhere and I find that prices have not increased

[Shri Morarji Desai]

on these items. But on other items they may have; I am not quarrelling about that. I am here mentioning about things that have some relation to the Budget.

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In regard to cigarettes, Gold Flakes have increased from Re. 0.92 to Re. 1. There is nothing wrong in it if they have increased. Scissors cigarettes have not increased at all. Char Minars have increased from Rs. 0.15 to Re-0.19.

An Hon. Member: The common man's cigarette.

Shri Morarji Desai: It will be good if the common man does not smoke Char Minar cigarettes. Then, London Navy Cut has increased from Re. 0.15 to Re. 0.19. But beedies have not increased in prices at all. They have remained at six naye paisa per ten and for 25 they have remained at 15 nP. That is for the common man. Even the Char Minar is not the common man's. That goes to my hon. friend! My hon. friend is not a common man. Therefore, there is no question of being bold or not bold in these matters. Where is the question of being bold or not bold? But even when I say that, my hon. friend gets angry. I do not see what wrong I have done when I said that it is not a monopoly. By saying "let him boldly say," did he not reflect that I find not have courage? I did not object to that. But still he objects when I say it is not a monopoly. I can only say that they are deeply touched by what I have said: the scar has been touched, because, if it is a healthy skin there will be no sensation. It is only when there is a scar and when something touches it there is immediate pain. That is what I have done. (Interruption). I am very sorry. If I had known there was a scar I would not have touched it.

Before I end, I would like to mention about the personal income since people are asking what they are taxing and what is remaining. On an income of Rs. 5,000 we levy only Rs. 42 as tax. That is, Rs. 4,958 are left to him. On an income of Rs. 10,000 we take only Rs. 490 and Rs. 9,510 are left to him. On Rs. 20,000 we take Rs. 2,328 and Rs. 17,672 are left to him. On Rs. 40,000 we take Rs. 11,000 odd and Rs. 28,000 odd are left to him. On Rs. 70,000 we take Rs. 31,000 and Rs. 38,000 odd are left to him. On Rs. 1 lakh, we take Rs. 54,332 and Rs. 45,668 are left to him. On an income of Rs. 2 lakhs, we take Rs. 1,37,707 and Rs. 62,293 are left to him. On an income of Rs. 3 lakhs we take Rs. 2,21,082 and Rs. 78,918 are left to him. On an income of Rs. 5 lakhs we take Rs. 3,87,000 and Rs. 1,13,000 are left to him. On Rs. 10 lakhs we take Rs. 8,04,000 and Rs. 1,95,000 odd are left to him. On an income of Rs. 20 lakhs we take Rs. 16,38,000 and Rs. 3,62,000 are left to him. If we take away everything nobody would want to earn Rs. 20 lakhs. That will also mean that there is something wrong.

In this very connection, an attack was made for dropping the expenditure tax. If the expenditure tax had done good and had achieved the object which we wanted to achieve, I would not have taken it off. But what have I done? I have dropped the expenditure tax which gave me, at the outside Rs. 85 lakhs at the most and for the same people I have increased the wealth tax. I have increased their income-tax slabs and I have taken Rs. 4.88 crores instead of Rs. 85 lakhs. By giving up Rs. 85 lakhs I draw from those people Rs. 4.88 crores. Is this a socialist step, or maintaining this Rs. 85 lakhs and not taking the other a socialist step? If the expenditure tax also helped me to plug loopholes I could understand it, but it has created more loopholes, because, in order to save themselves from expenditure tax many people tried to keep cash out of account.

They spend that, so that it is not to be shown in expenditure forms and it cannot be found out. That means, I also lose income-tax. What do I gain? I do not get either income-tax or wealth tax or expenditure tax. Their income also is accounted for in company expenditure. All this was a temptation and encouragement to do that by the expenditure tax. That is how it happened. Therefore, it was taken away; not that it was taken away to profit anybody.

Let me give one example. My hon. friend who is sitting behind was paying Rs. 1,50,000 as expenditure tax. What have I done? He has gained Rs. 1,50,000, but he is going to give Rs. 2,50,000.

Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj (Wardha): On a point of order, Sir. Is it proper that somebody's personal statement of income-tax should be revealed in the Parliament?

Shri Morarji Desai: My hon. friend has no objection. You need not worry about it. I am trying to explain what is happening. He will be paying again much larger income-tax. Therefore, I am taking double of what I have given up.

In this very connection, it was mentioned that even though we said we would publish lists of evaders, we have not published it. A list of the people who have been punished for evasion, as provided in the Act, was placed on the Table of the House in March. If my hon. friends do not care to see, is it my fault? The Act was passed in 1960. The first list was due in this year, and it was put up in March. The next one will be put up in next March. What more is expected of me? If they go on saying what is against even facts and then if I say, truth is suppressed, even then it is objected to. I have no remedy. I do not know how I am to express this thing. It is very difficult for me to say that what is falsehood is truth. I cannot say that. What is falsehood is falsehood. That is all I say. I have never said that my hon. friend is false,

I do not say that. What right have I to say that? can never say that. Far be it from me to say it at any time. But I would certainly say that my hon. friend has no compunction in using all these methods. It is the methods that I objected to, but then he did not object, because he is honest in that matter in any way. His definition of truth would be, truth is that which serves the purpose.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: He says, "He is honest in that respect at least". What does it mean? In other respects, he is not.

Mr. Speaker: I agree with Shri Gopalan that when it is said that he is honest in this respect at least, that has an implication that he is not honest in other respects. That should not be said.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: If it is with this arrogance that he is going to speak here, I can also say... (*Interruptions*).

Shri Raghunath Singh: Arrogance is not a good word; it is not parliamentary.

Mr. Speaker I do not think arrogance is such a word that it should be taken so seriously or objected to. Arrogance is normally used here. But impliedly also this should not be said that some hon. Member is dishonest. That should not be said.

Shri Morarji Desai: I do not want to say it at all; I say he is fully honest in that.

Mr. Speaker: His words were....

Shri Morarji Desai: I take away the words "in that respect". I do not want to say that, because that is not what I wanted to say. (*Interruptions*)

Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj: Only in that respect, it was examined and he is honest. In the other respects, it was not examined.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. That is not a matter for discussion now.

Shri Morarji Desai: Sir, I should also like to mention before I end, about the comparative rates of growth which my hon. friend referred to. He made the point that during the first and the second plan periods the rate of growth of national income was just over 3 per cent. and of *per-capita* income about 1½ per cent. This rate, he claimed, was much lower than the growth rate of several under-developed countries. There can be no two different opinions about the need to accelerate the pace of development so that the modest target of doubling *per capita* income by 1977 can be achieved. One of the principal aims of the Third Five Year Plan is to secure an increase in national income of over 5 per cent per annum and there would be general agreement with Shri Gopalan that in subsequent plans we ought to attempt even a faster rate of growth.

It is not, however, quite correct to assume, as is often done, that progress in India compares unfavourably with those in other developing countries. The rate of growth of income is one—and not always the most crucial—indicator of economic growth. International comparisons of rates of growth of national income are also beset with many technical difficulties particularly when, as in most under-developed countries, the statistics of national income suffer from varying margins of error. If one looks at certain other indicators of growth such as the growth of investment, the increasing domestic savings, the share of government expenditure which goes into fixed investment, the progress in India compares favourably with that in many other countries. For instance, between 1950-51 and 1960-61 gross capital formation (at constant prices) in the economy has more than doubled. There are few other countries which have succeeded in stepping up capital formation at

this rate. Domestic savings have also increased though not at the same rate as investment. The rate of domestic savings was around 5 per cent. at the commencement of the First Plan and was about 8½ per cent. by the end of the Second Plan. The share of fixed investment in total governmental expenditure has also up from about 31 per cent. during 1950-52 to about 54 per cent. in 1957-59; and over the first and the second Plan period gross capital formation in the public sector has increased from Rs. 267 crores to over Rs. 900 crores.

This will show, Sir, that we have not developed less favourably than other similar countries. Our record is better (*Interruption*). Of course, this is not to suggest that we can rest on our oars. What has been achieved in the last ten years is only a beginning, but we are proceeding in the right direction and the achievements during the First and the Second Plans provide the basis on which we can build up a technologically progressive society and a social order which offers equal opportunities to all citizens.

And, it is here, Sir, that I want to repeat at the end that I have no desire to wound the feelings of my hon. friends. I have never considered myself better as a man than them at any time. I have never done so. I do not consider myself a better man than any other person. But when it comes to a matter of comparison of policies and explaining them it is very difficult then to say what one feels about it in a wrong manner because then it would be giving a wrong picture. And it is there, if I have used some expressions which have hurt my hon. friends, well, it has no been my intention to do so. I know that truth hurts sometimes, but I admit that truth ought not to hurt also. Therefore, if I have erred in that and I have hurt him, I believe there is something wrong in my expression of that truth. I will take care to see that next time I express my truth I

will express in such a manner that it may be very inconvenient to him but he will not have any complaint that he is hurt.

Mr. Speaker: The general discussion on the budget is over. There is one half an hour discussion. What is the pleasure of the House? Do they want to sit for another half an hour or do they want it to be taken on some other day?

Some hon. Members: Not today.

Mr. Speaker: All right. Then I will adjourn the House.

17.16 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, May 11, 1962|Vaisakha 21, 1884 (Saka).
