

sell to the monopolists of the internal market at prices dictated to by them. In order to save the small producers from this critical situation, I request that warehousing facilities should be provided by the Tea Board under the direct control of the State Bank, who could advance a portion of the value of the tea to the producers on the surety of their stocks. I also request the Tea Board should arrange for the export of tea to the Middle East from the warehouses.

With these words, and with my request, I support the proposals of the Finance Minister.

15. 47 hrs.

RE: FAREWELL TO PRESIDENT

Mr. Speaker: Hon. Members must be aware that there is a function at 6 o' clock when an Address is going to be presented to the President on behalf of both Houses of Parliament. I am sure the hon. Members would remain here present so that we might just do our job there in honouring our President who has discharged those duties in such a dignified and distinguished manner. It was published in the Bulletin; but I heard that some hon. Members had complained that they had not known it. Lest the hon. Members might go away, I would further request them that we might continue till 5.30 here so that, straight from here we may go to that function. 15.48 hrs.

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—contd.

Shri R. G. Dubey (Bijapur North): Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the course of the discussion since yesterday, some important aspects have come up. A remark has been made repeatedly that we have no proper conception of socialism and that the methods and policies we are adopting will not take us in the direction of socialism. I believe that this kind of dogmatic assertion will not make the position very easy. May I point out that in the context of the present socialist movements in the world, there have been so many changes; and any dog-

matic or theoretical approach would not clarify the position.

May I just refer to the well-known controversy that has been going on between Belgrade and Peking regarding the revisionist policies. Though Belgrade is admittedly a communist country and follows communist policies, even then, Peking contests the claims of Belgrade to implement the policies in regard to scientific socialism. Taking into consideration these aspects, we have to evolve our own policy keeping in view the present social conditions in the country.

The other day, there was a remark on the role of the Prime Minister in the context of the construction of the new society. I think the Congress has been following a certain policy in keeping with the traditions of the past. Gandhiji taught us certain methods. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who is the architect of a new society based on a socialistic pattern of society has got to follow his own policy to implement his plan. Naturally, there might be certain shades of opinion.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member over there is standing with his back to the Chair for so long a time.

Shri R. G. Dubey: In the Congress Party as well as in the country there are certain different shades of opinion regarding policies and methods. As the responsible leader of the nation, he has got to keep a balance. There was a reference—I think it was by Shri Ansar Harvani—that sometimes we are rightists and sometimes leftists and so on. I think that one who delves into the history of the Congress movement will realise that the yardstick generally applied to the other movements and other parties does not generally hold good in respect of the Congress, because the Congress has always moved as one whole. There might be differences, when particular issues are taken up for discussion, but once the Congress or the Congress Government makes its position clear on a particular issue,

[Shri R. G. Dubey]

then the whole body moves like one man, whether it is rightist or leftist, and naturally, it is the responsibility of the leader of the party to see that unity is maintained in the larger interests of the country. Otherwise, if he take up an extreme attitude either to the left or to the right, maybe there are chances of rupture.

The Finance Minister has rightly made the claim in his speech that so far as the production of foodstuffs and industrial production are concerned, as also employment, there has been an improvement. Nobody could disagree with the Finance Minister so far as this claim is concerned. But I think there are certain disquieting features so far the problem of food is concerned. For example, roughly, by the end of the third Five Year Plan, our requirements of food will be of the order of 110 million tons. The population would rise to about 480 million by then, and so, keeping in view the rising standard of nutrition and also the marginal adjustments that are necessary, we will have to produce roughly 110 million tons. But the present rate of production falls below that level. Supposing we go on at this rate, the shortfall would be of the order of 28 million tons. So, unless we treble our production, I think we are not going to solve this problem.

What is the method or the solution? There are two aspects of this problem. One is irrigation. We are attempting to bring more and more area under irrigation and to see that we increase the production of foodstuffs. The other day there was a half-an-hour discussion when this problem was discussed. I do feel from my own experience of my State as well as other areas that the irrigation potential in the country is not fully utilised, and we have to utilise it. For example, the land has to be prepared. We have to supply bulldozers, tractors and similar equipment before the land is prepared for

irrigation. These problems cannot be attended to unless we take them seriously.

Now, may I point out with all humility that the Prime Minister as a leader of the nation has a right to appeal that we should produce more and more food? But what is happening? We go to the State. A Minister comes; a Deputy Minister comes; an officer comes. Everybody comes and appeals to the people. Actually, I am sorry to say that that seriousness which the Prime Minister has about the food production is not shared by the people at the lower level. Neither the officials nor the social workers—no body—have got serious view about producing more food. There are a large number of tanks in every district. I mean the irrigation tanks. Neither the officials nor anybody else have cared to see that the irrigation potential is properly utilised. This is one aspect.

Then there is the larger and more important aspect of the problem. I know that in India we have got roughly 280 million acres of land. 25 per cent of the land comes under irrigation. The remaining land has to be dealt with by a process of dry-farming, which is a major problem. Unless the dry-farming methods in the country are improved, we are not going to solve this problem satisfactorily.

The other day I came across an article by Mr. Maskarnis who had retired from service in Bombay, when Shri Morarji Desai was the Chief Minister of Bombay. I would like to say that contour-bunding seems to be the quickest, the cheapest and the surest method of improving our yield per acre. Take, for example, the irrigation tanks. If you want to construct a minor irrigation tank, it requires Rs. 400 to Rs. 500, but then there is a danger. If there is no rainfall there is no storage in the tank. When there is storage, when there is rainfall, the people would not need water. When there is need

for water, there is no rainfall in the catchment area and there is no storage in the tank. So, the proper solution seems to be this: we must make more adequate provision for contour-bunding. It is now Rs. 72 crores in the third Plan. Rs. 72 crores could bring under contour-bunding only 11 million acres whereas the need is to bring 280 million acres under bunding. Apart from this, contour-bunding has many other advantages. It prevents soil erosion. When contour-bunding takes place, indirectly the sub-soil level of the water rises, and thereby well irrigation is another possibility arising from it. Apart from that, if contour-bunding is resorted to, it will prevent silting which is another grave problem that is cropping up in respect of agriculture, and thus prevent natural drainage channel and irrigation channels and reservoirs from being silted up.

Another problem to which I should like to draw the attention of the House is this: I am mentioning it not because I belong to the State of Mysore but because it is a national problem. In Mysore, we have got 90,000 acres of land under forests. I do not think there is any other State in India where we have got such a large area under forests as in Mysore. We are importing Burma teak, because we have to use it for the ship-yards and other purposes, and we feel that our teak is not suitable for this purpose. This is a wrong conception. If we properly study the forest wealth of Mysore, really speaking, we will find that our teak is also very good for ship-building. But unfortunately we are not paying proper attention to it. This is not just a Mysore problem but an all-India problem and the Government of India have to bestow adequate attention to it. If we constitute a kind of Malnad Development Board, with the co-operation of the Mysore Government, I think that would be another avenue whereby the position will improve.

I shall say a few words about public undertakings. We have got many State undertakings. As I said, it is a good thing. The other day, the leader of the communist party, while making his speech, referred to Mr. Shenoy and pointed out that the burden of tax is increasing; that the poor people are becoming poorer and the rich men are getting richer. I am afraid he landed himself in a kind of fallacy, because Mr. Shenoy, to put it in the Marxian phraseology, is a bourgeois economist. If Shri A. K. Gopalan wants to follow Mr. Shenoy, he must follow him logically to the end. If he accepts one part of Mr. Shenoy's article he will land himself in confusion. If he accepts the conclusion of Mr. Shenoy, he has to give up the expansion of the public sector. Then, naturally, our claim to develop the socialist pattern of economy falls flat. We have to develop the public sector. But I personally feel that there is one danger there. While the public sector must be developed, I know there are certain measures and precautions that are to be taken. Otherwise, it will slowly develop into State capitalism in which the managerial side gains. Of course the big, managerial section must be given the discretion, but unless there are some checks and counter-checks, we may get, instead of a socialist society, some kind of complicated thing, and some kind of complexion or complication might develop. We will have to keep these things in mind.

With these words, I again reiterate my point of view in regard to contour-bunding. When the Finance Minister was the Chief Minister of Bombay, contour-bunding developed very much; there was great progress and they did splendid work in Bombay. I would request him to see that more provision is made in the third Plan for contour-bunding so that the problem of food production will become much more easier of solution.

[Shri R. G. Dubey]

With these words, I resume my seat.

Shri Basumatari (Goalpara): Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the outset I offer my heart-felt congratulations and express my gratitude to the Finance Minister. We are very glad to have a Finance Minister from among our national leaders. So we have room for confidence that so long as he shoulders the responsibility as Finance Minister, there cannot be any lacuna. Of course, he had to face complaints, criticisms expressed outside the House and inside the House. From inside the House, the complaints and criticisms were mostly from the Communist Party; from outside, they came from the capitalists and business magnetes. From these criticisms, it appeared that we are not going too fast to reach the goal of the socialist society. The main aim of the Congress is the establishment of a socialist pattern of society. But to reach that, we require some time, because when we achieved our independence, our country was undeveloped. Our percentage of literacy was only 5 per cent. in 1946. In the 1951 census, it rose to 16 per cent. and in the 1961 census it has risen to 40 per cent. So if you look at the development in the field of education, we are not lagging behind, but in the field of economic condition, we have not been able to reach that standard of improvement. We must aim to do that. We must curtail the profits made by the capitalists and we should put a ban, so that we can gradually diminish the income of the rich people and increase the income of the poor people.

16 hrs.

As for myself, do not object to taxation. Without taxation, I think no country can develop. Therefore, taxes will have to be there, but we should be very careful to see that the money we get from the taxes is properly utilised. Therefore, I request the Finance Minister to be more careful, so that there may not be inflation and the money that has been squeez-

ed from the public may be utilised properly.

Coming to my communist friends and other critics who say that nothing has been done to develop the country, I request them to compare the India of today with the India of 1956, when people had no roads, no conveyance to travel, etc. By building roads and communications, our villagers are able to get market price for their produce. I come from a village where the market price of rice is Rs. 8. But villagers used to get only Rs. 3. But now market price is available to the villagers through the development of the roads.

Keeping pace with the other advanced countries to develop our country, we have lost sight of one important national cause. By saying national cause, I mean the underdeveloped section of the people, the scheduled tribes and the scheduled castes. If you compare the fate of these undeveloped people with the advanced people of the country, you will find that the gulf of disparity still remains. I just referred to the advance made by the country in the field of education. Though the percentage of literacy is now 40, among the tribals it is only 2 per cent and among the scheduled castes it is only 5 per cent. The economic condition of these undeveloped people is miserable, when you compare them with the advanced people. There are some sections of the tribals in Orissa and Andamans known as Bonda Porja and Angi, who are still completely naked. The economic condition of the tribal people has deteriorated very much due to communications and various industrial and other developmental activities.

It is said that most of the tribals are Hill tribes. But I would like to point out that except Assam and Bihar (Ranchi), in the other States, they are not Hill tribes but they are pushed up tribes. I shall explain

how they are pushed up tribes. The tribal people are so simple that their land has been squeezed by the money-lenders and capitalists. They get into tribal areas, lend money and charge interest at 80 to 90 per cent. You can imagine how the tribals can develop, if in a civilised country the interest is 80 to 90 per cent. Therefore, special attention must be paid to the tribals in this matter. There must be a legislation prohibiting money-lending and squeezing of land from the tribals by money-lenders, taking advantage of the ignorance of the tribals.

Coming to services, article 335 provides for reservation in the services. But if you look at the figures of representation in the services so far as scheduled tribes are concerned, in 1958, all over India it was only 0.11 per cent. In 1958, it was 0.25 per cent. This is in Class I. In Class II services, 0.06 per cent in 1957 and 0.17 per cent in 1958. In the temporary cadre of Class I and Class II services, it is hopelessly bad. In 1957 it was 0.07 per cent and in 1958 it was 0.3 per cent in Class I. In Class II the figures were 0.62 per cent in 1957 and 0.83 per cent in 1958. So, unless the economic condition is developed, the community cannot be developed.

While we are thinking of building the nation, if one society is like that in an undeveloped state, how can we have national integration or emotional integration? Emotional integration comes when all the people are on the same level of development. National integration comes when all enjoy equal rights. When the tribals have been deprived of all the modern facilities, how can we think of emotional integration? If you want to develop these people, you must think very seriously. The Government have been kind enough to extend the period by 10 years for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to develop all round, but if the speed of development is like that of the last 10 years, I do not think in 100 years, you

can develop these undeveloped people.

So, to create confidence in the mind of the people, we have suggested one thing. To educate the people you will take time; to build roads and railways, you will take time, but if you want to create confidence in the minds of the people, you can do it overnight. Before independence, there were social barriers and social disabilities as in the case of Scheduled Castes. Now their social barriers have been removed to some extent and in the field of education and also in the field of services compared to Scheduled Tribes, they have been brought to some standard of development. But the tribals, except the hill tribes of Assam are still in a primitive stage. So, we suggested just to increase confidence into minds of tribal people, that there should be one or two Ministers from among the Scheduled Tribes in every State with a population of over 1 million as in the case of Scheduled Castes to create confidence in the mind of the tribal people. We also suggested there should be a Minister or Deputy Minister at the Centre. It is not for the post, but to create confidence in the minds of the people, so that these undeveloped people may feel that they are also men and they have equal rights in the country. But this has not been done. So, I appeal to the Finance Minister, as a national leader, to see that grievances of these people are heard and met. I visited his State of Maharashtra. There I found 35 graduates in Maharashtra, but not a single man has been appointed in class I or class II service. When I spoke to Shri Chavan, the Chief Minister, he promised to look into this matter. I talked to the Chief Minister of Gujarat also and he also promised to look into this aspect. I requested that to create confidence you must appoint some Ministers from that community. But when the list of Ministers was released, it was not found in the list. Therefore, promises are made but when the

[Shri Basumatari]

question of implementation comes they are forgotten. You should realise that the tribals should not feel disgruntled. When there is the feeling of the rulers and the ruled, naturally trouble arises. That is why you hear about trouble from among the Nagas, the hill tribes and others. I would, therefore, request the hon. Prime Minister and the Finance Minister and also other leaders of the nation to think about these matters.

There is one other point which I would like to submit, and that is about the State of Assam. Assam, as you know is full of resources. We talk of removing the regional disparity, but when the question of actual implementation comes we forget Assam because there is no great leader in Assam like some of our leaders here. The result is that we are not making use of the vast resources available in Assam. I would request the hon. Finance Minister and the Prime Minister to see that Assam is also developed along with other States in the country.

Just now my hon. friend Shri Raghunath Singh referred to one most disputed question, and that is about infiltration. Infiltration is going on there. If it is not checked in time I do not think we will be able to save Assam after ten or fifteen years. I cannot imagine what the position of Assam will be if this is not checked. Muslims multiplying due to marriages is one excuse. But there is this infiltration too. I would request the hon. Minister to find out the actual figure of infiltration and see that it is checked. I hope this matter will be looked into in time which is right for it.

Shri Buta Singh (Moga): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak on the General Budget presented 16 days ago in this House by the hon. Finance Minister. A budget is regarded as a true picture of the economic condi-

tions of the country. In the international field, a country bases its commercial and political relations after a scrutiny of the budget of the other countries concerned. It is, therefore, very necessary to make a scientific analysis of such an important document.

For a long period we have been made familiar with deficit budgets in this country. Our Finance Minister has displayed a regrettable calousness in the matter of utter disregard of the consequences to which his budget is likely to give rise as far as the citizens are concerned. His present budget is like an ill-fitting garment tailored by an unskilled craftsman such as remains a constant source of irritation. The budget in question amply proves that the cliché that "statistics can prove anything", is not devoid of truth. It is on the basis of statistics alone that the Finance Minister has sought to lend an air of plausibility to this budget. Although it violently clashes with economic realities of our country, the casualness with which the Finance Minister has treated his own statistics is apparent from the fact that he has no definite proposals in regard to the expenditure items incurable on account of the dearness allowances granted by the Government to its employees. It is because the Finance Minister in his heart of heart knows the unreal nature of his own statistics. The hon. Finance Minister has lightly informed the House that he is presenting a deficit budget to the tune of only Rs. 150 crores to cover which he proposes fresh taxes to the tune of Rs. 71·7 crores.

This ever-increasing policy of squeeze is neither a true socialism nor good commonsense. It can only lead to a financial chaos and misery to a large mass of people and eventual deterioration of our economy. Such taxes have been shown to be ill conceived by the experience of various countries avowedly walking on the

Discussion

road to socialism. Indiscriminate and progressively rising taxation neither augments the State resources nor is helpful to equitable distribution of wealth. It inevitably results in what the Finance Minister profess he wishes to avoid, namely, taxing the people's patience.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want the Finance Minister to note that the economic policies of his Government are having a very deleterious effect on our financial stability. Retarded production, increasing unemployment, official corruption and progressive taste for anarchy and tyranny that is growing in our rulers are a direct result of this ill-conceived policy. On a proper analysis, most of our economic ills and the moral chaos that results therefrom are directly traceable to the financial policies of the party in power.

The professed aim of the ruling party is to establish a socialist pattern of society, but that is not the real destination to which we are being led. We are being led to State slavery, gradual extinction of the rights of the individual, perpetuation of power in the hands of a few and decay of all basic moral principles that can ensure happiness and prosperity to the people and that imparts endurance to their social structure.

Whether the ruling party is deliberately pushing this country towards this debacle or they are merely slaves of their own shibboleths is a subject into which I do not care to venture at this occasion. I merely point out that by proposing an increase of 5 per cent in corporate taxes and other such measures, the Finance Minister has provided an indication as to how his mind is working at present, for this proposed increase certainly cannot have been aimed at encouraging the industrial production or proper investment of capital in this country.

Mr Speaker, Rs. 44.5 crores of indirect taxation is a direct assault on the already poor standards of

living of our people; that is why I say that whatever else this budget may be, it is not a budget which comes out of the brain of a person who has any love or sympathy for the common man of this country.

Not long ago, our hon. Prime Minister said, while addressing the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, that "suppression of private enterprise is a bad thing". Was this declaration an outcome of temporary expediency or is our Finance Minister at cross purposes with his own Leader of the House? This is a question which inevitably arises on a careful scrutiny of the current budget which is now before this august House.

Before I conclude, I wish to say one thing in particular. The Finance Minister has perorated that there are two alternatives to his proposed high level of taxation—either an upsurge of prices or prolongation of poverty in this country. I wish to say that these are not the two alternatives to his proposed taxes but both these deplorable eventualities are demonstrably the necessary consequences of his proposals.

It would not be quite proper if I sit down without making a passing reference to the situation that has impelled my constituents to send me to this House with an overwhelming majority of votes. I refer to the treatment that has been meted out to the Sikh people by our Congress rulers ever since the power has slipped into their hands. Through some unnamable misunderstanding and not perhaps misintention, the Sikhs, at large, have been ostracised. They have been misrepresented throughout the country and the outside world as a people lacking in basic patriotism and accursed with secessionism. They have refused to form a unilingual Punjabi State on grounds that are demonstrably spurious. By this they have not only estranged a loyal patriotic and dynamic people but have

[Shri Buta Singh]

also grievously weakened the foundations of national integration. On the floor of this august House, I appeal to the Treasury Benches, notably to the hon. Prime Minister, to the elected representatives of the country and, through them, to the people of India for a better understanding of the case of Sikhs and for a genuine appreciation of their real grievances and natural apprehensions.

Lastly, I want to bring one thing to your kind notice. It has been my sad experience that during the elections the party in power has demonstrated a very unique attitude towards the people who were politically opposed to it. It has also become vindictive to the people who were opposed to it during the elections. In my own constituency, in Ferozepur district, the people who did not want to side with the party in power are now victimised after the elections. I can quote some examples here. After the elections, some transport companies which have not been...

Mr. Speaker: I have made a request in the beginning that individual grievances might be taken up preferably when the Finance Bill is under discussion. So far as this discussion is concerned, general comments might be made on the policies and other facts mentioned therein. Now the hon. Member is coming to individual grievances of companies etc. That would not be relevant at this stage.

Shri Buta Singh: It is a fact that the party in power has openly behaved in a manner which is not worthy of a ruling party. These are grievances which everybody experiences on these benches, certainly, and I hope that you will provide us an opportunity to express our opinions, our views and our impressions about this most unbecoming attitude of the party in power.

With these words, I thank you for the opportunity given to me to speak.

Shri Gauri Shanker (Fatehpur): Mr. Speaker, I am glad to learn that there are at least some Members of the ruling party who are also critical about this budget. We say that the budget, as has been presented by our hon. Finance Minister, is not a socialist budget at all; it may be anything else, but it would not lead us to a socialist pattern of economy, as has been pledged. For this I would point out one thing. There is an overwhelming population, the bulk of population living in the rural areas, consisting of landless labourers. Then there are tenants of uneconomic holdings. Then there are labourers and middle-class men residing in the urban areas. They are already poor, and the present budget is making them still poorer, as we have noticed.

If we take the projects and the various Plan schemes we can see how the corruption starts. I would point out that there is one thing which is very glaring, and that is that all the projects, from the block level up to the highest level, are being given to private contractors. And there is no denying the fact that when there are these private contractors there is a compulsory levy or compulsory charge to those officers who are the technicians and in charge of these constructions and other things. When the tenders of these private contractors are accepted, they have to bribe and pay these officers who are the technicians in charge, with the result that we find that the constructions we are having are deteriorating every day and breaches are noticeable very early in some of the bigger projects. This is all due to the private contractors being still encouraged.

We were given to understand that such contracts would be entrusted to co-operative societies. I am very sorry that co-operative societies which are formed are not given contracts even at the level of blocks or zilla parishads, what to say of the bigger projects. I do admit that there is a

shortage of resources with these co-operative societies, but if the private contractors are discontinued I am sure that corruption will be rooted out and also the actual construction work will be genuine; because, then the technicians in charge of these constructions will have no allurements of bribes on those sides and they would give genuine fitness certificates instead of giving false certificates. So, if this system is abolished, I can assure you that corruption will be rooted out and we would get genuine constructions and genuine things, and then there will be no complaint of any such breaches.

I come to industrialisation. As has been said by our hon. Prime Minister, only a few months back, there are only a handful of industrialists who have been allowed to make money. They are actually profiteering. They are being encouraged and they are still continuing. They have been benefited, as a matter of fact, by this sort of budgeting which we have been introducing. One thing is very clear. We find that in the case of import licences, they are given to certain individuals who are making huge money. This can very easily be changed. There can be public bidding or public auction for that. Then, we can avoid that sort of corruption as well.

Take the case of the public sector. Much criticism has been levelled. I do not deny that we should encourage the public sector. But, there is something wrong with the working of the public sector. With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I may assure you that these persons in charge of working the public sector are not doing it with sincere spirit and zeal. They do not have the same zeal, they do not have the same sincerity which private persons undertaking their own business have. There is a lot of inefficiency prevailing and it is not being checked. As a result of that, we are not getting equitable returns out of the public sector.

See the condition of a village unit.

A village unit was assured that it would be made a self-supporting unit by the Father of our nation, Mahatma Gandhi. But, we find that there is absolutely no encouragement to small industries or handicraft industries which the rural people can have for their financial help.

Take the indirect taxation on such commodities as has been talked about, that are essential commodities. Every common man consumes them. They are hard hit by such a sort of indirect taxation. There should be a limit for all such things. Without fixing any limit, if we just continue taxing like that, the common people, the overwhelming majority who are still starving, are hard hit.

I find there is a race between the Central Government and the State Governments, in imposing new taxes. Very recently, the other day, I read in the papers. There was an enhancement of 10 per cent in the railway fare of third-class passengers. The U.P. Government is contemplating the enhancement of roadways fares also. This race is going on between the State Governments and the Central Government. Both are aiming at taxing only those who are already hard hit and those who have no livelihood to have one square meal at least a day.

In this respect, I am just quoting a statement of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru who has admitted that within the last 12 years, our industrialists have earned much more than what they had earned within 100 years and we have allowed them to earn so much of money. This has got to be discouraged. This will not lead us to a socialistic pattern of economy. We have been watching for a number of years. I will just quote one example, about this middle class car or cheap rate cars. Only for one reason that if we allow such cars to run in our country, that will hit some capitalist who is making money out of the monopoly of cars, it is not being introduced. I should say that there

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is huge wastage of money. As has been pointed out, there is evasion of tax, no doubt. I would take one thing. Our Government, if they really say that they want to establish a socialistic pattern of economy, they should be true to their words. I find that the Ministers of the Central Government are actually getting only Rs. 2,250 a month, but if the total monthly calculation is taken into account, it comes to about Rs. 6,000. Then, there are certain things where there is the use of the 'VIP' term. There are certain wrong bills submitted. If all this is taken into account, it would make a huge sum which can be saved and invested in the Plan. We are prepared to contribute, if we are assured that every pie that we contribute will go towards the Plan and will go towards the betterment of the country, but when we find that a major portion of that actually goes to the pockets of some of the pet persons, then, of course, that will not lead us to a socialistic pattern of economy. If this sort of thing goes on, then it will take us only towards chaos and anarchy.

There are a few pet persons, and I would say frankly that the very foundation of the ruling party is based on the support of those capitalists who are pets and who are their bosses. This is of course, a fact that during the general elections, they were the persons who contributed heavily towards the general election funds of the ruling party. If that is the spirit and if that is the foundation, then how can we think of establishing a socialistic pattern of economy? That has got to be rooted out.

Only a little while ago, it was pointed out by some hon. Members from this side, but it was objected to, but I know the position in my own State, namely Uttar Pradesh; I know that in one day, at Kanpur, a huge sum amounting to several lakhs was collected, and it was collected only by those few persons, those few pet

bosses who find place in politics and in their own way. This kind of thing is to be discouraged.

If you say that you are the exponent of socialist pattern of economy, then you have got to show that the very foundation and the very basis of the running of your party is towards that side.

Then, again, I would point out one thing. You say that you are going to establish a welfare State....

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member seems to be a seasoned politician and a seasoned parliamentarian. He should address the Chair. But I find that he is saying 'You', and so, everything is being ascribed to me. I never committed such faults as are being attributed to me.

Shri Gauri Shanker: I never meant to address those persons directly, but I am only ventilating these things through you, Sir, to those persons.

There is a talk about welfare State. But where is the welfare? If the welfare means only the sufferings of the people, of course, it stands good; otherwise, there is absolutely no welfare, in any aspect of life; be it social, or economic or any other, I assure you that there is absolutely no welfare.

This Budget which has been presented is directly an indication that it is heading towards a capitalist and not towards a socialist pattern of economy.

Shri Shiv Charan Gupta (Delhi Sadar): I welcome the budget proposals made by the Finance Minister.

Some speeches have been made by the Members of the Opposition and they have attacked the Budget on the ground that the taxation proposals effect them masses. I have also heard here in a very half hearted manner support for the public sector, but, in fact, every attempt has been made to run down the public sector.

If we do not consider these budget proposals in the light of the aims of the Third Five Year Plan, I think we will not read them in the correct perspective and we are likely to err. If we consider the objective principles of the Third Plan which the Finance Minister made out in his speech in the very beginning, I think most of the confusion that prevails here would be removed. The objective principles mainly attempt to secure an increase in the national income of over 5 per cent per annum, achievement of self-sufficiency in foodgrains, expansion of basic industries, utilisation to the fullest extent possible of the manpower resources and last, creation of progressively greater equality of opportunity, bringing about a reduction in disparities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power.

I wish to submit that the proposals of the Finance Minister have in fact laid the solid foundation for a strong edifice for the Third Plan. If we consider the main attack from the Opposition parties, it will be observed that a jugglery of figures has been indulged in. One of the Members has tried to divide nearly the whole income under revenue by the population figure and has come to the conclusion that *per capita* taxation in the country is over Rs. 20. I wish to submit that while considering these proposals, we have to take into account the income from direct and indirect taxes. I do not think it will be correct to say that all indirect taxes hit the poor, because many of the items in respect of which the Finance Minister has suggested increase in customs or excise duties are generally not consumed by the masses but by a privileged few. The hon. Finance Minister made that very clear.

It will also be observed from the figures that income from customs duties is about Rs. 199 crores and from excise duties Rs. 492 crores. This is excluding the proposals made by the Finance Minister this time. The income from kerosene, which is generally used by the villagers and the poor

people, is about Rs. 15 crores under customs and that on Kerosene, sugar and matches about Rs. 78 crores. Thus there are very few items which are in the villages or small towns which are taxed. But if we look at the general expenditure under capital outlay in the Third Plan, it will be observed that an attempt is being made to change the face of our economy in rural and other backward areas so that a socialist pattern is achieved and everybody is in a position to stand on his own legs and have equal opportunities for progress and prosperity. If you look at the direct taxes, you will find that from the direct taxes the income excluding the levies which the hon. Finance Minister has suggested now will come to Rs. 327 crores, and this is out of the total income of Rs. 1320 crores. So, I want to submit that the theory that the taxation proposals have hit the poor hard stands demolished.

I also want to submit that the Third Plan was approved by this august House. The industrial policy and the economic policy were also approved by this august House. Therefore, I can say that the proposals have been made to achieve the targets of the Third Plan, and therefore the general criticism does not stand any ground.

The question arises from where the resources for the Plan are to be raised? We have to see what has been the general indication in the Plan. The general indication in the Plan has been that an investment of the order of Rs. 10,400 crores for the five year period would mean stepping up of the rate of investment from the current level of about 11 per cent of the national income to about 14 per cent. Part of the investment is to be financed through external assistance, and domestic savings will have to be raised from the current level of 8.5 per cent of the national income to about 11.5 per cent by the end of the Plan. I can say that an attempt has been made in this direction in the last year and in this year to find the re-

[Shri Shiv Charan Gupta]

sources to achieve the objectives of the Third Plan.

An attempt was also made by a member to criticise the achievements of the First and the Second Plan. But we must look at the background of our economy before last ten years from which we are trying to get out, as also our goal. If we look at the whole background of the taxation structure before the First Plan and that after the planning era began in India, I can say that an attempt is being made to tax more those who are well placed in society. Further, it will be incorrect to say that the Budget proposals are socialistic proposals, because the Government has accepted the principle of mixed economy as the country cannot afford any other economy. We are trying to adopt a *via media* between extreme views of Right and Left, so that all elements in the country are in a position to contribute to the national wealth, through maximum investment in the productive channels, and thereby to raise the standard of the people. The Government is there to ensure that there is no monopolistic tendency, that the wealth does not concentrate in the hands of a few who exist at the cost of the country, at the cost of the masses. I think in the last ten years that effort has been made, and that effort will continue in future also, so that more money from different avenues may be available for the implementation of the Plan and the country may prosper.

The other day some criticism came regarding landless agricultural labourers.

I have heard with great attention some of the speeches. In fact, I do not find anything new which has been brought to the notice of the Government. You will observe that efforts have been made to have a correct appraisal of the problem of the landless agricultural labour. Their bad economic condition has been due to poor rural economy. You will see that a

large amount, say Rs. 1700 crores, is being spent on agriculture, community development and irrigation in the Third Plan.

What is the object of this investment? The object is that the face of rural life may change. In the Third Five Year Plan, the target is that there may be 30 per cent increase in agricultural production. Besides that, it has been aimed at that 20 million acres of agricultural land will come under soil conservation. There has also been a programme for village and small industries; and Rs. 92 crores are proposed to be spent for cottage and village industries and small scale industries. The industrial estates will be extended to the rural areas. Besides that, all towns and villages with a population exceeding 5,000 and 50 per cent of the villages with a population of 2500 will be electrified. The village and small industries programme, as a whole, is estimated to provide for the employment, part-time or fuller, to 8 million persons and whole-time employment for about 9 lakh persons. Seven lakh families are to be settled over an area of 5 million acres and a programme of reclaiming 4 million acres is already under way. Besides that, various projects for providing additional employment in the rural areas in the slack or non-agricultural season for about 2½ million persons by the last year of the Plan period are also there.

No doubt, much progress was not shown in the First Plan and in the Second Plan as far as landless agricultural labour is concerned. But a definite attempt is being made to improve their lot and make their living conditions better.

I would like to mention one or two more points. In spite of the fact that so much money is being spent by Government on these developmental activities in the rural areas, and in urban areas as well, there is not that much of enthusiasm. We have to

find a way out to create it. You will observe that the principle of public participation in our Development Plan was initiated and every effort is being made through community development also to invoke people's participation; yet, I am afraid that much progress has not been made in this direction as has been contemplated by the hon. Prime Minister and the Planning Minister at the time of preparing the First National Plan.

Therefore if we want to create plan psychology in the minds of the people, if we want the people to come forward and not grudge the money which is needed for the developmental activity, then, our propaganda machinery has got to be more active. Our efforts to seek public cooperation have got to be redoubled so that people may feel that something is being done in this country for their welfare and that through planning the country has to achieve the socialist goal. Unless we make special efforts in this direction, our activities will not be so much appreciated by the people as they should be.

I would like to mention one more point. I also happen to meet people. I find that they do not mind the burden of taxation; they, in fact, feel happy if they have to do something for their country. But the difficulty arises out of long and cumbersome procedures. There are undue hardships at the time of making payment and at the time of assessments. The procedure should be simplified. The attitude of the administration should be to understand the difficulties of the tax-payers. It should be an attitude of understanding rather than one of treating them in bureaucratic way, as they used to be treated before the advent of freedom.

I would submit that because taxes have to come from the masses we have to create a psychology that they are equal partners in the developmental activity in the service of the country.

At the same time, we should check wastage and plug leakage. We should create confidence in the people so that they may bear the burden happily to make the country prosper.

With these words, I resume my seat.

श्री मौर्य (अलीगढ़) : आदरणीय अश्वक्ष महोदय, मैं आपको धन्यवाद दिये बिना आग नहीं चल सकता हूँ क्योंकि आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया है और मैं कहे बिना नहीं रह सकता हूँ।

बड़ी खुशनसीबी जो फरियाद मुन ली दुआ उनको दें या कि किस्मत को अपनी।

आज से ढाई हजार वर्ष पूर्व महात्मा बूद्ध ने नेतृत्व में इस देश में पहली बार लोकशाही ने जन्म लिया था। उस लोकशाही या जनतंत्र के मानी हैं कि वह "बहुजन हिताय बहुजन सुखाय" के सिद्धान्त पर आधारित हो। वैश्व की भी ध्युरी यही है "मक्सीमम गुड फार दी मक्सीमम नम्बर आफ पीपल" अगर इस सिद्धान्त के ऊपर लोकशाही आधारित नहीं है तो इस तरह की व्यवस्था को लोकशाही कहना लोकशाही का मखौल या मजाक उड़ाना है।

आज का जो बजट आदरणीय फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने पेश किया है इस सदन के सामने, यदि मैं उसके बारे में यह कह दूँ कि वह "बहुजन हिताय बहुजन सुखाय" के सिद्धान्त पर आधारित नहीं है और यदि उसके आगे बढ़ कर मैं यह कह दूँ कि उसके सिद्धान्त कुछ ऐसे हैं जो लोकशाही की जड़ के ऊपर बहुत बड़ा कुठाराघात करते हैं, तो यह दोनों बातें अपनी जगह पर सत्य होंगी। आज के बजट को उठा कर देखा जाय तो पता चलेगा कि जो मामूली आदमी है, जो कठोरकर्मा व्यक्ति है, जो शोषित वर्ग के इंसान हैं, जो गरीब आदमी हैं, उनको आज

[श्री मौर्य]

तक जब से हम आजाद हुए हैं, और राम राज्य की स्थापना करना चाहते हैं, तब से एक लम्हा भी आराम से सांस लेने का नहीं मिला है, उनके ऊपर भी आराम से ज्यादा से ज्यादा अंकुश लगे हैं। इस वजह में भी यही किया गया है। कपड़ पर आपने आघात किया है, सिग्रेट, तम्बाकू और बरतन आपने नहीं छोड़े हैं। ये वे चीजें हैं जोकि वह रोजाना की जिन्दगी में इस्तेमाल करते हैं। एक मजदूर जिसको आपने इस आजादी में से कोई भी भाग नहीं दिया है, उसके ऊपर आपने ४४.५ करोड़ रुपये के टैक्स और बढ़ा दिये हैं जबकि पिछले बरस भी उसके ऊपर ५७.५ करोड़ रुपये बढ़ाया जा चुका है एक शोषित समाज का इंसान होने के नाते क्या मैं यह कहने की हिम्मत कर सकता हूँ इस सदन में कि जिस रेट से आप शोषितों को रौंदते हैं, कटोरकर्मियों को रौंदते हैं, क्या उन्होंने शक्तियों के साथ आप उन पूंजीपतियों को भी रौंदते हैं जिन की बदौलत आज बहुत बड़ी ताकत आपके हाथ में आई है? हो सकता है कि भावावेश में आ कर मैं कोई ऐसी बात कह जाऊँ जोकि सदन के किसी माननीय सदस्य या हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब को बुरी लगे। परन्तु इस भावावेश के कारण हो सकते हैं। पहली बात तो यह है कि इस बहुत ही आलीशान भवन में बठने का मुझे जैसे एक मजदूर को पहली बार मौका मिला है और दूसरी बात यह है कि मैं एक ऐसे वर्ग में आता हूँ जो रोजाना सा कमाता है और शाम को आकर अपने बच्चों का पेट भरता है। अगर वह एक दिन मेहनत न करे तो दूसरे दिन उसके घर में चूल्हा नहीं सुलगता। जब मैं देखता हूँ कि भारतवर्ष की आमदनी का तीस प्रतिशत हिस्सा चार परसेंट इंसानों तक ही सीमित रह जाता है तब मुझे ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि आज वह राम राज्य नहीं आया है, आज यह लोकशाही नहीं आई है जिसके खाब महात्मा गांधी जी देखा करते थे।

आज जब हम देखते हैं कि भारतवर्ष में खेती से सम्बन्धित जो इंसान है, जो कुछ भी भारतवर्ष में पैदा होता है, उसका तीस परसेंट फायदा यहाँ पर ढाई परसेंट इंसानों को ही मिल जाता है और बाकी लोग यहाँ पर बेबहरा रह जाते हैं तो इन बातों को देखकर मन में रोष सा प्रकट होता है।

17.00 hrs.

वह रोप कोई बनावटी नहीं, वह अपनी जगह पर सही है। मल्टिपल टैक्स यहाँ पर बढ़ाये जा रहे हैं। एक ही चीज पर बार बार टैक्स लगाया जाता है। बहुत सी चीजें तो ऐसी हैं जिन पर कि दस दस, बारह बारह या चौदह चौदह दफे टैक्स लगाया जाता है। इस तरह का टैक्स लगाने में यहाँ उद्योग बढ़ नहीं सकते, इंडस्ट्री बढ़ नहीं सकती है। मैं इस पक्ष में हूँ कि जो मल्टिपल टैक्स हैं उनको बढ़ावा न दिया जाये। किन्तु हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर महोदय ने एक्सपेन्डिचर टैक्स को बड़ी शान के साथ, बड़े सिद्धान्त के आधा पर समाप्त किया है। क्या मैं पूछ सकता हूँ कि एक तरफ तो हम कहते हैं कि हम गरीब हैं, एक तरफ हम कहते हैं कि हमारे पास पैसा नहीं है, एक तरफ हम दूसरे मुल्कों से भिखारी बन कर भीख मांगते हैं, और दूसरी तरफ हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर ७० लाख रुपये के लगभग, जिस को और ज्यादा भी बढ़ाया जा सकता है, उसको एक कलम के साथ समाप्त कर देते हैं, ऐसी हालत में किस बात को सही माना जाये? क्या आपकी बात को सही माना जाय? इस पर आर्ग्यूमेंट दिया जाता है कि बहुत सी परेशानियाँ होती हैं, बहुत से आदमियों को लगाना पड़ता है, तब वह पैसा वसूल होता है। यह कोई आर्ग्यूमेंट नहीं है। इसको सुनकर मैं सोचता हूँ कि इस मुल्क के अन्दर यह जो ७० लाख की आमदनी है वह बढ़ कर एक दिन ७ करोड़ की भी आमदनी हो सकती है। मेरा अपना तो यह अध्ययन है कि वहाँ पर सब साधन नहीं बरते

गये, जो बरते जाने चाहिये थे। अगर वे सब साधन बरते जाते तो यह आमदनी और भी ज्यादा हो सकती थी।

17.02 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

प्रोफेसर कैलडोर का कहना है कि एक्स्पेन्डिचर टैक्स, वैल्थ टैक्स और इनकम टैक्स में बहुत बढ़ा लगाव है। यह जो एक्स्पेन्डिचर टैक्स है, जिस के लिये फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर महोदय ने समाप्त करने को कहा है, अगर यहां पर डम को समाप्त कर दिया जाता है तो खर्च का हिसाब न रखने पर और आमदनी का हिसाब रखने पर ठीक हिसाब नहीं रह पायेगा, और काले बाजार का पैसा ज्यादा बढ़ जायेगा। मैं आपका ध्यान डम बात की और आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि आज एक बाजार में, जो कि खुला बाजार है, स्टाम्प लगा कर और ज्यादा व्याज के ऊपर पैसा मांगें तो आपको पैसा नहीं मिलेगा, लेकिन अगर काले बाजार में पैसा मांगें और कोई लिखा पढ़ी भी न करें तो भी कम व्याज पर पैसा मिल जाता है। आखिर यह पैसा कहा से आता है? यह पैसा उम काले बाजार का पैसा है जिसे बढ़ावा दिया जा रहा है एक्स्पेन्डिचर टैक्स को समाप्त कर के। मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा, मेरी ऐसी विनती है, कि इस टैक्स को समाप्त न किया जाये।

मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ कि कारपोरेशन टैक्स में ५ फी सदी को बढ़ोतरी हुई है। यह ५ फी सदी बढ़ोतरी, जो आज ५० फीसदी तक आ गई है, उस के लिये मैं फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर को धन्यवाद देता हूँ। लेकिन साथ ही साथ उनका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि एक तरफ तो वे अमरीका और इंग्लैंड की मिसालें देते हैं टैक्स के सम्बन्ध में और दूसरी तरफ इस बात को भूल जाते हैं कि जो कारपोरेशन टैक्स इस देश में है वह संसार के सभी मुल्कों से कम है। उस को और बढ़ाया जा सकता है।

अब मैं सदन के सामने डाइरेक्ट और 'इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्स' के सम्बन्ध में कुछ आंकड़े रखना चाहूंगा। जो सीधा सीधा टैक्स लगता है वह पूंजीपतियों पर जा कर पड़ता है और जो उलट फेर से टैक्स लगता है, जिस को इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्स कहते हैं, वह गरीब और कठोर कमा आमदियों पर पड़ता है। आप देखिये कि इस की बढ़ोतरी किस रफ्तार से और किस खूबी से फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर महोदय कर रहे हैं। सन् १९५१-५२ में मेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट का कुल टैक्स ७२९ करोड़ ६० का था, सन् १९६०-६१ में वह १,२९१ करोड़ ६० का रहा। १९६१-६२ में वह लगभग १,३९१ करोड़ ६० का है। उस में डाइरेक्ट टैक्स सन् १९५०-५१ में १३० करोड़ रुपये का था। सन् १९६०-६१ में वह २०६ करोड़ ६० का था। इस में ७६ करोड़ ६० की बढ़ोतरी हुई। दूसरी तरफ इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्स के फीगर्स को देखिये। सन् १९५०-५१ में वह २२७ करोड़ ६० का रहा। सन् १९६०-६१ में यह इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्स ५६२ करोड़ ६० का रहा, यानी इस में ३३५ करोड़ ६० की बढ़ोतरी हुई। क्या मैं यह पूछने का दावा कर सकता हूँ कि आप किस तरह से टैक्स लगाते हैं? आप उन लोगों को, जो सुबह से शाम तक काम करते हैं, रोटी और रोजी नहीं देना चाहते, लेकिन जो इन्सान अपने हाथ में काम करना नहीं सीख सके, जो एक तरह से हरामखोर हैं, हलालखोर नहीं हैं, जिन का वकिंग क्लाम से सम्बन्ध नहीं है, उन पर टैक्स लगाने में आप के हाथ कांपते हैं, पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू के हाथ कांपते हैं क्योंकि आपको चुनाव के समय कानपुर के किसी बड़े पूंजीपति से पैसा मिलता है इस वजह से उन पर टैक्स लगाने में आपका हाथ रुकता है। मैं आपका ध्यान उस बगावत की ओर ले जाना चाहता हूँ जो इस सदन में तो नजर नहीं आती है या बहुत मामूली तौर पर नजर आती है, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान के कोने कोने में क्षण क्षण में कण कण से उस क्रान्ति की झनकारें बजती-बली जा रही हैं और उम

[श्री मौर्य]

क्रान्ति को झनकारें किसी भी क्षण देश में बढ़ती हुई शैतानियत को हड़प सकती है। यह तो मैंने आप को इन-डाइरेक्ट टैक्सों के आंकड़े दिये।

अब मैं आप का ध्यान स्टेट टैक्सेज की तरफ भी लेजाना चाहूंगा। सन् १९५०-५१ में २८१.०५ करोड़ का कुल टैक्स था, सन् १९६१-६२ में ६११.६५ करोड़ का टैक्स था। उसमें डाइरेक्ट टैक्स सन् १९५१-५२ में १३२.४५ करोड़ का था और सन् १९६१-६२ में वह २४२.९१ करोड़ का रहा, यानी इसमें ११०.४६ करोड़ की बढ़ोतरी रही। इन-डाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज सन् १९५१-५२ में १४८.६० करोड़ के रहे और सन् १९६१-६२ में वह ३६८.६५ करोड़ का रहा, यानी इस में बढ़ोतरी २२०.०५ करोड़ की रही। मैं यहां पर थोड़ी देर के लिये यह चाहूंगा कि हमारे फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब मेरी बात सुन लें। मैं आप के द्वारा कहना चाहता हूँ, अध्यक्ष महोदय, कि मैं यहां पहली बार बोल रहा हूँ और फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर महोदय के न सुनने से मैं कुछ हताशा होता हूँ, मुझे जो इस से डिसएण्वाइंटमेंट होता है। कम से कम मुझे बढ़ावा देने के लिये वे मेरी बात सुन लें। डाइरेक्ट टैक्स ५९ फीसदी बढ़े और इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्स २५० फीसदी बढ़े। इस व्यवस्था को मैं पूंजीवादी व्यवस्था की रखवाली करना कहता हूँ। सन् १९४७-४८ से ले कर सन् १९६१-६२ तक डाइरेक्ट टैक्सेशन में गिरावट हुई है और इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेशन में बढ़ोतरी हुई है। मैं ने देखा कि पूरे देश में जहां भी एस्टेट ड्यूटी, वैल्यू टैक्स और गिफ्ट टैक्स का सवाल आया वहां सरकार का कहना है, सरकार के जिम्मेदार कर्मचारियों का कहना है कि पूरे हिन्दुस्तान में लगभग १०० आदमी ही ऐसे हैं, जिन के पास ५० लाख या ५० लाख से ज्यादा सम्पत्ति है, लेकिन मैं यह कहने का दावा करता हूँ यह कहने की जुर्रत करता हूँ इस सदन में, कि यह बात सत्य से परे है। बहुत से हमारे कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर भी इस

कैटगरी में आते हैं। अगर हम लोग दिल्ली में ही जाकर देखें और वहां के आंकड़े ले तो शायद दिल्ली में ही इतने पूंजीपति निकल आयेगे। मेरा ख्याल है कि १०० आदमियों के जो आंकड़े दिये गये हैं जिन के पास कि ५० लाख या उस से ज्यादा की सम्पत्ति है वे दिल्ली ही में पूरे हो जायेगे पूरे देश की तो बात ही क्या है। मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि अभी राज्य सभा के चुनाव हुए। उस में कानपुर के एक पूंजीपति ने जरा से चुनाव में १ लाख ४५ हजार रुपये खर्च कर के सदन में आने की जुर्रत की और वे आ भी गये। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इतना बड़ा खर्च कहां से हुआ ?

(Interruptions.) मैं प्रार्थना करना चाहूंगा कि जब मैं आप की तरह बुड़ढ़ा हो जाऊंगा तो आप के सवाल का जवाब भी देता जाऊंगा और बोलता भी जाऊंगा, अभी मुझे को बोलने दिया जाय।

इस सदन के मेरे एक आदरणीय माननीय सदस्य श्री हरवानी ने एक बात कही थी और फरमाया था कि पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू का दिल तो पूंजीवादी है लेकिन उन का दिमाग समाजवाद की तरफ है। जो कुछ उन्होंने कहा उस में थोड़ा उलट फेर करना चाहता हूँ। वास्तव में हमारे आदरणीय पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू का दिमाग समाजवाद की ओर नहीं है, पूंजीवाद की ओर है, उनका हृदय समाजवाद की ओर है, और चूँकि उन के हृदय पर अभी तक दिमाग काबू पा रहा है इस वजह से उन पर समाजवाद का कोई असर नजर नहीं आता है। इस सदन के बहुत से आदरणीय सदस्यों ने हिन्दुस्तान के मुकाबले में इंग्लैंड और अमरीका की बात कही। उन्होंने वहां का व्यौरा देते हुए बताया कि यहां पर टैक्स कम है। लेकिन उन सब आसानियों को देखा जाए जो जनता को इंग्लैंड और अमरीका में मिलती है और जो मुंबिधाएँ हिन्दुस्तान में मिलती हैं तो उनमें जमीन और आसमान का फर्क दिखायी

देगा । मेरा अपना विचार है कि जब यह अवस्था है तब इस प्रकार की तुलना करना सही नहीं होगा ।

मैं इनकम टैक्स की ओर भी ध्यान ले जाना चाहता हूँ । आज इनकम टैक्स की व्यवस्था को देखा जाए तो मालुम होगा कि वह बहुत ही गलत तरीके से चल रही हैं । ऐसे बहुत से पूंजीपति और उद्योगपति हैं जिन्होंने अभी तक अपना इनकम टैक्स पूरा नहीं दिया है । और उनके खिलाफ कोई कार्रवाई होती है तो जैसा कि कांग्रेस के एक मेम्बर साहब ने सदन में कहा था, उनको स्वयं मिनिस्टर शरण देते हैं । दूसरे इनकम टैक्स आफिसर को सीधे सीधे इस बात का अधिकार नहीं है कि अगर वह पाए की कोई भी पूंजीपति या कोई भी विशेष व्यक्ति इनकम टैक्स की चोरी कर रहा है तो उनकी किताबों पर फौरन छापा मार कर अपने कब्जे में ले सके । ऐसी ताकत इनकम टैक्स आफिसर को नहीं दी गई है । उस बेचारे को पहले कमिश्नर की परमीशन लेनी होती है और जब तक वह परमीशन लेता है तब तक उस खबर का लीकेज हो जाता है और पूंजीपति को पता चल जाता है और वे एकाउंट बुक्स जिनको पकड़ कर देश का भला हो सकता था गायब हो जाती हैं और उनकी जगह दूसरी आ जाती हैं । मेरी प्रार्थना है कि इनकम टैक्स आफिसर को इस बात की ताकत दी जाए और कानन में ऐसा प्रावीजन किया जाए कि इनकम टैक्स आफिसर सीधे सीधे वगैर कमिश्नर की परमीशन के अगर कहीं इनकम टैक्स की चोरी हो रही है तो एकाउंट बुक्स को छापा मार कर अपने कब्जे में कर सके जिससे कि वे गलत काम करते हैं और देश के धन के साथ खलवाड़ करते हैं उनके खिलाफ कदम उठाया जा सके ।

बहुत से माननीय सदस्य जो यहां टीका टिप्पणी करते हैं मैं उनका ध्यान एक

बात की ओर खींचना चाहता हूँ । टीका टिप्पणी करना आसान है । इस सदन में बैठकर आसमान की बात करना भी आसान है, लेकिन वह अपने दिल पर हाथ रख कर कहें कि जब वे वोट मांगने गए थे तो उन्होंने जनता से क्या कहा था । आपकी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं का रूपया दिल्ली से खर्च होना शुरू होता है और ग्रामीण जनता के पास पहुंचते पहुंचते एक नया पैसा रह जाता है । हमारा कहना है कि पंचवर्षीय योजना का पैसा उपर से खर्च न हो, नीचे से खर्च हो । अगर दिल्ली में पंचवर्षीय योजना का रूपया खर्च नहीं होगा तो यहां के रंग महलों में, अशोक होटल में और एअर कंडीशन्ड बंगलों में कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ सकता लेकिन अगर यह पैसा जनता जनार्दन के लिये खर्च नहीं होगा तो वहां बहुत से इन्सान बेमौत मर जाते हैं ।

मैं आपका ध्यान एक ओर खींचना चाहूंगा । बहुत से लोग यहां पर यह बात कहते हैं, खास तौर पर कांग्रेस पार्टी के लोग, कि हम इस देश में समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं । अगर आप समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं तो जो बच्चा आज मिनिस्टर के यहां या किसी पुलिस कप्तान के यहां पैदा होने वाला है, और जो बच्चा विड़ला या डालमिया के यहां पैदा होने वाला है और जो बच्चा एक मजदूर और किसान के यहां पैदा होने वाला है उन सब के खाने पीने और शिक्षा की व्यवस्था समान है क्या ? अगर ऐसा नहीं है तो फिर सौवर्षों में भी आप समाजवाद नहीं ला सकते । यह समाजवाद एक मखौल और एक धोखा है इस देश की गरीब जनता के साथ । समाजवाद इस तरह से नहीं आएगा । आज देश का यह दुर्भाग्य है कि पहाड़ पर भी मिट्टी डाली जा रही और खाई में भी मिट्टी डाली जा रही है । इस देश में पहाड़ भी हैं और खाइय भी हैं । अगर आप ईमानदारी से भी पहाड़ पर और खाई में मिट्टी डालें तो जब पहाड़ आसमान तक पहुंच जाएगा उस समय

[श्री मौर्य]

एक खाई जमीन तक ही आ पाएगी। रिपब्लिकन पार्टी का एक कार्यकर्ता होने के नाते मेरा तो यह कहना है कि अगर आपको समाजवाद लाना है तो पहाड़ों को काट कर खाई में डालिए ताकि देश में समानता का राज हो जाए। और हम बहु जन सुखाय के सिद्धान्त के अनुसार आगे बढ़ सकें। हम देखते हैं कि लोकशाही के साथ एक बहुत बड़ा मजाक किया जा रहा है खासतौर से जब इस सदन में राजा महाराजा बैठे हुए हैं। क्या ये लोकशाही के प्रतीक हैं। हम किस तरह की लोकशाही पर चल रहे हैं? चाहे वे कांग्रेस के हों या विरोधी दलों के, ये राजे महाराजे, जिन्होंने हमेशा देश का शोषण किया वह जनता के प्रतीक बन कर जनता के नेतृत्व करते हुए जनता के हित के लिये कार्य कर सकते हैं इसका मुझे विश्वास नहीं है। उनके शीश महलों की, जिन में उन्होंने आराम किया है, एक एक इंच से बदनसीबों के खून की बदबू आ रही है। इनमें कैसे कोई तबक्को की जा सकती है।

आज आपने जो मुझे समय दिया उसके लिए मैं धन्यवाद देते हुए आप से यही विनती करता हूँ कि जो टैक्स लगाये जायें उनकी ऐसी व्यवस्था की जाये कि जो पहाड़ हैं उनको काटा जायें और जो खाई हैं उनको पाटा जायें। हम जितने ज्यादा डाइरेक्ट टैक्स लग सकते हैं लगायें ताकि हमारे जीवन काल में नहीं तो हमारे बच्चों के जीवन काल में देश में समाजवाद आ सके। और जो इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्स हैं जोकि देश की गरीब से गरीब जनता पर पड़ते हैं, जो जनता की हड्डी को चूर चूर करते हैं और जिनका दमन चक्र समाज के शोषित वर्ग पर ही चलता है, उसको कम से कम बढ़ावा दिया जाये। मेरी विनती है कि जो तरीका खर्च करने का है उसको भी बदलना चाहिए ताकि इस देश की जनता का एक एक पैसा ठीक तरीके से खर्च हो।

आज स्थिति यह है कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधान मंत्री से कहा जाता है कि आप एक हजार रुपये तनखाह लें तो उनका कहना है कि एक हजार में मैं गुजारा नहीं कर सकता। तब फिर मैं भी एक मजदूर का बालक होने के नाते कहता हूँ कि जब हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधान मंत्री एक हजार में गुजारा नहीं कर सकते तब एक प्राइमरी स्कूल का टीचर, या कलों को चलाने वाला कारीगर या मजदूर और इस देश का शोषित किसान भी ४५ और ५० रुपये में गुजारा नहीं कर सकता। यह असमानता बरदाश्त नहीं की जा सकती। अगर इस दिशा में कुछ किया जाये तब तो हमको तबक्को हो सकती है कि हमारे लिए कुछ होगा नहीं तो हमको कोई उम्मीद नहीं हो सकती। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया जायेगा तो हमको लोकशाही के लिए खतरा नजर आता है।

मुझे एक बात डिफेंस के बारे में कहनी है लेकिन उसको कहना तो तभी ठीक होगा जब कि डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब मौजूद हों। लेकिन मुझे लोकशाही के लिए एक बहुत बड़ा खतरा नजर आता है। आज अवस्था यह है कि केवल पूंजीपति ही जीत कर इस सदन में आ सकते हैं, किसान और मजदूर जीत कर नहीं आ सकते। इस व्यवस्था को बदलना चाहिए।

इसके अतिरिक्त मैं प्राहिबिशन की नीति की ओर आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। मेरा सुझाव है कि इस प्राहिबिशन को खत्म कर दिया जाये लेकिन शराब की कीमत बढ़ा दी जाये। इससे सरकार को भी फायदा होगा और जनता को भी। जो अभी नीति अपनायी जा रही है उससे लोगों को फायदा नहीं हो रहा है। आज आप बम्बई में जाकर देखें कि वहां किस तरह से लोग नाली और गटर में शराब बनाते हैं और पीते हैं। लोग टिककर ज़िज़र भी पी लेते हैं जिसके ज्यादा पीने से मौत हो सकती है और बोग मर भी जाते हैं।

इसलिए मेरा मुझाव है कि प्राहिबिशन को समाप्त कर दिया जाये और शराब का दाम ज्यादा से ज्यादा बढ़ा दिया जाय जिससे गरीब लोग उसको खरीद न सकें। ऐसा करने में लोगों को भी फायदा होगा और राज्य को भी फायदा होगा।

मेरा एक और मुझाव है कि एक्सपेंडीचर टैक्स जिनको कि वित्त मंत्री जी ने समाप्त किया है उसको समाप्त न किया जाये बल्कि उसको और बढ़ावा दिया जाये।

अन्त में मैं बाबा साहब डा० अम्बेडकर की याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ जिन्होंने कहा था कि बैंकों का राष्ट्रीय करण कर दिया जाये ताकि इस देश की इकानमी मुधर सके। आज मेरी विनती है, बाबा साहब अम्बेडकर की विचार धारा को सामने रखते हुए, कि देश की बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण कर दिया जाये ताकि देश की आर्थिक अवस्था मुधर सके।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द (करनाल) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक मिनट। कुछ माननीय सदस्य आपके आसन पर बैठे रहने पर भी बोलने वाले के मार्ग में बाधा उपस्थित करते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि सदन का इस से बड़ा अपमान होता है। आप चाहें तो कुछ कह सकते हैं लेकिन सदस्यों को बोलने वाले को रोकने का प्रयत्न करना उचित नहीं हो सकता। और यदि ऐसा करना ठीक है तो इसकी छूट सब को होनी चाहिए।

Shri Gajraj Singh Rao (Gurgaon): There has been a lot of discussion on the Budget. I would like to place before the House my comments as a layman, but they are likely to be related to actualities and facts.

It is an accepted thing that the country has given its verdict in favour of the Five Year Plans as well as a

socialistic pattern of society. Now, the only question is, if this Plan is to be implemented, on the basis of socialistic pattern of society, how and from where are we to get money to finance it. That is the real question in the Budget proposals. To some extent, the Finance Minister is not a free agent to make any financial proposal. They have already made the Plan. The expenditure has to be provided. The Finance Minister, of course, had to find out the money for these schemes. In this context, if the whole thing is viewed, then, certainly, there are certain lapses in certain matters which could be done and which should have been done. But, in my opinion, on the facts, it would be found that the blame lies on some other shoulder, in the planning itself, where it could be remedied and then the finance aspect could be looked into properly.

I would submit that a budget may be progressive, it may be a routine budget or it may be a retrograde budget. We have to see how the present budget is. I would say that it is a mixture of all the three. Because of certain factors, of a certain background, these things have come in. I would only submit, as I have already stated, for implementing the Plan and the socialistic pattern of society, how and wherefrom the money is to be found. It is money which has been planned. If it is to be taken in the context of the socialistic pattern of society, the money should come from big business and the larger income groups instead of the smaller income groups or the other sections of the society. It is a national programme. It is a national plan. What has the low income group or the common man to contribute? What should he be expected to contribute? He should contribute voluntary labour. He should co-operate in the actual working out of the plan by supply of labour. Thus, he can help. It should have been like this. If it is a budget on the basis of a socialistic pattern of society, it should have been so

[Shri Gajraj Singh Rao]

devised that voluntary labour, whatever it is, 50 per cent, 60 per cent or even 70 per cent, should come from the common man while the rest of it big business should contribute.

I would submit that big business and the larger income group consists of very shrewd people. They can evade any and every law at any time. Take the case of income-tax. Is there any hon. Member in the House who does not know that there is great evasion and with big business, 90 per cent is evasion and only 10 per cent. out of courtesy, they pay to the exchequer? That is the state of affairs. If there had been provision for this check even in the Budget, the House would not have minded and the country would not have minded. With a firm policy, strict control and adequate punishment to these evaders of taxes, even if some money could have been spent on it, a much larger amount of money would have been collected.

I would come to another aspect of the Budget. It is an admitted fact that India is a country of villages. Seventy-five per cent of the population lives in the villages. On a socialistic basis, the whole budget should reflect that it is a budget for the rural population whose progress, whose betterment is the betterment of the country as a whole and the whole country would come out successful. What are the indices that we have had after the two Five Year Plans? What have we learnt after the two Five Year Plans? You would be pleased to see that people are migrating from the rural areas for the sake of employment; they go far enough to the towns and big cities. If it is a progressive thing, and if we say that our country has progressed much, then we have to see whether those people are going back to the villages from the cities and towns. For, 75 per cent of our population is in the villages. If it is a progressive society, then, are those people going back

from the cities and towns to the villages? I would submit that that in short is the index of progress.

Off and on, for the last few days, we have been seeing reports that there are nearly 40 to 50 per cent dispensaries in the States, in the villages, where even doctors do not want to go, and this is happening even where the dearness allowance has been increased.

I am mentioning these examples just to point out that the rural side or the countryside has not progressed and it has not reached that state of affairs which it should have reached. Our Plan aims at a socialist pattern of society, but we have not yet reached that state of affairs.

But I would say that the fault is not so much with the Budget, but it is a question of the implementation of the Budget provisions and the implementation of the Plan provisions. These are not carried out properly, and we say 'Block Development' simply to please them.

I would say from my own experience, after having worked in the rural areas as chairman of the district board for twenty years, and also in other capacities that it may be best be called 'Block the development; the development is a whole waste'. One has to go through so many officers for getting even a small thing. For example, the common man requires some cement in summer months to build a well for his irrigation. First, he has to go to the block development officer to get his recommendation and then he must go a distance of 50 miles or pay some extra price. The Central Government has spent a huge sum of money on projects like the Bhakra-Nangal. But there are other projects for the betterment of the rural people, which are not being attended to; I

am not anti-urban, but I would say that for the country's sake that if production has to be increased, then electricity for irrigation should have been the first charge on this spending. There are State enterprises as well as Central enterprises, and the first thing they should have done is to supply electricity for wells and then to go in for glorification in rooms, with fans, refrigerators and so on. These latter things can afford to wait for two or three or four years, but not the other thing.

I can give an example from my own district. Electricity was given to a well, which was in a one harvest area where bajra only was produced

before; after the supply of electricity that gentleman has produced 74 maunds and 38 seers of wheat per acre by irrigation with electricity, and he was given the title of 'Raj Krishak'.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is the hon. Member likely to take some more time?

Shri Gajraj Singh Rao: I want about five minutes more.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He can continue tomorrow.

17.30 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, May 9, 1962/Vaisakha 19, 1884 (Saka).