[Shri Dinesh Singh]

of the discussions held between the officials of India and Ceylon in December, 1964, regarding implementation of the Indo-Ceylon Agreement of 30th October, 1964.

[Placed in Library, see No. LT-4034/65].

#### 12.26 hrs.

## GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now resume the general discussion on the General Budget for 1965-66.

Shri D. N. Tiwary may now continue his speech.

Shri D. N. Tiwary (Gopalganj): Last evening, I had submitted that the Finance Minister should take care to see that no deficit financing was resorted to. In that connection, I had stated that the loan subscribed by the Reserve Bank was in a way deficit financing.

I had also requested the Finance Minister to remove the duty on red kerosene oil which is used by the poor people. He may not agree to remove the duty on white kerosene oil which is mostly used by the middle class people, but since red kerosene oil is used only by the poor, the removal of the duty thereon should be sympathetically considered by the Finance Minister.

I had also requested him to take an all-India picture of the services. He should not merely increase the pay of the Central Government employees and let the State employees to feel discontented. He should make available sufficient resources to the States so that they may also pay to their employees sufficient pay and the employees would not feel any discontent. But, if on the other hand, the pay of the Central employees alone is in-

creased while the State are left to find their own resources for paying to their own employees, which resources they have not got, then there will be discontent in the country and already such signs are visible in our country. The teachers are agitating and they are going on fast. The lakh of nongazetted employees in Bihar have given notice that they would take leave on masse and stop the work of the government. In all the States, such movements are going on. So, we have to devise some all-India pattern so that the employees in the States also may feel satisfied.

In regard to the burden of fresh, taxation on some articles, the Finance Minister had hoped that it would not be passed on to the consumers. But I would submit that he would have to be very vigilant, because our experience is that all such burdens are passed on to the consumers ultimately and the merchants are so resourceful that Government are not able to catch them. This point also must be taken into consideration.

We are thankful to the Finance Minister for at least making a beginning by putting a ceiling on urban property. Some dissenting voice was heard in this House in this regard, but I must say that this taxation on urban property is a step in the rights direction.

Now, I come to the question of planning. This is an age of planning. and every region must get proper nourishment for its uplift. In Bihar. the picture that we find is one of misery in plenty. The Finance Minister has gone there and seen things for himself, and the people of Bihar are very much indebted to him for taking some interest in matters relating to Bihar. But he should Bihar the picture of know what actually is. Bihar which has got plenty of materials and resources is lagging behind other States. When

there is plenty of mineral resources, why are we lagging behind? This must be considered. In the all-India pattern, Bihar is nowhere. The all India average annual per capita income is more than Rs. 330, while that of Bihar is less than Rs. 200, and of North Bihar less than Rs. 150. This disparity when the mother earth in Bihar has got so much resources is something that should cause concern to everyone. If, the natural resources available are properly developed in Bihar, Bihar can become the Ruhr of India. Just as on the borders of Germany and France there are lands which are very fertile and rich in resources, so is the case with Bihar. So Bihar can be developed like Ruhr. But the resources there, are not being fully developed.

Even as regards the resources which have been developed, what is the condition there? Only outsidersnot Biharis-are geeting the benefits. Even in the matter of services Biharis are ignored. There is hardly any Bihari on the top of any undertaking, either central undertaking or any private firms. No single Bihari is on the top in these concerns. I am not going to be parochial. Even so, when we see this picture in Bihar that no Bihari is at the head of any undertaking there, our heart burns. We begin to think what is the matter. Biharis are not there even in the second position. The personnel officers are not Biharis. I am not saying that every undertaking must have Biharis only, but at least one or two must be there. But the fact is that we are not taken anywhere on the top.

Shri S. S. More (Poona): Are they sufficiently qualified for that?

Shri D. N. Tiwary: We are qualified to be the President of India, we are qualified to be Ministers here. But we are not qualified for other jobs! We are not qualified to be heads of undertakings! Is that what he means to say? Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): Very good.

Shri D. N. Tiwary: North Bihar depends mostly on agriculture.

Shri D. C. Sharma: 'Sons of the soil'.

Shri D. N. Tiwary: I am not for that.

Mr. Speaker: He might continue his speech and address me while doing so.

Shri D. N. Tiwary: Bihar depends on agriculture. The all-India average for dependence on agriculture is 70 per cent of the population, while in Bihar it is more than 85 per cent, and in North Bihar it is 89 or 90 per cent. The pressure on land is much more in Bihar, especially in North Bihar, than anywhere else in India. Even in respect of agriculture, the facilities we get are very meagre. Take the rates charged for electricity. The rates are very high in Bihar. ľn other states such as Madras and Punjab, it is something like 9 or 10 P per unit, but in Bihar, it is much higher: in south Bihar, it is about 19 P and in north Bihar about 28 P per unit. We have a pattern of all-India prices for iron, cement, fertilisers etc. Why not devise a similar uniform price throughout India for electricity also? The citizens of Bihar are not in a position to utilise to the full whatever facilities they have got by way of electricity or irrigation.

There  $i_s$  hardly any industry in north Bihar, except a few sugar mills which are also very old and outmoded.

Mr. Speaker: He has taken 10 minutes yesterday and 10 today.

Shri D. N. Tiwary: Other Congress Members' have taken 55 minutes.

I will finish in another five minutes.

**Mr.** Speaker: Everyone cannot claim to be a leader or the first spokesman.

Shri D C. Sharma: Who is that Congress member who got 55 minutes."

Shri D. N. Tiwary: As I was saying, north Bihar has what is termed industries in the form of a few sugar mills which are very old and outmoded; the sucrose content they extract is less by one and a half per cent than that crushed by the new mills. If some new industries, for which I have some suggestions, are given to Bihar, the people of Bihar will be very grateful to the Finance Minister. One suggestion is for the establihment of sugar mills the of latest type on a co-coperative basis. Something has to be done as....

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation (Shri B. S. Murthy): You are getting one.

Mr. Speaker: He should not enter into conversation with other Members.

Shri D. N. Tiwary:....as the population of north Bihar is about  $1\frac{3}{4}$  crores, 4 per cent of the population of the Country. The per mile density is more than 700 in north Bihar—something like that in Kerala.

Mr. Speaker: Is he addressing some Minister?

Shri D. N. Tiwary: I am addressing you.

Mr. Speaker: Not me at least—I do not feel like that.

Shri D. N. Tiwary: Sometimes my eyes may not be on you, but I am addressing you all the same.

The jute of Bihar goes to Calcutta. Therefore, the cultivators have to suffer because they are paid less than what the cultivators in Bengal are paid for. If a jute mill is established in north Bihar, it will have sufficient way materials to work on. North Bihar can have one spining mill.

The Minister of Planning (Shri B. R. Bhagat): Where are the schemes? Shri D. N. Tiwary: I am putting them to you.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: You should address the Bihar Government to send us schemes.

**Shri D C. Sharma:** There is a dispute going on between one Bihar Member and another Bihar Member. What is this?

Mr. Speaker: Punjab should inter-vene!

Shri D. N. Tiwary: Then paper mills. There are  $suga_r$  factories there. So paper mills can be established producing paper from bagasse.

I again apeal to the Finance Minister to see that the level of development of north Bihar specially and Bihar generally is raised to that of other states. It is also a border area. An attack from the Chinese can very well come there. If the people are discontented, they will be an easy prey to that.

Currently, we have seen a phenomenon in our capital. Industrialists are meeting, what they call the FICCI. It seems they are in a fighting mood and on war path. They want a pruning of the Fourth Plan. They want taxes to be reduced to a very great extent.

The Minister of Finance (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): They want a taxless society.

Shri D. N. Tiwary: I stand corrected. Not only that. They want Government to go on bended knees before them. Last night, there was a dinner to which I was also unfortunately invited.

An hon. Member: Unfortunately?

Mr. Speaker: Why should he mention to those who were not invited?

Shri D N. Tiwary: I am not blaming anybody. **Shri K. D. Malaviya** (Basti): Those who were not invited were fortunate —that is what he means to say.

Shri D. N. Tiwary: On that occasion, certain views were expressed. It was said that if taxation was less, the condition of India would have improved a great lot.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee (Ratna Giri): Aladin's lamp!

Shri D. N. Tiwary: They said that because of the lapses of Government, the condition of India is going down day by day. There is no difference between one industry and another whether they be on the Congress side or on the other side. One member of this House unfortunately expressed a wish that they should not give any contribution for the election to those who are against the industrialists. One member of the other House is trying to bring down the whole Government. The Finance Minister should beware of these things. Whether they be on the Congress side or on the Opposition side whether they be in this House or the other, they stand united in this matter.

Shrimati Yashoda Reddy (Kurnool): How did he get into that industralists' dinner? People are not going to tolerate any lowering of their aspirations. They cannot wait for long. The spectacle of children looking for crumbs from the tables of the rich men can no longer be tolerated. People are uneasy and restless, and if in their desperation they make a march on the wrong side, everybody will be swept away. Even the cannons of the Government cannot save them.

Shri K. D. Malaviya: I must pay my tribute at the outset to the abilities of the Finance Minister, his maturity, and, if I may say so, his worldly wisdom in producing this annual document which deals with the income and expenditure of the nation. Ever since I have had the occasion to know him, I have always found that he has a flair of genius, which at times develops into a principle which is dear to my heart, sometimes it does not. but anyway I must congratulate him on the ability with which he has produced this document.

I will briefly refer to certain aspects which I consider require his serious attention. Let me take fist the relief to the low income groups. He has certainly not added to the burden, I agree, but I am afraid the relief given to the low income group is not worth much. The structure of the present taxation, which was reasonably stable up to 1962-63, was changed drastically upwards due to the national emergency. If any relief was intended for the low salaried class, the additional surcharge levied in 1963-64 should have been withdrawn. That would give relief to them. In the latest Budget proposals, however, the percentage of tax incidence on the slab immediately below Rs. 5,000 is two per cent higher than in 1962-63, and on the slab immediately below Rs. 7,500 it is three per cent higher than in 1962-63 Relief on the other slabs, however, is quite distinct, and is higher in the higher groups from Rs. 20,000 annual income and upwards. For instance, those having an income of Rs. 50,000 have been given a concession of five per cent over the 1962-63 level, whereas the income slab of Rs. 7,500 to Rs. 10,000 have not been given that. Thus, the additional surcharge levied in 1963-64 due to national emergency has come to stay for the lower income group, but has been removed quite substantially from the higher ones.

Let me next tage the incentive in the form of rebate and tax credits that the Budget has proposed. This concession, in my opinion, is likely to rencourage undesirable tendencies and the power manipulation in a section of our society which has been pampered for quite a long time, owing to forgetfulness of the fact that our political party is pledged to remove economic disparities. I am afraid this may not give incentive to collection of savings or expansion of industries in a healthy, dispersed way. I am

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sure that if our policies of public control over industries are pursued in a determined way, we can find out ways by which substantial funds can be created out of savings from trade and industry, which can be diverted for creating industries in a more dispersed fashion, and also to pass bn the initiative to a new class of talented people in our dountry. Why these major concessions should be given on this freely earned capital to business experts, I fail to understand. I do not wish to say more about it.

I will not come to certain general aspects. Each year's Budget gives us an opportunity to ponder as to whether or not we are pursuing a policy which ultimately takes us out of the economic degradation in which we find ourselves today. I would like to know what has happened to the prices in the three weeks since the Budget was proposed for our consideration. Has there been any relief indicated on any major front? Prices have not gone down.

Similarly, I do not find any healthy reaction to the various proposals made for a certain section of our society, where it was expected perhaps that they would respond favourably to the concessions shown to them. This Budget, unfortunately is a reminder, like the last year's Budget, to me that under the stress and strain of the birth pang of a new social order, we seem to have cracked and deliberately decided to deviate from our policies which we declared some time back as the ruling party.

What are my suspicions and apprehensions in that regard? Firstly, it appears to me that our Government in general, and the Finance Minister, if I may say so, in particular, have great doubts about the purposiveness and accomplishments of public sector activities and projects. Not only that. To a certain extent, he has also doubts about the capabilities of the Indian industrialists to undertake the task

of our economic development in а satisfactory maner. He is confronted with a chronically bad situation of accumulated debts, and thinks that the gestation periods of our major projects are beyond our capacities to shorten because of India's basic inefficiencies inherent in our parliamentary system of democracy. The Finance Minister, therefore, sems to have come to have come to the conclusion that, in order to bypass the worsening payments position of the Government and in order to give a new and big push to our economic growth, foreign industrial talent should be injected into our economy heavily, so that the method of "turn-key-job" may do the trick and build up industries in India with all expedition. His strategy. therefore, seems to be to give a new interpretation to our Industrial Policy Resolution, without declaring such an intention of his. Has he, I ask him, the lead given by accepted the Twentieth Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce held in New Delhi recently, where the slogan of "world progress through partnership" was given a new meaning and a new emphasis? This new meaning and this emphasis appear to me to be part of an offensive, side by side with the growing complexity of the international military situation, where some far-reaching decision seem to have been taken by the Great Powers of the west to overshadow the growing contours of peace which had resulted after the sustained and calculated efforts of the three great leaders of the world, who are no more now to guide our international destiny-Kennedy, Khrushchev and Nehru.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): Mr. Khrushchev is in the world.

Shri K. D Malaviya: For practical purposes, he is not there. I think the hon Member knows it. The concept of non-alignment conceived by our great leader Jawaharlal Nehru was not only applicable to foreign affairs

in India but also extended its operations in the economic field. At least so far as Nehru was concerned, he built assiduously this concept of integrity in India's relations with for eign countries, more particularly between the two blocs. Once the world was convinced that Nehru meant what he said, the concept of non-alignment was extended to economic field also and it is a tribute to his master-mind and genius that he was able to solicit aid from Soviet Russia for our economic development on terms more favourable than the aids that we were receiving or reeive now from the United States of America. this In manner the political strength that Nehru acquired as a consequence of non-alignment was transferred to the economic front and political nonalignment was transferred to the economic front and political non-alignment influenced economic non-alignment and the two became interdependent on each other.

It is, however, interesting to know what Dr. Peter Quin who was the chief of the international gathering that recently met in Delhi says: "What the business community in the advanced countries really wants is to establish direct relations with the under-developed world. Businessmen are feeling more and more that this debate, which had been onesided anyhow, should be should stopped and that confidence grow through practical co-operation." He also gives a mild threat when he says: "There should always be a willingness to make a venture in other parts of the world and thus to contribute to their economic growth, but many western enterpreneurs feel that they should only go where they are really welcome." Finally, he says: "it is not always realised that development aid consists of channelling the national savings of citizens of advanced countries into the developing countries." He objects to Governments, international institutions and banks distributing people's other money to underdeveloped countries without obtaining the consent of the citizens of the developed countries 2536 LSD-4.

He says: "Boards of directors can invest money without consulting the shareholders and Government can use compulsions by imposing taxes (but there are limits to this." All this seems to have some influence on the thinking talent of our Secretariat experts and has the Government succumbed to this thinking! I presume that it is the Finance Minister's sincere desire that every possible source of dynamism and enterprise should be harnessed whether domestic or foreign, public or private, to the task of rapid economic growth. I regret to say that I am being compelled to arive at the conclusion that this search for a new approach to solve our economic problems is based on a pragmatically-biassed pessimist outlook and a harmful philosophy for our future generation. I am sorry I wilı have to speak with some frankness but I hope I will not be misunderstood. Firsty, I do not think that our basis thinking and strategies to prosecute our economic programme have failed us, monopolies apart. I think a fairly high rate of growth had already been established in India in recent years in the industrial sector. The growth rate shows a compound increase of 5.75 per cent annum in the First Plan period and nearly 7.5 per cent in the Second Plan period and it is reported that the first three years of the Plan have indicated a rate of growth which is certainly higher than 7.5 per cent. may be, anything between 9 and 10 per cent. Without going into any further detail. I make bold to say that although conventional and old industries like jute, textiles and sugar have have registered low rates of growth, the chemical, metallurgical, and engineering industries which have followed comparatively speaking, more loyal lines of our policies have shown a faster rate of growth. I further state that as a result of our policies of State interference and ownership, these industries have assumed greater imporindex tance than what the official number or the official assessment is inclined to accept. I find from certain studies that the new industries

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have grown at a rate of over 10 per cent per annum in this period and the old ones have shown a declining rate of growth of round about 2.5 per cent after 1956. The reasons are obvious. I would not like to go into them. I agree that this slow rate of growth of these old industries are on account of their being agriculture based but I will come to this later on. But what is incontrovertible from these figures is that the high rate of growth of new industries is caused by a new outlook of modernisation of the economy and our reliance on planning and basic industries under the public sector. The hon. exponent of the Swatantra Party who spoke yesterday denounced our basic concepts by caustic comments about Nehru's legacy. That only reminds me of a great statesman having spoken once, in wrong context, of dogs barking and the caravans moving. Such attempts which are made by the Swatantra individuals are born out of the frustrated mentality. This is a party which had lost its head in my opinion and stands in a state of uttar disintegration. Any major national problem that faces them just breaks them. With your permission, I would like to quote them. There is one great leader, perhaps who had given birth to this party, an eminent leader from Madras. His views are quite known to all of us in this House. It is one end of extremism. The other extreme is here: I am quoting my friend Mr. K. M. Munshi: "The outbrust of violence in the south raises a question of paramount importance in the life of the country Is it permissible for the people of one State to let loose forces of disorder and blackmail the rest of the country into submissiveness?" That is the background and the spirit in which two great leaders of the Swatantra Party fighting among themselves. Then they come here to preach sermons here to us and talk to us. . . .

**Shri Priya Gupta** (Katihar): Similarly, it is so in the Congress camp also.

Shri K. D. Malaviya: Congress camp is going to stand united this question.

An hon. Member: What about the two resignations?

Shri K. D. Malaviya: Whatever may happen, Congress is the guardian, as it stands today, of the integrity and unity of this country. However we may differ, we shall see to it that there is a national solution....

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): Take them also along with you,

Shri K. D. Malaviya: Everybody will come with us because we are determined to keep united inspite of differences because we know that we will make up all these differences ultimately.

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Mandsaur): The same can be said of Swatantra also.

13 hrs.

Shri K. D. Malaviya: It is regrettable that those who had not gone in the bad company of the Swatantra Party and call themselves as members of capitalists, society, are divided in so many parties, they also sometimes hardly understand the philosophy of the public sector and give patronising reprimands. They say that these high officials of the Government of India do not generate economy. They are spenders of money and wasters of money. One of my own friends of the party to which I have the honour to belong said sometime back, reprimanding that he wanted the Government to train this cadre, the senior people that belong to the Government and are given charge of the public sector projects. I say today they are reprimanding, but the moment, they retire, these private sector-walas engage them on double their salary or treble or four times or five times their salary and keep them and see to it that they stay with them. Why should they invite them in their own folds if they are all wasters of money? But the hard fact is that the Government must pay greater attention to a dedicated band of those people who are working the projects of public sector so far in the last five to ten years.

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Of course, there have been shortfalls and weaknesses, but there are reasons for it. Also it is high time that we saw how the major industries in the private sector have behaved in the past. Time after time they have been criticising and the public sector projects on grounds such as lack of expedition and gestation period being prolonged and too much money being wasted and all that. I would like the Finance Minister to institute an enquiry into some of the major private sector industries which have been going on in this country. I do not wish to name any of them but one of them is the Bareillev Synthetic Rubber Factory which was installed a few years' ago. Let us find out how it was started, what happened and there are many projects where a conclusion can be established, and that, the private sector industries also have erred badly, have prolonged their programmes and the gestation period is not less as has been found in other cases.

We have been talking of self-reliance and behaving in a self-respecting manner. But the fact is that we failed to build up a system and that confidence which lifts a nation like ours from stagnation For this, the people's energy can be harnessed only when we as leaders of the nation, do not hesitate to go the socialist way for our economic ideals. Whether it is a treatment given to our technicians or dignity to the workers, whether it is compelling our talents to apply their initiatives and struggle to find their own way, or, finally whether it it is to suppress our tendencies to disintegration, everywhere you wil! have to come to the conclusion that India can build sound and solid foundation only when our hidden talent is brought on the fore by following the resolutions on socialism which have been passed by the Congress and by implementing them without any reservation. This can happen only when the people at large are aroused to action by creating hopes in them and an atmosphere of incentives for them.

Kurt Mandessohm, a great scientist of the United Kingdom, who visited China and India very recently, was requested by the late Prime Minister to give his views on the work done by India in the realm of science and technology. It is interesting for the House to note what he said abcut it. I quote him:

"Again there is this difference between India and China, in that China, except for somewhat limited help from the Soviet Union had to rely entirely on her own resources in technologoical development and expansion. It may well be part of India's failure to develop science rapidly that her industry had too much of a helping hand from outside. By relying on ready-made importation of much of her new manufacturing capacity, she has gained a little time, but lost the incentive for creating her own technology.

The Chinese example has shown that copying and direct transplantation of European or American b<sub>v</sub> no methods in industry are means the most efficient way of solving the problems. The conditions in an Asiatic country are vastly different from those of the West....If science and technology are to advance and grow in India, the politicians have not only to learn that they must give support; they must also give a lead in fitting this development to the specific conditions of India. India has now a number of excellent young scientists and technicians. It is the job of the politicians to make use of them.

This lack of interest and appreciation unfortunately is extending to industry. Owing to shortage of capital, a large number of Indian firms are small producing goods with an eye to a ready market and with no idea of improvement or development. For them the idea of scientific or trained

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technological direction must appear preposterous. The large industries, which are governmentoperated, usually rely on p'aut which is imported, lock, stock and barrel, and have no ihought for further development."

These are long quotations, but I thought they may be useful for us as reminders; I want the Government to apply a fresh mind with some humility and in a mood of revising its thinking so that new efforts could be harnessed to change the present atmosphere of dependence into that of hopefulness.

Let us decide once for all that India has to build its economy mostly by herself. It is high time, therefore, that we should re-dedicate ourselves to the spirit of the industrial policy resolution and take a vow that we shall not deviate from it. The turnkey job mentality will not only destroy all the future talents that our young man may be capable of building, but it will destroy all semblance of initiative and self-respect of the nation. It is not a dogmatic approach.

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

Shri K. D. Malaviya: I will just quote two instances very briefly and flnish this aspect. I take the oil industry and the fertiliser industry. In the oil industry, the Government depended on our of self-reliance and self-help. More than 90 per cent of help and assistance was sought from socialist countries which were prepared to give their knowhow; India was refused the foreign dollars and sterlings simply because the dollar and sterling kings wanted the oil kings to establish the oil industry here. But the public sector and the socialist philosophy of the Congress Government refused to accept that situation and thus built up the oil industry under state sector whereas in the fertiliser industry, it has not not been able to do so. Why is to so? Because we have been trying for the co-operation of Bechtel, and the consortimus. The engineering and designing talents are enough in this country. I say this with a sense of responsibility: that all the plant and machinery needed to produce machineries or manufacture fertilisers in this country can be handled by the Indians except for a thing here and there like the gas ammonia p'ant or the 'oxygenisation plant which can be purchased for payment of a smail royalty.

I know many other countries were willing to sell these. Once this having done, what prevents the Government from going the whole hog to produce fertilisers in our own country in the manner that we like and to own them also. If we do it, we ourselves could get 20 per cent return on the investment instead of giving it to foreign investor, which will make up for the initial difficulties. We could get back all the investment in five years' time. Is it not a less strenuous and a lesser strain created on the foreign exchange position? We might do it this way or that way, but you have to face the difficulties of the burden of debts. Therefore why not face it with courage, which will make you and the nation self-reliant? It may be a difference of one or two or three years, but we have to do it.

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

Shri K. D. Malaviya: I do not agree that the present difficulties on the agricultural front are all due to the lack of fertilisers. Shortage of fertilisers from that point of view can be remedied. One-third of the irrigated lands of our country is densely populated, and they are irrigated either by natural or by artificial means. Fertilisers are mostly needed only in those quarters. For the rest, we have to make arrangements of our own instead of depending on Bechtel

and other consortiums: One million nitrogenous fertilisers and half a million phosphate to be produced in about five to six years' time is the target before us. If we depend upon ourselves, we may not get it in five to six years' time. Heavens will not fall if the fertilisers needed are available to us in ten years' time instead of seven to eight years time. In the meantime, the administrative wing should be improved for better distribution. The Government should improve the administrative system and change the whole pattern from the old to the new ones. New wines cannot be contained in the old bottles now. That old pattern of administrashould go. It has to be tiv system changed radically. rejected. and Because we have taken upon ours dves a new task of reconstructing the economy of this country. If we fail to transform our administrative system, our talking about there is no use building socialism in a short time.

In conclusion, I would like to say that it is not a dogmetic approach when men like us say, "Go fast towards socialism". Dogmas are owned only by those people who are religionwalas. A regionwala is more dogmatic than a man who is not very particular about religion. Therefore, for fanatics of religion to call others dogmatic is not very fair. Socialists are rational people who take a scientific and pratical point of view. The survival of this country depends on this fact alone that the ruling party, which is dedicated and committed to a socialist programme must go fast towards that end must improve govern ment must transform its men and its system, and must stand on its own legs, without caring for foreign consortiums and the money that is obtained by begging. I hope Government will take stock of the entire situation that is facing us and base our activities on spirit of self-help and self-reliance.

Shri Nath Pai: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Finance Minister by now must be suffering from indigestion from a surfeit of encomiums, accolades and compliments which he has been receiving from the other House and of course, a section of the press and the business community. By way of a change and in the interest of his health, I am going to tell him some plain truth about the budget and the economic policy which he has been pursuing. This is the budget of an intelligent man for smart and the prosperous. Bernard Shaw wrote a book which came to be known as the Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism. Mr. Krishnamachari should very seriously think-he has a very lucid style and perfect command over the English languageof writing an Intelligent Man's Guide to Capitalism masquerading as Socialism.

We began after independence with a colonial economy. We were supposed to be building welfare economy. Actually we are establishing a mongrel economy in this country. This budget is the budget of a party which de jure is wedded to socialism, but de facto cohabits with the laissez faire philosophy of the Swatantra. Therefore, it is perpetually practising political and ideological bigamy. Naturally the budgets happen to be deformed, when they are born once a year.

The budget will have to be judged as the budget of a country which is in the midst of an emergency, which is fighting on two fronts. On one front it is face to face with the biggest single land force in the world and on the other it is fighting to remove lowest standards of living and consumption. If we will be therefore trying to apply the necessary obligations which follow from this kind of conditions in which we live, what will be the conclusions which we will be driven to?

The country is facing gargantuan problems at home and menacing perils across the border. Our pres-

#### [Shri Nath Pai]

tige abroad is at its lowest ebb today since independence. In spite of the very brave words of the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, who has called upon everybody who was within the hearing range of his oration yesterday to discard the tattered garments of pessimism and done the armour of optimism and courage, the chariot of planning in which we were supposed to be riding to the temple of prosperity and plenty has become stuck up and begged down in the of administrative ineffiquagmire ciency, ineptitude and incompetence.

Corruption is a very touchy subject. We have heard enough about it; I will not be wasting my meagre few minutes on that. But corruption under the present regime has assumed the universality and essentiality of currency, gnawing at the vitals of the body politic and corroding the morale of our people. It has been demonstrated on several occasions-during what happened when we were confronted with the food crisis and also during those unhappy 'events which took place in Tamilnad—that the authority of the Central Government as a whole is alarmingly, perceptibly, demonstrably, weakened. We do not know where we drifting. So are weak is the authority of the Government that it cannot bring up itself to order the States to fall in line on any major national issue, be it the language issue-the language which the nation should accept as the link language-be it the question of producing budgets which will not be piling deficit upon deficit or be it the question of resolving issues like distributing the water resources of the country or finalisation of borders between States. The Krishna-Godavari water dispute is indeed a monument to the total inability of this Government to give any lead on any burn-Mysore-Maharashtra ing issue. The border issue-what is it if not a testimony to, if not that these people are

tolerated as central leaders in name, but when it comes to enforcing any discipline from the point of view of the long-term and vital interests of the county, the so-called provincial colleagues will be contended to pay-The crisis of foodin lip service. grains-I shall have something in detail to say about it at a later stage, escalating and ever-rising prices of foodgrains are a standing monument to the ability and capacity which this Government had developed for bungling and mismanagement. In short, looking at the state of affairs, one thinks that with true patriofic zeal, the team of hon. gentlemen sitting across the table have indianised Lincoln's famous definition of democracy-democracy of the people, by the together have indianised Lincon's definition government of the mediocre, by the incompetent, for the helpless!

Mr. Speaker, I would like to draw attention to the major criteria we shall be having in mind when we will this he discussing budget. Those Congressmen who bother to read what happens outside this country and sometimes find some leisure to read something different from their own speeches and the orations of the ministers, must have read the speech of Mr. Mao Tse-tung. He has predicted just a fortnight ago the inevitability of war during the next 10 or 15 years and he has also prophesied the invin cibility of the Chinese arms during that war. We know where we will be ranged if that war comes.

#### Shri K. D. Malaviya: Who?

**Shri Nath Pai:** There is a man called Mao Tse-tung; he happens to be leader of China!

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): He knows him very well.

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Shri Nath Pai: Mr. Chou En-lai has said that they have claims which compass Indian territory of 80,000 squares miles in NEFA and elsewhere. Let us take this very seriously. In the other past, we and some nations which were gullible like us did not take it seriously. It was to late in the day, when the President had to refer to our credulity and negligence. We will have to take very seriously what some of our neighbours say, particuneighbours like Mao-Tse-tung larly and Chou En-lai. Chou En-lai has talked about his claims. What is the today Chinese strength to back claims? I will not be going those into the Chinese military preparations today; that I reserve to say when I speak on the Defence Ministry's demands. With presently mobilised man-power, People's China could, if it wished, literally saturate Nepal, NEFA, Bhutan, Sikkim, Burma, Laos and Thailand and hold a club raised in the direction of Taiwan, India and Japan. This is one estimate by military experts of the present military capabilities and strength of China. Prof Ralph Lapp has predicted that China will be producing within the next six months at least one atom bomb per month. We have to take this into consideration when we think where we are proceeding.

I do not think this is the kind of **budget** with which they will be equipped to fulfil the pledge of socialism to which they pledged themselves at Bhuvaneswar so loudly, nor can we fulfil the pledge which this House took on the 14th November. These are the two pledges. Their pledge, I know, is partly phoney—it may be serious with some of them-but the nation as а whole, the people of this country as a whole, have taken the pledge to march towards the goal of socialism.

This is our first attempt and our second attempt is to eradicate the shame and humiliation of occupation of Indian territory by the Chinese forces. Is this the instrument with which we will be equipped, with which we will be laying the foundation of strength of this country which will make it impossible for a potential aggressor once again to subject us to that humiliating experience through which we went through in November 1962? Mr. Speaker, I am afraid this budget is ont likely to achieve anything of the kind.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari should think now why I am saying so about this budget. You must have read, Mr. Speaker, what was happening at a conference of what has come to be known as FICCI-it sounds very often fishy—or the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. This is what they think about this Government and its policies to take us towards socialism. I will now analyse it. This is what they think about Shri Malaviya and others. This is precisely the word used by their leader. It is said that among other speakers Shri Maddi Sudarsanam said that the charges made by a politician-he had a politician like Shri Malaviya in mind obviously-need not be taken seriously. He further said that he was confident that a trader could never be displaced by government or cooperatives of which the Government never tires of talking. Such is the confidence of these people, that they will have the last word in this country, whatever speeches Shri T. T. Krishnamachari may be making or whatever the threats Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri may be administering from time to time.

The real reason for this is something different. You, Mr. Speaker, know the famous dictum—and these businessmen know it well too through their experience and long practice-politics depends upon two things, on money and votes. But they know further that votes decide the nature of a minister's speech and money decides the nature of the government's action. They are absolutely sure about it. Therefore, whatever the speeches about socialism, they will be getting in this country the cream of every effort that the nation will be making in the interest of socialism, building a welfare society, lifting the living

## [Shri Nath Pai]

standards, curbing prices, homing inflation in check and, in short, ushering a better, equitable and just society. This is how they look at the budget and this is their reaction to the budget.

Shri Chinai's substitute resolution which was adopted said, that the Federation is happy-why should it not be happy-to note that there is a wlecome trend in the direction-Shri Malaviya may be thinking of socialism; it is not that-of simplification of the tax structure-this is euphemism; these are tax concessions to which they are referring, and I will be talking about it a little later-by amalgamating the super-tax with income-tax, by a reduction in the rate of personal taxation and tax incentives for greater production and exports. While the Federation welcomed these trends, it wished that the tax relief had been more wide in scope and less technical in detail. I

Generally, this is the best certificate a Government could have expected. Now, we were told about the Government not having created new burdens. I think it is a travesty of truth to suggest that the Government has not raised the burdens. Among the dubious methods that Shri T. T. Krishnamachari is cultivating, accepting, establishing in this House, is one of surreptitious budgeting. What do I mean by surreptitious, secretive bud-He gave some concessions geting? some months back. Whatever its effect it is immaterial here, but it is a clever way of doing things and the House must take note of it. What did he do? He gave some concession of 5 to 10 per cent for equity capital invested in new industries. A few days later he announced about 10 per cent regulatory duty. I have to say that one had a rigorous aspect about it and the other was a concession. But Shri Krishnamachari delivered these not through the budget speech. but through the budget proposals, not through the Finance Bill proper, but by coming from the side doors so that one section does not realise what the concession is, the other does not scream against that concession and he can get away with what he is doing. This kind of budgeting, Mr. Speaker, in a Parliamentary democracy must not be encouraged. The Finance Minister will have to answer to the House as to why he felt compelled, just a few wecks before the budget proposals came, introducing these two measures.

I shall now be turning to a verv important aspect, again, concerned with socialism. One of the aspetcs of socialism-I am not going to give а lecture on that- is that the standard of living, that the share of the average citizen appreciates step by step and as time goes on his share in the national cake becomes a little bigger. What is happening? If we are to trust so good an economic analyst like Prof. Raj, what does he say? If we take the standard-not of the money income---of an individual, of a worker, of a teacher, of an employee, of this small man who constitutes the Indian society by and large, what does it show? What has been his return? It has been said time without numberof course, they will not pay any heed to it nor will they improve their policies-that the consumption level in India is today lower than before. I will be giving statistics only if time permits, but I will be telling why does it happen so.

Shri Masani, yesterday, almost pontificated and predicted that the Government will be compelled to come with a devaluation proclamation betore the House. Why should they? They will not do so because they will be lacking the courage. This is precisely what is happening today. The rupee is being imperceptibly devalued every day. There is an un-proclaimed devaluation, the proclamation can take place later, the proclamation can take care of itself later on. Perhaps, it is a legal requirement. But today we find that the rupee has been, without a proclamation, in an un-proclaimed manner devalued already. I will be giving my reasons for this.

Mr. Speaker, the outstanding feature of the economic scene in 1964 is the persistent rise in prices. This is how the rupee gets corroded and eroded every day. A Reserve Bank of India survey has pointed out that the rise in prices for the period ended September 4, 1964, has been the highest for any twelve months since the Second World War. The prices of food articles have risen by 23 per cent, of industrial raw materials by 21 per cent and by an equally menacing percentage in the case of manufactured goods. But to realise the impact of the price rise on the common man one has to look particularly at the increase in the price of foodgrains. The price of wheat rose by 57 per cent and the price of gram by 108 per cent. Consider these against the background of the fact that the middle class spend over 40 per cent of their income on food and those lower down the income scale does a considerable bigger percentage. This is the benefit that is coming to us.

They often cite the example of Egypt. I do not hold it as a model for this country for a variety of reasons. But what has happened in and We have pointed out Egypt? shown that if they have imagination, understanding drive, guts, vision, they can use the powers with which they are equipped  $a_8$  a result of the proclamation of an emergency at least to hold the prices of the most essential commodities like rice. wheat. bread, dal and things which constitute the budget of the average man. Since 1952 in Egypt, the prices of foodgrains have actually gone down and bread today sells in Egypt at the same price at which it used to sell soon after the Nasser regime was installed. This is something for Shri Subramaniam to think about. He has talking been about hoarding by traders. Partially true, of course. But is that an adequate explanation? Is there no responsibility on him, his department and the Government as a whole? I will be tackling him a little later. Because, this is one of the major things. I will be telling him about the failure on

the part of his advisers, who went on unloading on the market foodgrains at a time when they ought to have given their thought to holding stocks or building up stocks, because of their experience in the previous year when the prices came down, tumbling down, as a result of unloading of imported This kind of unplanned ungrains. loading of PL-480 donations of wheat which come to this country and then, later on, not unloading the buffer stock when the prices went high, that creates a lot of confusion. Millions of producers in this country always live margin of subsistence on a and whenever there is а possibility of selling less and yet getting their basic minimum, they do not sell what they used to sell. This is a very important thing about which you never bothered. When there is uncertainty and there is hope coupled with that uncertainty that prices may go high and a better time may come, they are further inclined, induced and tempted not to keep back their stocks. At such a time it WAS the duty of the Government to build stocks instead of abdicating its responsibility to the people of this country by unloading stocks. What was the condition of those stocks?

Time and again we have been given the cheap slogan about hoarding and blackmarketing. Was it not their duty under the powers given to them under the Defence of India Rules to take action against the hoarders and blackmarketeers? But there is a wider aspect to this problem which they never grasped before it was too late in the day, and that is the further rise in prices and the consequent inequities in the economy.

The table for cereals of the all-India consumers' average price index for the working class in the Indian Labour Journal, the official organ of the Government of India, what has it revealed? That table indicates the growing inflationary trends in the country. I am sorry, the Finance Minister is not here; not that it would have produced any effect. What docs

#### [Shri Nath Pai]

that table indicate? What could be purchased in 1951 for Rs. 111 has gone up to Rs. 156 or proportionately the purchasing power of Rs. 190 in 1957 is now receiving only Rs. 140. This is not something which a Swatantra Party member is saying. This is the agony, this is the misery, this is the lot and suffering of the average Indian today, and this is something to which the so-called socialists, Shri Malaviya and members of the Congress Party should give thought.

The twelve-year national defence savings certificate was introduced in 1957. A certificate of the value..... (Interruptions) I would like them to hear my speech.

An hon. Member: They never bother.

Shri Nath Pai: That is very good. You are a good man and you should try to improve the party. A twelveyear national defence.....

Shri U. M. Trivedi: May I say....

Shri Nath Pai: Already they are confused. If they do not get the figures correctly, Mr. Trivedi, their confusion will be even more. So, I want your co-operation so that they will get the figures correctly.

The twelve-year national defence savings certificate was introduced in 1957. A certificate of the value of Rs. 100 purchased in August 1957 would yield a return of Rs. 133 in August 1964 according to the rates prescribed therefor. It is evident that there is no interest in the money invested and, much worse; the capital itself has gone down in its value. Even for the national defence certificate. which is guaranteed for the saving of the citizen, what happens to it? After six years, he gets something which does not have any interest on it, which was one incentive for which he invested in it. He makes a present sacrifice for a future benefit. Far from the future benefit coming to the poor

man, he will be robbed of the capital because of the lesser purchasing power of the rupee. This is devaluation in simple words because his purchasing capacity will be reduced. But stoically, hurling defiance in the face of facts, they will say: we are not much bothered, because in a developing economy the prices are bound to increase. But is this only a developing economy? We thought that your pretention, your claim, your profession, was that you are going to build an egalitarian society where the burdens are carried equitably. What is happening to those burdens?

Then I should like to point out that, apart from the failure of the Government to hold the prices in this country, which is one of the major failures, this failure in the long run may be more harmful to the very morale of our people and, therefore, to our ability to remain a free people, independent people and sovereign people. This continuous corrosion of the morale of our people by the untold sufferings to which you subject them, by inflicting on them injuries which can be avoided which can be foreseen and anticipated and, therefore, prevented from falling on them, in the long run the result of this would be more harmful than the evil designs of Pakistan and Peking put together.

A high proportion of the additional taxation levied by the Finance Minister in 1963 and 1964 take the form of commodity taxes and since the terms of trade also move sharply in favour of agriculture, during the year the fixed and low-income groups in the urban sector had perhaps to face in real terms almost the whole of the additional burden imposed by the Finance Minister. This is something which the congressmen should fust pause and ponder over that in the name of defence we have been compelled to carry additional burdens. Our people voluntarily came forward and showed their willingness to carry these burdens in order to remain a

free people. But how does the Government give a lead in the matter of sharing these burdens? May I tell Shri Subramaniam-he is one among the good men they have; I still cling to the illusion that he is still good and we shall see something good coming out of him-that during the last war Mr. Ernest Bevin's wife stood in the queue along with others to get her share of ration of margarine, butter, ham and bacon? This is how Britain could build up the moral strength and keep the moral fibre of the nation at a time when the odds against them appeared to be tremendous. Both the German army and the German air force appeared to be almost invincible, both in the air and on the land Britain was left alone. But what was it that gave her strength? This was the basis of her strength, that the burden was carried equally in facing a common danger by their common heritage.  $I_S$  there any such beginning made here? What does this indictment show? I would like again to ask: if we applied this kind of criterion of whether do we go?

I was saying about the danger. How big is the danger? Before I take up the economic aspect, let me point out what is happening on our borders. Yesterday, the External Affairs Minister came and told us that raids were carried on for three days on end by Pakistani Ansars and members of the Armed Constabulary of Pakistan. The entire Indian border is a kind of shooting range for the Nagas; it has become a parade ground for the Pakistanis; it has become a playing field for the Chinese to come in and go out whenever they liked.

On the one hand, we are paying through our nose for our defence. They do not add the burden of the people, Shri Malaviya said. and he wants to congratulate the Minister. This is a phoney kind of socialism which they practice. You cannot add anything more the burden; the back of the average man is already on the point of breoking completely down. How can

you add anything more? Take any country, any developing country and the kind of burdens the people there are supposed to bear, be it an emergency on account of a war on the border, be it a dedication to the case of building an egalitarian society; will find that never were you to such people subjected inevu<sub>1</sub>ties and unequal burdens as the people of this country are being condemned to carry, forced to carry day in and day out. We would like to see something comes out of these burdens. It would be a matter of pride, of joy, of inspiration if these burdens were to lead to greater strength. But all these foresaken comforts are going down the sacrifices, all these tears, all these drain.

Mr. Speaker: He should conclude now.

Shi Nath Pai: I will take a few more minutes.

How do they try to do this kind of thing? Taking shelter behind radical slogans and giving a miserable performance has been the practice of this Government. This is the certificate for them which I should like to read from another distinguished economist:

"One form of political disguising of unwillingness to take immediately any specific measure in this field is advocacy of more radical policies which have no chance whatsoever of being implemented."

Talk very loudly, talk belligerently, talk daily, talk without stopping of radical things. You will never be called upon to implement them. So. why not talk? Why not appear radical? A shadow war is carried on all the while. It is a shadow war. They say that they are engaged in this progressive programme but the reactionary forces are pulling their feet from behind. Can they not do something for their discipline? Can they really implement this kind of radical programme?

Shri T. 'F. Krishnamachari sometime back used to be a good scholar

#### [Shri Nath Pai]

and was addicted to books. I would suggest that he should take some time to read a book by Professor Tom Ballough.

What is the kind of instrument that we have here? We have some sincere, very intelligent and dedicated men in the civil service, and I am prepared to give them their due. But, by and large, this is not the kind of machinery on which you can build a socialist society. Today a man is the chairman of a public sector undertaking with one eye all the while on a lucrative job which he will get in a private company the moment he relinguishes his office. Is this the way of building socialism. Mr. Roosevelt and later on Mr. Kennedy, because they wanted to do something now, had to infuse new blood in the American administration. Prof. Tom Ballough points out new ideas, new horizons were given to the American people. So, new men had to be brought in. Mr. Krishnamachari was once toying with the idea of doing something new-I do not know what nappened to them-and in private conversations he is so lucid and so full of brilliant ideas. But, I think, once he gets into the Secretariat, like the old Hindus leaving their shoes outside before entering a temple, he discards all those ideas and only then he goes to his office. Now and then he does talk about ideas.

Mr. Speaker, today there is the indiscipline in the Government services

Shri Khadilkar (Khed): What was the idea?

Shri Nath Pai: I am coming. There should be infusing of new blood by new people with new getting ideas. There were to be two kinds of ideas. One was that of sending some of our more promising civil servants to go and face the world of ideas, to get the fresh air of ideas, to move with the people, to go to the academic world, to go to the practical world and see what is happening. The other

was to get such men for ten nongovernmental agencies on the contract basis.

Mr. Speaker: He may conclude now.

Shri Nath Pai: I will be taking a few minutes more.

Mr. Speaker: I have given the whole time allotted to your group and even more than that.

Shri Nath Pai: I crave your indulgence for a few minutes more. There is the indiscipline today. I want a categorical reply. There is such а kind of insubordination and indiscipline in the administrative services and in this the crown of honour is carried by the Ministry of External Affairs. We should ponder to think where we are going. I can state in this House with all the seriousness I can command that recently two of our envoys, one an Ambassador and another an envoy, were transferred and they refused to take the orders and the Ministry of External Affairs do not know where these two gentlemen are absconding. (Interruption) Yes, I make a charge with all seriousness. Because he does not like that post, does not like that country, that climate, he will not go. Look at the morale that is prevailing in this in the services.

Sir, before I wind up, I would like to point out to them that we will have to carry our own class. Yesterday, something was said about the aid. I think it is quite true-of course, I do not quite agree that the aid has played that part-that be it loans, be it foreign collaboration, we need to have a very close look at it. I would prefer a loan than to have unexamined, unscrutinised, blind treckking of foreign equity capital. The reason is extremely simple. On the loan, the servicing charges operate between 7 to 12 per cent even if the terms are not particularly favourable. But in the case of equity capital-and I have no dogmatic hostility towards it: in strategic points, when the terms are favourable, when proper safeguards are given, I would welcome equity capital too-what I believe is that blind hunting for foreign the this equity capital is not good. Here is the survey made by the Reserve Bank. The Reserve Bank has carried out a survey of 87 chemical plants. What is the finding? There we found that often the outflow of so-called foreign capital was 20 to 24 per cent in terms of remittances, withdrawal of capital service charges, etc. This is given to us only for the period of about 5 to 6 years. Let us ponder and think of the larger danger. Are we really committed to the pledges which we have given to the people, firstly, to build an egalitarian and equitable society rid of the sin of foreign inequities with which we have been loaded and burdened throughout the countries and, secondly, to get rid this humiliation of the bune of of foreign occupation? If we mean that we are serious and earnest about both the pledges which we have given to the people and Parliament, we need to produce a more productionoriented budget on one hand and idopt far more equality-oriented budgetary fiscal and financial measures too.

Shri Morarka (Jhunjhunu): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I congratulate the hon. Finance Minister for the various changes that he has proposed in this budget. Some of them, though look minor, are nevertheless valuable as they give substantial relief to the taxpayer and to the consumer.

The present budget must be judged against the background of the problems that this country is facing today. duction. It provides funds for our massive defence effort and for higher in commodity prices. Foreign exchange position is precarious. There is an over-increasing need for exports. There is stagnation in industrial growth, the plants and machines are standing idle or partly idle while our demands remain unfulfilled. There are the demands for increased outlays on defence and development. There is the ever-growing population in the country and there is the overcrowding of the urban areas.

The budget, therefore, I submit. should not be looked upon merely as a statement of revenue and expenditure but a modern budget should be examined from the point of view of whether it is or it is not designed to meet the various economic problems that our country is facing. In my humble submission, a budget nowadays is a strategy, a blue-print, a plan for meeting these various problems. This budget I submit, is designed for giving relief to the individuals, for There is an inflationary pressure in giving incentives to the producers, for augmenting our exports, stimulating savings and, above all, for combating inflation. The overall fiscal policy adumbrated in this budget is designed to fight inflation and increase proour economy. There is an upsurge tempo of developmental activity. The concessions given by the hon. Finance Minister are not only well deserved by the people but they are urgently demanded by the State of our economy.

The Finance Minister has said that this is the 1st time that an overall surplus budget is presented. I submit, to see whether the budget is suror deficit, you must plus confine yourself only to the revenue budget. There is not much merit in balancing your capital budget by borrowing from one source or the other. From that point of view, during the last 15 years, of the 15 budgets that were presented, 7 budgets were surplus and 8 budgets were deficit.

## 13.48 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

But in actuality, in the final analysis, except one budget (1957-58), every one of them turned out to be surplus. On the other hand, in the case of capital

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[Shri Morarka]

budgets, 9 were surplus and 6 were deficit budgets at the time of presentation. In actuality, everyone turned out to be a deficit budget. My point here is that this requires our looking into the technique, our improving the method of budgeting and a re-orientation of the minds of our revenue officers.

I would say, the main virtue of the budget is that it eliminates deficit financing completely. There is no use denying the fact that our economy is indeed under a serious pressure of inflation. May I say that the main reason for inflation is not the increased supply of money? But the only reason, the basic reason, for inflation is that you consume more than what you produce. If your consumption is more than your production, then inflation is bound to take place. The increased money supply and high prices are not the causes. They are the effects of inflation. By controls, even if you had a perfect apparatus of controls, you may suppress your scarcity, you may distribute it you may avoid black-marketing and you may keep the prices in a particular limit, but you cannot cure the basic malady, namely, the scarcity of goods. That, I submit, you can do only bv one means and that is by increasing your production. Any other attempt which is made for fighting inflation is bound to be a short-lived and illusory. The mere rise in prices is no indication that there is inflation because in a developing economy, some rise in prices is inevitable; in fact, not only is it inevitable, but it is also desirable. By the same token, if by controls and by rationing and other methods etc. you keep the prices under control. that does not prove that your economy is not under the pressure of inflation.

 $O_n$  the one hand, the Finance Minister has raised the bank rate, in order to curtail the Bank credit and on the other hand, we find that he had to provide Rs. 38 crores more in this budget for the salary bill of the Government officers and employees. Similarly, we find that our outlay on defence this time is going to be Rs. 872 crores. If we consider these figures along with the other amounts which we are going to spend on the various development projects, projects which are very necessary and very desirable from the social service point of view but which in the economic sense are not quickly maturing in the sense that they do not result in quick production, then to that extent, we shall find that the inflationary pressure on prices is bound to mount up.

While I am on this point, I also want to say that though the Finance Minister is trying his best to effect economies in Government expenditure, wastage is not avoided altogether. I shall give you one simple example which we have quoted in the report of the Public Accounts Committee this year. That is a very small case but it indicates the dimension of waste. It relates to the Ministry of Defence. In order to protect and save furniture worth Rs. 130, Government spent Rs. 36,314 by way of storage and rent charges on the furniture. I submit that these are the things which are bound to add to our inflationary pressure.

The increase in the bank rate has another effect also, and that is that it makes the funds tight, and it makes the credit less available even for productive purposes. When he increased the bank rate, the hon. Finance Minister did not take this into consideration and did not make any provision to ensure that at least for productive purposes credit would be available at normal rates or at proper rates. The result is that they have to pay not only high price for this bank money, but sometimes it becomes difficult for them even to get it at all.

Recognising that there is an urgent need for increasing production, the hon. Minister of Finance has given some concessions. For example, he has given 20 per cent rebate on the

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excess liability of the corporation tax. He has proposed a rebate of 25 per cent in the extra excise duties. He has proposed a 20 per cent rebate in the surtax payable by companies by adding certain new items. He has also increased the development rebate from 20 to 25 per cent. He has also proposed a development rebate for the tea industry at 40 per cent for new plantations and at 20 per cent for replantation of the old plantations.

These concessions are good as far as they go. But these concessions are both limited and conditional. They are available only to the limited companies, and they are also available only to the goods which are excisable. There is no general incentive that he has given to the producers, particularly to the agricultural producers. Nor has he provided any incentive to the small producers.

Sir. there cannot be any better incentive than the incentive of profit. If you give more profit for any business activity or any production activity, then the production is bound to increase. In the absence of any profit incentive, all other incentives are bound to be short-lived. This is not my opinion. Even in Russia, the latest thinking is that for increasing production, the only sure incentive is the incentive of profit. Professor Liberman of the Kharkhov Engineering and Technical Institute in Russia has advocated the introduction of a single criterion, namely profit to replace the numerous indices such as gross output, cost price reduction, introduction of new techniques, increased labour productivity, quality, planned products etc. They have replaced all these things now by the single criterion of profit. Again, Professor Trapeznikov, Director of Automation and Telecommunication has dismissed detailed central planning and he has also said that the profit criterion would alone be the measure of enterprise-performance

As I have said, though the Finance Minister has given incentive for in-

creasing production, he has done nothing to reduce the cost of production. The cost of production is more important for fighting inflation than anything else. The increase in the bank rate, the increase in the import duty, the increase in excise duty, and though small, the increase in railway freight -all these are going to add to and increase the cost of production. Therefore, I submit that the hon. Finance Minister should re-examine and try toensure that enough credit is available for productive purposes and that it is available on reasonable terms and that the various levies do not increase the cost of production.

There is another reason why I would like to congratulate the Finance Minister. In his budget speech, at page 12 in para 58, this is what the Finance Minister says.

"The first need is for simplification of the tax structure. For one thing, the distinction between income-tax and super-tax is something of an anachronism and the manner in which we allow for various deductions as at present is also not conducive to either simplicity or comprehension of net incidence. I have endeavoured to simplify the whole tax structure integrating super-tax by with income-tax and in other ways. This simplification will cost something to the exchequer for a little while. But it will improve tax administration and help to modify the attitude of the ordinary citizen towards his tax liability."

I think that this reform was long overdue. The Finance Minister has in my humble opinion made a good beginning, though a very small beginning. I shall now give you some instances to show why I consider the present tax structure as very complex. It was not too long ago, in the year 1961, that we completely re-wrote our income-tax law. when we re-wrote our income-tax law, the then Finance Minister expressed the opinion that even in the year 1866 this was what

#### [Shri Morarka]

was said about the income-tax law as it then existed, namely:---

"Owing to the perpetual changes the people, never certain who was liable or what was the sum due, were an easy prey for fraud and extortion; while the superior officials time after time found their labours thrown away and a fresh battle with guess-work and deception had to be begun.".

This was the position in 1886, and on the basis of that, we amended our law in 1961. Before the ink could dry on that amended law, year after year, we are introducing on an average apout 100 amendments in our incometax law. The yearly changes in the tax rates are not unknown to our fiscal history, but the structural changes which we make every year in the basic priciples, methods and provisions in the tax laws, not only baffle the tax-payers, but they also torture the tax-collectors. It has become a problem for them, and even the judges now frankly admit that they cannot cope up with the interpretation of this ever-growing and ever-changing 'law.

Shri Himatsingka (Godda): Books are not available.

Shri Morarka: I want to illustrate this by taking just one example, namely the example of limited companies or corporations, and of how they are taxed.

First of all, the companies are divided or classified according to their nature, that is, whether the company is a public company, or whether it is a public company in which the public is not substantially interested, or whether it is a private company, OT whether it is a foreign company which has made or has not made the prescribed arrangements for the payment of dividend in India. This is the first division that is made of companies.

Then while taxing them, the further critera are: what the income is, that is whether it is up to Rs. 25,000 or it is above Rs. 25,000.

Then the next step is what the business of the company is. Whether it is a trading company, or whether it is an industrial company. If it is an industrial company then whether it is manufacturing goods prescribed in one schedule or another schedule. Then whether its income is from agriculture or whether its income is from royalties or fees of the technicians, or whether it is from dividend from other companies.

Again, if the income is from dividend, from which company? Is it from an industrial company? Is it from a non-industrial company? Is it from a private company? Is it from a private industrial company? Is it from a public company? Or is it from a public industrial company? It does not stop there. Even if it is from a public industrial company, the question is: when was this company registered? Was it registered before 1952 or after 1952? Not only that. In the case existing companies whether the capital was issued before 1952 or after 1952?

Shrimati Yashoda Reddy: We are not income-tax officers.

Shri Morarka: I sympathise with the income-tax officer because each year he has to make three or four assessments of the same assessee which relate not to the same year but to different previous years. It is humanly impossible, howsoever clever, howsoever intelligent an officer may be, to keep these different, varying provisions, which change so often, in his Therefore. mind at any one time. confusion is bound to be there, and audit objections are bound to be there. So motives would not be attributed to your officers who are bound to make mistakes.

### 14 hrs.

The matter does not end there. Government says that companies doing a particular business or manufacturing certain articles will get certain concessions. Well and good. Now, what about these industries? They are listed, first of all, in schedule 5 to the Income-tax Act; then they are listed in schedule I Part 3 of the Finance Act; then they are listed in the schedule to the Industrial (Development and Regulation) Act. Then they are listed in Para 2 to Schedule 3 in the Surtax Act. Then there is the shipping industry; then electricity industry and distribution business. and finally the tea industry.

One can understand that we want to encourage the manufacturers of certain industries and Government wants to give some concessions some incentives, some encouragements to these manufactures. But why can't they list all these industries in one place? There are five or six different schedules; for each provision, there is a different schedule which is applicable.

Now, to crown all this, there remains another thing. What is the system of company taxation? They do not say that the rate of tax for a company would be 50 per cent or 45 per cent in this Act. They prescribe a rate of 80 per cent. They prescribe a basic rate for companies at 80 per cent, at which rate no company is taxed in India, it has never been taxed.

What happens? Out of the 80 per cent, they give certain rebates. А deduction of 30 per cent, 35 per cent, 37 per cent is given from this 80 per cent by way of rebates. So the effective rate is brought down to 50 per cent or 55 per cent. Now, when they want to give some concession. again what do they do? They add something to the rebate. In other words, instead of following a straight method of prescribing a basic rate of taxation and then laying down the 2536 (Ai) LSD-5.

rebate which is admissible, there is the very roundabout method of first fixing a rate of 80 per cent and then giving certain rebates, and then to reduce the rebate so as to increase the effective rate. For the life of me, I cannot understand why they should adopt this roundabout method.

Shrimati Yashoda Reddy: They do not understand it.

Shri Morarka: First they say 80 per cent. Then they give rebate, they reduce it in order to make the effective rate more.

Anyway, I beg to make a few suggestions for making these tax laws acceptable and reducing the burden of the tax officers somewhat.

Firstly, we must have an internal revenue code consolidating all direct taxes in  $a_s$  simple a language as possible.

Secondly, we must have a integrated tax return showing income tax, wealth tax, gift tax and expenditure tax all in one form.

Thirdly, in order to give some relief to persons whose income is not above Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 15,000, we must introduce a system of standard deductions, that is, people having a salary income or any other income below, say, Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 15,000, should be allowed a standard reduction of 15 per cent or 20 per cent, as the Government may decide. This thing is not unknown to us. In our statute, for property income, we always allow one-sixth of it for repair expenditure. So we are not without a precedent here. I hope if the same thing is followed here, we will do much better.

Now I come to another aspect, that is, the capital market. One criticism which has been levelled—and if I may say so, with some justification—against the present budget proposals is that they do not contain much for developing or stimulating the capital market. Here the disappointment is there not because this budget is in any way

## [Shri Morarka]

harming that market, but people were expecting, looking to the condition of the capital market, that something would be done by the Finance Minister to revive it or stimulate it. Since that has not been done, naturally people feel disappointed.

What are the hurdles in the way of development of the capital market? Firstly, the dividend tax. The dividend tax is levied at 7½ per cent on any dividend paid to a shareholder. If you levy a dividend tax on dividends above 7 per cent, 8 per cent or 9 per cent whatever be the reasonable percentage, if you prescribe that and if you levy a dividend tax on the excess of that percentage, it is understandable. But you do not expect that people would invest money in their shares without any expectation, without any hope of receiving any dividend whatsoever.

### 14.04 hrs.

## [MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

You can today lend money to a first class business or industry, to banks, at 7 per cent. 8 per cent.

Shri Rameshwar Tantia (Sikar): Even 12 per cent.

Shri Morarka: You can buy preference shares 91 per cent tax-free. You can buy debentures at 9 per cent. You can, if you do not mind less security, lend at 12 per cent, even at 15 per cent. But how do you expect people to come forward and invest money in the shares of companies which will take at least five or six years before they start paying dividend? Even then, the exchequer comes and says, 'You will have to pay tax on this divi-That, according to me, is a dend' proposal which requires re-examination by the hon. Finance Minister.

Another point is about the bonus tax. Bonus tax and dividend tax both go hand in hand. If you have a dividend tax, you cannot do away with

the bonus tax. But even so, bonus tax requires re-examination. Today, what do you do? When a bonus share is issued, you tax that person on the face value of the bonus share. But you do not take into consideration at that time that as a result of the issue of the bonus share, the price of the original share has fallen. If you take that into consideration, if you tax people on the net income, even though the person has not sold the shares, I can understand it. But what you do is that you straightway tax capital gains, a tax on bonus shares, on the amount of the face value of the shares. You do not give any credit to him for the fall in the value of the share as a result of which he has got the bonus share. This requires re-examination by the hon. Minister,

There is another reason why people do not invest in shares. Dividend income is regarded as unearned income whereas interest income accrued on government securities or on annuities is regarded as earned income. How a person makes more effort in receiving dividend from government securities or annuities than in receiving dividend from companies, I cannot understand. I think both must be put on par.

But more than these, I think there is a shortage of investible funds. For providing enough investible funds, I suggest that our Trust Act must be amended. At present, under that Act, all the trust funds are precluded from being invested in industrial securities. In the LIC and other new corporations which we have floated, we have provided that sections 27 and 27A of the Insurance Act would apply. They provide sufficient safeguards, and sufficient flexibility for the investment. I submit our Trust Act must be amended on the same lines, on the same basis as the Life Insurance Corporation Act.

I would go through the other points somewhat hurriedly. I suggest that a suitable amendment should be made in the margin system which is applicable to the stock exchanges. The

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system of blank transfers requires reexamination by the Finance Minister. Finally, I would like to point out that he is making the provisions concerning the inter-corporate investment. More and more tight in the Company Law while he wishes to encourage the same by giving fiscal concessions on inter-corporate dividends under the tax laws. This requires to be looked into very carefully and should be relaxed. I would like to tell the Finance Minister that if he wants to revive the capital market, he can do so, without any loss of revenue, without any loss to anybody, improve the position by accepting these few suggestions.

Now I come to another important topic, and that is excessive executive authority in matters of taxation. This point was mentioned also by another speaker yesterday, but I want to say a little more about it. In recent years it has become a common feature of our Budgets that every year the Finance Minister takes blanket powers to impose taxes, and then it is left to him, to the executive, to regulate or levy those taxes in the manner he This year also he has taken likes. three important powers in this respect. I quote. He says in Para 45:

#### 14.12 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

"I propose, therefore, to take powers to issue tax credit certificates to exporters upto 15 per cent of the value of such exports. The exact quantum of assistance will vary from commodity to commodity and will be determined after a careful examination."

Then, in Para 53 he says:

"I propose, therefore, to take powers to provide that tax credit certificates to the extent of 25 per cent of the Central Excise duty paid by any manufacturing unit on production in addition to its production in the base year may be issued to the unit." Thirdly, about the Corporation Tax, he says:

"Similarly, I propose to take powers to provide for issuing tax credit certificates for 20 per cent of the additional corporation tax including surtax paid by any manufacturing company over the corresponding tax paid during the base year."

This question has been examined by many committees. The Public Accounts Committee has also made recommendations year after year, but a committee appointed by the Government, the Central Excise Reorganisation Committee, known as the Chanda Committee, has made a very pertinent and important observation, which, with your permission, I would like to quote. This is what this Committee has to say in Para 8 on page 27:

"Though Parliament is indirectly a consenting party . . . —How is Parliament a consenting party? We will pass this Budget, and Parliament would become a consenting party. . .

"... to this arrangement and has also in some cases itself accepted the rates as ceiling rates, it is not wholly correct to dilute Parliamentary authority in the field of taxation by executive fiats. however desirable the purpose. The extent to which this encroachment has taken place will be evident from the fact that about 180 rates of duty approved by Parliament have proliferated into nearly 1,500 rates or values for assessment by executive decrees."

This would give the House an idea as to how the tax laws are administered, once you give this authority to the executive. When the Public Accounts Committee asked for the explanation on one point concerning this matter what did the department say? The department said that whatever revenue they had lost in one case they had gained in another case. In other [Shri Morarka]

words, since the tax which was payable by A has been paid by B, it does not matter so far as the Central revenues are concerned. I think that makes things worse.

Kindly give me a few more minutes, because I wish to quote the Public Accounts Committee, the authority for the proposition which I just enunciated. The Public Accounts Committee in para 61 of their 27th Report (Third Lok Sabha) have observed:

"Also, the argument put forward by the Ministry that the loss to the revenue in respect of this concern was compensated (partly) by a gain in respect of other manufacturing concerns makes the position worse."

This is the observation of the Public Accounts Committee after examining the evidence on this point completely. We will leave this point here.

I shall now say a few words about the Corporation Tax. It has been my feeling that so far as the Corporation Tax is concerned, Section 23A companies as they are popularly known, or Section 104 companies as they have now come to be known under the new Act, have been very much discriminated against. This class of companies was created because some people were avoiding super tax, and that malady was remedied by obliging these companies to distribute their profits compulsorily, so that in the hands of the shareholders the amount may be tax-That was the only purpose ed of creating this separate class of companies. Now, what has happened? Last year, for the first time, the hon. Finance Minister made a distinction in the basic rate of tax between the section 23A companies and other companies. On the section 23A companies he increased the tax from 50 to 60 per cent; on the others, he kept it at 50 per cent. This year, he has no doubt given some relief, but that relief is confined only to the manufacturing

and producing companies. Among the section 23A companies, there are many units which do other things. For instance, there are consultancy firms, engineers and technicians, there are companies which do construction work. These are all activities which are equally important and equally needed for the development of this country, and there is no justification at all for taxing these companies at 60 per cent and the other companies at 45 per cent.

Not only this. Even after taxing them at 60 per cent, you oblige them to distribute their income by way of dividend. If they do not distribute, you charge them another 37 per cent, which is now reduced to 25 per cent. Even the over-all limit of 70 per cent which the hon. Finance Minister has prescribed for Corporation Tax would not apply to these section 23A companies. I, therefore, feel that the hon. Finance Minister should reconsider the case of these section 23A companies.

I know I have taken a little more time. If you give me two more minutes, I would like to conclude, It may be interesting to mention that the foreign technicians, income of the foreign companies from royalty and technical fees are given a special concession. Similarly, authors and writers are given special concession. The lawyers, doctors, accountants, architects and other professionals are given special concessions. Even the film actors and actresses, dancers and other artistes are given a favoured treatment. Registered firms are also treated specially. Co-operative societies are again given special treatment.

Shri Parashar (Shivpuri): No special treatment.

Shri Morarka: Companies running certain industries are given many concessions such as reduction in the basic rate, ceiling of 70 per cent, inter-corporate dividend, concession in surtax and higher development rebate. But none of these is given to these section 23A companies.

I know the difficulties of the hon. Finance Minister. He has to provide revenues for defence and development. At the same time, he has to be away with deficit financing. Therefore, he rannot reduce our taxes to an appreriable extent.

I would like to conclude by quoting what President Johnson said on 25th January of this year. He said:

"The tasks we face are formidable. They require new dedication, new vision and new skills. We have neither the resources nor the right to saddle our people with unproductive and inefficient Government organisations, services or practices."

If America suffers from dearth of resources, it would be easy to understand that we have much less, and therefore, our tasks become more formidable and they require more dedication, more vision and more skills.

श्री उ० मू० त्रिवेवी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो बजट प्रस्तुत हुन्ना है उसकी टमटम सब जगह जब पहुंची तब यह कहा गया कि यह पहला हिन्दूस्तान का बजट है जो कि बचत का बजट है ग्रौर जिस में दस करोड रुपये की बचत दिखाई गई है। जब मैं ने इस बजट को टटोला तो मुझे मालुम पड़ा कि हम जबर्दस्त कर्जा ले रहेहैं, बहुत ज्यादा कर्जा ले रहे हैं ग्रौर इसी कारण से हम बचत बता रहे हैं। ऐसी ग्रवस्था में यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं स्राई कि बचत किस प्रकार हुई । कर्जा कितना लिया जा रहा है, इसका ठीक ठीक भ्रन्दाजा हमारी जनता को नहीं है । इसका कारण यह है कि ग्रखबारों में सिर्फ यह निकला है कि दस करोड़ रुपये की बचत का यह बजट है। पूर्व इसके कि मैं कुछ श्रीर कहं मैं कर्ज के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूं, हमारे दिवालियेपन की जो

हकीकत है, वह ग्रापके सामने पेश करना चाहता हूं ।

हमने 23 कम्पनियां नई खोली हैं जो मभी पूरी नहीं हुई हैं। उन में हमने 316 करोड़ रुपया लगाया है । पूरी कम्पनियां जो खुल चुकी हैं झौर जो चल रही हैं वे 35 हैं ग्रीर उनमें हमने 316.72 करोड़ रुपया लगा रखा है। दूसरी चौदह डिवेलप-मेंट कारपोरेशंज के वास्ते हमने मलग से व्यवस्था कर रखी है ग्रौर उनमें इमने 1026 करोड़ रुपया लगा रखा है । पूराना 282 करोड़ रुपया उसमें लगा हन्ना था । सारा जो जोड़ है यह 1759 करोड़ जाकर बैठता है । 181 करोड़ उसमें म्रौर एक तरह से लगा हुआ है। इस तरह से पूरा जोड़ जाकर 1941 करोड बैठता है । इन कम्पनियों को चलाने में हमने इतना रुपया लगा रखा है । इस 1941 करोड़ रुपये से हमें जो ग्रामदनी होती है वह जो हमें बताई गई है ग्रब के साल सब जोड करके 5.78 करोड़ आती है। अगर एक आदमी व्या र रुपया देता है तो उसको भी पांच छः प्रतिशत के हिसाब से ब्याज मिल जाता है ग्रौर श्रव तो ब्याज की दर भी बढ़ गई है। लेकिन इतना तो उसको बहत ग्रासानी से मिल सकता है । इस हिसाब से श्रौर इस हिसाब से न भी सही चार परसेंट भी ग्रगर गवर्नमेंट का ब्याज लगाया जाए तो 60--70 करोड़ रुपया हमारे पास म्रामदनी के तौर पर म्राना चाहिए । लेकिन उसके बजाय पूरे छः करोड़ भी नहीं म्राते हैं यानी 70 करोड़ का घाटा हमारे देश को हो रहा है। इसका पूरा पूरा जो हिसाब है वह मैं चाहता हूं । फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब खुद लगा लें। मैं इकोनोमिक्स नहीं जानता हं, इकोनोमिक्स की बात नहीं जानता हूं भौर न ही मैं इकोनोमिक्स पसन्द करता हं। यह पोपट का जैसा ज्ञान, किताबों में रखा हुग्रा ज्ञान जो है उसकी कोई कीमत मैं नहीं करता हं। मैं ग्राप से कहता हं कि इन तोता ज्ञानी,

# [श्रो उ० मू० त्रिवेदें]

इन थोथा ज्ञानी ग्रादमियों से बच कर ग्राप चलें ग्रौर व्यावहारिक ज्ञान जो है, व्यावहा-रिक ज्ञानी जो म्रादमी हैं, उनसे काम लीजिए । माप देश का काम व्यवहार से चलायें तो म्राप का काम चलेगा ग्रन्थथा नहीं । श्राज का जो यह समाजवाद है यह तोता ज्ञानियों का स्वार्थवाद है। ये झापने बुढ़े मां बाप को पिंजड़े में बन्द करा कर चिड़ियाघर में रख कर उनको देखना चाहते हैं । यह स्वार्थवाद है, पराकमवाद नहीं है । पराक्रम करने की ताकत नहीं, खाने की ताकत नहीं,पालने की ताकत नहीं, समाज सेवा की ताकत नहीं, इसमें कुछ नहीं है। यह झूठा समाजवांद का प्रचार मात्र है । इससे म्राप बचें । हिन्दू धर्म में, हिन्दुग्रों में सच्चा समाजवाद था। एक कमाता था श्रनेकों की पालता था, भ्रंघे को पालता था, लूले बाप को पालता था, लंगड़े को, पागल को पालता था, बुढ़े मां बाप को पालता था । यह समाजवाद था । उसको म्रापने तहस नहस कर डाला है। उसका सत्यानाश कर डाला है, उसको बरबाद कर डाला है । इस तोता ज्ञान के पीछे म्रापने देश को बरबाद करने की बात सोच रखी है ग्रौर उसी बरबादी के रास्ते पर चलते जा रहे हैं। मैं बड़े ही विनम्त्र शब्दों में ग्राप से कहना चाहता हं कि इस भ्रोर भ्राप ध्यान दीजिए । स्वार्थवाद को तिलांजलि दे कर श्राप ग्रागे बढ़ने की कोशिश कीजिए । यही उचित है ।

मैंने पहले कहा है कि आप कितना कर्जा ले रहे हैं, उसकी तरफ आप ध्यान दें। इसके पहले कि मैं यह बताऊं कि आप कितना कर्जा ले रहे हैं मैं आपको यह बतलाना चाहता हूं कि आप कितने मुल्कों से ले रहे हैं। मैं तो यह देख कर हैरान हो गया कि कोई मुल्क भी आपने नहीं छोड़ा जिससे कर्जा न लिया हो । इन देशों की संख्या इतनी अधिक है । कि गिनती करना मुश्किल है । किस किस मुल्क का नाम मैं लूं। भ्रापने सतरह मुल्कों से कर्ज ले रखा है। इतने ही मुल्क मुझे तो याद ग्राते हैं । इन में यू० एस० एस० ग्रार० है, यू० के० है, कनाडा है, यू० एस० ए० है, जापान है, स्विट जरलैंड है, जर्मनी है, डेनमार्क है, ग्रास्ट्रेलिया है ग्रौर न जाने ग्रौर कौन कौन से हैं। जो भी मुल्क ग्रापके हाथ लगा ग्रापने उससे कर्जा ले लिया । कर्जा दो, कर्जा दो की बात ही ग्राप इनके ग्रागे करते रहे हैं। इस कर्जे की माला भी बहुत बढ़ गई है। हर एक देश का कर्जाहमारे ऊपर हो गया है **।** एक एक ग्रादमी, एक एक बच्चा, एक एक दिन का पैदा हुआ। हुआ। बच्चा भी **धा**ज कर्ज के नीचे दबा हुग्रा है r वह भी तीन हजार रुपये के नीचे दबा हुआ है, तीन हजार रुपया उस पर कर्जे का हो गया है । भाष यह सोच रहे हैं कि प्लान को भाप बढ़ाये, भाप सोचते हैं कि 22,500 करोड़ रुपये झाप प्लान में लगा देंगे । पहले की जो संख्या थी उसको ही लोग भूल गये हैं। करोड़ पर ही भाप ग्रटक गये। करोड का ग्ररब होता है श्रौर श्ररब का खरब होता है लेकिन उस के श्रागे भी श्राप बढ़ गये हैं । म्राप कर्जा करना चाहते हैं चार हजार करोड़ । श्रौर ग्रधिक ग्राप खर्च करोगे तो कहां से पैसा भायेगा ? क्यों रुपया म्राप इस तरह से बरबाद कर रहे हैं? जो फायदा होना चाहिये था वह नहीं हो रहा है ग्रौर म्राप कर्जपर कर्जा बढ़ाते चले जा रहे हैं। बार बार इसके बारे में म्राप से विनती की गई है । सारे लोग देहातों में कहते हैं, कि सारे लोग गांवों में कहते हैं, जहरों के थोड़े बहुत पढ़ेलिखे लोगों को ग्राप छोड़ दीजिये जोकि मुटठी में था जाते हैं थौर उन समाज-वादियों को भी ग्राप छोड़ दीजिये जो ग्राप के पास बैठे हैं ग्रौर उन को भी ग्राप छोड़ दीजिये जिन को फैलो ट्रेवलर्ज कहा जाता है जो साम्यवादी विचारघारा के हैं , भ्रौर व्यावहा-रिकता की कसौटी पर झाप इस सब चीज को कसें । मापने तो दुनिया देखी हुई है । कांग्रेस में बहुत से म्रादमी ऐसे भी हैं जिन्होंने बहुत काम किया है ग्रौर बहुत सा व्यावहारिक झान हासिल किया है । वे क्यों भागे नहीं माते गवर्नमेंट चलाने के लिए यह मेरी समझ में नहीं माता है । ये क्यों नहीं कहते कि जो नीति प्रख्त्यार की गई है वह देश को बरबाद कर रही है ? क्यों नहीं कहते कि इस नीति को रोका जाय ताकि जितना देश बरबाद हो चुका है, हो चुका है म्रागे बरबाद मौर मधिक न हो ।

कर्जा बढ़ता जा रहा है झौर यह बहुत ही बुरी बात है। इस कर्ज को चुकाने के लिए हमारे पास ताकत नहीं है । 68 करोड़ रुपया ब्याज में दिया जाता है । 70 करोड़ रुपया वहां नुक्सान होता है भौर 68 करोड़ का यहां नुक्सान होता है । कर्जी ले कर हम कर्जा चुकाते हैं, इससे बुरी बात म्रौर क्या हो सकती है। एक से लेकर दूसरे का चुकाते हैं, इस से बुरी बात भौर क्या हो सकती है । इसका नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि कर्ज को माला बढ़ती जा रही है । कमाने वाला वही ग्रच्छा होता है जो कमाई में से ब्याज भी चुकाये, कर्जा भी चुकाये, काम भी चलाये, भ्रौर उस के बाद कुछ बचाये भी । कर्जा लेकर कर्जाचुकाना यह तो ठीक नहीं है। इस से देश को बड़ा नुक्सान हो रहा है

प्राप भिन्न भिन्न प्रदेशों में जो रुपये का अटवारा करते हैं, उस तरफ अब मैं प्राता हूं । कुछ महत्व के प्रान्त होते हैं या महत्व के व्यक्ति होते हैं जिन की वजह से बटवारा करने में भी कुछ भेद भाव किया जाता है । मैं प्रापका घ्यान उस प्रदेश की प्रोर दिलाना चाहता हूं जिस प्रदेश से कि मैं चुन कर भाया हूं। मैं देखता हूं कि भारत वर्ष के जितने भी प्रान्त हैं उन सब में बड़ा मघ्य प्रदेश

है इतना बड़ा प्रदेश होते हुये भी ग्राप को सुन कर माक्वर्य होगा कि इनकमटैक्स का कमिग्नर मध्य प्रदेश में नहीं रहता है, वह ग्रभी भी नागपुर में रहता है । इनकम टैक्स के सिलसिले में हमारे मघ्य प्रदेश वासियों को भ्रब भी नागपुर जाना पड़ता है । केरल छोटा सा प्रदेश है, गुजरात छोटा सा प्रदेश है, श्रीर दोनों ही नए बने हुए हैं श्रीर दोनों के यहां श्रपने ग्रपने पोस्ट मास्टर जनरल हैं। लेकिन इतने बड़े मध्य प्रदेश के वास्ते कोई **पोस्ट मा**स्टर जनरल नहीं है या कोई डायरेक्टर म्राफ पोस्ट म्राफिसिस नहीं है । क्यों इस तरह का भेद भाव मघ्य प्रदेश के साथ किया जाता है ? मध्य प्रदेश में भ्रभी देवास में एक मिल चालू होनी थी**ः** । 25,000 स्पिडल्ज उस के लिए मंजूर हुई, पांच सौ लुम्ज मंजूर हुईं थीं । सात लाख पौंड का फारेन एक्सचेंज भी उसको दिया गया था । लेकिन जब मिल चालू होने का मौका श्राया तो गुजरात के सेठ साहब एक थे भौर उन्होंने उस मिल को नडियाड में डाल दिया । देवास की मिल वहां चली गई । इसका कोई कारण ग्रगर हो तो मैं चाहता हूं कि मुझे बाताया जाए।

मैं झौर बहुत सी चीज देखता हूं। जो रोडज बन रही हैं वे भी कम से कम वहीं बन रही हैं। उसके वास्ते जो रुपया दिया जा रहा है वह भी कम से कम दिया जा रहा है। फर्टिलाइजर की एक फैक्ट्री वहां पर डाली जानी थी। उस पर डेढ़ करोड़ रुपया [श्रो उ० मू० त्रिवेदी]

लग चुका था । प्रव पत्न प्रांता है कि यहां पर नेपता बेस नहीं है इस बास्ते इसको यहां नहीं बनाया जाएगा ग्रीर उस फैक्ट्री को गड्ढे में जाने दो । कोई लोन वगैरह नहीं देंगे, उस के बारे में कुछ नहीं करेंगे । इस तरह का जो मेद भाव चल रहा है मघ्य प्रदेश के साथ यह बन्द होना चाहिये . . .

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह (वाराणसी)ः उत्तर प्रदेश से ग्रधिक ग्रापको मिलता है ।

श्री उ० मू० त्रिवेदी : इनकी बात को मैं मानता हूं ...

श्री बड़े (खारगोन ): ढेढ़ करोड़ रुपया जो खर्च कर चुके हैं, उसका क्या हुमा ?

श्री उ० मू० त्रि बेदी : वह एक व्याव-इारिक ज्ञानी हैं । वह सच्ची बात को सुनेंगे भी ग्रौर समझेंगे भी ! सन 1952 में इमारे प्रिय नेता, पुण्यात्मा डा॰ ग्याम प्रसाद मुकर्जी ने भाषण देते हुये कहा था "India, that is Bharat, that is U. P." ग्राज यह मैं मानता हूं "India, that is Bharat, that is U.P." is not in existence.

आज आपका महत्व भी घटता चला जा रहा है । क्योंकि वहां की बोली हिन्दी है श्रौर जो समझदार ग्रादमी हैं वे समझते हैं कि हिन्दी वाले सभी गंवार हैं । गंवारों के वास्ते कोई बात तय नहीं होती है। सब कछ मद्रास में जाता है क्योंकि श्रंग्रेजी बोलने वाले तमिल प्रदेश में रहते हैं। श्रौर कहीं संग्रेजी बोलने वाले रहते नहीं हैं। मैं श्राप से थोड़ी बात इस सम्बन्ध में कहता हुग्रा ग्रागे चलता हूं । जब हमारे यहां टैक्स की बात माती है तो टैक्स बढ़ते ही चले जाते हैं । एक्साइज डयूटी की संख्या मैंने देखी । यहां हमारे एक दोस्त हैं । एकानमिक ट्रेंडस ऐंड इन्डि-केशन्स में वे लिखते हैं कि कम से कम ऐसी 65 चीजें हैं जिन के ऊपर एक्साइज डयूटी लगाई जाती है । उस एक्साइज डयूटी की तरफ मैं आप का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं । एक तो रेवेन्यू डयूटी लगती है म्रौर एक एक्साइज डयूटी लगती है । किस-किस चीज पर लगती है, इस को देख कर म्रादमी हैरान हो जाता है :

motor, kerosene, matches, steel ingots, vegetable products, coffee, tea, cotton fabrics, footwear, soap, electric fan, electric bulbs, paper, paints, refined oil, diesel oil, furniture, etc.

इतनी सारी चीजें हैं । पहले भी एक्साइज ड्यूटी लगती थी । एक समय था जब कि एक्साइज ड्यूटी उस चीज पर लगती थी जो ग्रादमी शौकिया इस्तेमाल करता था । ग्रायमा ग्रादमी जिन चीजों को इस्तेमाल, करता था उन पर यह ड्यूटी लगती थी । यानी शराब पीने वालों पर लगती थी, गांजा पीने वालों पर लगती थी, भांग पीने वालों पर लगती थी । उसके बजाय ग्रब हर एक चीज पर एक्साइज ड्यूटी होती जा रही है । महंगाई का कोई ठिकाना नहीं है । हम पर यह बोझ बढ़ता जा रहा है । यह बोझ कब कम होगा इस का हम सपना ही देख सकते हैं ।

आज हम देख रहे हैं कि मंहगाई की वजह से हमें अनाज भी नसीब नहीं हो रहा है। हम ने बाहर से अनाज मंगाने की त्रादत डाल ली है । हम देखते हैं कि अमरीका हमें अनाज देने को तैयार है । हम सोचते हैं कि आनाज ले लो और उसे वापस करने की कोशिश न करों । इस सम्बन्ध में हम करोड़ों रुपयों का कर्ज अपने ऊपर लादते चले जा रहे हैं क्योंकि करोड़ों रुपयों का मनाज हमें सिर्फ दस्तखत कर के मिल जाता है । जब चुकाना होगा तब सोचा जायगा । हम सोचते हैं कि ग्रगर वह कुछ बगल ऊंची भी कर देगा तो क्या ताकत से हमारे ऊपर ग्रा कर ਕੈਠ जायेगा । हम हें कि जानते ग्राज ताकत से स्राकर बैठ जाने की शक्ति किसी में नहीं है व योंकि दुनिया आज बदल चुकी है इस लिये जितना कर्जा मिलता हो ले लो । लेकिन यह ईमानदार श्रादमी का काम नहीं है । सच्चे और समझदार श्रादमियों के वास्ते इस तरह की बात कहना श्रीर सोचना गलत है । यह एक इम्मारल सजेशन है । इसलिये इस की तरफ भी हमें ध्यान रखना पड़ेगा कि हम दूसरों की निगाह में गिर न जायें 1

जहां तक मेरा ख्याल है जो लड़ाई सामने है वह दिख रही है । उस को कोई भ्राने से रोक नहीं सकता । लेकिन हम देख रहे हैं कि लड़ाई के लिये ग्राज हम तैयार नहीं है । हम ऐटम बम बनाने से भी इन्कार करते चले जा रहे हैं ग्रौर जो हमें मार रहे हैं वह हमारा मजाक उडा रहे हैं। म्राज के ग्रखबार में मैंने पढा है, वह कहां तक सच है मैं नहीं जानता क्योंकि गवर्नमेंट कोई जबाब नहीं देती । मैं सूनता हं कि हमारे डी०ग्राई०जी० सूच्चा सिंह गुंडे को पकड़ने के लिये गये थे जब उन्होंने उसे पकड़ा तो वह भी पकड़ लिए गए पाकिस्तान में। यह बात कहां तक सच है, मैं नहीं जानता, लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूं सरकार से कि श्रगर वह ऐसे पकड़ सकते हैं हमारे लोगों को ो क्या हम कभी उन का कोई ग्रादमी नहीं ाकड़ सकते । उन्होंने भट्राचार्य को पकड़ लिया **और टायल के लिये ले**गये। इसी तरह से वह हमारे डी०ग्नाई०जी० को भी पकड़ ले गये हैं। सूच्चासिंह को पकड़ ले गये हैं। ो सकता है कि वह मुसलमान हो जांयेे । पहले भी एक म्रादमी को पकड कर ले गये थे जिस ने हजारों लोगों को कत्ल किया था ग्रीर उस भूपत को मुसलमान होने पर वहीं रख लिया । उसी तरह से सूच्चा सिंह को भी मुसलमान होने के बाद ग्राप के सूपूर्द नहीं किया जायेगा । यह हमारे वास्ते शर्म की बात है कि हम म्राज तक जागृत नहीं हो रहे हैं। इतने इतने हमले हमारे ऊपर पाकिस्तान से हो गये लेकिन हम ने एक भी चीज़ का कभी जबाब नहीं दिया। मि० ग्रंसार हरवानी चिढ़ जाते हैं जब मैं किसी मुसलमान का नाम लेता हं। मैं मुसलमानों से नाराज नहीं हूं। लेकिन मैं उन मुसलमानों के लिये कह रहा हूं जो भारत वर्ष को अपनी मातुभमि नहीं समझते, जो भारत वर्ष के बतनी होने का दावा नहीं कर ते, जो भारतवर्ष के लिये ऐसा समझते हैं कि वह उन के लिये दाल बराबर है जैसे चाहो उसे बेच लो, जो ग्राज कसम खाते हैं हमारे संविधान की श्रौर दूसरे दिन कूद कर पाकि-स्तान चले जाते हैं । उन ग्रादमियों से मुझे सहान्भति नहीं हो सकती । यह मैं उन्हीं म्रादमियों के लिये कह रहा हूं। मैं ऐसे सच्चे मुसलमानों को जानता हूं जैसे रफी श्रहमद किदवई थे । मैं उनकी तरह के ब्रादमियों की इज्जत करता हूं, मैं चागला जैसे म्रादमियों की इज्जत करता हूं, लेकिन उन मुसलमानों की इज्जत नहीं कर सकता जो दूध पीते हैं गाय का ग्रौर गीत गायें ऊंट का । मैं ऐसे म्रादमियों की बात नहीं सुनना चाहता । यह इतना लम्बा विषय है कि इस पर जितना भी बोला जाये कम है । लेकिन मैं ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं कि गवर्नमेंट की जो नीति है वह ठीक नहीं है । गवर्नमेंट की टैक्सेशन की नीति ऐसी है जिस से हमारा ज्वायेंट फैमिली सिस्टम टूट रहा है । उस की श्रोर घ्यान दिया जाना चाहिये। ग्रभी म्रभी एक फैसला हुन्रा है कि जिस में यह तय किया गया है कि ग्रगर किसी हिन्दू ज्वायेंट फैमिली के दस पांच लोग मिल कर भी कोई चीज देंगे तो उसे गिफ्ट समझा जायेगा

# [श्रो उ० मू० त्रिवेवी]

भौर उस पर टैक्स लगाया जायेगा । यह एक ऐसी चीज है जिस पर ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये। इस तरह से हिन्दुग्रों का हास करना ठीक नहीं है । जब ग्रापने 6,000 तक की छूट दी हुई है तो वह फैमिली के मोगों को गिन कर उसी हिसाब से देना चाहिये। उन सब को उतनी उतनी छूट मिलनी चाहिये जितनी कि एक एक ग्रादमी को मिलती है। इस की तरफ म्राज कोई घ्यान नहीं दिया जाता है । इस तरह से गवर्नमेंट पिछले दरवाजे से हिन्दुभ्रों का हास कर रही है । मैं प्रार्थना करता हूं कि इस देश के वतनी हिन्दू हैं । दूसरों के वास्ते ग्राप ने भारतवर्ष के टुकड़े किये । वह यहां रहने के ग्रधिकारी हैं सिर्फ ग्रल्पसंख्यकों के नाते । ग्राप जो हिन्दुग्रों का हास कर रहे हैं वह गलत है।

श्वी रघुनाथ सिंह : उपाघ्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे श्री त्रिवेदी ने बड़ी सुन्दर भाषा में बहुत सी बातें कहीं हैं और वे धन्यवाद के पान हैं । साथ साथ श्री नाथ पाई जी ने युद्ध के सम्बन्ध में तथा सुरक्षा व्यवस्था के सम्बन्ध में कुछ बातें रक्खीं हैं । दोनों महानुभाव देशभक्त हैं । श्रीर उन से श्राशा की जाती है कि देश के संघर्ष में वे सब से श्रागे रहेंगे ।

यह ठीक है कि हमारी कांग्रेस सरकार की यह पालिसी है कि ऐटम बम न बनाया जाये, लेकिन साथ ही साथ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि ऐटम बम में ग्रौर न्यूक्लिग्नर ग्राम्स जो होते हैं उन में ग्रन्तर है । हमें न्यूक्लिग्नर ग्राम्स बनाने चाहियें, खासकर ऐसी ग्रवस्था में जब कि माग्नो त्से-तुंग ने ग्रौर चाठ एन लाई ने बड़ी स्पष्ट भाषा में कहा है कि युद्ध होगा ग्रौर युद्ध के वास्ते वे तैयार हैं । जब तक हमारे भारतवर्ष की भूमि चीन

के मधीन है तब तक कोई भी भारतवर्ष का मादमी सूख की नींद नहीं सो सकता । हम हैं, हम लोग लोग बेचैन बेदार हैं भीर हम लोग अपनी एक एक इंच भूमि को वापस लेना चाहते हैं । लेकिन इस बजट को देखने से जहां तक डिफेन्स का सम्बन्ध है, हमें बहुत ज्यादा उत्साह नहीं होता । उत्साह इस वास्ते नहीं होता कि जब युद्ध भारतवर्ष के बिल्कुल समीप चला ग्रा रहा है, वियट नाम में युद्ध हो रहा है, ग्राये दिन कच्छ में, जम्मू में, पूर्वी पाकिस्तान बार्डर पर, गोलियां चलती हैं, हमारा बार्डर सुरक्षित नहीं है, पाकिस्तानी लोग हिन्दुस्तान की सीमा में चले ब्राते हैं ब्रीर हमारे ब्रादमियों को लूट ले जाते हैं, हम भ्रपने डिफेन्स पर पूरी तरह से रुपया खर्च नहीं कर रहे हैं। ऐसी ग्रवस्था में जितना ग्रधिक हो सके हमें ग्रपने डिफेन्स पर व्यय करना चाहिये । इस बजट को देखने से हमें सन्तोष नहीं होता । सन 1963-64 में हम ने इस के लिये 704 करोड़ रुपये रक्खे, सन 1964-65 में हम ने 716 करोड़ रुपये रक्खे भौर सन 1965-66 में 748 करोड़ रु० रख रहे हैं। सिर्फ जब कि देश में इतनी महंगाई है श्रौर युद्ध की भीषण ग्रग्नि बढ़ती चली ग्रा रही है हमारी तरफ, हम ने इतना कम रुपया रख कर इस काम के लिये, बहुत दूर दर्शिता से काम नहीं लिया है । हर भारतवर्ष का नागरिक चाहता है कि उस की इज्जत, उस का मान बना रहे, उस की मां बहनों की इज्जत बची रहे, उन की इज्जत लूटी न जाये । हर भारतवासी के लिये यह बड़े शर्म की बात होती है, हमारा हृदय विगलित हो जाता है, विहवल हो जाता है जब हम सुनते हैं कि कोई पाकिस्तानी ग्राम्ई फोर्स हमारी किसी स्वी को उठाकर ले गपे या कहीं पर भ्राग लगा दी । इस के वास्ते कोई न कोई व्यवस्था हमारी तरफ से होनी चाहिये।

न्यूक्लियर श्राम्सं के लिये जितना अधिक से अधिक रुपया हो सके हमें खर्च करना चाहिये ।

श्री रवीन्द्र वर्मा (तिरुवल्ला)ः हमें बनाने चाहियें क्या ।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह ः जरूर बनाने चाहियें भार्म्स । ऐटम बम नहीं, न्युकलिग्नर ग्रार्म्स ।

जहां तक ग्राज कल की रण नीति का सम्बन्ध है, एक बहुत बड़े जनरल ने जो कहा है उस की दो लाइनों को मैं इस वक्त सुनाना चाहता हूं।

"The Air Force is being almost completely replaced by missiles."

"Submarines were now more important; surface ships can no longer play the role they played as in the past."

"It is not men but fire-power of the armed forces that is important."

इस प्रकार से ग्राप देखेंगे कि ग्राज न तो बेसेज का महत्व है न ग्रौर किसी चीज का महत्व है, ग्राज महत्व है मिसाइल्स का ग्राज महत्व है सबमैरिन्स का ग्रौर ग्राज महत्व है हैलीकाप्टर्स का । लेकिन जब हम इस बजट को देखते हैं तो उसमें इतना कम रुपया रखा गया है कि उस से हम एक सब-मैरिन तक नहीं खरीद सकते । ग्राप देखें कि नेवी के लिए बजट में सन् 1964 में 22 करोड़ रुप्या रखा गया, सन् 1965 में 23 करोड़ ग्रौर सन् 1966 में 25 करोड़ रखा गया है । इस से हम एक भी सबमैरिन नहीं खरीद सकते, बनाने की तो हमारी ताकत नहीं है ।

माज हालत यह है कि एक सबमैरिन तीन तीन हजार मील दूर जा कर मार करती है, भौर उस ने एयरक्राफ्ट कैरियर को महत्वहीन कर दिया है। भ्राज महत्व मिसाइस्स का है, सबमैरिन्स का है । मैं नहीं समझता कि हमारी तरफ से उस के वास्ते कोई तयारी हो रही है ।

प्राज इंडोचाइना जैसे छोटे देशों के जहाज हमारे एंडमान के दक्षिणी हिस्से तक ग्राते हैं, मछली मारते हैं ग्रौर चले जाते हैं। हम में इतनी ताकत होनी चाहिये कि उन का सामता कर सकें। बर्मा से एंडमान का उत्तरी हिस्सा सिर्फ 40 मील के फासले पर है, सुमावा से ग्रर्थात इंडोनेशिया से एंडमान का दक्षिणी हिस्सा सिर्फ 80 मील के फासले पर है। ग्रौर ग्राप देखें कि ग्राज एक एक्सिस तैयार हो गयी है। जैसी कि हिटलर के समय में रोम, बर्लिन, टोकियो की एक एक्सिस थी, उसी तरह ग्राज पीकिंग जकार्ता ग्रौर करांची की ऐक्सिस बन गयी है। जब यह एक्सिस है तो हमें उस का सामना करने के लिए सोचना चाहिये।

ग्रभी चाइना के विदेश मंत्री मिस्टर च्येन यी साहब ने परसों भाषण दिया है। उसमें उन्होंने कहा है कि हमें रिवोल्यशनरी यु० एन० ग्रो० की ग्रावश्यकता है, ग्रर्थात क्रान्तिकारी संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ की म्राव-श्यकता है । वर्तमान संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ उन को नापसन्द है। डिगाल साहब ने भी फ्रांस में ग्रपने भाषण में कहा है कि जिस कार्य के लिए यू० एन० म्रो० की स्थापना हुई वह कार्य पूरा नहीं हुन्रा, ग्रौर इस प्रकार उन्होंने यु० एन० म्रो० को समालोचनाँ की है । भर्थात एक दूसरे यू० एन० म्रो० की कल्पना की जा रही है। इसी प्रकार की कल्पना हिटलर, मसोलिनी भ्रौर टोजो ने की थी जब लीग भ्राफ नेशन्स भ्रस्तित्व में थी। उन्होंने सोचा कि लीग ग्राफ नेशन्स के खिलाफ हम ग्रपनी एक एक्सिस बनायें ग्रौर उन्होंने एक्सिस बनायी, उसका फल क्या हमा ? उसका फल हमा दितीय महायद भौर सारा संसार उस युद्ध में लिप्त हो गया । भाज उसी दिशा में इन तीनों देशों

# [श्रो रघुनाथ सिंह]

की एक्सिस जा रही है। ग्रौर हमें यह मानना होगा कि पहले की जो एक्सिस बनी थी उस का हमारे ऊपर कोई ग्रसर पड़ने वाला नहीं था। लेकिन म्राज जो यह पीकिंग, जकाती श्रोर कराची की एक्सिस बनी है, यह हमारी सीमा पर है । इंडोनेशिया हमारी सीमा पर है, पाकिस्तान हमारी सीमा पर है श्रौर चीन हमारी सीमा पर है । इस चीज को हम उपेक्षा की दुष्टि से नहीं देख सकते । ग्राज .हर एक हिन्दुस्तानी को इस का सामना करने के लिए तैयार होना होगा । लेकिन जब भी मैं इस बजट की तरफ देखता हूं तो जहां तक सूरक्षा का सम्बन्ध है हमें इससे ज्यादा उत्साह प्राप्त नहीं होता । इसलिए मैं कहता हूं कि फाइनेन्स श्रौर डिफेंस मिनिस्टर इस ग्रोर ग्रधिक घ्यान देंगे ग्रौर देश को विश्वास दिलायेंगे कि अगर कोई युद्ध हिन्दु-स्तान के विरुद्ध ग्रारम्भ होता है तो सारे हिन्दूस्तानी मिल कर उस का सामना करेंगे, चाहे वे श्री नाथपाई हों या तिवेदी जी हों, सब हमारे साथ रहेंगे ।

दूसरी बात मुझे यह कहनी है कि नेपाल का एक प्रमुख पत्न है ''गोरखा'' । इसमें शनिवार फाल्गुन 16, सम्वत् 2021 के ग्रंक में हिन्दुस्तान के बारे में बहुत सी बातें लिखी गयी हैं । इसमें लिखा गया है कि हिन्दूस्तान को ग्रात्म चिन्तन करना चाहिए । साथ ही साथ उन्होंने यह भी कहा है कि ैमामला कुछ बहुत गहराई तक पहुंच गया है । जिस बात की तरफ उनका संकेत है उस को हम समझते हैं। लेकिन चाहे जो भी पहले रहा हो म्राज सम्बन्ध बहुत म्रच्छे हैं। ग्राज नेपाल के साथ हमारे सम्बन्ध बहुत ग्रच्छे हैं। जब से हमारे प्रधान मंत्री नेपाल हो कर ग्राए हैं, हम ग्रौर एक दूसरे के करीब श्रा गए हैं। यही नहीं, नेपाल से हम अलग रह नहीं सकते । नेपाल की ग्रौर हमारी संस्कृति ग्रौर सभ्यता एक है । जब हम पराधीन थे तो नेपाल आजाद था, श्रौर जो

हिन्दू हैं उन्हें इस बात का गर्व था कि विश्व में ग्रगर कोई हिन्दू राष्ट्र स्वतंत्र है तो वह नेपाल है । इस विचार से उस पराघीनता के समय हमारा मस्तक गौरव से ऊंचा होता था । इस वास्ते मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि नेपालियों के मन में जो एक प्रकार का भ्रम है वह उन को दूर करना चाहिए । मगर हिन्दुस्तानी भाई उनके बारे में चिन्ता करते हैं तो भ्रच्छी चिन्ता करते हैं, शुभ चिन्ता करते हैं श्रौर यह भी चिन्ता करते हैं कि हम एक हैं भौर हम को एक रहना चाहिए इस समय हमारे सम्बन्ध पहले से भी म्रच्छे हैं । ग्रौर जो हमारा नेपाल से संस्कृति का श्रौर सभ्यता का सनातन सम्बन्ध है उसके कारण वे सम्बन्ध ग्रौर भी मधुर होंगे ग्रौर भी मजबूत ग्रौर दुढ़ होंगे, टुटेंगे नहीं ।

हम ग्रपने नेपाली भाइयों को याद दिलाना चाहते हैं कि नेपाल ने केवल अपनी ग्राजादी की ही रक्षा नहीं की । जिस वक्त कि हिन्दूस्तान में भ्रंग्रेज ग्राए, 18वीं शताब्दी में, जबकि उन्होंने मराठों को जीता म्रौर दिल्ली तक पहुंच गए तो नेपाल ही दुनिया में एक ऐसा देश था जिसने पहले पहले उनसे युद्ध किया । जनरल भीमसेन थापा ने नेपाल की तरफ से भ्रंग्रेजों के साथ युद्ध किया था ग्रौर नेपाल की स्वाधीनता की रक्षा की थी। उस वक्त उन्होंने बहादुर शाह, रणजीत सिंह, जापान म्रौर चीन के साथ समझौंता किया । जनरल थापा पहले मनुष्य थे जिन्होंने यह कल्पना को थी कि एशिया एक है और एशिया एशिया वालों का है श्रौर हम लोगों को मिल कर पाझ्चात्य शक्तियों का सामना करना चाहिए । हम जानते हैं कि नेपाल की उस कल्पना को सुभाष बाबू ने उस समय फिर दुहराया या जबकि उन्होंने आई० एन० ए० को जन्म दिया । उस समय उन्होंने कहा था कि एशिया एशिया वालों का है श्रौर उन्हों ने वृहत्तर एशिया का नारा दिया था ।

ग्रभी हमारे यहां एक ग्रौर चर्चा चली है, वह चर्चा चली है सुधीर घोष के राज्य सभा में व्याख्यान के सम्बन्ध में । यह एक बहुत दुर्माग्यपूर्ण बात थी कि कोई भारतीय उस विदेशी शक्ति के खिलाफ जिसने हमारी सहायता की थी, इस प्रकार के वचनों का उच्चारण करे, यह शोभनीय नहीं है । एक भादमी जो प्यासा है वह पानी चाहता है, बह यह नहीं देखता कि वह पानी किस तरफ से आता है क्योंकि उस को तो अपनी जान बचानी है। उस समय हमारी म्राजादी खतरे में थी । ग्रगर उस समय ग्रमरीका हमारी सहायता के लिए ग्राया तो उस में कोई खराब बात नहीं है । उस समय हमें रूस, ग्रमरीका या इंगलैंड जो भी देश सहायता देने को तैयार होता उस से हम सहायता लेते झौर उन का ग्राभार मानते । हम म्राज म्रमरीका के म्राभारी हैं कि उसने हमारी सहायता की ग्रौर मैं समझता हं कि यह जो इस प्रकार का ग्रशोभनीय भाषगा हम्रा है उस से हमारे भ्रौर ग्रमरीका के सम्बन्धों में किसी प्रकार क**े उलझन नहीं** पड़ेगी । हम दोनों मित्र देश हैं ग्रौर मित्र रूप में हम को रहना चाहिए ।

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं एक बात ग्रौर कहना चाहता हूं । सुधीर साहब ने कहा कि वह एयर काफ्ट कैरियर हुगली के मुहाने पर ग्रा नया था । हमारे हरवानी साहब मौजूद हैं ग्रौर साहब भी मौजूद हैं । हमारे सुधीर घोष साहब यह भूल गए कि 12 मील तक टैरीटोरियल वाटर होता है ग्रौर उस टैरी-टोरियल वाटर में कोई भी विदेशी शक्ति नहीं ग्रा सकती बिना उस मुल्क की रजा-मन्दी के । उस वक्त हम लोग भी यहां मौजद थे, सारी पालियामेंट मौजूद थी । ग्रगर कोई ऐसी बात होती तो पाकिस्तान बिल्लाता, चीन चिल्लाता क्योंकि ब ग्राफ बगाल कोई छिपी चीज नहीं है । कलकत्ता, नहां कि एयरकाफ्ट कैरियर बताया जाता है, से पाकिस्तान की सीमा चालीस मील दूर है । मगर बहां एयर काफ्ट कैरियर होता तो पाकिस्तान को ग्रवक्ष्य मालूम होता । इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि ये बातें बिल्कुल मिथ्या हैं ग्रीर जो बातें इस संबंध में की गवीं वे शोभनीय नहीं थीं ।

ग्रब मैं कुछ बातें बजट के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूं । बजट पर बोलते हुए श्री नाथ पाई जी ने थोड़ी सी डिफेंस सेविंग सर्टिफिकेटस के बारे में चर्चा उठायी थी। मैं भी इस सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूं कि जहां तक इन सरटिफिकेटस का सम्बन्ध है इस बजट के कारण इन में कोई एक पैसा भी इनवेस्ट करने वाला नहीं है । सेविंग सर्टिफिकेट का सम्बन्ध किस से है ? ग़रीब जनता से है जोकि देहातों में है जोकि डाक-खानों में जा कर ग्रपना पैसा जमा कराती है । ग्राप ने जो बैंक रेट बढाया है उस का फ़ायदा श्ररबन पापुलेशन को ही मिलता है । म्ररबन पापूलेशन जिस के कि पास काफ़ी रुपया होता है वह बैंकों में अपना रुपया लगा सकती है लेकिन उस देहाती जनता को जोकि 100, 200, 300 ग्रौर 400 रुपया डिफेंस सटिफिकेट के रूप में जमा करती है उन को म्राप ने क्या रिलीफ़ दी है ? श्री नाथ पाई ने इस सम्बन्ध में कहा है लेकिन जो झांकड़े उन्होंने दिये हैं वे ठीक नहीं हैं। मैं ग्राप की पुस्तक से उस सम्बन्ध में ठीक झांकड़े देता हूं । झाज झगर झाप 100 रुपया पांच साल के लिए बैंक में डिपाजिट करते हैं तो बैंक के सूद की दर साढ़े सात परसेंट है जैसाकि म्राज के म्रख़बार में भी दिया हुन्ना है । इस का अर्थ यह हुन्ना कि पांच वर्ष के लिए ग्रगर कोई व्यक्ति बैंक में 100 रुपये जमा करता है तो उसे 138 रुपये 8 म्राने मिलेंगे लेकिन म्रगर वही ग्रादमी 12 वर्ष के लिए डिफेंस सटिफिकेट के रूप में उस रक़म को जमा करता है तो पांच वर्ष में उस को 120 रुपये मिलेंगे।

# [श्रौ रघुनाथ सिंह]

डुनियां में कौन शख्स ऐसा पागल है जोकि डिफेंस सटिफिकेट में पांच साल के लिए प्रपने सौ रुपये जमा कर के पांच साल के बाद केवल 120 रुपया पाना चाहेगा ? प्रगर बैंक में वही 100 रुपया वह 5 वर्ष के लिए जमा करा देता है तो उस को 138 रुपये 8 ग्राने मिलेंगे । इस प्रकार से ग्राप देखेंगे कि साढ़े 13 रुपये का उस को फ़ायदा होता है । ग्रापके 12 वर्ष के डिफेंस सटि-फिकेट उसे 100 के 175 मिलते हैं ग्रर्थात साढ़े 6 परसेंट सूद ग्राप उसे देते हैं । साढ़े 6 परसेंट सूद उस को इस में 12 साल के बाद मिलता है लेकिन ग्रगर वही रुपया कोई व्यक्ति बैंक में जमा कराता है तो उसे साढ़े 7 परसेंट सूद मिलता है ।

हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब ने ग्रपने भाषण में कहा है कि डिफेंस सर्टिफिकेटस को भी हम टैक्सेबुल करने जा रहे हैं । ठीक है, आप कीजिये लेकिन ग्राप याद रखिये कि इम से यह जो स्कीम है वह चलने वाली नहीं है । इस तरह से ग्राप की यह डिफेंस सर्टिफिकेटस को स्कीम चल नहीं सकती है क्योंकि यह बिलकुल ग्रायिक नहीं है ।

दूसरी बात मैं शेयर के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं । कम्पनियों के इक्विटी शेयर्स जिन को कि ग्रार्डिनेरी शेयर्स कहते हैं उन के डिवीडेंड के ऊपर टैक्स लगाया है, उस को ग्रनग्रन्ड इनकम ग्राप ने माना है तो मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि ग्रार्डिनेरी शेयर, इक्विटी शेयर्स जो होते हैं उन से फ़ायदा भी हो सकता है ग्रौर उन से नुक़सान भी हो सकता है क्योंकि कम्पनी ग्रगर लिक्विडेशन में जाती है तो इक्विटी शेयर वाला हमारा रुपया सब समाप्त हो जायेगा । लेकिन इसी प्रकार से ग्रगर बैंक में हम रुपया जमा कराते हैं तो बैंक की श्योरिटी हााी है ग्रीर वह रुपया वापिस हो जायेगा । ग्रब जबकि साढ़े सात परसेंट बैंक से ग्राप ने

सूद देना शुरू किया है तो इस इिक्विटी कैंपिटल में कौन ऐसा पागल है जोकि श्रपना रुपया इनवेस्ट करेगा ? म्रगर 100 रुपया हम ने बैंक में जमा करा दिया तो वहां पर साढ़े परसेंट सूद हमारा बिलकूल निश्चित है लेकिन ग्रगर हम वही रुपया इक्विटी शेयर में लगायें तो वह रिटर्न निक्चित नहीं है। पता नहीं कम्पनी प्राफिट करेगी या नहों करेगी । लेकिन उस के ऊपर ग्राप ने टैक्स लगा दिया जो रुपया कि हम इंडस्ट्रीज में लगाते हैं। बैंक में जो रुपया हम जमा कराते हैं ग्रौर जिस पर कि वह हमें साढे सात परसेंट सुद देते हैं तो वह बैंक भी अपना रुपवा इंडस्ट्रीज में लगाने के लिए देते हैं और जाहिर है कि वह बैंक जब किसी कम्पनी को रूपया लोन देगा तो 9 परसेंट पर देगा या 10 परसेंट सूद पर देगा । यह वर्डन कहां पडेगा ? 9 परसेंट या 10 परसेंट सुद जोकि बैंक कम्पनियों मौर इंडस्टीज से लेंगे तो यह बर्डन श्राखिर जा कर पडेगा कहां ? यह बोझा गरीब कंज्युमर्स पर ही पड़ेगा । यह इंडस्ट्री के ऊपर पड़ेगा ग्रौर जो इक्विटी कैप्टिल है ग्रौर जोकि शेयर के रूप में पबलिक का ग्राने वाला है उस रुपये का फ्लो ग्रापने बन्द कर दिया है। इस वास्ते मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि यह जो एक कृत्रिम प्राधिक व्यवस्था है इस कृत्निम ग्राधिक व्यवस्था के कारण म्राप के उद्योग, धंधे पनपने वाले नहीं हैं । इस वास्ते मैं कहना चाहता ह कि अगर बैंक में जमा किया हुआ रुपया ग्रौर सिक्योरिटी का रुपया ग्रन्ड इनकम है तो शेयर पर जो डिवीडेंड मिलता है वह रुपया उद्योग धंधों में लगा है उस को भी ग्रन्ई इनकम के रूप में मानना चाहिये। कारण मैं यह देना चाहता हूं कि म्राज मार्केट को ग्राप देखिये । मार्केंट का बैरोम टर क्या है ? इस सम्बन्ध में मैं ग्राप को दो मिलों का हवाला देना चाहता हूं। कैलिको मिल का बजट म्राने से पहले गेयर 1200 रुपये का

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था ग्राज उस 1200 रुपये का दाम है 600 रुपया । इसी तरह से ग्रर्रावद मिल के शेयर का दाम बजट के पहले 1200 था लेकिन श्रब उस का दाम 500 हो गया है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि ग्राप ऐसी व्यवस्था करें ताकि जो कम्पनियां हैं उन में लोग ज्यादा रुपया इनवैस्ट करें ताकि उस रुपये से देश का काम चले । बैंक रेट सूद की श्राप ने साढ़े 7 परसेंट कर दी है तो इस बैंक रेट के ज्यादा हो जाने का बर्डन किस पर पडेगा ? यह सारा भार उस कंज्यूमर रूपी गदहे के ऊपर ग्रा कर पड़ने वाला है । गरीब जनता के ऊपर ही यह सारा ग्राप का बोझा पडने वाला है। उस गदहे के ऊपर लगातार बोझा बढ़ाते जाना एक भ्रनुचित भौर नाइंसाफ़ी की बात है।

एक मिनट में मैं कारपोरेट सैक्टर के टैक्सेशन के बारे में कह कर समाप्त कर दुंगा । कारपोरेट टैक्सेशन के बारे में मैं कहना चाहता हुं कि ग्राप का कारपोरेट टैक्सेशन दुनिया में सब से ज्यादा है । हिन्दु-स्तान में यह 70 परसेंट है। इंगलैंड में 54 परसेंट है, ग्रमरीका में 48 परसेंट है, जर्मनी में 51 परसेंट है श्रीर जापान में 38 परसेंट है। श्राख़िर क्या कारण है कि जापान श्रीर अर्मनी की इंडस्ट्रीज पनपीं ? यह दोनों युद्ध में ध्वस्त हो गये थे लेकिन वहां पर इँडस्ट्रीज पनपीं । ग्रमरीका जोकि एक समृद्धि-माली श्रौर पूजीवादी राष्ट्र कहा जाता है उस ने 48 परसेंट से ज्यादा टैक्स नहीं लगाया । इंगलैंड ने 54 परसेंट से ज्यादा टैक्स नहीं लगाया लेकिन हमारा टैक्सेशन का जो स्टुक्चर है वह करीब करीब 70 परसेंट होता है इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि कारपोरेट टैक्सेशन की इस स्कीम को फिर से रिवाइज करना चाहिए ।

श्रन्त में मैं भारतीय रुपये के मूल्य की गिरावट के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं जैसा कि श्री बजाज ने उस दिन पार्टी मीटिंग में कहा था। पौंड का दाम जोकि तहले 18 रुपये था म्राज उसका दाम 28 रुपये है। जो पौंड हमें पहले 18 रुपये में मिलता था मौर यह बजट के पहले की बात है वही एक पौंड के लिए हम को ग्रब 28 रुपये देने पड़ते हैं। इसी तरह से पाकिस्तान में म्राप देखिये कि जहां से हिन्दुस्तान के 70 रुपये के बदले में हमें पाकिस्तान के 100 रुपये मिलते थे ग्राज बात उलटी हो गई है ग्रौर ग्राज हिन्दुस्तान के 100 रुपये के एवज में पाकिस्तान के 99 रुपये मिलते हैं।

श्वी कमलनयन बजाज/ै(वर्धा) : हिन्दु-स्तान के 99 रुपये के बदले में पाकिस्तान के 100 रुपये मिलते हैं।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : ग्रब मैं एक, एक रुपये का हिसाब किताब तो रखता नहीं इं, मैं तो ठाकुर थ्रादमी हूं । कहने का मेरा मतलब यह था कि हिन्दुस्तान के रुपये का मुल्य निरन्तर गिरता जा रहा है । हमारे रुपये का भाव जोकि 3, 4 महीने पहले बहुत ज्यादा था, पाकिस्तान से हमारा रुपया क़रीब क़रीब एक तिहाई ज्यादा था, इंगलैंड के पौंड से करीब करीब 10 रुपये हमारा रुपया ज्यादा था म्राज हम उस से कितने नीचे गिर गये हैं ? हमारे रुपये की वैल्यू क्या हो गयी है ? हमारे रुपये की वैल्यू कम होती गई है । इस वास्ते मैं कहना चाहता हुं कि हमें इस पर एक नये ढंग से विचार करना चाहिये श्रौर इस ढंग से विचार करना चाहिए ताकि हमारी इंडस्ट्रीज बढ़ें ।

होर्डेंड इनकम, ग्रनएकाउंटेड मनी के बारे में मैं एक सुझाव देना चाहता हूं । हो सकता है कि जो सुझाव मैं देने जा रहा हूं वह ग्रंसार भाई को ग्रच्छा न लगे । मेरा यह कहना है कि ग्राप होर्डेंड मनी, ग्रन-एकाउंटेड मनी क्यों कहते हैं ? ग्राप चाहते हैं कि वह बाजार में ग्राये, बैंक में वह जमा

# [श्री रघुनाथ सिंह]

किया जाये और ऐसा भाप इसलिए कहते हैं कि उस मनी का युटिलाइजेशन हो ग्रौर वह रुपया देश निर्माण के कार्यों में लग सके । इसीलिए मैं यह सुझाव देना चाहता हं कि जो ग्रनएकाउंटेड मनी हो, जो होडेंड मनी हो ग्रगर उस रुपये को कोई किसी इंडस्टी में लगाये तो उस पर कोई टैक्स न लिया जाय। उसके लिए उस म्रादमी पर कोई जिम्मेदारी नहीं होनी चाहिए । ग्रगर मेरे पास बीस लाख रुपया है जो मैने रखा हम्रा है---चाहे वह रुपया मैंने कहीं से भी लिया हो,---ग्रौर ग्रगर मैं वह रुपया इंडस्ट्री में लगाता हं, तो उससे हिन्दुस्तान की इंडस्ट्री बढ़ेगी, हिन्दूस्तान के उद्योग-धंधे बढ़ेंगे भौर हिन्दुस्तान का रुपया हिन्दुस्तान में रहेगा । म्राशा है कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय मेरे इस सुझाव पर विचार करेंगे ।

## 15 hrs.

श्री गौरी झंकर कक्कड़ (फतेहपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हर वर्ष सरकार प्रपना बजट पेश करती है ग्रौर सरकार का लेखा-जोखा बनता है । इस वर्ष के बजट के बारे में यह दिखावटी प्रशंसा की जा रही है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार की ग्रोर से जो बजट पेश किया गया है, वह घाटे का बजट नहीं है । मुझे यह निवेदन करना है कि ग्रगर ग्राप गत तीन चार, छः वर्षों के बजटों का ग्रवलोकन करें—चाहे वे प्रदेशों के हों या केन्द्र के—, जो कि डेफिसिट बजट ग्रर्थात् घाटे के बजट थे, जब उन को कार्य रूप में परिणत किया गया, तो यह पता चला कि उस में ग्रधिक धन ग्रा गया ग्रौर घाटे की बात नहीं रही ।

ग्रसल में हमारे देश में बजट बनाने में एक जादूगरी का काम हो रहा है श्रीर वह जादूगरी यह है कि श्रपना खर्चा तो बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ा कर दिखाया जाये श्रीर श्रपनी श्रनुमानित श्रामदनी कम कर के दिखाई जाये, ताकि देशवासियों के सामने यह प्रकट किया जाये कि टैक्सेशन की जरूरत है । परन्तू जब साल के दौरान में काम चालू होता है, तो यह प्रतीत होता है कि ग्रामदनी बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ गई ग्रीर खर्चे में बहुत कमी हो गई । इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जाहिरा तौर पर जो यह दिखाया गया है कि इस बार का बजट डेफिसिट बजट नहीं है, वह कोई प्रशंसनीय कार्य नहीं है । मेरा मत है कि बजट बनाने में इस बात का ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि ग्रनमानित ग्रामदनी ग्रीर खर्चे में बहुत ज्यादा----लाखों करोड़ों रुपये का---ग्रन्तर नहीं होना चाहिए ।

जब किसी भी देश का बजट बनता है, तो हर वर्ष हम को यह देखना चाहिए कि उस राष्ट्र के सामाजिक जीवन, भ्रायिक जीवन ग्रौर नैतिक जीवन पर बजट का क्या प्रभाव पड़ता है ग्रीर हम ने उस दिशा में कितनी तरक्की की है । मुझे प्रतीत होता है कि जिस सरकार ने समाजवादी भ्राधिक व्यवस्था स्थापित करने का संकल्प लिया है, ग्रभी उस सरकार का मस्तिष्क इस बारे में साफनहीं है। उस का एक कारण यह है कि उस सरकार को चलाने वाले जो व्यक्ति हैं--कांग्रेस पार्टी, हाई कमांड या सिडीकैट, ग्राप उस को चाहे जिस नाम से याद करें----उनका मस्तिष्क इस विषय में साफ नहीं है । उनमें से कुछ लोगों का मत है कि सरमायादारी बढानी चाहिए । श्रौर कुछ लोगों का मत है कि समाजवाद की स्थापना करनी चाहिए । जब उन में ग्रापस में इस तरह का मतभेद है, तो समाजवादी व्यवस्था के बारे में जो कोई भी संकल्प लिया गया है, गुढता के साथ उस पर ग्रमल नहीं किया जा सकता है ।

मैं ग्रापका ध्यान इस ग्रोर ग्राकर्षित करना चाहता हूं कि हम को यह देखना है कि क्या हम वास्तव में समाजवाद की ग्रोर बढ़ रहे हैं या नहीं। उस को देखने के लिए सब से बड़ी कसौटी यह है कि हमारी पापुलेशन में 75 फीसदी से ग्रधिक जो इयक हैं, जो देहाती क्षेत्र में रहते हैं, उनका जीवन-स्तर बढ़ा

है या नहीं, उन की म्रायिक दशा सुधरी है या नहीं । जब कभी भी समाजवादी दुष्टिकोण को सामने रख कर बजट बनाया जाये, हमारा ध्यान इस म्रोर होना चाहिए । इस के बारे में मुझे यह कहना है कि हमारे स्वर्गीय प्रधान मंत्री जी ने खुद इस बात को स्वीकार किया था कि स्वतंत्रता-प्राप्ति के बाद पन्द्रह वर्ष के हमारे शासन-काल में कुछ मुटठी भर पूंजीपतियों ने इतना धन संग्रहीत किया है, जो बिटिश काल में 100 वर्षों में भी संग्रहीत नहीं किया जा सका था। यह इस तथ्य की आरेर संकेत है कि जो मुट्ठी भर लोग हैं, जो बिड़ला या टाटा हाउसिज हैं, उन का धन बढ़ा, परन्तु हमारी पापुलेशन में जो अस्सी फीसदो कृषक हैं, उन की म्रोर कतई किसी तरह से भ्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है।

भगर इस बजट में पूंजीपतियों भौर बड़े सोगों से उन के बकाया टैक्सिज को वसूल करने के लिए कोई कदम उठाया जाता तो मुझे खुशी होती। उन लोगों को एक सब से बड़ा प्रिविलेज यह मिलता है कि वे टैक्सिज से बचते हैं और उन के ऊपर जो टैक्सिज होते हैं, वे बकाया में पड़ जाते हैं। मैं इस बारे में कोई श्रांकड़े नहीं दूगा, लेकिन बकाया टैक्सिज करोड़ों र्मपये में हैं। इस की तूलना में अगर एक गरीब किसान अपने एक दो एकड़ पर जो पांच रुपये प्रति-वर्षं भी लगान देता है, ग्रगर वह उस को समय पर न दे पाए, तो उस की गिरफ्तारी हो जाती है, या उस की कूर्की हो जाती है। परन्तु बड़े सरमायादारों के सम्बन्ध में ऐसी कोई व्यवस्था करने के लिए सरकार ने नहीं सोचा है । कानुन तो क्रपनी जगह पर बन गए, सेकिन उन पर श्रमल नहीं किया जाता है, उन का प्रयोग नहीं किया जा रहा है।

मैं मानता हूं कि हमारे देश में जो म्ट्ठी भर कैपिटलिस्ट हैं, जो धन को संग्रहीत करते हैं, जो मा गेपलिस्ट हैं जिनके यहां कनसेन्ट्रेशन ग्राफ वैल्थ होता है, उन की गिनती कम है । वह तो एक वर्ग 2536 (Ai) LSD-6. हमारे देश में था ही, लेकिन ग्राप मुझे यह कहने की इजाजत दें कि हमारी सरकार ने एक ग्रौर नया वर्ग पैदा कर दिया है, जो कि उन पूजीपतियों का बिल्कुल मुकाबला करता है। वह वर्ग है "हमारे देश के मिनिस्टर्ज, उन की बीविया, उन के भाई ग्रौर भतीजे।" यह चीज खुली हुई है ग्रौर एक नहीं, कई प्रमाण इस प्रकार के मिले हैं, जिन के ग्राधार पर हम कह सकते हैं कि उस वर्ग को जीवित रखा जा रहा है, उस को बढ़ाया जा रहा है।

ग्रभी कुछ दिन पहले हमारे मित्र, श्री कामत ने इसी सदन के सामने सी० बी० म्राई० की रिपोर्ट रखी, जिस के लिए मैं उन की प्रशंसा करता हूं उन्होंने सही मानों में एक बहुत बड़ी सेवा की है कि दिन-दोपहर जो इस तरह से लूट-मार हो रही है, उन्होंने उस को सामने दिखाया है । श्री चागला ने इस विषय में यह कहा कि यह मारल स्टैंडर्ड नहीं है ग्रोर म्रगर श्री कामत के स्थान पर वह होते. तो वह उस व्यक्ति को पूलिस के सूपूर्द कर देते, जिस ने यह कागज दिया । मैं समझ नहीं पाया कि चागला साहब ने वास्तव में यह बात अपनी म्रोर से कही या पार्टी ने उन को बलि का बकरा बना कर इस सदन में यह दलील देने के लिए मजबूर किया । मैं बिल्कुल नहीं समझ सकता कि एक इतना योग्य जज, इतना योग्य वकील किस तरह ऐसी बात कह सकता है। उन्होंने एक बार नहीं, तीन बार कहा **कि** कैबिनेट सब-कमेटी के सामने उन के खिलाफ प्राइमा-फैसी केस सिद्ध हुए । जो कानून का थोड़ा सा भी ज्ञान रखता है, मैं उस से पूछना चाहता हूं कि भगर किसी नागरिक के खिलाफ प्राइमा-फेसी आफेंस सिद्ध हो जाये, तो उस के खिलाफ क्या कानूनी कार्यवाही होती है। मगर वह सेमन द्रायल का केस है, तो उस का कमिटमेंट हो जाता है, उस का ट्रायल होता है ग्रीर उस के बाद उस को सजा दी जाती है, भ्रथवा वह छ्रट जाता है । लेकिन जिन व्यक्तियों के बारे में सी० बी० आई० ने ग्रपनी रिपोर्ट दी थी, उनके खिलाफ प्राइमा-फेसी झाफेंस

[श्र`गौर शंकर कक्कड]

सिद्ध होने के बाद भी कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की गई। इस का ग्रर्थ तो यह है कि एक साधारण नागरिक के लिए एक कानून है ग्रौर एक चीफ मिनिस्टर या हाई कमांड के सदस्य के लिए दूसरा कानून है। फिर भी हमारे छागला साहब को इस बात का साहस होता है कि वे मारेल स्टेंडर्ड की बात इस सदन में कहते हैं। क्या मैं उन से यह पूछ कि क्या यह मारेल स्टेंडर्ड है कि जिस व्यक्ति के खिलाफ प्राइमा फैसाई झाफेंस सिद्ध हो गया भौर यह कि बह व्यक्ति इस काबिल नहीं रहा कि वह

वह व्यक्ति इस काबिल नहीं रहा कि वह चीफ मिनिस्टर रहे या वाइस-प्रेजीडेंट प्लानिंग बोर्ड का रहे, तो यह तो ठीक है कि वह उस मैं नहीं रहेगा लेकिन वह संस्या जिस को वह भ्रादमी रिप्रेजेंट करता है ग्रौर वह संस्था जो हमारे देश पर ग्राज शासन क**ं**ती है, उसका सब से बढ़ा जो हाई व माण्ड है, उस मैं वह व्यक्ति झब भी मौजूद रह सकता है, उस में वह बना रह सकता है ? भ्रगर वह बना रहता है तो हम किस मुंह से मारेल स्टैंडर्ड की बात कर सकते हैं ? समझ में नहीं भाता है कि एक कुरप्ट, एक फ्राष्ट व्यक्ति जिस के विलाफ भ्रष्टाचार के भारोप सिद्ध हो जायें, वह किस तरह से किसी तंस्या के वींत्रग कमेटी को डामिनेट र सकता है ? यह कहां की शृढता है और कहां क पवित्रता **है, कहां की च**ित्रता है ? ऐनी मवस्था में कैते आप नैतिक बातों का दहाई हमारे सामने दे स 'ते हैं।

सरकार का यह एक स्वभाव हो गया है कि जो ब्लैकमार्किटर है जो वाकई में नाजा-यज तरह से धन पैदा करता है, उसको बह छिपाये उसको वह बचाये । चुनाचे हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर सहब ने जो स्प च दी रसनें उन्होंने जो चोरबाजारी का रूपया है, ब्लै मन है, उसके बारे में जो योजना रख है व्समें उन्होंने भं इस बात को कहा है कि 40 परसेंट तो उनका बमा होगा बैक में ग्रौर साथ ही ये शब्द

भी कहे हैं कि ऐते किसी प्रादमों का नाम प्रकाशित नहीं किया जाएगा। बहत म्रच्छा साहब । जिन लोगों ने ब्लैक किया है, जिन्होंने ब्लैकमाकिटिंग करके धन का संग्रह किया है उनके नाम प्रकाश्वित न किये जायें, यह बात समझ में न हीं भाती है। उसके साथ साथ ग्राप देखें कि ग्राज यह भी कहा जाता है कि जितने का हमारा गजट है उससे भी ग्रधिक ब्लैक मनी सक्युँ-लेशन में है लेकिन फिर भी उसके साथ साथ यह भी कह दिया जाता है कि ऐसे व्यक्तियों के नाम प्रकाशित नहीं किये जायेंगे । तब क्या व्यवस्था की जाएगी, उनके खिलाफ कोई कानूनी कार्रवाई की जाएगी या नहीं इसका कोई भी संकेत उन्होंने ग्रपने भाषण में नहीं किया है। मैं समझता हं कि कोई भी कानूनी कार्रवाई उनके खिलाफ नहीं हो सकती है क्योंकि आ पने कोई ऐसा कानून ही नहीं बनाया है।

मभी हाल ही में हमारे देश में खाद्यान्नों का बड़ा ग्रभाव रहा है, ग्रन्न का बहुत बड़ा संकट हमारे सामने रहा है । परन्तु इसके निवःरण के लिए भ्रापने क्या किया हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार फ्रौर प्रान्तीय **8**? सरकारों ने इस बत को बड़े जोरों से कहा कि हम कानून बनायेंगे, हम सुरक्षित भंडार बनायेंगे ग्रीर जिन के पास से निर्धारित मात्रा से ग्रधिक गल्ला निकलेगा उनको हम दंड देंगे । भाभी ग्रांकडे समस्त देश के निकले हैं। उनको देखने से मालूम हुग्रा है कि उत्तर प्रदेश मैं जहां जबर्दस्त संकट रहा वहां केवल एक म्रादमी का कनविक शन हुम्राहै। होता क्याहै? होता यह है कि कानून तो ग्राप बनाते हैं परन्तु उन कानूनों को ग्राप ब्लैकमार्किटियर्ज के खिलाफ या उनके खिलाफ जो सही मानों में देशद्रोही हैं ग्रमल में नहीं लाते हैं। इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि स्थिति को आप सम्भाल नहीं पाते हैं श्रौर रोज-ब-रोज स्थिति बिगड़ती चली जा रही है।

जहां तक कृषक का सम्बन्ध है उसको भी इस बजट में कोई विशेष सुविधा नहीं **दी गई है।** सब से बडा ग्रभाव जो कृषक के सामने उत्पादन के रास्ते में रुकावट बन कर खड़ा होता है, एक यह है कि उसको समय पर ब्पया नहीं मिलता है, दूसरे उसको समय पर रसायन खाद, बीज श्रादि नहीं मिलते हैं ग्रौर त सरा यह कि समय पर सिंचई की व्यवस्था नहीं होती है। इन तीनों में से किसी भी बात पर विशेष घ्यान नहीं दिया गया है। आज भी हम को सो-प्रेटिव सैक्टर की बात करते हैं। उसके द्वारा कृषक को लोन दिये जा रहे हैं। उनकी हालत यह है कि 23 परसेंट के भास-पास ही लोनिग होता है। आपने अभी ब्याज की दर बढ़ाई है। अभी तक तो कृषक को नौ परसेंट ब्याज देना पड़ता था परन्तुं इस बढ़ोतरी के बाद इस दर में एक टेढ़ परसेंट की ग्रौर वृद्धि हो जाएगी। डेस तरह की जो चीजें हैं, इनको भी आपको ब्द्यना चाहिये ।

जहां तक खाद का सम्बन्ध है इमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब खुद देश में रसायन खाद तैयार न करके बाहर से मंगाने पर ग्राधिक जोर देते दिखाई देते हैं । वहां पर दाम भी ग्राधिक देंगे । ग्राभी जो दाम कृषक खाद के दे रहा है वे पहले ही ग्राधिक हैं ग्रीर ग्रब हो सकता है ग्रीर ग्राधिक हो जायें । लेकिल इस ग्रोर भो कोई घ्यान नहीं दिया जाता है । इषि सम्बन्धी जो वस्तुयें हैं उन के क्या भाव हैं ग्रीर कितना नागत खर्च उसका उनमें ग्राता है, इस ग्रोर भी कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है । मैं चाहता हूं कि इस ग्रोर भी ध्यान दिया जाए । उनको ग्रावश्यक सुविधायें देने की तरफ भी ग्रापका ध्यान जान। चाहिये ।

श्राज जो बैंक रेट बढ़ाया गया है उसमें भी इस बात का भय है कि यह दुधारी तलवार सिद्ध न हो । ग्रभी हमारे मिन्न रघुनाथ सिंह जी ने कहा है कि जो पैसा बचा हुग्रा है लोगों के पास उसको कभी भी किसी धंधे में या व्यवसायों में न लगा कर सुरक्षित रखने के लिए बैकों में जमा करवा दिया जाएगा ग्रीर इसका सूद बराबर लोग द्दासिल करते रहेंगे । यह जो चीज है इस ग्रोर भी ग्रापका ध्यान जाना चाहिये ।

समाजवादी म्रर्थं व्यवस्था की बातः की जाती है। हमारे फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब ने श्रपनी बजट स्पीच में तीन स्लोगन खास तौर से इसके सम्बन्ध में रेज किये हैं। एक तो उन्होंने यह कहा है कि विदेशी मुद्रा का स्रभाव है। दूसरे यह कहा है कि दामों में जो बढ़ौतरी हो रही है, उसको रोका जाए, उस पर श्रंकुश लगाया जाए । तीसरे यह कि खाद्य समस्पा हमारे यहां गम्भीर है भौर इसको हल किया जाए । मैं एक साधारण सी बात पूछना चाहता हूं। जिन वस्तुम्रों को हम बाहर से मंगा कर विदेशी मुद्रा खर्च करते हैं, क्या उन वस्तुओं में कमीकी जासकती है या नहीं की जा सकती है, क्या इस पर भी आपने कभी विचार किया है ? बड़े दूः**ख** के साथ मु**झे** कहना पड़ता है कि हमारे स्वर्गीय प्रधान मंत्री जी जब तक प्रधान मंत्री रहे एक छोटी ती गाड़ी इस्तेमाल करते रहे, उसका प्रयोग करते रहे। लेकिन म्राज मैं देखता हं कि जो डिप्टी मिनिस्टर भी हैं या स्टेट मिनिस्टर भी हैं या दूसरे मिनिस्टर भी हैं वे फौरेन गाड़ियां इस्तेमाल करते हैं ग्रौर स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन से वेगाड़ियां लेते हैं। क्या यह साधारण सी चीज श्रमल में नहीं लाई जा सकती है कि जिस तरह से हमारे प्रथम प्रधान मंत्री जी छोटी गाड़ी का प्रयोग करते थे ग्रौर हमारे मौजूदा प्रधान मंत्री जी भी करते हैं, उसी तरह से दूसरे मिनिस्टर साहिबान भी करें । हमारे देश में बनी हुई गाड़ियों का ग्रगर इस्तेमाल हो तो यह जो विदेशी मुद्रा का सवाल है, यह कम से कम एक वस्तू के मामले में कम हो सकता है ।

[श्रोः गौरो शंकर कक्कड़]

क्वर जो व्यय हो रहा है, इसको ता रोका जा सकता है। होता यह है कि खुद तो भाप ग्राराम की चीर्जे इस्तेमाल करते हैं भौर वे चीर्जे इस्तेमाल करते हैं जो कि निसेसेटीज नहीं हैं बल्कि लग्जरीज हैं। उन पर कभी भी घ्यान नहीं दिया जाता है। भापको तो देश के सामने ग्रादर्श उपस्थित करना चाहिये, एक नमूना रखना चाहिये। इस तरह की चीजों से बचा जाना चाहिये।

मब मैं एक बहुत ही गम्भीर विषय की मोर स्राता हूं। मैंने शुरू में कहा है कि बजट का सम्बन्ध किसी भी राष्ट्र के हर एक व्यक्ति के जीवन से होता है। में खुद साम्यवादी विचारधारा का नहीं हूं परम्तु एक सदस्य के नाते ग्रौर एक वकील के नाते मैं एक प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूं। क्या लोकतंत्र यह है कि ग्राप जिन व्यक्तिों को चुनाव लड़ने की इजाजत दें ? भगर कोई व्यक्ति चुनाव में विजय प्राप्त कर लेंगे तो ग्राप फिर उनको ग्रसैम्बली का कारोबार सम्भालने की ग्राज्ञा नहीं देंगे मैं तो कहंगा कि यह मार्टिकल 191 जो कांस्टीट्युशन का है और जिस में अपोग्पता की परिभाषा दी हुई है, उस में मभी यह चोज नहीं माती है। किस तरह से माप अतम्बलो के मैम्बरों को हटा सकते हैं उस कार्य में शामिल होने से ? डिसक्वालिफ़िकेशन में इस तरह की चीज नहीं त्रातों है। मैं तो बहां तक कहने के लिए तैं गर हं कि यह एक बहुत बड़ा मखौल माप जनतंत्र का उड़ा रहे हैं। ग्रगर कोई देश दोहो लोग हैं तो ग्राप उनके खिलाफ चार्जिज लायें, उनके ग्रांकड़े लायें देश के सामने च**ेज** को माप सिद्ध करें। मैंने व्हाइट पेपर पड़ा है शुक से ग्राखिर तक। हमारे गृह मंत्री ने एक सिनौपसिस दिया है, सन् 62 से ले कर ग्रौर ग्राखिर तक । जो प्रस्ताव पास हुए हैं जो काम हुए हैं उनकी एक समरी वी हई है। नोई ऐसा म्रोवर्ट एकशन सामने नहीं है जिस के ग्राघार पर ग्राप उनका ट्राइल करके देश के सामने यह सिद्ध कर सर्के कि वाकई वे देश दोही हैं। मेरा मतलब केरल में साम्यवादी वामपंथी से है। मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि ग्रगर जनता इस संकल्प पर पहुंची है, इस निर्णय पर पहुंची है गौर उन को विजयी करती है ग्रपने वोट के ढारा तो फिर देशदोही कौन हैं इस के बारे में हमें सोचना है।

एक चीज मुझे यह कहनी है कि जगह जगह पर ग्राप खुद कांस्टिट्यू शन की धवहेलना करते हैं। ग्राप के कांस्टिट्यू शन में इस चीज का संकेत है कि ग्राप कम से कम 14 वर्ष तक की एजुकेशन फ़ी कर देंगे। लेकिन ग्रगर ग्राप देखिये तो ग्राप को मालूम होगा कि ग्रभी तक इस का कोई भी प्राविजन इस बजट में नहीं किया गया है ग्रौर इतने वर्ष समाप्त होने के बाद भी फी एजुकेशन के सम्बन्ध में, जिस का ग्राप ने संकल्प लिया है, पूरा नहीं हुग्रा भीर संविधान का खंडन हुगा है।

मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि समाजवादी धर्यव्यवस्था को लाने के लिए आखिर क्या अरिया होगा । स्वर्गीय प्रधान मंत्री कोम्रापरेटिव सेक्टर पर बड़ा जोर देते ये। वह कहते थे कि सहकार समितियां बनाग्रो । मुल्क के लिये वह एक खास नारा था। किन्तु म्राज होता यह है कि सहकारी सेक्टर को सरकार इग्नोर करती है। इसका कारण यह है कि जो प्राइवेट सेक्टर के व्यक्ति विशेष हैं वे इस बात को नहीं चाहते कि किसी भी तरह से कोग्राप-रेटिव सेक्टर को प्रोत्साहन मिले । भाज मेरे सामने मैसूर स्टेट के मांकड़े हैं। उपाघ्यक्ष महोदग, वह खुद माप की स्टेट है। वहां पर एक लाख 25 हजार एक इ भूमि गन्ना उत्पादन के लिए मौजूद है। तुंगभवा का क्षेत्र है जहां पर माज साल डेढ़ साल से कोग्रापरेटिव शुगर मिल खुलने के लिए दरख्वास्त पड़ी हुई है, परन्तु सरकार लाइसेन्स की ग्रोर घ्यान नहीं देती । केवल इस लिये ध्यान नहीं देती कि कुछ बड़े आदमी जिन में हमारे सदन के सदस्य भी हैं, उन का इंटरेस्ट इस में क्लैश करता है, ग्रगर कोग्रापरेटिव सैक्टर में शुगर मिल खोली जाये । मेरे कहने का प्रभिप्राय यह है कि जिस स्रोत के द्वारा देश में समाज-वादी ग्राधिक व्यवस्था वास्तविक रूप से मा सकती है उस स्रोत को माप बराबर ठुकरा रहे हैं लेकिन फिर भी माप संकल्प कर के जिल्ला कर के कहते हैं कि हम प्रपने देश में समाजवादी ग्राधिक व्यवस्था लाना चाहते हैं ।

झाज वसल बात यह है कि जब कभी कोई मसला फैसले के लिए सामने झाता है तो मतभेद इतना जबर्दस्त होता है जिसका ठिकाना नहीं है । कभी समाजवाद के लिवे प्रोवर एल्थ्यूजियाज्म हो जाता है झौर कभी कैपिटलिज्म के लिये झोवर एल्थ्यूजियाज्म हो जाता है । झौर सारी चीज चूं चूं का मुरब्बा बन जाता है । इतना कन्फ्यूजन हो जाता है कि इस में जो हमारे यहां के बहुसंख्यक लोग हैं, हमारे नागरिक हैं उनका जरा भी लाभ नहीं होता है । केवल कुछ इने गिने लोगों का, चाहे झाप उनको कैपिटलिस्ट कहें या कुछ झौर कहें, लाभ होता है ।

हमारे सामने बहुत से म्रांकड़े हैं। बहुत दिनों की कोशिशों के बाद मिनिस्टर साहब ने म्रांकड़े यहां पर दिये कि मिल मालिकों की तरफ से कुल 6 करोड़ मौर 22 हजार रू• पोलिटिकल पार्टींज को दिये गये।लेकिन उन में से 98 लाख से कुछ मधिक इमारे शासक दल को ही दिये गये।

म्रांकड़ों के म्राधार पर म्रौर राज्य के कारनामों के म्राधार पर मह जो बजट बनाया गया है उसमें मुझे केवल एक बात की प्रमंसा श्रवश्य करनी है। एक लाख से ज्यादा पापुलेशन वाले स्थानों पर प्रापर्टी को मार्केंट वैल्यू पर जो 4 परसेंट का कर लगाया गया है वह अवण्य सही मालूम पड़ती है। बहत दिनों से इस बात की मांग थी कि म्रगर रूरल एरियाज की प्रापर्टी पर सीलिंग होती है तो ग्ररबन प्रापर्टी पर भी सीलिंग होनी चाहिये । श्रौर इस तरह का कदम ग्रब उठाया गया है । ग्रौर भी जो चीजें इस बजट में रखी गई हैं, जो रिलीफ थोड़े बहत इंडिविजुम्रल टैक्स पेम्रर को दिये गये हैं उन पर भी मैं संतोष प्रकट करता हूं । परन्तु यह आशा करना कि नाम मात्र के लिये भी समाजवादी व्यवस्था कायम करने के लिये यह बजट बना है यह ठीक नहीं है । भ्रगर कोई प्राविजन किये भी जायेंगे, कोई कानन, बनाये भी जायेंगे तो उनका ठीक से पालन नहीं होगाँ। हम देखते हैं कि कानूनों को इम्प्लिमेंट करने के वास्ते, उन को बरतने के लिये यह सरकार बिल्कूल गलत कदम उठाती है जिसके कारण देश की ढालत दिन प्रति दिन खराब होती चली जा रही है।

Shvi Man Sinh P. Patel (Mehsana): I am not a good student of economics nor I can understand the method of financing a budget, either over-estimating expenditure or under-estimating revenue.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Jammu and Kashmir): Both are bad.

Shri Man Sinh P. Patel: However, I can understand the budget and the method of financing it, as a man-inthe-street understands it. Initially, everyone has felt that at least there are no heavy taxes and some small surplus has been envisaged in the present budget and hence it should be accepted as a very fair attempt by the hon. Minister to give a balanced budget.

While going through some of the paragraphs of the budget speech, I

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## [Shri Man Sinh P. Patel]

have gone through them with only one aspect in view, namely whether the tax reliefs given to the corporate sector and the tax reliefs at the personal level have been equitable. I am constrained to say that the budget has not been looked with an equitable spirit at one and all. After all, how many are there in this country with an income above Rs. 4000, and who pay tax? According to my memory, from what I have learnt in the past, the number would not come to more than 15 to 16 millions in the whole of the country. If the real spirit of the budget is such that it cannot check the inflation in the prices or reduce it, then the remaining people in the country as a whole will have no advantage whatsoever by whatever relief may be shown in taxation.

On the other hand, so far as the corporate sector is concerned, we find that even though that sector has been given so many concessions, still from whatever hon, friends representing industry have said, and especially from whatever has been said in the Delhi city surcharged with the Chambers of Commerce conference and so on, it appears that some injustice is still done to the industries and no concession worth the name is being shown to them and as a result of it there will be some stagnation in the growth of the economy and private capital would not be coming forward for new industries.

I shall illustrate my point by giving just one small example. A person with an income of about a lakh of rupees is given a concession of Rs. 5500 or so. How many people are there in this country who have an income at the level of one lakh of rupees? What was the special urgency for the hon. Finance Minister to give concession to these people? I could understand if the concessions would have been restricted to people with incomes up to Rs. 25,000 or so. But in the name of concessions in personal taxation, we find that the concessions have been extended to the income level of one lakh of rupees. There would be only a small number of people who could get this benefit in this country. This is most inequitable according to me.

Then, let us take the case of the corporate sector. My hon. friend Shri Morarka had said that there were special favours shown to the co-operative sector. But I would submit that in spite of the desire that we have to develop the co-operative sector, not much of a special treatment has been given to the co-operative sector. Take the case of the sugar co-operatives and one or two mill co-operatives which have been well settled in this country at the moment. They have to pay the same taxes except that there is an initial rebate up to Rs. 15,000 and there is a different slab up to Rs. 40,000. When we want to give special encouragement to the co-operative sector, it is very necessary that it should be treated very much differently, and by doing so, we create also a third sector in this country because we find that a rosy picture is not being drawn of the public undertakings. I am always in favour of public undertakings.

Some of our Swatantra friends wanted to show that the public undertakings as a whole have miserably failed to yield any return, and only the railways are in a position to give a surplus, and that the overall picture of return is hardly 0:22 per cent in the country. The facts are otherwise. I do concede that some public undertakings in the initial three or four years cannot, owing to the method adopted by government machinery, cannot come up. Here I would like to draw the attention of the House to a very recent speech of a well-known **Ex-Finance Secretary and Ex-Defence** Secretary and the present Chairman of the Gujarat State Electricity Board, Shri H. M. Patel, while opening the Dhuvaran thermal project which our hon. Prime Minister went to inaugurate. He said: this with reference to how normally a department of the Finance Ministry or Commerce Ministry functioned:

"I have felt particularly unhappy where procedural rigidity delay has led to serious delays. Urgent shipments of equipment, flown out at considerable additional cost, were mercilessly and unimaginatively held up by the customs at the airports for days. Similiarly, import licences for replacement of equipment damaged in transit were issued in a leisurely manner after a scrutiny which on the face of it was clearly not necessary. Other similar bottlenecks could be mentioned. Suffice it to say that a sense of urgency is the one quality that is conspicuously lacking in some of our official machinery today. And it is so difficult to instil it. I was quite seriously told by one senior official, who must necessarily remain unnamed, that People came to us showing time schedules, which they themselves never intend to adhere to; why should we accept your schedules?' He may have had some justification based on his experience, but I also had justification for being indignant, since I really did mean business. His eventual relenting must have been due to his being of the genuineness convinced of my indignation".

So if there is any fault anywhere, it is in the machinery which delays the effective functioning of public undertakings, delays keeping the capital unutilised or resulting in wasteful expenditure for a number of years. In my own humble way, T have a small experience of having put up a dairy factory in the co-operative sector. I have looked into the different projects, different government undertakings. I can say they are never completed in four or five years. For this period, the capital lies stagnant, unproductive. This being s0, how is it possible to expect the public undertakings to yield the expected results in that period. On the contrary, if such projects are sanctioned

in the co-operative sector, we have found that they have shown results, that they can go into production within a period of two years and start yielding results. If this is done, naturally many maxims quoted by the hon. Finance Minister in connection with efficiency in the public enterprises and efficiency in their productive operation and better results can be attained.

I come from Gujarat. The hon. Finance Minister has said that States are requiring loans for expenditure for development puroses according to the Plan programme. I want to ask whether there is equitable distribution of these loans according to the needs and requirements of each State. I do concede that under-developed States do require more grants and loans. But till what time? I have a pamphlet with me prepared by the Chamber of Commerce of Gujarat. Here it is made out that Gujarat is being considered as a well-developed State due to the misfortune of it having been a part of the bilingual State of Bombay and hence its income correlated with the Bombay income. I want to compare three or four States-Punjab, Madras, Kerala and Gujarat. Let us first take the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes population. The percentage of Scheduled Castes and Tribes population to the total population in these four States is as follows Punjab 20:45, Madras 18.76, Kera'a 9.75 and Gujarat 19:98. The percentage of Scheduled Castes and Tribes in urban areas is as under: Gujarat 29:4, which is the maximum in India; Kerala 12.8, Madras 21 and Punjab 11.6.

Development of roads and generation of electricity are clear signs from which we can see whether industries have come up or the rural area has been developed. I do concede that the textile industry is in Ahmedabad, but that should be no reason for equating Gujarat with the former Bombay State. I shall now give the figures to show the backwardness of Gujarat in the matter of roads and electricity. Road mileage per hundred

#### [Shri Man Sinh P. Patel]

square miles is as follows in the four States: Gujarat 23, Kerala 82, Madras 71 and Punjab 43, Road mileage per lakh of the population is as follows: Gujarat 78, Madras 105, Punjab 96 and Kerala 71. In the matter of electricity everybody knows that Kerala or Madras are highly developed. The total number of towns and villages electrified as percentage of total towns and inhabited villages is as follows in the four States: Kerala 98.61, Madras 45.95, Punjab 16.85 and Gujarat 4.99.

Now, let us see the share of incometax and Central Excises that Gujarat has got in the past according to the recommendations of the Finance Commission. In the case of Gujarat, the collection of income-tax during 1963-64 was Rs. 1,965 lakhs, of which the share of the State came to Rs. 576 lakhs. Collection of Central Excises in Gujarat during 1963-64 was Rs. 6,804 lakhs, of which the share of the State came to Rs. 976 Gujarat should be given lakhs. at least its proper proportion in this res-But here is a newly formed pect. State which actually requires much more assistance for its development. Because it formed part of the welldeveloped former Bombay State, it does not mean it should now be neglected, or its case should not be considered.

The per capita tax revenue in the four States is as under: Guiarat Rs. 22, Kerala Rs. 19:6, Madras Rs. 19 and Punjab Rs. 20.7 So, as among these States the tax effort of Gujarat is the greatest. As for the financial assistance given to the State by the Centre, I am not able to quote the figures for the First and Second Plans because it formed part of Bombay State. For the Third Plan, the figures for the four States are: Gujarat 48:08 per cent, Kerala .65.88 per cent, Madras 65.29 per cent and Punjab 58.08 per cent. Gujarat gets the lowest share here.

So, I would carnestly urge on the hon. Finance Minister to re-scrutinise and re-estimate the needs of Gujarat for its development. There should be new formulae in proper perspective and it should be given whatever are its legitimate dues. A friend of mine had an occasion to visit America very recently. He being elder to me, 1 asked him: what are your impressions? "Well, Mr. Patel," he said "the opinion is there that a country which cannot defend itself, cannot free its territory from foreign occupation. and cannot feed itself has no existence on earth." I earnestly urge the hon. Finance Minister. Is this applied to our country as a whole? After 16, 17 or 18 years of independence, we are not in a position to defend ourselves. The honour of the Indian personnel had been sullied; they had been humiliated. There cannot be any spirit of honour in our army, if they are once humiliated and we do not get back that honour. Some day it will come. I do not know when. There is the promise and pledge of this House to the country, that we will redeem our territory. Are Rs. 700 crores and odd sufficient for our defence forces? Are preparations going on as is understood by the country? There is that fear. No doubt the emergency is there, but go to any part of the country, anywhere, in the streets or in government offices, do you feel that emergency is existing anywhere. I am afraid because I may not be in the know of things. My hon, friends there may know more than I do. Is there no complacency? Are you not providing more money to them because the defence services are not capable of utilising usefully more money? Two years back, in the initial year of this heavy taxation, 45 per cent of the total estimated revenues went to the defence services. This year, it is hardly 33 per cent. I am not concerned very much with percentages. It is a matter for the hon. Finance Minister and the Government to judge: Is there no complacency? Whatever maximum expenditure that the đefence services could usefully incur. had they been allotted that amount? Are they not complacent by this feeling, at this moment, there is no direct invasion or aggression going on . . . Mr Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member may conclude now

Shri Man Sinh Patel: I come to my last point, Sir, agricultural production. This morning I read in the papers the hon. Finance Minister's statement in the Rajya Sabha, about the taxes on diesel oil used for agricultural purposes. Some points must have been argued there and he had replied to them. If I do not return to my original profession of law, my main source of income is agriculture. I have got my diesel engine which I use for agricultural purposes. In the last six years, the cost of a barrel containing 48 gallons had increased 105 per cent, from Rs. 45-46 in the year 1956, they had gone to up Rs. 98-101 per barrel in this year. The Finance Minister had been kind enough to announce that diesel engines might be subsidised. I also remember a statement by the previous Food Minister, Shri Swaran Singh in Gujarat that they were envisaging something to subsidise the excise duty on agricultural consumption. The subsidy on diesel engines will not suffice, it may be an initial subsidy, a nonrecurring subsidy. We want recurring subsidies on the actual use of diesel oil for agricultural production. In Gujarat there is no flow irrigation; there will be no major flow irrigation until the Narmada project comes up. In a district of two parliamentary constituencies from where I come. There are not less than 30,000 oil-engines working today. There is a scheme of the Government to subsidise the supply of electricity. But electricity cannot reach all the areas. When the mitial remunerative price for wheat was pronounced for the current year by the Government, it was my misfortune in those days to be in my Parliamentary constituency. I was asked by many of the people, "Mr. Patel, is this the price at which your Government are likely to purchase it?" - I said, "No; the Gujarat Government is not likely to make a compulsory levy. If there is a fall in the price, then alone the Government will come in. Otherwise, you need not worry." So, there is a marginal difference in the production cost in respect of irrugation through the oil engines. I am surprised why the attention to the Government has not been drawn to this fact by the official sources of the Agriculture Ministry.

I would like to urge ennestly on the hon Finance Minister that only oil-engines can be procured by the lowest class of people, people who are holding hardly five to eight acres of land for the maintenance of their families working on their fields. Therefore, they need a subsidy and unless that is given, they will never feel that this relief in personal taxation which is being given has ever passed on to the agricultural classes.

Shri R. N. Reddi (Nalgonda): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, one of the most important problems that is facing the country today is the raising of agricultural production. After 17 years of Independence, we see that agriculture in the country is totally backward, and we do not know how much time it will take to make our country self-sufficient in the matter of agricultural production. In spite of the efforts made, the yield per acre in India is almost the lowest in the world or, I should say it is one of the lowest in the world. We produce about 800 lb of rice per acre. Compare this with the world's average per acre yield which is 3,000 lb. This is the state of affairs and this is so after 17 years of our Independence. I do not know what will be the future of food production in the country. Every year, we depend on the import of foodstuffs and that is from America. We spend hundreds of crores of rupees on that. Even on shipping charges, we spend our foreign exchange. If this continues, then this is a very dangerous situation. This is happening not only for one or two years: it goes on for years. Of course, if there is drought or if the climatic conditions are not favourable, certain countries do import certain amount of grains, but our perennial imports have become a feature and it is a very dangerous

#### [Shri R. N. Reddy]

situation in which our country is put. How can you depend upon other countries for your foodstuffs year by year, decade by decade and what is going to happen to our Independence, if the countries supplying grains to us refuse to do so? These are very important questions that face our country. The Food Ministry will have to take stock of this problem.

I would like to deal with only a few probelms concerning agricultural production in India. I shall first take up the question of land reforms. At the beginning of our Independence, two very good reforms were promulgated by this Government. One was the abolition of Princely States and the other was the abolition of statutory landlordism. They were really good which helped to remove the feudal fetters on agriculture and improve production to a limited extent. But after that, the ruling party which professes socialism, and in spite of that no agricultural reform worth the name has come within the last 15 years. Even the waste land is not properly distributed. I do not say that nothing has been done. Things are being done, but the other factors are also coming in the way which the Government should take that into considera-There is what is called the potion. pu'ation explosion. I do not say that production has not risen. It has risen, but population has risen more. That is a hard fact. In order to solve the problems, we will have to go far quicker than what we are doing today.

legislation and Certain tenancy ceiling Acts have been passed in diffeent State but that has not yielded any rent States but that has not yielded any land to the tiller. An examination of these Acts and the actions of those Governments will show that facilities have been given to the landlords to circumvent the law and successfully see that land does not got to the tiller. The law has remained only on paper, practically nothing has been gained by the tiller.

The ruling party talks much of co-

operative faming. Inspired by the mock fight that went on in the press between the ruling party and the Swatantra party for and against co-operative farming. I corresponded with the Andhra Pradesh Government for registering a cooperative farm near my village. The name of the village is Nagireddipalli. 150 acres of land were being tilled by the Harijans jointly for the last half a century. I wanted the Government to register a society and see that it developed properly. I had to correspond for 2½ years to get the society registered and another 14 years to see that loan of Rs. 4000 was given to them for sinking a well and for purchase of an electric motor, because it is an electrified village. After that, nothing else is done and the society is now in a moribund condition. I am corresponding with these people without any effect. That is the attitude of the ruling party towards cooperative forming, which if wellorganised and helped in the shape of not only loans, but grants, can func-tion very well. But they only profess socialism for name's sake.

In the agricultural field, every 88pect is in a very bad condition. If it is not improved, things will go from bad to worse. Take fertilisers. Use of fertilisers can improved production very quickly. But what is the position of fertiliser production and their utilisation in India? On an average we use 21lbs of fertiliser per acre. Our UP friends talk much, but their use of fertiliser is the worst. Next comes Assam. In Andhra probably 0117 average use is 6 lbs per acre. If you just compare these to certain contries in the world which are surplus in food, the figures are really surprising. Whereas we use 21 pounds, New Zealand uses 534 pounds per acre, Netherland uses 406 pounds per acre, Belgium uses 337 pounds per acre, Germany uses 253 pounds per acre and Japrn uses 324 pounds per acre. When we come to fertiliser production we see that we in India produce only

about 95,000 metric tonnes whereas USA produces 2,68,000 tonnes, Germany 11,80,000 tonnes, Japan 10,30,000 tonnes and even East Germany produces 3,34,000 tonnes. These are some very surprising figures. I stress upon this point because the use of fertiliser is a sure way of doubling our production especially in the irrigated fields.

I can tell you something from my own experience. In certain parts of Andhra we produce 20 bags of rice per acre on an average which comes to five times the Indian average. This is mostly because of fertilizers. There the fertiliser is sold at a blackmarket rate. Of course, there is backwardness among the peasantry-I agree. That must be removed also. But I say that after these 17 years of independence we have not solved the food problem. If this is the state of affairs after 17 years, we do not know when and how this Government is going to solve this problem. **Even** the cost put upon this fertiliser is prohibitive. The so-called concession given by the Ministry of Agriculture is very meagre. It is not within the reach of the poor agriculturists to go in for it. You talk of concessions to the corporate sector, this sector and that sector. But what about the agricultural sector which is the most important sector in the country? No concession is given in this budget. We expected certain concessions to this sector. We expected certain concessions in the field of electricity for agricultural and other aspects. Nothing has been given in this budget by the Finance Minister.

Then I come to the question of distribution of fertilisers. This year I think it is being done through co-operatives. It is a good method. But the co-operatives are nests of politics. They are generally in the hands of the ruling party. How to avoid it? The Government will have to take oroper steps to see that politics is not mixed with fertilisers.

Dr. M. S. Aney.: Politics is not mixed with co-operation. Shri R. N. Reddi: Co-operation and also fertiliser. Co-operation is mixed up with politics and when fertiliser is distributed through co-operatives the fertiliser also gets mixed up with politics. That is the difficulty with the co-operatives today that are functioning in our country.

#### 15.59 hrs.

[SHRI THIRUMALA RAO in the Chair]

It was the duty of the Government to ensure that the required amount of fertiliser was manufactured in this country. They have wasted 17 long years. Today we are just in a position to manufacture a lakh tonnes which is nothing compared to the vastness of our country. If the Government really wants to solve the problem, along with agrarian reforms the manufacture of fertiliser should be taken up on a war footing and they should see that sufficient fertiliser is manufactured in this country. Even international supply is going down. Every country is trying to see that its fertiliser is being used by its own land. Therefore, the Government must take up the manufacture of fertiliser in a big way and then only we will be My able to double the production. own experience tells me that if fertiliproper ser is properly used and in quantities in irrigated areas the production can easily be doubled.

#### 16 hrs

Then I come to the question of irrigation. For a balanced economy, economy in a for a self-sufficient cent of the country at least 30 per sown land must be irrigated. Then alone can we have a self-sufficient economy. What is the position in India today after seventeen years of independence? We have irrigated only 18 per cent of the sown area today. So, the pace of irrigation must be speeded up. Our engineering services must be geared up, not only in efflciency but also in speed. This is efficiency is very essential. Unless mixed up with speed, our projects are

## [Shri R. N. Reddy]

not going to come up in time. For example, take the case of Tungabadra in Andhra and Mysore State. The work was begun in the year 1944 and it is still incomplete. The high-level canal is still under construction. It has taken 21 years from 1944 to 1965. Of course, I have gone and seen the magnificient feats of engineering They are good. But what is the use if they take 20 years to complete the construction of a project? Population explosion would have taken place during those 20 years. If we complete the construction of our projects at that rate, we will never be able to become self-sufficient even if we take a century.

In this connection, I would like to put forward the claim of Andhra State for the Nagarjunasagar project. It is one of our national projects and it is one of the biggest in the country, after Bhakra-Nangal. The responsibility of constructing this project is put on the province which is unjust. We are a surplus State and we are supplying grains to the rest of India. So, we feel that it is not only our project but it is a national project. Therefore, the Centre should take up the responsibility of constructing it.

What is the position in Andhra State? Nagarjunsagar is a white elephant for the State Government. Every year it has to spend Rs. 15 crores. May be that loans are advanced but then the whole thing is included in the Plan. The result of this expenditure is that in Andhra Pradesh the backward areas are suffering. They are not able to get either electricity or small irrigatoin projects. I repeat it is a national project and so it should be taken up by the Centre. I do not know why the Central Government is hesitating to take it up.

Lastly, I come to co-operative credit. Now the peasants are getting credit at  $a_n$  usurious rate of interest, ranging from 8 to 10 per cent. The Reserve Bank is giving money to the State Government and the Apex banks at the rate of 2 per cent. But when it reaches the agriculturist the rate goes up to 8 or 10 per cent. I do not understand how the rate increased to that extent. They say that they have to build up Apex bank and the central Bank. If that is so, I think it would be better to close down all those banks for the present and arrangements are made for the peasants to direct from get the loan the Reserve Bank by opening its branches in key villages. If it results in the rate of interest going up to 3 or even - 4 per cent, it does not matter. The building up of the intermediary institutions can be postponed for the time being, say, for 20 years. When we have solved our food problem then we can have the luxury of developing these intermediary banks. Today. cheap credit is one of the most important problems that is facing the peasants. If we can give the peasants cheap credit and sufficient credit, the shortterm, medium-term and long-term. credit, at 2 to 3 per cent, it will be a boon to them and that will go a long way in increasing the agricultural production in the country.

With these points, I conclude.

श्री श्रीनारायण दास (दरभंगा) : सम्रापति महोदय, इस बजट पर जो वाद विवाद इस सदन में हो रहा है इसको ध्यान में रखने से पता चलता है कि विस मंत्री ने जो बज्जट पेश किया है वह किसी भी तरह से संतोषजनक नहीं है। मेरा ख्याल है कि चूंकि श्रभी हम ने मौजुदा हालत में मिली जुली ग्रर्थ व्यवस्था की कल्पना क है ग्रीर साथ ही साथ यह भी भादमं भ्रपने सामने रखा है कि हमारी म्रर्थ व्यवस्था समाजवादी हो, इन दोनों दुष्टिकोणों को सामने रखते हुए जो ग्रालोचना इस बजट की की जा रहे है उस में भ्राश्चयं नहीं होना चाहिये । एक तरफ स्वतंत्र पार्टी ग्रौर जो पूंजीवादी व्यवस्था के समर्थक हैं वे इसकी श्रालोचना इस लिये करते हैं कि इसमें विकास के लिये

जिस इन्वेस्टमेंट की जरूरत है उसके लिये कोई भी सहनियत नहीं दी गई है या पर्याप्त सहुलियत नहीं दी गई है। दूसरी झोर जो समाजवाद में विश्वास करने वाले भाई हैं वे कहते हैं कि हर तरह की सुविधा उन्हें लोगों को दी गई है जिनके पास धन है, सुविधा है भीर जो सूखी हैं, सम्पन्न हैं। गरीबों के ऊपर बढ़ता हमा भार थोड़ा कम भी किया गया भेकिन वह प्रभावशाली नहीं है, वैसा नहीं है जिस से उनका भार सचम्च हलका हो सके । ऐसी स्थिति में वित्त मंत्री की स्थिति की कल्पना की जा सकती है कि जिस मनो-वैज्ञानिक स्थिति से वह गुजर रहे हैं झौर जिस प्रकार का सिद्धांत हम ने भ्रपने सामने रखा है, भ्रौर जैसा कि कहा गया कि हमादे भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री ने हमारे लिये जो विरासत छोड़ी है 🗇 देश के घन्दर जनता के जीवन स्तर को ऊंचा उठाते हुए हम समाजवाद की स्यापना करेंगे, उस में भाषिक नीति का निर्धारण करना वित्त मंत्री के लिये कितना कठिन है। मिलीजुली धर्य व्यवस्था में बजट की भालोचना मिली जुली हो, कटु हो ग्रौर मीठी हो, तो इस में कोई भाष्चर्य की बात नहीं है, भौर जिस तरह से हमारा यह सदन संगठित है जिस में विभिन्न घादलों को मानने वाले लोग मौजूद हैं, उसमें इस तरह से कटु भौर मीठी दोनों तरह की मालोचना बजट की की जाये तो इसमें कोई धाश्वयें नहीं होना चाहिये ।

एक तरफ इमारे जनसंघ के नेता ने कहा कि कर्ज से हम देश को दबाये चले जा रहे हैं, हम बिल्कुल बैंकप्ट हो रहे हैं, इससे हमारा कोई घादर होने वाला नहीं है, दूसरी सरफ कर लगाये जाते हैं तो धनी लोगों पर लगाये जाते हैं भौर धनी लोग कहते हैं कि हम को विकास के काम में लगाने के लिये बचत नहीं होती है, सारा का सारा पैसा कर में ले लिया जाता है, हम विकास का काम कैसे कर सकते हैं। तीसरी तरफ से जो गरीब लोग देश में हैं, जो मूक हैं, जिनके वास घखबार नहीं हैं, प्रचार भी नहीं है, यहां

थोड़े से सदस्य हैं जो उन की तरफ से बोला करते हैं उन पर भी भार अधिक ही है। बे कहते हैं कि सारा भार देश की जनता पर लदता चला जा रहा है। इस सब के बाद भी सब कोई आरों तरफ से कहते हैं कि देस की गरीबी नहीं मिटाई जा रही है, देश का बिकास नहीं हो रहा है। मैं समझता हं कि इस तरह की जो समालोचनाएं हैं उनमें वित्त मंत्री का घबरा जाना कोई ग्रस्वाभाविक बात नहीं है। वित्त मंत्री रह कर इन बातों का निर्णय करना भी कठिन होता है। इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हुं कि जिस तरह की हमारी धर्ष व्यवस्था मभी है, उस मर्थ व्यवस्था के ऊपर जो दबाब है, जिसके बारे में ग्रायिक समीक्षा में जिक किया गया है मौर हमारे माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने अपने बजट भाषण में भी कहा कि इन बातों का घ्यान रखते इए बजट का निर्धारण किया गया है, वह संतोष-जनक है भौर इसके लिए कोई विशेष शिकायत करने की भावश्यकता नहीं होनी भाहिये। खास कर तब जब िं वित्त को कठिनाई होते हुए भी मायोजना के लिये धन जुटाने का, देश की सुरक्षा के लिए धन देने का, खेती के क्षेत्र में, निगम के क्षेत्र धन देने का प्रयत्न किया ग्रार व्यक्तिगत कर में ग्रीर उत्पादन शुल्क में कमें। की है, बजट का समर्थन ही किया जाना चाहिए। हमको उनका ग्राभारी होना चाहिए कि ऐसे संकट के समय में भी उन्होंने जनता के भार को कुछ हलका करने का प्रयत्न किया है ।

जो मूल्यों में चिन्ताजनक दृदि हो रही है उसका हमारी ग्रर्थ व्यवस्था पर बड़ा बबाब पड़ रहा है। विदेशी मुद्रा के सम्बन्ध में कठिनाई होती जा रही है साथ ही साथ विभिन्न परियोजना में जो रुपया खर्च किया गया है उनमें उत्पादन में दृद्धि नहीं हुई है इसलिए हमारी मुद्रास्फीति बढ़ती जा रही है। चालू योजना में जो विकास हो पाया है उसको संतोषजनक नहीं कहा जा सकता, भौर हमारी जो वैलेंस ग्राफ पेमेंट की स्थिति · [श्री श्रीनारायण दास]

है वह भी संतोषजनक नहीं है। ऐसी स्थिति में, जैसा कि द्यार्थिक समीक्षा में कहा गया है, इस बजट को बनाते समय इन चार पांज बातों पर घ्यान रखा गया है:

- (क) कृषि जन्य पदार्थों के उत्पादन में तत्काल वृद्धि,
- (ब) प्राथमिकता बाले क्षेत्रों में गैर सरकारी पूंखी लगाए जाबे को प्रोत्साहन,
- (ग) सरकारी क्षेत्र की प्रायोजनाम्नों के कार्य में सुघार,
- (भ) मुद्रा धौर राजस्व के क्षेत में धपेकाकृत धधिक नियंत्रण,
- (ङ) निर्यात में जोरदार वृद्धि ग्रौर उन ग्रायातों में, जिनके लिए वित्त की व्यवस्था सहायता कार्यक्रम ग्रौर विदेशी निवेश कार्यक्रम के ग्रन्तगत न की जाती हो, ग्रत्यधिक कमी करना, ग्रौर
- (भ) ग्रत्यावश्यक वस्तुभ्रों के वितरण की व्यवस्था में सुधार ।

अब हम इन ६–७ कसौटियों पर इस बजट को कसते हैं तो हम इसको असंतोषजनक नहीं कइ सकते ।

इस सम्बन्ध में पहली बात जिसका मैं जिक करना चाहता हूं वह है मूल्य । यह बात सही है कि हमारे माननीय मंत्री ने पिछले वर्ध वर्षों में राजस्व सम्बन्धी और मुद्रा सम्बन्धी कई कार्यवाइयां की हैं जिससे उन्होंने सोचा था कि मूल्यों को रोक सकेंगे, लेकिन हमें मालूम है कि इन सब कार्रवाइयों के बावजूद वे मूल्य को रोक नहीं सके हैं भौर घ्राज हमारी जनता मूल्य के बढ़ जाने के कारण ध्रनेक प्रकार की कठिनाइयों में पड़गयी है और उसे घनेक प्रकार की मसूविघाएं

हो गयी हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में भी हमारे देश की जनता क्यों इतने कर भार को संभाले हए है ग्रौर क्यों हर बार कर लगाने वाली पार्टी का ग्राम चुनावों में समर्थंन करती है, इस पर इमें गौर करना चाहिए । इस देश की जनता पढ़ी लिखी नहीं है, फिर भी उसकी साधारण वृद्धि जबरदस्त है, वह समझती है कि अगर माज की पीढी ने त्याग नहीं किया, म्रगर म्राज की पीढ़ी ने कष्ट नहीं उठाया, अस्विधाओं को नहीं झेला तो भागे भाने वाली संतानों को सूख श्रौर सम्पन्नता नहीं मिल सकेगी । **ए**सीलिए बार बार कर लगाते रहने पर भी जनता कांग्रेस पार्टी का भ्राम चुनावों में समर्थन करती है । इसका जबरदस्त कारण यही है कि जनता यह भली भांति समझती है कि भगर भाज की पीढ़ी कष्ट नहीं झेलेगी तो उसकी संतान को सुख नहीं होगा । जनता जानती है कि झगर ग्राज उस पर कर नहीं लगाए जाएंगे तो भ्राने वाली पीढ़ी को कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड़ेगा । इसीलिए जनता कांग्रेस पार्टी का समर्थन करती है । इसी कारण धाज कई वर्षों से साधारण जनता ने कर भार को संभाल रखा है ग्रौर ग्राज ग्राप ने उनकी जो मदद की है उसके लिए वह कृतज्ञ हैं। लेकिन जो निम्न श्रेणी के लोग हैं उनको किसी खास प्रकार की सहायता नहीं मिली है । कपड़े पर जो कर घटाया गया है उससे उनको कुछ सहायता मिली है, लेकिन बाकी चीजों पर जो म्रापने उत्पादन शुल्क घटाया है उसका म्रसर साधारण जनता तक नहीं पहुंचा है। मैं अनुरोध करूंगा कि वित्त मंत्री जी इस बात का ध्यान रखें कि निम्न श्रेणी की जनता मध्य निम्न श्रेणी की जनता श्रौर निम्नतम श्रेणी की जनता के ऊपर जो कर का भार है इसको घटाना चाहिए । इन लोगों से सम्बंधित एक चीज पर उन्होंने कर घटाने की बात सोची थी लेकिन उस कर को घटा महीं सके । वह चीज है केरोसीन तेल जो कि भाज भी, नाना प्रकार के प्रकाश के साधनों के होते हुए भी, देश की लाखों भौर करोड़ों झोंपड़ियों

में ढिबरियों में जलता है। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि अगर माननीय वित्त मंत्री माल किरोसिन के तेल पर कुछ कर घटा सर्के और इसकी घोषणा कर सर्के तो हिन्दुस्तान की यह जनता सचमुच में, चाहे थोड़ा सा ही सही, उनके बजट का समर्थन कर सकेगी।

एक बात जिसकी तरफ कई माननीय सदस्यों ने घ्यान ग्राकर्षित किया है वह यह है कि हमने जो रुपया जनता से करों के रूप में वसूल करके सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के कारखानों में बगाया है, उससे जितना मुनाफा होना बाहिए था उतना नहीं हो रहा है, उससे जितना पैसा सरकारी खजाने में ग्राना चाहिए था वह नहीं ग्रा रहा है। इसकी तरफ मैं भी मंत्री महोदय का घ्यान खींचना चाहूंगा।

इमारे पब्लिक सेक्टर में जो उद्योग स्थापित किए गए हैं वे स्थापित किए जाने चाहिये थे भौर उनमें उत्तरोत्तर वृद्धि डोनी चाहिये, लेकिन मेरा निवेदन है कि उनके काम की बराबर देखभाल ग्रौर समा• सोचना होती रहनी चाहिये ताकि इन कारखानों में हम जो जनता की गाढ़ी कमाई की पूंजी लगाते हैं उससे उचित मुनाफा हो। इस पर पूरा ध्यान देना चाहिये । इन कार-खानों के खर्च में कमी किस प्रकार की जाये इस पर ध्यान देना चाहिये । मेरा विचार है कि कई खर्चों को कम किया जा सकता है। ऐसा करके इनको भागे बढ़ाया जाना षाहिये ।

एक बात की तरफ मैं ग्रौर ध्यान बींचना चाहता हूं । ग्राप जानते हैं कि प्राइवेट सेक्टर ऐसी ग्रवस्था में है कि देश के विकास के काम में पूरा भाग ले सकता है । लेकिन उनको जो भी सुविधा द जाती है उसको नाकाफी समझते हैं । उन्होंने एक ऐसा वाता-वरण देश में पैदा कर रखा है कि हम जो पैसा कारपोरेट सेक्टर में लगाते हैं वह कम है । हम देश के विकास का जो काम करते हैं उसका वे बराबर विरोध करते हैं । ग्रौर वे लोग यह दिखाते हैं कि उनको इतनी रियायत देने पर भी बचत नहीं हो पाती श्रोर बचत नहीं होती इसलिये वे रुपये का निवेश कैंसे करें। श्रौर ग्रगर निवेश नहीं होगा तो देश का विकास कैंसे हो सकता है। वे देश के विकास के लिए पूंजी लगाने में श्रपनी ग्रसमर्थता बताते हैं। दूसरी तरफ पबलिक सेक्टर में हम कारखाने खोलते हैं तो उनकी समालोचना करते हैं। वे स्वयं विकास के काम में सहयोग नहीं देते हैं श्रौर जब कोई काम पबलिक सेक्टर में खोला जाता है तो उसका विरोध करते हैं, उसकी समालोचना करते हैं। कहा नहीं जा सकता कि उनका मंशा क्या है। क्या वे देश के काम में सहयोग नहीं करना चाहते।

एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूं। इस देश के जो धनी ग्रौर सम्पन्न लोग हैं जो कि पूंजी लगाने की ग्रवस्था में हैं वे, जनता ने ग्रौर संसद ने जो निर्णय किया है कि हम धपने देश में समानता की व्यवस्था कायम करेंगे, देश में समाजवाद की स्थापना करेंगे, उस निर्णय को सफल बनाने की दिशा में नहीं सोचते । वे इस बात को नहीं सोचते कि किस प्रकार वे देश का विकास करने में धौर देश को समाजवादी ढांचे पर लाने में सहायता कर सकते हैं । इसके विपरीत वे बराबर इस बात की मांग करते हैं कि उनको व्यापार में म्रधिक नफा कमाने में मदद की जाए । ग्रभी जो दिल्ली में ग्राल इंडिया **फे**डेरेशन ग्राफ चेम्बर्स ग्रौफ कमर्स एंड इन्डस्ट्रीज का सम्मेलन हन्रा उसमें भी यही मांग की गयी। म्राज प्राइवेट सक्टर में जो उद्योग हैं उनकी सहायता करने के लिये धनेक कारपोरेशन स्थापित किये गये हैं, जैसे इंडियन फाइनेंस कारपोरेशन, स्टेट फाइनेंस कारपोरेशन, स्माल इंडस्ट्रीज फाइनेंस कारपोरेशन श्रौर यूनिट ट्रस्ट श्रादि । ये संस्थायें प्राइवेट सेक्टर को पूजी देती हैं । मैं इनका विरोधी नहीं हूं । लेकिन मैं मंत्री महोदय से कहना चाहता हूं कि खेती के क्षेत्र में जहां क्रेडिट की बड़ी सावश्यकता

## [श्रं श्र नारायण दास]

है, ग्रौर जिस पर बजट बनाते समय बहुत जोर दिया गया है उसके लिये म्रापने सहायता देने की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की है। रिजवँ बैंक कोग्रापरेटिव सेक्टर में कुछ मदद करता है, लेकिन वह एक महान संस्था है, उसके पास बहुत जिम्मेवारियां हैं । वह खेती के लिये ग्रौर कोग्रापरेटिव सेक्टर के लिये जितने केडिट की ग्रावश्यकता है उसकी पूर्ति नहीं कर सकती । इसलिये मेरा मंत्री महोदय से **प्रनुरोध है त्रौर संसद् में इस पर** बार बार जोर दिया गया है कि वे खेती के लिये ग्रौर कोग्रापरेटिव सेक्टर को मदद देने के लिये एक ग्रलग बैंक की स्थापना करें जिससे कि इस क्षेत्र को समय पर रुपया मिल सके। पगर ऐसा किया गया तो मैं समझता ह कि खेती के क्षेत्र में उत्पादन बढ़ाने में समय नहीं लगेगा। ग्राज खेती के लिये जितने वित्त की मावश्यकता है वह नहीं मिल पा रहा है। भौर कोग्रापरेटिव सेक्टर को भी जिसे सहायता की आवश्यकता है वह उसे नहीं मिल पा रही है। उसके लिये एक भलग बैंक की स्थापना होनी चाहिये।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि सरकार को खेतिहारों की भाकस्मिक 'षटनाग्रों के कारण ग्रसित हो जाने पर भी सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये। यह माकस्मिक घटनायें कभी ग्रनावुष्टि के रूप में होती हैं, कभी अतिवृष्टि के रूप में होती हैं तो कभी ग्रोला पड़ने के रूप में होती हैं ग्रौर खेतिहरों को उनसे बचाने के लिये जरूरी है कि एक देशव्यापी संगठन किया जाये। खेती की जो उपज हो उसका बीमा कराने के लिये कोशिश की जानी चाहिये। श्रगर कृषि उपज का बीमा करने की कोशिश की जाएगी तो जनता उसमें श्रधिक से मधिक पूंजी लगायेगी क्योंकि उसको यह विश्वास रहेगा कि म्रगर किसी वजह से, किसी श्राकस्मिक घटना के काण्णवश हमारी उपज बर्बाद हो जायेगी तो उसकी क्षतिपूर्ति

## किसी हद तक हो जायगी धौर वह तबाह होने से बच सकेंगे।

तीसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि सरकार टैक्स वसूल करने की मशीनरी को ग्रधिक मजबूत व सकिय बनाये। जैसा कि कई माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा है बावजूद इसके कि टैक्सों में कुछ कमी की गई है, यहां पर टैक्सों का जो स्तर है, चाहे वह व्यक्तिगत टैक्स हो या श्रीर कोई टैक्स, ग्रन्य देशों की भ्रपेक्षा यहां पर वह ऊंचा है ग्रौर मंत्री महोदय ने भी इसको माना है कि हमारे टैक्स सब से ऊंचे हैं । लेकिन हो यह रहा है कि यहां पर धनी भीर ग्रधिक अनवान हो रहे हैं भ्रौर गरीब भ्रौर ग्रधिक गरीब होते चले जा रहे हैं। इस का कारण यह है कि जो टैक्स नियत किया गया है उस टैक्स की वसूली सख्ती से नहीं की जाती है। सरकार का जो संगठन है, टैक्स इकट्ठा करने की जो सरकारी मशीनरी है उसमें भी कमियां हैं । श्राज जरूरत उस संगठन को मजबुत बनाने की है श्रौर उसमें से कमियां दूर करने की है। जब तक सरकार भ्रपनी टैक्स इकट्ठा करने की मशीनरी को बिलकूल दरुस्त नहीं कर लेंगें टैक्सों को बढ़ाते जाने से कूछ विशेष होने वाला नहीं है। मेरा तो ख्याल है कि ग्रगर सरकार मौजूदा टैक्सों को ही सख्ती के साथ वसूल करवा सके तो हिन्द्स्तान में श्रौर कोई टैक्स लगाने की जरूरत ही नहीं पड़ेगी मौर विकास का काम ठीक प्रकार से सम्पन्न होता जायेगा । इसलिये जो टैक्स वसूल करने की मशीनरी है उसको ठीक करने की जरुरत है ग्रौर उसमें से मौजुदा तुटियों को दूर कर देना चाहिये ।

सरकार को देश में एसे इलाके जोकि पिछड़ ग्रौर ग्रविकसित हैं उनकी ग्रोर विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये ग्रौर उनके विकास के लिय ग्रधिक धनराशि की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिय । इसी तरह का एक पिछड़ा हुग्रा इलाका हमारा उत्तरी बिहार का है वहां पर कोई भी उद्योग धंधे नहीं हैं ग्रौर मैं चाहूंगा कि उस इलाके का विकास कार्य सरकार तेजी के साथ ग्रपने हाथ में ले ग्रौर वहां पर उद्योग ग्रादि स्थापित करे। न केवल उत्तरी बिहार बल्कि देश में जहां भी इस तरह के पिछड़े हुये ग्रौर ग्रविकसित क्षेत्र हों, उन इलाकों की ग्रोर सरकार ध्यान दे ग्रौर उन स्थानों पर उद्योग धंधे स्थापित करने चाहियें।

बस एक अन्तिम बात कह कर मैं समाप्त 'किय दे रहा हूं । यह जो अभी कमेटी बिठाई 'गई थी महालो जीस कमेटी, उसने अपनी 'रिपोर्ट दी थी ग्रार उसने उसमें कहा था कि 'बावजूद इस बात के कि सरकार बहुत सी 'कार्यवाहियां कर रही है फिर भी देश में जो 'ग्राथिक असमानता है, प्राधिक विषमता है वह भारी असमानता अभी भी दूर नहीं हो 'पाई है । मैं उनकी रिपोर्ट के 73 वें पैरे को 'युढ कर सुनाना चाहता हूं :---

"Despite all the countervailing measures taken, which have been recounted above in the report, concentration of economic power in the private sector is more than what could be justified as necessary on functional grounds, and it exists both in a generalised and in a specific form."

मैं समझता हूं कि हमारे संविधान की जो निदेशक नोति है, डाइरैक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्स म्रौफ स्टेट पालिसी है उसको हर वित्त मंत्री को बजट बनाते समय ग्रपने सामने रखना चाहिये ताकि वह यह देख सकें कि वे उस बजट को बनाते समय जो निर्देशक सिद्धान्त हैं उनको किस हद तक पूरा कर पा रहे हैं ? इसके साथ ही मैं यह भी चाहूंगा कि जब बजट पेश किया जाय तो ग्राधिक समीक्षा में जो हमारे कांस्टोटयूशन के ग्रन्दर डाइरैक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्स ग्रीफ स्टेट पालिसी हैं उनका किस हद तक पालन किया गया है उसके 2536 (Ai) LSD –7

संबंध में भी सरकार की तरफ से वक्तव्य भ्राना चाहिये भ्रौर भ्रगर ऐसा किया जायेगा तो समझ में ग्रा सकता है कि किस हद तक हमने संविधान के निर्देशो का पालन किया है। इन शब्दों के साथ जो बजट के प्रस्ताव है उनका मैं समर्थन करता हूं ग्रौर भ्राशा करता हं कि मंत्री जी जो निम्न श्रेणी के लोग हैं उनको राहत देने की व्यवस्था करें । म्रगर वित्त मंत्री ने जो करों में थोड़ी छुट दी है इस छुट को ग्राप निम्न श्रेणी के लोगों तक पहुंचाना चाहते हैं तो किरोसीन म्रायल, जो लाल मिट्री का तेल है उस पर से डयटी को हटा दें ग्रौर ग्रापके ऐसा करने से ग्रभी निम्न **अण**े के लोगों को जो राहत या सहायता बहुत कम पहुंच पाती है उनको भी इससे राहत पहुंच सके। मैं इन शब्दों के साथ बजट प्रस्तावों का समर्थन करते हये ग्रपना स्थान ग्रहण करता हं।

भो बालकृष्ण सिंह (चन्दौली) : सभा-पति महोदय, मान्यवर वित्त मंत्री जी ने बजट को बड़ी बुद्धिमानी से बनाया है। ग्रालोचना से बचने तथा सहानभति प्राप्त करने की कला के ज्ञाता हैं। देखने में यह बड़ा भ्राकर्षक है लेकिन भविष्य ही बता सकता है कि इसका लाभ सर्वसाधारण को होता है या नहीं। देश के जिस स्वरूप की हम कल्पना करते हैं, जिस समाज की हम रचना करना चाहते हैं, उस उद्देश्य की पूर्ति इस बजट से होती है या नहीं विचारणीय प्रश्न यही है। जहां तक मैं समझता हं उसकी पूर्ति इससे नहीं होती । हां सर्वसाधारण को सुविधा देने की दिशा में यह एक कदम है। यह शभ लक्षण है ग्रौर इसके लिये मैं वित्त मंत्री जी को धन्य-वाद देता हूं। मैं इसका स्वागत करता हूं। समाजवादी समाज की परिभाषा चाहे जो हो परन्तू देश चाहता है कि उसकी गरीबी दूर हो । गरीब ग्रमीर का श्रन्तर समाप्त हो । चिकित्सा की सूविधा हो, बच्चों की शिक्षा का उचित प्रबन्ध हो । कृषि की उपज बढ़े । उपभोग

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MARCH 23, 1965

[श्री बालकृष्ण सिंह] की वस्तुम्रों का उत्पादन देश में हो म्रीर सस्ती कीमत पर उपलब्ध हो ।

ग्राम पंचायत से लेकर केन्द्रीय सरकार तक ग्रधिकारियों ग्रीर कर्मचारियों का दृष्टिकोण बदले ग्रीर वे ग्रनुशासित हों। ग्रधिकार की भावना का परित्याग कर सेवा भावना से प्रेरित हों।

देश के नेताग्रों का भी कर्त्तव्य है कि वे देश में ऐसा वातावरण पैदा करें कि इस की एकता बढ़े ग्रौर देश समृद्धिशाली हो सके । उन को ग्रवसर मिला है किंदेश में चेतना पैदा करें। सदियों की गुलामी से दबी हुई म्रात्मा को जगा सकें, देश के करोडों नर नारियों को सन्देश दें कि देश का निर्माण हो रहा है उस में उनको हिस्सा बटाना है ताकि उसका विकास हो सके, दूनिया में उचित सम्मान मिल सके और इसकी सीमाओं की रक्षा हो सके। सब से बड़ा दोष जो ग्राज ग्रा रहा है वह अनुशासनहीनता का है। राजनीतिज्ञों में सरकारी श्रधिकारियों श्रीर कर्मचारियों में समान रूप से यह दोष फैल रहा है। यह बड़ा चिन्तनीय है । श्रगर देश में श्रनुशासन बनाय रखना है तो सब से पहले हमें अनशासित रहना है। हम अगर अनुशासित नहीं हैं तो दूसरों को मनुशासित नहीं रख सकते । दूसरा दोष जो ग्रा रहा है वह यह है कि हम ग्रपनी बात सूनाने की ज्यादा कोशिश करते हैं ग्रौर दूसरों की बात हम सुनना कम पसन्द करते हैं । उदाहरण के तौर पर मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि प्लानिंग कमिशन ग्रपना ब्लू प्रिंट, योजना बनाता तो है ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों के लिये लेकिन ग्रामीण लोग क्या चाहते हैं उसको वह सुनन पसन्द नहीं करता है । यह देश का बड़ा दुर्भाग्य है। प्लानिंग दरग्रसल नीचे से होनी चाहिये। ग्रामीण लोग क्या कहते हैं, किसान लोग क्य कहते हैं, उसको सुनने की ज्यादा म्रावश्यकता 81

यह मैं नहीं कहता कि यह दोष हमारी पार्टी में नहीं है। यह दोष हमारी पार्टी में भी है लेकिन कम है जबकि विरोधी दलों में यह बहुत ग्रधिक है। उनमें ग्रनुशासन-हीनता मा रही है। ग्रब इस समय यहां पर देखें कि विरोधी दल वाले गायब हैं। जब उन्हें भपनी बात सुनानी होती है तो वे घले माते हैं लेकिन दूसरों की बात वे सुनना पसन्द नहीं करते हैं।

समाजवादी समाज बनाने के लिये इन सब बुराइयों को दूर करना होगा। देश में समाजवादी समाज बनाने के लिये समाज को बनाना होगा। जब तक समाज का स्तर ऊंचा नहीं उठता तब तक देश का विकास नहीं हो सकता भौर भ्रष्टाचार दूर नहीं हो सकता है। भ्रष्टाचार का म्राकार बडा व्यापक हैं ग्नौर सभी भ्रष्टाचार दूर करने की बात करते हैं । जो भ्रष्टाचार**ंहै वह भी दूसरों को भ्रष्टा**-चारी कहता है श्रौर जो भ्रष्टाचारी नहीं है उसके लिये तो कहने की बात ही है ग्रौर उसे तो कहनाही चाहिये। ग्रभी ग्रभी विरोधी दलों की तरफ के दो, एक व्यक्तियों ने कहा कि देश में भ्रष्टाचार बहुत बढ़ रहा है। मैं यह कहता हं कि सरकार भ्रष्टाचार को दूर करने में समर्थ है ग्रौर वह इसे दूर करना चाहती है लेकिन क्या विरोधी दल वाले भी भ्रष्टाचार को दूर करने में सहायता कर रहे हें ? भ्रष्टाचार केवल आधिक नहीं होता। भ्रष्ट।चार सामाजिक, म्रायिक ग्रौर राजनैतिक तीनों होता है। आर्थिक भ्रष्टाचार तो साफ़ सामाजिक भ्रष्टाचार गलत, भ्रनैतिक है। म्रवांछनीय तौर पर म्रपना व्यक्तिगत व लाभ करना है । या धन एकत करना है। यह सब भ्रष्टाचार में म्राता है। ये सब बातें भ्रष्टाचार में सम्मिलित हैं। यदि कोई सरकारी कर्मचारी किसी चीज की चोरी करता है ग्रीर कोई ग्रन्य व्यक्ति चोरी के उस माल का उपयोग करता है.

तो ये रोनों बातें अप्टाचार के अन्तर्गत आती हैं। विरोधों दल अप्टाचार को बात करता है, लेकिन आफ़िसिज से जो फ़ाइलें गायब होत हैं, वह उन का इस्तेमाल करता । बकील लोग जानते होंगे कि चोरी करना भौर चोरी का माल हज्म करना दोनों चोरी की दफ़ा---दफ़ा ३७६---के अन्तर्गत आते हैं : अप्टाचार दूर करने के लिये यह जरूरी है कि हम स्वतः अनुशासित हों और उस के बाद ही हम दूसरों को, चाहे वे सरकारी कर्मचारी हों या कोई अन्य हों, अनुशासन में रहने की आशा कर सकते हैं ।

भ्रष्टाचार को दूर करने के लिए यह झावश्यक है कि फ्रष्टाचार के कारणों को दूर किया जाये । अगर हम उन कारणों को द्गर नहीं करते, तो फिर हम भ्रष्टाचार को समाप्त नहीं कर सकते। भ्रष्टाचारी कई किस्म के होते हैं। सरकारी कर्म-चारियों में भ्रष्टाचारियों की तीन श्रेणियां हैं। एकतो वे लोगहैं, जिन का वेतन कम है ग्रौर जो ग्रपने परिवार की शिक्षा भौर चिकित्सा का प्रबन्ध नहीं कर सकते । लिहाजा वे किसी तरह से, जायज भौर नाजायज तरीके से, रुपया लेने की कोशिश करते हैं। इस लिए यह श्रावक्यक है कि जो कम वेतन पाने वाले सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं, उन के वेतन में वृद्धि की जाये। उन को इतना वेतन दिया जाये कि वे म्रपनी ग्रौर ग्रपने परिवार की परिवरिश कर सकें। तभी उन में से भ्रष्टाचार दूर हो सकता है।

एक किस्म के भ्रष्टाचारी वे हैं, जिनकी भ्रष्टाचार में रुचि है ग्रौर चाहे जिस तरीके से हो, वे रुपया लेने की कोशिश करते हैं। ऐसे लोगों को सख्त सजा देनी चाहिये। ग्राज बढ़ा दूर्भाग्य है कि ग्रच्छे

कामों का पुरस्कार ग्रौर ख़राब कामों की सजा नहीं है ग्रौर यह भी एक कारण है, जिस से भ्रष्टाचार ज्यादा बढ़ रहा है। मैंने यह बात इस लिए कही है कि ब्लैक मनी ग्राख़िर ब्लैक मनी है ग्रौर जिस के पास ऐसा धन है, वह दंडित होना चाहिये। वित्त मंत्री ने इस सम्बन्ध में रुपया जमा करने के लिए जो तीन महीने की म्रवधि दी है, मैं समझता हूं कि वह उचित नहीं है। चूंकि एक व्यक्ति ने गलत तरीके से रुपया कमाया है, इसलिये वह ब्लैक मनी है भौर उसे डिस्क्लोजर उसका करना चाहिये ग्रौर ग्रगर वह नहीं करता है, तो उस को सख्त सजा देनी चाहिये।

तीसरी श्रेणी में वे भ्रष्टाचारों हैं, जो भ्रष्टाचार करना तो नहीं चाहते, लेकिन जिन लोगों को ग्रपना काम निकालना होता है ग्रौर जिन को तरीके मालूम हैं, वे उन को भ्रष्ट कर देते हैं। ऐसे लोगों में पूंजीपति ग्राते हैं।

एक-ग्राध मेम्बरों ने प्राईवेट सैक्टर की बड़ी दूहाई दी ग्रौर पब्लिक सैक्टर के सम्बन्ध में कहा कि वह कामयाब नहीं है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि पब्लिक सैक्टर मैं फ़्रैक्टरियों का खोलना सिद्धान्ततः ठीक है । म्रगर उस में कोई खराबी है, प्रशासन सम्बन्धी कोई ख़राबी है, तो उसे दूर करना चाहिये । पूजी का एकत्रीकरण म्रायिक व्यवस्था के लिए समाजवादी बड़ा घातक है झौर पूंजी का एकत्रीकरण इस देश में राजनीति को ख़रीद लेगा। इस लिए मैं इस निक्चित मत का हं कि अगर समाजवादी ग्रार्थिक व्यवस्था की स्थापना करनी है और देश से भ्रष्टाचार को मिटाना है, तो पूंजी का एकव्रीकरण नहीं होना चाहिये ।

भ्रच्छा समाज कैसे बने, योजना भायोग ने इस पर कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया है। यह बात मैं इसलिये कह रहा हूं कि जो समाज बनाने का काम है, वह इस देश की

# [श्री बालकृष्ण सिंह]

शिक्षण संस्थान्नों का है न्नौर योजना भायोग ने इस देश की शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में कोई निश्चित और सुनियोजित योजना नहीं बनाई है। यह शिक्षण संस्थाग्रों का काम होता है कि वे देश की ग्रावश्यकता के ग्रनुसार नागरिकों को तैयार करें। जैसे उद्योग से निकली हुई, उद्योग में उत्पादित, वस्तूम्रों की यदि खपत न हों सके ग्रौर वे वस्तूयें देश की ग्रावश्यकता के ग्रनुरूप न हों, तो वे बेकार हो जायेंगें । वैसे ही इन ज्ञान के जद्योगों से अर्थात शिक्षणसंस्थाओं में अगर ऐसे नागरिकों का उत्पादन न हो सका. जिन की देश को जरूरत है, तो वे सब बेकार साबित होंगे श्रौर समाज को ग्रग्राह्य हो जायेंगे। ऐसी स्थिति में देश का विकास नहीं हो सकता है।

शिक्षकों की दयनीय स्थिति से सभी लोग लाभ उठाने की कोशिश करते हैं। हमारी स्टेट, यू० पी० , में झिक्षकों ने परीक्षाग्रों का बहिष्कार किया है । सरकार ने भी उन का बहिष्कार कर दिया है कि म्रगर वे काम नहीं करते, तो कीई बात नहीं है। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि बहिष्कार का इत्लाज बहिष्कार नहीं है। शिक्षक बहिष्कार करने के लिए इस कारण मजबूर हुए कि सरकार ने तमाम संस्थाग्रों भौर वर्गों की म्रादत बिगाड़ दी है कि ग्रगर वे हड़ताल करें, पिकेटिंग करें, धरना दें, तभी वह उन की बात सुनती है, तो फिर शिक्षकों के लिए रास्ता क्या है। शिक्षकों के लिए दूसरा कोई रास्ता नहीं है, जिस से वे अपनी मांगों कों सरकार के सामने रख सकें। उन लोगों को परीक्षाग्रों में इनविजिलेटर का काम करने झौर कापियां जांचने से धन मिलता था। उस धन का नुक्सान कर के भी ग्रपनी मांगों को सरकार के सामने रखने के लिए बन्होंने परीक्षाग्रों का बहिष्कार किया है। में सरकार को ग्रागाह करना चाहता हूं कि अब भी समय है कि सोचें, शिक्षण संस्थाओं

तथा शिक्षकों की उपेक्षा भविष्य में बड़ी महंगी सिद्ध होगी । यदि सरकार देश में प्रच्छे नागरिक तैयार करना चाहती है मौर देश का स्तर ऊंचा उठाना चाहती है, तो शिक्षण संस्थाय्रों की तरफ घ्यान दें मौर शिक्षकों की मांगों की पूर्ति करें। वित्त मंत्री से मेरा प्रनुरोध है कि वह इस बजट में प्रतिरिक्त धन की व्यवस्था कर के हर एक स्टेट में शिक्षकों के वेतन में जो कमी है, प्रौर महंगाई के कारण उन की जो मनिवार्य प्रावश्यकता है, उस की पूर्ति करें।

शिक्षा कैसी हो, इस की भी एक योजना तैयार करने की जरूरत है । देश में शिक्षा का माध्यम एक हो, पाठय-पुस्तकें एक हों ग्रौर निश्चित पद्धति से समुचे शिक्षा का माध्यम राष्ट्र-भाषा देशा में हो । मैंने यह बात इस लिये कही है कि ग्रगर शिक्षा की एक प्रणाली राष्ट्र भाषा के माध्यम से सारे देश में नहीं रखी जाती है, तो देश की एकतानहीं रह सकती है। मैं सरकार से यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या वह यह दावा कर सकती है कि सीमा के सम्बन्ध में पाकिस्तान तथा चीन के साथ हमारा जो झगड़ा चल रहा है, क्या स्कुलों में सही नक्शों ग्रौर एटलसों के द्वारा उस के सम्बन्ध में बच्चों को सही जानकारी कराई जा रही है। क्या वे मेप्स मौर एटलस सही हैं ?

ग्राज इस वात की ग्रावश्यकता है कि सारे देश में एक किस्म की शिक्षा हो। मैं नभ्रतापूर्वक निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि शिक्षा का माध्यम राष्ट्र-भाषा हो, क्योंकि मैं ग्रनुभव करता हूं कि जब तक राष्ट्र-भाषा शिक्षा का माध्यम नहीं होगी, तब तक हमारे देश में एकता नहीं हो सकती है। मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि इस देश के नगगरिकों की 5393 General Budget CHAITRA 2, 1887 (SAKA) General Discussion 5394

योग्यता का ग्राधार ग्रंग्रेजी नहीं हो सकता है। ग्रंग्रेजी ने जन्म दिया है एसे लोगों को, जो श्रंग्रेजी बोलते हैं, श्रंग्रजी में गाली देते हैं, श्रंग्रेजी में हंसते हैं श्रीर कौन जानता है, शायद वे रोते भी ग्रंग्रेजी में होंगे । मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि ग्रंग्रजी विदेशियों ने हम पर थोपी है ग्रौर उस के कारण हमारी भारतीय भाषान्नों का विकास रुक रहा है। हमारे देश की तमाम भारतीय भाषायें एक माला के समान हैं ग्रीर उस माला में हिन्दी को सुमेर का स्थान मिला है। अगर इन भाषाओं को अंग्रेजी रूपी राह श्रौर केतु से ग्रसने से बचा दिया जाये, तो तमाम भारतीय भाषायें चंद्रमा की तरह स्रौर हिन्दी मूर्य की तरह समूचे देश को प्रकाश देंगी ।

दक्षिण में भाषा को लेकर जो कुछ हुग्रा, उस की जितनी भी निन्दा की जाये योड़ी है। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि हम प्रंग्रेजी नहीं चाहत है । हम यह भी नहीं चाहते हैं कि हिन्दी के साथ श्रंग्रेजी सहभाषा हो । श्रंग्रेजी को हटा कर कोई भी एक भारतीय भाषा हिन्दी के साथ सहभाषा बना दी जाये भ्रौर उस भाषा का चुनाव ग्रहिन्दी-भाषी प्रदेशों वाले करें विभाषा फ़ार्मुला के श्रन्तर्गत एक राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी, दूसरी वह सहभाषा, जिस को ग्रहिन्दी भाषी प्रदेशों के लोग चनें श्रौर तीसरी, उस प्रदेश की श्रपनी भाषा को रखा जाये । यदि ग्राज हम इस तिभाषाभाष फार्मुले को ग्रनिवार्य करें ग्रौर सहभाषा किसी दूसरी भाषा को बनावें तो चौदह साल के बाद ऐसे नागरिक हमें मिल सकेंगे जो तीनों भाषाम्रों को जानने वाले होंगे।

सभापति महोदय : ग्रब माननीय सदस्य समाप्त करें ।

श्री बालकृष्ण सिंह : दूसरों को तो 30--30, 40--40 ग्रौर 50--50 मिनट दिये गये हैं ग्रौर मुझे दस पंद्रह मिनट ही क्या मिलेंगे <sup>2</sup> दम मिन्ट तो ग्नौर दीजिये। मैं तो कभी-कभी बोलता हूं।

सभापति महोदयः कांग्रेस के बहुत से मैम्बर बोलने वाले हैं इस वास्ते पंद्रह मिनट से ज्यादा नहीं मिल सकता है ।

श्री बालकृष्ण सिंह : दस मिनट तो ग्रीर...

सभापति महोबय : म्रार्गुमेंट से कोई फायदा नहीं है । म्राप जल्दी खत्म कर दें ।

भी बालकृष्ण सिंह : मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि विवादों में पड़ कर हम ग्रसली बातों को भूल जाते हैं। ग्राज म्रावश्यकता इस बात की है कि ग्रामीणों की भ्रधिक सुविधायें प्रदान की जायें, उनको उपज कैसे बढ़े इसकी तरफ ज्यादा घ्यान दिया जाये । श्रभी हाल ही में पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश में एक पटेल झायोग गया था । उसने चार जिलों जिलों का दौरा किया था । दूसरे जिलों की विकास की जनायें तो दूर रही इन चार जिलों में भी विकास का कार्य नहीं हो सका है । मेरा निवेदन है कि तमाम दुनिया भर की फाइलों ग्रीर कागजों में उलझी न रह कर म्राप दहातों में बिजली दें, उपज की सविधायें प्रदान करें, खाद बीज ग्रादि दें. सिचाई के साधन उपलब्ध करें ताकि उनका विकास हो सके।

ग्रब मैं ग्रपने निर्वाचन क्षेत्र के बारे में एक दो बातें कहना चाहता हूं। हामारे यहां एक मूसाखांड का बॉध बना है। उसमें बरसात में पानी रोका जाएगा। यहां से कुछ पानी बिहार को भी दिया जाएगा ग्रौर हमारे निर्वाचन क्षेत्र की जो नहरें हैं उनका भी विस्तार हो चुका ह। लेकिन रेलवे ने ग्रभी तक साइफन बिराज को नहीं बनायर है। मुझे डर है कि ग्रभार इसको नहीं किया गया तो चार सौ मील लम्बो

## [श्री बाल कृष्ण सिंह]

नहरों पर इसका ग्रसर पड़ेगा ग्रौर पचास हजार एकड़ भूमि को पानी नहीं मिल सकेगा। इस वास्ते इस ग्रोर तुरन्त ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये ।

एक और बात कह कर के समाप्त करता हं। यह, रामनगर के सम्बन्ध में है। रामनगर में वहां के महाराजा ने जल-कर माफ कर दिया था, पानी मफ्त दिया जाता था। यह विलीनीकरण के पहले की बात है । विलीनीकरण क समय सेंटर के गृह मंत्री ने ग्राक्वासन दिया था कि महाराजा ने जो सूविधायें दे रखी हैं, वहां के नागरिकों को जो सहलितें दे रखी हैं, उनकी अपनी प्रति जो भावनायें थीं। प्रजा के उनका ग्रादर किया जाएगा । स्टेट गवर्नमेंट पर यह जिम्मेदारी डाली गई थी कि जलकल को दूर्ग से बाहर वह कर दे। स्टेट गवर्नमेंट गे अपनी तरफ से ऐसा न करके पांच लाख रुपया कर्ज के रूप में दिया। ग्रब जल कर लगा कर कर्ज की वसूली की बात हो रही है । यह नहीं लगना चाहिये । सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को चाहिये कि वह इस में हस्तक्षेप करे । जो ग्राश्वासन दिये गये थे उनका ग्रक्षरशः पालन होना चाहिये ।

हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने वाराणसी के भागमन पर यह ग्रम्वासन दिया था कि बनारस ग्रौर रामनगर के बीच गंगा में पोन्दून क्रिज बनाया जाएगा ग्रौर इस तरह से रामनगर को वाराणसी से जोड़ दिया जाएगा। इस भ्राम्वासन की भी, मैं चाहता हूं, शीघ्न पूर्ति हो ।

Dr. Melkote (Hyderabad): Mr. Chairman, Sir, may I at the outset congratulate the Finance Minister for creating a healthy psychological atmosphere in the country which was, one, felt, continuously deteriorating year after year whenever the budget was presented.

The Minister of Rehabilitation (Shri Tyagi): Sir, I would like to bring to your notice and on record that the Opposition are not doing their duty by the nation. Under these circumstances, we may be permitted to reduce the quorum to 20 so that the work of the House may continue.

Mr. Chairman: I will convey your request to the Speaker

श्री किंइान पटनायक (सम्बलपुर) : कांग्रेस वाले ही क्या कोरम नहीं रख सकते हैं ? क्यों उनको ग्रपोजीशन वालों पर इस मामले में निर्भर रहना चाहिये ?

Shrimati Renuka Ray (Malda): There are many Congress Members present.

**Mr. Chairman:** Generally, each Member is interested in his own speech; that is the trouble

Dr. Melkote: Sir, I was saying that I would like to congratulate the Finance Minister for creating a healthy psychological atmosphere in the country which, one was feeling, was deteriorating year after year on the presentation of the budget. For the first time one has seen that the country can go on without further taxation. The relief that has been given has created a good atmosphere in the industrial and richer classes. Recently we had the FICCI meeting where the industrialists protested and said that further relief ought to be given to them. Yes, they would always demand that and it was also correct for the Finance Minister to tell them that no further relief could be given to them. In fact, if any relief had to b given, it is to the common man and not o much to the industrialist or the richer classes.

There is one aspect of the question which I want to bring to the notice of

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the House, and it is this. Since the beginnig of the First Plan, the amount of expenditure each year was SOMO where about Rs. 400 crores. Today we are spending about Rs. 2,000 crores, which is five times more. This should have created a climate where in the employment opportunities should have gone up considerably. It is the working class that has produced яll this wealth. Because of this heavy taxation, whenever the Finance Minister goes outside India, he is able to say that th common man of India is feeling the pinch because our country is the highest taxed nation. Whenever he goes to the foreign countries with a begging bowl seeking aid he is in а position to tell them that we have taxed our people to the maximum.

We want to maintain democracy. Our people are uneducated but they are getting educated. Un employment and poverty with education creates a kind of revolution. Under these circumstances, if conditions are not created in the country which would give more employment in a democratic setup, things would go out of control. That is why more aid is sought and more is flowing into this country.

If, on the other hand, we give more relief to the industrial class, people outside would say that the economic position of India is getting better and therefore, considerable help is not now needed from outside. That is a point which the Finance Minister has to keep in mind while giving relief to industrialists.

From the point of view of the common man, except for a little relief in the shape of less income-tax which also does not affect the ordinary working class people or the agriculturists, only some small mercies have been shown in the case of cycle-parts or rubber goods. Otherwise, the common man has not got any relief whatsoever. To that extent, he is feeling that this budget has not given him much of rlief.

There is an acute feeling in the country that the prices are going up and the wages have not kept pace with them. Now food is not easily available. No doubt the price structure of food has come down a little at present. But this happens every year during this season. Whether the prices would come down further, not to the detriment of the agriculturist class but to the relief of the common man, it has to be seen. It is а general feautre that between June and September October the prices sore so high that the common man feels the pinch. Even though we are getting so much of foodgrains from foreign countries and our agricultural production this year is better than that of last year, whether we will be able to hold the price line is another question. At the same time, if there is a steep fall in prices millions of peasants would again blame the Government. So, I would say that the prices should be held at this level and whatever relief has to be given should be given to the working class, particularly the industrial class.

As I have mentioned earlier, during the First Plan over a period of flve could not spend even years we Rs. 2,000 crores. Now, by the end of spending the Third Plan, we are Rs. 2,000 crores each year itself. If all this wealth has been produced, it is certainly not merely by machinery or by money; it is the working class If that has produced all this wealth. the Industrial class asks for relief, the working class has also an equal, if not better, right to demand for more relief. But no relief has been given to the working class. Take the question of bonus. What is happening? When the the industrialist is asked to pay bonus to the workers they call bonus a deferred profit. We call it a deferred wage. What is the reason? Nowhere in India, for all these 17 years, the the upto wage structure has come standard of a living wage. By paying the workers a sub-standard wage the industry makes more money. If the industry has made a profit, it is at the sweat of labour and it is by paying less wage than what should have been

#### [Dr. Melkote]

paid. Therefore, it is a deferred wage that is demanded out of the socalled profit. The so-called bonus is not actually the bonus; it is a deferred wage that is demanded. The industrialist class gets the benefit towards depreciation and various other items like expansion of the industry and all those things. One does not know what happens to many of these things earmarked for use later. Year after year, that is not being carefully fol-Now lowed up. the Government have stepped in with their own auditors to check many of these things. Then there is an auditor on behalf of dividend holders themselves. But we the workers who work in the industrial field know what is happening, where corruption is and where leakages are taking place and so many other things. We have been demanding, on behalf of the workers, that an auditor should be appointed by us to look after our interest in this industry so that we can help the Government in pegging the loopholes. This is not permitted. I do not see how in a socialist Government. where the workers have produced all the wealth that is being produced, the workers are not taken into confidence. How could they put in better work? How could they produce more? The idea of more productivity is there. We, on behalf of the INTUC, say that there should be more production and all that because ultimately if more goods are produced goods go round in larger quantity to their benefit. We people believe in it. But whilst we believe in productivity schemes, it is only the industrial class that get the benefit out of this. The working class naturally feel frustrated and they begin to protest. In this atmosphere, when such things are happening how could productivity go up? Sir, it is unfortunate that after the death of our late Prime Minister, we have had two No-Confidence motions this year. There are people in the country who still feel.....

Shri Dharmalingam (Tiruvannamalaı): This is an important gentral budget discussion. There should be quorum at least.

Mr. Chairman: He need not insist. on it. Let him conclude his speech.

Shri Tyagi: Look at the spectacle of the Opposition benches!

Dr. Melkote: We have had two No-Confidence motions here. There are people in our country who are not loyal to the country itself. They feel that India is still not independent. They are still trying to subvert the. Government and the democratic set-It is these people up. who create trouble continuously. The unity that was forged at the time of Chinese aggression may fritter away and may cause trouble in India so that our enemies on the border may look to what is happening inside India and may take advantage of it. This is. what they desire. This is certainly not at all good. This situation should not be allowed to persist. And even here it is the working class that has stood firmly by the side of the Government. May I mention what happened in the defence industry itself? We, on behalf of the INTUC, told the defence workers in the ordnance factories. "This is a period of emergency and you should not put in any demand for bettering your conditions of life at this juncture." All these three years, we have not put in any demand whatsoever. We have been working continuously. We said that we do not want any holiday. But the management said, "At least, you take one holiday."

—one holiday is given once a fortnight. But then we asked, "Why do you want to give us holidays? We want to produce more so that the jawans on the front may get the necessary materials quickly." And the management said, it is not the human machinery that is broken but it is the ordinary machine that is breaking down and that it needs repairs, oiling and cleansing and therefore a holiday has got compulsorily to be given. That is how the workers have been working continuously in this industry. What is the result? People, high-ups, the teachers go on a strike; the gazetted officers of the LIC go on strike and somebody else like the doctors go on strike. An atmosphere is being created in the country that unless there is a strike, no demand will be conceded. Here, we go on slogging and producing all the materials for the jawans and still the Government does not appear to be considering what should be paid to us. Is it necessary to bring all this to the notice of the Government? The Government should look to what is happening to the working class, how they have been working and what incentives are being given to them.

#### 16.55 hrs.

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

I was talking of the expenditure. May I point out that during these three Plans, the amount of money invested in the industries things comes to somewhere about Rs. 7000 crores? Out of this, nearly Rs. 2800 crores have been spent on the public sector industries. The private sector is expected to make a profit after paying the necessary taxes, such as wealth tax, corporate tax and several other taxes. But so far as the public sector is concerned, on which Rs. 2800 crores have been spent, it is not expected to pay any interest it has not paid any interest so far, and still it is not making any profit. We from the workers' side want the public sector to behave better and set an example to the private sector. On the railways themselves, nearly Rs. 1800 crores have been invested? And what a poor return we are getting from them? Similarly, there is the Sindri factory and other factories on which money has been invested. They are also not yielding good returns. So, we find that the public sector is not able to. pay well. The industrial worker is. working hard, would like to help the Government in producing more. but there appear to be leakages everywhere, and the machinery does not seem to be working properly; so, it is necessary for Government to look into the method of management and improve the situation so that the public sector pays adequately to plough back for further expansion of industries. and for the progress of the country in that direction.

This is one aspect of the question. which the working classes in the public sector undertakings have told me repeatedly. The Sindri factory is. there, the Barauni Refinery is coming up and then there are the steel plants and so on. In many of these factories, the workers are now getting educated, and they are trying to understand the problems of the management and they would like to step in and try to help the Government, but the idea of improving labour-management relations, which has been tried in a very few industries is not working satisfactorily even in many of the public sector undertakings because the management does not desire to take the workers even those who belong to the INTUC which is a patriotic democratic organisation and which wants to produce more, into its confidence and try to produce more.

The Finance Minister has to deal with many aspects of this question. On the one side is the Minister in charge of Industry; on the other side is the Minister in charge of Labour. He should effect a proper co-ordination in this matter, and if he does so, he will be able to get more finances into his hands, and the progress that we should achieve may be achieved in a shorter time. It is from that point of view that I am mentioning these things. It is from this point of view that it is necessary for the Finance Minister to look into these various aspects and see what could be done to accelerate production.

## [Dr. Melkote]

Then there is the question of unemployment. We have been expecting year after year that the unemployment problem would be tackled properly and there would be more and more employment, and unemployment would come down. In many of the advanced countries, instead of setting up many of the major industries in the cities, they disperse these industries over the whole country. But so far as India is concerned. in spite of the fact that there are backward areas, and there are several ancillary industries which have got to come in, and Government also are talking oftentimes of dispersal of industries, very little seems to have been done in this direction. Fresh employment potential seems to be drying up continuously. It is true that unfortunately we have to spend a lot of money on defence. But even .so, even in defence, a number of industries are coming up. And yet the employment potential is not adequate. How long are the people going to starve themselves? wait for and There is the agricultural class, for instance. Incentives are given to the agriculturist to produce more. But what is the incentive given to the industrial class which is producing the This is a question various things? which should be looked into very seriously by the Finance Minister. In certain of the public sector undertakings at least, we can set up an organisation to co-ordinate the efforts and produce results which may be catching in other fields of activity. and if there are workers and organisations that are not doing their best towards increased production and productivity then they can be taken to task.

There is a good deal to say on behalf of the working classes. On behalf of the working class, I would like to submit that I assure the Finance Minister that we in the INTUC would like to work more and produce more and improve the productivity, but at the same time, I would make an appeal to Government that they should seriously give consideration to the different aspects of the question which I have enumerated, and give us relief.

#### 17 hrs.

Shri S. Kandappan (Tiruchengode): Sir, we are discussing a very clever Budget and I pay a tribute to its author. But what the country essentially needs is an honest budget on the part of the Governto ment provide decent R livelihood for the downtrodden. This. I am afraid is conspicuous by its absence.

We are entertained every year to some kind of verbal jugglery in the name of budget. These high-sounding theories and philosophies of this unsocialistic Government of democratic pattern was not able to provide even the basic minimum of bread to the working men, the backbone of our country. Can anything be more shameful for a country like India with its vast potential for agriculture to be importing foodgrains from alien countries, even from an enemy country like Pakistan? The failure on the agricultural front is a fact accepted even by the Government. After all. what was needed was fertiliser to raise the output and modern equipment to bring down the cost of cultivation. These they have not adequately provided; in fact, they fall much short of the actual demand even today. But what is more shocking is the woeful negligence of Government to execute irrigation works in 8 planned manner. I am afraid even the vitally important basic need of irrigation for agricultural output was not properly appreciated by Government.

By way of illustration, I will give two instances. In my district of

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Salem, the farmers who have their lands on the river banks of Kaveri wanted to pump the water for agricultural purposes. This was being objected to by the Tamil Nad Government, God knows for what reason. Even if all the farmers on the riverside were permitted to take the water, the quantity they may consume may not exceed that which may get evaporated before the river reaches the Bay of Bengal. I am sure the ocean won't get angry with the Government for not allowing the Kaveri to flow into it fully. The farmers did not want any financial assistance from Government either.

Then there is another ingenious scheme worked out even during the British days, known as the Thirumanimuthar project. We know that any irrigation scheme will have to reconcile with a certain quantity of water flowing unutilised into the sea, especially during monsoon time. This scheme was designed to use that kind of overflowing water. The Mettur Dam usually reaches the overflowing point at least once in an year. Letting the water into Thirumanimuthar and Ponniar, the whole lot of lakes in five talugs could be filled which will assure water supply to thousands of acres, at least, for one good harvest.

Mar. Deputy-Speaker: Speeches should not be read. Only reference can be made to notes.

Shri S. Kandappan: That is what I am doing. I have naturally to take precautions when I am compelled to speak in a language which is not my mother tongue.

Shri Tyagi: Is he discussing the State Government's activities or the Central Government?

Shri S. Kandappan: I am coming to that.

Shri Kishen Pattnayak: The Finance Minister belongs to his State. Shri S. Kandappan: Now all these lands are almost vacant all round the year, the agriculturists seeking their individual livelihood by other means. The cost of this scheme, as worked out by the State Government recently, would not exceed Rs. 10 crores. But it would, I am sure, when it bears fruit, save some foreign exchange to the Central Government.

Now, after the recent food crisis, an atmosphere was created and we were given to understand that top priority would be given to minor irrigation schemes. I earnestly hope that the atmosphere is still there, not vitiated, and small but very useful projects like the one I have described will be taken up in the near future by the Central Government itself without waiting for the State. I say this because when I brought this particular matter to the notice of Dr. K. L. Rao, the Minister in charge of Irrigation at the Centre, he gave me to undertsand that the Centre wanted to take up the scheme in the Third Plan itself but that the State Government preferred some other scheme in its place and thought that this one could wait. I do not know whether there was any politics involved in this at the State level, . . . . .

#### Shri Ranga (Chittoor): Of course.

Shri Kandappan:....but I urge upon the Centre to take up the scheme in the interests of raising the output of foodgrains. I now come to an important aspect, which is naturally expected from me I think. There is an item of expenditure in the Budget as on all previous budgets, I should say a sort of all-pervading devil causing great damage to the unity of this country. Though it is not specifically mentioned anywhere, we know very well that every Central Government Ministry was compelled to acc mmodate Hindi even at the cost of administrative efficiency and expediency. It is being justified on the plea that it

#### [Shri Kandappan]

is a constitutional obligation. The respect shown by the party in power to the Constitution is almost notori-Neither was the Constitution ous sacrosanct, nor was the incorporation of the language clause into it honourable. This vital language provision with disastrous potentialities Was safely put into the Constitution with the help of the President's casting vote, and not with a two-third or even substantial majority. There are representative bodies in the world where even an ordinary Bill will fail to get passage if it secures only a tie vote.

I should like my Hindi friends to realise, and it is high time they did, that it is not an obligation on the part of the non-Hindi people to study Hindi. Rather, it is a concession given to the Hindi people by the non-Hindi population that Hindi enjoys a position superior to that of other Indian languages. If they appreciate this, I think the language problem can be settled amicably.

But, unfortunately for us, the Government is headed by an arch Hindi fanatic, and the following lines from an article by a university professor indicates unambiguously the thinking of the protoganists of Hindi. I quote:

"Hindi as its very name implies, is the natural *lingua franca* of Hind or the representative common national language of the whole of India, just as English is of England, French of France, Great Russian of Russia and North Chinese of China."

Can therebe anything more fantastic than this arrogant assertion and claim for Hindi?

If the Government really do not want such pre-eminence for Hindi superseding the rightful place due to other languages, may I know what prevents the Government from conducting its postal and even railway administration in Tamil in the Tamil Nad area? Why not issue cards. covers, money order forms etc., 8\$ it was once done during Dr. Subbarayan's time, in Tamil? Where is the necessity for Hindi sign boards in the post offices and railway stations situated in Tamil Nad? Why repeat the much-loathed word-with due respect to Hindi, I should say that it is a fact in Tamil Nad—"Akashvani" day in and day out in All India Radio, when have got our we own sonorous "Vanoli"?

The recent popular upsurge that is still simmering in Tamil Nad is not due to some misunderstanding or incendiary leadership or failure on the part of the State Government to impose Hindi. Dr. Subbarayan has correctly pointed out the sentiments of the Tamilians in his Dissenting Note to the Official Language Commission Report, and I would like the House to take note of his words. He said:

"It has already been evident that Tamil people resent the imposition of Hindi on them and resent much more the undue haste with which it is sought to be imposed, and in preference to English which is a world language and which they have already learnt to good advantage in all spheres of knowledge.

"They naturally feel that there is no reason why they should give up a first class language which they have ready in their hands in preference to an ill-developed second class instrument."

These are the words of the late lamented Dr. Subbarayan.

No sane person could really blame the Tamilians for inheriting a rich language and literature. Perhaps Tamil is the only example in history of an ancient classical tongue which has survived as a spoken language for a period of over 2500 years with its basic structure remaining almost in tact during this long period. Another important tendency of Tamil is to eschew Sanskrit which is quite in contrast to the tendency shown by the other Indian languages. Any student of Tamil will tell you this and even a cursory view of the monumental work, 'A comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages' by Rev. Coldwell will convince anybody who has any doubt on this point. Everywhere in India, Sanskrit occupies a unique place in Hindu religious ceremonies, but not so in Tamil Nad. For a proper and better appreciation of these facts, let me quote a few linguists about how they felt and regarded Tamil. "Tamil is the most highly cultivated language and possesses the richest stores of indigenous literature," says Max Muller, the well-known German scholar of Sanskrit. Again, "No language combines greater force with equal brevity than Tamil and it may be asserted that no common speech is more close and philsophic in its expression as an exponent of the mind than the same," says Rev. Percival. I am quoting all this not because I want to show the grandeur of Tamil but to just prove why the Tamilians feel zealous over their language. I will refrain from quoting further.

I think the House would appreciate to some extent at least the feelings over this language issue, particularly in Tamil Nad: It may not be visible in other parts of the South in or Bengal to that extent as much as it is in Tamil Nad. There is an important reason and that is why I explained it. Tamil Nad opposed Hindi even in 1937, when there was no DMK and people like me were only 4-5 years old. Rajaji is accused of not favouring Hindi. Hon. Members should try to understand what had happened of Hindi when he made the study compulsory in 1937. Though his Ministry was a popular one, his Government was attacked with all vehe-

mence and there were picketings in front of schools and people courted arrests. It is recent history, inspite of his characteristic adamancy, people carried the day with them and there casualties, Thazhamuthu were two and Natarajan and the Ministry was forced to resign. Then, there was a second move to make Hindi compulsory in the year 1946 but there was strong opposition for that also. In spite of the best efforts on the part of the State Government, the circumstances were so compelling that the move was given up after three years. Then, on 2nd May, 1950, the State Government again issued an order making Hindi compulsory in schools. The people did not slacken their attack and his third attempt was nipped in the bud. Within two months, that order was withdrawn. After this, better wisdom prevailed on the State Government and they refrained from making the study of Hindi compulsory in the schools. For this, I should not blame the State Government or nobody, I think, could blame the State for that. I earnestly hope that the same light and wisdom will dawn upon the Centre also, and check further casualties of precious I hope and wish our lives. Home Minister, Shri Nanda, will not be haunted by his national commitments. a funy thing to say, on the face of the Government's dismal failure to provide even the bare minimum of living to the poverty-stricken masses of this holy land.

Koujalgi Shri H. V. (Belgaum): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am grateful for giving me an opportunity to say a few words on the budge'. 1 must first thank the Finance Minister for presenting a surplus budget for the year 1965-66. It is gratifying to note that there are no new taxes; on the other hand, the common man and the middle-class man will be relieved of some personal taxes and also some excise duties have been removed; rertain articles have been exempted from excise duties.

#### [Shri H. V. Koujalgi]

Here, I may bring to the notice of the Finance Minister that the excise duty on kerosene oil may also be removed, since kerosene oil is a commodity which is used by almost all the villagers in the rural areas. This point has been stressed by many spepkers who have spoken earlier, and I think the Finance Minister will pay some attention to this demand.

I also congratula'e the Finance Minister on the steps that he has taken to unearth black money. It is this black money which is responsible for the high prices of essential commonities and the hoarding of foodgrains. It is good that a few days back some Acts were amended by this august House and more powers were given to the income-tax authorities to unearth black money. The Finance Minister has finally given an opportunity to those merchants to surrender 60 per cent of their income, that is, this black money, so that they can start a fresh and honest life. I hope many of the merchants will take advantage of this concession given to them.

I also request the Finance Minister to take stern action against the hoarders and evaders of tax who will not take advantage of this concession and will who will be caught after the period is over. I also hope that the Finance Minister will inform this House after that period is over or at least during this budget session, the money that has been collected by this concession and also how the money is going to be utilised.

Sir, it is well known that sometime back there was an enormous rise in the price of foodgrains and essential commodities. The common man had to suffer a great deal. Fortunately we have a good harvest this year and the situation has eased to some extent. Apart from that, even today, the prices of foodgrains and essential commodities are still high. In my opinion in the coming months—June to November—the prices are likely to be very high. I request Government to be vigilant and to see that foodgrains and essential commodities are easily available and at the same time the prices do not go up.

It has been said on the floor of the House many times that agriculture should be given top priority. In spite of 17 years of independence we have not been able to be self-sufficient in foodgrains. Even today we are required to import foodgrains from foreign countries costing crores of rupees. Unfortunately agriculture has not been given top priority, as we speak on the floor of the House. The agriculturists do not get better seeds. cement and fertilisers as easily as they should. They have to go to the blackmarket even to get cement and fertilisers. Though taccavi loans are a sort of concession given to them, it is not easy for them to get it in time. To get a loan of Rs. 100 they have to spend about Rs. 20 or Rs. 30 by way of bribe. Many times they will have to go from their villages to the taluka office. Thus corruption is rampant in the revenue department and Governmen' will have to pay special attention to see that taccavi loan is given to them liberally and easily, so that corruption is checked at least here, so that they can produce more. It is no use simply saying that we are giving the remunerative prices. Apart from that, they require cement, seeds, fertilisers, loans, etc. These things will have to be given to them liberally and when they need them.

The price of fertilisers is so high that sometimes i' becomes difficult for the small cultivator to make use of it. I suggest some subsidy will have to be given to the small cultivators so that they can use fertilisers. Otherwise, it will be difficult for them to get it from the market.

Another thing which the cultivator requires is power. During the last 17 years we have not been able to supply as much power as possible in the

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rural areas. Where there are wells, pump sets are not supplied at concessional rates. While it is very easy to get power for industrial purposes, it has become difficult to get power for agricultural purposes, even though we say that agriculture should be given top priority. The rate of power given for industrial purposes is cheaper than what is given for agricultural purposes. I submit that the rate of power for agricultural purposes should be on a very nominal basis, so that every agriculturist may take advantage of these things.

At least I learn that in this coun'ry hundreds of tractors are lying idle for want of spare parts. When we have invested crores of rupees and when we want to develop our agriculture, I fail to understand how these tractors are lying idle for want of spare parts. The Government should see that all these tractors are immediately repaired and put to use.

To improve agriculture, the Government in the beginning paid at'ention to irrigation projects. Many minor and major irrigation projects were taken up in the beginning of the First Five Year Plan. Here I may mention something about the scheme known as the Malaprabha irrigation scheme which is in my constituency, Belgaum. This is one of the major schemes costing Rs. 20 crores to Rs. 25 According to the plan crores. this ought to have been finished by the end of the Third Five Year Plan. It was started in 1958. It is surprising to note that the technical and administrative clearances were given only last year, after five or six years. The Government took a lot of time to give these clearances.  $Hardl_{v}$ one crore of rupees have been spent on this. It is known that this scheme is situated in one of the scarcity areas and if completed it will irrigate nearly three lakh acres of land. Instead of completing it early, the work is so slow that for one reason or the other the necessary sanctions are not given either by the Planning Commission or

by he concerned technical authority. I know for certain that the work was to be started last month, but somehow it has been further delayed. It is said that the bund has to be raised and therefore further investigation has started. If the bund is. going to be raised more villages will be submerged. Already 50 villages are going to be submerg-When more villages are going ed. to be submerged because of the raising of the bund, opposition will naturally be there and this scheme will again be postponed with the result that the required benefit will not come out of it. I, therefore, earnestly request that this sort of red-tapism should be done away with and the work should be started as early as possible, and submergence of more villages should be avoided.

Before I close, I want to mention only one point. The Mysore Government has submitted applications for sanction of nearly three or four sugar factories about five years back. They are all in the co-operative sector. Not a single licence has been given till today. One application is from my area—Mugatakan—Hubli. It is to be one of the best sugar factori<del>es</del>. Nearly five years are over and these applications have not yet been examined. We are told now that the Licence Committee has approved all these things but the Finance Corporation has no funds and therefore they are not willing to invest any money in any of these factories. On the one hand we say that these co-operatives should be developed and on the other, we say that we have no money for these undertakings. I, therefore, submit that the Central Government should provide the necessary funds and see that all these undertakings come into existence early.

**Shri Mahesh Dutta Misra** (Khandwa): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, although I am tempted to speak in English because of the presence of the

## '[Shri Mahesh Dutta Misra]

Finance Minister, but as I have promised to some of my Hindi friends that I will speak alternatively in Hindi and English, I would like to speak today in Hindi. I hope my non-Hindi-speaking friends would excuse me for speaking in Hindustani.

यह जो ग्राय व्यय का लेखा जोखा हमारे सामने रखा गया है उसको जब हम प्राज के संदर्भ में देखते हैं तो हमें यह मानना पड़ता है कि जनता को जो पिछले कई वर्षों से करों के बोझ की जिकायत कर रही थी कुछ थोड़ी सी राहत दी गई है । इस बजट को चाहे कमी का बजट माना जाए या बचत का,—हालांकि वित्त मंत्री जी ने इसे बचत का बजट बनाया है ग्रोर कई माननीय सदस्यों ने इसे बचत का बजट नहीं माना है ग्रोर कमी का बजट माना है,—मैं यह कहे वगैर नहीं रह सकता हूं कि यह बड़ी चतुराई से बनाया गया बजट है । इसके लिए मैं वित्त मंत्री जी को बधाई देना चाहता हूं ।

एक बात मैं जरूर चाहता हूं। यदि वह उस पर प्रकाश डाल सकें तो डालने की क्रुपा करें। क्या यह व्यवस्या करों से राहत देने की स्थायी तौर पर है या ग्रस्थायी सौर पर है? यदि वह स्थायी तौर पर रहने वाली है तो ग्रागे माने वाले वर्षों में हम जो आदर्च करेंगे उसको हम किस तरह से पा सकेंगे?

जब हम इस बजट को भ्रपने बुनियादी उसूलों के संदर्भ में देखते हैं तो जैसा कई माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा है, इससे निराशा झलकती है । मगर मैं उतना निराशावादी नहीं हूं । मैं मानता हूं कि जब हमने भ्रपने मुल्क में मिश्रित भ्रर्थ व्यवस्था को मंजूर किया है तो यह स्वाभाविक है कि निजी क्षेत्र भी रहे थ्रौर सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र भी रहे । सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र की बात या समाजवाद को भौर भ्रागे बढ़ाने की बात कांग्रेस पार्टी ने

ग्रपनाई है ग्रौर इस सदन में भी कांग्रेस पार्टी के ग्रलावा बहुत से माननीय सदस्य हैं जो समाजवाद के ध्येय में विश्वास रखते हैं । इस तरह से जहां तक जनता का सम्बन्ध है, जनता ने अधिकांश रूप में एक बहत बड़े बहुमत में उन लोगों को चुना है जो समाजवाद में विश्वास रखते हैं । इसलिए म्राज हमारे देश की ग्राम जनता को, पढी लिखी जनता को यह विश्वास है कि कांग्रेस समाजवाद की भोर उसे ले जाना चाहती है ग्रौर उस ग्रोर वह ग्राशा लगाये देख रही है। जब उस संदर्भ में ग्रीर उस कसौटी पर हम इस बजट को कसते हैं तो हमें इस में कहीं कहीं झुकाव, कहीं कहीं रुझान ऐसे दिखाई पड़ते हैं कि म्राज की म्रर्थ व्यवस्था पर, बजट बनाने की प्रणाली पर जो पूंजीवादी तबका है उसका एक ग्रसर है। वही ग्रपनी बात कहीं न कहीं किसी न किसी रूप में मनवा लेता है । यही एक लक्षरा, यह एक कमजोरी है जिसके ऊपर मैं भ्रापका ध्यान दिलानः चाहता हूं । श्रागे भ्राप बजट को धीरे-धीरे सुधारते चले जायें तो बहत उपयुक्त होगा । मैं यह नहीं कहंगा कि यह समाजवादी सरकार का बजट नहीं है । मैं इस बात को मानने के लिए भी तैयार नहीं हं कि हम समाजवाद की श्रोर ग्रागे नहीं बढ़ रहे हैं । लेकिन जो हमारे कदम पड़ रहे हैं उन में एक लड़खड़ाहट है, उनमें कहीं न कहीं शिथिलता है, कुछ ऐसी बात हो जाती है कुछ ऐसे ग्रसरात हम पर ग्रा जाते हैं जो हमको उस दिशा में बढ़ने नहीं देते हैं धौर कहीं न कहीं रोक लगा देते हैं ।

ग्रब मैं ग्रपने प्रदेश के बारे में एक दो बातें कहना चाहता हूं। मध्य प्रदेश काफी उपेक्षित प्रान्त रहा है ग्रीर ग्राज भी उसकी उपेक्षा कुछ कम नहीं हो रही है। हमारे लोग ऐसा समझते हैं कि हमारे साथ सौतेले बेटे का सा व्यवहार होता है। हम जितनी भी योजनायें लाते हैं उन में से कुछ योजनायें बहत दूर तक मंजूर तो कर ली जाती हैं,

हमें भ्राग्वासन भी मिल जाते हैं, श्रीर हम सुनते तो हैं कि एक एल्यूमिनियम का कारखाना एक जगह खुलने वाला है, कहीं पर खाद का कारखाना खुलने वाला है लेकिन बनते बनते एसे हो जाता है कि वह उठ कर किसी दूसरे सूबे में चला जाता है। इस तरह की एक ग्राम शिकायत मध्य प्रदेश के लोगों को है। हम ग्रगर कहीं से कहीं तक की रेलवे लाइन की मांग करते हैं या कोई गाड़ी चाहते हैं या किसी जगह पर पुल बनवाना चाहते हैं, तो लोगों का ऐसा विश्वास है कि उस पर ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है। खास करके मैं ग्रपने इलाके की बात कहना चाहता हूं इस संदर्भ में । हमारे यहां एक बहुत जरूरी पुल बनना चाहिये था ग्रौर उसकी योजना भ्रंग्रजी सरकार गंबना कर भी रखी थी। लड़ाई के जमाने में वह बनी थी ग्रौर कहा गया था कि वह पूल बहुत जरूरी है जोमध्य भारत में ले कर झांध के लोगों को जोड़ देता है, जो हंडिया निमावर का है । ग्राज बीस बरस हो गये हैं लेकिन इसके बारे में कुछ नहीं हद्या है। आजादी के जमाने में भी उसका जिक हग्रा था ग्रौर योजना भी थी लेकिन वह बनता नहीं है । ग्रब एक पुनासा बांध बनने वाला है । पूनासा बांध के बन जाने के बाद यह पुल बनना भ्रसम्भव हो जाएगा क्योंकि उसका जब पिछला पानी ग्राएगा, तब यह पुल नहीं बन पायेगा । यह जो हंडिया निमावर पुल है यह बहुत बड़े भभाग को जोड़ने में सहायक हो सकता है, उसकी तरफ योजना वालों का ध्यान क्यों नहीं जाता है, उसको प्राथमिकता भयों नहीं दी जाती है भौर क्यों नहीं म्राप इसको जल्दी से बना लेना चाहते है ? इस तरह के बहुत से दूसरे उदाहरण हैं जिन को रख कर मैं ग्रधिक समय नहीं लेना चाहता । लेकिन बहां लोगों का ख्याल है कि मध्य प्रदेश के साथ कोई बहुत ग्रच्छा व्यवहार नहीं हो रहा है

में शापको बतलाना चाहता हूं कि मध्य प्रदेश ही एक ऐसा इलाका है जहां 2536 (Ai) LSD---8. प्रजातांत्रिफ भावनायें श्रीर समाजवादी भाव-नायें बहुत ही जड़ जमा चुकी हैं। ग्राम ग्रादमी मध्य प्रदेश का समाजवाद में विश्वास रखने वाला है। वहां न तो ग्रभी तक पूंजीवादी ग्रर्थव्यवस्था का या पूंजीवारो विचारघारा का कोई श्रसर है ग्रौर न उस तरह की चर्चा सूनने को धापको मिलेगी जिस तरह की चर्चा इस सदन में भ्राए दिन लोग करते हैं कि हर पार्टी के भीतर पूजीवाद का ग्रसर होता जा रहा है या लैक्ट कम्युनिस्टों का भसर होता जा रहा है। यही एक सूबा है जो प्रजातांत्रिक दृष्टि से, समाजवादी दृष्टि से ग्रादर्श सूबा है । इसको ग्रगर ग्राप ठीक से विकसित करेंगे तो यह एक उदाहरण होगा देश के सामने प्रजातांत्रिक समाजवाद का, उस म्रोर बढ़ने का, प्रगति का श्रौर जिसको देख कर दूसरे प्रान्तों के लोग भी ग्रपनी ग्रपनी व्यवस्था को, अपनी अपनी योजना को सुधार सकेंगे।

ग्रब थोड़ा सा में शिक्षकों के बारे में उल्लेख करना चाहता हूं। एक सूबे में शिक्षक बुरी तरह से परेशान हैं, इस पर आमादा हुए हैं, मजबर हुए हैं कि वे ग्रपनी लड़ाई लड़ें। यह एक बहुत बुरी बात है ग्रीर मैं व्यक्तिगत रूप से, एक शिक्षक होने के नाते इसे पसन्द नहीं करता हूं कि परीक्षा के समय शिक्षक किसी भी प्रकार को हड़ताल करे। लेकिन जब मैं उनके मामले को देखता हूं तो मुझे लगता है कि कोई बड़ी भारी गलती उनके साथ हुई है, कोई बड़ा **श्रन्याय उनके साथ हु**झा है तभी वे श्रपने विद्यार्थियों के हितों की परवाह न करके ग्रापनी लड़ाई लड़ने पर ग्रामादा हुए हैं। इस में केन्द्र को किसी न किसी तरह से सहायता दे कर हस्तक्षेप करके स्थिति को टालना चाहिये । यह स्थिति देश के लिए भी ग्रौर हगारी ग्राने वाली पीढ़ियों के लिए भी बहुत बुरी है ।

इस देश में उत्पादन के बारे में जब हमारे सामने ग्रांगड़ ग्राते हैं, जो चर्चा चलती है, ग्रौर जो ग्रंदाज बनते हैं ग्रौर तब जो उनकी ग्रालोचना होती है तो बहुत बड़ा एक भ्रम

## [Shri Mahesh Dutta Misra]

फैलता है। इस में कोई सन्देह नहीं है कि यह देश तरक्की कर रहा है, अगर आप बारीकी से देखें तो ग्रापको इसका पता चल जाएगा । हमारे देश का भौतिकवादी स्तर भौतिक मूल्यों का स्तर बढ़ा है, इस में कोई सन्देह नहीं है, इसको भ्रापको मानना पड़ेगा । ग्राम तौर पर देश में जितनी सविधायें जितनी चीजें और जितने भी तरह तरह के साधन उपलब्ध हैं, उतने पहले कभी नहीं थे । प्रश्न यही है कि उन सुविधायों का, उन उत्पादित चीजों का जो वितरण हो रहा है, उस में कहीं न कहीं कोई कमी है। इसका श्रर्य यह है कि जो डिस्ट्रोब्पटिव जस्टिस है, वितरक न्याय है, उस प्रणाली में गडबड होने के कारण कहीं किसी चीज के मामले में किसी वर्ग को ग्रधिक नुक्सान होता है, कहीं किसी चीज के मामले में किसी दूसरे वर्ग को ग्रधिक तकलीफ उठानी पड़ती है । ग्राज भी श्रगर हम मल्यों को देखें, कीमतों को देखें तो उनके बढ़ने या घटने से एक ऐसे वर्ग को जिसके पास ग्रनापशनाप रुपये हैं कोई न्क्सान नहीं होता है। इसी तरह से मजदूरों को जो प्रपनी मजदूरी की दरें घटवा बढ़वा लेते हैं कोई विशेष नुक्सान नहीं होता है । केवल मध्यम वर्ग के उन लोगों को नक्सान होता है, उनको तकलीफ होती है जिनकी ग्रामदनी निश्चित है ग्रोर जो कोई ग्रोर दूसरा तरीका उस म्रामदनी को बढ़ाने का नहीं सोच पाते हैं । उस में भी बहुत सी ऐसी नौकरियां हैं जिनके बारे में लोग ग्राम तौर पर जानते हैं कि भ्रष्टाचार काफी इधर उधर फैला हुग्रा है। कितना है ग्रौर कितना नहीं है उसकी ग्रौसत कितनी है यह मैं नहीं कहूंगा क्योंकि यह बहुत विवादास्पद विषय है लेकिन यह सही है कि यह काफी फैला हुआ है। इसलिए मध्यम वर्ग के भी बहत से लोग ग्रपनी ग्रामदनी को बढ़ा लेते हैं। जब हम देखते हैं कि कीमतें बढती हैं तब भी जितना माल आता है वह सब बिक जाता है, कोई माल रुकता नहीं है, किसी की जरूरन रुकती नहीं है, केवल जो

मध्यम वर्ग है जिसकी निष्चित म्राय है, उसी को तकलीफ होती है । फिर भी एक बडी भारी बराई है, और यह मनोवैज्ञानिक बुराई भी है। लोगों के मन पर जब यह ग्रसर हो जाए कि जो कीमत बताई जाती है उस पर माल नहीं मिलता है या जो कीमत तय की जाती है वह ठहरती नहीं है या दूकान पर जाते जाते कीमत बढ जाती है तो उस दशा में एक जो असन्तोष फैलता है, लोगों को जो नाराजी होती है, वह भी हमारे लिए एक चिन्ता का विषय होना चाहिये । इसलिये यदि हमको ग्रपने देश में मुल्यों को रोकना है, कीमतों को बढ़ने से रोकना है तो हमें उत्पादन को बढ़ाना ही होगा । भ्रौर जब हम इस भ्रोर देखते हैं तो हमें एक ही बात खटकती है कि हमारे देश में उत्पादन को बढाने के लिये जिस तरह की भावना होनी चाहिये, जिस तरह का उत्साह होना चाहिये, जिस तरह का संगठन होना चाहिये, वह ग्राज हमें नहीं दिखाई दे रहा है। कहीं न कहीं योजना में कोई कमी है, कहीं न कहीं हमारे मनोविज्ञान में कमी है, कहीं न कहीं हमारे प्ररणा के स्रोतों में कमी है जो हमें देश के उत्पादन की श्रोर जितनी तेजी से बढाना चाहते हैं नहीं बढ़ा पाते । जब तक हमारा उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ेगा तब तक हम समाजवाद तो कदापि नहीं ला सकेंगे । इसलिये जहां तक ग्रौद्योगिक क्षेत्र का सम्बन्ध है, हम ने मान लिया है कि सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र ग्रौर निजी क्षेत्र दोनों रहेंगे । पर हम निजी क्षेत्न के लोगों की जो स्थिति देखते हैं, उनका जिस तरह का रवैया देखते हैं, उससे हम यह निश्चित रूप से कह सकते हैं कि वह किसी न किसी प्रकार का धोखा सरकार के साथ बराबर सफलता के साथ करते चले जा रहे हैं । उनके श्रांकडे गलत होते हैं, उनके उत्पादन का व्योरा गलत होता है, उनके यहां जा कर कोई ठीक से जांच नहीं कर सकता, ग्रौर उन का दावा ग्राज यह है, उनमें इस वात का दम्भ ग्रा गया है कि वह ग्राप के प्रशासन को, श्राप के

प्रशासक वर्ग को ग्रौर ग्रापक राजनीतिज्ञों को भी दबा सकते हैं । उनके पास ग्रनाप शनाप रुपया है, ऐसा रुपया है जिसका हिसाब नहीं दिया जाता । ग्रीर यह वेहिसाब रुपया हमारे देश में बडी भारी खराबी पैंदा कर रहा है, जिसको रोकने में हम लगे हुए हैं । फिर भी सारी जनता जानती है, सारे लोग जानते हैं कि हम उसे रोक नहीं पा रहे हैं । म्राज हमने उन्हें सुविधा दी कि वे यह वेहिसाब रुपया ग्रपने ग्राप ला कर दे दें । लेकिन इसकी कोई प्रगति नहीं है । मैं एक सुझाव देना चाहता हूं वित्त मंत्री जी को कि स्रगर इसमें वे कड़ाई से काम लेना चाहते हैं तो उन्हें एक ही काम करना चाहिये । वे यह निष्चित कर दें, कि उन को दो तीन महीने का समय दें, या पांच छः महीने का समय दें, लेकिन उसके बाद जितना रुपया उनको मिलेगा उसके लिये वे कड़े से कड़ा व्यवहार करेगे । पूरा रुपया तो जब्त करेंगे ही परन्तू जिस व्यक्ति ने काला रुपया कमाया है, चंकि काला रुपया किसी न किसी तरह से कमाना अपराध है, इस लिये हम उन को सजा देंगे । जब तक इस तरह की व्यवस्था नहीं होगी, यह काला रुपया निकलने वाला नहीं है । जब तक यह काला रुपया हमारे पास नहीं स्रायेगा तब तक हम उत्पादन के क्षेत्र में, निजी क्षेत्र में कोई सुधार नहीं कर सकेंगे । यह अर्थ शास्त्र को ही नहीं दिगाड़ता, यह राजनीति को भी विगाड़ता है । ग्राज राजनीति के क्षेत्र में काले रुपये का बहुत महत्व बढ़ गया है । हमारे देश का दुर्भाग्य कहिये, यह परम्परा रही गांधीजी के म्रादेशों के कारण कि हम ने शुरू से राजनीतिक ग्रवस्था में,सार्वय्य जनिक व्यवस्था में, कुछ ऐसे सिद्धान्त रक्खें जिन के ऊपर चलना ग्राम व्यक्ति के लिये सम्भव नहीं है। फिर भी हम उस आदश को ग्रपनाय चले गये । भ्रौर भ्राज नतीजा यह है कि राजनीतिज्ञ या राजनीतिक पार्टिया ग्रपनी रकम के ऊपर, ग्रपने फंडस के बल पर किसी भी तरह से अपना काम नहीं चला पातीं । परिणाम यह होता है कि यह काला

रुपया किसी न किसी रूप से उन पार्टियों के संगठन में घुसता है, वह चाहे हमारी पार्टी हो या विरोधी पार्टी हो । विरोधी पार्टी के <mark>ऊपर इस बात की जिम्मेदारी ग्रधिक ही थी। जब</mark> वह दिन रात हम को प्रमाण पत्न देते हैं, कि हम सब भण्टाचार है, हम सब गलत है तब उन्होंने जनता के सामने कौन सा उदाहरण रक्खा, तब उन्होंने जनता के सामने किस प्रकार की मिसाल रक्खी है जिस से जनता उन की ग्रोर ग्राकुष्ट हो । इस देश में यदि भ्रष्टाचार बढा है, ग्रौर भ्रष्टाचार के कारग जनता को तकलीफ़ हैं क्योंकि भ्रष्टाचार का मनोवैज्ञानिक ग्रसर जनता पर बहुत ग्रधिक है, तो इस की बहुत बड़ा जिम्मदारी विरोधी पक्ष की है। हम ग्रपनी जिम्मेदारी भी मानते हैं, परन्तू यदि उन्होंने किसी भी तरह से ग्रपने राजनीतिक जीवन में, म्रपने राजनीतिक संगठन में, भ्रपनी पार्टियों के काम में, इस काले रुपये को न म्राने दिया होता तो सम्भवतः जनता उन की म्रोर बढ जाती श्रौर वह हमारी सरकार को बदल देती ग्रौर संसदीय प्रजातन्त्र में उन्हें इस बात की सफलता मिलती । जब वे कोई ग्रच्छा विकल्प नहीं दे पा रहे हैं, कोई ग्रच्छी मिसाल नहीं पैदा कर पा रहे हैं तो स्पष्ट है कि वह जनता को नैतिक रूप से निराशा प्रदान करते हैं ।

प्रन्त में मैं एक ही बात कहूंगा उत्पादन के बारे में, विशेषकर कृषि उत्पादन के बारे में। इस के सम्बन्ध में बहुत से ग्रच्छ सुझाव प्राये हैं। हमारे एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा है कि योजनायें नीचे से बननी चाहियें। मैं एक ही सुझाव देना चाहता हूं कि योजनायें प्राप बनाते रहें, परन्तु जितना रुपया ग्राप प्राप एक देहात को देना चाहते हैं वह ग्राप उस को दे दीजिये, ग्राप उसे योजना मत दीजिये। प्रत्येक देहात के पढ़े लिखें लोग या बेपढ़े लिखे लोग जानते हैं कि हमें पहले किस चीज में रुपया लगाना है, हमे सिचाई चाहिये या खाद चाहिये या खाद के पहिले [Shri Mahesh Dutta Misra]

ट्रैक्टर चाहिये । व स्वयन उस की मांग कर लेंगे। दूसरे जब तक हम यह नहीं देखेंगे कि प्रत्येक पन्द्रह बीस एकड से नीचे के किसान के पास, जिस इलाके में कम जमीन हो वहां दस एकड से कम के किसान के पास, खेत में एक कुंघ्रां बन जाय तब तक हमारी योजनायें सफल नहीं हो सकतीं । ग्राप के बड़े बडे बांध, बडी बडी नहरें वहां पहंच नहीं पाली हैं । देश का बहुत बड़ा भभाग ऐसा है जहां नहरें सफलता से चलाई नहीं जा सकती हैं। अगर ग्राप देश में यह देख लें क पन्द्रह एकड से कम के किसान चाहे वह दो एकड के हों, तोन एकड के हों, चार या पांच एकड कहों अपने खेत में सिंचाई के माधन पा जाते हैं, तब म्राप देखेंगे कि हमारा श्रीसत उत्पादन काफी बढ जायगा । यहां पर उर्वरक ग्रयवा खाद की बात कही गई ग्रौर कई साधनों की बात कही गई। मैं एक सुझाव देना चाहता हु।

ग्रमरीका में मैं ने देखा ग्रौर ग्रमरीका के 90 प्रतिशत ग्रादमियों को पता नहीं है कि ग्रमरीका में एक ऐसी जाति रहती है जिसे ग्रामिश कहते हैं । वह फिलाडेल्फिया के ग्रास पास पसिलवेनिया. ग्रोहियो, इंडियाना तक की जो लम्बी पट्टी है उस में बसती है। वह लोग न ग्रमरीकन खाद का उपयोग करते हैं, न ट्रैक्टर का उपयोग करते हैं, न विजली का उपयोग करते हैं, लेकिन उन की प्रति एकड़ ग्रामदनी भ्रमरीका के खेतों से ज्यादा ग्रच्छी है । ग्रमरीका में जो लोग ग्राधनिक तरीके से खेती करते हैं उन से उन की ग्रामदनी ज्यादा ग्रच्छी है। में चाहंगा कि हमारी सरकार वहां लोगों को भज कर इसका पता लगाने का प्रयत्न करे कि वह लोग क्या करते हैं।

ग्रन्त में यह कह कर मैं समाप्त करना चाहना हूं कि जब तक हमारे देश से जो यह पूंजीवादी रवया है वह नहीं बदलेगा तब तक हमारा काम नहीं चलेगा । परन्तु मैं पंजीवाद का इस तरह का विरोधी नहीं

ह कि मैं उस को एक दिन में समाप्तकर की कहं। मैं बात जानता ह कि प्रजातनात्मक समाजवाद में यह पूंजीवादी व्यवस्था एक दिन में समाप्त नहीं क जा सकती । बैसे ग्रगर हम सब मानें तो मैं पचास वर्ष का समय देने को तैयार हैं, पर सवाल यह है कि पचास वर्षों तक क्या कानुनों के हिसाब से, श्रन्शासन के हिसाब से चलने के लिये तैयार हैं । क्राज वह हमारे ऊपर काले रुपय का अनुशासन लादने का हौंसला रखते हैं। वह सोचते हैं कि वह जो शत लगायेंगे हम मानते चले जायेंगे, हम म्रपनी योजनाम्रों को, म्रपनी स्कीमों को बदलते चले जायगे ग्रौर व हम से बदलवा लेंग । इसलिय दोनों दष्टियों से यदि हमें म्रपने देश में इस समस्या का भ्रन्त करना है भ्रौर हभें चाहते **हैं कि पंजीवादी भ्रर्थ व्यवस्था इस देश** में लगाम के **साथ रहे, बेलगाम होकर न**ारहे जिसको <mark>ग्रनव्रिड</mark>ल्ड कपिटलिजम कहते हैं, तब हमें <mark>ग्रपनी राजनीति में</mark> से भी काले रुप*ये* को निकालना होगा, इस को खतम करना पड़ेगा । इस के लिय प्लेटो ने कहा कि म्राथिक शक्ति, प्राधिक ग्रधिकार तथा राजन तिक शक्ति इन दोनों को हम एक हाथ में न रहने दें। जब तक इन को म्रलग नहीं किया जाता तब तक कोई समस्या हल नहीं की जा सकती र्थार**नसमाजक ब्**राई दुर हो सक्ती है । इस को दोहराते हए मैं म्राप को धन्यवाद देता हं कि आप ने मुझे समय दिया ।

Shri P. R. Ramakrishnan (Combatore): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the Finance Minister in presenting his Budget for 1965-66 has set before him many objectives. He has to raise adequate resources for the Plan and for essential developmental expenditure; he has to maintain the price structure and curb inflation; he has to provide incentives to save and invest in the productive sectors of the economy; he must stimulate production, he must encourage exports; in short, he must vitalise the economy and give it a dynamism so that the eco-,, nomy can march with a certain amount of confidence.

The Finance Minister has approached this difficult and delicate job with such skill that the Budget will go down in history as a fine fiscal achievement in the preparation of the Fourth Plan. No critic of the Finance Minister can contend that any of his proposals lack economic rationale or equity. The budget proposals are significant in this that this is the first time any attempt has been made to avoid any kind of deficit in the overall financing cf the revenue and capital expenditure. An attempt has been made to put the tax structure on an enduring and rational basis. A wide range of tax reliefs both in direct and indirect taxation have been given with a view to encourage savings and investment, and also reduce the rigours of inflation. Fiscal incentives are given as a means of achieving greater production and increased export promotion.

This is the first time in several years that a conscious attempt has been made to reduce or abolish excise duties on a number of essential commodities. Within the last seven or eight years excise duties have gone up five-fold. I only wish the Finance Minister had accommodated much more of the common man's needs, so that the rigours of inflation are lessened. I also welcome the powers taken by the Finance Minister to reintroduce these excise duties if the advantage is not passed on to the consumers.

Scarce industrial raw materials have come in for a steep rise in excise duties and also additional import duties. This has been done with the object of inhibiting consumption, to save foreign exchange, and also to reduce the difference between the landed cost and the sale price. This will also serve the object of encouraging industrial substitution. I cannot but feel that this will certainly increase the cost in certain vital industries, but in the over-all picture it may not add to the inflationary pressure.

I welcome the proposals relating to the lowering of personal income-tax both at the higher and lower levels and the unification of the rates of income-tax and super tax. The new method of granting rebate relating to insurance premium and contribution to provident fund is a welcome feature in the Budget. The provisions could have been made a little more liberal.

It would have given immense satisfaction to the taxpayer if the annuity deposit scheme had been completely dropped. It has been anomalous in its operation. It deprives the taxpayer the opportunity of taking advantage of the concessions offered by the Finance Minister for new investment and other forms of saving. It is a deferred tax. It penalises the assessee because it is a loan to the Government where the lender is penalised. I know the Finance Minister will not be willing to consider dropping this annuity scheme, but I do hope he will give some opportunity for the assessee to invest this annuity, whatever he has to pay to Government as a loan, in certain forms of priority investments that Government chooses.

The Finance Minister has made certain proposals, trying to get concealed incomes. This is a welcome feature, even though on an equity basis there may be some objection, because the man who does not pay his income-tax gets away and after some time makes good some of his money. This has been offered in all sincerity. This concealed money has added very much to inflationary pressure, and I do hope there is response to the extent expected.

There has been great disappointment in the corporate sector because the anticipations of relief had been pitched very high. The corporate markets have been in the doldrums for the last two years. Even with the best of collaborations, no rupee capital was forthcoming. Promoters were

#### [Shri P. R. Ramakrishnan]

looking to financial institutions for underwriting all their equity capital. Not even ten per cent of the equity capital has been subscribed by the This is really a serious and public. unhealthy situation in our economy. It is, therefore, necessary to look into the reasons for this kind of resistance on the part of the public to invest in equity capital. Capital costs in industry have been steadily rising. Because of the frequent changes in taxation and fiscal and monetary policies of the Government, no industry that had planned for certain cavital expenditure was able to adhere to it. Before the industry came into production, it ran into serious difficulties due to shortage of money, shortage of raw materials and also shortage of power. Most of the industries were delayed in coming into production for one reason or another. The profitability based on certain conditions at the time of the flotation of the company was very much distorted because the high capital costs and the material costs reflected in the product costs, resulting in lower profit margins. Many of the industries started in the last few years never paid any dividends and it is now generally conceded that it takes more than five years to pay any thing by way of dividend. Not only does the investor not get any income; there has been an erosion in the value of his investment. There are cases where the investor has lost as much as 30-40 per cent because of the deccrease in share values.

There is another important reason for investors' resistance in the new equity participation. Investments made in real estates brought back quicker returns. There are cases where I know urban properties appreciated in value to the extent of 200 to 300 per cent in short period of time. The hon. Finance Minister in his Budget proposed to impose a four per cent wealth tax on urban properties. I do not know to what extent this will curb money going into unproductive sectors of the economy, money that

ought to have gone into productive sectors of the economy but w' 'ch now flows into speculative and unproductive sectors.

#### 18 hrs.

Industries today in India are cperating under scarcity conditions, in sheltered markets and because of this the industry is able to make some amount of money, even marginal units are making money. This is a very unhealthy growth because there are no incentives to renovate old machinery and also take advantage of the rapid growth in technology. Only a competitive economy can give that kind of dynamism. I cannot but feel that in course of time we may be saddled with an industrial structure which is high cost, low production nd 'ow wage. There is great obsolescence today in our industrial structure and industry is operating with discarded technology. Today in the developcountries technology is mared with a ching rapid pace: automa\_ tion has become the order of the day. Investments in industry are rapialy rising. What was modern two or three years ago is obsolete today. It is therefore necessary that large investments are made in industry to renovate and keep pace with modern technology. But where do we get rcsources from? The industry must get resources either from institutional finance or they must get it from the people, by way of equity or loan participation or it must be able to mobilise its own resources internally.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: You want more time?

Shri P. R. Ramakrishnan: Yes, Sir.

Mr Deputy-Speaker: Then, he may continue tomorrow.

18.01 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, March 24, 1965 Chaitra 3, 1887 (Saka).

GMGIPND-LS II-2536 (Ai) LSD-19-4-65-1970.