

directed to enclose a copy of the Marine Insurance Bill, 1963, by Shri M. P. Bhargava, which has been passed by the Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on the 8th March, 1963".

12.03½ hrs.

#### MARINE INSURANCE BILL

LAI D ON THE TABLE AS PASSED BY  
RAJYA SABHA

**Secretary:** Sir, I lay on the Table of the House the Marine Insurance Bill, 1963, by Shri M. P. Bhargava, as passed by Rajya Sabha.

12.04 hrs.

#### GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—contd.

**Mr. Speaker:** We take up general discussion of the General Budget for 1963-64. Out of 20 hours allotted, 9 hours 40 minutes have been taken and 10 hours 20 minutes remain. Shri D. J. Naik may now continue his speech. He has already taken 13 minutes.

**Shri D. J. Naik (Panchmahals):** Yesterday, I was referring to Shri Yajnik's speech wherein he quoted some figures about the income of labourers. Those figures are of the year 1955-56. Thereafter much has been done for the lower strata of society and conditions have improved. From Rs. 9,970 crores of national income in 1950-51 when the First Plan was launched, it came to Rs. 14,160 crores in 1961-62 and in the last two years there has been an increase of about Rs. 570 crores. The average income has also increased by Rs. 66 and even the agricultural labour's income has increased on account of the Minimum Wages Act and such other legislation.

The condition of the rural people has improved. The consumption of

cloth has increased by 6.2 yards per capita. Even the food consumption also has increased, and the increase in calorific value is 300 calories per capita. It means that the large masses of the people are consuming more food and more cloth. So, there is no meaning in saying that the poor has become poorer. Rather, the conditions of the rural people have improved in the last ten years. I do not mean to say that everything is going on well. Still, the development programme or the development activities have not percolated to the last rung of our socio-economic structure: I may say, unto the last—we have not even achieved Antyodaya or Sarvodaya which is the goal of the socialist pattern of society. So, efforts have to be made, and I hope within the next two Plan periods we will be able to reach upto the last. That is the preaching of Gandhiji and we all of us should at least remember him and go towards the goal which he has pointed out to us.

The rural society which was static in 1951 is becoming a little dynamic. The rural society depends on agriculture. There is some improvement in agriculture and for that the Ministry of Food and Agriculture should be commended, but the progress cannot be said to be satisfactory. During the last ten years, the increase in agricultural production has been only by 50 per cent, while the population has increased by 25 per cent and every year we have to feed 7 million to 8 million new mouths. It is a stupendous task. Therefore, I would appeal to the Government to step up agricultural production as much as possible. The target fixed for the third Plan Period is 100 million tons. Last year, in the explanatory memorandum and million tons. Last year, in the explanatory memorandum and in the *Economic Survey* report, it was said that the progress is satisfactory—that is, we would be able to produce 80 million tons

[Shri D. J. Naik]

Within three or four years we have to make up the railway of 20 million tons. I would appeal to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture to do all they can, through the State Governments, the community development blocks and so on, to see that the additional 20 million tons of food-grains are produced by the end of the third Five Year Plan.

I have to speak one or two words about kerosene. The excise duty on kerosene will hit the poor man. I understand that the hon. Finance Minister wants to put a check on its import, but once the habit is formed to use the kerosene, it is very difficult to check it. The rural people have been using kerosene.

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

Shri D. J. Naik: Two Minutes, Sir, I would, therefore, appeal to the hon. Finance Minister, with all the moral force that I have, to reconsider the excise duty on kerosene. It may be reduced, so that the poor people may have a little relief. When we are for the poor people, for the downtrodden people, I feel that this relief is most necessary.

About the compulsory saving scheme, I understand that the agriculturist should also pay this. I am working among them. It is after all a saving to them and they will pay it. But those persons who are living in the urban areas having an income of Rs. 125 per month will not be able to pay it out of their pockets. They will have tomorrow something at a high rate of interest to make this investment. So, I suggest that this limit of Rs. 1500 may be raised to Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 2,400. I am making these two appeals to the hon. Finance Minister and I request him to reconsider these two things.

Shri Hanumanthaiya (Bangalore City): Sir, it has become customary

to feel aggrieved at budgets. That has become a normal human characteristic. Whether it is in the States or in the Centre, or anywhere else in the world, budgets do not generally produce a happy atmosphere, for people have to pay more and pay on more items of daily use.

This year, the Government of India budget has assumed a special significance. In spite of that significance, I felt very angry against the Finance Minister when the proposals were announced, for he had hit very hard on my head. As a result of his proposals, I thought I would have to forego my lace turban because lace has come under the operation of the Control Order. When I was asked about my reaction to the budget proposals. It was not my aesthetic sense that spoke, but it was my heart that spoke. I said, this is merely a defence budget; it is not a war budget. The country today has been geared to the pitch of fighting a war with China not merely to recover our territory, but our lost honour at Sela Pass. If China attacked us again, I will not merely lose my turban, but even my head.

When I compare the consequences of another Chinese attack, the possibility of my losing the lace of my turban looks very insignificant. The proposal that we have to spend of the order of about Rs. 800 crores and odd in my opinion is too insufficient for the purpose we have in mind. Today I read in a paper, which I have passed on to the hon. Finance Minister, that Russia has supplies secretly 1000 missiles to China. It is said that these missiles are ground to air missiles, the kind of missiles that were supplied to Cuba. It is described therein that the espionage system of USA photographed the site where those missiles

are located. I am very glad a man of the standing and calibre of Shri T. T. Krishnamachari is going to America in connection with the defence equipments. I am told that all these factors will be borne in mind to see that India gets military aid and assistance of a dimension that will be able to ensure our victory against the Chinese.

Sir, very often we Congressmen are accustomed to the phraseology of "fighting to the last ditch" and "fighting to a last man" The very psychological approach, to me, looks defeatist.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee** (Kanpur): May I ask from what paper he read?

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** Tribune"

Sir, the very approach should be one of confidence and hope of our victory and not fighting to the last ditch or fighting to the last man. Whoever makes speeches of that kind or issues circulars of that character will not be envisaging a prospect of victory for India: But to a shrewd mind, especially outsiders, it looks as though we have lost all hopes of victory and the only thing we are particular about now is to fight to the last man or fight to the last ditch. India is capable of victory. International circumstances, if properly judged, show that China has more enemies than India and India has more friends than China. Our foreign policy must be so aligned or changed or modified so as to get the co-operative effort of all nations which think alike on this matter, to recover, as I said in the beginning, our honour, our territory and to contain China within its boundary for all time to come.

The Finance Minister has been saying that if alternative sources of revenue are shown to him he is prepared to consider them. I have argued with many a man who feels aggrieved with the taxation proposals. They also feel that money has to be paid to Government for de-

fending the country; it is only in the manner of collection that they pick a hole here or there.

Sir, I am going to make a few suggestions. It is possible to curtail the expenditure of the Government of India on non-defence items. I am very happy to see that the Minister of Health is here because I am going to make a suggestion which affects her department. I have read many authors, western and eastern, who have written on China. They are very much impressed, and they almost think that it is an element of great fear that China a population of about 700 millions. Very great thinkers and historians have written at length that this factor—the population of China—is its biggest asset, its biggest defence potential, its biggest war weapon. Our Prime Minister has also repeatedly made it clear that the Chinese do not care for human lives, wave after wave of them come to the front in spite of being killed either by Indian bullets or by American bullets in Korea or South Vietnam. It is so. This must make us think. The routine way of dealing with matters will not answer the purpose on hand. Therefore, I want to say that the very asset which is looked upon with such respect by other countries ought to be our asset also. We are now 450 million. Let us not try to control the growth of population. The population of India must grow. If the population of China is an asset so far as its war potential is concerned, the population of India must be the answer to it. The world will be better impressed by the efforts of India if it allows its population to grow to the fullest extent. The Government of India have declared in their political speeches, as well as in the speeches made on the floor of the House, that the Chinese menace has come to stay. If it is really so, if it is really meant to be so. I ask them to look at this problem from the point of view of population and consequent recruitment to the

[Shri Hanumanthaiya]

army. We are now in the III plan spending Rs. 27 crores for family planning. I learn from the Minister that another Rs. 25 crores are contemplated to be spent during the period of the Third Plan for this purpose. I would suggest that these Rs. 25 crores, without wasting one rupee otherwise, be handed over to the Defence Minister for acquiring defence potential, armaments and so on. It may be missiles, bombers or any other weapon that the defence authorities may think of. If this one suggestion is implemented, we will not only have increased our armament potential but would have taken away the control on population growth. This idea may look very strange, very odd . . .

**The Minister of Health (Dr. Sushila Nayar):** It is more than strange.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** . . . but people who have felt these suggestions to be strange have tolerated the debate of the Sela Pass. Unless our method of warfare is changed, our method of training is changed, we will not be able to meet the Chinese on their own ground. We will not be able to meet the Chinese on their own ground unless our population grows equal to their own. It may be that what I say may sometimes look very unconvincing, but when the time comes everyone will be forced to adopt that method.

**Mr. Speaker:** Pioneers always experience such difficulties.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** Thank you very much, Sir. In fact, if I were to remain the House, many important suggestions that I made four years ago in regard to China are now being implemented, though they laughed at me then. I will have another platform for that purpose.

The second item in the budget that could be pruned is the community project scheme. I am not advocating

its complete abolition. There are very many items in it which are in the nature of propaganda. Many people employed in the scheme are expected to go and preach sermons to the villagers about how to be clean, how to do this and that. At least for the time being, so long as the emergency lasts, the amount that is being spent on propaganda may be diverted for war purposes. That, I am sure, will be able to contribute not less than Rs. 10 crores to 20 crores to the defence expenditure.

I have other suggestions to make which I propose to make as and when the Demands come up before the House for consideration, for the time now is too short for me to explain all the suggestions that I have been thinking over for the last several days in my mind.

The news item regarding a thousand missiles being supplied by Russia to China has made me very apprehensive. It will make apprehensive anyone who reads it and bestows a little thought over it. Russia says that it is also helping India. As against four MIG planes that have been supplied to us, a thousand missiles have been supplied to China. I do not blame Russia. Mr. Khrushchev, its leader, has made it clear repeatedly in dozens of speeches that he treats China as the brother and India as the friend and he has done accordingly by supplying missiles to China and MIGs to India.

I am told, Sir, that imitation is the sincerest form of admiration. I therefore, request the Government of India to imitate by way of showing great admiration to Mr. Khrushchev and USSR. Let us also say that Russia is our friend and the democracies are our brothers. It is these democracies that came to our aid when we were in great difficulties. They are promising unstinted help and co-operation even today to see that India remains free and democratic. I feel very happy to see that the Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk, is

paying a visit to India. It is a visit which, I am sure, will have far-reaching consequences and results for the preservation of freedom throughout the world. If India is lost, ultimately freedom and democracy are lost to the world.

I will touch upon one more topic and close my speech. That relates to my constituency. The hon. Finance Minister and several other Cabinet Ministers have paid visits to Bangalore. In Bangalore the water supply problem has become very acute. We were a population about a quarter of a century ago of about 3 lakhs of people; we have now become more than 15 lakhs of people in Bangalore. The water supply system that was meant for three to five lakhs of people is supplying water to 15 lakhs and more. We have made repeated representations to the Ministry concerned and to the hon. Finance Minister to help us to have a proportionately bigger water supply system for Bangalore. We have devised a scheme called the Cauvery Scheme. We have to get water from the Cauvery River. As Madras City is trying to get water from the Godavari or the Krishna river for the purpose of its drinking water supply, we have also been thinking in terms of getting water from the Cauvery. These two cities are very big cities. They are growing cities. Maybe, by the time we reach the stage of the next census Bangalore will have a population of 25 to 30 lakhs because very many industries are coming up there. More industries of the Central Government are situated there than of the private sector or of the Mysore Government; maybe, in number these are greater but in size, investment and employment the Central and Defence industries that are located in Bangalore are very big and they contribute to the population of the city a great deal. I would, therefore, appeal to the hon. Finance Minister to facilitate the scheme of getting water from the Cauvery River as soon as possible so that the industrial growth of Banga-

lore City may go on uninterruptedly and our Central enterprises may also be assured of an adequate water supply and consequent growth of those enterprises.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad** (Bhagalpur): Mr. Speaker, both defence and development requirements have necessarily an element of uncertainty. But, it must be in conformity with our resolve to make the maximum efforts for it. Therefore, when the Finance Minister introduced his budget, he said that the paramount and supreme consideration in framing the budget is the need of the hour to build up the defence potentiality of the nation. We wholeheartedly support this consideration of the Finance Minister.

21.31 hrs.

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

These budget proposals are a measure of challenge for the nation which has been called upon to meet the constant Chinese threat, and therefore, displaying rare political courage, the Finance Minister said that it is a painful and unpleasant task to introduce such tax proposals. Along with this, the second important thing for us to consider is that our development plants must go faster and faster so that they may not stop. Therefore, with these twin objects in view, defence and development, along with the resurgence of inflationary pressure, we have to scrutinise the budget and find out how far these tax proposals are worth comment.

I feel that nobody in this country will dispute our defence demands which have been tuned to the maximum height of Rs. 867 crores. If we agree, as we have seen all of us agree on that, then, the only aspect to be seen is how far the Finance Minister is justified in asking the supporting hand of this House for non-defence expenditure. If we see both the defence and non-defence expenditure, we have no doubt in our mind that we have to support the Budget.

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Because, we have all of us always held that defence and development go together and they cannot be separated. Therefore, in defence as well as in development, we have to spend as much as we can. Once we agree to this, we have no alternative but to come to one conclusion and that conclusion is that we have to find the resources.

In finding out the resources, the Finance Minister has adopted the right principle and that principle is that, if you earn more, you must pay more in the form of taxes or in the form of deposit. It is a very sound principle to which we must agree. Apart from that, it is said that he has tried to touch at the lowest level, that is, one has to deposit 3 per cent—even those who have got Rs. 1,500 as annual income or Rs. 125 per month. It is true, nobody can deny and even he has said so, that it will be a burden. The burden has to be borne because the greater is our responsibility to defend our freedom and if freedom demands sacrifice of cheerfulness, the other things will necessarily follow. Therefore, I think that if those getting between Rs. 1,500 and 3,600 have been called upon to pay 4 per cent as taxes or deposit, that is, absolutely justified. In this budget, I think the Finance Minister has raised Rs. 700 crores as additional revenue of which Rs. 500 will go for defence. Therefore, when we see this budget, we feel that the Finance Minister has tried to make everybody in this country feel that his freedom is in jeopardy and he has to contribute even at the cost of his cheerfulness, but bravely to defend the freedom. This budget is a challenge to all countrymen to feel that he has to contribute something even at the cost of privation to defend his honour and integrity. In this budget, we see, if you go above Rs. 1 lakh or 2 lakhs or 3 lakhs and so on the contribution in taxation or in other forms varies between 4 and 10 per cent. Therefore, the principle

that as you earn more you must pay more has been very rightly adopted.

I would ask the House to stretch its memory to the past decade or fifteen years. What was the situation? The excise duties were gradually being increased. The country was growing economically stronger during the First and Second Plans. Industrialisation was going apace. Industrial output was increased by one hundred per cent. And in order to allow all the private industries and firms to have their full growth, concessions after concessions were being given to them. Some of us on the Congress Benches were strong critics of Government that while on the one hand, Government were increasing the excise duties gradually, on the other hand, they were giving concessions after concessions to the private industries and firms.

Now, we feel that the time has come when there should be a stop to all those concessions that the society and the Government has assured the private industries and firms of, and a situation has come now when the Finance Minister has to call upon them also to pay.

But, surprisingly enough, it is being said all round that the super-profits tax will stagnate industrial growth. And who are those persons? They are those who control the monopoly press, and who are really the super-profits tax-wallahs. They are those who are everywhere in the Chambers of Commerce; they are those who are mill-owners and millionaires. This chorus has been raised by all those friends, and they have even gone to the extent of imputing motives to the Finance Minister in saying that 'Morarjibhai has gone to the same extent as he has been asked by China to do'. And surprisingly enough not only this has been said but many other things also been said such as that 'Pernicious principles have been introduced into this

budget'. This is capable of a great deal of harm and mischief, 'It is a fraud on socialism', 'It is clearly an anti-socialist budget', 'It is a privation budget' and so on. These are the attributes that our Finance Minister has got from those friends who are so ungrateful as to forget that in the past decade or fifteen years, this country and this Government and this society, even at the cost of bearing the excise duty and other duties as their burden had given them sufficient chance to grow and grow as much as they could. These friends are raising a chorus now that the super-profits tax should not be there.

I am sure that, as the Finance Minister has said on many occasions, this super-profits tax is not going to stagnate the economy. I am sure that it is not going to desist investment from coming. I am sure the Finance Minister will find out ways and see that investment comes in spite of all this.

I would, therefore, congratulate the Finance Minister on what he has done. It is a very difficult task that he has been faced with, as everyone has said. Even the Opposition Members have not refuted the arguments that he has advanced that the time has now come to raise additional resources for defence, that the time has come now when we must find out extra resources for the development of the economy. If that is agreed, then with regard to the finding out of the resources we may differ. In view of that difference some of them have suggested certain other avenues for additional resources. I also may add something to them. But the fact remains that in this hour of great difficulty, he has had to cast his net very wide.

In spite of suggesting some other measures, some of those 'brilliant' of this country have suggested to the Finance Minister to impose salt tax, and also asked the Planning Commission to scrap the Plan. Those

'brilliant' who are in a minority in this country have got no support either of economics or of logic or of anything else. I may assure the Finance Minister and this House, as I have been doing, that the 'non-brilliant' of this country who constitute the majority and who are not the super-profits tax-wallahs, and who have no place with them and who have no other avenues before them, are with him, and they will cheerfully bear the burden of these taxes though they know that they will have great difficulty in adjusting their budget. Therefore, he should not succumb to the pressures which are being exercised from all corners even in this House on the ground that the super-profits tax will go a great deal to stagnate economic growth. Of course. Shri Karni Singhji and Shri D. D. Puri have supported the super-profits tax and they have said that the super-profits tax should be there. Of course, those friends to whom I have referred already may say to them 'Thou too, Brutus'. In spite of that, I am sure that we are all in agreement in this House that it should be imposed.

It is said that he has underestimated it. It may be Rs. 25 crores, it may be Rs. 60 crores, it may be Rs. 100 crores. But it should be there. In this respect, there should not be any concession. If concession or relief is given, it should be to those people who are feeling the greatest pinch, to those persons who have been asked by the Finance Minister to bear the tax which they can bear only with the greatest difficulty.

I feel that the taxation proposals that have been put forward should be supported. But I would make some suggestions in regard to some of them. These should be looked into. One is about the duty on kerosene oil. I feel that the duty on kerosene oil will lead to this that many of the lights in the small huts in our country will be extinguished and we would be inviting darkness there. Still I am of opinion that we should sacrifice light

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for freedom. We shall bear it. But if he can find out ways and means to give a remission on this score, that is preferable.

The second point about which I was considering this morning I should ask the Finance Minister to examine is about the compulsory deposit scheme. He should try to find out what is an economic holding and if possible give some exemption. This was a point agitating my mind. But there is this consideration also. If at any point, an exemption limit is put, he will have very little amount from this source. In this vast country, the poor people are in a majority and if he gives an exemption limit, he will have to forego it all. In the alternative, he has to leave it as it is. This will cause difficulty to the poor people. I was trying to calculate the figures. If he keeps an exemption limit in respect of those paying Rs. 10 or Rs. 20 or Rs. 30 as land revenue, the result will be that he will not have more revenue and he will also incur displeasure from some sections. Therefore, either he has to go all through with it with all the difficulties that we visualise or he will have to drop it altogether. So I am only suggesting to him if it would be possible for him to examine this matter also.

**Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur):** Drop it? Is that his suggestion?

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** I did not say that. I want the Finance Minister to find out some other avenues of revenue to realise the amount he has envisaged in this item.

**Shri Kashj Ram Gupta (Alwar):** Why does he not suggest one?

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** His turn is also coming. I will see his intelligence and wisdom in suggesting some other avenues.

As I was saying, I was in two minds on this question, whether he

should put a certain limit or not. But when I calculated the figures and considered the fact that the majority in this country are paying a small land revenue, I came to the conclusion that if he puts an exemption limit, he would have to forego almost the entire amount. Let him not have only small amounts from a few in this country. Therefore, he has to find out some alternative source of revenue.

As it is the right and duty of Government to levy taxes, so also it is the obligation of Government to find out how far it can economise in its administrative expenditure. The Finance Minister has told us on many occasions that the departments have tried to effect a 10 per cent *ad hoc* cut in their expenditure. He is also trying to find out how far surplus personnel can be absorbed in other departments. He has also told us that in his own Ministry which was having five top Secretaries, he has reduced the number to two—this will be the case in other Ministries too. We support all these measures. We suggest that there should be a thorough scrutiny to find out how far there are chances for eliminating non-essential expenditure in administration. I would also suggest that he should see that Parkinson's law is absolutely eliminated from the administration.

While considering the search for additional resources, I would suggest that the time has come for taking up the question of nationalisation of banks. I would not go into details as I have not much time at my disposal. But I would say that he should examine this matter, as also the question of taking over foreign trade. These will give him additional avenues of resources.

Certain hon. Members have raised their voices for scrapping prohibition. I stand by the prohibition policy. There should be no scrapping of it.

We stand for moral values. My hon. friends who do not agree with this may say that we have not lived up to the ideals of Gandhiji. It is true that we have not been able to go much in that direction. But we should always try to. Failure in that does not mean that we should give up prohibition. Men have invented the aeroplane. Apes have made use of them to bombard cities and people. That does not mean that the aeroplane is bad.

In these difficult and critical times, when he has cast his net wide, we should see what are the repercussions of these measures on prices. He has stated that he would not hesitate to use effectively the Defence of India Rules to ensure that prices remain stable. I suggest that he should start moving in this direction because prices are rising. This will be a difficult situation. On the one hand, the taxation proposals will reduce the income; on the other, rising prices will reduce purchasing power. Therefore, I would say that he should make effective use of the DIRs.

In conclusion, I would say that the present lull on the frontier should not lull us. We must, grid up our loins. We shall bravely bear the burden, but while doing so, we should always be cautious to see that we correctly assess the yields from taxation proposals. It has been said by some friends—it may be true also—that the Finance Minister always underestimates revenue and overestimates expenditure. He should also see that if relief is given, if there are chances for giving some concessions, it should be to those thousands and millions of people in this country, who are the teeming millions and who bear the brunt of the burden, and not to those persons who raise a chorus saying that they are going to be hard-hit.

**Shri Daji (Indore):** In assessing the Budget, it is necessary for us, first of all, to review, together with the Finance Minister, the conditions of the

economy. I do not share even the mildly rosy picture of the economy presented to us by the Finance Minister. The facts are that our national income has not grown at the rate which we had anticipated in the Third Plan. For the first two years of the Third Plan, it was lower than the target by about Rs. 2,200 crores. Food output, according to an ECAFE study, was 2 per cent less *per capita* in 1962 than in the previous year. Industrial output is certainly growing up but not at the speed which we wanted. Exports are stagnating and would be about Rs. 40 crores less than targeted. Even Burma and Ceylon have been able to have a higher rate of growth than we in India. These are things over which we must ponder and examine the causes more closely.

However, coming to the budget strategy, I say for once at least I am in agreement with the Finance Minister. Such opportunities are not very many and, therefore, I take this opportunity to say that the strategy is correct, that is, development and defence. Secondly, I have another cause for being one with him over the action taken in the past few months to stop forward trading in many commodities. This has been a demand for many years because it has helped only the speculators and no one else. I have a further cause to support him in the slightly higher dose of direct taxation that he has introduced. This together with the limit on perquisites, is a good, novel feature introduced this year. Maybe I would want to go further; but that apart.

However, if we come to the super profits tax, about which so much has been made, I do feel that we must bear in mind the admission of the Finance Minister in his budget speech. He said that our system of taxation had not co-ordination between the rate of tax and the percentage of profit. That has been the real bane of our system of direct taxation. Any attempt to set it right is most welcome.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf** (Jammu and Kashmir): How is income-tax assessed?

**Shri Daji:** I certainly not only do not share but vehemently condemn the hullabaloo going on in the matter. I will dispose of this point, which has been much talked of, by only citing the chart of profits that will be left after the super tax given by the papers of big business themselves which have been shouting loudest against super tax, and I would like the House to ponder whether in a poor country like India, we want to leave anything more with them. This is the profit that will be left with a few of the concerns:

(Rs in lakhs)

Century Textile Mills	90
Ambika	40
Hindustan Motors	140
Indian Tube	100
Jessop	60
Bank of India	25
Delhi Cloth	65
Ashok Leyland	50
Dalmia Iron	81
Indian Hume Pipe	21
Kirloskar	14
A.C.C.	236

After super tax, this is the profit that will be left with them.

**Shri Bade** (Khargone): After dividend also?

**Shri Daji:** Of course, not dividend.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** What is the investment?

**Shri Daji:** The total investment for 156 companies is Rs. 622 crores, and the tax is Rs. 14 crores.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** What is the percentage?

**Shri Daji:** You can work out. I do not think this is too high.

Further, I want to point out one very important point. Though the system of curbing perquisites is

correct, I think we must seriously consider whether it is enough. There is a difference in calculating the income for firms and for corporate companies. In the case of firms, we take only such expenses as are wholly, exclusively and necessarily incurred in the performance of duties. Note the word "necessarily". But in the case of corporate companies, the word "necessarily" is not there. We compute expenses wholly and exclusively incurred for the purpose. This difference in the Income-tax Act has given rise to personal expenses being shown as company expenses, and this which the corporate sector has been able to amass all this money.

When we are discussing this, I would like the House to keep in mind one important thing. Development we all want, we support the strategy, but we must face this question once and for all very boldly—and I know that this question is also agitating the Congress Working Committee—namely what we have targeted or aimed for and what we are able to achieve by way of planning. Very disappointing things have been revealed. For instance, it has been revealed that the lowest ten per cent of our people have only 22 NP per day as their income. The highest ten per cent are able to appropriate 36 per cent of the national income. As our corporate sector is always keen on making a comparison with America and UK, I may point out that in a country like America, which does not even talk of socialism, the corresponding figure is only 31 per cent, while in UK it is 30 per cent and in West Germany 34 per cent. But in India, the highest ten per cent are with 36.5 per cent of the national income. So, the disparity or maldistribution of income in India is higher than even countries which are not socialist.

Our national average income is low, but let it be known that 60 per cent of our people earn even less than the national average, that they have to

## Discussion

live on less than Rs. 25 per month. It is in this background that we have to consider our development task, it is in this background alone that we should consider the taxation policy and the Budget. Any other context, I submit, would be totally untrue to the millions of people who look upon us for speedy socialist development.

Keeping this particular context in mind, I would suggest that the real defect in the Budget, as in the continuing economic and financial policies of the Government, is that we have not dealt firmly with this problem. We do not want to face it boldly. On the contrary, we should face it even more boldly.

It has now come out that even if we go on at this rate or even a slightly higher rate of planning, even till the end of the century 30 per cent of the population shall not get the average national income. Is this the rate of growth by which we can enthuse the people? Are we going to cut short the disparity in any way?

When all this comes up before the House, the only reply that can be given is that this rate is so low that we cannot continue with it.

Here, I want to develop the point made yesterday by my hon. friend Shri Gupta, that the real lag in the whole economic policy of the Government is that the Government has failed to use the instrument of direct taxation with any policy or purpose. I cannot understand all this shouting that has been going on for the last 15 years. Let us pause and see. Has the private sector grown or not grown? Has the private sector been able to amass wealth or not? Has the inequality lessened? The reply is: yes, the private sector has grown phenomenally, but the inequality has not been reduced phenomenally or even marginally.

I would like to point out that 70 per cent of the top population earned four per cent of the national income in 1959-60, whereas it was earning

three per cent in 1951-52. So, the concentration has grown definitely. The income-tax returns also show the same thing.

If you study the ownership pattern of the companies, you come to the conclusion that ownership of shares of companies is limited to a small, negligible proportion of the people in the top group. The share capital of joint stock companies has increased from Rs. 775.4 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 1,726 crores in 1960-61, and the share of ten leading houses in the corporate sector is 34.53 per cent of the total holdings of the corporate sector. Therefore, concentration has been growing. The share of the few has been growing, and it is a fact, belatedly admitted by the Finance Minister himself, that our tax structure has no relation to the percentage of profit. Some relation is sought to be brought. I do not think there should be any quarrel about it. On the contrary, my quarrel with the whole thing is that even at this rate you are not going to effect a change in the income distribution, in the inequality or even in giving a new orientation to your development programme which can uplift the common man at the starvation level. It is in this context that I would request the House to consider the Budget in its entirety, and not merely take up isolated things.

If we, in this context, examine the total effect of the indirect levies on kerosene, tobacco, soap, yarn and all those things which make up the bare or conventional necessities of the common man—60 per cent of them are forced to live on an income below Rs. 25—we find that they will be mercilessly hit. The rupee has been slaughtered by the Finance Minister. It is a privation Budget par excellence. It ought to have been a war Budget, yes, to fight the war against the Chinese aggressors, to fight the war against poverty, against monopolists. Instead of that, together with defence, we have entered on a veritable quasi war with persons already at the

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border level of starvation. Are we going to tax them? The hon. Finance Minister said in the other House that it was taxing their patriotism. Certainly, tax patriotism so far as national integrity and defence are concerned. Even the last tattered shirt on my back will be offered for defence. But am I to understand that in the taxation proposals you put a premium and particular emphasis on the lack of patriotism of the upper class who are amassing wealth? That is the question before the whole House and the whole country. You cannot consider this Budget in isolation from the general economic conditions of our common people, and if the Budget does not go a long way to alleviate them even in this emergency, it will have failed in the purpose and the context of the emergency. Therefore, if you examine this aspect, you will find that the levies which you have proposed on kerosene and tobacco will fall very heavily on the common people.

13 hrs.

I will cite only the opinion of the INTUC. As a representative of the working class I have to say this. I will cite what even the INTUC has to say—not what the communist or socialist or the Praja socialist has to say:

“Our difference with Shri Morarji Desai is about the manner of taxation. . . It affects the poorer sections more who are already under heavy economic strain. . . . The Budget proposals would affect the community inequitably, richer class escaping with minor bruises.”

That is also my criticism of the Budget in a nutshell that is the criticism even of the INTUC, of the entire trade union movement and of the common man. You have given slight bruises to the rich but you have com-

pletely crushed the poor on the starvation level; you have crushed their very life, their very existence. With this Budget how are you going to fulfil the strategy laid down for defence and development. Whose development do they aim at? Look at the development of our economy. There cannot be growing incomes and growing poverty together. That is not our purpose or our strategy or of the Five Year Plans that we are having.

The Finance Minister has remarked that he is not going to be pressurised by us. We have not the power to do that. Pressure is openly exercised day in and day out by high money and it is openly said that he is going to yield to the pressure. I only want to plead to him in the name of sixty per cent of people who earn less than Rs. 25 a month. Please reconsider your indirect levies. Let them have a little relief here and there. If the reduction is Rs. 50 crores even, it can be made up by many other things. Much has been said about tax evasion and figures were given of about Rs.200 crores. It was said that Rs. 188 crores was the effective arrears. How have you treated these tax evaders? What an exalted name they have been given: tax evader! They should be called thieves and cheats. Even pick-pocket picks the pocket of an individual person but the tax evader **cheats the entire nation and should be penalised by jail sentences.** That is the only thing which the richer sections fear. But even when that is done Mr. Dalmia is transferred to the hospital to a comfortable room. That is the inequitable treatment. Government has been made to bow to the vested interests, to the people who have power and money.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath**  
(Hoshangabad): On medical grounds.

**Shri Daji:** I am never transferred from one place to another on medical grounds I know of a case in Indore jail with a swollen leg.

**The Minister of Finance (Shri Morarji Desai):** Your own friends have gone to hispitals.

**Shri Daji:** Not as comfortably.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** More comfortably.

**Shri Daji:** I have not known them.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I have known them.

**Shri Daji:** They were not tax evaders . . . (*Interruptions.*) I want that tax evasion should be made a penal offence. Here is an influential business paper, the *Capital*, which makes an open instigation to evade taxation. Here is an editoriaial comment which says:

"Minor incentives have been given to those who may care to pay their taxes promptly. But these are of little relevance in a Budget which gives powerful new incentives for evading taxes altogether. India thus move fast to the stage, where having adopted Monsieur Peacock as its National Bird, it might soon adopt Monsieur Pujade as its national hero."

**An Hon. Member:** Who is he?

**Shri Daji:** A famous French villain. The paper says that it can be evaded. It adds further:

"Less' honest orgainsations could no doubt find ways of avoiding the penalty even though sweeping new powers have been given to income tax officers. But a sound budgetary policy cannot be one that from year to year puts new premia on dishonesty."

It goes on further to say:

"Another reason for heavy taxation confronting the people is the policy of independent foreign policy."

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Therefore, they say: finish it. No, Sir; for the independence of our country, for an independent foreign policy, we are ready to sacrifice the last of our existence. We will not go with big business. The big business is black-mailing you. I have tabled a question about the Ruby Asiatic Societies and the written reply has been given to me that the Government did not consider taking any action against them. The Government had appointed a auditor and it was found that those companies had infringed the Insurance Act, Companies Act and the foreign exchange regulations. When the director and the auditor go there, they find that the accounts boks have been eaten by white ants. The Law Ministry has recommended that no further action should be taken. It is this lenisency now coming home to roost. You cannot stop tax evasion unless you amend your Income-tax Act making tax evasion an offence liable to be punished with imprisonment. I am not saying this as a communist or a socialist or a praja socialist. You may do as in other civilised countries. There should be more stringent punishment on income-tax dodgers. Why have a soft corner for them? If responsible directors of two insurance companies in their official capacity violated the law and committed such grave irregularities including misappropriation of money, mis-investment, as pointed out in the audit report, why should the Government and the Law Minister be kind to them? It is this sort of kindness which has led to this catastrophic result. Our national income has increased but it is taken by a few people and the common people go on toiling and sweating without getting any relief.

The Budget Estimates have always been lower and the realisation always higher by Rs. 100 or Rs. 120 crores. A sound budgeting system as I understand it varied only by two per cent ordinarily. This is something extraordinary. The tax suppression by the Finance Minister is almost equalled by the tax evasion by the dodgers; there is no other parallel to it. But

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there is another point. The revenue increased from year to year. There is non-fulfilment of plan targets also from year to year. At the same time increased revenue is eaten up by white. (An Hon. Member: White ants or white elephants?) Therefore, Parkinson's second law is acting with vengeance: the more you get after a certain stage, the less will be your efficiency. The most bloated administration goes on being built up. An eminent economist, Shri V. K. R. V. Rao, on the eve of the Third Plan estimated that the outlay on the Third Plan, without reducing its efficacy, can be reduced by Rs. 750 crores by economies on administration.

**Shri D. C. Sharma** (Gurdaspur): Who was this wise man?

**Shri Daji:** Shri V.K.R.V. Rao. Not only that, I will refer you to the 17th report of the Estimates Committee. They say that between 1956 and 1961 the administrative expenditure increased by Rs. 199 crores. Remember that the Ministry gave a reply and the Estimates Committee examined that reply and then came to the conclusion that the economies effected are negligible and that there should be a cell in the Planning Commission to go into the question of increase in administrative expenditure. The Finance Minister vetoed it saying: nothing doing; I have got sufficient material and I will myself go into it and the Planning Commission panel need not go into it. There is increased revenue and increased expenditure but shortfalls in plan outlay and plan fulfilment every year. The money is taken away in so much of administrative expenditure. Yet you do not want to examine it closely. Even if there is a ten per cent saving on administrative expenditure, it will mean Rs. 120 crores per year; five per cent means Rs. 60 crores. By that we can wash off the kerosene levy and the other indirect levies altogether and make the people feel content. But no, that is not being done.

There are other points: There is inefficiency. For example, there is the question of utilisation of foreign assistance. In 1961-62, it was Rs. 248 crores. In 1962-63 it was Rs. 229 crores. In the first nine months of this year, even if it goes up a little more, the percentage is going to be very low. So, you are not able to use the foreign assistance.

Then there is the question of expenditure in the month of March. We all know there is almost a spate of expenditure which starts in the month of March. Every one knows it. We ought to know it. Every year it is bad enough, but during this period of emergency, this year, it is worse. The Finance Minister yesterday interjected, "Just show me". I shall pointedly show it to him. Let us take the AIR. The AIR has purchased a number of wall-clocks in the month of march. I ask why. Why are you going in for so many wall-clocks in this emergency? Then there is no place to fit them in. All the rooms had one each. So, the corridor has been fitted with the wall-clocks! Come and examine. And there is no electric connection coming up, though it may come up in two or three months. But you have spent so much money at the end of this month. Take other offices also; for instance, take the Law Commission. There, new furniture has been purchased in the month of March, though there are tables and chairs. Why do you want more chairs? For breaking them? In Hindi there is a saying:

"कुर्सी तोड़ना चाहते हैं। कुछ काम नहीं है, कुर्सी तोड़ना है"।

What is the purpose of this new furniture at the end of March? There are enough avenues of economy if you can certainly make an effort towards economies, apart from the other questions. But you are not able to effect this economy. If you are not able to effect this economy, the people may well ask: "We are paying

higher and higher taxes, but for what?" They will ask it before time. When the people ask that question, I think that the question would be justified, and the Government will have really no reply to this question.

Last of all comes the question of sayings and direct taxation on the lower slabs. It is really atrocious. I have already said enough about the budget: that it is a budget of privations; it is a budget which is a slaughter of the rupee. But there is one difficulty. The Finance Minister has always got the means at Nasik to mint notes and put them in the market, and the budget is deficit. But the housewife cannot print notes. The housewife cannot have deficit financing to meet her budget. The difficulty is, at the level of Rs. 125 per month, with a family unit of four consumption units, Rs. 35 being calculated as the minimum requirement for food and the rest,—this this level— can the people save? As some hon. friend said, this is anti-inflationary; this is anti-inflationary with a vengeance. Certainly, if starvation is anti-inflationary then saving is anti-inflationary. It is not saving; it is starving. It is not a compulsory saving scheme but it is a compulsory starving scheme. We do not want planning and development on a compulsory starving scheme. Certainly not. What is equitable about it? In the city, a man earning about Rs. 125 a month is exempted from saving. In the villages, a farmer, not even earning Rs. 50 a month, should be taxed! Is it for the purpose of saving? Is it possible? Therefore, I say let us not overtax the patriotism of the people. Let us not be over-lenient towards the lack of patriotism in the upper classes. Therefore, whole scheme, I say, is not equitable, as the Finance Minister has made out. My first quarrel with him is that it is not equitable; the second quarrel is, it ought to be more inequitable—inequitable in the sense that the higher-ups should be made to pay more heavily for all the 15 years of their earnings at the cost of the poor

public. That has not been done. I have given the figures.

The ultimate problem that I have posed, that is posed before the nation and the House, as posed before the Congress Working Committee,—or the ultimate question is—can you, with this financial policy, charge the pattern of economic development and achieve the aim which you want to achieve, namely, the raising of the income at the lowest level? I say, no. Therefore, I say there is no half-way house to socialism. Socialism cannot be achieved by a tight-rope walking. It may be good in a circus but not elsewhere. The lion of vested interests is not the lion in the cage which can be made to play and dance to the whim of the Finance Minister. If I may be permitted to use that expression which was used in the House on another occasion, it is a man-eating lion at large. If the Government is not able to control the man-eating lion at large, the man-eating lion will control the Government and eat it up. There can be no two roads to socialism.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** No luck to you for that.

**Shri Daji:** I do not want it. I leave it to you. I do not care at all who brings it into being. As long as it is brought into being, as long as the Congress resolutions are full filled, I do not mind. You do it but for that you will have to change your policies. But my difficulty is this. You yourself say that this policy has no bearing on the rate. Take the banks. You nationalise the banks, Burma can do it; Egypt can do it; you cannot do it; why? Apart from money, nationalisation of banks is one method by which the private industrialists, the private capital, the monopolists—all these evil-doings—could be controlled and thereby you control the private sector completely. But you do not want to do it. I have got enough material which I will bring on some other occasion to show how private banks advance money. For example, one particular bank has

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given overdraft to the Times of India and Indian Express, because two owners are directors in the bank. Another bank has given overdraft to other companies. I have figures with me, but I shall not quote them for the present. Therefore, you do not want to take any radical step. You want to ride two horses, the horse of the common man and the horse of the monied people. But the roads are in the opposite direction. You have to choose; you will have to jump on one horse or the other. If you jump between the two horses, certainly you will come to the ground. That is my grievance against the budget. That is my doubt in regard to the budget. That is my criticism against the budget. You should reorientate the entire policy,—to the genuine policy of socialism, and to a genuine stopping of the private sector. The time has come when we say—rather it has been suggested only and not said—that we should put a ceiling of Rs. 3,000 on all incomes—the earning should not be more than Rs. 3,000 a month—it may be tax-free—as long as 60 per cent of the people do not get even Rs. 25 per month as their income.

**Shri Khadilkar** (Khed): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the Finance Minister deserves congratulations on this occasion because with an unprecedented sweep as well as boldness he has risen to the occasion to mobilise the national resources to meet the Chinese challenge. But, at the outset, we will have to examine the nature of this challenge because the present budget is defence-orientated and some hon. Members of this House, particularly, from the Opposition side, have sometimes shown a pathological obsession to one aspect of the defence problem, that is, the military aspect. I would like to point out on this occasion not from the class point of view as the hon. friend who preceded me said—what should be done or what policy should be followed—but from the national point of view, nor even

in a farcical manner would I like to take up the challenge, namely, on the plane of population, as one hon. Member did. Because this is not an occasion when we should look at things from this rather frivolous point of view.

What is the nature of this challenge? To my mind, no doubt, they have challenged our national integrity; but much more, they have challenged our socio-economic system. What they have done and we have done during this period needs to be examined. How far have they advanced in the type of system they are building up and whether our socio-economic system would stand any comparison and stand against the onslaught, against the totalitarian system that has been built up by our neighbour, has to be seen. From this point of view, I would like to examine the nature of the challenge, or the economic nature of the challenge. That should be examined first on this occasion.

When we come to the economic challenge, we will have to compare how far they have made advance during the last ten years. That is since 1949 or so. I admit that theirs is a totalitarian system. Let us make some allowance for that. We are a democratic system. I admit that some figures might be exaggerated a little. Let us make some allowance or adjustments. But even then, they have achieved certain things which we must keep before us. What have they achieved? According to my understanding, from whatever information is available, in 1952, we were ahead in steel production and many other things, and China had a steel production of 1.3 million tons. But in one decade, let us remember—by 1960 China has reached a production of 18.4 million tons, which is more than three times of our steel production. It occupies the sixth place in the world steel output, and the second place in coal output. These figures are very important from the military point of

view and from the point of view of building up economy. Then, we come to the growth of national income. Chinese claim that their national income has been raised by three and a half times during the decade, while we could not even double it. This is our progress. Their national income has further increased during the last three years. The rate of their investment, because sometimes figures are view of growth. We should realise that their national investment has exceeded ten times and it has reached a stupendous figure for the present I am making all the allowances for the totalitarian system; I am making all the adjustments, because sometimes figures are exaggerated. But these are the figures after close study and observation by British economists, who are very conservative type of people, who have great regard for scientific truth and objective appraisal of the situation. Therefore, we must view the challenge from this angle.

What is the picture in India during this period? This war is not going to be fought on the frontiers of the Himalayas; it will be fought in every household, in every industry and on all economic fronts, whether it is agriculture or industry or whether it is the armament industry that we are thinking of building up. From that angle we have to look at it.

The question is to what extent we have increased the national income. I am not one with the hon. friend who was talking about distribution of income. That is an important aspect no doubt, because it shows the health of a society. But what is more important is, how far we have grown, what is the pace of growth of economy in this country. Coming to the picture of India, I will not go into lengthy quotation of figures. National income estimates for the year 1962 went up by just 2.4 per cent whereas in the first Plan period, it went up by 4 per cent. The Chinese are maintaining double the rate of ours. This is really a challenge to our economic system.

We must understand that we are discussing the budget with a big rise—more than double—in our defence expenditure. With this background we have to examine the budget proposals. I must pay my compliments to the Finance Minister, because he has made some effort within the given framework towards progress. Firstly, he has reduced the dependence on indirect taxation by some degree this year, because the proportion of direct taxation and indirect taxation in this budget comes to 40 per cent. and 60 per cent. This is a definite advance. Another good thing which he has done and for which he deserves all credit is, he has put a ceiling on the salaries and perquisites of certain officers. It is an advance, because he has put a ceiling of Rs. 5000 on salaries and perquisites. These are no doubt good in a way.

Leaving aside these two good aspects of this budget, let us come to the other aspects and see whether we have geared up our economy to face this socio-economic challenge posed by China. That is the main question. The Finance Minister has said that the budget is an instrument of economic policy, and the imbalances and drawbacks in society are supposed to be corrected by using this weapon. He has used it in some measure, but let us see how far it meets the situation. People are taken in immediately when there is a question of super profits tax. There is a controversy about it and I am not sure whether this method of taxing the corporate sector is good and whether it will help our growth. That is a different aspect. I say that the health of the economy has got to be examined, because it is not the military command but the economic command, headed by the Finance Minister, that will have to face the challenge ultimately. The military apparatus in a modern State entirely depends, in the final analysis, on the economic strength of the nation.

I would like to quote Gandhiji in this connection. Some agriculturists in

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a village faced with the problem of wild beasts ravaging their fields approached Gandhiji. They explained their difficulties and were contemplating to put a wall or fence round the village. Gandhiji in his wisdom told them: It is all right you think of building up a wall to protect your crops from wild beasts. But you should not ignore the cost of it. You should raise your crops in such a manner that you would be able to spare enough to take this protective measure. Otherwise, there is every fear that while constructing a wall to protect the fields, you would go into the clutches of an unscrupulous money-lender. This advice given by Gandhiji to the villagers to protect their crops has a direct bearing on our defence policy and defence expenditure, because in the final analysis, the question is whether with all our patriotism the defence apparatus that we are trying to raise can be sustained by our economy. In the modern world, no State is in a position to ignore the economic strength or reality and say that it can stand and face any enemy. You have got to think of it from this angle. From this aspect, we have to see how far the health of the economy is invigorated, what are the weaknesses, etc. We have to take stock of the situation, because the budget debate is an occasion when we get an opportunity to look at every aspect.

It is not a question whether a few had grown very rich. That imbalance in our society is now coming to light. For instance, let us take the Mahalanobis report. The report has not yet been published, but I have seen the draft report and many hon. Members have referred to it. From the draft report, you find that 5 per cent of the people are on the fringe or less than the fringe of national average and 1 in a thousand is rolling in affluence. Is this a healthy state of affairs? Is it consistent with our national objective of socialism? Is it consistent with the Gandhian tradition which we

claim to follow? This is a phenomenon which we must sit up and consider. This is bound to make one sit up, because this is not a healthy thing. As you know, in a progressive and developing economy, imbalances are bound to grow. It is not the fault of the Finance Minister; it is the whole Government machinery which has to correct it in a proper way.

**Dr. M. S. Aney:** The people also must help.

**Shri Khadilkar:** Yes; the people must help. This time people as a whole are prepared to cooperate. During the last war, when Churchill was heading the British Government, there was the criticism that his predecessor in office had failed and that had not prepared well. His reply was: Let us declare to the world here and now as a nation that every man will stand up and take the challenge. What happened? After the war, even if Churchill was defeated, the society that came victorious out of the war was in a better position. The industrial worker had a better income and a better social security. That was the objective which he achieved. Therefore, he could win victory. He strengthened the economy while fighting war taking all the measures. I am sure whatever measures the Finance Minister takes during this emergency will be supported by the people from quarters.

**Shri P. R. Patel (Patan):** Churchill followed the Chinese economic policy.

**Shri Khadilkar:** Not in the least. If you read the war memoirs, even now you will feel inspired, because he was a tower of strength to a nation which was faced with an enemy like Hitler with all his mighty armaments.

Therefore, the question of indirect taxation and direct taxation and the question of price structure are very important and these matters must be thoroughly examined. So far as the

indirect taxes are concerned, people must bear some burden; there is no doubt about that. There the question—I will not go into details—of taxing kerosene comes. I am sure, when all the sections of the House appeal to him for reconsideration, he will do it. Perhaps, the Minister of Mines and Fuel was worried about it, and he said that by taxing this commodity he would limit the consumption. Today, oil has become a common man's fuel. It is as necessary as water. Therefore, unless you make some alternative provision for cheap fuel, it should not be insisted upon so far as kerosene and such other articles of common man's consumption are concerned—vegetable products, soap, cigarettes and other things are there—and some alternative source of revenue should be found out for indirect taxation.

So far as direct taxation is concerned, I do not think that all the praise that is given for introducing the super profits tax is justified, for one reason, because we will have to study the corporate structure. Very recently a study was published by the Company Law Administration, and from that study it is very clear that 156 companies with a paid-up capital of more than one crore of rupees constitute 50 per cent of the paid-up capital of the companies registered under the Companies Act. Of course, this includes some public sector companies also. I do admit it. It goes on to show the concentration of capital in a few hands and that the medium type entrepreneur is not getting enough room to advance. This is a big phenomenon. The entrepreneurship has assumed a monopolistic character. Unless there are the Kirloskars, the Lalbhais, the Birlas and the Tatas, no new concern can be floated because unless they the initiative now new concern can come up. I know of the medium type entrepreneurs from Mysore, Madras and other southern States. Because of the fact that this entrepreneurship is being handled by a few monopolies, the small entrepreneur class that is

coming up has no chance in this economy. You must consider this aspect and tax the corporate sector from this angle. I would, therefore, plead one thing. He wants money. Why not increase the corporation tax—as it is, it is 50 per cent—up to 55 per cent. This is an alternative suggestion. I am not saying leave them free. Definitely, tax the profits, but do not tax the profits, in such a manner, even if they are in private hands, that if they can further invest them they are not able to do so. I do not share the misgivings of my friend here on my left. In a mixed economy both the private and the public sector have got to function as one composite sector, as one national sector, in an emergency like the present one. I do not look at it from a positively class angle. We must approach it from a national angle. If the cake we are making is bigger we can share it more equitably, and it must be shared. Today, when we are facing China, it is a question of making the cake bigger.

Sir, one more point and I have finished. While concluding the debate on the President's Address, our Prime Minister said that we must give up old grooves of thought. It applies to us as well as to the Government. The time has come when old ideas about morality, about social behaviour, have got to be changed. From this angle, I would appeal to the Finance Minister, Shri Morarjibhai, because in this country he alone, ultimately, has stood firm as a rock so far as prohibition is concerned, to reconsider his policy on prohibition. I am not convinced about it. It has become a social evil. It has a corroding influence in the villages. It has increased crime and corruption. Therefore, I would appeal to him, once again, to reconsider the whole policy of prohibition. It would add to the revenue. At the same time, a new look has got to be given to the rising industrial society. Old moral conceptions will have to be brushed aside in this respect, and that is why I make this appeal to him.

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One more word, and I have done. In his personal life, I know, he is most austere. Why should he not make that austerity conspicuous so far as the Government is concerned, cutting all the luxuries, cutting all the unnecessary expenses and making.....

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** He is trying his best.

**Shri Khadilkar:** . . . it is sort of streamlined thing, and saying to the people that we along with the people are prepared to stand up and take up this economic challenge facing our socio-economic system on a democratic basis, democratic method of challenging a totalitarian system of China. If we fail to do that, our jawans are not going to win this battle; this battle may be won in the fields and factories of India.

**Shrimati Savitri Nigam (Banda):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, in spite of the fact that this budget is a very bold and tough one and the new tax proposals are quite heavy, I join all those who have supported them wholeheartedly. Sir, I also support the super profits tax. In fact, I was shocked to hear from one of the hon. Members that the super profits tax proposal will crush the profit motives and therefore the super profits tax should not be imposed. If this is the formula to crush profit motives, I would request the Finance Minister to impose more and more super profits tax so that we may be able to fulfil our long cherished dream of establishing a socialist pattern of society.

Sir, it is high time when this profit motive must be replaced by the service motive. When we want to build up a strong defence force, we will have to make sacrifices. Once we have accepted the strategy of defence with development, we will have to pay for it and we must do it happily.

But my only complaint against the new tax proposals is that these are very complicated. Sir, the life is already complicated and difficult. So I would request the hon. Finance Minister not to make it more perplexing by these complicated tax measures. For example, if the compulsory savings scheme could be amalgamated with the land revenue in the rural areas, the poor uneducated villagers will not find it so difficult in paying it along with the revenues.

Sir, in spite of the various economic drives and measures no significant achievement has been made so far. A sort of compulsion should be brought to bear on the various departments to bring at least 15 per cent economy in their respective bodies. The army of advisers, stenographers, clerks and peons should also be reduced and the officers should learn to work with their own hands.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Where should they go?

**Shrimati Savitri Nigam:** They could be absorbed in other offices which are being opened every day.

Then, large sums of money are budgeted for various schemes and they are kept unused and unspent. It is very deplorable. A lot of money which is kept idle could be used for some other productive schemes. For example, take the case of the Education Ministry. Every year large sums of money are budgeted for education of the handicapped, but they have never been utilised fully. In the last six years, in spite of the army of advisers, it is unfortunate that very slow progress has been made in this direction of education, care and rehabilitation of the handicapped people. I would like to know whether the hon. Minister has ever thought of this dead weight on the society and the economy. No census has ever been taken. According to a sample survey the approximate number of handicapped

people is 1½ crores. These people, as long as they are not educated and rehabilitated, will remain unproductive and they will always remain a sort of burden on the society. They will remain a liability on the society. But the moment they are educated and they are rehabilitated, these people will become an asset to the society. I would, therefore, request the hon. Finance Minister to persuade the Education Ministry to accelerate the pace of progress of education of the handicapped.

Lack of co-ordination is a disease which is not plaguing only the States but also the Central Government, and steps should be taken to have better co-ordination between the various Ministries. In case proper co-ordination is brought about, I am sure many departments which are doing the same type of work will have to be amalgamated. Take the case of camps. Various ministries are giving huge grants for organising training camps in respect of panchayats, prohibition, family planning, plan publicity and village level work. Why should not some co-ordination be brought about. If all the training programmes could be co-ordinated properly, I am sure, in half of the money that is spent now a much larger number of people could be given this training. The hon. Finance Minister knows the standard of honesty in our country. A number of techniques are adopted by the big business houses in order to evade taxes, as is well known to all of us. One prevalent method is to divide the business assets of the company between the members of the family, so much so that even when the child is in his mother's arms he becomes a partner. Some other pretexts are also used for evading tax. Therefore, instead of taxing the individual income if the entire family income is taken into account for the purpose of calculating income-tax, crores of rupees could be realised from the big business houses and a lot of money could be had for defence purposes.

Then, administrative delays should be stopped. These delays are hampering our progress. Recently, the Home Ministry has allotted a big sum to the Bharat Sevak Samaj to start a training centre. You will be surprised to know that the grant has been sanctioned only very recently. How can we spend all the money which was meant to be spent over the course of one year within one and a half months? This type of delays must be stopped.

It is unfortunate that many people are sometimes quite fond of discussing things about which they are quite ignorant. The same is the case of prohibition. People who have never tried to study the problem of total prohibition have given such fantastic arguments to support their theory why prohibition should be scrapped. In my opinion, total prohibition is very sound not only economically and socially but ethically also. It is the propaganda engineered, supported and financed by the liquor industry that bottlegging has increased because of the introduction of prohibition and, therefore, there is loss of revenue to the State. According to one of the most eminent economists of India, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, those who say that there is loss of revenue because of prohibition do not know the ABCD of economics, I entirely agree with him. It is obvious that while Rs. 10 crores or 15 crores are realised in the form of revenue from liquor, atleast Rs. 60 crores go out of the pocket of the poor people whose *per capita* income is not more than Rs. 245. In addition to that, there would be more accidents, more crimes, more deformed babies, murders and diseases. If our State is a welfare State, we must keep all these factors in mind when we talk about prohibition. I would request the hon. Finance Minister to impress it on the Home Ministry that they should take proper care to implement the recommendations of the Prohibition Council. They must also see that educational propaganda is started simul-

[Shrimati Savitri Nigam]

taneously and vigorously in all the States.

I was surprised by the remark which has been made by one hon. Member of the opposition regarding the community development programme. It is only the arm chair politicians and feudalists who are frightened by the socio-economic awakening and enlightenment which is being created by the community development activities in the villages, it is only such people who can say that the money spent on this Ministry is going to the gutter. I support the good work which is being done by the Community Development Ministry in the villages to create a new revolution in the villages.

I need not emphasize the importance of external publicity, specially in these days of national emergency. So many hon. Members have very rightly pointed out that our external publicity is very weak to counteract the strong false propaganda that our enemies are making. Considering the type of information officers that external publicity unit has got, I should say that its publicity is not so bad as it ought to be. Many of these officers who have been absorbed in external publicity are those who have been turned out by the Information Ministry because they could not face the UPSC. So, you cannot pluck sweet mangoes by sowing Karela or bittergourd. I would like to draw attention to the great short-coming of external publicity even at this late stage. I feel that something should be done immediately to overhaul the department from top to bottom. If necessary, the external publicity unit may be amalgamated with the internal publicity unit because it is a fact that the internal publicity unit has got better qualified people. Those people could be posted in the external publicity unit if both are amalgamated.

Many people are really sore the way the selection of news readers is made by the Information and Broadcasting

Ministry. In spite of the fact that this post is very highly paid the listeners are forced to hear some horrible voices. It is a very common saying that the only important qualification for this job is that one should be either the wife, daughter, sister, son or nephew of some high officials. This state of affairs should be corrected.

Lastly, coming to kerosene oil, I would like to add my feeble voice. It is not proper to tax kerosene oil which is used by the villagers for removing darkness. In spite of taxing kerosene oil, it is used wastefully in the urban areas. That can be stopped by stopping the production of kerosene stoves and ovens which are growing very fast. Instead of kerosene choolas, cheap gas should be provided as alternative fuel in the urban areas. In that case, it will not involve any foreign exchange and it will also save the poor villagers from this new tax on kerosene oil. So, I would request the hon. Minister to bring in an amendment to the Finance Bill in order to withdraw the tax on kerosene oil.

**Shri J. B. S. Bist** (Almora): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, it would be trite for me to say that this budget imposes a heavy burden on the people. It would be absurd to deny that a heavy burden was not expected. For the last fifteen years this country and the people had a fairly easy life. There was no open clash with the neighbours of the magnitude we have had to face last year. In world affairs India's prestige stood high. All this created a feeling of complacency amongst the people and the Government. The Chinese invasion opened our eyes to the facts our present day life. I look at this heavy taxation as an answer to the Chinese as a nation's resolve to defend itself with blood, sweat and tears. This is only the first dose. We may have to prepare ourselves for greater sacrifices if we are to be successful.

Although on grounds of necessity there can be no objection to Govern-

ment measures to raise more revenues, I do certainly feel that the biggest impact of the new taxation proposals will be felt by fixed income groups. It is the salaried employees who will have to go through the wringer. Since their tax deductions are at the source, their share of the burden can be realised without difficulty. It is the other classes, particularly those engaged in trade and business from whom realisation of taxes present difficulties, and they are aware of all the tricks of duping the tax authorities. There is no denying the fact that tax evasion on a wide scale is prevalent and rampant in the country. It is doubtful if the Government will be in a position to realise from these classes the taxes which are due from them.

There is also a murmuring among the people that the new incidence of taxes on the rich is not so high as it is in the case of the people of the poorer and low-income groups. An all-round increase in indirect taxation will certainly impose a great strain on the poorer and the middle classes. The people are in a mood, however, to bear this burden with the assurance that the monies that they are asked to part with are properly utilised.

If along with these new taxation proposals the hon. Finance Minister had come forward with proposals effecting drastic economies in administration, there would have been a greater appreciation of the Budget. There is hardly any head of expenditure where there has been any reduction. The expenditure on administrative services has risen from Rs. 5,919 lakhs in 1961-62 to Rs. 8,828 lakhs in 1963-64. There is hardly any governmental activity where austerity is being practised. If you talk or listen to the people in buses, trains or else where, you will find that the general trend of the conversation is somewhat like this: The officers and the Ministers are having good times at the expense of public money.

It is no use talking of austerity, tightening of belts and sacrifices to the people without giving them visible evidence that the Government is practising austerity. I am reminded of a famous Churchillian phrase of wartime vintage that we should not only dress shabbily but feel proud about it. How many of our top people in this country have those sentiments? Have we cut down ostentation from our official life? Those of us who visited New Delhi during the last war found a different atmosphere. It had an atmosphere of preparedness. There was an air of purpose among the officials. Do we find a similar attitude and atmosphere today? Except for the short period when the Chinese hordes were advancing into the country when one found an atmosphere of grim determination, we and the Government seem to be gradually reverting to a take-it-easy attitude.

As for the people, the people are prepared to sacrifice, but the people will not forgive waste, lethargy, inefficiency and hesitancy. While I am on the subject, I would like to remind the House of a speech made recently in the UP Assembly by Shri Narendra Singh Bist; therein he had complained that in Uttarakhand, District Pithoragarh, adjoining Indo-Tibetan border, in spite of a large allocation little work has been done. Shri Bist comes from Pithoragarh and ought to know what is happening. If such is the condition in the border tract and for which large sums are and have been provided by the Centre, one can only imagine what may be happening elsewhere. From our personal experience we find that the further away you are from the seat of authority the more you are forgotten.

Pithoragarh is also a part of my constituency. Since this is a period when such discussions, I believe, will not result in healthy results, I think, I will only say that the Public Works Department needs pulling up. Shri Jain, President of our UP Congress has been in those areas and he passed

(Shri J. B. S. Bist)

at least on the roads. He has a good idea as to what is happening there, at least about the PWD.

Again, I find it difficult and have to curb myself in making this statement, but recently when the military went there, they did not have a very fine time. They were in a hurry and were being shifted from one place to another where means of transport were very hard to get. I am sure, under that head Government must have spent an enormous amount. Had the Public Works Department done its duty and had the development work gone according to schedule, except being only on paper, such difficulties would have been avoided. I need say no further.

The formation of Uttarakhand has created some difficulties and my suggestion is that Almora District which adjoins Pithoragarh District be also included in Uttarakhand. Pithoragarh District at first formed only a tehsil of Almora District.

Referring to China, much has been said about it, but the recent developments, China's attitude towards the Colombo proposals, its recent relations with Pakistan and its negotiations indicate clearly that China can have no friendly feelings for India. I was one of those who believed because of many statements made here that China was actually friendly but I personally could never reconcile myself with the idea that China was really friendly to India. At last things have shown that my views were right. I have been across the Tibet border. I have seen the Chinese. I always felt that there would be trouble between India and China. In 1958 or 1959 I had pointed out in this very House that across the Almora border—at that time Uttarakhand being non-existent—beyond Garbyang already roads had come up, and even arrangements for jet planes were being made by the Chinese and that we should not

me complacent. There is a lull at present, but who knows this may be a lull before a storm.

I agree with the hon. Prime Minister when he says that we should not be complacent. We should not slacken our efforts in any direction. Defence, of course, we have to push up, but we have to push up in other directions also and special care has to be given to the border areas. One of my friends remarked—and his remark is correct—about the war being fought in the fields of India. But this border area is the gateway to India and it is in the interest of the whole nation to see that that area is well looked after by Government.

14 hrs.

I may submit that in the areas of Bhothe and Darma in Pithoragarh district in Uttarakhand division, people who traded with Tibet, especially the Bhotias, have now lost their trading with Tibet. They have lost their main source of livelihood. They should be looked after. The Government should attempt to provide them with an alternative source of livelihood.

In conclusion, I may state, I do understand the difficulty of the Finance Minister. I would not be very happy in his shoes at present. What I have suggested is that he may examine the things and be able to make a greater saving and, if possible, those hard cases of taxation which have been brought before the House may be reconsidered by him.

श्री बाढ़े : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब २८ फरवरी को श्री मोरारजी देसाई ने यहां बजट पेश किया तो यह जाहिर किया था कि उन्होंने उस में २७५.५० करोड़ ६० का भार डालने का निश्चय किया है। उन्होंने खुद कहा है कि यह एक अग्रभूतपूर्व कर भार है। यह तो कर बाढ़ थी। जिस तरह से बाढ़ आ

जाती है, नर्मदा में बाढ़ आती है, दूसरी नदियों में बाढ़ आती है उसी तरह से करों की बाढ़ आ गई है सामान्य जनता के लिये। अगर वास्तव में देखा जाय तो हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी क्या करें ? इस वक्त डिफेंस का सवाल हमारे सामने है। चाइना का आक्रमण हो गया है। यह भी जाहिर हुआ है कि उस वक्त हमारी तैयारी नहीं थी। ऐसे वक्त में जितने भी कर लयें, जितने भी पैसों की जरूरत हो, उतने कर लगने ही चाहिये। मैं समझता हूँ कि माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने डिफेंस के लिये जो ८०० करोड़ से ऊपर मांग है उस को देने के लिए जनता सहर्ष तैयार है। लेकिन उस के साथ साथ यह देखने की बात है कि डिफेंस के साथ साथ डिवेलपमेंट को भी जोड़ा गया है। इस को डिफेंस डिवेलपमेंट बजट कहा जाता है। लेकिन डिवेलपमेंट और डिफेंस के साथ साथ दूसरे मंत्री भी कुछ योजना करते हैं और कहते हैं कि हम को पैसा चाहिये। डिफेंस के मिनिस्टर भी कहते हैं कि पैसा चाहिये। ऐसी हालत में वित्त मंत्री का यह कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि वे कहीं से पैसा लायें। इसलिये वित्त मंत्री जी ने दोनों तरफ देखा। डाइरेक्ट और इन्डाइरेक्ट दोनों टैक्सज लगा कर उन्होंने हमें यह बतलाया कहां से पैसा आयेगा। उसी के अनुसार उन्होंने अपना बजट बनाया है। इस बजट के लिये किसी ने कहा है कि यह डिफेंस बजट है, किसी ने कहा यह किलिंग बजट है, किसी ने कहा यह स्टीम रोलर बजट है, राजा जी ने कहा यह मैडमैन्स बजट है। लेकिन मैं कहता कि There is a method in madness. When there is method in madness, it is an intellectual budget.

तो ख्याल है कि यह विकटरी बजट है, और होना चाहिये, और चाइना के ऊपर विकटरी पाने के लिये ही हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने कहा कि इस वक्त डिफेंस को बढ़ाना हमारा उद्देश्य है। ऐसा उन्होंने हिन्दी के अपने भाषण में कहा हुआ है। जब चाइना का आक्रमण हुआ तब हम ने १४ नवम्बर को ज्ञेज लिया

और हमारा कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि चाहे कुछ हो हमें देश के वास्ते सैक्रिफाइस करनी चाहिये। उस के वास्ते हम तैयार हैं, जनता भी तैयार है।

लेकिन साथ ही साथ हम को देखना चाहिये कि जो करों का भार आ पड़ा है उसका कारण यह है कि पहले इमर्जेंसी रिस्क इंध्यों-रेंस का रट कम किया गया, उस के बाद आप सेल्स टैक्स १ से २ करने वाले हैं। इस के लिये आप भी बिल लाने वाले हैं। रेलव मंत्री जी ने कर बढ़ा कर १६ करोड़ ६० कर दिया, और स्टेट्स में भी कर बढे हैं। इस के लिये मेरा कहना यह है कि जिस प्रकार का कोआर्डिनेशन होना चाहिये कि कितना कर जनता पर पड़ा जाता है जहां पर हमारे माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने यह नहीं किया है वहां पर गड़बड़ी होती है।

मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज आप के सामने एक ही खतरा है। आप को देखना चाहिये कि कम्युनिस्ट लोग क्या कहते हैं। वे यहां पर क्या कहते हैं और बाहर क्या कहते हैं। यहां पर कम्युनिस्ट लोग गरीबों के लिये आवाज उठाते हैं और कहते हैं कि गरीब मारे जाते हैं। बाहर कहते हैं कि कैपिटलिस्टों से और ले लिया जाय। आप को यह समझना चाहिये कि इस वक्त आप ने जो गरीबों पर टैक्स लगाया है उस का वे कैपिटल बनाना चाहते हैं और शासन को बदनाम करना चाहते हैं। कम्युनिस्ट चाइना का जो उद्देश्य है उस की पूर्ति करने के लिये वे लोग इस बात का फायदा उठावेंगे। इसलिये इस तरह ध्यान देने की जरूरत है कि आज दरअसल गरीब लोगों पर कौन से ऐसे टैक्स लग रहे हैं जिन से गरीब जनता शासन को कोसिगी। वित्त मंत्री जी को टैक्स लगते वक्त अपने डिस्क्लेशन से काम लेना चाहिये।

हम ने देखा है कि पहले तो प्राइस लाइन बढ़ी और माननीय डेबर जी ने कहा कि प्राइस लाइन कम करनी चाहिये। यदि प्राइस लाइन ऊंची हो जाती है तो गरीबों का पर्चेंजिग

[श्री बड़े]

पावर कम हो जाती है, इन्वेस्टमेंट की ताकत कम हो जाती है, अगर इन्वेस्टमेंट कम हो जाता है तो वस्तुओं की कीमत बढ़ेगी। वस्तुओं की कीमत बढ़ने के साथ साथ मैंने देखा है कि उस का प्रभाव शहरों में पड़ता है तो गांवों में जो प्रोड्यूसर लोग हैं, जो कि उत्पादन करते हैं, उन के ऊपर भी उस का प्रभाव पड़ता है। उत्पादन होता तो है लेकिन प्राइस लाइन वढ जाती है। उस के लिये आवाज उठाई जाती है कि काश्तकारों को कम कीमत मिलती है। इस लिये आप को देखना चाहिये कि ऐसे कौन से टैक्सेज हैं जिन से प्राइस लाइन बढ़ेगी, जो इन्वेस्टमेंट कम करेंगे। जब हाउस में आप के सामने आवाज उठती है कि इस से प्राइस लाइन बढ़ेगी, मंहगाई बढ़ेगी, गरीब जनता पर वजन बढ़ेगा और मनुफैक्चरिंग कम हो जायेगी। इस की तरफ आप का ध्यान जाना चाहिये। इस दृष्टिकोण से आप अपने बजट प्रपोजल्स को रिवाइज करे। आप को ऐसा करना ही चाहिये। यहां पर कोई प्रेशर का सवाल नहीं है। आप और हम दोनों इस देश को डिफ्लेडस करने के लिये निकले हैं, हम डिफेन्स के लिये तैयार हैं। आज जितने भी टैक्सेज चाहिये जनता देने के लिये तैयार है, लेकिन साधन को हमें देखना चाहिये। कौन सा पैसा ऐसा है जिस को हम कम कर सकते हैं। जहां पर कमी हो सके वहां कमी करनी चाहिये, यह मेरा सुझाव है।

और जो दो टैक्सेज हैं उन के ऊपर भी यहां काफी चर्चा हुई है। एक तो कम्पल्सरी सेविंग स्कीम और दूसरे सुपर प्राफिट्स टैक्स। इन पर विचार करना बहुत जरूरी है। कम्पल्सरी सेविंग स्कीम के बारे में मेरा यह कहना है कि आप ने काश्तकारों के ऊपर जो टैक्स लगाया है उस के अनुसार उन की जो लैड रेवेन्यू होगी उस का ५० प्रतिशत उसे बचाना चाहिये। अगर वह ऐसा नहीं करेगा तो आप ने उस के बारे में रक्खा है कि :

"It will be realised as if it is a land revenue."

यानी उस के बैल, उस के हल, उस की जमीन को नीलाम कर के उसे रियलाइज किया जा सकेगा। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह सुझाव देना चाहता हूं कि इस पर आप सोचिये कि यदि कोई अनइकानमिक होल्डिंग है, जिस से इतना उत्पादन नहीं आता है कि किसान का पोषण हो सके, तो उस पर कम्पल्सरी डिपाजिट स्कीम न लागू हो। अगर यह कर दिया जाय तो यह प्राविजन काफी सफलीभूत हो सकेगा। हमारे यहां अनइकानमिक होल्डिंग वह समझी जाती है जो बीस एकड़ से कम की है। इस लिये उन पर कम्पल्सरी डिपाजिट स्कीम नहीं लागू होनी चाहिये। दूसरे कम्पल्सरी डिपाजिट स्कीम में जो आदमी पैसा जमा करता है उस के लिये उसे कैश करने का प्राविजन भी होना चाहिये। यह बिल आफ एक्स्चेन्ज की तरह पर ट्रांसफरेबल होना चाहिये। मान लीजिये किसी के पास डिपाजिट है और दूसरे भी आदमी को वह ट्रांसफर करना चाहता है तो करेन्सी नोट की तरह से यह भी ट्रांसफरेबल एक्सचेन्जेबल होना चाहिये। अगर आप इस तरह से करेंगे तो आप की यह कम्पल्सरी डिपाजिट स्कीम कामयाब होगी, नहीं तो जैसा कहा जाता है काश्तकार के बारे में :

"They are born in debts, they live in debts and they die in debts."

वह इन्हेरिटेंस में ही डेट्स लेता है। मैंने देखा है कि अगर कोई किसान १०० रु० कर्ज लेता है तो उस को आखीर में डेढ़ या दो सौ रुपया साहूकार को देना होता है, काश्तकार का पूरा परिवार धीरे धीरे कर्ज से दब जाता है। ऐसी सूरत में वह कम्पल्सरी सेविंग स्कीम के लिये पैसा कहां से देगे। आप को इस पर विचार करना चाहिये।

दूसरी मेरी मांग यह है कि जो लो इनकम ग्रुप वाले लोग हैं, जैसे कि ३,००० रु० से

५,००० रु० तक के लोग हैं, उन पर आप ने जो सरचार्ज लगाया है उस पर आप को विचार करना चाहिये। कम्पल्सरी डिपोजिट्स स्कीम उन लोगों के लिये नहीं होनी चाहिये क्योंकि इस से जनता में काफी असंतोष है।

दूसरी बात आप को यह सोचना चाहिये कि आप जो सुपर प्राफिट्स टैक्स लगाने जा रहे हैं उस के बारे में आप को सोचना चाहिये कि इस से इन्वेस्टमेंट आयेगा या नहीं। अगर आप सुपर प्राफिट्स टैक्स लगाते हैं तो डिविडेन्ड में कम मिलेंगे, ज्यादा शेयर वे नहीं लेंगे और जब ज्यादा लोग शेयर नहीं लेंगे तो कैपिटल नहीं आयेगा। कैपिटल ज्यादा न आने से इंडस्ट्रीज नहीं बढ़ेंगी। आज इस के काफी खिलाफ लोगों ने आवाज उठाई है। किसी ने कहा है :

"It is a death nell to industries."

यहां से वहां तक पूरे देश की जनता इस के वास्ते आवाज उठा रही है। इस के लिये आप को डिस्क्रिशन इस्तेमाल करना चाहिये। यह जो करों की बाढ़ आई है, फूलड्स जैसा आया हुआ है, उस में जो बड़े बड़े उद्योग लोग हैं, इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स जो पुराने हैं, आप उन के ऊपर टैक्स लगाइये। लेकिन जो छोटे लोग हैं, पांच पांच या सात सात साल से कम पुरानी इंडस्ट्रीज हैं, जो नई इंडस्ट्रीज हैं उन पर यह सुपर प्राफिट्स टैक्स नहीं लगाना चाहिये। जो पुरानी इंडस्ट्रीज हैं उन पर लगाइये। अगर आप ऐसा नहीं करेंगे तो मैन्युफैक्चर कम होगा। मैन्युफैक्चर नहीं होगा तो कैपिटल नहीं बढ सकेगा। छोटे लोग मैन्युफैक्चर नहीं बढ़ा सकेंगे। मैन्युफैक्चर वही लोग कर सकेंगे जिन के हाथों में कैपिटल है। इस वास्ते मैं चाहता हूँ कि महंगाई न बढ़े और साथ साथ कैपिटल आये और इंडस्ट्रीज बढ़ें यह आप को देखना चाहिये। तो इन्वेस्टमेंट और प्रकास्टिड्स इन दोनों को ध्यान में रख कर आप को अपना बजट प्रस्तुत करना चाहिये।

फिर आप कहेंगे कि हम पैसा कहां से लायेंगे। मैं कहता हूँ कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी और कांग्रेस पार्टी के जो सदस्य बजट पर बोले हैं उन्होंने आपके बजट को बहुत अच्छा कहा है, लेकिन बाद में उन्होंने "बट" और "इफ" लगाया है। जो उन्होंने कहा है वही हम भी कहना चाहते हैं। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने भी कहा है कि इनकम टैक्स ठीक तरह वसूल कीजिये। अगर आप ऐसा करेंगे तो आपको काफी पैसा मिल जायेगा।

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Sleepy days, as I said yesterday.

**Shri Bade:** He is always attentive.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Wait for my reply.

**Shri Bade:** He is 'like justice Mahmud. He said, I can say even the last word you have uttered, even though he closed his eyes on the Bench.

आगे देखा जाये तो For example, a sum of Rs. 587.81 lakhs has been shown as other expenditure.

इस में यदि दस पर सेंट कट हो जाये तो मैं कहता हूँ कि सात करोड़ रुपया आपको बच सकता है। अगर आप खादी और अम्बर चरख के फंड को खत्म कर दें तो आपको सात करोड़ बच सकता है। यह विभाग तो आप ने एकाग्रनाथालय की तरह खोल रखा है। जिनको काम नहीं मिलता उन अपने लोगों को आप इस में लगा देते हैं। ये जो फंड कांग्रेस के साथ चले आ रहे हैं इन को बदलते हुए समय के साथ आप ने नहीं बदला है। अगर आप इन चीजों को खत्म कर दें तो आप को बहुत बचत हो सकती है।

दूसरे आपने कैरोसीन पर टैक्स लगाया है। इस पर देश में काफी चर्चा है। आज देश में गांव गांव में, पहाड़ी क्षेत्र में, आदिवासी

[श्री बड़े]

क्षेत्रों में इसकी चर्चा है। अगर आप इस की एक बोटल पर दस नया पैसा बढ़ा देंगे तो लोग शासन को कोसेंगे।

इसी तरह से आप ने जो कर सोप पर लगाया है उस से भी देश में असन्तोष है।

आप ने जो स्ट्रा बोर्ड पर कर लगाया है इससे जो चीजें पैक की जाती हैं उनका दाम बढ़ जायेगा।

आप ने तम्बाकू पर भी कर लगाया है। तो आप को देखना चाहिए कि जो जनता की रोज की आवश्यकता की चीजें हैं उन पर कर न लगाया जाये, अगर आप इन चीजों पर कर लगायेंगे तो जनता कहेगी कि हम तो जगे हुए हैं चीन का मुकाबला करने के लिए लेकिन दिल्ली सो रही है। छुट्टियां कम करनी चाहियें। पिछली २६ जनवरी को शनिवार था और उस दिन छुट्टी थी। अगले दिन इतवार पड़ता था। तो महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने इतवार को वकिंग डे कर दिया क्योंकि शनिवार को छुट्टी थी इसलिए कि इस इमरजेंसी में हम को ज्यादा से ज्यादा काम करना चाहिए। लेकिन देहली में तो शनिवार,, रविव, सोमवार को भी छुट्टियां थी। अगर आप भी इन बातों का खयाल रखेंगे और जनता के सामने ऐसे उदाहरण रखेंगे तो जनता को विश्वास हो जायेगा कि सरकार जाग्रत है और जनता से जितनी बचत हो सकेगी जनता करेगी।

आपने यह तो कह दिया कि हम ने बचत करनी है लेकिन मैं ने आज सुना है कि ६ हजार लोग तो दिल्ली में प्लेटफार्म पर सोते हैं। २८ फरवरी को काफी सरकारी कर्म-चारियों को नोटिस दे दिया गया है, यह भी पता चला कि रेलवे में ८०० जगहों के लिए, जिनके लिए केवल मेट्रिक पास सड़कों की आवश्यकता थी, १७ हजार लोगों ने दरखास्तें भेजीं, और इनमें अधिकांश बी० ए० पास थे।

तो यह अनएम्प्लायमेंट की हासत है। इस ओर आप ध्यान नहीं देते। अगर आप इन समस्याओं को टैकिल करेंगे तो जनता में विश्वास पैदा हो जायेगा। और यह जो आप की कम्पलसरी सेविंग की स्कीम है। और जो आप ने कैरोसिन और सोप पर कर लगाया है इस में संशोधन कर देंगे तो जनता आप को यह बजट विकटरी बचट में बदल देगी। हम चाहते हैं कि हमारा यह बजट विकटरी बजट में बदल जाये। हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश में ही आवश्यकता के दास्त्र निर्माण हों और हम को बाहर से जहां तक हो कम शस्त्र मंगाने पड़ें और हम अपने ही प्रयत्नों से चाइना को खदेड़ दें। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि जो आप की कम्पलसरी डिपॉजिट की योजना है कि इसको अनइकानमिक होल्डिंग्स पर लागू न किया जाये। और अगर आप मेरा कहना नहीं मानेंगे तो ये कम्पनिस्ट गांव गांव में जाकर कहेंगे कि देखो कांग्रेस सरकार ने तुम्हारे कैरोसिन पर कर लगाया है, तुम्हारे तम्बाकू पर कर लगाया है और तुम्हारे ऊपर कम्पलसरी डिपॉजिट योजना लागू की है। इसका बुरा प्रभाव पड़ेगा।

आप ने कहा है कि जिस की लैंड रेवेन्यू एक रुपया होगी उस पर आपकी यह स्कीम लागू नहीं होगी। लेकिन मैं कहता हूं कि इतनी कम पूंजी किसी की नहीं होगी क्योंकि जिसकी इतनी छोटी होल्डिंग होगी वह फेगमेंटेशन आप होल्डिंग्स कानून के अन्तर्गत आ जायेगी। जिसके पास आठ दस एकड़ भूमि है उस पर भी यह स्कीम लागू नहीं होनी चाहिये।

इसी के साथ मेरा निवेदन है कि जो आपने तीन हजार से पांच हजार वालों पर १२५ रुपया इनकम टैक्स में बढ़ाया है वह भी नहीं बढ़ाया जाना चाहिए।

मेरा यह भी निवेदन है कि जिन उद्योगों को सगे अभी पांच सात साल हुए हैं उन पर सुपर प्रॉफिट्स टैक्स न लगाया जाये।

आप ने जो करों की घोषणा की है उसके कारण शेयर बाजार में बड़ी मंदी आ गयी है और शेयरों के दाम गिर रहे हैं। इस तरह कैपिटल फारमेशन नहीं हो सकेगा। इस तरह भी आप को ध्यान देना चाहिए।

मैं आशा करता हूँ कि जिन विषयों की ओर मैं ने सरकार का ध्यान खींचा है उन पर विचार किया जायेगा और डिफेन्स बजट विकटरी बजट हो जायेगा।

**श्री उद्दक (मंडला) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बजट का हृदय से समर्थन करना हूँ। आज हमारे देश के सामने चीन के हमले की समस्या सबसे बड़ी समस्या है और इस हमले के कारण हम को अपनी आजादी और अपनी इज्जत की रक्षा करना अनिवार्य है। इस काम को करने के लिए हम को अपने देश में कुशल सैन्य बल, उत्पादन और नैतिकता की बड़ी आवश्यकता है। जनता आज इस काम के लिए पूरी तरह तैयार है।

जितने टैक्स लगाये गये हैं उन में से दो टैक्सों के बारे में, मिट्टी के तेल पर टैक्स के बारे में और सुपर प्राफिट्स टैक्स के बारे में आलोचना की गयी है। मुझे टैक्सों के सम्बन्ध में कुछ नहीं कहना है क्योंकि मैं जानता था कि हम को अपनी आजादी और इज्जत की रक्षा करने के लिए अधिक टैक्स देने पड़ेंगे और हम पर काफी टैक्स लगेंगे। सैंटर टैक्स लगा रहा है और राज्य सरकारों भी काफी टैक्स लगा रही हैं। और इनके कारण जनता में बड़ा तहलका मच गया है। लेकिन अगर हम अपने अपने चुनाव क्षेत्रों में जा कर जनता को सारी परिस्थिति समझाएं तो यह विरोध समाप्त हो जायेगा। मैं अपने क्षेत्र की पचास साठ हजार जनता से सम्पर्क कर आया हूँ और उन को मैं ने लड़ाई के सम्बन्ध में और उसके कारण लगाये गये टैक्सों के बारे में बताया। तो मैं ने देखा कि हमारे पहाड़ी इलाके की आदिवासी जनता ने इस बात को समझ लिया। मैं सारे देश की जनता के बारे में तो

नहीं जानता, लेकिन मेरे क्षेत्र के लोगों ने सब कुछ जान लेने के बाद कहा कि जो भी टैक्स लगाया जाये हम उसको शक्ति भर अवश्य देंगे। मैं चाहता हूँ कि अन्त्य माननीय सदस्य भी इसी प्रकार अपने क्षेत्रों की जनता को बतलाएं।

मैं टैक्सों के विरोध के सम्बन्ध में कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता किन्तु मेरे विचार में तीन चार बातें अर्थ मंत्री ने जो बहुत अच्छी की हैं जिनका यहाँ विरोध होता है, लेकिन पहाड़ी क्षेत्र की जनता और गरीब जनता की ओर से मैं उन तीन चार बातों के सम्बन्ध में अपने विचार सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

खेतीबाड़ी का आधार मजबूत करना यह राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में भी है। अगर खेतीबाड़ी के आधार को मजबूत करना है तो धाराबन्दी को उठाना नहीं होगा। इसे कायम रखना होगा बल्कि मैं तो कहूँगा कि धाराबन्दी की नीति को और अधिक सख्ती से लागू करना होगा। इस के बारे में विस्तार से मैं बाद में कहूँगा।

जहाँ तक कम्पलसरी सेविंग्स की बात है मैं नहीं कह सकता कि यहाँ इस कम्पलसरी सेविंग्स का विरोध क्यों हो रहा है। अगर हमें सोशलिस्टिक पैट्रन और सोसाइटी का ढाँचा इस देश में कायम करना है, अगर हमें खेतीबाड़ी के आधार को मजबूत करना है और अगर हमें काश्तकारों को स्वयं अपने पैरों पर खड़े होने के लिए तैयार करना है तो यह कम्पलसरी सेविंग्स की स्कीम बहुत अच्छी रक्खी गई है। देश की सबसे गरीब जनता का प्रतिनिधित्व करने वाले की हैसियत से मैं बिलकुल शुद्ध अन्तःकरण से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने अनिवार्य बचत योजना रख कर उचित और अच्छी बात की है।

श्री भव सोने की चर्चा तो यहाँ नहीं होती है लेकिन हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने सोने के

[श्री उडके]

ऊपर जो एक कंट्रोल डाल दिया है उससे हमारे काश्तकारों को बड़ा लाभ होगा। सोना और शराब यह दोनों चीजें काश्तकारों के लिए बहुत ही हानिकारक सिद्ध हुई हैं।

कम्पलसरी सेविंग्स की बात मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ। मेरे अपने चनुव क्षेत्र के जिले से ७ लाख रुपया रेवेन्यू से और १६ लाख का शराब से आता है। अगर शराब के प्रचार से आधी बचत हम कर सकें तो कम्पलसरी सेविंग्स का ८ लाख का आधा साढ़े ३ लाख होता है और शराब से के लाख की बचत होती है। ऐसी हालत में कम्पलसरी सेविंग्स साढ़े ३ लाख की होना कोई मशिकल बात नहीं है। इस तरह से साढ़े ३ लाख रुपये की कम्पलसरी सेविंग्स आसानी से हो सकेगी। वह उन की पूंजी हो जायगी। आज ५, ५ और १०, १० रुपये की तकावी लेने के लिए जो काश्तकारों को हफ्तों दौड़घूप करनी पड़ती है वह उन्हें नहीं करनी पड़ेगी। वे खुद अपने पांवों पर खड़े होने में समर्थ हो जायेंगे। सोने की खरीद करने में जो उनका पैसा खर्च होता था वह बन्द हो जायगा और इस तरह पैसा उनके पास बचेगा। कागज के नोट तो किसान अपने पास रखना नहीं चाहेंगे और इस अनिवार्य बचत स्कीम में अनायास ही उनकी रकम जमा होती चली जायगी। यह कोई टैक्स तो है नहीं। इस तरह से पांच साल के बाद अगर कोई किसान १० रुपये की जमा देने वाला है तो उस के पास २५ रुपये छुद के हो जायेंगे और आज २५ रुपये बतौर तकावी मांगने के लिए जो उसे दिक्कत पेश आती है और दौड़ घूप करनी पड़ती है वह उस को नहीं उठानी पड़ेगी। इस तरह से अनिवार्य बचत के द्वारा किसानों के खेतीबाड़ी के आधार मजबूत होते जायेंगे और वह उसकी पूंजी धीरे धीरे बढ़ती चली जायगी। आखिर बूंद-बूंद करके ही तालाब भरता हूँ। निश्चित रूप से इसके द्वारा उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति बहुत ही होगी। हमारे देश में काफी संख्या में गरीब काश्तकार

बसते हैं परन्तु जिस आदिवासी और पिछड़े क्षेत्र का मैं प्रतिनिधित्व करता हूँ वह खासतौर पर बहुत ही गरीब और पस्त इलाका है। इस अनिवार्य बचत योजना के कारण बूंद-बूंद करके उन के पास जो पूंजी जमा होगी वह उनके बड़े काम में आने वाली है।

शराबबंदी को जहाँ तक लागू करने का सवाल है मैं उसका पूर्ण समर्थक हूँ और मैं तो चाहूँगा कि उसे और भी विस्तृत रूप से और सस्ती के साथ लागू किया जाय। वैसे मैं इस सदन को बतलाना चाहूँगा कि जिस जाति में मैं जन्मा हूँ वह गौड़ जाति है। हम गौड़ ४० लाख लोग मध्य प्रदेश में हैं। जन्म से लेकर मरण तक हमारे वहाँ शराब कैसे उपयोग में आती है वह मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ। हम पैदा होंगे तो शराब से पूजा होगी। हमारी शादी होगी तो शराब से होगी। हमारे देव की पूजा होगी तो शराब का प्रसाद चढ़ेगा और शराब से पूजा होगी। हमारा मरण होगा तो शराब से अन्तिम कार्य होगा। मतलब यह हुआ कि जन्म से लेकर मरने तक, भगवान की पूजा आदि सब चीजों में शराब इस्तेमाल की जाती है। वह शराब का अभिशाप हमारी जाति में रहा है। पिछले ४० साल से जिस गौड़ आदिवासी कुल में मैं ने जन्म लिया है, उस में इस शराब के विरुद्ध अपने भाइयों में प्रचार करता रहा हूँ शराब से होने वाली हानियों और दुष्प्रभावों के बारे में विगत ४० साल से अपने समाज के लोगों को समझा रहा हूँ और मुझे यह कहते हुए हर्ष होता है कि अगर सब ने नहीं तो कम से कम १० लाख आदिवासी लोगों ने शराब का पीना बन्द कर दिया है। जो भाई यह जानना चाहें कि शराब छोड़ने से क्या फर्क आता है और क्या लाभ होता है वह मेरे साथ आयें। मैं उन को गंगा और यमुना के पानी जैसा दृश्य दिखा दूँगा। सभाओं में जिस गांव के लोगों ने शराब पीना अभी छोड़ा नहीं है उनको देखें और इसके विपरीत जिन गांव वालों ने शराब पीना छोड़ दिया है, उनको देखें तो उन्हें

दोनों में साफ अन्तर मालूम पड़ेगा। एक तरफ़ तो उन्हें गंगा के सफेद पानी के समान दिखाई देगा, चमकदार चेहरे, साफ़ कपड़े वाले लोग मिलेंगे जबकि दूसरी तरफ़ उन्हें यमुना के नीले पानी के समान फटे मैले कपड़े, निस्तेज चेहरे वाले लोग मिलेंगे। एक दरिद्रता का वातावरण उधर देखने को मिलेगा। यमुना के जल का नीला रूप आपको उधर देखने को मिलेगा . . .

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** क्या यमुना पवित्र नहीं है ?

**श्री उद्दक :** यहां पवित्रता का सवाल नहीं है। वह तो मैं ने उन शराब पीने वाले लोगों की उपमा यमुना के नीले पानी से दी है जोकि गंगा की तरह निर्मल और सफेद नहीं है। गंगा और यमुना के पानी के रंग में फर्क होता है। ठीक वही फर्क आपको शराब पीने वालों और शराब न पीने वालों में देखने को मिलेगा। आज की बदली हुई परिस्थिति में तो यह और भी जरूरी हो जाता है कि हमारे देशवासी शराब का पूर्ण रूप से त्याग कर दें। जो लोग सरकार की इस शराबबंदी की नीति का विरोध करते हैं, उनकी बुद्धि पर मुझे तो तरस आता है। चीनी एक अफ्रीमची क्रोम थी। उन्होंने अफ्रीम खाना छोड़ा और उन में इतनी ताकत आ गई कि वह हिमालय पहाड़ को लांच कर भारतवर्ष की सीमाओं में घुस आये और जब हम भारतवासी उन आक्रमणकारियों को अपने देश से बाहर खदेड़ने के लिए दृढ़ संकल्प हैं तब हमारे कुछ भाई शराबबंदी की नीति का विरोध करते हैं और अपने यहां की जनता को शराब में डुबोना चाहते हैं, और चाहते हैं कि वह शराब पीती रहे। अगर इस देश में सोशलिस्टिक पैट्रन आफ़ सोसाइटी का ढांचा ज़ायम करना है, काश्तकारों को आर्थिक दृष्टि से बेहतर और स्वावलम्बी बनाना है तो यह शराब की आदत उन से छुटानी ही पड़ेगी क्योंकि इस बुरी आदत के कारण हमारे देश के किसान अपनी खेतीबाड़ी की तरफ़ ज्यादा ध्यान नहीं दे पाते हैं। केवल कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट या कृषि डिपार्टमेंट ही

काश्तकारों की स्थिति को नहीं सुधार सकते हैं। पिछड़ी हुई समाज के, आदिवासी इलाके के हरिजन समाज के जो काश्तकार हैं उन से यह शराब की बुरी लत छड़ानी होगी। आज होता यह है कि शराब पीने वाले काश्तकार अपनी खेतीबाड़ी को भूल जाते हैं और खेती का नुकसान होता है। शराब पीने वालों को जाहिर है कि जब काम धाम की तरफ़ ध्यान नहीं लगता है तो उन को कितनी हानि होती है। अगर हमारे देशवासियों से यह शराब की लत नहीं छड़ाई गई तो देश इसी तरह दरिद्र होता रहेगा और उस हालत में हम किस तरह से अपने देश और समाज को उन्नत कर सकते हैं ? शराब की आदत अगर हमारे देशवासियों में बनी रहती है तो हम इस देश की गरीब जनता का जीवन स्तर कैसे ऊंचा कर सकते हैं और कैसे दुश्मन का मुकाबला कर सकते हैं ?

एक तरफ़ तो कुछ लोग शराबबंदी आदि चीजों को लेकर सरकार का विरोध करते हैं वहीं लोग दूसरी तरफ़ सरकार को इसके लिए क्लिप्साइज करते हैं कि देहातों की हालत सुधार नहीं रही है। उनकी यह बात किसी हद तक तो ठीक हो सकती है कि देहातों की हालत अभी जितनी सुधरनी चाहिए थी उतनी नहीं सुधरी है। लेकिन यह कहना कि सुधार नहीं हुआ है यह भी सही नहीं होगा। मैं अपने पहाड़ों के अंदर के देहातों की हालत के बारे में जानता हूँ कि उनकी हालत में निश्चित रूप से सुधार हुआ है। मैं जगह जगह उनमें जाता हूँ। आज से नहीं बल्कि पिछले चालीस साल से मैं उनमें जा रहा हूँ और मैं कह सकता हूँ कि आज उनकी हालत पहले के मुकाबले बेहतर है। जो लोग पहले जमीन के ऊपर बैठते थे आज इस विकास के कारण हर एक गांव में आपको दरी पर बैठे हुए मिलते हैं। उनसे पूछो कि भाई यह दरी तुम्हारे यहां कहां से आई तो वह कहते हैं कि हमारी गांव पंचायत ने खरीदी है। इसी तरह शाम को गांव में पैट्रॉमक्स

## [श्री उद्देके]

जलाये हुए बैठे मिलते हैं और पूछने पर वह बतलाने है पक यह हमारी ग्राम पंचायत के हैं। इसलिए आज हमारे तमाम गांवों में धीरे-धीरे ही कियों न सही लेकिन सुवार अवश्य हो रहा है। आज अगर इस कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट का किसी कारण से विरोध है तो एक ही बात से है कि हमारा जो गरीब और पिछड़ा हुआ देहाती समाज है, वह इन महाजनों, साहूकारों और लूटने वाले लोगों के चंगुल से छटता चला जा रहा है। आज हमारे किसान अपेक्षाकृत अधिक होशियार हो गये हैं। इस कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट के कारण उनमें शिक्षा का प्रचार होता जा रहा है। वह अपना भला, बुरा समझने लग गये हैं। भले ही कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट विभाग द्वारा जितना सुचारु कार्य होना चाहिए, वह न हो रहा हो और उसमें तेजी लाने की आवश्यकता हो, लेकिन धीरे धीरे ही सही कुछ न कुछ सुवार हो ही रहा है और हमारे गांवों और देहातों का नक्शा बदलता जा रहा है। जहां तक कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट के कामों का सवाल है और उसमें क्या सुचारु करना चाहिए उनके बारे में अगर मुझे अवसर मिला तो जब उनकी डिमांड सदन के सामने पेश होगी तब मैं उनके बारे में निवेदन करूंगा। लेकिन आज मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देहाती क्षेत्रों का अगर कुछ नक्शा बदल रहा है तो वह कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट के कारण ही बदल रहा है।

कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट के बारे में एक राजा ने कहा है कि उस पर खर्च किया जाने वाला पैसा गटर में जाता है। अब वह देहात को गटर समझते हैं क्योंकि वह महल में रहने वाले हैं। लेकिन मैं उनसे कहना चाहूंगा कि जिस चुनाव क्षेत्र से वे संसद् में आये हैं, तो उनकी यहां पर गांव के गटर वारों ने ही वोट देकर भेजा है।

श्रीमन्, अगर मुझे अवसर मिलेगा और मैं जिदा रहा तो अगले चुनाव में उनके ही एलेक्शन में जाकर उनको वोट देने वाले लोगों को बतलाऊंगा कि उन्होंने उनको गटर कहा है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे यह कहना है कि यह कम्युनिटी सेविंगज और स्वयं कंट्रोल तथा शराबबंदी के ऊपर हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय को भीष्म के समान दृढ़ प्रतिज्ञा बने रहना चाहिए। उनको नमक के ऊपर टैक्स नहीं लगाना चाहिए। हमारे देश में करोड़ों गरीब लोग जोकि जंगलों में रहते हैं उनके लिए नमक ही मसाला, मिर्च और सब्जी है। जंगल से पत्ता, फल तोड़ते हैं और उनमें नमक मिलाकर और ऊपर से पानी पीकर अपने पेट की ज्वाला को शांत करते हैं। नमक एक ऐसा पदार्थ है जोकि पानी की तरह ये गरीबों के लिए अनिवार्य चीज है और यही कारण गांधी जी ने नमक पर कर लगने के विरुद्ध मत्याग्रह किया था। इसलिए नमक पर कर बिल्कुल नहीं लगना चाहिए। नमक गरीबों के लिए कितना आवश्यक है इसके बारे में मैं अपने वित्त मंत्री महोदय को बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि वे मध्य प्रदेश में कभी चले, वस्तर में जाकर देखें कि वहां के लोग जब नमक नहीं ले सकते हैं तो वे खारी मिट्टी ही खा लेते हैं। जानवर लोग भी जिस मिट्टी को न खाते होंगे उसी खारी मिट्टी को नमक के बदले गरीब किसान खोद कर खाते हैं। इतनी गरीबी आज हमारे देश के अंदर फैली हुई है। नमक पर टैक्स न लगाने, शराबबंदी को पूर्ण रूप से चालू करने, कम्युनिटी सेविंगज स्कीम को लागू करने और यह सोने का को कंट्रोल है, इन चारों बातों के सम्बन्ध में अगर वित्त मंत्री महोदय अपनी भीष्म प्रतिज्ञा कायम रखेंगे तो देश का कल्याण होगा।

यह मंत्रियों के बंगलों पर जो बिजली और पानी के होने वाले भाँ खर्चों को लेकर एक आवाज उठी, उसके कारण शायद जनता के पास टैक्सों के लिए जाने को हमारा चेहरा नहीं रहेगा। उसके कारण हमारी नाक में एक किस्म से चूना लग गया है। लेकिन मैं यह अवश्य निवेदन करूँगा कि इसकी बारीकी से छानबीन करने की जरूरत है। इसके लिए मैं थोड़ा सा हाजर्सिंग मंत्रालय को षेप दूँगा। अगर उन्होंने वाजिब तरीके से इस मामले को अपने हाथ में लिया होता तो पब्लिक के सामने यह तस्वीर शायद पेश न होती जोकि आज पेश हुई है। केन्द्रीय मंत्रिमंडल में सबसे सीधे सादे रहने वाले हमारे ५५ मंत्री जी हैं। मुबह ८ बजे से लेकर रात के १२ बजे तक उनके निवाम स्थान पर विजिटर्स मिलते रहते हैं। उनके यहां तीन तम्बू लगे हुए हैं। इन तीनों तम्बूओं में जाड़ों में मैं जब गया हूँ तो मैंने देखा है कि इनमें हीटर्स जलते रहते हैं, गरमियों में बिजली के पंखे चलते रहते हैं और वक्तियाँ जलती रहती हैं। लान में सचं लाइट जलती रहती है और कुछ बत्तियाँ उनके प्रोटैक्शन के लिए आवश्यक समझी जाती है। इसके अलावा नौकरों के क्वार्टर्स भी हैं जिनमें कि बिजली खर्च होती है। अब इन सबका मारा खर्चा गृह मंत्री के खर्चों में मिला दिया गया और उनका इस तरह से कुल बिजली का खर्च ५८० रुपये कर दिया गया है। अब चूँकि अलग अलग मीटर प्रोवाइड कर दिये गये और पूछताछ करने से और जांच करने से मालूम हुआ कि पिछली फरवरी के महीने में उनका केवल १६३ रुपये का बिल बना। अगर इस तरीके से हर एक मंत्री और उपमंत्रियों आदि को हाजर्सिंग मिनिस्ट्री द्वारा यह बतला दिया जाता और अलग अलग खर्चा दिखलाया जाता तो मंत्रियों के नाम जो इतनी बड़ी बड़ी रकमें दिखलाई गई हैं वे न बनतीं।

अब आम जनता तो इन बारीकियों को समझती नहीं है और वह तो ऐसे समाचार को लेकर उभड़ पड़ती है। इसलिए मैं आपके द्वारा आम जनता को यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि वास्तविकता क्या है। हाजर्सिंग मिनिस्ट्री की तरफ से जांच करवानी चाहिए और जो वाजिब खर्चा होता हो उसका फंसला करके जनता के सामने रक्खा जाये। ऐसा होने से जनता में फैली हुई गलतफहमी दूर होगी और उस हालत में जनता का अर्थात् टैक्सों का भार बहुत करदे के लिए हमें समझाने में आसानी होगी वरना हम प्रतिनिधियों के लिए मुश्किल बात होगी। इन सब के बावजूद यह हमारी सरकार और वित्त मंत्री की सत्व परीक्षा का समय है। घूसखोरी, भ्रष्टाचार, कीमतों का बढ़ना, ये सारी बातें होने वाली हैं। जिन लोगों ने रक्षा-कोष में ज्यादा पैसा दिया है, सम्भव है कि सरकारी अफसर, और मंत्री लोग भी, उन पर रहम करेंगे और उस सहम करने में यही लोग घूस-खोरी करेंगे, भ्रष्टाचार करेंगे और कीमतें बढ़ायेंगे। भ्रष्टाचार से हमारे देश में न मालूम कैसा तहेलका होने वाला है। इस लिए यह हमारी सरकार और वित्त मंत्री की सत्व-परीक्षा का समय है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि जिस प्रकार हरिश्चन्द्र अपनी सत्व परीक्षा में सच्चा निकला, उसी प्रकार सरकार और वित्त मंत्री महोदय भी हरिश्चन्द्र के समान ही बिल्कुल साफ निकलेंगे और इससे देश का कल्याण होगा।

इतना कह कर मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

**Shri T. Abdul Wahid (Vellore):** The budget presented by the hon. the Finance Minister is nothing but a translation into action of the desire and the resolve displayed by the nation which in October-November

[Shri T. Abdul Wahid]

last rose as one man to defend the country and maintain its integrity. The country demonstrated that it is prepared to make all sacrifices and to make any contribution that was necessary to defend the country and to maintain its integrity. The nation was prepared to shoulder whatever burden it would have to for defending the country.

A nation which was prepared and which can contribute Rs. 65 to Rs. 70 crores as voluntary contribution, I cannot understand how it can grudge to pay just an extra tax of Rs. 235:90 crores in a year. And it is nothing but silly and perverse thinking to say that the nation is not prepared to shoulder this responsibility which is just about four times the money it is paying by way of voluntary contribution. I would have expected that Members of the Opposition here in this House and also those outside who have opposed the budget proposals would have really commended the proposals of the budget to the nation, and would have exhorted the nation to accept the budget, because it was necessary and the nation was prepared to do so. But it is really pitiable that on the other hand instead of exhorting them to accept it they are benumbing their enthusiasm, their fervour, their patriotic instinct to help the country to defend itself. I can say that they are speaking against the will of the nation, they are trying to take away that enthusiasm, that patriotism, that fervour which the nation has shown since October-November last.

What is their alternative. They want us to abandon our non-alignment policy and go on bended knees to certain countries, we can say to our friends, old friends, and say "Our country is being attacked by our enemies, we cannot defend it, we do not have arms and ammunition, we do not want to pay for them, you better take charge of our defence, you defend our country, we want to keep the money for ourselves, you spend for our defence". Is that the way, is

it becoming of a respectable people to take up this attitude. What will those other nations think? Maybe, the other nations whom we may ask may be prepared to help us. They are prepared to help us even without our asking. But what kind of attitude is this and what kind of respect will they have for us, for a nation which does not want to spend, which wants to keep all the money to itself and which wants others to help it?

You are asking all those nations. Specially, take, for example, the United Kingdom. What did they do during the last Great War. You should see how they denied themselves of the sugar, how they denied themselves of the eggs, how they denied themselves of the meat, and every essential thing that was needed. They just went on the bare necessities of life for the sake of defending their country, not only to defend their country but to defend the entire freedom world during the last World War. And to such great nations as U.K., U.S.A., Canada and those people who have offered help voluntarily, you go and say, "We do not want to spend money, we want to keep all the wealth to ourselves, you take charge of our defence" Is that the way we should go and tell them? Is it not really shameful that we should say that?

I happened to be in October and November last in Japan and U.S.A. when this emergency was going on here. It gave me a sense of pride and great hope to see in the papers in what appreciative terms they were reporting about the voluntary efforts and the voluntary contribution which our nation, our people were putting forth. It was reported in those papers that the officers in Delhi were not able to cope with the work of receiving the contributions coming from the people. They were full of encomiums and full of appreciative references to the people's efforts.

A nation will appreciate people who try to help themselves and defend

themselves, and then comes the question of giving help. Of course they are going to help us, they are going to help us to the utmost. Our delegation that is going is being headed by one of the ablest men, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachariar. I am sure they are going to help us with all the arms that we may not be able to procure ourselves or get ourselves for defending our economy. But there is no need for us to say, it is unbecoming for us to say that we do not want to tax ourselves, that we just want to be where we are, and ask for help from them.

People say that we should abandon our policy of non-alignment. Today if we are being respected all over Asia, all over Africa, nay all over the world, it is because we have kept up our policy of non-alignment. This policy of non-alignment has kept us away from entanglement in the cold war and so many other difficulties. Those difficulties have not arisen because of our policy of non-alignment. It may be that in the beginning some of the countries may have resented our policy of non-alignment. But today I know—I am constantly on tour abroad and know—that our policy of non-alignment is being admired by the very nations which were opposed to it in those old days. They want you to keep up the policy of non-alignment. But it is to our disgrace that some of us want that we should go on bended knees, that we should give up all our independence of thought and that we should become the subordinates of somebody else. That is what these people, who want us to abandon the policy of non-alignment really, what us to do.

While commending this budget to the House and the nation I am not forgetful of the effect that it will have on the price line. Sure, as somebody referred to this morning, sixty-five per cent of our people are earning below Rs. 25, and any rise in prices will have a serious effect on their cost of living. Therefore we must do something and we must try, at all

costs, whatever it may be, to hold the price line.

At this juncture it may not be advisable for us to have price control. What I think is most necessary is that we should spread a network of consumer co-operative societies all over the country. But I think the present machinery is not adequate, is not sufficient to fulfil this function. I feel that a separate department should be constituted to see that consumer societies are set up in every nook and corner of the urban and rural areas. Every population of a hundred thousand people should be given two officers who should be charged with the responsibility of establishing co-operative societies one at least every fortnight. Maybe, the question will arise, "You are suggesting additional expenditure". What I say is that the Government need not bear the expenses. A service charge may be charged to the societies and the expenses can be met by the co-operative societies themselves.

Then there is the question of agriculture. Some of my friends have been saying that the prices of agricultural commodities should not be brought down. But I hold a different view. As one of our friends told us just now, our people are so poor that they just want rice and some chillies or something like that. Rice is most necessary and most important for them. We should try to bring down the cost of all our essential commodities, like rice, vegetables, dal and some of these things. For that I do not want the agriculturists to suffer. Their incomes should not be touched, because then the incentive will be gone. What I say is, there also you must encourage co-operative farming. We must modernise and mechanise our farming. Modernisation and mechanisation cannot be done by individuals with the present state of our meagre, small holdings. It should be done by co-operative societies. This must also be taken up as a kind of war effort or defence

[Shri T. Abdul Wahid]

effort. We must encourage co-operative societies, modernise our agriculture and also mechanise it.

Regarding compulsory savings, I would like to support the suggestion of Shri U. N. Dhebar that the limit should be raised to Rs. 3,000. Also, in the case of the agriculturists there should be some small limit; it may be Rs 25 or Rs. 30 or whatever the Finance Minister thinks reasonable. Below that, they should be exempted, and only those paying above that should be asked to contribute to compulsory savings.

Then, there is the question of kerosene. I do not agree that the consumption of kerosene oil for lighting purposes has increased, because we are rapidly mechanising and electrifying our villages. So, actually, kerosene consumption for lighting purposes must have gone down. But kerosene is now being used by the middle and lower middle classes for cooking purposes, and, therefore, the demand for kerosene has gone up. So, if this levy on kerosene is imposed, then it will definitely work hardship on those lower income groups who use this for cooking purposes. So, if you want to give them relief, that is well and good, but if you do not want to give any relief, at least please supply them with cheap coal which can be substituted in place of kerosene. If that is done, I think that that would be better because you can reduce your imports of kerosene and thereby save foreign exchange also.

**Shrimati Yashoda Reddy (Kurnool):** What about kerosene for lighting purposes?

**Shri T. Abdul Wahid:** But that is only a small quantity.

As regards investment, people say that the super-profits tax will act as a disincentive for foreign investment. That may be so; I do not know, because I am not able to gauge it at this time. But if that be so, possibly,

the Finance Minister may give some kind of concession for foreign investments alone.

Some hon. Members both from my side, unfortunately, and even from the other side also have made very uncharitable references to the members of our services. I want to pay my highest tribute to the members of the services. They are the best intellects of the country. Fortunately or unfortunately for us, I must say, fortunately for the Government of our country and for the people of our country, the best of the intellects of our country are being drawn to the services, whereas in other countries, it is quite the reverse and the best intellects go to the industries. But, here it is quite different, and the best intellects come to the services. But what is the remuneration that you pay them? The highest remuneration may be just Rs. 3,000 or so. And who are the people who are getting that remuneration of Rs. 3,000? They may be just a handful. And yet what are the services which they render? And what is the intellect that they have got? If only those people had taken to industry or business they would have amassed millions of rupees. They would have displaced all these industrialists and they would have displaced all those people who are not so capable of handling the industries. If those people had manned the industries I think that they would have amassed much more money than what the present industrialists have done and they would also have contributed much more for the industrial development of the country. It is those people who have been drawn to the services in our country. I honestly believe, I am not saying this because I want to praise them, but because I honestly believe, that the members of our services are doing great service to the country. They are there in the services not merely to earn some money, but to render service to the country, and with the

same zeal and the same patriotism which we the politicians claim that we alone have got. They also have got the same zeal and the same patriotism to serve the country. Therefore, to make such uncharitable remarks about them was rather unfortunate. Such kinds of remarks will only dissuade them from being drawn to the services and they may take to private industries. I know, for instance, that in my own State, certain sections of the people were being discriminated against in the services. And what was the result? They went out of the services. And they have taken to industries, and today, most of the engineering industries, electrical industries etc. are in their hands. That is what is happening and that is what will happen if such remarks are made about our services; if we drive away the best intellects from the services by such remarks, they will go to the industries, and they will take to business, of course, that will also be a welcome thing.

There have been some uncharitable remarks about Ministers also. It was rather unbecoming of us Members who are the representatives of a big nation in a big House like this to make such petty remarks about electricity, furniture etc. After all, the Ministers are also people who have made sacrifices, and they have got such huge responsibility on them, and they should have some peace of mind. Just a little while ago, one hon. Member was pointing out that if only separate meters were installed and the consumption by the others were separated, the real truth will come out. After all, these are all small things. We must concentrate on the big problems facing the country. But I find that leaving those big problems aside, we are just looking to the small things, about this and that. I do not think that our nation, and our people are so ignorant or so blunt-headed as to think that what we politicians are saying is really going to have any effect on them. They will think too small of the politicians, and they will think, 'What? These people are talking only about small things, about

the consumption of electricity and water by Ministers etc. only.' I think that that is not good. I feel that we must rise above these things.

श्री रामसेवक यादव (बागबंकी):

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वित्त मंत्री जी ने समाजवादी बजट इस सदन के सामने प्रस्तुत किया है, लेकिन यह कैसा समाजवाद है, इसको जरा आप देखें। इस बजट का बोझ गरीबों पर अधिक और गरीबों पर कम से कम पड़ता है। यहां पर मद्यनिषेध की बात भी चल रही है। मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी के साथ सहमत हूँ और मैं चाहता हूँ कि मद्यनिषेध पूरे तौर पर सारे देश में लागू हो। लेकिन दुःख की बात तो यह है कि मद्यनिषेध और समाजवाद दोनों का ही बुरा हाल है। जिस तरह से मद्यनिषेध के नाम पर शराबखोरी बढ़ रही है, उसी तरह से समाजवाद के नाम पर पूंजीवाद बड़ी मौज मस्ती से लहरे मार रहा है। जो करों की प्रस्तावना वित्त मंत्री जी ने की है, उसमें ३६ प्रतिशत तो सीधे करों से और ६४ प्रतिशत अपरोक्ष करों से आएगा। अपरोक्ष करों का बोझ अधिकतर उपभोक्ताओं और साधारण लोगों पर ही पड़ेगा और इसमें भी कोई सन्देह नहीं है कि ३६ परसेंट जो सीधे कर लगाये जा रहे हैं, उनका भार भी जैसे एक्साइज ड्यूटीज है या धनिवार्य बचत योजना है, जनसाधारण पर ही पड़ने वाला है। वित्त मंत्री जी की कुशलता, निपुणता, योग्यता, और बुद्धिमत्ता तो इसमें होती कि वह मौजूदा खर्च को किसी न किसी तरह से कम करते, फिजूलखर्ची को रोकते तथा शान बान ठीठ आदि में कमी करते। लेकिन ऐसा कुछ भी नहीं किया गया है। उधर जो हमारे साथी बैठते हैं वे स्वतंत्र दल वालों पर प्रिवी पसिस को ले करके बड़े कटाक्ष करते हैं। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि प्रिवी पसिस देने वाले भी तो आप लोग हैं।

## [श्री राम सेवक यादव]

आपको कौन रोकता है, इन प्रिवी पर्सिस को बन्द करने से, बड़े बड़े पूंजीपतियों से अधिक से अधिक सोना लेने से और उन पर अधिक से अधिक टैक्स लगाने से।

हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने सुपर-प्राफिट टैक्स लगाया है। उसका मैं स्वागत करता हूँ। इसी तरह से उनको चाहिये था कि वह कर बड़े लोगों पर लगाते और गरीब लोगों पर उनका बोझ न डालते। लेकिन अज्ञान था तो यह है कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपने बजट भाषण में कहा है कि उनके जो कर प्रोपोजल्स हैं वे बहुत न्यायसंगत हैं, उनके सामने सामाजिक न्याय की बात भी थी। अगर उनके सामने सामाजिक न्याय की बात होती तो वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपने करों की जो रूपरेखा हमारे सामने रखी है, उसकी स्थिति दूसरी होती, यानी बड़े लोगों पर करों का बोझ अधिक पड़ा होता और छोटे लोगों पर कम से कम पड़ा होता। अगर ऐसा किया गया होता तो यह समाजवाद का सही रास्ता होता। जब सरकार समाजवादी समाज की रचना करने की घोषणा करती है तो उस को खास तौर से चाहिए था कि करों को इस ढंग से वितरण करती कि छोटी और बड़ी आमदनी के बीच का जो अन्तर है, वह मिटता। लेकिन हम पिछले पंद्रह वर्षों से लगातार यह देख रहे हैं कि छोटी आमदनियों और बड़ी आमदनियों में फर्क बराबर बढ़ता चला जा रहा है, जमीन आसमान का फर्क आज मौजूद है। जहाँ एक तरफ चार आने, छः आने, आठ आने या बारह आने कमाने वाला मजदूर है, वहाँ दूसरी तरफ दो हजार, चार हजार, पांच हजार महीना कमाने वाला और यहाँ तक कि बिड़ला जैसा आदमी भी मौजूद है जो एक लाख, दो लाख रुपया रोज कमाता है, एक लाख दो लाख रुपये की रोज आमदनी करता है। यह किस तरह का समाजवाद है, भेरी समझ में तो आता

नहीं है। जिस तरह से मद्यनिषेध में सूखा और गीला दोनों चल रहे हैं, कहीं पर ड्राई है और कहीं वेट है, उसी तरह से यह पूंजीवाद और समाजवाद भी चल रहा है। जब ड्राई और वेट दोनों चलते हैं तो उस का नतीजा यह होगा कि वेट ही वेट रहेगा, गीला ही गीला रहेगा, उसी की चकाचक रहेगी और मद्यनिषेध सफल नहीं हो सकता है। यही आज हो रहा है। इसी तरह से अगर समाजवाद और पूंजीवाद साथ साथ चलेंगे तो फिर समाजवाद की बकरी को पूंजीवाद का नेर हड़पता ही चला जायगा और यही आज हम देख भी रहे हैं। हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय कभी थोड़ी देर के लिए समाजवाद की बालगाड़ी पर चढ़ लेते हैं, दो चार फर्लांग के लिए, लेकिन बाद में फिर उन को पूंजीवाद की मोटर की याद आती है और फिर जब वह उस में बैठते हैं, तो बड़ी छांलांग मार कर के तेजी से चले जाते हैं। इस का नतीजा यह है कि गरीबी और अममीरी का फर्क बजाय मिटने के बराबर बढ़ता चला जा रहा है। ऐसा यह समाजवाद है। मैं समझता था कि इस वार संकटकालीन स्थिति में वित्त मंत्री जी जो प्रशासन पर होने वाला खर्च है, जोकि बराबर पिछले पन्द्रह सालों से बढ़ रहा है, उस में कमी करेंगे। लेकिन जब हम बजट को देखते हैं तो पाते हैं कि इस साल भी प्रशासन व्यय ७३ करोड़ ६० बढ़ गया है। उस में कोई कमी करने की बात नहीं की गई। अगर हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपनी बुद्धि का इस्तेमाल किया होता तो शायद इस देश की गरीब जनता उन को धन्यवाद देती।

आज जो इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज हैं उन से चीजों के दाम बढ़ गये हैं, खास तौर से जिन्दगी की जरूरी चीजों के दाम। दाम तो पहले से बढ़े हुए हैं लेकिन इन करों की घोषणा के बाद उन चीजों के दाम तो बढ़ ही गये जिन पर यह कर लगेंगे, बल्कि उन चीजों के दाम भी बढ़ गये जिन पर यह कर

नहीं लगेंगे। मैं इस घोषणा का स्वागत करता हूँ कि मूल्यों को बढ़ने से रोकने के लिए वित्त मंत्री जी भारत रक्षा कानून का प्रयोग करेंगे, लेकिन हम पिछले पन्द्रह सालों से बराबर देख रहे हैं खास तौर से सन् १९५५ के बाद से कि सरकार बराबर घोषणा करती आई है कि वे मूल्यों को बढ़ने नहीं देगी, वह उन के विरुद्ध कार्रवाई करेगी, लेकिन उन घोषणाओं का परिणाम हम क्या पाते हैं? अगर सरकारी आंकड़े देखें जायें, इंडेक्स नम्बर देखा जाय तो इन सात सालों में ३५ प्वाइंट्स की महंगाई बढ़ गई है, यानी हर साल पांच प्वाइंट्स बढ़ गई। यहां पर मुझे कंप्यूटेशन की बात याद आती है। वह कहा करते थे कि मैं आदमियों के शब्दों पर यकीन नहीं करता, मैं उन के काम पर यकीन करता हूँ। मैं देखता हूँ कि कौन कहुता क्या है और करता क्या है। आज दोनों में बड़ा फर्क पड़ गया है। इसलिए अगर वास्तव में वित्त मंत्री भारत रक्षा कानून का इस बारे में इस्तेमाल करना चाहते हैं, या किया हो, तो हम जानना चाहते हैं कि इस मूल्य वृद्धि के खिलाफ आज कितने लोगों के विरुद्ध इस कानून का इस्तेमाल किया गया। इस के आंकड़े सदन के सामने रखे जायें कि किस के खिलाफ क्या कार्रवाई की गई और वे किस तरह के लोग थे, किस हैहियत के लोग थे। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि वे कौन लोग थे। मेरे मित्र बता रहे हैं कि केवल तीन मिट्टी के तेल वाले थे। यानी खोदा पहाड़ और निकली चुहिया यही कहावत चरितार्थ हो रही है। आज यहां पर मूल्य वृद्धि हो रही है लेकिन भारत रक्षा कानून का इस्तेमाल बड़े बड़े पूंजीपतियों के विरुद्ध क्यों हो? भारत रक्षा कानून का इस्तेमाल होगा समाजवादियों के खिलाफ, सोशलिस्टों के खिलाफ, जोकि ५ ६०, २ ६०, १ ६० लगान देने वाले किसान हैं, जिन के यहां सूखा आ गया है, फसल सूख गई है, पूरा कर नहीं दे सकते हैं, टैक्स नहीं दे सकते हैं। आज विजयानन्द पटनायक की सरकार ने हमारे साथी श्री किशन

पटनायक को, जोकि इस सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य हैं, क्यों गिरफ्तार कर लिया? इसलिए कि वे भारत सरकार रक्षा के काम में बाधा डाल रहे थे जोकि सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के हैं जो कहती है कि अगर चीन के खिलाफ लड़ाई लड़नी है तो जो कुछ भी सरकार करेगी हम उस के साथ साथ एक एक इंच पर समर्थन देना चाहते हैं। हम तो तिब्बत को भी आजाद कराने की बात कहते हैं, सन् १९४७ की लाइन तक जाना चाहते हैं। उन्हें भारत रक्षा कानून के अन्तर्गत गिरफ्तार किया गया है, और साथियों को गिरफ्तार किया गया है, बिहार में गिरफ्तार किया गया है।

श्री यशपालसिंह (कैराना) : आज श्री किशन पटनायक छोड़ दिये गये हैं।

श्री रामसेवक यादव : बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि मेरे मित्र बतलाते हैं कि वे छोड़ दिये गये। मैं सरकार की इस सद्बुद्धि की सराहना करता हूँ। "देर आयद दुस्त आयद"। कभी सद्बुद्धि जगी तो।

एक माननीय सदस्य : बेल पर छूटे हैं।

श्री रामसेवक यादव : बेल पर छूटे हैं। अच्छा, यह बात है। अभी हमारे मित्र बतला रहे हैं कि वे जमानत पर छूटे हैं। आज उन के खिलाफ भारत रक्षा कानून का इस्तेमाल हो रहा है और चीन के साथ लड़ाई लड़ने की क्या बात है? मुझे शेर याद आता है :

'न खंजर उठेगा न तलवार इन से,  
यह बाजू मेरे आजमाये हुए है।'

यह लड़ेंगे हम से, यह लड़ेंगे किशन पटनायक से, हम लोगों से लड़ेंगे जो इन का साथ देना चाहते हैं।

मैं अनिवार्य बचत योजना के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ, खास तौर से उत्तर प्रदेश के संदर्भ में, और आप के द्वारा वित्त मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वे किसानों पर ध्यान दें, खास तौर से उन इलाकों की तरफ जैसेकि बलिया, आजमगढ़

## [श्री राम सेवक यादव]

आदि पूर्वी जिले हैं, जहाँ के गरीब लोग जान-बर के पाखाने से भ्रनाज बीन कर अपनी रोटी चलाते हैं, शीरा चाटते हैं और जिन की स्थिति को आंकने के लिये इस सदन ने एक समिति नियुक्त की थी। वहाँ पर योजना आयोग की कमेटी गई हुई थी। आज वहाँ के किसानों पर भ्रनिवार्य बचत योजना कौसी लागू की जा रही है? ५० प्रतिशत, जबकि आपात्कालीन स्थिति को सामने रख कर उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार ने उन पर २५ प्रतिशत टैक्स पहले से ही लगा दिया था। कहाँ से वे देंगे? मैं इस कांग्रेस सरकार को बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि गांधी जी कहा करते थे कि जिस खेत से लाभ नहीं होता, उस भ्रलाभकर जोत से हम लगान मिटावेंगे। लेकिन लगान कम करने की कौन कहे, उस पर लगान बढ़ा दिया गया, उन गरीब किसान से आज ५० प्रतिशत भ्रल्प बचत योजना में लेने का सरकार इरादा रखती है। शहर में बसने वाले सरकारी नौकरों के लिए १५०० रु० की हदबन्दी की गई, लेकिन किसान चाहे वह एक रुपये का किसान हो चाहे दो रुपये का हो, पांच रुपये का हो या दस या बीस रुपये का हो, उस पर कोई हदबन्दी नहीं की गई। कहाँ से देगा? जिस तरह से वह अपने कपड़े के लिये, जिस तरह से वह अपनी रोटी के लिये, कर्ज लेता है उसी तरह से आप उस को मजबूर करेंगे कि वह भ्रल्प बचत योजना का रुपया देने के लिये कर्ज ले। भ्रल्प बचत योजना का फायदा उस को पांच साल बाद मिलेगा ८ भा०, १ रु०, २ रु०। और उस को फायदा होगा भी नहीं क्योंकि जो कुछ उस को मिलेगा वह ज्यादा से ज्यादा उस के कर्ज को चुकाने के लिये होगा। इसी तरह से मैं वित्त मंत्री का ध्यान उन किरायेदारों के बारे में खींचूंगा जिन के पास एक मकान है निजी। उस की पन्द्रह रुपया या तीस रुपया माहवार की भ्रामदनी है, उस की रोजी रोटी का और कोई जरिया नहीं है, किसी तरह से वह उस से काम चलाता है। उस से भी आप ३ प्रतिशत

लेंगे। इस तरह का समाजवाद आप ने जरूर कर दिया कि गरीब के लिये भी वही हाल और पूंजीपति के लिये भी वही हाल। इस माने में तो हम आप को समाजवादी कहेंगे कि वित्त मंत्री जी कि आप टैक्स के मामले में दोनों को समान स्तर पर रखना चाहते हैं, एक गरीब को भी और एक पूंजीपति को भी। इस माने में आप समाजवादी हैं दूसरे माने में नहीं। इसलिए मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि भ्रल्प बचत योजना के सवाल पर आप पुनर्विचार कीजिये। यदि आप को इस प्रकार का टैक्स लगाना ही है, इस में कोई जिद है कि आप को गरीब लोगों का खून निकालना ही है, तो इस तरह से निकालिये कि कुछ दिन तो वह खून दे। एक साथ मुर्गी के सारे सोने के अंडे निकालने की कोशिश मत कीजिये। इस के लिए आप ५० रु०, १०० रु०, २०० रु० लगान की हदबन्दी कीजिये नहीं तो आप इस देश के गरीब किसान को पीस देंगे।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : मुर्गी तो कुड़क हो गई।

श्री रामसेवक यादव : भ्रब प्रतिरक्षा का सवाल है। जहाँ तक हम देश की रक्षा का सवाल है, मैं समझता हूँ कि इस सदन में कोई भी व्यक्ति ऐसा नहीं होगा जो वित्त मंत्री के इस खर्च के साथ न हो, और मैं भी चाहूँगा कि जो ८६७ करोड़ रुपया रक्षा के लिये वे चाहते हैं चीन का मुकाबला करने के लिये, उस को लोग खुशी से देने के लिए तैयार रहें, जरूरत पड़े तो और भी। लेकिन एक निवेदन है। केवल रुपया खर्च करने से ही देश की रक्षा नहीं होती। रुपया खर्च करने से ही देश की तरक्की नहीं होती। अगर हम रुपये की तरफ से देखें तो पंद्रह सालों से यह सरकार चली आ रही है, दो पंचसाला योजनायें बीत गईं, तीसरी योजना के भी दो व बीत गये। आप ने इस देश पर अरबों के कर लगाये, विदेशों में अरबों रुपये के कर्ज लिये लेकिन जब हम नतीजा

देखते हैं तो कहीं कुछ नहीं है। आपने इस लड़ाई से पहले भी रक्षा पर काफी धन खर्च किया, लेकिन अगर नतीजा हम देखते हैं तो कुछ नहीं। अगर हमें इन ८६७ करोड़ रुपयों से कुछ नतीजा निकालना है तो हमें यह भी देखना होगा कि यह धन कैसे खर्च होता है, किस तरह से खर्च होता है। अगर इसी तरह से खर्च करना है जैसेकि कॉलिंग एग्रलाइंस को सामान डालने के ठेके दे दें और वह सामान बजाय ठीक ठिकाने पहुंचाने के कलकत्ते के बाजारों में बिके, तो ८६७ करोड़ रुपयों से देश की रक्षा नहीं होगी। अगर उस पैसे से जिस तरह से जीप का गोलमाल हुआ उसी तरह का गोलमाल होना है

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** वह कीन सा स्कैंडल है ?

**श्री रामसेवक यादव :** जो स्कैंडल हुआ, जैसाकि सभी माननीय सदस्य जानते हैं।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** वह पुरानी बात है।

**श्री रामसेवक यादव :** अगर इसी तरह से पैसा खर्च होता है जैसी कि खबर मिनी कि जो उत्तर प्रदेश का कमान का इलाका है, बरेली में जो मिलिटरी ग्रेडिंट है, वहां पर सरकार की खरीद का ठेका दिया गया या खुद सोये खरीदा गया, तो बाजार भाव जो था उस से अधिक भाव पर खरीदा गया। अगर उसी तरीके से पैसा खर्च होता है तो आप चाहें इस से दूनी रकम भी खर्च कर दें तब भी इस देश को रक्षा नहीं हो सकती। इसलिए कम से कम जो फौज में होने वाला भ्रष्टाचार है, जिस तरह से उस में पैसा बनाया जाता है, उसमें मुझे शक है कि कुछ भी काम ही सकेगा। जब इस तरह के लोगों के हाथों में खर्च होगा, जैसेकि मैं ने सुना है कि अमरीका गये हैं खुद खरीद करने के लिये, तो उस से अग्रेसर सिद्ध नहीं होगा। उस के ऊपर कुछ ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये।

जब चीन ने हम पर हमला किया है तो उस के साथ फौज का ही सवाल नहीं है, उस के साथ सवाल है विचार धारा का भी। वह विचार धारा है गरीब और अमीर की। इस गरीब और अमीर की विचारधारा का जवाब पलटनें नहीं हो सकतीं, तोपगोला नहीं होता, हवाई जहाज नहीं हो सकता। उस का जवाब यह हो सकता है कि इस देश की ४४ करोड़ जनता में जो सामाजिक और आर्थिक जबरदस्त विषमता फैली हुई है उस को दूर किया जाय। हमारी सरकारी और खास तौर से प्रधान मंत्री ऐलान करते हैं कि हमको लम्बी लड़ाई लड़नी पड़ेगी। चीन के मुकाबले में हम को लम्बा अरसा लगेगा। तो इस लम्बी लड़ाई में यदि हम को देश की ४४ करोड़ जनता का सहयोग लेना है तो यह बहुत आवश्यक हो जाता है कि हम उन की सामाजिक और आर्थिक अवस्था को दुस्त करे। इस दिशा में इन १५ सालों में कुछ नहीं किया गया है। देश में ५० लाख अंग्रेजी अभिमुख बड़े लोग हैं, जो हजार या इस से ज्यादा मासिक खर्चते हैं वातानुकूलित मकानों में रहते हैं और एक तिहाई दीलत के मालिक हैं। और बाकी देश की जनता गरीबी के दलदल में फंसी हुई है। सरकार का काम यह है कि वह इस देश में कमज की खेती करती है। उस का यह खयाल है कि दिल्ली, कलकत्ता और बम्बई को बड़ी बड़ी इमारतों से सजाओ और गांवों की ओर ध्यान न दिया जाय। तो इस से काम नहीं होगा।

16 hrs.

अब मैं इस समाजवादी सरकार के कुछ आंकड़े आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। पहले मैं इस सदन के समाजवाद से ही शुरू करूंगा। इंग्लैंड में, जो कि एक पूंजीवादी देश है, एक मिनिस्टर ५ हजार पाउंड सालाना पाता है और उस के साथ मुफ्त बंगले आदि की कोई सुविधा नहीं है और वहां की पार्लियामेंट का एक मेम्बर १७५० पाउंड सालाना पाता है। तो आप देखें कि उस

## [श्री राम सेवक यादव]

पूँजीवादी देश में मिनिस्टर और मेम्बर की आय का अनुपात एक और तीन का बैठता है। और हम जो यहां १५ सालों से समाजवाद की रचना कर रहे हैं और गांधीवाद और सादगी का प्रचार कर रहे हैं, तो हमारे यहां मिनिस्टर को २२५० रुपया वेतन, ५०० रुपया सम्पत्तियरी एलाउंस, १३ हजार बिजली पानी के लिए और १३ लाख का फरनीचर दिया गया। इसके अतिरिक्त भत्ते भी हैं। केवल वित्त मंत्री जी का साल में ३० हजार का भत्ता है।

इन के मकानों की तरफ आप जायें तो आप देखेंगे कि डिस्ट्री मिनिस्ट्रों के पास जो मकान हैं उन में इतनी जमीन है कि आप कबड्डी खेल सकते हैं। मंत्रियों के पास जो मकान हैं उन में हाकी और फुटबाल के फील्ड बन सकते हैं और प्रधान मंत्री के मकान में तो इतनी जमीन है कि रेसकोर्स बन सकता है। और इसी प्रकार अगर अन्य सुविधाओं को देखें तो आप को पता चलेगा कि एक एक मंत्री पर दस दस और पन्द्रह पन्द्रह हजार रुपया मासिक खर्च होता है। सदन के सदस्य का वेतन चार सौ रुपया है और अगर उस की अन्य सुविधाओं और भत्ते का हिसाब लगाया जाय तो उस पर करीब एक हजार महीना खर्च होता है। उनके मकानवले में आप देखें कि मंत्री पर कितना खर्चा होता है। मंत्री और सदस्य के खर्च में १५ या बीस गुने का अन्तर है।

इसी तरह से अगर आप जिला स्तर तक जायें तो बड़े अफसरों और छोटे कर्मचारियों के वेतन में आप को जितना आसमान का अन्तर मिलेगा। यह समाजवाद का नमूना है। इन चीजों को खत्म करने की जरूरत है।

अगर हम फिजूलखर्ची को देखें तो उस में हमारे प्रधान मंत्री सब से आगे हैं। क्योंकि उन के ऊपर तो सब मिला कर एक दिन में

करीब २५ हजार रुपया खर्च होता है, उनका भत्ता है, घर में सिनेमा बनने की बात चलती है, और सीक्योरिटी अरेजमेंट है। मैं तो चाहूंगा कि इस पर एक दिन कस कर बहस हो जाय तो पता चले कि कितनी फिजूलखर्ची होती है। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री तो फिजूलखर्ची के प्रतीक हैं। और उन की नकल से सारे देश में फिजूलखर्ची चलती है। है उदाहरण के लिए जैसे प्रधान मंत्री गुलाब का फूल लगाते हैं तो उन को देख कर हमारे श्री संय नारायण साहब को भी गुलाब का फूल लगाने का शौक पैदा हो गया। तो प्रधान मंत्री तो प्रतीक हैं फिजूलखर्ची के और उन को देख कर और लोग भी यही करते हैं। अगर इस फिजूलखर्ची को बचाया जाय तो इस से कई सरकारों का काम चल सकता है कई साल तक।

अन्त में मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि जब तक भ्रष्टाचार को नहीं रोका जाएगा तब तक इस देश की प्रगति नहीं हो सकती। चाहे आप कितना भी पैसा लगाएं जब तक भ्रष्टाचार नहीं रुकता प्रगति नहीं हो सकती। और यह भ्रष्टाचार तीन प्रकार चलता है। बड़े बड़े पूँजीपति लोग मन्त्रियों के लड़कों, दामादों, रिश्तेदारों को अपनी फर्मों में तीन तीन हजार रुपए मासिक पर रख लेते हैं जबकि उनका बाजार का मूल्य दो सौ और तीन सौ से अधिक नहीं होता।

दूसरे प्रकार का करप्शन विविध प्रकार के ट्रस्ट का बना कर किया जाता है। मिसाल के लिए चेचम्मा ट्रस्ट है एम० ओ० मथाई की मां के नाम पर। उनका नाम कोई नहीं जानता यह ट्रस्ट तीन लाख से शरू हुआ था, अब इसमें २४ लाख रुपया है। यह रुपया बिड़ला आदि बड़े लोग देते हैं, क्यों देते हैं यह सदन अनुमान लगा सकता है।

इसी तरह से एक जनहित ट्रस्ट है जिसको प्रधान मन्त्री के घर के सदस्य चलाते हैं। पता

नहीं इसका क्या मकसद है, कहां से पैसा धाता है और इसमें क्या काम होता है ।

इसी तरह से एक जनशक्ति निधि नाम से ट्रस्ट बना है । इन चीजों में पूंजीपति पैसा देते हैं और उससे फायदा उठाते हैं और सरकार को बड़ा नुकसान पहुंचाते हैं ।

इसी तरह से मन्त्री लोगों के रिश्तेदार कल कारखानों में घुस गए हैं । कलिंगा ट्यूब्स लिमिटेड में इम तरह का करप्शन है । उसको बाहर से माल मंगाने के इम्पोर्ट लाइसेंस दिए जाते हैं और माल कलकत्ता के बन्दरगाह में आते ही बिक जाता है ; और इस तरह हिस्सेदारों को नुकसान होता है । तो इस तरह की चीजें चल रही हैं । मूंदड़ा काण्ड हुआ, बोस एनक्वायरी कमेटी बैठी, और इसी तरह से रूबी और ऐशियाटिक बीमा की गड़बड़ चल रही है । मैं तो चाहूंगा कि जितने भी बिड़ला टाटा आदि के बड़े बड़े प्रतिष्ठान हैं इनकी जांच करायी जाए । ऐसा होने पर आपको पता चलेगा कि कौन चीज हो रही है और कहां क्या गोलमाल है, किस तरह से पैसा जाता है । जब हम यह करेंगे तभी हमको जाकर स्वस्थ सरकार मिल सकेगी ।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं वित्त मन्त्री से निवेदन करूंगा कि जब वे इन सारी चीजों पर ध्यान देंगे तभी देश का भला कर सकेंगे ।

**श्री उवा० प्र० ज्योतिषी (सागर) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वित्त मन्त्री जी द्वारा प्रस्तुत बजट पर जब मैं बात करने को खड़ा हुआ हूँ तो मेरे सामने अपने गांव के, अपने क्षेत्र के और अपने देश के गरीब आदमियों की तस्वीर है । इस सदन में गरीबों की तरफ से बहुत बात कही जाती है । बार बार इस बात को कहा जाता है कि गरीबों को पीसा जा रहा है, गरीबों को सताया जा रहा है । मैं उन गरीबों की तरफ से वित्त मन्त्री जी को आपके द्वारा यह आश्वासन दे देना चाहता हूँ कि समस्त गरीब जनता इस बजट के साथ है ।

यह बजट चीन के युद्ध की छाया में बना है, इस बात को इस देश की जनता अच्छी तरह हृदयंगम कर चुकी है । इस देश का बच्चा बच्चा इस बात को समझता है कि चीनी आक्रमण को हमको मुस्तैदी से मुकाबला करना है, और ऐसा करने के लिए यह जरूरी है कि वह अपने समस्त वित्तीय साधनों को अधिक से अधिक त्याग और बलिदान करके एकत्र करें ताकि एक मजबूत सेना खड़ी की जा सके और हमारी सेना को ताकत पहुंचायी जा सके और साथ ही साथ इस देश में सुरक्षा के अनुकूल वातावरण बनाया जा सके ।

यह ठीक है कि बजट बोझिल है और इसका बोझ गरीब पर भी पड़ने वाला है, लेकिन गरीब महसूस करता है कि भारतमाता उसकी भी माता है और उसकी माता की छाती पर जो आक्रमण किया गया है उसका मुकाबला करने के लिए गरीब बहुत ज्यादा व्यग्र है और कहता है कि गरीबों की संख्या अधिक है इसलिए हमारे लिए अधिक त्याग और बलिदान करना और भी ज्यादा स्वाभाविक है और वह इसके लिए तैयार है ।

[DR. SAROJINI MAHISHI in the Chair]

15.07 hrs.

सभानेत्री जी, १५ अरब ८६ करोड़ ७३ लाख की आय और १८ अरब, ५२ करोड़ ४० लाख के व्यय के इस बजट में जो करवृद्धि की गयी है पिछले जमाने में किन्हीं पांच वर्षों में इतनी करवृद्धि नहीं की गयी । इस दृष्टि से निश्चित रूप से यह बजट बोझिल है । लेकिन जब भी इस तरह की बात हो तो हमें यह विचार करना होगा कि आखिर कौनसी परिस्थितियां और कौनसा वातावरण है जिसके कारण हमको ऐसा करना पड़ रहा है ।

वित्त मन्त्री जी को इस देश के गरीब की हालत मालूम है । वे गरीबों के बीच में रहें हैं और उनकी स्थिति का अध्ययन करने के पश्चात् भी उन्होंने यह जरूरी समझा कि यह

## [श्री ज्वा० प्र० ज्योतिषी]

बोझ इस देश के गरीब उठा सकते हैं और उन को उठाना चाहिए। ऐसी स्थिति में मैं सदन के सामने उनको अपने इलाके की जनता की तरफ से यह आश्वासन देता हूँ कि गरीब जनता निश्चित रूप से पूरे तौर पर बजट से सहमत है। और उसका स्वागत करती है। यह जरूर है कि हमको यह विचार करना होगा कि वहाँ पर और किस हद तक गरीब कौनसा बोझ सम्भाल सकते हैं और कहां पर कौनसा बोझ हमको कम करना है। अगर हम समझते हैं कि मिट्टी के तेल की गांवों के लिए ही विशेष आवश्यकता है और उस पर जो टैक्स है उतका बोझ गांव वालों पर पड़ने वाला है तो हमको विचार करना होगा कि हम उस दिशा में क्या कमी करें। मिट्टी का तेल बाहर से आयात किया जाता है और आज की स्थिति में इस पर बहुत ज्यादा विदेशी मुद्रा खर्च करना गलत है। वित्त मंत्री मिट्टी के तेल के आयात को कम करना चाहते हैं। उनकी यह भावना स्तुत्य है। इस भावना की हम बहुत क्रद करते हैं लेकिन क्या यह अच्छा न हो कि तेल के मूल्य वही रक्खे जाय, आयात को नियन्त्रित कर दिया जाय, एक मित्रदार निर्धारित कर दी जाय कि इतना ही तेल इस देश में आयेगा और जितना आयेगा उतने में ही इस देश की अपनी तेल की आवश्यकता पूरी करनी होगी। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि कम से कम मिट्टी के तेल के सम्बन्ध में निश्चित रूप से कुछ विचार किया जाना चाहिए क्योंकि उसके बढ़े हुए दाम का बोझ केवल गरीबों पर पड़ने वाला है। देश आज संकटकालीन स्थिति से गुजर रहा है सुरक्षा कानून हमारे साथ है इसलिए जनहित में अगर हमें कंट्रोलों को लागू करने की जरूरत पड़े तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हमें उनका लाभ लेना चाहिए और उन्हें लागू करने से हिचकिचाना नहीं होगा। . . .

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** कण्ट्रोल से ब्लैक मार्केट होता है।

**श्री ज्वा० प्र० ज्योतिषी :** अब ग्राजकल सुरक्षा की स्थिति है, सुरक्षा कानून हमारे पास है और शासन कण्ट्रोलो को यदि वह आवश्यक समझे तो उन्हें लागू करके मजबूती से उन पर अमल करवा सकता है और ब्लैक मार्केट करने वाले लोगों के साथ सख्ती से भी पेश आ सकता है। मैं कण्ट्रोलो से डरता नहीं हूँ और समझता हूँ कि शासन को भी कण्ट्रोलों का डर नहीं होना चाहिए। अगर जरूरत महसूस की जाय तो इस तरह के नियन्त्रण लाना चाहिए लेकिन गरीबों को निश्चित रूप से करो के बोझ से जितना भी बचाया जा सकता है, उतना बचाने की चेष्ट करनी चाहिए।

सुपर प्राफिट टैक्स के सम्बन्ध में, इस सदन में बड़ी चर्चा हुई। मैं कोई बड़ा अर्थ-शास्त्री नहीं हूँ लेकिन मुझे लगता है कि इसके कारण उद्योगों पर कोई ख़ास रूकावट नहीं आने वाली है। हमें इस देश में से व्यक्तिवाद की भावना को हटाना है। जो लोग व्यक्तिवाद की भावना से विचार करते हैं और जो समझते हैं कि व्यक्तिवाद को अधिक से अधिक अपनी सम्पत्ति का विकास करने की खुली छूट है, मैं समझता हूँ कि इसके विपरीत लोग सब अब सोचना प्रारम्भ करें। हम इस देश में पैदा हुए हैं। इस देश के निर्माण में हम सब लोगों ने अपना अपना योग दिया है। हम सभी लोग चाहे हम विद्यार्थी रहे हों, चाहे कालिज में काम करने वाले प्रोफेसर्स रहे हों, चाहे खेत में काम करने वाले मजदूर हों और चाहे उद्योग-पति हों, हम सब के व्यक्तित्व के निर्माण में इस देश के समाज ने अपना योगदान दिया है। हमारा अपना वैयक्तिक अस्तित्व इस देश के हित के लिए है। अगर कोई कम्पनी पूंजीपतियों के द्वारा ही कायम हुई तो वह उस उद्योग के द्वारा वर्षों तक अधिक लाभ उठाती रहती है। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि यह जरूरी है कि अब यह हवा बदले। वह यह सोचें और वे इस बात के लिए मजबूर हों कि उस कम्पनी को जो अधिक लाभ होता है उस लाभ का

काफी अंश इस देश को मिलना चाहिये क्यों कि उनका सम्पूर्ण अस्तित्व इस देश के द्वारा बना है। उनके उत्पादन के खरीदार कारखानों में काम करने वाले आदमी, उनके कारखाने के लिए चीजें जुटाने वाले इसी देश के निवासी हैं, इस देश की भूमि पर ही उनका कारखाना स्थापित होता है, इस देश की ही वह रियाया है, देश पर जब संकट आया हुआ है तब इस देश को यह हक है कि उनको जो अधिक मुनाफा हुआ है उस मुनाफे का ५० प्रतिशत ले ले। इसलिए ऐसे राष्ट्रीय संकट के अवसर पर यदि उस भारी मुनाफे में से ५० प्रतिशत लेने की व्यवस्था सरकार द्वारा की जाती है तो वह कोई अनुचित बात नहीं है।

चाहे कोई भी बजट हो, उसको बनाने समय और उस पर विचार करते समय इस बात पर विचार करना चाहिए कि बजट में जो राशि लेने की कोशिश की जा रही है वह किन तबकों से और कहां से लेने के बास्ते की जा रही है? उसका विनियम, उसका विनियोग किस तरीके से होने वाला है? किन मदों में उसको खर्च किया जाना है और जिन मदों के लिए वह निर्धारित की गई है उन मदों पर ठीक तरीके से मुस्तैदी के साथ और ईमानदारी के साथ व्यय हो रहा है या नहीं?

समाजवाद की चर्चा हम लोग करते हैं। यह भी कहा जाता है कि यह बजट पूरी तरह से समाजवादी बजट नहीं है। इसका बोझ गरीबों पर ज्यादा पड़ने वाला है। लेकिन मैं तो ऐसा महसूस नहीं करता कि इस बजट का बोझ गरीबों पर ज्यादा पड़ने वाला है। निश्चित रूप से इस बजट का बोझ उन लोगों पर अधिकाधिक पड़ने वाला है जिनके कि पास अधिक धन है। जो अधिक पैदा करते हैं उन पर ही निश्चित रूप से इसका बोझ पड़ेगा। पहले दो बजटों के बारे में भी मैं कह सकता हूँ कि उनका भी बोझ उन्हीं लोगों पर ज्यादा पड़ा है, जिनके कि पास उत्पादन के अधिक साधन हैं। लेकिन एक छोटी सी चीज की तरफ मैं शासन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता 2970 (A1) LSD—8.

हूँ और वह यह है कि जो साधन सम्पन्न लोग हैं, जो उद्योगपति हैं वे अपनी आय छिपाते हैं यह निश्चित बात है। इस देश में धनी वर्ग द्वारा अपनी आय को छिपाया जाता है चाहे वह बड़े बड़े कारखानों के मालिक हों, चाहे वह बीड़ी के व्यापारी हों और चाहे वह मिल के मालिक हों। मैं एक ब्रश लेकर सारे उद्योग-पतियों को काला नहीं करना चाहता लेकिन यह बात निश्चित है कि अधिकांशतः इस देश में करों की चोरी होती आई है और अभी भी हो रही है। शासन यद्यपि उन बड़े मुनाफा कमाने वालों से इस सुपर प्राफिट टैक्स आदि के द्वारा उस मुनाफे का बड़ा भारी हिस्सा ले लेना चाहता है लेकिन यह उद्योगपति कानूनी सलाहकारों द्वारा और अर्थ शास्त्रियों द्वारा समर्थन और सहयोग प्राप्त कर लेते हैं और अगर तीन रुपये उनकी आय हो तो दो रुपया तो वह पहले ही छिपा लेते हैं और शासन उनसे जो करों द्वारा वसूल करना चाहता है उससे बंचित रह जाता है। कैन्डर की रिपोर्ट में मुझे यह ध्यान आता है कि बतलाया गया है कि एक टैक्स विशेष से हमको २० करोड़ रुपये प्राप्त हो सकेंगे, लेकिन दरअसल कितना रुपया हमको प्राप्त होता है? मैं ने देखा कि बहुत कम राशि, ढाई करोड़ रुपये के करीब ही उस वक्त हमको प्राप्त होती है। पता नहीं कि आखिर बात क्या है यह ऐस्टिमेट्स पूरे सही नहीं होते हैं। यह तो हो सकता है कि हमें २० करोड़ के बजाये १८ करोड़ मिलते, लेकिन वह १५, १६ करोड़ रुपया जो कि वाजिब आता था वह कलम के माहिर, अर्थशास्त्रियों और औद्योगिक संस्थानों के मैनेजरो की साजिश और साठगांठ के कारण दब कर रह गया। जहां अमीरों से सरकार को पूरा टैक्स मिल नहीं पा रहा है और गलत अफगरो और उद्योगपतियों की साठगांठ के कारण सरकारी टैक्स का पैसा पूरा वसूल नहीं होता है, वहां गरीब पर जो भी टैक्स वाजिब आता है वह पूरी तरह वसूल हो जाता है, क्योंकि उसकी झोपड़ी में वह तिजोरी नहीं जिसमें कि वह अपनी दौलत को छिपा सके। लेकिन इसके

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विपरीत पूंजीपति जिनके कि पास महलों के भ्रंदर तिजोरी के भ्रंदर तिजोरी हैं, उन तक पहुंचना सरकारी कर्मचारियों के लिए मुश्किल होता है। सरकारी कर्मचारी जो कि टैक्स की वसूली के लिए जाते हैं वे उन बड़े बड़े उद्योग-पतियों के महलों के खूबसूरत वातावरण में घटक और बहक जाते हैं और उन्हें उस समय देश का ख्याल नहीं रहता है और वे अपने कर्तव्य का पालन नहीं कर पाते हैं।

मैं इस बात को दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार निश्चित रूप से समाज-वाद की तरफ कदम बढ़ा रही है। हमारा जो बजट है वह उस कसौटी पर पूरा उतरता है लेकिन दुर्भाग्य है कि प्रशासन के कर्मचारियों द्वारा जित तरह से मुनाफाखोरो से डील किया जाना चाहिए उस तरीके से पूरी तरह से डील नहीं किया जाता। गरीब लोगों से तो टैक्स का पैसा वसूल कर लिया जाता है लेकिन बड़े लोगों से टैक्स का वाजिब पैसा वसूल नहीं हो पाता है। इसलिए गरीब तो गरीब और रह जाता है जब कि अमीर और अधिक अमीर होते जा रहे हैं। मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय का इस और विशेष रूप से ध्यान खींचूंगा कि वह यह देखें कि जिस तरह से डालमिया कम्पनी के बारे में जांच पड़ताल हो सकी और एक बड़ी साजिश का पता लगा और वह सारा कच्चा चिट्ठा देश के सामने आया उसी तरह की गड़बड़ियाँ और टैक्स की चोरियाँ आदि निश्चित रूप से दूसरे बड़े बड़े प्राइवेट औद्योगिक संस्थानों में भी चल रही हैं।

मेरे पास इस बात की शिकायतें आई हैं कि कतिपय उद्योगपतियों द्वारा सुरक्षा कोष में दिया गया पैसा गरीबों से वसूल करके दिया हुआ पैसा है। बड़ी बड़ी कम्पनियाँ गरीबों से वसूल करके तथा कर्मचारियों के वोनस का रूपया सुरक्षा कोष में देती हैं और उस पर सरकार से टैक्स में छूट की मांग करती हैं।

इन सब चीजों की तरफ शासन का ध्यान अधिक जाना चाहिए।

सभानेत्री महोदया, यह बात ठीक है कि राष्ट्रीय आय में वृद्धि हुई है, लेकिन मेरे मन को इससे संतोष नहीं है। जिस रफ्तार के साथ हम अपेक्षा करते हैं कि इस देश की प्रगति हो, उस रफ्तार में कमी है और उस कमी के लिए बड़ी सोमा तक एक जिम्मेदारी है हम सब की जिन्होंने इसमें तेजी लाने की दिया। मैं जो गरमी पैदा करनी थी उस गरमी को पैदा नहीं किया। यह जरूरी है कि हमारे औद्योगिक संस्थानों पर हमारा कठोर नियंत्रण, कठोर अंकुश हो। हम ने कई सरकारी औद्योगिक संस्थानों स्थापित कीं और बड़े स्तर पर बारखाने खोले। कुछ कारखानों में बड़ा शानदार काम हुआ और टारगेट्स बहुत मजबूती से एचीव हुए। लेकिन यह बात भी सही है कि कुछ संस्थानों में क्लानिण्ड हैं। उन खामियों की तरफ बेश का ध्यान जाना चाहिए।

बहुत समय से इस सदन में इस बात की चर्चा हो रही है कि औद्योगिक संस्थानों के निरीक्षण और परीक्षण के लिए एक समिति का निर्माण किया जाये, जो कि उन संस्थानों का लेखा-जोखा लेती रहे और यह देखती रहे कि कहीं उन में कोई गलती तो नहीं हो रही है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस चर्चा में बहुत समय गुजर गया है। इसलिए जल्द से जल्द इस तरह की समिति का निर्माण अवश्य होना चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकारी और गैर-सरकारी, इस तरह का मिला-जुला एक नियंत्रण हर संस्थान पर होना चाहिए।

जहां तक भोपाल के हैवी इन्ड्रिस्ट्रल्स का सम्बन्ध है, मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि वह उन टारगेट्स को एचीव करने में अभी तक सफल क्यों नहीं हो सका, जो कि उस के समक्ष

प्रस्तुत किये गए थे। आखिर उस में कौन सी खासियां हैं? उन खासियों को दूर करने में हमें अधिक से अधिक सजग होना चाहिए।

सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से इस देश में औद्योगिक आतावरण बनाना बहुत जरूरी है। कृषि का विकास उस दृष्टि से बहुत आवश्यक है। आज भी देश की सब से ज्यादा आय कृषि के द्वारा ही होती है। हम कृषि से ४६.८ प्रतिशत, उद्योगों से १६.१ प्रतिशत और यातायात से १६.६ प्रतिशत आय प्राप्त कर रहे हैं। जिस उद्योग से इतनी अधिक आय हो रही है और जो उद्योग आज भी देश की रीढ़ बना हुआ है, उस उद्योग की वृद्धि और विकास की तरफ और उस उद्योग को चलाने वाले लोगों की अवस्था को सुधारने की तरफ हमारा ध्यान जाना चाहिए। विदेशों से गल्ला मंगाने के लिए जो करोड़ों पए हम खर्च कर रहे हैं, अगर हम उन को किसानों को सबसिद्धी के रूप में दें, तो किसान अधिक अन्न पैदा करने के लिए प्रेरित होंगे।

गो-रक्षण की तरफ भी हमारा ध्यान जाना चाहिए, क्योंकि वह भी कृषि से संबंधित है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना भासन हथ कर रहा हूँ।

**Shri Himatsingka (Godda):** Mr. Chairman, these budget proposals have to be examined in the background of the Chinese aggression, the treacherous aggression which resulted in the occupation of our territory by the Chinese. We had been treating them more or less as friends and brothers, and in spite of their professions of friendship, they acted treacherously and took advantage of the unpreparedness of the country so far as defence is concerned. Our country was engaged in the development of the economic conditions of the people and as such not much attention was given to the defence side. As a result, we had got this big

shock which has opened our eyes to the realities of the situation. It has now been recognised that the Himalayas, which were a source of protection to the country have now become more or less a doorway for the Chinese aggressors, and therefore, the country must be prepared to face them and make all necessary preparations. Therefore, it was only fit and proper that the Finance Minister should ask the country to make all possible sacrifice in the interests of the twin objectives of defence and economic development.

Economic development cannot be slowed down because economic production and industry is part and parcel of defence; especially having regard to the present methods of warfare, the two are almost inter-linked, and you cannot have proper defence unless the country produces everything that it needs, both from land and from factories. Therefore, both these objectives have to be kept in view, and we have got to see that our Budget proposals do not stand in the way of production or the setting up of the necessary industries, especially those industries which are defence-oriented. We have to examine the proposals from this standpoint, and because a large amount of money will be needed for the purpose, the Finance Minister had to spread his net as wide as possible and I think that he has tried to tap all possible sources that would be possibly available in the circumstances.

A large number of articles have been included for the purpose of enhancement of excise duties and also of customs. If you examine the list of the items that have been included in the increased excise duties and customs, you will find that not many of them are used by the common man. The common man is very much hit by the enhanced duty on kerosene and the duties on three or four other items, and I am sure the Finance Minister will take that into consideration. All other items are such that either they

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are part and parcel of the requirements of industry or are required by persons of higher means and not by the common man in the villages.

The rate of personal tax has also been increased and certain items like compulsory deposits have been introduced in order to rope in as many persons as possible. One thing that I would suggest to the Finance Minister for consideration is whether the compulsory deposit scheme, which intends to rope in millions of people, will be possible with the present machinery, and whether the machinery will not give in, in the stupendous task that the Bill seeks to introduce in the country. Of course, if he thinks of increasing the exemption limit so far as the persons who pay land revenue are concerned, perhaps a large number of them will be left out. Otherwise, I feel that in respect of persons who pay Re. 1 as ground-rent or such similar sums, it will be impossible to keep proper accounts, and it will be at least very expensive, and it may be that the expenses for making the arrangement will be too heavy.

I have stated that the twin objectives have to be kept in view, and judging from that standard, I would request the hon. Finance Minister to examine the incidence of super profits tax. The super profits tax is a charge on all profits after payment of income-tax and super-tax and corporation tax to the extent of 50 per cent in certain cases and 60 per cent in others. This year's income shows that the profits of the corporate sector amounted to about Rs. 396 crores, because the tax realised is about Rs. 198 crores. On the basis of 50 per cent, the profit comes to about Rs. 396 crores. Hoping that the profits will increase in the next year, because a number of new companies have come into existence, I can roughly put the figure at Rs. 420 crores for the next year. The paid-up capital of the corporate sector companies—I am not taking into account the public sector com-

panies—is in the neighbourhood of about Rs. 1700 crores including reserves. Out of this, companies with a total paid-up capital of Rs. 400 crores do not make a profit of more than Rs. 40 crores, may be even less. They will not come within the ambit of the Super Profits Tax Bill. Leaving them out, you have a paid-up capital and reserves to the extent of Rs. 1300 crores and a profit of about Rs. 380 crores, 50 per cent of that will be taxed in the shape of income-tax and corporate tax leaving Rs. 190 crores. On the basis of 6 per cent of Rs. 1300 crores, you leave out Rs. 78 crores, leaving Rs. 112 crores to be taxed. Rs. 52 crores will be liable to the extent of 50 per cent, leaving Rs. 28 crores. The balance will be taxed on the basis of 60 per cent. It will come to another about Rs. 36 crores. So, the total figure will come to about Rs. 62 crores. So, the expectation of Rs. 25 crores that has been put in the budget in my opinion is very low.

In this connection, I would suggest that certain facts have got to be taken into consideration. The profits that the companies make are available for ploughing back into industries where-by production increases and new industries are set up. In the years 1956 to 1960, the corporate profits amounted to Rs. 1182 crores roughly and the tax came to Rs. 588 crores, leaving an equal amount to be distributed as dividends and for ploughing back. About two-thirds of the amount had been distributed in dividends and the rest went into the development of the existing industries and new industries to be set up. That amounted to about 25 per cent of the total investment in those five years.

Similarly, in the third Plan, the private sector is expected to spent about Rs. 1350 crores. That is the basis which has been taken by the Planning Commission. The internal resources to be provided by the companies, according to the Planning Commission, are Rs. 600 crores. Of this, about Rs. 300 crores will come by

depreciation and the remaining Rs. 300 crores are to be saved by the companies. So, unless Rs. 300 crores are left with the companies, it will not be possible for them to come up to the expectations of the Planning Commission or to set up new industries. If you take the basis as I have mentioned just now, that amount will not be left with them. As a matter of fact, you must have noticed that Hindustan Lever were going in for heavy expansion and were going to issue shares at a premium of Rs. 35, but they have stopped the issue, because they feel that they will not be able to get any response from the market. Similarly, this will stand in the way of further progress. It will retard investment and further industries being set up, because there will be no capital formation.

So, I suggest that so far as the Super Profits Tax is concerned, some other basis may be taken. During the war and subsequently, the excess profits tax was introduced where the assesses were given the option to choose certain years by way of standard profits and any profits in excess of that were chargeable. Some such thing may be considered. I may remind the House that preference shares are generally being issued not below 9 per cent. Similarly the rates of borrowing amount to about 8 per cent. Banks generally charge 7½ per cent. Even the Industrial Finance Corporation and ICICI charge not less than 6½ per cent and 7 per cent with a rebate of ½ per cent in case of prompt payment and so on. Even bonus has been counted on the basis of 8½ per cent as profit. So, taking these things into consideration, I feel that something has got to be done.

The public sector undertakings should also be geared up, so that the investment of about Rs. 400 crores may give us a proper return. At present they are not giving any return. They are very important industries and if they are properly geared up, there is no reason why they should

not be able to help in the supply of sufficient funds to the Consolidated Fund of India. Banks also should be treated on a special basis, because they have to put in reserves under section 17 of the Banking Companies Act a certain amount of profits every year. They are the institutions which help the industries.

The Finance Minister has informed the House that he has made a lot of economy in the public expenditure. I feel that there is still room for further economy and I have no doubt that attempts will continue to be made to effect as much economy as possible.

Dr. M. S. Aney: Madam Chairman, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to participate in this debate. Several hon. Members of this House have referred to the pledge that was taken by them on the 14th November last, in connection with Chinese aggression. I think the time has come when that pledge should be repeated, reiterated and taken once more in this House. In that pledge, we had stated:

"With hope and faith, this House affirms the firm resolve of the Indian people to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India, however long and hard the struggle may be."

After that struggle began, the Chinese unilaterally declared a ceasefire and made a show that they had withdrawn not to the line to which we wanted them to withdraw, but to some line which they had in mind. We want to drive the enemy out of those positions which belong to us. I do not know whether there will be any occasion for negotiations. Even if there are no occasions for negotiations, we are pledged to make the enemy withdraw and we are making an effort to drive him out of the positions which belong to us.

There is one point which the hon. Finance Minister and other Ministers

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of the Government should bear in mind. While the enemy made a show of withdrawing his forces and declaring a cease-fire, he was simultaneously engaged in concluding a treaty with Pakistan to grab some more land which belongs to us. As we all know, by this treaty that was negotiated between China and Pakistan, China ultimately succeeded in getting something like, according to the estimate of the Government of Pakistan, 2000 square miles, whereas according to our estimate, if the statement of the Prime Minister is accurate, something like 13000 square miles has been given to them. So much of Indian territory they grabbed at a time when they were making a show that they do not want to do anything on the Indian territory and they would give an opportunity to the Indians to go and negotiate with them. I want this pledge to be renewed for this reason that even from this new land, which belongs to us for Kashmir is our land—and which, as a matter of fact, has been illegally occupied by rebels and through the rebels by Pakistan itself and which has now been donated or ceded to the Chinese under the treaty, we must drive them out. By this pledge, I want to declare that we are pledged to drive them out of this land also. If that is not perfectly clear from this pledge as it is, I want the Government to bring some other resolution including that land also so that our pledge can be said to include not only the land which was taken by them by aggression but also the land which was illegally occupied by Pakistan and given over to China.

Then I come to the second point. The Finance Minister, before finishing his exposition of the elaborate structure of taxation has very feelingly stated:

"It has not been an easy thing for me to contemplate that the proposals. I am called upon to make for my fifth Budget add up in their magnitude and range

very much more than the sum total of my proposals during the previous four budgets. It would certainly not be easy for the people to accept these proposals without a measure of privation on their part."

Having said this, he expressed his own uneasiness of mind. He proceeds to give his justification for raising resources for defence and development next year. The total outlay is Rs. 305.90 crores of which the Customs duties account for Rs. 87.39 crores directly including compulsory savings of individuals and companies for Rs. 110.40 crores, excise duties and inter-State sales tax for the balance of Rs. 108.11 crores.

His inability to answer in the affirmative the following three questions in his justification for imposition of this heavy burden on the people of India. The famous three questions are: (1) can we afford not to meet the Chinese aggression; (2) would it be prudent to try and meet this challenge by forsaking our aspirations for development; or (3) would it be wise not to face it squarely and unless the forces of inflation? There is nobody in this House, I want to assure the Finance Minister, who does not appreciate the extremely difficult nature of the task which the hon. Finance Minister was called upon to face and who does not feel admiration for the ingenious efforts made by him to tap new sources and plug the holes of the old ones through which there is a constant leaking. But in spite of that, I cannot but observe that the Finance Minister was not right in putting defence and development on the same footing and not to find out which of the two must have priority in the present state of emergency. Although I am prepared to admit that there are aspects of industrial development which are necessary for a nation to be properly prepared with full modern defence equipment, I cannot subscribe to the view that all that goes in the name of social development programmes such as the

democratic decentralisation, uplift of sadhus, saints and Gosins, the so-called cultural activities emphasising primarily the dance, dramas, drums and dholaks and creating an atmosphere of hilarity and taking away the spirituality and fine susceptibility out of life are all matters that stand on the same level with defence or defence efforts as properly understood by the world at large.

Those who are at the helm of the Indian Government have certain views about life and modes of living. All that is now summarised in the convenient phrase socialist pattern—and the Union Government has been consistently following the policy of turning India into that pattern of socialistic State which it has in view. It may be that they honestly believe that that is the real form of the State in which fundamental ideals laid down in the Constitution relating to justice, liberty, equality and fraternity, can properly come into play in real life and not merely remain absolute ideals unrelated to human affairs. And, the entire economic and social programme is promulgated, so far as I see, to bring that socialistic pattern of the State into existence.

The question is whether the State has not revised its programme of social and industrial development as adopted in the Third Five Year Plan with a view to meet the exigency of retrenchment caused by the situation of emergency, to meet the present and immediate and urgent requirements of defence. It was a zealous pursuit of development programmes understood in a wider sense to bring about what is often described as a socialist revolution, that was responsible for considerable negligence, if not apathy for defence of India in the last 15 years. It was, therefore, necessary to make up the defect in the period of emergency by giving preference to defence in the provisions made in the budget.

In the very illuminating speech which the Finance Minister made in

placing the budget proposals before the House, I do not find him saying how he had to clip the programme of the social and industrial development. He has told the States that they are not depend on the Union Government for any new schemes, but how the existing programmes for the Third Five Year Plan itself has been modified is not clearly shown in the speech. People generally feel that there is scope for diminishing the expenditure and reducing the burden by distributing some of the items over 10 years instead of 5 years as at present contemplated.

War preparations and reconstruction of a new nation each of which demand for its success full and undivided attention and co-operation of the people cannot go together. It is particularly liable to prove as impediments to the vigorous pursuit of the programme of defence and preparation of the nation for war itself in the near future and which may cover at any moment without notice. Besides, predilections of the numerous officers scattered over the whole country in whose hands the execution and implementation of the two programme lies may also create further difficulties. It is because of this that I have laboured over this point of priority of defence over development and the mistaken view of treating both on the same level or having the same priority, at the time of the emergency as the present one.

Defence or development based on the conception of socialistic revolution is like a woman who is good, well-behaved, loving nevertheless jealous of a rival. A little more emphasis on the cause of defence in this period of emergency would certainly have been more graceful and decidedly welcome to this House and the country at large. It would have given it the look of a purely national and non-party budget also. It would have then been symptomatic of the great

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unity which the state of emergen has fortunately brought about.

I was considerably surprised and even pained when my distinguished friend, Shri Dhebar, for whom I have very great respect, remarked that any political party accusing the Government of launching an economic war against them is not sincere in its profession of patriotism. That is the charge which he has made. He was referring to the leader of the Swatantra Party in the course of developing his argument on this point. Professor Ranga, leader of that party, was not present in the House and the revered Rajaji is not at all a member of the House, although he is one of the strongest critics of the Government's socialist pattern activities and the present taxation also. I am sure, Shri Dhebar had not in his mind the great leader of the Swatantra Party in his accusation that they were not sincere in their profession of patriotism. How can we expect a sober man like Shri Dhebar to accuse Rajaji of insincerity in his profession of patriotism? Only one who is oblivious of the glorious services rendered by him to the cause of Indian liberty during the struggle and the dignified manner in which he discharged the duties of the high gubernatorial office of the last but the first Indian Governor-General of India can talk about him in an irreverent language and doubt his sincerity. It was he whose aid was sought by Shri Prakasa, the then Governor of Madras, to restore to the Congress Government in Madras a degree of stability by asking him to accept the office of the Chief Minister at a time when he was badly in need of rest. He did not care for the high position from which he retired and simply out of his great love for the country and the Congress he accepted the office and succeeded in giving the State Congress Government stability in the State of Madras. We have certainly fallen on evil if patriotism of personalities like that of Rajaji is assailed by any member of this House.

**Shrimati Yashoda Reddi:** With due respect to the hon. Member I do not think Shri Dhebar or anybody questioned the patriotism of Rajaji. The only thing he questioned was the method adopted by the Swatantra Party to oppose the defence effort. Nobody has questioned his patriotism or, for that matter, the patriotism of any member of the Swatantra Party.

**Dr. M. S. Aney:** I am very glad to hear that. I myself did not think Shri Dhebar said that. I heard about this in the lobby.

**Shrimati Yashoda Reddi:** What he heard in the lobby is a different matter.

**Dr. M. S. Aney:** I thought it was necessary to clear the position on behalf of the members of this House and say that on disparagement was meant against him.

**Mr. Chairman:** It is better that he does not refer to him because he is not present in the House.

**Dr. M. S. Aney:** Rajaji stands head and shoulders above away one in this House for his past services, sacrifices, intellectual acuteness, foresight and, above all, his fearlessness to express his convictions and also for the dauntless spirit with which he carried on his work with unabated vigour and energy in his advanced age of 84 years. My hat goes up to him in salutation for in him I find the saintliness of Gandhiji and the crusading spirit of Lokmanya Tilak. Our attempt in this House, and particularly in this period of national crisis, should be to unite the nation and not to divide it.

I have many other points to refer, but I will reserve them for some other occasion in the discussion on the Demands for Grants. But there is one point with which I am in entire agreement with Finance Minister, and that this, that the defence effort, if it is to be adequately met, demands sacrifices

from everybody from the big and the small. They must make it ungrudgingly, willingly and cheerfully. I, therefore, vote for the budget proposals as they are but I think there are certain points which in the cause of war itself deserve to be considered by him more carefully. One is about super profit tax. The effect of it on the newly started companies will be very discouraging and it will inhibit the growth of undertakings of big industrial enterprises in the private sector also. This is a point which I want to make in connection with this tax. Similarly, the proposal of compulsory saving, such as it is, is open to objection on its legality. My hon. friend, Shri Yajnik, has raised this point. I do not want to say more as he has developed that point. I want the Law Ministry to look into this aspect of the matter.

Apart from this, persons in the low scale of income, say, those who earn Rs. 5,000 per year and below, will find it impossible to live decently or even to make the two ends meet. The attempt to raise the standard of living on the one hand and to make it impossible for the living men to live even a decent life by raising taxation on necessities of life is contradiction in terms. To compel them to save with a view to enable the Government to pocket the same as deposit for public good on one hand and render it impossible for them to make such savings as they were used to make by making their contributions to the provident fund and payment of insurance premia etc. on the other hand are certainly things which are not compatible with each other. An attempt must be made to iron out these disparities and make taxation structure as smooth as possible.

The third suggestion is with regard to the gold policy of the Government. It is clear from the statement laid on the Table of the House as well as the speech that he made over the motion in the House that his main object in promulgating the order was to stop smuggling and the abolition of the

pernicious habit of love of gold which is uneconomic and contrary to the spirit of the social State envisaged by him. It is for that big social revolution which he endeavours to usher in that he insisted like a religious crusader on getting this golden policy adopted by the nation. It is also clear that he wants the gold to be collected and put in vaults of some banks in the custody of the Government.

15.59 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Sir, the Finance Minister admits that the annual import of gold by way of smuggling may be Rs. 40 crores, 50 crores or 60 crores and he has not been able to stop this smuggling. If it is correct, I have no doubt that notwithstanding the figures of national income which the Government gives, the people in other countries know it for certain that India has a high purchasing capacity for gold. Is that not taken by them as a sign and more tangible proof of the solvency of the Indian people and Indian nation? The so-called poorest country is the biggest customer for the most precious metal of the world and the largest hoarder of it is a well-known fact. It is that phenomenon which must have contributed considerably to the high credit which the Government of India had in the big foreign countries, or the strength of which the credit of the Government of India also stands. A Government which simply deals in papers and token coins can have no credit unless it is backed up by the amount of gold in their vaults or in the total quantity of gold held in the country. It must have helped the Government of India a good deal in striking their bargains for big loans. That, of course, is the layman's view and not of economic experts who will not put it like that. The people are not anxious to buy gold from the smugglers. Destroy the smugglers by all means, but allow the gold to have a natural flow to this country.

16 hrs.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** It is not over even after five hours' discussion.

**Mr. Speaker:** He does not hear.

**Dr. M. S. Aney:** In this connection I want to observe that the observation by the hon. Finance Minister in his statement that the Government has not succeeded in stopping smuggling because the country has a very large coastline and border land. If a man cannot defend the border because it is very large or stop smuggling for the same reason, it is indeed an indirect admission of our inability to rule this country. Such statement ought not to be made in my opinion. Our policy may have gone wrong and another policy may succeed. Gold and land were the two important items.

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

**Dr. M. S. Aney:** You have rung the bell.

**Mr. Speaker:** Besides the bell, the Gold Control Rules were already discussed in a separate discussion that we had had and therefore we had believed that this would not be taken up during the discussion on the General Budget.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** The lure of gold is not lost.

**Dr. M. S. Aney:** Gold and land were the two important items in this country in which Indians, other than merchants, used to invest their savings in the interest of their own support in old age or of the future generations. What is wrong then for the hon. Finance Minister to feel ashamed of and turn himself into a crusader against gold hoarding? He wants every man to part with a little gold; maybe, a few *mashas* or even less than that, but he wants to have it. What does he want it for? Does he want to have it for himself? I am sure, he wants not a bit of gold for himself. I appre-

ciate his effort to hoard it in Government vaults at this time if it suits his purposes. He will succeed if he issues bonds extending over a certain period of years for maturity.....

**Mr. Speaker:** How much more is to be read?

**Dr. M. S. Aney:** This is the only constructive suggestion that I will make in this matter. In half a minute I shall finish it.

He will succeed if he issues bonds extending over a certain period of years for maturity carrying a low interest and agree to return the gold or its value at the option of the depositors at the international market rate on the date of maturity for payment. In the mean time if industrialism develops and creates some confidence in the minds of the people, the depositors of gold may not think of having the gold itself. They may be satisfied with whatever the Government may give them at that time. But if they want it, Government should be in a position to give it back. There is a suspicion in the minds of the people, if they do not agree to give it, that the gold that is collected will not remain in India. The hon. Finance Minister has given us an assurance that it will be kept in India, but that assurance will be believed by them only if the Government is prepared to deposit it on the condition that at some suitable date, if they like, it will be returned to them and in the mean time a certain amount of interest will be paid to them. If that scheme is adopted, there is one advantage.

The non-fulfilment of an appeal made by the Government to the people in the name of Gold Bonds is not very creditable. That shakes the credit of the Government in my opinion. It creates a want of confidence. On the other hand, a scheme like that will keep up the credit, the Government will have the gold in its vaults and by that time they will be able to take it out. For these reasons I have given this suggestion.

As regards the other points, I will leave them now because my time is up. I thank you for the leniency you have shown in allowing me to speak even beyond my time.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, the national budget of a country is not only an account of the receipts and expenditure, but it is also a mirror of the nation. It holds up the mirror to the economic health of the nation, to the developmental activities of the nation and also to the future growth and prospects of the nation. I think, judged by that standard, the Budget that has been presented by the hon. Finance Minister is a very admirable one.

I have felt surprised to hear that this Budget has not promoted the cause of socialism and that it has not promoted the good of our defence in the maximum possible manner. But I am reading some of the criticism that has been offered about this Budget in the foreign press and, I think, the foreign press has been almost unanimous in this, that is, they have accused the Finance Minister of a rigid, dogmatic and doctrinaire approach to the problems of finance in this country.

Some of the persons who have spoken in that strain are those who are inclined towards socialism and some of the persons who have talked about like that are those who do not commit themselves to any kind of ism. I feel that this Budget has not tried to embroil itself with any ism too much. The underlying purpose, of course, has been the re-construction of a socialistic society in this country. But in no way has it tried to interfere with the developmental activities of this country to whatever sector they may refer. I therefore think that on the whole it is a very, very balanced Budget.

I have been surprised to hear some of the hon. friends of this hon. House who said that the Super Profits Tax is going to bring down the heavens upon India, is going to work havoc

and is going to interfere with our economic growth. There was one great prophet in England. He was a very great writer also. His name was Carlyle. He said on one occasion that there are some persons who cry murder before they are hurt. This is true of the big business people in my country. Every time that I have come to this House and have listened to the Budget speech of the hon. Finance Minister, I have heard it said in the Lobbies and also in the office of some of the Jute Press....

**Shri U. M. Trivedi (Mandsaur):** Jute press?

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** He does not understand "Jut Press"; he understands some other kind of press.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** Is it where jute is pressed?

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** Jute is not pressed but sometimes his brain is pressed there.

I was submitting very respectfully that there I have heard it said that this Budget is going to be detrimental to our economic growth. All kinds of things have been said about the Super Profits Tax.

Now, look at the history of economic growth in India for the last five years. If there is one lesson which is borne out by it, it is that the private sector has been growing and growing and growing. In spite of all the complaints and grouses that they have put forward against our plans and our Budgets, their dividends have not suffered any recession, their capital has not suffered any kind of diminution and their profits have not undergone any kind of decline. They have been progressing. In fact, some persons of my way of thinking think that this country of ours is more favourable for the growth of the private sector, that is, the corporate sector, than anything else. And it amazes me to see how cleverly the figures are given to show that that is going to bring ruin to them.

[Shri D. C. Sharma]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I can assure you that when the accounts of these companies are brought forward after some time—and I hope the Company Law Administration will do that—you will find that in spite of this super profits tax, in spite of all these kinds of Taxation which they are going to undergo, they are not going to be the sufferers in the least. Therefore, I believe that the tears that the big business people are shedding are crocodile tears and I do not think that we have to be awed by them or we have to be compassionate towards them. I think, if there is one thing for which I congratulate the hon. Finance Minister, it is this that he has given a very equable, graduated and equitable kind of super profits tax to those persons who are trying to make all this kind of noise about our budget.

16.11 hrs.

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

The hon. Member, Shri U. N. Dhebar said to our Finance Minister that he had to be aware of two enemies. One is China and, I think, everyone is aware of China. We do not need any reminder from anybody. The whole budget is a pointer in that direction. Our Finance Minister has risen to the occasion, has risen to the demands of national emergency in that way and, I think, every member of this House is grateful to him. But, Sir, we have also to be aware of those persons who want to build up industrial empires in this country, who want to hold the whole nation at ransom and who want that the Finance Minister and this country should dance to their tune. I am sure this is a very great danger and a pointer in that direction is a resolution which is going to be brought forward at the next meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. They think that planning is outdated, they think that this economic development cannot be done by the Government and that the public

sector should be given a go-by. These persons whose economic conceptions are economic conceptions of the Victorian era and who do not understand what is happening in the world of today are there to sermonise to us that we should derail the economy of our country only in their interest. Therefore, I think, the biggest danger that we have in this country is from those persons who want to build up industrial empires on the sweat and tears and hard work of the poor people in this country and I am sure that our Finance Minister will take note of them and will deal with them adequately.

Sir, it is said about our Finance Minister that he is a rightist. I do not know what the word 'rightist' means because I also do not know what the word 'leftist' means and also what the word 'centrist' means. All these words are bandied about. But, I think, by imposing the super profits tax, he has shown that he may not be rightist, but he is right; he may not be centrist, but he knows the centre of the pulse of the country; he may not be leftist, but he knows that he will not leave any stone unturned for safeguarding the honour and the integrity of this country. Therefore, I think, he represents all those things.

Then, I also request him to beware of the tax-evader. I tell you, Sir, the Ministry of Finance has very fine reports, but if there are dark pages in the Ministry's report, they refer to these tax-evaders. What is this battalion of income-tax inspectors meant for? What is the Central Board of Revenue meant for if they cannot lay their hands on these tax-evaders? What is the good of having all these? I would like to tell you, Sir, that the Income-tax Department will not be judged by the way it gets taxes from Mr. D. R. Chavan or from Mr. Ansar Harvani, but it will be judged by the way it reduces the element of tax-evasion in this country. The tax-evader is a social pest and,

I think, the Finance Minister should discover some kind of an insecticide to destroy this social pest. Unless this is done, I am sure all the attempts of our Finance Ministry will not bring about that quantum of economic health in this country which is needed.

Sir, there is another thing also. Now, the moment the budget is announced, the profiteer comes into action. I cannot prove it. Take, for example, my case. I am a smoker; I smoke cigarettes . . .

**An Hon. Member:** Chain smoker.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** I leave the chain to you. But I do smoke. Sir, I was respectfully submitting that I am a smoker.

**An Hon. Member:** What about other things?

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** The other things like *khir*, I leave them to you.

I very respectfully submit that I am a smoker. The moment the Finance Minister announced the budget, the packet of Capstan that I take went up in price. I went from the House of the People to my house and I wanted a packet of Capstan cigarettes. I used to pay formerly 80 nP for it, and I had to pay them 100 nP for it. I do not want the Finance Minister to bring into action the Defence of India Rules to deal with them. No. I tell you, we have to see to it that India does not become a paradise of profiteers of all grades—small, medium and big. Of course, on the big we sometimes cannot lay our hands on. I think the only thing we can do is that we should try to have the price tag displayed on every article of consumption, not only in villages but also in towns—everywhere—so that the profiteer does not get away with all that kind of ill-conceived profit which he has in view.

At the same time, I would request the hon. Minister to take care of those persons who are not doing their duty—the shirkers. In our

country unfortunately, and in some of the Government offices unfortunately, you find one species of human beings and that is called shirkers. They do not do their work. There was one Governor in my State—the old united Punjab—Mr. Jenkins. He found that all the judges, sub-judges, district and sessions judges, all these judges, were not disposing of their cases properly. So, he evolved a Jenkins formula—the sub-judge should dispose of so many cases, the senior sub-judge so many cases, the sessions judge so many cases and so on. I tell you, Sir, the face of things in the judiciary in my State changed. I believe that something should be done in order to penalise shirking in my country, whether it is in the private sector, whether it is in government service, whether it is elsewhere. This has got to be done. I would like the Finance Minister to have a surprise visit some day to any office in Delhi or elsewhere when there is the lunch hour. I want to ask him, how long the lunch hour lasts in the Government of India offices or elsewhere—half an hour, one hour, or what. He will find how this lunch hour is elongated and elongated and how this lunch hour becomes a kind of apology for shirking work. Sir, I was saying all this in order to tell the Finance Minister that all his noble intentions, all his promises for the good of his country will be defeated by these persons who are there to do all these kinds of things.

One or two more points I want to deal with. First, I would suggest to the hon. Finance Minister very humbly, because he knows the whole picture and I know only a fragment of the picture, that he should try to control the administrative expenses somehow. I wish my friend Shri Feroze Gandhi had been alive to make an eloquent plea for that. He is no more. I do not think anybody can do it like him. But, here it is. In the Supplementary demands, I found another Ministry coming into being. The Ministry has already been there. Look at the number of officers, gazetted,

[Shri D. C. Sharma]

non-gazetted and class IV that have been allotted to the Ministry of Economic and Defence Co-ordination. There are 45 gazetted officers, some non-gazetted officers and 43 class IV persons. If our administration goes on proliferating like this, I think it will not do any kind of good to our country. Of course, I have nothing to say against the Ministry of Economic and Defence Co-ordination. For aught I know, it is an essential Ministry. I do not want to say anything against that. But, whenever we have to deal with Supplementary demands, we deal mostly with creation of new posts, with the creation of new avenues of service, with the creation of new things, which involve great expenditure.

One thing I want to say and I will finish. I am a teacher. The hon. Finance Minister was, the other day, very kind to twit me at being a teacher.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I did not twit him.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** He twitted me at being a professor. I am a teacher. There is not much difference. I know our Finance Minister twits people when they are teachers.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** How can I twit? My father was a teacher. How can I twit a teacher?

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** I am very glad. When he was replying to my point on Gold Control, he said, he is a mere professor. So I said that. That is what I thought.

**Shrimati Yashoda Reddy:** He did not say, mere professor; he said, why did the hon. professor plunge into this.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** I was submitting respectfully that one thing for which Stalin, in spite of his imperfections, is honoured in the Soviet Union today is, he introduced universal education. We have also introduced universal education in our country.

That is one of the greatest achievements of this Government. Illiteracy has to be abolished by some follow up matters. That can be done only if you have literature in this country which other people can read. This literature is a very important thing. I find that the new postal rates are such as will make the distribution of books to those places where no books are produced, very difficult. Take *Bharat ki buniyadi ekta* by Nehru: its price is 75 nP. But, the postal charges including registration will cost 1 rupee and 11 nP. *Atma Katha* by Gandhi: the cost is one rupee. The proposed postal charges come to Rs. 1.11. *The Bhagavad Gita*: What was it before? It was 88 N.P. It has become Rs. 1.11 Similarly *Pita ke patra putri ke nam* by Nehru: it costs one rupee. If it is to be sent outside, formerly, it used to cost 76 nP. Now, it will cost 91 nP. I want the Finance Minister to get money from everybody in this country, because the Budget is going to be an essay in co-partnership. But, when you think of co-operation, when you think in terms of the different kinds of persons, I think this kind of tax on knowledge, especially for those persons who are living in villages, should be done away with. I hope the Finance Minister will look into it.

I thank once again for giving us a Budget which satisfies the twin needs of economic growth and defence.

**Shri Himatsingka:** I may inform Shri D. C. Sharma that this super profits tax would help indirectly the present industrialists because there will be very few new industries coming up and they will have a virtual monopoly.

श्री ब० प्र० सिंह (मुंबेर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने जो बजट पेश किया है, उसमें करों को बढ़ाता है। ऐसा कहा जा सकता है कि इमर्जेन्सी के कारण उन का

धौचित्य भी है, परन्तु जीवन की बुनियादी चीजें तो हर एक व्यक्ति को सुलभ होनी चाहिए। हर एक मनुष्य के लिए खाना, कपड़ा, रहने की जगह, शिक्षा और स्वास्थ्य की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए। इस के लिए यह सब से जरूरी था कि प्लानिंग कमिशन को भारत के हर एक नागरिक के जीवन-स्तर को ऊंचा उठाना चाहिए था। और लोगों की बुनियादी जरूरतों को पूरा करने के बाद ही उन पर टैक्स लगाना चाहिए था। हम खाना खाना चाहते हैं अपने स्वास्थ्य को बनाए रखने के लिए, स्वाद के लिए नहीं। इन्हीं प्रकार हम कपड़े पहनना चाहते हैं सर्दी-गर्मी से बचने के लिए, शरीर की शोभा के लिए नहीं। हम चाहते हैं कि देश के सभी १४ वर्ष से कम बच्चों के लिये कम्पलसरी शिक्षा की व्यवस्था हो, ताकि बे बेग के अच्छे और सुयोग्य नागरिक बन सकें। इसी तरीके से हम चाहते हैं कि हर एक आदमी के लिए रहने का आवास हो और उस के स्वास्थ्य के लिए पूरा प्रबन्ध हो। लेकिन आज ऐसा नहीं हो पा रहा है। इमर्जेंसी के नाम पर आज जो टैक्स लगाए जा रहे हैं, हिन्दुस्तान का प्रत्येक आदमी उन का समर्थन कर रहा है, लेकिन इस बात का भी खयाल रखना पड़ेगा कि लोगों की बुनियादी जरूरियात को पूरा किया जाये।

हम देखते हैं कि इस सत्र में ही सरकार अंग्रेजी को सरकारी काम काज के लिए हिन्दी की सहभाषा बनाना चाहती है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि देश के हर एक नागरिक को और लोक सभा के सदस्य को संविधान की प्रतिष्ठा करनी चाहिए। हम १९४९ में यह कुबूल कर चुके हैं कि हमारी राजभाषा हिन्दी होगी और लिपि देवनागरी होगी। लेकिन जब कभी इस बारे में चर्चा चलती है, तो बहुत से लोग कहते हैं कि हिन्दी थोपी नहीं जानो चाहिए। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दी की प्रतिष्ठा केवल हिन्दी की प्रतिष्ठा ही नहीं है, बल्कि वह तो संविधान की प्रतिष्ठा है। यदि आप संविधान की प्रतिष्ठा करना चाहते हैं, तो आप का

कुबूल करना चाहिए कि पंद्रह वर्षों के बाद हिन्दी को अनिवार्य रूप से जारी किया जायेगा। लेकिन आज यह कहा जाता है कि हमारे बहुत नेता इस बारे में वादा कर चुके हैं, प्रतिज्ञा कर चुके हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि संविधान का दर्जा किसी भी व्यक्ति से बड़ा है। जिस संविधान को हम सब मंजूर कर चुके हैं, उसमें किसी की सहूलियत या किसी के विरोध के कारण परिवर्तन नहीं करना चाहिये, क्योंकि ऐसा करने से संविधान की प्रतिष्ठा कायम नहीं रहती है।

और एक बात मैं भी संविधान की अवहेलना की गई है और वह है शराबखोरी के संबंध में। जहां तक स्वास्थ्य का संबंध है, कोई यह नहीं कह सकता कि शराब से स्वास्थ्य नहीं बिगड़ता है। महात्मा गांधी ने तो यहाँ तक कहा था कि यदि मुझे एक घंटे के लिये भी डिक्टेटर शिप बना दिया जाए। तो मैं सबसे पहले यह काम करूंगा कि मैं शराबखोरी और नशाखोरी को बन्द कर दूंगा। हम बापू का नाम लेते हैं, लेकिन फिर भी देश में शराबखोरी और नशाखोरी को जारी रहने देते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान के हर एक नागरिक को इस बात पर शर्म आनी चाहिये कि पंद्रह वर्ष के बाद भी हम शराबखोरी को दूर नहीं कर सके हैं।

बहुत से लोग कहते हैं कि शराबखोरी को खत्म करने की जवाबदेही राज्य सरकारों पर है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसी बहुत सी बातें हैं, जिन का संबंध राज्य सरकारों से है, लेकिन उन के संबंध में केन्द्रीय सरकार की भी बहुत बड़ी जिम्मेदारी है और वही उन को अच्छी तरह से कर सकती है। उदाहरण के लिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार कृषि की उन्नति चाहती है और संविधान में हमने यह प्रतिज्ञा की है कि हम दुधारू गायों और बखुड़ों का बच नहीं करेंगे। कुछ राज्य सरकारों ने इस तरफ कदम उठाया है, लेकिन यूनियन सरकार की तरफ से पशु-पालन की उन्नति के संबंध में कोई विशेष कार्य नहीं हुआ है।

[श्री ब० प्र० सिन्हा]

शिक्षा भी हमारे लिए एक महत्व का विषय है। आज हम देखते हैं कि प्राथमिक शिक्षा भी हमारे यहां तीन प्रकार की चल रही है, एक है ट्रेडिशनल, दूसरी है रूरल और तीसरी है बेसिक। हम यह निश्चय ही नहीं कर पाये हैं कि इन से कौनसी बेहतर है, किस को अपनाया जाये, किस का प्रतिपादन किया जाये। यह जो तरीका है यह ठीक नहीं है। इसके साथ ही साथ आप पब्लिक स्कूल भी खोलने जा रहे हैं। यह जो कुछ भी हो रहा है, इसमें मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि आप कृष्ण मुदामा पैरा कर सकते हैं। सारी पद्धतियों का सर्वेक्षण करके, सारी पद्धतियों का अध्ययन करके, जो भी पद्धति लाभप्रद हो, उसको आपको सारे देश में लागू करना चाहिये।

अनर्म्प्लायमेंट भी हमारे देश में बहुत बढ़ रही है। यह शिक्षित वर्ग में ही नहीं बल्कि जो शिक्षित नहीं हैं, उन में भी बढ़ रही है। इसकी तरफ भी आप का ध्यान जाना चाहिये। पिछले दस बरसों से मैं निवेदन करता आ रहा हूँ कि आप निम्नतम जो जीवन मान है, उसको स्थिर कर दें और ऊंचे से ऊंचा जो हो सकता है, उसको भी स्थिर कर दें। लेकिन आप इसके बारे में भी कोई फीमता नहीं कर सके हैं, कि निम्न से निम्न कौन सा जीवन मान होना चाहिये। अगर आपने ऐसा कर दिया होता तो नीचे वालों को ऊपर लाने की और ऊपर वालों को नीचे लाने की आप कुछ कोशिश तो कर ही सकते थे। हमारे योजना मंत्री जी ने कहा था कि यह मामला विचाराधीन है। अभी तक भी ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि यह विचाराधीन ही है और इस पर कोई निर्णय नहीं लिया जा सका है। इसके बारे में जब पार्लिमेंट में प्रश्न किये जाते हैं तो उनका भी सन्तोषजनक उत्तर नहीं दिया जाता है। शायद इसको महत्वहीन बात समझा जाता है। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि यह मामला बहुत जल्द ही और इस पर आप को तुरन्त ध्यान देना चाहिये और किसी निश्चय पर पहुँचना चाहिये।

यह कहा जाता है कि हमारे देश की पैदावार बढ़े। पैदावार किस तरह से बढ़ सकती है, इस पर आप पूरे तरीके से ध्यान नहीं देते हैं। आप एक कमिशन बिठाने का विचार कर रहे हैं जोकि इस पर विचार करेगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि आज जो पैदावार नहीं बढ़ रही है, उसके जहां दूसरे कई कारण हैं, वहां एक कारण यह भी है कि योजना कमिशन इस मामले से अनभिज्ञ है। आप देखें कि आज किसान की अवस्था क्या है, उत्पादन का खर्चा क्या है और आप उसको क्या देते हैं। अगर आप इन सब बातों पर विचार करें तो पैदावार बढ़ना मुश्किल नहीं होना चाहिये। खुशी की बात है कि योजना कमिशन ने निश्चय किया है कि बड़ी बड़ी सिंचाई योजनाओं पर जोर न दे कर मध्यम दर्जे की सिंचाई योजनाओं पर जोर दिया जाये, छोटी सिंचाई योजनाओं पर जोर दिया जाये। आज आप देखें तो पता चलेगा कि ६.४ करोड़ हाउसहोल्ड देहातों में हैं उन में से २३ प्रतिशत ऐसे हैं जिन के पास कोई जमीन नहीं है। २४ प्रतिशत ऐसे हैं जिन के पास एक एकड़ से कम जमीन है। तीन चौथाई परिवार ऐसे हैं जिन के पास पांच एकड़ से कम जमीन है। और १५ ऐसे हैं जिन के पास दस एकड़ से अधिक जमीन है। एक परसंत है ऐसे हैं जिन के पास पचास एकड़ से ज्यादा जमीन है। कुछ हजार ही ऐसे परिवार हैं, जिन के पास २५० एकड़ या इससे अधिक जमीन है। और एक लाख के करीब ऐसे हैं जिन के पास सी एकड़ से ज्यादा जमीन है। अगर लैंडलैस लोगों को निकाल दिया जाये तो करीब छः एकड़ प्रति परिवार ही जमीन पड़ती है। आप इस को भी देखें कि एक एकड़ पर जो नैट प्राफिट होता है वह केवल चार्लस रुपये होता है। ऐसी हालत में आप देखें कि जब आप लैंड सीलिंग की बात करते हैं, तो जो सीलिंग लगाते हैं, उस में उन को कितना आमदनी होती है। आप की यह क्वाहिश प्रतीत होती है कि खेती का काम अनपढ़ लोगों के जिम्मे ही रहे। अगर आप

ऐसा नहीं चाहते हैं और चाहते हैं कि देश के पढ़े लिखे लोग भी खेती के काम में दिलचस्पी लें, खेती के काम को करें पढ़े लिखे नौजवान भी इसमें लगे, तो आप को जो ऊंची से ऊंची सीमा है उसको भी तय कर देना होगा। सैक्रेटेरियट में तो आप लोगों को तीन तीन हजार रुपया माहवार देते हैं, लेकिन जो खेतो करता है, उसके लिए आप बीस या पच्चीस एकड़ की सीलिंग लगा देते हैं इरिगेटेड होल्डिंग को ६-७ एकड़ वे रखते हैं। इससे क्या हां सकता है।

आप इसके लिए भी चिन्तित हैं कि प्राइमिस को रोकना जाये। अब प्राइमिस को कैसे रोक जा सकता है। प्राइमिस तभी रुक सकती है यदि आप जो प्राइडकशन कास्ट है, उस को आधार मान कर चलें, और उसको देख कर कीमतें नियम करें। यदि आप ने ऐसा किया तभी किसानों को प्रोत्साहन मिल सकता है, तभी वे अधिक पैदावार करने के लिए उत्साहित किये जा सकते हैं, तभी उन में उत्साह का संचार हो सकता है। आप यह सवाल कर सकते हैं कि प्राइडकशन कास्ट को कैसे मालूम किया जाये। इसका भी जवाब मेरे पास है। हर एक ब्लाक में आपने फार्म कायम किये हैं। उन फार्म में जो कुछ पैदा होता है, उसको पैदा करने की जो कास्ट होती है, उसके आधार पर ही आप प्राइमिस नियत कर सकते हैं। यदि आपने ऐसा किया तो किसान को इमैटिव होगा और वह अधिक पैदा करेगा।

आप यह भी देखें कि क्या आप ने उसके खेत को फ़्लूड से और सूखे से बचाने के लिए भी कोई प्रबन्ध किया है या नहीं किया है। यदि किसी वर्ष में बाढ़ आ जाती है या सूखा पड़ जाता है तो किसान की सारी पूंजी होती है, वह तो तबाह होती ही है, वह तो बरबाद होती है, उसके बाद भी जो मजदूरी उसको देनी पड़ती है, वह अलग होती है। ऐसी हालत में भी जो लगान होता है वह भी माफ नहीं किया जाता है।

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अब आप कम्पलसरी सेविंग करने जा रहे हैं और आप कहते हैं कि लगान का जो पचास प्रतिशत होगा वह इस में जमा होगा। आप ने जो अनइकोनोमिक होल्डिंग हैं, उनका भी ख्याल नहीं किया है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आपने फेजपुर कांग्रेस में, हरीपुरा कांग्रेस में किसानों को विश्वास दिलाया था कि उनकी मालगुजारी काफी कम कर दी जायेगी। ऐसा न करके आज किया यह गया है कि बिहार में साढ़े बारह परसेंट उन पर सैस बढ़ चुका है, इस बजट के फलस्वरूप २५ परसेंट उन पर भार पड़ने वाला है और कम्पलसरी सेविंग में उनको पचास परसेंट देना पड़ेगा। जो यह हुआ, सो तो हुआ लेकिन आप सब से पहले जीवन मान तो स्थिर कीजिये, जो लोगों की बुनियादी जरूरियात हैं, उनकी पूर्ति तो कीजिये। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी कहते हैं कि यह लड़ाई बरसों तक चल सकती है और कभी कभी यह भी कहते हैं कि जनरेशंस तक चल सकती है। ऐसी हालत में आपको सोचना पड़ेगा कि भारत के प्रत्येक नागरिक की बुनियादी चीजों की जरूरियात पूरी हों। हर किसी को पहनने के लिए कपड़ा मिलना चाहिये, शरीर की शोभा के लिए नहीं बल्कि गर्मी सर्दी से उसकी रक्षा हो सके, इसलिए, सुबह शाम का सब को भोजन मिलना चाहिये, स्वाद के लिए नहीं बल्कि, स्वास्थ्य रक्षा के लिए, रहने का हर किसी को घर मिलना चाहिये ताकि वह सर्दी गर्मी से अपनी रक्षा कर सके। यह आप तभी कर सकते हैं जब आप जीवन मान स्थिर कर दें और जो निम्न स्तर पर हैं, उनको किसी तरह से ऊपर लायें, उन पर किसी तरह का कर न लगायें और किसानों को भी उसी स्तर पर लायें, जिस स्तर पर आप अन्य नागरिकों को लाते हैं, शहर वालों को लाते हैं।

हमारे पास जो जमीन है, उसको आप देखें। यह भी आप देखें कि उस जमीन से जो पैदावार होती है, वह कैसे बढ़ सकती है। बहुत से प्लानिंग कमिशन के सदस्यों ने कहा कि खेतों की मेढ़ों को तोड़ दो, सड़कों की

[श्री ब० प्र० सिंह]

खनता जोड़ करके खेती करो। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तरह से पैदावार नहीं बढ़ सकती है। आप देखें कि देश में आज कितनी जमीन है और इसका सुधार किस तरह से हो सकता है। यदि आप ने ऐसा किया तो हमारी पैदावार बढ़ सकती है। आप के पास जो टोटल ज्योप्रैफिकल एरिया है वह ८०.६३ करोड़ एकड़ है। इस में जो रिपोर्टिंग एरिया है वह ७२.४१ करोड़ एकड़ है। बैरन लैंड ८.२१ करोड़ एकड़ है। कल्टीवेबल वेस्ट ५.८ करोड़ एकड़ है। जो करेंट फेजो है वह ५.६४ करोड़ एकड़ है। इस तरह से १६.२३ करोड़ एकड़ जमीन ऐसी है जिस का सुधार करके आप उस में पैदावार बढ़ा सकते हैं। लेकिन ऐसा न करके आप देहाती लोगों के जीवन को हीच पीच कर रहे हैं। आज कुछ पता ही नहीं चलता है कि क्या किया जा रहा है। बिहार के सम्बन्ध में जब प्लानिंग कमिशन से पूछा जाता है कि सुधार क्या आपने सुझाये हैं तो जवाब मिलता है कि हम ने कोई ऐसा सुझाव नहीं दिया है और जब बिहार सरकार से पूछा जाता है तो वहाँ से पता चलता है कि योजना कमिशन के सुझाव पर ही ऐसा किया जा रहा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि जो भी सुझाव दिया जाये, उसका कुछ न कुछ आधा तो होना चाहिये। आप कहते हैं कि भूमि सुधार इसलिए किये गये हैं कि सब-लैटिंग से एक्सप्लायटेशन होता है। लेकिन मैं आप को बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि सब-लैटिंग कोओप्रेशन भी है। चीन की मिसाल मैं आप को देना चाहता हूँ। वहाँ पर जितने लोग आबाद किये जाते हैं, उन में से पचास परसेंट सब-लैटिंग कर सकते हैं। धान की खेती का जिन को तजुर्बा है, वे जानते हैं कि एक एकड़ भी जिस के पास जमीन होती है, उसको उसके लिए दस बीस मजदूरों की जरूरत होती है। इस तरह से वहाँ पर सहयोग की भावना से आगे काम चलता है। इस तरह की बातों की जब जानकारी नहीं होती है तो किस तरह से हमारे देश की पैदावार बढ़ सकती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि जानकारी के

अभाव में योजना कमिशन इस तरह के सुझाव दे देता है जिन से गलतफहमी पैदा हो जाती है। आप कहते हैं कि अभी केवल १६ परसेंट इरिगेटिड लैंड है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि आप इरिगेशन की पूरी व्यवस्था कर सकें तो काफी हमारी पैदावार बढ़ सकती है। ८.२१ करोड़ एकड़ जमीन आपके पास बैरन पड़ी हुई है और उसकी तरफ आप देखें। इसको पानी आप दें। जहाँ पर पानी दिया जाता है वहाँ पर सब कुछ पैदा हो सकता है, यहाँ तक कि जमीन की मिट्टी भी बदली जा सकती है, ऐसा विशेषज्ञों की राय है। लेकिन जिन को खेती का व्यावहारिक ज्ञान नहीं है, उनके सुझावों के ऊपर हम चलते हैं। इसका परिणाम यह होता है कि खेती की पैदावार नहीं बढ़ती है।

मैं अधिक कुछ नहीं चाहता हूँ। केवल इतना ही निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आप प्राडकशन कास्ट का खयाल करें। प्राडकशन कास्ट आपके जो हर एक ब्लाक में फार्म हैं, उन पर जो कास्ट आती है, उससे मालूम की जा सकती है। यदि ऐसा किया गया और किसान को ठीक दाम उसकी उपज का दिया गया तो उस में इंसेंटिव प्रायेगा और देश की पैदावार काफी बढ़ जायेगी।

**Shri Rajaram (Krishnagiri):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I thank you for the opportunity given to me.

The budget proposals are before us now. This year, the Finance Minister has brought an emergency budget. To save the freedom of the country and to strengthen our Army, he has levied so many new taxes this year. Of course, money is necessary for all these things. But is it the only way to get money for all these things? That is my question. Why not the Government think of some other ways also? I think that this time we have reached the maximum taxable capacity in the country.

So many big business people belonging to the ruling party welcomed the budget proposals. Some people have opposed only the super-profits tax. But the people have got a doubt about the expenditure side of Government. But as far as the Government side is concerned, they are enjoying all kinds of luxuries. Even at the time of emergency, funds have been allotted for the purchase of staff cars and appointment of officers. The Embassies in foreign countries are enjoying a fine and luxurious life. They have indulged in costly luxuries, costly articles are being ordered, and costly furniture is enjoyed at their residences. It is not at one place, but there are so many places where all these objections were taken by the PAC, but it has not yet been remedied. I have come to know very recently that a building has been purchased at Geneva at a high cost. So, all kinds of expenditure are going on in and around the world from the side of our administrators. No action has been taken to curtail all this unnecessary expenditure.

But our Finance Minister has come out to tighten the belts of all the common people. The worst thing about the budget is that the taxation proposals will start a chain reaction which will send up prices and service charges everywhere. For example, the hotel owners of Madras are said to be considering how much their rates should be increased in view of the new levies. Taxmen will demand increased fares. The buses have already indicated that they will have to make special efforts to balance their own budget. On the whole, transport will become costlier in consequence of the higher duty on motor spirit and diesel oil and increased levies on tyres and tubes. The point about it at all is that at every turn of life the middle and lower class of citizens are severely hit.

Excise duties have been levied over superior and inferior kerosene. The poor people live in huts, that is, in dark places in our country, and they have to shell down nearly 10 nP more for a bottle of kerosene. The kerosene

is not for bringing bright light into the poor houses; it is not for show, but it is being used for their children's education in the night. By putting these levies, the Finance Minister is spoiling the education of our sons of the soil. *The Hindu* from Madras has rightly commented:

"A 40 per cent. increase in the price of essential household items at one stroke is unheard of in the annals of Indian taxation."

So, I request the Finance Minister to withdraw the increase in the levy over kerosene.

The net has been cast wide to cover almost all necessities in life of the ordinary people. All the countries in the world have provided the ordinary facilities like posts, to everybody. The Congress Party before coming to power said that they will reduce the rate of the post-card. But during the last fifteen years, gradually, all the Finance Ministers have taken their share in raising the price of the post-card. Now, our Finance Minister seeks to raise the price of the post-card further from five naye paise to six naye paise. I need not say that the post-card belongs to the poor section of the country, and, therefore, it must not be taxed. Items like coffee, tea, vegetable products, soaps, cosmetics, tobacco, printing and writing paper will in addition to paying higher excise duty bear a 20 per cent. surcharge. The hardest hit will be those in the lower income groups, especially those among them with fixed incomes.

Coming to the next point, I want to say something about the compulsory savings scheme which has been universally opposed.

**An hon. Member:** Question.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Universally opposed?

**Shri Rajaram:** Even Shri Harish Chandra Mathur has opposed it.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** But there are several others who have supported it.

**Shri Rajaram:** It was pointed out that compulsion in the matter of savings would further depreciate the standard of living of the poor who have hardly enough to eat. A factory worker or a clerk or a school teacher who earns Rs. 125 per month is asked to part with Rs. 3.75, that is, 3 per cent. of his monthly income. All these salaried employees covered by one or the other of the labour legislations are contributing to their provident fund at rates ranging from 6½ per cent to 8-1/3 per cent. Most of those who are in the income group Rs. 125 to Rs. 250 a month also have some insurance protection or other for which they have to pay premiums. To imagine that, with the present levels of prices and the burdens that will be imposed by the new excise and customs duties, this section can afford to save more than ten per cent. of the income is ridiculous. And if, in fact, most of the persons are saving in one recognisable and obligatory form or the other, as much as 10 per cent. of their earnings, is it fair to impose on them a compulsory obligation to save more?

As far as the prices are concerned, they are going on increasing. Whatever price control measure Government may devise, as long as indirect taxation by the Centre and the States contributes a sizable element in the price structure, the consumer will have little hope of relief. The burden will be bearable if the public have the assurance that the moneys will be well spent and that the security as well as the development of the country are being attended to with efficiency and economy.

Why, for instance, should there be an increase of as much as Rs. 30 crores in the expenditure on administrative services between 1961-62 and 1962-63? If a critical probe into expenditure reveals scope for reducing it by Rs. 50 crores, even this will provide a welcome means of effecting many essential marginal changes in the new taxes.

To reduce this tax burden on the common people, our party, that is, the DMK, has suggested so many things to the Government through resolutions, and they are as follows:—

- (1) Nationalise the cinema industry which can give a fine source of income;
- (2) Take stringent measures against tax-dodgers and tighten the machinery of tax-assessment and collection;
- (3) Make public sector enterprise more efficient so as to make them yield more surpluses for development; and
- (4) Cut down wasteful expenditure, stamp out corruption and maladministration.

Through these methods, we can earn more money for the national defence.

Let me now come to another more important matter. Government are now maintaining four Central universities in the country, and these are all situated in Delhi, Aligarh, Banaras and at the Vishwabharati in Bengal. You know that all these universities are situated only in the north, and none is in the south. Sardar K. M. Panikkar also suggested the establishment of a Central university in the Madras State. Even after the suggestion of an eminent man like Sadar K. M. Panikkar, this has not been carried out by the Education Ministry till today.

I wish that Government must come forward to establish a Central university in Salem in Madras State. I am suggesting Salem in Madras State because it is the biggest and most backward district in education in the whole of the Madras State.

**श्री गोपालवत्स मैत्री** (जम्मू तथा काश्मीर) :  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इमर्जेन्सी के राये तले जो बजट पेश किया गया है, उसके लिए ज़िम्मेदार १९६२ में हुए वे वाक्यात हैं जिन्होंने देश को एक ऐसा धक्का दिया कि हम एक भूला हुआ सबक दोबारा याद करने पर मजबूर हो गए ।

16.50 hrs

[SHRI KHADILKAR in the Chair.]

वह सबक यह है कि शान्ति और सच्चाई के पीछे जब तक शक्ति न हो, तब तक संसार में न तो शान्ति की इज्जत होती है और न सच्चाई का सम्मान होता है। यह सबक एक मौलिक सिद्धान्त और एक बुनियादी उसूल पर मबनी है, लेकिन बदकिस्मती से इसे हम भूल गए थे और इसी वजह से, हालांकि भारत संसार में सब से ज्यादा शान्तिप्रिय है और बार्डर इश्यू पर उस का पक्ष बिल्कुल सच्चाई पर आधारित है, उस को इमिलिएशन बर्दाश्त करनी पड़ी और जिन देशों को हम मित्र समझते थे, वे भी हम से किसी कद्र किनाराकशी कर गए।

लेकिन इस परेशानी के बावजूद एक बात बहुत उत्साहवर्द्धक और हौसला-अफजाह है और वह यह है कि जिन लोगों के हाथ में इम देश का नेतृत्व है, वे कभी भी जोश के वक्त होश को हाथ से नहीं जाने देते। जिस वक्त नेफ़ा में पस्पाइयां हो रही थीं, जिस वक्त हम पीछे हट रहे थे, उस वक्त पंडित नेहरू ने, देश के उस अग्रणी नेता ने, हमें यह चेतावनी दी कि मजबूत डिफेंस के लिए मजबूत इंडस्ट्रियल बेस और देश की माली हालत का बेहतर होना भी बहुत जरूरी है, इस लिए जहां हम अपने देश को मजबूत करने के लिए कदम उठाएँ, वहां हम अपने देश की इंडस्ट्रियल प्राडक्शन और माली हालत को बेहतर बनाने की तरफ़ भी पूरी तवज्जह दें। चूनांचे यह बजट उन्हीं उसूलों की बिनाह पर तैयार किया गया है।

जिस तरह से इस संकट के समय देश के सब तक्के और ग्रुप्स के लोग एकत्र हो कर, एकजान और एक मत होकर, दुश्मन का मुकाबला करना चाहते हैं, हमें खूशी है कि इसी तरह ही माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने इस संकट का बोझ भी सब सैक्टर्ज़ और सब ग्रुप्स और समाज के सब मुहत्तलिफ़ हिस्सों पर डाला

है। अगर्चें यह हकीकत है कि पिछले पंद्रह वर्षों से लगातार इनडायरेक्ट टैक्सेशन की वजह से छोटे तबकों को, मिडल क्लासिज़ और लोअर क्लासिज़ पर ज्यादा बोझ पड़ता रहा है और आज भी उन पर काफ़ी बोझ डाला गया है, लेकिन उन की तरफ़ से तो नाराज़गी या प्रोटेस्ट की उतनी आवाज़ नहीं आती है, जितनी कि हमारे उन दोस्तों की तरफ़ से आती है, जिन्होंने पिछले पंद्रह वर्षों में बहुत कमाया है और छोटे तबकों की कास्ट पर कमाया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर वे उतने देशभक्त हैं, जितने कि वे ब्लेम करते हैं, तो इस वक्त उन्हें आगे आ कर ज्यादा टैक्सेशन के लिए सुझाव देना चाहिए था, न कि सुपर प्राफ़िट्स टैक्स की मुख़ालफ़त करनी थी, जो कि रिजर्व निकाल करके, डेप्रियेसियेशन को निकार करके फिर लगाया जाना है। और वह मुख़ालफ़त इतनी सस्टेन्ड और लगातार है कि अबबारों में यह भी आ रहा है कि उसका असर भी हमारी सरकार पर हो रहा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बात बहुत अफ़सोसनाक देगी ही बिज़िनेस क्लास के इस प्रचार का इतना असर पड़े कि सुपर प्राफ़िट्स टैक्स में, जिस को कांग्रेस बैचिज़ से बहुत सपोर्ट मिली है, किसी तरह का संशोधन किया जाये। क्योंकि आजतक तो गरीब और दरमियाना तब्का ही सब बोझ बर्दाश्त करता रहा है और अगर आज थोड़ा सा बोझ अप्पर क्लासिज़ को भी बर्दाश्त करना पड़े, तो इस में कोई एतराज़ नहीं होना चाहिए।

जब मैं टैक्सेशन की जेनरल पालिसी का अनुमोदन करता हूँ। तो मैं बड़े आदर और सम्मान के साथ वित्त मंत्री की सेवा में यह अर्ज़ करना चाहता हूँ कि वह मेरे इस सुझाव पर ज़रा विचार करें कि कम्पलसरी सेविंग स्कीम में इतनी सी अमेंडमेंट कर दी जाये कि जो प्योरली सैलेरीड ग्रुप्स के लोग जिनकी आमदनी सिर्फ़ तन्खाह पर निर्भर, है अगर उन में से किसी ने इन्वोर्सेस कराया

## [श्री गोपाल दत्त मंगो]

हुआ हो, तो वह इन्फ्लोरेंस पर जितना प्रीमियम देता हो, उस ने जो कम्पलसरी सेविंग करनी है, उस में से वह रकम एकाउंट फ़ार हो जाये। इस से लोअर सैलेरीड ग्रुप की एक बहुत बड़ी शिकायत दूर हो जायेगी।

बुक पोस्ट के बारे में अभी माननीय सदस्य, श्री शर्मा, ने कहा है कि लोग अपने विचार पेश करने के लिए आम तौर पर बुक पोस्ट का सहारा लेते हैं नये पोस्टल रेट्स से आमदनी तो बहुत थोड़ी होगी, लेकिन उन से प्रचार के कार्य में बाधा और रुकावट पड़ जायेगी इस लिए अगर माननीय मंत्री इस पर विचार करें, तो मैं कृतज्ञ हूंगा।

जब हम ने गोदा कंट्रोल आर्डर के जरिये एक रेवोल्यूशनरी स्टेप उठाया है तो आज हो या कल उस का असर यह होगा कि गांवों के लोग जो पहले अपनी बचत में से कुछ न कुछ रकम मुसौबत के दिनों के लिये सोने की शकल में जमा रखते थे रुपये की शकल में बचत करने लग जायेंगे। चूंकि देहात के लोग रुपया अपने पास नहीं रखना चाहते इस लिये उन को रुपया जमा करने के लिए बैंकिंग की जरूरत होगी गांव गांव में ऐसी आरगनाइजेशन की जरूरत होगी जहां वे अपना रुपया जमा करा सकें। इस के लिए हमें देहात में बैंकिंग की सुविधा देनी होगी।

पूरे देश के घेरे में हर जगह बैंकिंग यूनिट्स होने चाहिए। लेकिन हम को यह बात भी याद रखनी चाहिए कि हजारों या लाखों नहीं बल्कि करोड़ों लोगों की बचत उन के खून-पसीने की कमाई बैंकों में जायेगी। विवियन बोस की रिपोर्ट हम लोगों ने देखी है। यह सदन इस बात से भी वाकिफ़ है कि जो लोग प्राइवेट बैंक में मेनेजमेंट के जिम्मेदार हैं वे लोगों के रुपये से किस तरह गैर-जिम्मेदारी के साथ खेलते हैं और किस तरह वह रुपया बाज दफ़ा जाया किया जाता है। इसलिए मेरा सुझाव है कि चूंकि देश में आज

संकट की स्थिति है जिस का सामना करने के लिए रुपये और रीसोर्सिज की जरूरत है और उस के साथ ही चूंकि लोगों में बैंकिंग के लिए कान्फ़िडेंस दे करने की भी बहुत ज्यादा जरूरत है इस लिए बैंक को भी नेशनलाइज कर दिया जाये। जब लाइफ़ इन्शोरेंस को नेशनलाइज किया गया था तो इन्शोरेंस का काम बढ़ा था कम नहीं हुआ था और हालत बेहतर हुई थी। इसी तरह बैंक का नेशनलाइजेशन करने से लोगों में बैंकिंग में एक खास किस्म का विश्वास बढ़ेगा और ज्यादातर लोग अपना रुपया बैंकों में जमा करेंगे।

जहां तक टैक्स एरियज और टैक्स इवेजन् का सवाल है मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि डेमोक्रेसी का मतलब ढीलापन नहीं है बल्कि डेमोक्रेसी का मतलब डिसिप्लिन और मजबूती है अगर्ब उस का मतलब रेजिमेंटेशन नहीं है। इस लिए मेरी प्रार्थना है कि डेमोक्रेसी को एफ़िशिएंट और इफ़ेक्टिव साबित करने के लिए यह जरूरी है कि बैंक इवेजन् को रोका जाए।

हम ने गोल्ड कंट्रोल आर्डर निकाला था। वित्त मंत्री जी न उम बका कहा था कि जो लोग गोल्ड बांड खरीदेंगे उन से इस बात का हिसाब नहीं लिया जाएगा कि उन के पास वह रुपया कहां से आया वह सोना कहां से आया। यह चीज यह साबित करती है कि सरकार यह जानती है कि यहां बैंक इवेशन होता है यहां पर नाजायज प्राफ़िटारिज होता है जिस का कोई हिसाब किताब नहीं रखा जाता है। इस को जो हम रोक नहीं सके हैं इस को मैं बाइसइजन्त नहीं समझता हूँ बाइसेफ़्य नहीं समझता हूँ। हम को इस इवेशन को रोकना चाहिये। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस और ध्यान दिया जाए। इस में पूरी फ़मनेस पूरी मजबूती बरती जानी चाहिये। टैक्स इवेशन को रोका जाना चाहिये और बैंक एरियज को वसूल किया जाना चाहिये।

अब मैं आप का ध्यान देश के मुस्तलिफ हिस्सों के इम्बैलेंस की और मुस्तलिफ हिस्सों की नाबराबरी की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ। उन की हालत एक जैसी नहीं है। खास तौर पर जब पहाड़ी इलाकों और मैदानी इलाकों को देखते हैं शहरी आबादी और देहाती आबादी को देखते हैं तो हमें बहुत ज्यादा फर्क मालूम पड़ता है। जो मैदानी इलाके हैं वे पहाड़ी इलाके की निस्वत बहुत ज्यादा खुशहाल हैं। जहाँ तक शहरी आबादी और देहाती आबादी का ताल्लुक है मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि बड़ी बड़ी फैक्ट्रियों के लिए ये यह जरूरी हो सकता है कि शहरों में लगे या कहीं और भी जहाँ लगेगी वहाँ बड़े बड़े शहर आबाद हो जायेंगे और इस के बारे में मैं बहुत कुछ नहीं कह सकता हूँ। लेकिन जहाँ तक स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज का ताल्लुक है उन को हम गांवों में क्यों नहीं बखेर देते हैं क्यों न उन को चलाये जाने का वहाँ इमेंटिव है। अगर स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज गांव गांव में बिखर जायेगी तो हमारी जो इकोनोमी है वह भी बिखर जायेगी और उस का नतीजा यह होगा कि तमाम देश खुशहाल हो जाएगा। देहातों में जो बुरी हालत है उस का सीधा सा प्रमाण वे झुग्गियाँ हैं जो दिल्ली के आस पास नित्य बनती रहती हैं और जो सरकार के लिए भी परेशानी का वायस होती हैं। अगर आदमी के पास गांव में काम हो या उस के पास जमीन हो तो उस को छोड़ कर के वह झुग्गियों में क्यों रहेगा जहाँ पर उसे हमेशा यह डर लगा रहता है कि किसी वक़्त भी उस की झुग्गी को हटाया जा सकता है और किसी वक़्त भी उस को खानाबदोश बन कर इधर उधर मारे मारे फिरना पड़ सकता है। वह इसी वास्ते शहर की तरफ आता है कि गांवों में करने के लिए उस के पास कोई कारोबार नहीं है कोई रोजगार नहीं है। वहाँ पर रोजगार की सूखें पैदा करने के दो ही तरीके हैं एक तो यह है कि हम काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज की तरफ ज्यादा तवज्जह

और दूसरा यह है कि स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज को गांवों की तरफ ले जायें। हमारे सामने एक बड़ा सवाल फारेन एक्सचेंज का भी है। हमारे सामने एक बड़ा सवाल एक्सपोर्ट्स का भी है। इस के लिए जो हमारे पास हैवी इंडस्ट्रीज हैं जो हमारे पास बिग इंडस्ट्रीज हैं वे बेशक हम रिजर्व कर दें ताकि बहुत ज्यादा माल एक्सपोर्ट किया जा सके। लेकिन स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज और काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज को उस के साथ साथ हम इस लवल पर ले आयें कि वे देश के अन्दर की जो जरूरतें हैं, जो कंज्यूमर गुड्स की जरूरियात हैं, उन का बेशतर हिस्सा, पूरा करें। यह मुश्किल नहीं होना चाहिये। कोशिश की जाए तो ऐसा हो सकता है। इस से हैवी इंडस्ट्रीज पर बिग इंडस्ट्रीज पर प्रेशर कम होगा वहाँ ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोगों को कारोबार मिल सकेगा।

17 hrs.

मैदानी इलाकों और पहाड़ी इलाकों की माली हालत में भी फर्क है और बहुत ज्यादा फर्क है। मैं पहाड़ी इलाके से आता हूँ और उसी का जिन्ना करना चाहता हूँ। मेरे सामने मेरी अपनी रियासत जम्मू और काश्मीर है। उस के मुताल्लिक मैं पहले भी कई बार अर्ज कर चुका हूँ और आज फिर करना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ पर कोई हैवी इंडस्ट्रीज नहीं है, वहाँ पर कोई रेल लिंक नहीं है, वहाँ पर लोगों को रोजगार मुहैया करने के लिए कोई खास साधन नहीं है। यहाँ पर एक मिनिस्ट्री लेबर एंड एम्प्लायमेंट की बनी हुई है। मैं जब कभी उस की कंसल्टेटिव कमेटी में जाता हूँ तो वहाँ पर जब लेबर का सवाल आता है तो मुझे खामोश रहना पड़ता है क्योंकि हमारे यहाँ लेबर ही नहीं है, कोई फ़ैक्ट्रीज ही नहीं, न स्माल स्केल और न ही बिग स्केल। इस वास्ते उधर आप का ध्यान भी जाना चाहिये। मेरा सुझाव यह भी है कि डिफस के सिलसिले में बहुत सी चीजें तैयार होनी हैं जोकि बड़ी आसानी

## [श्री गोपाल दत्त मंगी]

से स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज में तैयार की जा सकती हैं। हमारी रियासत में भी इंडस्ट्रियल एस्टेट्स कायम की जा रही हैं। वे बहुत बुरी हालत में हैं। वहां पर कोई कारीबार नहीं है। ऐसी सूरत में क्या यह मुश्किल नहीं है कि डिफेंस की वे आइटम्स जो स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज में बन सकती हैं, व जम्मू काश्मीर की इंडस्ट्रियल एस्टेट्स में बनवाई जायें ताकि वहां पर भी लोगों को कारोबार मिले।

जब मैं काश्मीर का जिक्र करता हूं तो मेरे सामने वे हालात आ जाते हैं जोकि १९४७ से ले कर आज तक पैदा होते रहे हैं। १९४७ में जो कुछ हुआ उस को कौन नहीं जानता है। काश्मीर पर जब हमला हुआ, उस वक्त लोगों ने क्या क्या मुसीबतें उठाई, इस से सभी वाकिफ हैं। उस के बाद १९५३ में शेख अबदुल्ला अन्तरराष्ट्रीय साजिश के कारण देश विरोधी बने और उस से लोगों में बहुत परेशानी आई। १९५४ या १९५५ में स्वर्गीय पंडित पन्त जी बड़ी कृपा कर के काश्मीर गए थे, उन्होंने वहां पर एक हिस्टोरिक बयान दिया जिस से काश्मीर की गैर यकीनी पंजिशन खत्म हो गई और इस से लोगों में सकून आया। उन्होंने कहा कि काश्मीर का फैसला वहां की कंस्टिट्यू-एंट्स असम्बली कर चुकी है और वह फैसला अटल है, उस को बदला नहीं जा सकता है। दुनिया की कोई भी ताकत उस को बदल नहीं सकती। उन के इस बयान से वहां एक तबदीली आई, लोगों में सकून आया, लोगों में स्टैबिलिटी आई और आहिस्ता आहिस्ता काश्मीर गवर्नमेंट के रेवेन्यूज बढ़ने लगे। लेकिन पाकिस्तान को यह नहीं भाया कि काश्मीर हिन्दुस्तान का अंग रहे, वहां पर अमान अमान हों, वहां पर लोगों को सकून हासिल हो। हिस्ट्री गवाह है कि हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान में जितनी बार भी नैगो-शिपपंज हुई हैं वे इसलिये टूटी हैं इसलिए नाकाब्याव रही हैं कि पाकिस्तान नहीं चाहता

था कि सुलह हो। यह खेल कई बार दोहराया गया है, कई बार यह हिस्ट्री दोहराई गई है। इस बार भी जब हमारे मित्र देशों ने हमें मजबूर किया और हमें सलाह दी कि हम पाकिस्तान के साथ सुलह करें तो बजाय इस के कि हम पहले उन मित्र देशों के जरिये से यह आश्वासन हासिल करते, यह एग्जॉरेंस लेते कि पाकिस्तान वाकई सुलह करना चाहता है, हम ने उस से गुफ्तोशानीद शुरू कर दी। इस के बाद क्या होता है? डान में एक खबर छपती है कि काश्मीर का वह इलाका जिसे पूंछ, राजौरी, नौशहरा कहा जाता है और कुछ दूसरे इलाके भी हैं, वे हिन्दुस्तान ने पाकिस्तान को देने की ऑफर दी है। यह खबर जब डान में छपती है तो बदकिस्मती से हमारे अखबार भी उसे कोट करने लग जाते हैं और इस का कोई कंट्रिडिक्शन नहीं किया जाता है। इस का नतीजा होता है कि जनता में परेशानी फैलती है और कारोबार ठप हो जाता है। पाकिस्तान से जब रिफ्यूजीज आए तो उन्हें कम्पेंसट किया गया, उन को रिहैबिलिटेड किया गया, इस को सारा सदन जानता है। लेकिन १९४७ और १९४८ के हमले के बाद जम्मू और काश्मीर के जो लोग रिफ्यूजी बने कम्पेंसट नहीं किया गया, उन्हें रिहैबिलिटेड नहीं किया गया उन्हें रिफ्यूजीज तक तसव्वुर नहीं किया गया हालांकि उन की परेशानियों की, उन की मुसिबतों की भी लम्बी दास्ता है, लम्बी हिस्ट्री है। वह चीज भी भी एक हिस्ट्री बन कर रह गई है। कोई भी आदमी समझ सकता है कि क्या वह जिन्दगी में दो बार रिफ्यूजी बन कर जिन्दा रह सकता है और अपने आप को दो-दो बार रिहैबिलिटेड कर सकता है। एक बार काश्मीर के काफी लोग १९४७ में उजड़े। उन्होंने काफी अपनी हिम्मत से काम लिया और बख्शी गुलाम मुहम्मद की वजह से आबाद हुए कारोबार शुरू किया। अब जब यह पैकिव फैला तो इसकी वजह से उनका इन इलाकों में कारोबार ठप्प हो गया है।

अब वे लोग इस पोजिशन में नहीं है कि द्वारा उजड़ने का खतरा मोल ले सकें। वे अजीब परेशानी की हालत में है, पैसिक उन में फैला हुआ है, धराये हुए वे हैं। मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि पाकिस्तान के साथ अगर आप टाक्स जारी रखना चाहते हैं तो शोक से जारी रखिए, लोग परेशानी भी बरदास्त कर लेंगे। लेकिन यह आरेवासन तो ले लीजिए कि पाकिस्तान मुलह चाहता है। देश का नुकसान हों और परिस्थिति में कोई सुधार न हो, मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि यह कोई उचित नीति हो सकती है।

**श्री विभूति मिश्र (मोतिहारी) :** सभापति महोदय, वित्त मन्त्री जी ने जो आय व्यय का १९६३-६४ का लेखा पेश किया है मैं उसका हार्दिक स्वागत और समर्थन करता हूँ। मुझे यह देख कर दुःख होता है कि वित्त मन्त्री जी ने बजट पेश किया है आज उसकी भी समालोचना हो रही है। जब चीनी हमला हुआ और हिन्दुस्तान की थोड़ी क्षति हुई तो इस सदन में कहा जाता था कि सरकार ने कोई कदम नहीं उठाया, और सरकार लड़ाई करने के लिये तैयार नहीं है। लड़ाई बातों से नहीं होती है, हथियारों से होती है, पैसे से होती है, हिम्मत से होती है। उस सम्बन्ध में बहुत छोटी सी चीज हमारे वित्त मन्त्री जी ने रक्खी कि हम बजट में इस साल फौज पर कुल मिला कर २७५ करोड़ रुपये ज्यादा खर्च कर रहे हैं। आज कुल मिला कर हमारी फौज का खर्च ८६७ करोड़ रु० होता है और डेवलपमेंट के ऊपर इस साल १२२६ करोड़ रु० हमारे वित्त मन्त्री जी ने खर्च करने का अनुमान लगाया है। इस खर्च को पूरा करने के लिये उन्होंने जो टैक्स लगाये हैं उनका विरोध होता है, और सबसे ज्यादा विरोध होता है सुपर टैक्स का। मैं अपने मित्रों से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अगर सुपर टैक्स का विरोध होगा तो समर्थन किस टैक्स का होगा? एक मेरे मित्र हैं जिनका का एक पक्के गांधीवादी

से सम्बन्ध है, वह व्यापारी हैं। मैंने उनसे पूछा कि भाई, सुपर टैक्स का क्या असर होगा? उन्होंने बतलाया कि जिसका १ लाख रु० का मुनाफा होता था वह पहले ५० हजार रु० टैक्स देता था लेकिन अब जो उसका ५० हजार रु० बचा करता था उसमें से भी ६,००० रु० टैक्स का देगा। इसके माने यह है कि अब सुपर टैक्स ५६ हजार रु० हो जायेगा और ४४ हजार रु० इसको मिलेगा। हमारे व्यापारी लोग कहते हैं कि उनके पास पूंजी नहीं रहेगी। आखिर हमारी सरकार पैसा ले रही है, लेकिन पैसा लेकर वह करेगी क्या? डेवलपमेंट पर खर्च करेगी, लड़ाई का सामान जुटायेगी। मैं बहुत अदब से अपने व्यापारियों से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अगर यहां चाइना आ गया तो जिन गरीबों पर हमारे वित्त मन्त्री जी ने टैक्स लगाया है, जो १ रु० के मालगुजार हैं और जिन को ८ आ० अनिवार्य बचत योजना में देना पड़ेगा, उनका क्या नुकसान होगा? नुकसान उन धनी आदमियों को होगा जो चाहे इस बच पर बैठें हों या उस बच पर बैठें हों। कम्युनिस्टों की मार से तो वे जायगे, गरीबों का क्या जायेगा? फिर भी हमारे वित्त मन्त्री जी ने बहुत उदारतापूर्वक बहुत थोड़ा सा टैक्स लगाया है। मैं तो कहूंगा कि जो सुपर टैक्स उन्होंने लगाया है उसको थोड़ा और बढ़ावें, तब वे न्याय करेंगे, वरना वे न्याय नहीं करेंगे।

मैं आगे यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा दुश्मन कितना जबर्दस्त है। मेरे हाथ में एक रिपोर्ट है :

“Symposium on Need for Additional Taxation in the context of present emergency”

उसके चेअरमैन हैं श्री बी० टी० ठाकुर। उसमें कहा गया है :—

“In China we have the third most powerful military nation in the world. She has millions and millions of fighting men fully trained and ready. Her guns,

## [श्री विभूति मिश्र]

fighting weapons, bombers, fighters, transport vehicles etc. are most up-to-date. She has over 3000 of most modern jet planes. She manufactures at least one plane a day. She has perfected the art of guerilla warfare."

इस तरह के हमारे दुश्मन हैं और उस दुश्मन का मुकाबला करने के लिये अगर थोड़ा सा टैक्स हमारे यहां लगा तो हमारे देश में चीख मचने लगी, लोग घबराने लगे, ख़ास तौर से घनी आदमी। मैं इसे ज़रूर मानता हूँ कि जो गांव के रहने वाले लोग हैं उनका कर थोड़ा कम किया जाय। सरकार किरासिन आयल का टैक्स छोड़ दे, गांवों में जो गरीब आदमी हैं जो कि १ रु०, २ रु०, ४ रु० मालगुजारी देते हैं, उनसे जो बचत की रकम ले रहे हैं उसको छोड़ दें, तो अच्छा होगा। लेकिन अगर उसको छोड़ने की इच्छा न हो तब जहां तक चीन से लड़ने का सवाल है, मैं कहता हूँ कि वे भी दें।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने शहर में रहने वालों पर बहुत कम टैक्स लगाया है। हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी पक्के गांधीवादी हैं। 'लास्ट फेज' नामक पुस्तक में श्री प्यारेलाल ने गांधी जी का बयान निकाला है। गांधी जी ने कहा है कि शहर और गांव का बारम्बार का झगड़ा है। शहर चाहता है कि गांव को खा जाय। हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने शहर में १५०० रु० के बाद बचत लेने के लिये टैक्स प्रपोजल किया है। इसी तरह से जो रेंट में मिलेगा उसका ३ परसेन्ट लिया जायेगा। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि मूलक के लिये शहर वाले क्या देते हैं? हम गल्ला पैदा करते हैं और वे सस्ते दाम पर हमसे खाना चाहते हैं लेकिन टैक्स देने के वक्त वे भाग जाते हैं। गरीब लोग जो गांवों में बसते हैं उनके लड़के फौज में मारे जायें, वे फौज में जायें, गल्ला सस्ता दें और मालगुजारी अगर १ रु० देते हैं तो ८ आ० बचत में दें, यह सब क्या है। आज हिन्दुस्तान में बड़े बड़े शहर जैसे कलकत्ता,

मद्रास, दिल्ली, कानपुर, पटना आदि पड़े हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने शहर पर जो टैक्स लगाये हैं उनको कस कर लगायें।

मैं एक और बात कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारी सरकार को इस वक्त पूरी तरह से ध्यानावस्थित रहना है क्योंकि हमारी विरोधी बेंचिंग में जो कम्युनिस्ट भाई हैं, इस समय वे यहां नहीं है, उन के दो पक्ष हो गये हैं। एक तो कहता है कि वे प्रो जवाहरलाल नेहरू हैं, दूसरा पक्ष है उन का जो जेल खाने में बन्द है, या न भी बन्द हो, वे हमारी सरकार के खिलाफ जबरदस्त तरीके से हैं और इस ताक में है कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार कब कमजोर पड़े और उसके उपर वे हमला कर दें। मैं अपने जिले में गया, मैंने देखा कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने जो टैक्स लगाये हैं उन का वे कम्युनिस्ट भाई विरोध करते हैं, आम विरोध नहीं करते नुक छिप कर करते हैं। वे समझते हैं कि जनता हमारे खिलाफ है और जनता के बीच में वे सफलता नहीं प्राप्त करेंगे।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** आप भी प्रचार क गे, छ दिनों बाद।

**श्री विभूति मिश्र :** जरा सुनिये, साहब, चीन जाँ है वह अपने उत्पादन का २१.८ फी सदी फौज पर खर्च करता है, यू० एस० ए० ११.५ खर्च करता है, इंग्लैंड ८.४ खर्च करता है, फ्रांस ८.६ खर्च करता है, कनाडा ७.१ खर्च करता है। इस बार हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने जो बजट रखा है उस में हम ६ फी सदी खर्च करने जा रहे हैं अपनी फौज पर। जो २१.८ फी सदी खर्च करता है उस चीन के पास तीन हजार से ज्यादा जेट फाइटर्स हैं, जो कि रोज एक जेट फाइटर पैदा करता है, उसका मुकाबला हम कैसे करेंगे? कुछ भाइयों ने कहा कर्ज लेकर मैं कहता हूँ कि कर्ज के बोझ से मर जाओगे, कितना कर्ज लगे। कुछ अपने पैर पर भी खड़े हो।

इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी का जो बजट है वह बड़ा दुरुस्त है बल्कि जो उन्होंने १५०० रु० के ऊपर सेविंग में रूपया लेने की बात कहीं है उसके संबंध में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि १२०० रु० पर सेविंग लेनी चाहिए। शहर के मजदूर गांवों के किसान से कहीं बेंटर आफ हैं। आज गांव उजाड़ होते जाते हैं। गांव के लोग शहरों में जाते हैं क्योंकि वहाँ अधिक मजदूरी मिलती है, गांवों में अधिक मजदूरी नहीं मिलती है। इस लिये मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वे इस ठेकम को थोड़ा ज्यादा बढ़ायें, यदि हमको चाइना का मुकाबला करना है। आज मैं नहीं देखता हूँ कि इस सदन में लोगों के दिलों में जलती हुई आग है कि हम चाइना का मुकाबला करें। बल्कि असलियत यह है कि हर आदमी चाहता है कि टैक्स घट जाय। टैक्स घट जाय अगर सब टैक्स छुड़ा लेंगे तो लड़ाई कैसे होगी? हम सामान किस प्रकार खरीदेंगे? आप को तो तारीफ करनी चाहिये कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी कितनी हिम्मत के साथ बजट लाये हैं। लेकिन हमारे भाई वित्त मंत्री जी की तारीफ करने के बजाय कहते हैं कि वे यह टैक्स लाये वह टैक्स लायें। खास तौर से हमारे धनी भाई जो सारे हैं वे गजब डा रहे हैं। वे बोल रहे हैं कि सुपर टैक्स न लगाइये। अगर सुपर टैक्स हट गया तो सारे बजट का एसेन्स ही चला गया। तब इस बजट में रहा क्या? मैं धनी भाइयों से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अगर चीन आ गया तो जो गांव वाले हैं, जो दो बीघा या चार बीघा जोतने वाले हैं, उनका क्या नुकसान होगा? नुकसान होगा जो कारखाने दार हैं उन का, जो मोटर में चढ़ते हैं जो एअर कंडिशनड मकानों में रहते हैं।

मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप सरकार के खर्चों में भी कमी करें मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार अपने हाथ में लीडरशिप ले। जो बड़े बड़े अफसर हैं, जो बड़े बड़े मिनि-

स्टर हैं जो गर्मी के दिनों में अपने घरों में एअर कंडिशनड में रहते हैं, जो उनके यहां फनिशड दफ्तर हैं, बंगले हैं, उनको भी वे खत्म करें, तब तो मालूम होगा, साहब, कि हम लड़ाई के लिये तैयार हैं। नहीं तो हम यों ही कहते रहते हैं कि हम लड़ाई के लिये तैयार हैं, लेकिन अपने आरामों में भी कमी करने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं।

इसके बाद में एक बात हिन्दी के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि हमारे वित्तमंत्री जी हिन्दी के पक्षपाती हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जिस स्टेट की जो भाषा है उस भाषा में वहाँ का काम चले। अगर सेंटर में दिक्कत हो तो अंग्रेजी चल सकती है। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि इस देश में २ फी सदी अंग्रेजी जानने वाले हैं और वह २ फी सदी अंग्रेजी जानने वाले चाहते हैं कि देश में उनका साम्राज्य कायम रहे। अगर कोई यह कहे कि अंग्रेजी जानने वाले ज्यादा अच्छी तरह से शासन कर सकते हैं तो मैं इस को नहीं मानता। अगर सिर्फ अंग्रेजी जानने वाले ही अच्छे तरीके से शासन कर सकते हैं तो मैं आप को बतलाता हूँ कि मद्रास के मुख्य मंत्री श्री कामराज नादर हैं। श्री रणवीर सिंह ने मुझे बतलाया कि मद्रास की सरकार ने डेढ़ लाख पेंसिंग सेट लगा दिये हैं। और सारे हिन्दुस्तान का मिलाकर डेढ़ लाख नहीं होगा।

आप कहेंगे कि अंग्रेजी जानने वाले अच्छा शासन करते हैं। यह कोई बात नहीं है। रणजीत सिंह और शिवाजी अंग्रेजी नहीं जानते थे लेकिन उन्होंने कितना अच्छा शासन किया।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** उस वक्त अंग्रेजी स्कूल नहीं थे।

**श्री विभूति मिश्र :** अंग्रेजी नहीं थी तो उरदू थी, दूसरी भाषाएं तो थीं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान के हर राज्य का कारोबार उस राज्य की भाषा में किया जाए। सेंटर में अगर अभी ऐसा नहीं हो सकता तो अंग्रेजी को रहने

## [श्री विभूति मिश्र]

दिया जाय। हमारे मौलाना आजाद मिनिस्टर थे जो अंग्रेजी नहीं जानते थे, लेकिन उनके बाद वह परम्परा चली गयी। वहाँ पर अंग्रेजी जानने वालों का राज्य हो गया। मैंने सिलेक्ट कमेटी के सामने यह बयान दिया है कि अंग्रेजी जानने वाले हमारे ऊपर राज कर रहे हैं। वे सरटिफिकेट ले लेते हैं और समझते हैं कि हम शासन कर सकते हैं चाहे उनको काम करना आवे या न आवे।

**श्री कछवाय (देवास) :** और इसमें अपनी शान समझते हैं।

**श्री विभूति मिश्र :** आप बैठिए, हमें काफी हैं कहने के लिए।

मैं आगे एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ किसानों के लिए कम से कम इतना कर दीजिए कि जो उनका सामान पैदा हो उसकी उम्मीद फेरर प्राइस मिले। अब इस बारे में थोड़ी सी चर्चा तो होने लगी है। मैं इस सभा का १२ वर्ष से सदस्य हूँ। अब देखता हूँ कि इस बारे में कुछ चर्चा होने लगी है कि किसानों को उनकी पैदावार का उचित दाम दिया जाए। ऐसा करने के बाद ही किसानों में इन्फ्लेक्शन पैदा होगा। देश की पचास फीसदी आय खेती से होती है। अगर किसानों को इन्फ्लेक्शन दिया जाए तो हमारी यह आय दूनी हो सकती है। इस संबंध में मुझे बहुत सी बातें कहनी हैं, अगर उन सब को आपके सामने रखूँ तो मेरा सारा समय निकल जायेगा लेकिन सरकार के कामों के कारण भी किसानों के काम में बाधा पहुँची है ?

वित्त मंत्री ने राज्य सभा में उत्तर देते हुए कहा कि हम प्रिवी पर्सन को खत्म नहीं कर सकते। इसका एक खाम कारण है। मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से बड़े अदब से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि विहार में परमानेंट सैटिलमेंट था, लेकिन वहाँ जमादारी का तोड़ने में तो उनको जरा भी देर नहीं लगी। वह भी तो सरकार के साथ

एक कमिटमेंट था। आपने कराची के कांग्रेस अधिवेशन के अवसर पर यह पवित्र निर्णय लिया था कि हम किसानों की मालगुजारी को कम करेंगे लेकिन उस पवित्र प्रस्ताव को आप नहीं निभा रहे हैं। समझ में नहीं आता कि आप इस प्रकार के कंट्राडिक्टरी बयान क्यों देते हैं।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि सैलरीज पर सीलिंग कायम कर दी जाए कि कम से कम कितनी और ज्यादा से ज्यादा कितनी सैलरी किसी को मिलनी चाहिये। जब तक ऐसा नहीं होगा देश में समाजवाद नहीं आएगा। वित्त मंत्री जी हम कांग्रेस के कार्यकर्ता हैं, हमने त्याग और तपस्या की है। हमारे ऐसे साथी अभी जिन्दा हैं जिन्होंने अपना सब कुछ देश के लिए लगा दिया। लेकिन उसके बल पर अधिक दिनों तक काम नहीं चल सकता। जब तक सरकार समाजवाद नहीं लाएगी तब तक लोगों में उत्साह नहीं पैदा होगा। आज आप एक आदमी को चार हजार तनख्वाह देते हैं यह कह कर कि ये पुराने आई० सी० एस० के आदमी हैं और इनके लिए हमारा इस प्रकार का कमिटमेंट है और दूसरी तरफ आप एक आदमी को ५० रुपये देते हैं। तो यह ८० गुना का फर्क हो जाता है।

एक बात मैं आपको और बताना चाहता हूँ। कुछ दिन पहले मैंने एक रिपोर्ट पढ़ी थी जिसमें लिखा था कि आई० ए० एस० की सरावस में ७० फीसदी उन्हीं लोगों के लड़के जाते हैं जो बड़े बड़े पदों पर बैठे हैं या जो बड़े बड़े सेठ साहूकार हैं और बाकी तीस प्रतिशत बाकी लोग जाते हैं। तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इस प्रकार हिन्दुस्तान का राज थोड़े से बड़े लोगों के हाथों में है। मैं इस बात की सत्यता के बारे में चुनौती स्वीकार कर सकता हूँ। मैं कहता हूँ कि इस अवस्था में हमारी डिमाक्रेसी कहाँ गयी। गांधी जी चाहते थे कि दिल्ली की गंगा गाँवों में जाए। लेकिन मैं देखता हूँ कि आज दिल्ली की गंगा गाँवों में न जा कर कलकत्ता,

बम्बई और मद्रास में लटकी हुई है। मैं सरकार को बार्निंग देता हूँ कि अगर आपने देश में समाजवाद का प्रसार न किया तो देश में क्षोभ पैदा होगा और हमको उसका नतीजा भुगतना होगा। यह कोई ठंडी बात नहीं है, यह गर्म बात है, लोग इसको कहते हैं।

एक बात मैं और बताना चाहता हूँ। हम लोग जो कांग्रेस के कार्यकर्ता हैं संयोग से पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर भी हैं। हम चाहे अपने घर पर रहे या दिल्ली में, हमारे पाग रोज पत्र आते हैं लोगों के कि हम बेकार हैं हमारी बेकारी दूर कीजिए। मैंने एक किताब पढ़ी है, गन्धर्व की लिखी हुई, "इन्फ्लैट रेशिया"। उसमें लिखा है कि वहाँ लड़कों को पढ़ने के लिये पैसा दिया जाता है और वहाँ कोई बेकारी नहीं है। लेकिन हमारे यहाँ बेकारों की संख्या बहुत बढ़ती जाती है। अगर बेकारी का मसला हल नहीं होता है तो हमारे खिलाफ असंतुष्ट लोगों का एक वर्ग पैदा हो जाएगा। हमको इसका विशेष ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि इस समस्या को हल करें।

अंत में मैं एक बात और बतलाना चाहता हूँ। हमारी सरकार शिक्षा के लिये जाति पांत के आधार पर छात्रवृत्तियाँ देती हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि ये छात्रवृत्तियाँ जाति-पांत के आधार पर न दी जाकर गरीबी के आधार पर दी जायें। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी बिहार गये थे और वहाँ उन्होंने अपने भाषण में कहा कि बिहार में जाति-पांत बहुत जबरदस्त है। मैं पूछता हूँ कि क्या सेंटर में जाति पांत का लिहाज नहीं रखा जाता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि ये छात्रवृत्तियाँ गरीबी के आधार पर दी जायें न कि जाति पांत के आधार पर। बिहार में गरीबी है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री उसका सुधार करें। वे मजबूत आदमी हैं ऐसा कर सकते हैं।

इतना ही कह कर मैं चेयरमैन साहब आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

**Shri Koya (Kozhikode):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, the situation caused by the Chinese aggression and the consequent

proclamation of emergency in the country requires indeed extra-ordinary measures to meet the situation. The hon. Finance Minister has indeed been very bold in presenting a daring Budget to the House. People will surely appreciate the anxiety of the hon. Finance Minister to meet the situation. But the hon. Finance Minister will have to bear in mind the sheer physical ability of the people to bear the burden imposed on them in several cases. There are people who are anxious to make sacrifices for the country but many of them are on the brink of poverty and are hard put to it to keep body and soul together. We must think how these people are capable of making these sacrifices at all. Even a small burden upon them cannot be borne by them. It will reduce their economic position vitally so much so they will not be useful not only to themselves or to their families but to the country also. This way any burden will reduce the economic vitality of many people to the detriment of the country and of the country's interests. Having this thing in view the hon. Finance Minister would have done better if he had left alone such things as kerosene and postcards and had not proposed such measures as compulsory deposits at least where the middle-class people and the lower middle-class people are concerned.

In this connection I would like to remind the hon. Finance Minister that the people have to bear not only the taxes imposed by the Centre but his disciples in the States have also imposed further taxes on them. So, if you consider the position of the low-paid employees, like, the Government servants and the teachers, they have to pay the State taxes, they have to pay the professional taxes to the local bodies they have to pay their provident fund contributions, insurance premia etc. and over and above all they have got to meet their expenses which have become very high because of the rise in prices. I am reading reports from my State to the effect that even now the prices of tea, food articles, that is, rice etc., in the hotels have gone up. And about kerosene, as far as my

[Shri Koya]

State is concerned, they are using kerosene not as a fuel but for lighting purposes. So, all together, the monthly expenses of the poor employees and the poor agriculturists are increasing day by day. I do not know whether they would be able to bear the new taxes imposed both by the Centre and by the States.

Sir, the cost of living in the Kerala State is going up. An amount of Rs. 125/- means a little more than Rs. 4/- a day and I want the Finance Minister to consider whether it will be possible for the ordinary poor employee with a family of five or six members to make both ends meet, to educate his children and to meet other daily expenses. I am glad that the members of both the Houses of Parliament have expressed their dissatisfaction to these measures—the tax on kerosene and the compulsory savings scheme. As far as the poor people are concerned, at least as far as the lower middle-class people are concerned, I think the Finance Minister, being a democratic man will pay heed to the sentiment expressed by hon. members who really represent the popular feelings and sentiments in this matter. Though many of the taxation measures are necessary under the circumstances, they will push up the prices unless the Government keep wide awake and control the rise in prices. Otherwise, the rise in prices will be a crushing burden upon the people who are already called upon to make very extraordinary sacrifices.

Now, another thing that I wanted to point out was about development. To carry on the development work is a part of the defence programme according to the Prime Minister and according to the Finance Minister also. Now, in carrying on this developmental work, it should be seen that every part of the country, every State, must develop in a uniform manner as much as possible. The present unbalanced

development programme will retard the much necessary progress of the country as a whole. The States like Kerala are already suffering from economic imbalance. The economic backwardness of Kerala State is well known. The per capita income in Kerala in 1956 is 231 as against the all-India per capita income of 261. The Techno-Economic Survey published by the National Council of Applied Economic Research is now available and I hope the Government will pay special attention to the recommendations made by Dr. Lokanathan in that report. If we cannot invest Rs. 1000 crores in ten year, Kerala will not come up to the level of other provinces. In the First two Plans, less than Rs. 80 lakhs were spent and in the Third Plan Rs. 35 crores are allotted to the industrial sphere. But Kerala requires an investment of Rs. 1000 crores in ten years—from 1960 to 1970. The State or private enterprise cannot find this amount. Therefore, the Centre has to come to our rescue. Kerala has exploited to the maximum possible extent her agricultural resources. Therefore, further economic progress can only be in the industrial sector helped by the Centre. But, very unfortunately, that problem State of Kerala was neglected up till now. We were not given any substantial industries in the public sector for the last so many years. Now, we are told that even the Oil refinery for which we were waiting with expectation is not going to come to Kerala, that is Cochin. I do not want to be so pessimistic about it. Anyhow, the question of educated unemployment in that State, I hope, will be taken into consideration when the allotment of industries to the various States is considered. As far as the phyto chemicals are concerned, even the acquisition of land was over. Now, we are told, for some reason or other, that also is not going to come. With your permission, I would like to quote one or two paras from the preface of Dr. Lokanathan in this bulky volume.

The economy of Kerala is marked by a number of distinctive features. It is the most thickly populated State in India with an average density per square mile being over three times the all-India average. In addition, the rate of growth of population has been noticeably higher in Kerala than in the other parts of India. A high density of population combined with a fast growth of population has been responsible for the most acute problem of Kerala, viz., abnormally high rate of unemployment. According to a survey carried out by the State Statistics department open un-employment in the State was as high as 4.2 per cent (all-India 0.6%) and under-employment 9.6 per cent of the total population (all-India 6.0%)....

The need for a faster pace of industrialisation than achieved hitherto is particularly urgent in Kerala in view of the high man-land ratio already attained in this State. There is a limit beyond which employment in the agricultural sector cannot be increased. A solution to the key problem of Kerala, viz., high degree of unemployment, can, therefore be attempted only by further industrialisation of the State. Industrial development will also be the main spearhead of overall growth of the State economy."

Therefore, I want to impress upon the Central Government that without the Centre coming to our rescue, Kerala will be a model State of economic backwardness and that would really create a lot of problems in future. If educated un-employment is a serious problem as far as our State is concerned, industrialisation is the only solution to that problem.

Much has been said about prohibition by Members who spoke before me. I was sorry to hear that even some Members of Parliament from the

Congress party opposed the prohibition programme of the Government. I am very glad that the Finance Minister is taking a very strong attitude as far as prohibition is concerned. Prohibition cannot be viewed only from the financial point of view. Prohibition is one of the principles approved by us in the Directive Principles of our Constitution and India is making a very good experiment on that. If India fails in this experiment I think no country in the world may succeed in that.

The argument put forward by certain opponents of prohibition is that illicit distillation is going on. Then, they can go to the extent of saying that since there are thefts, therefore, Codes are not necessary. If at all illicit distillation is going on, I know that it is going on because the Governments at the States are not very strong in working prohibition. The remedy to meet illicit distillation is not to scrap prohibition but to enforce it sincerely and with an iron hand. Really speaking, the women of the country will be surely congratulating the Finance Minister on his policy of prohibition. The poor people who were spending whatever they were earning in the today shops are now living a decent life. It is only the fashion-loving and the upper class people who are opposing prohibition. As far as the poor people are concerned they surely want prohibition to continue.

Some people say from the financial point of view that if prohibition is scrapped, we shall get money. If prostitution is started, and if you license brothels, how much money will come out of it? But will anybody advise Government to do that? I submit that Government is not to make money by selling the life and the morality of the people. That is not a correct approach at all and it will be really a disservice that we shall be doing if we scrap prohibi-

[Shri Koya]

tion. That will create a lot of other problems also. If we allow drinking to continue, there will be a lot of other problems. There will be troubles, criminal cases and so on. All sorts of troubles will come.

Therefore, I would like to congratulate the Finance Minister on his policy of prohibition. The scrapping of prohibition will not solve any of the problems. But the one thing is that according to the present policy of Government, toddy is *haram* in certain areas while it is *halal* in certain other areas. Therefore, Government must find out means to extend prohibition to areas where it is not in force now.

**Shri A. N. Vidyalkar** (Hoshiarpur): At the very outset, I beg to offer my humble compliments to the Finance Minister for presenting a budget which not only fully meets the needs of the emergency but also symbolises a great landmark in India's history of advancement towards our cherished goal, namely the socialist order of society. Shri Morarji Desai will ever be remembered in the annals of India's economic reconstruction for the two most radical decisions he has taken.

Firstly, he has introduced a radical change in India's economy by depositing gold from its high pedestal, by reducing its status and by changing its character as a means of grabbing and hoarding wealth. Gold has been made, so to say, a commoner among the various metals. We might not realise the significance of these measures today, but I am quite sure that this is a radical step which will help us in building India's economy.

Shri Morarji Desai, I think, wants to nationalise gold by peaceful means without expropriating gold from those who own it.

A Swatantra Party Member said in the Rajya Sabha a few days ago that smuggled gold does not lie in the

vaults of bullion merchants but has percolated to the ordinary workers. You can well realise how heavily these poor workers must have paid for that smuggled gold and what kind of hoax they must have played on them.

Secondly, the Finance Minister has introduced a new feature in the Budget, the 'Compulsory savings scheme'. This is an innovation and is one of the most effective measures to keep inflation in proper check. It is also going to have a beneficial effect on our economy. The taxation proposals also tend towards equitable distribution of the heavy tax burden. That is why I assert that although Shri Morarji Desai does not believe in slogan-mongering even at the risk of being called anti-socialist or a friend of the capitalists, he is not a doctrinaire socialist but a practical socialist. His budget proposals have brought him in the front rank of radical socialists and I am quite sure that by laying the foundation that he did by introducing these two features in the budget and in our economy, he has made the largest positive and concrete contribution in building up socialism in our country.

In view of the emergency, I thought we would cheerfully bear the imposed burdens. However, I am disappointed to see here an atmosphere where each one has tried to shift the burden over to some one else's shoulders. We should have welcomed the burden that fell on our shoulders, with cheer. But we have produced an atmosphere of grumbling. We should pay our taxes without grumbling, very cheerfully. The attitude of one influential section in this House on the Opposition side has simply amazed me and deeply hurt me too. This section has pleaded for shifting the burden over to the head of our friends abroad. They have pleaded that the taxation proposals should not have been brought forward, the people should not have been taxed too

severely and we should have depended on the charity of certain friends by countries abroad who are prepared to help us. We should get whatever we want to get with dignity and self-respect. But what one of their Members, Shri Kapur Singh, said amazed me. He went so far as to say that all the countries of the world live on charity. I am not prepared to live on charity. India is not prepared to live on charity of others! The argument advanced has simply amazed me and hurt my sense of self-respect. Are we devoid of all sense of self-respect as to say that we should live on charity and we should not pay what we are expected to pay and what we should pay? I think Shri Kapur Singh even forgot what the great Guru had said. In the Guru's *vani*, it is said:

“बार पराये बैसना साईं कदे न देय”

‘O, God do not force us to sit at the door of anybody for charity’. It is a well-known proverb:

“मांगन गये सो मर गये”

I think the House should remember the words of poet Iqbal:

“ऐ तायरे आकूँत स रिजक से मौत अच्छी  
जिस रिजक से आती हो परवाज में कोताही”

‘Oh, bird of the high skies, do not cherish that kind of living which comes in your way and reduces your strength for soaring high’.

As I said, I was simply amazed at the begging-bowl mentality shown by some of the Members here, the Members of the Swatantra Party and of the Akali Dal. Some of the friends here seem to think there are certain countries which have opened charity-houses like ‘*Kala Kambli wale ke Kshetra or bhandra*’ for distributing charity. No country in the world distributes charity like that without pur-

pose. Even if it is distributed, India will never go and beg for charity. India will do whatever it can. We should bear our own burden. God helps those who help themselves. Other countries are prepared to help us provided we are prepared to bear our burden as much as we can.

The Communist section here claims to adhere to radical principles, but I was amazed to hear Shri Gopalan, the leader of the Communist Party, who opposed the gold policy of the Government. We expected that the Budget proposals would be supported by the Communist Party, but the speech of Shrimati Renu Chakravarty very much disappointed me.

One section of the House says that the burden is on the poorest, while Shri Deo and some other friends state that the burden has been imposed on the rich. I think that the burden has been imposed both on the rich and the poor, because every one has to bear the burden equitably.

No doubt, the taxation proposals are stunning. Our Prime Minister has stated that we should tax till it hurts. Even the Finance Minister has stated that no Finance Minister in the world has imposed such a heavy burden. True, the Finance Minister has imposed a heavy burden, but is that heavier than the burden the Chinese are imposing on us? If we are serious about meeting the Chinese aggression, the Chinese challenge, we should be prepared to bear the burden, but I am very sorry that this kind of enthusiasm has not been created. The grumbling atmosphere that we have created here will have its repercussions on the people. We should have gone to the people and asked them to bear the burden cheerfully. Instead of enthusing them, instead of raising their morale, instead of telling them to pay the taxes and not to evade them, we have created an atmosphere full of grumbling.

[Shri Morarji Desai]

There are certain economists who say that the heavens will fall, the whole industry will be shattered to pieces. Such slogans are raised every year, and the economists say that the whole economy would be shattered. Last year also it was said, but the skies did not fall, and nothing happened. I call such economists *Lal bujakkars*. They claim to know much, but I think we should not pay heed to such kind of criticism. Our former Finance Minister, Shri C. D. Deshmukh, who knows finance and economics, has very recently stated that there is no danger, that there is nothing wrong in the super profits tax or in the scheme of compulsory saving.

It is true that the duty on kerosene and other things is heavy, but if you see the list you will find that most of the articles are such that they are not an essential part of the people's life. Rather, I would say that they are not so essential like food, clothing and housing. This burden can be borne if we create a mentality in the people that after all some burden should be borne. Much has been said about the super profits tax. If you go to marriage parties you will see how much superfluous spending is there. After all these people who can afford to spend that much should also be prepared to strengthen the economy of the country by paying taxes. It is stated that it will lead to inflation. What are the remedies for inflation? Taxation, loans or savings. All these elements have been introduced in the Budget. Taxation is heavy. Loans are there; compulsory saving has been introduced. All these measures are anti-inflationary.

The price line should be maintained. The prices have risen recently. There was no justification for the sympathetic rise in prices. These prices must have been controlled and I think our machinery should work for that. There is the gold loan issue. The Nasik Printing Press should be urged

not to print so many notes. As compared to last year Rs. 184 crores worth of more notes are in circulation now. This year bank credits are higher by Rs. 154 crores. This tendency should be curtailed.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member may conclude. I want to call another hon. Member. He has taken about 15 minutes.

**Shri A. N. Vidyalkar:** I shall complete in two or three minutes.

**Mr. Chairman:** I am sorry He should conclude now.

**Shri A. N. Vidyalkar:** The budgetary practice of under estimating revenues and over-estimating expenditure should be stopped. This amount of Rs. 119 crores is a high figure. There should be control over expenditure. For lack of time I do not mention many other points that I wanted to mention. We should increase production, avoid extra-expenditure and try to remove corruption which is very rampant.

**Mr. Chairman:** He should kindly finish his speech in ten minutes.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Sir, because I am leaving tonight, I want to encroach upon your time a little.

I have heard with rapt attention the speeches made by the various hon. Members. I fully realise the difficulties confronted by the hon. Finance Minister and the situation in which he was placed and why such a heavy taxation has been placed on the people. My first reaction to this taxation was that there was going to be further suffering for the common people because of defective planning and criminal negligence of defence production in the past. People are being taxed for the defence preparations. We have to vacate Chinese aggression. A time may come when we have to face some other aggression also, though I feel it may not come. Placed in these cir-

cumstances, let us analyse whether such taxation was necessary. I fully support the Finance Minister's stand on gold control. The lure of gold has to be stopped somewhere. It is true that there is a feeling that something will be found for those lakhs of goldsmiths who are unemployed today. But there also I wanted to ask a pertinent question as to why he did not lay hands on the hoards where the gold was; why did he not do it? Why was so much time given? Why full one month was given to those hoarders to hoard the gold. Then, one day we found that all that was glittering was not gold, and naturally no gold was available to the extent that the hon. Finance Minister wanted.

18 hrs.

From the figures which I have got, I feel that there has been overbudgeting. What do the figures show? In 1956-57, the amount of saving was Rs. 650 crores; this works out to 15.2 per cent; in 1957-58, it was Rs. 221 crores; in 1958-59, it was Rs. 443 crores; in 1959-60, it was Rs. 255 crores; and in 1960-61, it was Rs. 500 crores. An analysis of savings by grants in 1960-61 shows that in 54 grants, the savings exceeded 10 per cent—

श्री कछुवाय : मैं समझता हूँ कि इस समय सदन में कोरम नहीं है ।

**Shri Raghunath Singh** (Varanasi): There is no question of quorum after 5 P.M.

**Mr. Chairman:** May I point out that the convention of the House is not to demand quorum in the extended time?

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** The savings exceeded 10 per cent of the funds provided, and that in 21 of these cases the savings exceeded 20 per cent. This shows that either it was excess budgeting or there were unspent amounts owing to non-fulfilment of schemes.

**Dr. M. S. Aney:** Is there any convention like that, namely, that after 5 O'clock or so, the question of quorum should not be raised?

**Mr. Chairman:** There is a convention.

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** We are following it for the last eight years. (Interruption).

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** So, there should have been some mistake in budgeting these amounts. Now, coming to rise in prices, my hon. friend from West Bengal quoted the various statements made by the Chief Minister of West Bengal. It is a fact today, though the Food Minister might deny it, that in Calcutta, even ordinary quality of rice is being sold at Rs. 30 a maund. I shall bring a sample of that rice in a day or two, if he likes.

What has happened in Uttar Pradesh? I shall read what is reported in the *National Herald*: "Abnormal rise in prices; U.P. writes to Centre for measures under DIR." It continues:

"The U.P. Government are fully aware of the abnormal rise in prices during the last two months, but the profiteer will attract the provisions of the Defence of India Rules only when the Union Government tell the State Government to act in the matter, it is reliably learnt."

"The State Government have already written to the Union Government suggesting measures to curb the rising prices of many essential commodities like sugar, soap, oil and textiles."

This is actually the news which has come in the papers, and the Uttar Pradesh Government has written to the Centre for taking strong action under the Defence of India Rules. I want to know from the hon. Finance Minister whether such action has been

[Shri S. M. Banerjee]

taken in Uttar Pradesh and in any other State.

Here, in Delhi, what happens? When there was a shortage of kerosene, when the price of kerosene oil shot up after the budget, 47,000 gallons of kerosene were found hoarded in a particular place in Delhi alone. I do not know what has happened in the country. So my submission is only this. Proper action should be taken so that there will be some check and naturally then the prices will not go up.

Take the question of arrears of tax. It has been mentioned in this House that the income-tax arrears as on 31st December, 1962 were Rs. 183.42 crores; gift-tax, Rs. 16.61 lakhs; wealth-tax, Rs. 2,18,87,000. In Kanpur alone, I know that the sales-tax arrears are Rs. 21 lakhs. Why this money is not realised, I do not know.

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** That is your constituency.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** It is true.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** It is a State Government matter; not here.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** It is true, but you are giving grants to them.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** But that does not mean I should not give it.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** You should not give at least to Uttar Pradesh. Naturally, there is wastage. All this should come to an end and the only remedy is there should be proper vigilance.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** For these he should go to the State Legislative Assembly; not here.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Then, during the second world war, there was an army of contractors. What is the position today? Unfortunately, we are having still an army, a complete

army of plan contractors, and they are trying to swindle this country in many ways. I am not opposed to the contract system. We cannot have everything done departmentally. But what happens? There are many cases of corruption against these contractors, and if an enquiry is made as to the buildings constructed by the various contractors in Delhi alone, it will reveal how they are swindling this country. Of course, in a mixed economy we should have both the private sector and the public sector. As you yourself pointed out, and very rightly, both the sectors will be there; I agree with you. Unless we change our economy to a socialist economy, such a system will exist. But the Vivian Bose Enquiry Commission's report has clearly revealed what is going on. Everybody is aware that that report has been referred to two eminent lawyers and the Attorney General of this country. I do not know what was the point in referring the matter to them. My hon. friend Shri Daji quoted the case of the Asiatic Insurance Company and the Law Minister advised that no fresh action need be taken against that company. I hope it would not come again from the Law Ministry that this report need not be discussed in this House. Such Commissions should be appointed with Mr. Vivian Bose or the ex-Attorney General, Mr. Setalvad, a man of unquestionable integrity, as Chairman, to go into the affairs of the Birlas and other big concerns, so that either they must come out openly and say that they are good and innocent people or otherwise, such man-eaters must be arrested, placed at the disposal of the Government and they should be shot mercilessly. That is the only solution.

My attention has been drawn to the fact that Government granted import licence for import of dry fruits from Iran through the STC to the extent of Rs. 22½ lakhs against exports of certain commodities from here. According to the report published in the *Financial Express* it appears that the

STC has agreed to transfer one licence worth Rs. 12½ lakhs in favour of a firm in Delhi by private negotiations. Shri T. N. Mathur of the Central Board of Indian Industries is the main person. I have not been able to know how he managed to get the licence. It has come out openly in the paper *Financial Express* dated 8th February, 1963 as follows:

“It may also be recalled that recently there had been a strong protest that the STC have given away a licence for Rs. 12½ lakhs to a single unknown party in Delhi.”

If licences are issued in this manner, I do not know what will happen.

I fully support the expansion of the defence industry. I also support the contention of my hon. friend, Shri Harish Chandra Mathur, that in defence production, the private sector should not be brought in. I did not get a clear answer from the Defence Minister the other day when I put a question whether it is a fact that arms and ammunition are likely to be manufactured in the private sector. If the private sector is allowed to manufacture arms and ammunition, they would like to maintain a war psychosis in the country and convert this country into one of war-mongers, which is not our policy.

I shall conclude by giving some suggestions. To get more resources, we should nationalise all banks. It

is high time we should nationalise general insurance also. Government should take over the Dalmia-Jain concerns and request Mr. Vivian Bose or Mr. Setalvad to enquire into the affairs of the business houses. I am sure this will be done. We should nationalise all coal mines and the sugar industry, if possible, because they are making fabulous profits.

I fully support the Finance Minister in levying the super profits tax. No amount of pressure should make him change his mind on this. He is a man of integrity and I hope no amount of pressure will make him change his mind on this. I would also request him to reconsider the levy on kerosene, tobacco, etc. I support him fully in so far as he has clearly taxed the big people. But I would request him to consider whether the taxation on the small people may not be reduced to some extent.

Sir, one last word and I have done. My hon. friend, Shri Kamath, suggested, let there be taxation on speeches. I would say, let the Finance Minister levy a tax on Government's failures and false promises since 15th August, 1947, and I am sure a large amount of money will be available to him.

18.11 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, March 15th, 1963 | Phalguna 24, 1884 (Saka).*