The motion was adopted.

Shri Morarji Desai: I introduce* the Bill.

I beg to* move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1962-63 be taken into consideration".

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1962-63 be taken into consideration.".

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: Now, we shall take up the clauses.

The question is:

"That clauses 1 to 3, the Schedule, the Enacting Formula and the Title stand part of the Bill".

The motion was adopted.

Clauses 1 to 3, the Schedule, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

Shri Morarji Desai: I beg to move:

"That the Bill be passed"

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the Bill be passed".

The motion was adopted.

12.07 hrs.

APPROPRIATION (RAILWAYS) No.2 BILL, 1963.

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Railways (Shri Shahnawaz Khan): On behalf of Shri Swaran Singh, I beg to move:†

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the service of the financial year 1963-64 for the purposes of Railways be taken into consideration.".

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the service of the financial year 1963-64 for the purposes of Railways be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: Now, we shall take up the clauses.

The question is:

"That clauses 1 to 3, the Schedule, the Enacting Formula and the Title stand part of the Bill".

The motion was adopted.

Clauses 1 to 3, the Schedule, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

Shri Shahnawaz Khan: I beg to move:

"That the Bill be passed".

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the Bill be passed".

The motion was adopted.

12.09 hrs.

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—*contd.*

Mr. Speaker: The House will now resume the general discussion on the General Budget.

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*Introduced/moved with the recommendation of the President.
†Moved with the recommendation of the President.

[Mr. Speaker]

Shri Tan Singh may now continue his speech. The time taken by him already is 4 minutes.

श्री तन सिंह (बाड़मेर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, युद्ध के उद्देश्य में सफल होने के लिए हर एक देश को कीमत चुकानी पड़ती है और जो देश इस कीमत को खुशी खुशी नहीं चुकाता है वह अपने युद्ध उद्देश्य में सफल नहीं हो सकता है और न ही अपनी स्वतन्त्रता की रक्षा कर सकता है । इसलिए ऐसे किसी खर्च को हम श्री केनेडी के शब्दों में स्वातन्त्र्य का निवेश (इनवैस्टमेंट आन फ्रीडम) कह सकते हैं या स्वतन्त्रता की कीमत कह सकते हैं । अब यदि रक्षा व्यय को हम देखें तो गत वर्ष अनुमानतः संशोधित आंकड़े ५०५ करोड़ के हैं जब कि इस वर्ष वह बढ़ कर ८६७ करोड़ के हो गये हैं । वास्तव में देखा जाये तो यह खर्च कोई ज्यादा नहीं है क्योंकि हमें चीन से मुकाबला करना है जिसकी कि ताकत हमारी शक्ति से कहीं अधिक है । इसलिए यह खर्चा वास्तव में अधिक नहीं है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे बड़ा खेद है कि जब हम पर आफत आई उस समय हम अपनी कमजोरियों की पूर्ति के लिये और अपनी निर्बलता को छिपाने के लिए संसार भर के देशों के दरवाजों पर जाकर सहायता की पुकार करें। यह कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है । अतः भारत को दृढ़ बनाने के लिए और भी अधिक खर्च किया जाए तो मुझे उसमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं होगी । मैं समझता हूं कि इस दृष्टिकोण से कोई कर भी लगाया जाय तो उसका विरोध नहीं होना चाहिए । लेकिन मुझे गम्भीर सन्देह है कि सरकार यह रुपया खर्च कर सकेगी । क्योंकि यह जो खर्चा बताया गया है, यह लगभग ३६२ करोड़ रुपये अधिक है । इसका ब्रेक अप नहीं दिया गया है, इसलिए यह विश्वासपूर्वक तो नहीं कहा जा सकता कि इसका खर्चा भी हो सकेगा या नहीं । अगर हम पिछले कुछ वर्षों के खर्च और आमदनी के मदों को देखें, तो प्रतीत होता है कि हमारे अनुमान से कहीं अधिक या विपरीत अन्तिम खर्च के परिणाम निकलते हैं ।

मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूं कि १९५६–५७ में १८ करोड़ के घाटे का अनुमान लगाया गया था, जब कि वास्तव में ९३ करोड़ रुपये की बचत हुई । इसी तरह से १९५७–५८ में ३५ करोड़ रुपये की बचत का अनुमान दिखाया गया था, लेकिन वह बचत ४२ करोड़ रुपये की हुई । १९५८–५९ में २८ करोड़ रुपये का घाटा बताया गया था, जो कि केवल ३ करोड़ रुपये का घाटा निकला । इससे आगे तो स्थिति और भी शोचनीय है । १९५९–६० में ५९ करोड़ रुपये के घाटे का अनुमान लगाया गया था, लेकिन ४४ करोड़ रुपये की बचत हुई । इसी प्रकार १९६१ –६२ में ६० करोड़ का घाटा दिखाया गया था, लेकिन घाटे के बजाये ४९ करोड़ रुपये की बचत हुई ।

इसलिए मुझे सन्देह है क्योंकि सरकार की खर्च करने की शक्ति उतनी नहीं है, जितनी कि उसकी अनुमान लगाने की शक्ति है । फिर भी अगर थोड़ी देर के लिये मान लिया जाये कि यह परिस्थिति ऐसी है, जिस में सरकार बहुत ही ज्यादा क्रियाशील रह कर खर्च करेगी, तो भी हमको यह देखना पड़ेगा कि हम इतना खर्च कर रहे हैं, तो दूसरी ओर इस बात का भी ध्यान रखना होगा कि सरकार की ओर से बचत की दृष्टि से क्या उपाय किये जा रहे हैं ? सरकार चाहती है कि लोग अनिवार्य रूप से बचत योजना में भाग लें और जिनकी साधारण से साधारण भी आमदनी हो, वे भी कुछ न कुछ अंशदान इस बचत में दें । लेकिन जब सरकार दूसरों को यह उपदेश देती है, तो उसको स्वयं अपने हाथ साफ करके आना चाहिए ।

इस दृष्टि से मेरा अनुमान था कि इस वर्ष सिविल एक्सपेंडीचर में कटौती होगी,

लेकिन मुझे खेद है कि उसके बजाये ७३.४६ करोड़ की बढ़ोतरी हुई है । इससे समझ में आता है कि सरकार स्वयं मितव्ययता के सम्बन्ध में जागरूक नहीं है, अथवा स्वयं अपने हाथ साफ नहीं करना चाहती है ।

मेरा ख़ास विरोध विकास के सम्बन्ध में बढ़ने हुए ख़र्च के प्रति है । उसका पहला कारण यह है कि यह विकास अरक्षित विकास है । आज हम युद्ध की विभीषिका के सामने खड़े हैं । विकास कार्यों के अन्तर्गत जो बांध वगैरह बनाये जायेंगे, आक्रमण के समय वे निश्चित रूप से शत्रु तोड़ फोड़ के शिकार होंगे । नेफ़ा और इस प्रकार के दूसरे स्थानों में जो विकास-कार्य हुए होंगे, उन पर निश्चित रूप से ऐसा प्रतिकूल प्रभाव पड़ा ही होगा । ऐसी व्यवस्था में विकास कार्य तब तक नहीं हो सकता है, जब तक कि हमारे देश की अखंडता और हमारे देश की सीमायें निश्चित रूप से सुरक्षित नहीं प्रतीत होती हैं । जहां तक सुरक्षा के लिये ख़र्च बढ़ाने का प्रश्न है, इसमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं है ।

विकास कार्यों पर ख़र्च के लिए विरोध का दूसरा कारण यह है कि योजना कमिशन और हमारे अर्थ-शास्त्रियों ने योजनाबद्ध आर्थिक विकास का केवल एक ही पहलू लिया है और वह यह है कि उत्पादन और उपभोग की सामग्रियों में सन्तुलन बनाए रखना चाहिए । लेकिन एक बहुत महत्वपूर्ण बात यह भी है कि जो कम विकसित क्षेत्र हैं और जो विकसित क्षेत्र हैं, उन दोनों के बीच में भी संतुलन होना अत्यन्त अनिवार्य है, अन्यथा विकास का अर्थ यह होगा कि हम सारे देश को आगे नहीं बढ़ा रहे हैं, बल्कि उसके कुछ भाग या कुछ भौगोलिक क्षेत्रों को ही आगे बढ़ा रहे हैं ।

यदि मैं अपने निर्वाचन-क्षेत्र की बात आप से निवेदन करूं, तो सम्भवतः आपको यकीन नहीं होगा । लेकिन यह सत्य है कि मेरी कांस्टिट्युएन्सी का जो साठ सत्तर हजार वर्ग मील का एरिया है, उस में कई ऐसे गांव हैं, जिनकी हालत स्वतन्त्रता-प्राप्ति के सोलह वर्ष बाद भी यह है कि यदि संसार की किसी भाषा में कुछ पंक्तियां लिख दी जायें, तो उनको पढ़ाने के लिए सोलह सोलह मील की यात्रा करनी पड़ती है । वहां पर ऐसे भी क्षेत्र हैं, जहां वोट देने के लिए चौबीस चौबीस मील की यात्रा करनी पड़ती है । यह खेद की बात है कि कार्लमार्क्स जर्मनी में जन्मे और ब्रिटेन में उन्होंने शिक्षा पाई और वहां पर रह कर उन्होंने कार्य-कलाप किया । यदि वह हमारे उस क्षेत्र में होते, तो वह एक नई ही थ्योरी बनाते । उन्होंने कहा है कि मनुष्य के लिए रोजी-रोटी अत्यन्त अनिवार्य आवश्यकतायें हैं । लेकिन हमारे क्षेत्र में रोजी-रोटी की इतनी आवश्यकता नहीं है, जितनी कि पानी की है । वहां पर दूध सस्ता मिल सकता है और पानी महंगा । यदि आप वहां पधारें, तो निश्चय रूप से आपका स्वागत होगा ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आपने उसको अच्छी तरह से पढ़ा है । तो फिर आप ही अपने क्षेत्र में वे सब काम क्यों नहीं करते ?

श्री तन सिंह : मेरी कुछ सीमायें हैं और मेरे पास इतना धन नहीं है । यह कार्य तो सरकार ही कर सकती है और उसी को करना चाहिए ।

वहां पर पानी महंगा है । राजस्थान नहर योजना के बारे में सरकार की ओर से बहुत दिनों से प्रचार किया जाता रहा है । यदि आप उसके आंकड़ों पर दृष्टिपात करें, तो आपको महसूस होगा कि पहले टारगेट्स और रिवाइज्ड टारगेट्स में बड़ा अन्तर है । १९६१-६२ में सिंचाई का लक्ष्य १,५०,००० एकड़ बांधा गया था, जो कि घटा कर ३,००० एकड़ कर दिया गया । १९६२-६३ में २,१०,००० एकड़ का टारगेट रखा गया था, जो कि घटा कर ८१,००० एकड़ कर दिया गया । १९६३-६४ में

[श्री तन सिंह]

३,०७,५०० एकड़ का लक्ष्य रखा गया था, जिसको घटा कर १,८२,६०० कर दिया गया है । इसी तरह से १९६४–६५ में जो ४,४४,४०० एकड़ का लक्ष्य रखा गया था, उस को घटा कर २,६१,५०० एकड़ कर दिया गया है । १९६५–६६ में ६,११,६०० एकड़ का जो टारगेट रखा गया था, उसको अब ३,२१,६०० एकड़ कर कर दिया गया है । इसका अर्थ यह है कि टारगेट्स को अनुमान से आधे से भी कम कर दिया गया है ।

यह बात नहीं है कि वहां पर कृषि और औद्योगिक विकास की शक्तियां नहीं हैं । मैं आपको उदाहरण दूं कि उत्तर प्रदेश के रहने वाले लोग अपने पास की बहुत थोड़ी पूंजी के द्वारा बम्बई और कलकत्ता के व्यापारिक क्षेत्रों पर छा गए । ऐसी बात भी नहीं कि वे यहां पर खर्च नहीं कर सकते बशर्ते कि सरकार का प्रोत्साहन हो । ऐसी बात भी नहीं है कि वहां पर भूमि उपजाऊ नहीं है । इसका एक कारण है सरकारी उपेक्षा और ख़ास तौर पर तकनीकी दृष्टिकोण की उपेक्षा । उस क्षेत्र के विकास, बहबूदी और खुशहाली के लिए विपुल साधन और खनिज धन मिल सकता है । लेकिन सरकार उधर ध्यान नहीं दे रही है । इसलिए जब तक सारे देश का सम्यक रूप से, सम्पूर्ण रूप से विकास न होगा और उसके सब भौगोलिक क्षेत्रों का विकास नहीं किया जायगा, तब तक वह विकास अधूरा रहेगा और उस विकास में मेरी कोई रुचि नहीं है ।

जहां तक औद्योगिक विकास का सम्बन्ध है, उसमें यातायात, विद्युत और जल अत्यन्त परम आवश्यकतायें हैं । जब हम उनके सम्बन्ध में सरकार से कहते हैं, तो उस की तरफ से हमेशा यह जवाब दिया जाता है कि यह तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में नहीं है या इतना धन नहीं है और ऐसी अवस्था में यह काम नहीं हो सकता है । मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि स्वतन्त्रता का सम्बन्ध केवल भावनाओं से ही नहीं है । यदि वह हम को कुछ दे नहीं सकती है, तो केवल नारेबाजी से, यह कहने से कि हम स्वतन्त्र हैं, हमको कोई सन्तोष नहीं हो सकता । हमको स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त किये हुए सोलह वर्ष हो चुके हैं । आखिर प्रतीक्षा का कुछ तो समय होना चाहिए, कोई ऐसी अवधि होनी चाहिए, जिसके बाद हम निश्चयपूर्वक कह सकें कि हमने कुछ लाभ उठाया है ।

विकास के बारे में मेरा चौथा विरोध यह है कि हमारी आर्थिक नीति मूल रूपेण ग़लत है । हमारी राष्ट्रीय आय गत वर्ष ढाई प्रतिशत बढ़ी है । यद्यपि इस वर्ष के सम्बन्ध में मेक आउट तो नहीं किया गया है, लेकिन अनुमान है कि इस वर्ष वह तीन प्रतिशत होगी । अपनी पंचवर्षीय योजना में हमने यह लक्ष्य रखा है कि वह पांच प्रतिशत बढ़ेगी । लेकिन अगर मौजूदा हालत को देखा जाये तो प्रतीत होता है कि किसी भी हालत में वह पांच प्रतिशत नहीं बढ़ सकती है । उसका कारण यह है कि प्रति-व्यक्ति आय वैसी की वैसी ही है और उसमें कोई बढ़ोतरी नहीं हुई है । हमारे वित्त मंत्री स्वयं स्वीकार करते हैं कि कृषि उत्पादन घटता जा रहा है ।

वित्त मंत्री (श्री मोरारजी देसाई) : मैंने कभी नहीं कहा कि कृषि-उत्पादन घटता जा रहा है ।

श्री तन सिंह : माननीय मन्त्री अपनी स्पीच को देख लें । मेरे पास समय कम है, वर्ना मैं उसको क्वोट करता ।

श्री मोरारजी देसाई : ज़रूर क्वोट करें ।

श्री तन सिंह : मैंने उसको मार्क किया हुआ है । यदि स्पीच के बाद समय मिला तो, माननीय मन्त्री उसको देख सकते हैं ।

औद्योगिक उत्पादन के बारे में ७.२ प्रतिशत बढ़ोतरी हुई है, जबकि १९६०–६१ में १०.६ प्रतिशत बढ़ोतरी हुई थी । मेरा निवेदन है कि जब तक औद्योगिक उत्पादन के क्षेत्र में कम से कम १२ प्रतिशत की वृद्धि नहीं होगी, तब तक राष्ट्रीय आय में पांच प्रतिशत वृद्धि का हमारा लक्ष्य पूरा नहीं हो सकता है ।

जब हम कहते हैं कि कृषि के क्षेत्र में उत्पादन के लक्ष्य पूरे नहीं हो रहे हैं, तो इससे प्रकट है कि हमारी टैक्सेशन पालिसी, हमारी फिस्कल पालिसी, हमारी मानिटरी पालिसी, ये सब ग़लत हैं। उसके प्रमाणस्वरूप मैं पहले टैक्सेशन पालिसी को लेता हूं ।

सबसे पहले मैं अनिवार्य बचत योजना के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं । मैं अर्से से वित्त मन्त्री महोदय की खूब प्रशंसा सुन रहा हूं । बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों ने उनके सम्बन्ध में प्रशंसात्मक बात कहते हैं ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : माननीय सदस्य भी कहें ।

श्री तन सिंह : यह मेरी आदत नहीं है ।

सम्भवतः यही कारण है कि वित्त मन्त्री जी ने जो बहुत अच्छा और नवीन तोहफा दिया है, वह शायद सारे संसार के इतिहास में नहीं मिलने का । वह है अनिवार्य बचत योजना । सम्भव है कि इस प्रशंसा से प्रभावित होकर वे एक अनिवार्य खुशहाली योजना बनाये, जिसके अन्तर्गत यदि कोई खुश न होता हो, तो उसको अनिवार्य रूप से खुश होना होगा । फिर यदि किसी को नींद नहीं आती है तो क्या उसके लिए आप अनिवार्य महा निद्रा आयोजन करेंगे या कोई मरने वाला नहीं है, कोई जिन्दा रहना चाहता है तो उसके लिए अनिवार्य महाप्रयाण वैसा आयोजन करेंगे ? जब आप देखें कि इस अनिवार्य बचत योजना के अन्तर्गत आप किन लोगों को शामिल करते हैं । जिसकी सालाना आमदनी १५०० रुपये है, आप यह चाहते हैं कि वह अनिवार्य बचत योजना में धन जमा कराये और उसको तीन प्रतिशत जमा कराना पड़ेगा । इस पर चार प्रतिशत ब्याज देंगे और पांच वर्ष तक उसे इन्तजार करना पड़ेगा । इस पन्द्रह सौ रुपये का अभिप्राय १२५ रुपये माहवारी आमदनी से है । यह एक ऐसी लिमिट है जिस को मैं समझता हूं कि बढ़ाया जाना चाहिये । इसमें तो आदमी अपना निर्वाह भी नहीं कर सकता है । शुरु शुरु में ही जब वह हिसाब लगाता है तो पाता है कि उसको घाटा होगा और वह इसमें निर्वाह नहीं कर सकेगा, तब किस प्रकार से वह इस अनिवार्य बचत योजना में तीन प्रतिशत धन जमा करा सकेगा । थोड़ी देर के लिए मान भी लिया जाए कि जिसकी आय १२५ रुपये महीना है उसको अनिवार्य रूप से बचत करने के लिए कहा जाना चाहिये तो कौनसी मशीनरी है जिसके द्वारा आप यह एसरटेन करेंगे कि उसकी आमदनी १२५ रुपये महीना है या नहीं है, इसके लिए कौनसा मैथड आप अख्त्यार करेंगे ? जिनकी बंधी बंधाई तनख्वाह है जो सर्विस क्लास है, उनकी पे में से आप आसानी से इस मद में रुपया ले सकते हैं लेकिन बहुत से ऐसे लोग भी हो सकते हैं जिनकी आमदनी के बारे में आप निश्चित रूप से कुछ नहीं कह सकते हैं । अब अगर उनसे भी इस मद में पैसा वसूल करने की चेष्टा की जाती है तो इसका मतलब यह होगा कि करप्शन बढ़ेगा, भ्रष्टाचार दुगुने रूप में बढ़ेगा । इसकी वसूली के लिए माननीय वित्त मन्त्री जी ने पचास लाख रुपये का प्रावधान किया है । मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि इस पचास लाख रुपये में किस तरह से काम चल सकता है । मेरा यह निश्चित मत है कि आने वाले सत्र में वित्त मन्त्री महोदय इसके बारे में जरूर सप्लीमेंटरी डिमाण्ड लेकर हमारे सामने आयेंगे ।

अब मैं आयकर को लेता हूं । तीन हजार

[श्री तन सिंह]

जिनकी आमदनी है उससे जहां पहले ४२ रुपये लिया जाता था वहां अब २४१ रुपये लेने की व्यवस्था की गई है। बताया यह गया है कि २४१ में १४२ रुपये अनिवार्य बचत योजना के लिए लिये जायेंगे। अब २५० रुपये जिसकी महीना आमदनी है, उसे बीस रुपये प्रति मास देना पड़ेगा। अप्रत्यक्ष कर जो लगाये गए हैं वाशलेट पर तथा दूसरी उपभोक्ता सामग्रियों पर इनसे पन्द्रह प्रतिशत बढ़ोतरी होने की सम्भावना है। अगर पन्द्रह प्रतिशत के बजाय यह मान लिया जाए कि बारह प्रतिशत ही अतिरिक्त उसका खर्च होगा, तो ढाई सौ रुपये की आमदनी पर तीस रुपये तो उसके अप्रत्यक्ष करों के रूप में चले गए और बीस रुपये प्रत्यक्ष करों के रूप में उसको देना पड़ेगा और इस प्रकार से पचास रुपये अनिवार्य रूप से आप उसके हड़प रहे है। वास्तव में देखा जाए तो विकास के नाम पर, यह विकास कर नहीं बल्कि कमर तोड़ कर है। जहां पर वह आयकर के रूप में ४२ रुपये महीना देता था वहां अब उसको २४१ रुपये देने होंगे जिसका मतलब यह हुआ कि उसको १९९ रुपये अधिक देने होंगे। मेरा सुझाव यह है कि १९९ रुपये को अनिवार्य बचत योजना के अन्दर शामिल कर लिया जाए और यदि ऐसा नहीं किया जा सकता है तो यह जो टैक्स की लैविल रखी गई है, इसको नीचे किया जाए।

अनिवार्य बचत योजना के सम्बन्ध में मैं एक दूसरी बात भी कहना चाहता हूं। वास्तव में पोस्ट आफिस के अन्दर जो रुपया जमा होता है, अल्प बचत योजना में जो जमा होता है और बीमे के रूप में जो रुपया जमा होता है, इन तीनों कार्यकलापों पर इस अनिवार्य बचत योजना का बहुत असर पड़ेगा। इसलिए मेरा यह सुझाव है कि इन तीनों को इस अनिवार्य बचत योजना के अन्तर्गत ले लिया जाए।

अब मैं सुपर प्राफिट टुक्स के बारे में थोड़ा सा निवेदन करना चाहता हूं। पहले से ही निगम कर यानी कारपोरेट टैक्स पचास प्रतिशत है और अब इसको पचास प्रतिशत और बढ़ाया जा रहा है जिसका मतलब यह होता है कि कुल ७५ या ८० प्रतिशत कर लगेगा। इस पचास प्रतिशत की बढ़ोतरी से हमने अनुमान लगाया है कि पच्चीस करोड़ रुपये की हमको आमदनी होगी। मैं समझता हूं कि सीधा साधा अगर पहले जो पचास प्रतिशत कारपोरेट टैक्स है, निगम कर है, उसको आप ५६ प्रतिशत कर देते तो पच्चीस करोड़ रुपया आपको हासिल हो सकता था। चार सौ करोड़ के अन्दर वित्त मन्त्री महोदय ने बताया है कि यह टुक्स हमने उद्योगपतियों पर और जो बहुत आमदनी करते है उन पर लगाया है। मेरा निवेदन यह है कि उद्योगपतियों तथा बड़े बड़े पूंजीपतियों पर यह टैक्स नहीं है, वास्तव में तो यह टैक्स साधारण शेयर होल्डर्ज पर है, अब उनको डिविडट मिलने की कोई सूरत दिखाई नहीं देती है। मैं समझता हूं कि वास्तव में हमारी जो टैक्सेशन की पालिसी है वह गलत है।

अब मैं माली नीति के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना चाहता हूं। मैं समझता हूं कि औद्योगिक उत्पादन बढ़े बिना हमारे देश का विकास सम्भव नहीं है। इस औद्योगिक उत्पादन के अन्दर आता है, कोयला, इस्पात, आवागमन और विद्युत। इन सब के बारे में मैं ज्यादा निवेदन तो नहीं कर सकता हूं। क्योंकि समय बहुत कम है, लेकिन इतना अवश्य निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूं कि स्वयं वित्त मन्त्री महोदय इस बात से सन्तुष्ट हो जायें कि क्या औद्योगिक विकास के लिए जो कुछ भी किया जाना चाहिये, वह सब कुछ किया जा रहा है और क्या औद्योगिक विकास पर्याप्त हो रहा है

नहीं हो रहा है तथा जो उत्पादन है वह भी पर्याप्त मात्रा में हो रहा है या नहीं हो रहा है।

अब मैं राजकीय क्षेत्र के बारे में संक्षेप में निवेदन करना चाहता हूं, जिसको पब्लिक सेक्टर कहा जाता है। हमने एक हजार करोड़ रुपये इसमें इनवेस्ट किए और पंचवर्षीय योजना में हमने अनुमान लगाया था कि तीन सौ करोड़ रुपये का लाभ होगा। लेकिन वास्तव में हमें तीन करोड़ रुपये का ही लाभ हो रहा है है। खेद है कि हमारे यहां राजनीतिक क्षेत्र की जो असफल लोगों के रूप में बड़ी बड़ी तोपें हैं, उनको दागे जाने के बाद भी, वे हमारे लिए भारस्वरूप ही सिद्ध हुई हैं। उनको वापिस भरने तथा तैयार करने में समय लगता है और तब तक मूर्छित हो जाती है। दगी हुई तोपें वहां से हटा कर इस क्षेत्र में डालना और बड़े बड़े ओहदों पर लगाना ठीक नहीं है। अगर आप उनकी परवरिश करना चाहते हैं तब तो बात दूसरी है लेकिन यदि हम चाहते हैं कि तीन सौ करोड़ रुपये का फायदा हो तो जो उस क्षेत्र के योग्य हों, उनको ही उसमें लगाया जाए। मेरे पास ऐसे नामों की लम्बी सूची है जो मैं आपको बता सकता हूं और जिनको मैं स्वयं नहीं जानता हूं लेकिन इतना मैं अवश्य कह सकता हूं कि उनके बजाय अगर योग्य व्यक्तियों को रखा जाता, इन क्षेत्रों के जानकार लोगों को रखा जाता तो हमारी नीति नितान्त रूप में फेल न होती।

अब मैं कर्जों के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना चाहता हूं। बरसों से कर्जों की जो राशियां हैं, वे बढ़ रही हैं। १९५६ में ३२२२ करोड़, १९५७ में ३६७२ करोड़ १९५८ में ४३११ करोड़, १९५९ में ५००८ करोड़, १९६० में ५६६९ करोड़ और १९६१ में ६२८२ करोड़ की राशियां थीं और १९६२ में वह राशि और भी बढ़ गई होगी। इससे पता चलता है कि कर्जे बढ़ते जा रहे हैं। कर्ज लेने की अधिकतम सीमा के बारे में संविधान के अनुच्छेद २९२ के मुताबिक जब यहां पर बहस हुई थी उस समय सरकार की ओर से कहा गया था कि यह ऐच्छिक कार्य है, कोई किसी किस्म की पाबन्दी नहीं है। नतीजा उसका यह हुआ कि स्टेटस में भी इस प्रकार का कोई लिमिट न होने के कारण बढ़ोत्तरी ही होती जा रही है। जहां तक एमोरटाइजेशन का सम्बन्ध है आप हर साल इस सिलसिले में पांच करोड़ रुपये एलाट करते आ रहे हैं। वास्तव में देखा जाए तो यह आंकड़ों की जादूगिरी है। इसको देख कर खेद ही होता है। पांच करोड़ का हम अलग से प्रावधान करते हैं। वास्तव में होना यह चाहिये कि एमोरटाइजेशन के सिलसिले में पूरी स्कीम हो कि इस वर्ष में इतना, और इस वर्ष में इतना हम पेमेंट कर देंगे और उसके लिए अलग फण्ड की व्यवस्था होगी। आज दरअसल में इसको एवायडं किया जा रहा है है। डेटस की रिपेमेंट की कोई स्कीम नहीं है। मैं चाहता हूं कि कोई स्कीम बनाई जाए।

जो थोड़ा सा समय आपने मुझे दिया, उसमें मैं जो कुछ कह सका, मैंने कह दिया और मैं आशा करता हूं कि माननीय वित्त मन्त्री जी उसकी ओर ध्यान देंगे।

Shri A. P. Jain (Tumkur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is not an ordinary budget. It has the background of the Chinese invasion which has been further aggravated by the recent agreement concluded between Pakistan and China. The task of the Finance Minister is, therefore, very onerous. He has to raise large amounts for the purpose of defence as also to increase the tempo of production. Naturally the burden has to fall upon all sections of the people, rich and poor.

While I may not subscribe to all his proposals, yet, I can say with a safe conscience that his approach has been a bold and courageous one. *The Economic Survey* prepared by the Finance Ministry has drawn our attention to certain features of the economic climate. It says that there has been imporvement in the production of coal and steel. It also says that the railways have been able to haul a larger

[Shri A. P. Jain]

freight. As regards agricultural production, it did not increase in the year 1961-62, but there are prosects of some increase in the year 1962-63, though it is yet too early to say what is going to be the extent of the increase. In the first six months of the current year, the industrial production has gone up by about 7.2 per cent. All these are encouraging features, but there are certain other aspects of production which need our attention.

In a backward economy like ours, the key test of the increase in production is the amount of the availability of the foreign exchange and how it is being utilised. Not only that; we need foreign exchange for importing machinery. Even for communication, railways, for building bridges and reservoirs and for mining, we have to import machinery from abroad. There are two sources, of earning foreign exchange for us. One is export and the other is foreign aid and assistance. So far as export is concerned, when the third Plan was framed, it was envisaged that the earnings from exports would be increased form about Rs. 3050 crores to Rs. 3700 crores or Rs. 3800 crores. What has been our achievement during the first two years of the third Plan? In the first year of the third Plan, we earned Rs. 37 crores more than the previous year by way of exports. In the current year, excluding exports from Goa, Daman and Diu, it is estimated that we will have an increase of about Rs. 18 crores. So, during the first two years, we will have an increase of about Rs. 55 crores. If the target of increase of about Rs. 700 or Rs. 750 crores for the Third Plan has to be achieved, we need to increase our exports by about Rs. 50 crores per year. Therefore, there is need of great vigilance and extreme efforts to step up our exports.

The exports have lagged behind expectations. Whatever may be the reasons, I do not have time to go into them now. Our exports do not earn enough of foreign exchange for us to pay the debt servicing charges and also the cost of components and spares and intermediaries needed for the maintenance of the economy. Therefore, some of our foreign assistance is utilised for the import of components and spares and for the maintenance of our economy. When the second Five Year Plan closed, we had a balance of Rs. 700 crores out of sanctions by the foreign countries by way of loans and aids. At the end of the first year of the third Plan, this amount increased to Rs. 830 crores. During the first nine months of the current year, there have been further sanctions of a little more than Rs. 400 crores. I do not know whether we have been utilising the foreign aid at a speed at which it is coming. My own idea is, perhaps unutilised foreign aid today is larger than what it was at the end of the first year of the third Plan. Therefore, there is need for great caution, because the tempo of development so far as the industrial sector and certain sectors of agriculture are concerned depends upon the utilisation of foreign aid. I want to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to the need to correct this imbalance.

The other day in this House the Minister for Steel and Heavy Industries told us that as much as 50 per cent of our foundry capacity is lying idle. The estimate is that about one-third of the capacity of the engineering enterprises is lying idle. These are not good signs. They are, rather, alarming features. And, while the Government is making all-out efforts to increase the tempo of production, both industrial and agricultural, the sterling balance, the unutilised foreign aid and the unutilised capacity need corrective. I hope due attention will be paid to them.

Coming to the budget proposals, the infrastructure of the budget rests on three factors: the defence, the price line and the production. So far as defence is concerned, the Finance Minister has made a demand of Rs. 867 crores as against Rs. 505 crores of last year. The security of the country is the first consideration and nobody, either in this House or outside the House, at all resents or objects to the higher demand for defence. The Chinese have rejected the Colombo proposals. But even supposing they had accepted the Colombo proposals and we were on the verge of going to the negotiation table, we could not afford to be complacent and we had to make our preparations. Therefore, I welcome the proposal of the Finance Minister to raise the defence budget by about 70 per cent. In fact, if the need arises and the Finance Minister finds it necessary he can come forward before this House with a Supplementary Demand for Grant and this House will very gladly sanction that Grant.

Now, the plan expenditure is proposed to be raised by about Rs. 300 crores. That leaves a deficit of Rs. 454 crores. The question is, how this deficit should be made up and to what extent this deficit should be made up. Roughly speaking, the Finance Minister has proposed to levy increased indirect duties, customs and excises, the yield of which the income from which will come to about Rs. 200 crores. From the direct taxes he wants about Rs. 70 crores to Rs. 75 crores more and, then, he proposes to raise Rs. 40 crores by compulsory savings. In a poor country of ours, inevitably, large amount of finances can be raised only by indirect duties. Therefore, one can understand why the Finance Minister has been compelled to raise the major portion of his resources from indirect duties.

But, Sir, there is one item—that is, kerosene oil—on which the duty is proposed to be raised rather heavily. Out of the total additional receipts from the indirect taxes, both custom and excise, which would be about Rs. 200 crores, the one single item of kerosene oil will account for 23 per cent. Now, a couple of years ago when there was a proposal before this House to raise the duty on kerosene oil, the Finance Minister gave an exemption to the inferior type of kerosene oil on the ground that it was being used by the poor villagers. There is hardly any village which has got electricity, and after nightfall there are many villagers who cannot afford even to light their houses with kerosene oil. I would very earnestly request the Finance Minister to give some thought to it and exempt the inferior quality of kerosene oil altogether and to reduce the duty even on the superior kind of kerosene oil.

There is another proposal to raise custom duty on iron and steel, machinery and electrical goods. A very large proportion of these goods are used either by the Government for defence purposes or for other purposes, or by the public sector undertakings. So, enhancement of duties on these items means taking with one hand and paying it with the other for a major portion of the collection. Also, it will increase the cost of production. So, I would earnestly request the Finance Minister to give some thought whether these levies, increase of customs duty, on iron and steel, machinery and electrical goods is really a wise step.

Now I come to the direct taxes. So far as direct taxes are concerned, I have only two observations to make. My complaint is that men with lower income have been taxed proportionately more than men with higher income. I can anticipate the reply of the Finance Minister. He would say that under the present system of income-tax the higher income group is already heavily taxed. A man who has an income of Rs. 2 lakhs is left with about Rs. 65,000 as the net income after the payment of taxes.

Shri Rameshwar Tantia: You have to take into account the wealth tax also.

Shri A. P. Jain: I leave that to the hon. Member. After all, I must not say everything. Something must be left for my hon. friend.

He is being additionally taxed only to the extent of Rs. 5,430. I very humbly submit that a person who has a net income of Rs. 65,000 has the capacity to bear a much greater burden than Rs. 5,430.

I have another complaint against the scheme of additional surcharge on incomes. In the pink book at pages 1-2 the last column gives the incidence of tax on the unearned income and the first column gives the incidence of tax on salaries. A person who has an income of Rs. 2 lakhs, if it is is wholly unearned, has to pay an increased tax of Rs. 3,981. On the other hand, if it is earned income of Rs. 2 lakhs, he has to pay Rs. 5,430. According to all progressive principles of modern taxation, unearned income is taxed more heavily than earned income, and that is the principle which is followed in the Income-tax Act. I would earnestly request the Finance Minister to give attention to it so that unearned income does not escape more lightly than earned income. These are my observations about surcharge on income-tax.

Now I come to a rather delicate subject, and that is the question of super profit-tax. The entire corporate sector in India earns a net income of about Rs. 200 crores; the gross income is about Rs. 400 crores. Out of this net income of Rs. 200 crores, about Rs. 60 crores is paid by way of dividend and out of the balance left over, a part is given as bonus to the workers but the major portion of it goes to build up reserves. Both the reserves and the dividends are the property of the shareholders. The reserves are the property of the shareholders collectively whereas the dividend is the property of the shareholders individually. So, there is no difference between the two, so far as ownership is concerned. These reserves are the savings which go towards capital formation. According to all canons of economic property, it is not a good policy to divert the savings which are meant for capital formation to current consumption, and that is going to be exactly the effect of the present proposals of the Finance Minister. I repeat it once again, the reserves which are meant for capital formation, for further expansion of the industry, are, according to this scheme, being diverted for current consumption for defence purposes.

I do not propose any very radical change. The House will remember that at one time, about four or five years ago, the general thinking of the Government was to discourage distribution of high dividend and, therefore, the excess dividends tax was imposed to encourage the formation of reserves so that the tempo of economic growth may increase. This is the reversal of that policy. Now I do not suggest that the incidence of the tax should be shifted to a different class of people. What I would suggest is that instead of taxing the reserves, the dividend may be taxed and part of the dividend may be taken away so that while adequate finances are secured for defence purposes, at the same time, our objective of economic growth is not defeated by diverting savings meant for further investment to current consumption.

Now I come to the last point, and that is about compulsory savings. The Bill, as it has been introduced in the House, proposes to levy 50 per cent on the land revenue paid by the farmers. I have serious and grave objections to this proposal. Firstly, as the speech of the Finance Minister indicates, the proceeds from this com-

pulsory deposit scheme will be divided into two parts—one part of it will go to the Centre and the other part to the States. The estimate is that the deposits will amount to Rs. 65 crores to 70 crores out of which Rs. 40 crores have been accounted for by the Centre and the rest will go to the States. I hope I am correct in presuming that the portion which is being given to the States is mostly on account of the surcharge on land revenue. It is none of the functions of the Central Government to raise resources for the States. It is crippling the States. The States must feel responsibility for any revenue they get in the form of taxes. Any State which impose a tax on the people feels responsibility for the people. On the other hand, if a state gets taxes collected by the others, it always creates a sense of self-complacency. But I have still graver objections about it.

The land system in India has been devised by the various States for different considerations. The incidence of revenue in each State is different. Those States which have been progressive, which have been holding settlements and which have remained up to date have a much higher incidence of land revenue than the States which have lagged behind. For instance, the princely States had very low land revenue and their land revenue had not gone up. Therefore, it is an inequitable tax because it treats all the land revenue payers at par, irrespective of whether they pay more or less. It means an inequitable incidence of tax. Then, there are some States which have recently increased their land revenue. One State has increased it by 75 per cent, another by 50 per cent and yet another by 25 per cent. There are also States which have not increased their land revenue. That means another element of inequality and injustice. Lastly, ...

Mr. Speaker: Now the hon. Member should stop.

Shri A. P. Jain: Only half a minute not more than that. I know of my State of Uttar Pradesh where there are *seerdars* and *bhoomidars*. They belong to the same class of people.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): We thought, your State was Mysore.

Shri A. P. Jain: I am talking not of my constituency but of my home State.

For the same type or quality of land a *bhoomidar* pays 50 per cent of the rent because he has paid ten times the rent in lump sum to the Government and has bought *bhoomidari* rights whereas a *seerdar* pays double. So, the incidence of the tax on the *seerdar* will be twice that on the *bhoomidar*. A *bhoomidar* is in a better position to bear the burden of the tax than a *seerdar*. My contention is that the system of land revenue is such a complicated matter that the Centre cannot do justice to it by a uniform scheme. Therefore I would request the hon. Finance Minister not to undertake this scheme which will lead to inequality.

May I have half a minute more, Sir?

Mr. Speaker: I have been given a list of 25 hon. Members by the Whip of the Congress Party. I shall be able to call only ten of them and shall have to displease 15.

Shri A. P. Jain: The proposals which I have made may mean some reduction in revenue, but our experience of the past has shown that the estimates of revenue made by the hon. Finance Minister are always a little too low. In 1961-62 he estimated a surplus of a few lakhs of rupees; it came to about Rs. 30 crores to Rs. 40 crores in the revised estimates and later on it came to Rs. 125 crores. Last year he estimated an income of about Rs. 1,380 crores and it came to about Rs. 1,500 crores.

The Minister of Finance (Shri Morarji Desai): May I tell the hon. Member that there is no surplus left with me?

Shri A. P. Jain: It is not with me either.

Mr. Speaker: And now not with me either. He should conclude now.

Shri A. P. Jain: There are two clauses in this Bill which give reserve power to the hon. Finance Minister, namely, clause 24, whereby he can raise a regulatory customs duty of 10 per cent and clause 28 whereby he can raise a regulatory excise duty of 10 per cent. So, if at any time there is need, he can take advantage of that and any shortfall in revenue can be made up.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Guha wants to go to hospital; so I will call him now. But I should request hon. Members from the Congress side that they should not try to cover every point that is there in the Budget but should be content with 15 minutes each so that I might be able to call a larger number of hon. Members.

Shri A. C. Guha (Barasat): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Budget this year has been characterised, even by the hon. Finance Minister himself, as putting a sort of an unprecedented burden on the people. Naturally, in view of the national emergency caused by foreign aggression, an unprecedented burden has to be put on the nation. I fully agree with the hon. Finance Minister when he stated that even the poorer section of the people must be called upon to make their sacrifices, not only for the sake of the money that we may get from them but also for the sake of achieving their collaboration in the great national venture. When the defence of the country is at stake there cannot be any sacrifice too big for the people to make; everything else will come not only second but far below in importance when the question of national defence comes before us. So, it requires a total mobilisation of our resources. Moreover, we have also to carry on with the development programmes.

From some quarters suggestions have come about effecting economy and getting the necessary money simply by effecting economies. I am surprised that even eminent professors of economics have also made such suggestions. I do not deny that there will be some scope for economy and that should always be attempted by the Government, but from whatever economy can be effected by all these measures, we can get only a very negligible portion of the money required of the money required both for defence and for development. In any case, this burden has to be borne by the nation.

Then there have been suggestions that we can scrap some of our development programmes. Particularly, the State Governments it is regrettable, have already taken a stand that that there should be a cut in education, health and other social services. Yesterday, the hon. Finance Minister interrupted a speaker and said that there has not been anything on the part of the Central Government to indicate such measures. I would humbly request the hon. Finance Minister and the Central Government to tell the State Governments that any attempt at economy by cutting down programmes of development, particularly, social services like education and health, would be the most foolish thing for us to do. All these have to be maintained. In addition to that we will have to get the proper machinery for defence. Without industrial development no defence is possible. So, plan allotment for the next year is about Rs. 300 crores more than that of the current year. In addition to that for defence we have to find another Rs. 300 crores to Rs. 400 crores. So, the hon. Finance Minister has somehow to secure an additional sum of Rs. 600 crores to Rs. 700 crores for both these purposes.

This Budget has been attacked by both the extremes. On the one hand, the Swatantra Party has characterised it in any term and has condemned the Budget altogether; on the other, the Communist Party has also con-

demned it. On the day the Budget was presented we had some reaction from the hon. Leader of the Communist Party prophesying that there would be organised revolt of the people. I would like to draw the attention of this House to these words, namely, "organised revolt". It is not that the revolt of the people would be spontaneous or unorganised, but it would be organised by some parties or by some interested person. The Communist Party organ also has published a long editorial practically demolishing all the suggestions of the Budget. The editorial has mentioned some other alternative which, even if given effect to, can secure only a few crores of rupees. One of them is the nationalisation of some foreign concerns in India.

We require foreign aid so badly now. During the development period, that is, all these years we required their aid and particularly now we require foreign aid in a still greater degree. At this stage to suggest that we should nationalise all foreign enterprises and not pay them any compensation, I think, would be most suicidal and would mean the scuttling of foreign aid. The House will realise what the consequences of such a wrong course will be.

While I have said that the country has to undertake this hardship, I should also like to say that the Government has got some moral obligations before it can ask the people to undertake austerity and hardship. The two more obligations of which the Government must be conscious are these. One is holding the price line. While we ask the people to pay higher taxes and to take to an austere course of life, we cannot allow a particular section of the people to go on profiteering at the expense of the consumer. So, this is moral obligation which the Government must take holding the price line. So long, all the attempts of the Government have been, more or less, not of much success and sometimes it is questioned whether the Government were really serious about their attempts in holding the price line.

13.00 hrs.

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

The second moral obligation of the Government before asking the people to take to hardships, is to effect economy in their own administration. I have already stated that it would not bring in much revenue, but it has a psychological aspect. Earlier, some revelations have been made in the papers that Ministers consume a lot of electricity and power. It matters only, I think, a few lakhs of rupees—nothing more than that. Either this thing should not have been given any bublicity or the Government should have settled this matter internally. Now, when this thing has come before the public, it will surely have a bad psychological reaction on the people. The Government must take some action so that this squandering of electricity and power should not be carried on by the Ministers themselves. If they cannot put a check on the consumption of these articles, they will have no moral right to ask the people to undergo austerity. Sir, I repeat this that this would not bring in much of revenue but it will have a psychological effect. Or, this thing should not have come up before the public. It would have been better if the Government could have settled the matter amongst themselves without ventilating it to the public. But once it has come up before the public, they must take some steps to check all these things.

Sir, even in the Third Plan report, it has been stated that only a limited rise in consumption standard would be possible. During the development period, some sort of a control on consumption has to be exercised. But due to our democratic traditions—and, perhaps, a sort of weakness to democratic ideals and techniques—we have not tried to impose any check on the consumption standing. But, now that the question of defence of the country has come, some check

[Shri A. C. Guha]

on the consumption standard has to be undertaken. It may be through control or it may be through some fiscal measures. The Government is going to spend about Rs. 800 crores more next year. During the current year, the deficit financing of the Government is of the order of Rs. 240 crores and the next year the budgetary deficit left is Rs. 151 crores and now if the Government is going to spend about Rs. 800 crores more over what has been spent this year, all this will tend to inflationary tendencies. That will help inflation. So, either through control or through fiscal measures there must be some control on the consumption of commodities. From that point of view, these taxation proposals should be considered. I think, a better method would have been to put a control over consumption so that this may not work indiscriminately on everybody. But, anyhow, that is not possible and the administrative machinery for that is also not to be available now. So, the only course to put a curb on the consumption is to take recourse to taxation measures.

Then, come to complusory savings scheme. I think this is the one item for which I have my hundred per cent support. I know even my hon. friend Mr. Jain who just spoke before me had also his misgivings about this. And even in the Congress quarters there have been some whispering that this will affect the rural people and that will make the party unpopular. The party must have the courage to face this apprehended unpopularity. If we exclude 80 per cent of our people living in rural areas, then this compulsory savings will be of no use at all. If there is to be a compulsory savings scheme, it must cover as wide a portion of population as possible and for that purpose only, I think, the rural areas should be covered.

Sir, I am not sure why the Finance Minister has left out the industrial labour as such out of the coverage of the compulsory savings scheme. I think, as in the rural areas, the industrial labour also must have much higher standard of living during the last few years. So, why should the industrial labour also not be brought within the scope of compulsory savings scheme? If a peasant can be asked to pay Rs. 2 or Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 per cent per year, I expect the industrial labour also, irrespective of the fact whether he gets Rs. 125 per month or not, should be asked to pay a similar amount.

Then, as regards the compulsory savings scheme, the term 'salary' has been used. I do not know how it will be defined. Will it include also the dearness allowance, bonus, and other things or would it simply be the basic salary? I think, it should also include the dearness allowance, bonus and other things that are given to any government, commercial or industrial employees.

I can understand that the saving of Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 i.e. saving at the rate of 3 per cent for the low income salaried group, may prove somewhat a hardship. But it should also be realised that without this compulsory saving, the inflationary tendencies would be far wider and stronger. The small amount which he might have saved by not paying towards the compulsory savings scheme would have been swallowed by the inflationary gap. So, it will be not only a saving for the person concerned, it will not only be a ready money for the Government for the emergency period, but it will also be—this compulsory savings scheme—a handy weapon in the hands of the Government and the public to check inflation. It will have a dis-inflationary force. I fully support this and I expect that it will be extended further to cover all industrial labour irrespective of what wage they are getting. Moreover, it should be realised that instead of their spending money on some consumer goods, that money will be saved for them. My hon. friend Mr. Jain suggested that there may be some discrimina-

tion between States and States, or between areas and areas, or between classes and classes. But you cannot have a completely uniform rate to cover such a vast territory of our country with different social and agrarian systems. So, some sort of a common formula will have to be adopted for the whole country even though it may be discriminating against one section or one area.

The super profits tax and the surcharge, these two, I think, have been very much resented by the corporate sector. Any tax on them would surely be resented by them. This is the most well organised sector and they know how to whip up agitation or demonstration against certain measures of the Government. But the shareholders also, who have been earning a sort of an un-earned income by giving money in equity shares, should realise that in this emergency, they should be ready to surrender a portion of the annual dividend. Yet, I would like to suggest to the Finance Minister that he may just make an intensive study of the effect of the surcharge and the suptr profits tax on the corporate sector. I am not sure; but I have an apprehension that it may affect the smaller and medium-sized industries. The big industries which have got large reserve funds, will be able to carry on quite well. But, for the smaller and medium-sized industries, I think it will be difficult to repay loans and to keep anything in the reserves for expansion. If repayment of loan becomes difficult, I think the Finance Minister will have to take steps to see that such default in this emergency period may be condoned by the banks or by other financing organisations of the Government or of a semi-government nature. Moreover, he may also consider whether there may be some re-adjustments in the rates and slabs so that the smaller and medium-seized industrial units may have some reserve funds and may have a portion of their profits as retained profit to enable them to go on with expansion. If expansion is affected and the starting of new industries becomes difficult now, as it is apprehended, production will suffer. More serious than that, the employment question has to be considered in that connection. From this point of view, I would suggest to the Finance Minister to make a review of the whole scheme and if necessary to make certain re-adjustments.

I very much welcome the suggestion of putting a curb on the perquisites by some of the companies. They have been paying fablous salaries and remuneration to their top officials. That should be stopped. I would suggest to the Finance Minister to consider also the question of inferior kerosene. I can understand the question of foreign txchange is involved in that. I can also understand kerosene and diesel oil should more or less have a sort of parity of taxation. But, yet, the inferior quality of kerosene is used mostly in the rural areas and by the poorer sections. He may consider that question.

The cumulative effect of all these taxes is also to be considered. It is apprehended and I think the Finance Minister also would admit that the prices will surely go up. Prices will go up naturally because of the excise, customs and other forms of taxation and in some cases, the cost of production will also go up. But, one thing he should see is that the prices may be not go up beyond the quantum of taxation. Nobody may be allowed to make undue profiteering out of this national emergency. That is one point to which I would like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister.

Already, in the present year, there are some significant factors in our national economy which should be taken care of. The tempo of production has gone down. It has not been increasing at the same rate as it was increasing before. In the last 2 years of the Second Plan, industrial production was increasing by 10 per cent or 11 per cent. In the last year, the increase is very low. Practically, there has not been any increase at all in the present year. In the Economic

[Shri A. C. Guha]

Survey, the increase in this period has been compared with the increase in the first half of the last year. But, we should consider the increased tempo of production at the end of the last year with the tempo of production in the first half of this year. Compared to this, I think, there is hardly any increase in production. National income last year also has not increased much. It is only 2.7 per cent. But, the *per capita* income has rather gone down. The un-employment problem also, instead of decreasing, has been going up gradually. All these are disturbing factors in our national economy. In the time of this emergency, all these factors have to be taken serious notice of and proper attention should be given so that these unhealthy factors may not get out of control and create distrubances in the economic and social structure of the country. I hope all these things will be taken care of.

With these words, I support the Budget proposals.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, at the outset, I wish to say a word about the constitutional procedural arrangement whereby the President's Address and the General Budget figure in the same session. I would submit that this might be revised and the General Budget may be presented at the beginning of some other financial year such as beginning with or soon after Diwali, so that, if that is adopted, the controversy which has arisen over debate on the General Budget—which House has got priority,—whether this one or the other will get automatically resolved, and the overlapping of discussions which takes place in the debate on the President's Address and in the Debate on Budget or the Ministries' Demands will also be avoided. The calendar year joint session may be separated from the financial year in future.

Dr. P. S Deshmukh: The President can Address then, at Diwali.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: No. The President, under the Constitution has got to speak at the beginning of the first session every year. That may be presumed to be the international calendar year. Therefore, these two things will not overlap.

I do wish that more time, much more than is allotted at present, should be devoted to the General Budget and discussion of Ministries' demands. I recollect what the first Speaker of Free India's Parliament told me some 12 years ago in a private talk that if Parliament is to be effective in free India, it should sit for at least 8 months in a year. Otherwise, it will not be an effective instrument of parliamentary democracy that we want to build.

Even as we are discussing the General Budget, India's representative Shri Swaran Singh is engaged in the fourth round of strenuous talks with Pakistan's representative. The House, I am sure, will wish well to the parleys and I have no doubt that they will convey their best wishes for the success of these talks. May I earnestly hope that the talks will result in the realisation by Pakistan that China is as much an enemy of Pakistan's peace, prosperity and freedom as it is of India? The Chinese attitude has not changed but it has rather hardened in the recent months. China, Sir, as the reports have it, is trying to recruit Poonchi Kashmiris, Nepali Gurkhas, and Nagas into their armies. After the unfortunate Sino-Pakistan Border Agreement, it is not improbable that they are trying to recruit Poonchi Kashmiris for setting up Kashmiris against Kashmiris, God forbid. I hope Government has taken notice of this. I hope Government has taken serious note of the developments and has made adequate preparations.

About the hardened attitude of the Chinese, the House knows full well how latterly the Chinese Government has dubbed even my friends on the

extreme right as belonging to a clique, and I am sure, in a few more months or weeks, they will dub this clique as a gang, just as they have dubbed Chiang-Kai-shek's party as a gang; and I have no doubt that in a few months, if not earlier, the "Dange clique" will be dubbed as "Dange gang." Now in the eyes of China there is not much of a dividing line, it is a very thin line, between the so-called reactionaries in the Indian body-politic and the Dange clique. I do not know to which clique—the Dange clique or the other clique in the Communist party—my hon. friends on the extreme right profess to belong. I leave it to them to decide.

Now, Sir, the hard-pressed Finance Minister proclaimed himself last year at the close of the debate on the general budget as an apostle of sarvodaya....

The Minister of Finance (Shri Morarji Desai): Not an apostle, but a believer.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I take him to be an apostle; not a believer merely. We are all believers. It is on a higher plane.

Shri Morarji Desai: Let the hon. member not put me on a pedestal and pull me down.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: If he appears to me to be on a high pedestal now can I help it? He is an apostle, Sir. I am sure he must have spent many sleepless nights and sleepy days.

Shri Morarji Desai: No sleepy days. Not one sleepless night.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Before he came to the House with these crushing burdens of taxation. When we have sleepless nights, it is an inevitable reaction that there are sleepy days. He had expressed admirable sentiments in his budget speech which I wholly and completely share. I will quote very briefly a few sentences from the budget speech of the Finance Minister. He said:

> "The enormity of the challenge which confronts us demands nothing less than a measure of sacrifice from every citizen. It is all the more imperative, therefore, that considerations of equity and social justice, which we have accepted as an integral part of our way of life, should receive even more earnest attention than ever before.".

Then, Sir, he goes on to say as follows. This, in his own words, is the heart of the matter.

> "By far the largest expenditure in the country is incurred by Governments at the Centre and the States. There cannot be any question that economy and efficiency in public expenditure are the very heart of the matttr in mobilizing resources."

It is admirable indeed, Sir. He has gone to the very heart of the matter, but I am sorry to say that he has not put his heart into the task of mobilising the resources that are needed for the purposes of defence and development. And, later, on what does he say? This is what the he say:

> "What we need is more performance with less expenditure."

The same sentiment was elaborated, a few days before he said this by his distinguished colleague in the Cabinet, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari. He said that ministers were gloating over imaginary achievements and much more could be done in the way of performance. And the Finance Minister has repeated that same sentiment admirably in his speech.

Shri Morarji Desai: This is unnecessarily wrongly mixed up.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: It is an odd mix-up. The Cabinet is a motley crowd. I am sorry to say. I cannot help it if it is mixed up. The Finance Minister has spoken of the spirit of vigilance and responsibility on the part of all those who are entrusted with the expenditure of the people's

[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]

money, "be they engineers, army officers, contractors, workers, civil servants or indeed Ministers".

In another part of his speech, he has condemned the remunerations and perquisties and high salaries for the privileged employees. This is what he says:

> "A proliferation of perquisites and high salaries for the privileged employees is one of those phenomena of modern corporate life which cannot be allowed to remain unchecked".

Will he apply this principle to include furniture, electricity, etc.? I do not want to repeat these things which have been mentioned, but I would say that if there is no ceiling under the Act of Parliament in regard to these things, I hope the Minister will bring forward a Bill to amend the Act and to impose such a ceiling.

What the emergency has done is this, the like of which the British Prime Minister Mr. Macmillan used as a slogan for winning the last election That slogan aptly applies to the Ministers on the treasury benches. The Defence of India Act as well as the emergency powers have acted in such a manner that they never had it so good as we have it today. But, Sir, before I proceed further, let me take a look, and let me take the House with me to have a close look at the national socio-economic picture on the eve of the emergency.

The United Nations published a survey in which they have described Indian conditions. In the World Economic Survey published by the U.N. it is pointed out that "in the 25 under-developed countries of Asia, India stands 20th in the order of rate of growth. In the last decade, the rate of growth in Turkey was twice as high as in Iraq, thrice as high as in India."

And, then, Sir, coming to grimmer statistics, this is what it says:

> "Notwithstanding the loud proclamations of a socialistic pattern of society the distribution of National Income has been very inequitous, *e.g.*, out of every 100 people:
>
> 45 people had monthly incomes between Rs. 10 and Rs. 20.
>
> 30 people had monthly incomes between Rs. 20 and Rs. 30.
>
> 24 people had monthly incomes between Rs. 30 and 50.
>
> 1 only had monthly income above Rs. 50.
>
> 6 crores of people had an income of 25 nP. per day."

Then, it says:

> "In 1960, the average *per ciapita* income in India was Rs. 330. Only 25 per cent of the population had an actual income above the national average.
>
> Between 1951 and 1961, ten big industrialists in India increased their wealth from Rs. 100 crores to Rs. 250 crores.
>
> The percentage of dividend paid on capital increased by 28·7 per cent between 1957-58 and 1959-60.
>
> Property taxes which yielded Rs. 193 crores in 1944-45 netted only Rs. 202 crores in 1959-60, while indirect taxes which yielded Rs. 150 crores in 1944-45, yielded Rs. 391 crores in 1953-54 and Rs. 854 crores in 1959-60."

Regarding unemployment, Sir, the backlog of unemployment in 1956 was 5:3 millions and that of 1961, 9 millions. The backlog of unemployment expected in 1960 is 12 millions. The under-employment is estimated in the neighourbood of 15 to 18 millions.

Regarding economic inequality, in the pre-independence period under

British rule, the ratio of the minimum to maximum income was 1:110. Under the Congress regime, the ratio has gone up to 1:320.

This, Sir, is a very serious indictment of the regime. The Finance Minister has used admirable words and sentiments in his speech. Words, words and words. Where are the matching deeds? The Prime Minister who heads the Government with such distinction, granted an interview in the same month in which the Finance Minister delivered his budget speech, to a Chicago (American) paper and therein he made a wonderful, a remarkable statement. If that is the basis of our foreign policy and defence policy, God save India! He said 'Something may happen some day, I do not know what, which will change China's attitude'. If there was an international prize for the Woolist statement in the month of February, I am sure the Prime Minister would have won that prize hands down.

If that is the basis and that is the guide to the formulation of a foreign policy from which defence naturally springs, how can we be sure that all the money that he has demanded for defence will be spent on defence really, for the real defence of India, for acquiring equipment, acquiring bombers, acquiring air equipment, army equipment etc. and we shall not be a victim again of the proliferating, and shall I say, the noxious miasma, of corruption? I am sorry to say that even in the Armed Forces corruption has crept in. Perhaps, it is unwise, and it may not be quite desirable to refer to this, but I am not talking of the Army or of our jawans and our officers. But what about the contractors? They are an increasing tribe, and Government apparently wants, and Government is praying 'May their tribe increase', because these contractors have given lots of money running into lakhs, for Congress election funds. What is the scandal? The scandal stinks to high heaven. There is the scandal of the Tusker, in the Border Road Development board. The new Defence Minister came here with a fine ardour and an eagerness to drive away the Chinese, but I find that his ardour has been damped by the manner in which he has been treated here by the Government.

To cite only one instance, as soon as Shri Chavan joined here, there was a change in the Border Road Development Board; formerly the Prime Minister was its chairman and the then Defence Minister Shri Krishna Menon was the vice-chairman, but suddenly the vice-chairman's post was abolished. And today, Shri Krishna Menon and Shri Chavan are both ordinary members of the Border Road Development Board. Why this discriminating treatment to Shri Chavan? When Shri Krishna Menon was good enough to work as vice-chairman of the board, why not Shri Y. B. Chavan also? The new Defence Minister is also entitled to the same position as his predecessor had. However, the Finance Minister is not to blame in this matter. I do not blame him. But he must agree with me secretly if not openly. Now, I would ask the Finance Minister one question.....

Shri Morarji Desai: It is futile to interfere with you.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I would have liked to continue the repartee. I like repartees. But please do not debit this time to my account.

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): The Finance Minister has no secrets.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: You had a secret sector.

May I ask the Finance Minister whether he has really taken pains—I know he is a very hard taskmaster for himself as well as for others; he applies the same rule to himself as he does to others—to see that all the taxation was really necessary, and whether it could not have been avoided, especially so far as the poor and

[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]

middle classes are concerned, who rose so magnificently to meet the challenge of Chinese invasion?

Now, I would ask him two or three questions more. He has rightly said in his speech that the biggest item of expenditure in the country is incurred by Governments at the Centre and the States. I find that the Central assistance of the States this year is well over Rs. 500 crores. If only Government would stand down or come down from its pedestal of false prestige and decide to undertake a serious and earnest review of that farcical fraud called prohibition in the States, there will be much more money coming to the State exchequers and the grants from the Centre to the States could be reduced. Mahatma Gandhi's name is taken in this connection. But what did even Mahatma Gandhi say? In *The Harijan* dated 31st July, 1937, Mahatma Gandhi said:

> "Prohibition can be successful only through social, cultural and educational efforts. . . .".

He has said further that:

> "Prohibition means a type of adult education of the nation and not merely a closing down of grog shops.".

Shri D. J. Naik (Panchmahals): Mahatma Gandhi also said that if he were appointed dictator for an hour or so, he would close all the liquor shops all at a time.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I agree with you. He would close for one hour and reopen them again.

Shri Morarji Desai: No, no.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Article 47 of the Constitution also is invoked in connection with prohibition. But article 47 uses only the words:

> "The States shall endeavour. . ."

Shri Morarji Desai: May I tell my hon. friend that I have nothing to do really with prohibition? It is the States' policy.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: But we are talking about revenue raising here.

Shri Morarji Desai: I do not get any revenue from excise on this account.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: We are discussing the general budgetary policy and you can. . . . . .

Shri Morarji Desai: I am happy that my hon. friend has come the other way round.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: The budget, he has rightly said, is an instrument of socio-economic policy, and I agree with him there. In article 47 it is said that the States shall endeavour to bring about prohibition of the consumption of drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health. The Finance Minister, I know, is rightly intoxicated with the divine discontent to usher in a new society in India, a new social revolution in India, and I wish him well in that effort, and may God grant him success. But he must go about all this business in some other manner and not in the manner in which he is doing today, and I shall be with him if he does that, if he does reorientate his outlook and bring to bear a new mind, a new mental outlook and a new attitude to all these problems. Prohibition is one, and I have mentioned that.

In Kanpur, which my hon. friend Shri S. M. Banerjee so competently represents in the House, when prohibition was lifted, in one day, in one hour, I am told, and I am reliably given to understand, all the liquor that came out of the Government distilleries was sold out, and in three months, Mr. Gupta, the Chief Minister of UP has netted in a revenue of about Rs. 38 lakhs for Kanpur alone. So, you can imagine how much of revenue will be forthcoming in the whole of India.

Then, there are the income-tax arrears of Rs. 200 crores all over the country. More earnest efforts should be made to collect those outstanding arrears.

Then, there is the question of khadi. It is a rather delicate subject but I should like to refer only to the Public Accounts Committee's strictures on the Khadi and Village Industries Commission. I do not wish to say more. As regards the subsidies, I am told—I was in Calcutta last month, and when I was there, I was told that even Acharya Vinoba Bhave is opposed to subsidised khadi; he is opposed to subsidy on khadi, and he wants khadi to stand on its own feet and not be spoon-fed by Government. I hope that the new chairman of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission, our colleague Shri U. N. Dhebar, will take up the task and will go in the direction of abolishing the subsidy and enable khadi to stand on its own feet so that Government may save in that direction also.

I am glad that my hon. friend and former colleague Shri Tyagi is here..

Shri Tyagi: I am still your colleague.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: He told me—I hope it is not something secret—that if one suggestion which he had made to the Prime Minister was accepted that the white-washing, not the white-washing of the scandals, but I mean, of Government buildings—be postponed by a year, that will save—if I have heard him aright, and if I have understood him aright—about a crore of rupees in one year. There are so many things like that, and so many improvements which can be made.....

Shri Morarji Desai: That has already been done.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Because he suggested it you did it.

Shri Morarji Desai: It was done before that.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: There are other matters like that which must be looked into before the taxes are imposed upon the people. Why have a tax by increasing the postal rates? Why a tax on kerosene? Why again a tax on coffee, soap and tea etc., which impinge upon the daily budget of the poor people and the middle classes? Can you not exempt poor people from these taxes? Can you not impose a limit upon the holdings which will be subject to compulsory savings? Regarding the rural holdings, can you not provide that holdings paying a rent of less than a certain rental will not be subject to these compulsory savings? Can you not provide that incomes over Rs. 1,500 that is, say Rs. 2400 and over per year should be liable to compulsory savings, but not under? Again, why this increase in postal rates which may affect literacy, which will affect what may be called *jnanadaan*. *Jnanadaan* is the biggest daan; it is bigger than even bhoodan.

न हि ज्ञानेन सदृशं पवित्रमिह विद्यते

The hon. Finance Minister knows that. Why put this tax on books by increasing the postal rates which will affect the acquisition of books by ordinary people?

Then may I suggest a rather unorthodox tax? It might be heterodox; you might laugh at it; but it might be practicable. I was impelled and inspired by the suggestion made by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting to newspapers for cutting out advertisement space. I suggest that a tax should be levied on Ministers' speeches outside legislatures. I am sure that with about 300 Ministers in India—they go on speaking daily in more than one place—it will net in a large amount of revenue.

Shri Tyagi: Will it be assessed on words?

An Hon. Member: What about Members?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Give a trial to the Ministers and then we shall come to Members.

[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]

I have one more suggestion to make. I referred to the question of expenditure by States. I can give one instance of how State Governments spend indiscriminately. Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the worthy daughter of a worthier father, recently visited Raipur in my State of Madhya Pradesh, in her capacity as Chairman of the Central Citizens' Council for, I believe, taking lots in a lottery in aid of the National Defence Fund and inaugurating a hostel in a college. She did well; it was right that she went there to inspire and enthuse the people and I have nothing to say on that, though I know that under the Defence of India Rules—which I know do not apply to speeches in the House—even critical references to her speeches have been taken exception to by the Home Ministry—I will come to that later when the Home Ministry's Demands for Grants come up.

An Hon. Member: No, no.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: When she went to Raipur, the State Education Minister travelled all the way from Bhopal to Raipur, and all the district inspectors, Superintendents, school teachers and other local officials of Chattisgarh attended the function followed by big luncheon and at Bhilai a bigger dinner. This was so at Bhilai also. I am told that the expenditure in one function ran into thousands, if not nearly a lakh, of rupees. I wonder whether all this was necessary. There are so many instances like this all over the States.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: You must take it up with the Madhya Pradesh Government.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I know; that will be taken up there. But he has referred to expenditure in States. My suggestion is that the Centre must tell the States categorically that unless they cut down their expenditure on such matters, unless they cut down extravagance and waste, Central aid will not be given to States or will be drastically reduced.

I have one word to say about the proposed super profits tax. It is a good tax that has been levied. But let it be imposed on really big units which have large profits and not be a drag on small units. But there is another kind of unit which makes secret profits, which are not brought to light. I refer in this matter to the Kalinga Tubes Limited. There are only two companies in India who manufacture galvanised and black pipes, Messrs. India Tubes Limited and Messrs. Kalinga Tubes Limited. I do not wish to refer to the names of the directors of Messrs. India Tubes Limited—it will take time. The Government of India sent a directive to all manufacturers of tubes to distribute their products through recognised merchants, associations and those who traded in the items so that everyone could get his due share. Messrs. India Tubes Limited followed the directive; Messrs. Kalinga Tubes Limited declined to follow it. They started selling their tubes at black market prices through four of their nominees only and thus eliminated the entire trade in Calcutta. The names of the four nominees are given here—I do not want to read them. There must be an inquiry into how they manipulated the whole thing, just as there was an inquiry into the Dalmia-Jain group. This is equally scandalous. Firstly, the selling prices of Messrs. Kalinga Tubes Limited are higher than the selling prices of Messrs. India Tubes Limited. Secondly, the difference between the actual wholesale market price and the price fixed by the company varies between 75 per cent and 300 per cent, according to the size and specifications of the pipes. If any merchant wants to buy direct from Messrs. Kalinga Tubes Limited at the company's fixed price, he is not able to do so, because he is compelled to purchase them from the four firms, the

names of which are given, but which I do not want to read out.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There is one more speaker from your Group.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: The merchants are compelled to pay 75—300 per cent higher prices for Kalinga materials. I am told there is an application pending with the Company Law Administration. I hope the Minister will take proper action and institute an inquiry into this matter.

Further, the action of Shri B. Patnaik, Chief Minister of Orissa, who was associated with the Kalinga Tubes Limited, in parading the streets of Delhi the other day with little regard for decency and decorum as the 'Holi Moorkh Pramukh' was, I think, very bad. It was not proper for a Chief Minister to do so. On the eve of the elections in Orissa, he had applied, and got, a licence for the import of zinc in the name of Messrs. Kalinga Tubes Limited. The value of the licence can be found out from the relevant records; approximately it can be said to be Rs. 60 lakhs. As soon as the imported zinc arrived in Calcutta, it was directly sold from the docks in Calcutta at a black market price of about Rs. 110 lakhs to Rs. 150 lakhs. This is a transaction which has been much bruited about. I hope Government will institute an inquiry into this matter as well.

One word more and I have done. At this hour when this ancient but ever young nation has re-awakened in the face of the Chinese invasion, has risen to the occasion, it is a sorry spectacle that the leadership is faltering, is failing. The leadership is not displaying that sinew, that determination, that dedication that is needed for the colossal task which we expect from the government of the day. Today it is not merely cold, calculated economists who are needed for accomplishing this task, but men of high intelligence, men of imagination, men of vision, and above all men with an earnest dynamic drive and a passionate sincerity of purpose. That is what is needed. We want patriots; we want staunch patriots. But may I say that while we want patriots, and staunch patriots, mere patriotism is not enough? Much more is needed; otherwise, the nation will charge the present Treasury Benches with having failed in their task. Let history not level this charge against the Treasury Benches. But let them rise to meet the new challenge, as Gandhiji and Netaji did 25 years ago. Let them remember what Mahatmaji and Netaji did in the days of the freedom struggle. Let them steel their nerves; let them steel their hearts to implement that Resolution which this House passed with acclamation on the Prime Minister's 74th birthday, on the 14th November 1962. Let them remember that Resolution—let them not forget it—and so strive that in the next twelve months that Resolution is implemented in letter and in spirit by the nation and also by themselves—the Treasury Benches, the Government and the Congress Party.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Mohsin—absent. Shri Harish Chandra Mathur.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Jalore): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, my esteemed friend, Shri Kamath, is always very amusing. But I never thought that he could be so frivolous, and frivolous with himself while talking about a subject like prohibition and saying that even if Gandhiji had been there in power to ordain prohibition for an hour, the order would be in force for a day and no more. I never thought that he would be only straying away and making such a roving speech without coming at any time during all these 30 minutes to the taxation proposals. I do not know what the purpose of this roving speech was, but it is quite obvious to every one in this House that he had practically nothing to say against the taxation proposals. There can be no other conclusion which can be drawn, be-

[Shri Harish Chandra Mathur]

cause he never touched them. All through these thirty minutes he strayed from this corner to that corner, talking of this incident and that event, without coming to the crux of the matter, the taxation proposals with which we are concerned. He ended his speech by making a fervent appeal to all.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Bhagalpur): Sermon.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: But what are these taxation proposals, I wish to ask him. Are they not a positive proof that the Government is serious about this emergency, that they want to take every step, howsoever difficult and hard it may be, and are not prepared to be complacent as my friend is in all his actions and his speeches?

I stand in my seat to give full and unqualified support, without any sense of apology and without any hesitancy whatsoever, to the taxation proposals of the Finance Minister to raise about Rs. 306 crores to meet the urgent and inevitable demands of defence and to cater to the inescapable demands of our developmental programme. When I say this I do not talk in any spirit of bravado or in ignorance of what has been said on the floor of the House or outside in criticism of some of these proposals.

Some of our friends have said that these taxation proposals will fall very heavily on the low income group, particularly the peasants in the rural areas. Certain other friends have said that these taxation proposals are almost back-breaking for the fixed salaried groups, but by far the noisiest criticism has been against the super tax imposed, which has been described as very inhibitory. It has been stated that it will kill incentive and initiative, that it will retard the growth and development of industry, and that it will bang the doors against foreign investment. Not that these taxation proposals are not capable of certain improvements. We ourselves have certain improvements to suggest, certain criticism to offer, but, as I said at the very outset, I give my full and unqualified support to raising a revenue of Rs. 306 crores. I would have gone even up to Rs. 350 crores because I definitely feel and believe that the Indian economy can bear that burden. It is not only my view. A stute industrialists like Shri G. D. Birla have written articles to say—they may have their own viewpoint, they may suggest their own ways and methods of collection of revenue—that the Indian economy can absorb a new taxation of about Rs. 350 crores.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: Minus super tax.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Let us first understand what the Government's attitude is. I do not think that we could have given a more fitting and a more real answer to the Chinese challenge. This is the real answer. This will make the Chinese and every one feel how serious we are about this business. I feel this is a real, positive step which the Government have taken to implement the pledge which we took on the floor of the House.

Talking about the various taxation proposals, the first is the customs duty. We get more than Rs. 85 crores out of it. Not a word has been said against it. The customs duty has been very selective. In the ordinary circumstances I would object to any duty on machinery, because duty on capital goods stands in the way of the growth and development of industry, but the Finance Minister has given very adequate and good reasons why he has done this, namely to help our export promotion and to encourage the indigenous production of machinery

about which we have taken some positive and concrete steps. But here I would suggest to the hon. Finance Minister that he will do well to exempt the small-scale industry in the matter of the increase so far as machinery is concerned. It will hardly mean Rs. 50 lakhs to the Exchequer, but it will definitely mean quite a considerable lot to the small-scale industry, to its efficiency and efficacy. Therefore, I would appeal to him for this small gesture to the small-scale industry.

We are raising more than Rs. 106 crores from excise. Here, as every Member has stated on the floor of the House, we resent this steep rise in the duty on kerosene. I know kerosene means foreign exchange. We can appreciate and understand what the Finance Minister says about our foreign exchange position. We also understand that another objective of the hon. Finance Minister is to take away the purchasing power. We realise that he has tried to give a little relief by withdrawing the duty on edible oils. While fully appreciating all this, I have not the least hesitation in saying that this duty will operate harshly and hurt the lower sections of the population, more particularly in the rural areas. The duty is so steep that I would suggest that if it cannot be scrapped, at least it should be definitely halved.

Then, I will pass on to the income-tax burden. It must be clearly understood that the income-tax burden falls heaviest on the low-income group, but then it is the low-income group which forms the main population of this country. After all, 90 per cent of the people fall in that group. Here again, I am definite that certain adjustments are possible. I will not repeat all the arguments, because my hon. friend Shri A. P. Jain gave facts and figures to illustrate how by a little further adjustment, the higher income group could bear a little more burden, and the lower income group, for whom it is becoming exceedingly difficult every day even to balance their budgets, could certainly be given some relief. I welcome the element of saving in the surcharge over income-tax. It is a very healthy and sound measure.

Next is compulsory deposit. Compulsory deposit, as my hon. friend Shri Guha, who gave wholehearted support, pointed out, has definitely an element, I will concede, of healthy development. It is a good thing. We must have this compulsory saving. I also feel that this is definitely intended to reduce the purchasing power so that inflationary tendencies may not go beyond our control. But it has not been possible for me, and I cannot even conceive, how you can have a compulsory saving out of people who have nothing to save, people who live below the subsistence level. Such economics is beyond my conception at least. I can never imagine asking a man, who does not know how to keep his body and soul together, to save and contribute to the Exchequer. This is to my mind an almost fantastic proposal.

Shri Bade (Khargone): While supporting, you are opposing.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I am supporting the taxation proposals, and opposing where it is necessary. I have supported the excise duty, the surcharge on income-tax. I support raising more than Rs. 305 crores. Let there be no misunderstanding about it. I support the excise duty, but I want a little relief to the poor man. It will not mean more than Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 crores. I am asking for the man who lives below the subsisting level. There cannot be any element of saving when you do not know how to find money for your two meals together. If I can save Rs. 5, you can mop up Rs. 2, or 2½ or even Rs. 3 or all the money. But I if do not find money even to make my living, I do not know how to balance my budget, then to talk of savings is something absolutely fantastic to my mind and

[Shri Harish Chandra Mathur]

I cannot understand what economic principles and theories can support it.

There has been a lot of noise about the super profits tax. The whole Press is full of it. Of course it is controlled by those who have to pay super profits tax; it is obvious. What are their objections? They say: this is a tax on efficiency; there would be no savings to plough back for expansion or even to repay debts; the poor shareholder will suffer; this will kill initiative; this will be a disincentive for foreign capital. But what are the premises on which we have to come to these conclusions? Nothing concrete has been put forward. We have requested the hon. Finance Minister to analyse 15 or 20 cases. We have got the company administration reports before us. Let the hon. Finance Minister also examine the secret savings of all the important companies and corporations apart from what are the known figures of their profits. How is this secret saving manipulated? It is known though difficult to be detected. It is an accounting jugglery. They over-estimate and under-estimate their assets and liabilities. There is hidden money with most of these concerns. We have already taken care. This development rebate is there; all the various facilities are there. Having discussed it with various people, I have definitely come to this conclusion that there is not much force in this hullabaloo. I can understand that possibly the smaller industrial concerns which are unable to accumulate reserves as the bigger ones may have to be looked into. Possibly, certain readjustments may have to be made. Beyond that I strongly feel that super profits tax is fully justified. It is for the first time—I would not say that it is for the first time but definitely—that he has put his hands in the pockets of these people who have a lot to contribute. They have raised all the noise in the papers only rgarding the super-tax and want to divert our attention to rural economy.

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

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I shall finish in a few minutes. We will be spending a considerable amount of money on defence outlay which will necessarily raise the profits accruing to business.

On one point I am in entire sympathy and support of the private sector, of the big concerns. That is where they complain against administrative delays and irritants and the blocks being put in the way of increasing production. We have only two Ministries with which we are most concerned in the matter of giving good health to our economy; Food and Agriculture Ministry and the Commerce and Industry Ministry. The Commerce and Industry Ministry is absolutely in jitters. Unfortunately, it is artificially divided and we have never seen that Ministry having gone down the drain like this. It is in a bad way. The hon. Finance Minister, anxious as he must be to see that industrial production goes up, must have consultation with the Prime Minister and see that it is put in good shape. The Food and Agriculture Ministry has very little to do. The Planning Commission blames the Minister at the Central level and the Central Minister blames the Ministers at the State level. This vicious circle cannot be permitted to go any longer. Agricultural economy is the base and all experts including a person like VTK said the other day that it should not at all be difficult to raise our agricultural production by 50 per cent within the next three years. Why is it not happening? Immediate attention should be paid to this matter. In the States the Agriculture Ministry is one of the most neglected and there is more of politics than production and development

The hon. Prime Minister must take the matter in his hands and see that this is reorganised. The Minister for Agriculture must have also the portfolio for the community development, panchayats and co-operation. There should be a team spirit which must be brought into the working of this Ministry. Until and unless we increase our food and industrial production this taxation will hardly find justification.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, one last word and I will conclude. We all know that we are in a mixed economy. We wish well to the private sector because production in the private sector is a strong element and an important element in the economy of the country. Unfortunately the fact is that the private sector is its own enemy. The greed which has overtaken the private sector and the manner in which it has behaved has been unfortunate. I will read for the benefit of the private sector what the American President himself said the other day. Even in that capitalist country which is the heaven for capitalists, President Kennedy came heavy upon the steel industry and on GEC and imposed heavy penalties. We are not doing anything of that sort. Still the private sector is adopting an aggressive attitude and it is really a dangerous thing. When they get into defence production, what happens? You must see what President Kennedy said the other day while addressing a Press Conference. You will find that when the private sector gets into the production of defence equipment, they want that particular item to be continued to be produced even when it has gone out of any real utility. What is the private sector wanting now? They want the 1956 industrial resolution to be scrapped. They want that they should participate in the planing. They want that they should come into the defence production programme and if all this happens and if the matters are permited to continue as they are, I do not know where we will stand. After reading these few lines, I shall sit down. This was said much earlier by Wilson, a former President of the United States of America, and this was about the private sector. I am talking only of America because that will possibly be understood by the private sector itself. This is what he said:

> "I say that—that is the issue of life and death, for no nation can remain free, gentleman, in which small groups of men determine the industrial development; and by determining the industrial development, determine the political policy. Because the trouble with this country has not been that there has been "big business," but that "big business" has closed its hands upon politics; and that the politics of this country has been dominated by the men who had the chief stake in maintaining those polices which afforded them special privilege and made us their bond servants in the development of the country. Because, when the greater movements of credit, when all the greater developments of industry, when all the currents of commerce are determined by little groups of men, then the rest of us must look around . . ."

I hope they will take adequate care against such tendencies and trends and this Government which is pledged to a socialist patttrn of society will give a positive proof of its real progress in that direction.

Shri Karni Singhji (Bikaner): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the hon. Finance Minister has presented the nation with a very dynamic and powerful budget, a budget that is also back-breaking but in the present context of things, a budget like this is not only essential but inevitable, and I feel that the nation will smilingly accept it in view of the fact that we have this Chinese war on our hands. I feel that there is no sacrifice enough at this moment that the country would not be prepared to make to drive out the invader from our sacred soil.

[Shri Karni Singhji]

I would, however, like to have an assurance from our Fanance Minister that when the appropriate time comes and the emergency lifts, some of the burdens of the taxation which have fallen rather heavily on the poor and the middle-classes will be lifted. The Rs. 275 crores or so that the Finance Minister hopes to raise by some of his new taxation measures, I feel, could possibly have been made by the States and the Centre exercising greater control on the squandering of public funds. I do not mean to say that that is done on purpose, but very often in a big country like ours, a great deal of money is wasted on projects and buildings, etc., which might have been postponed for the duration of the war.

This budget of course is designed to combat and meet two primary problems: the first is defence, and the second is hunger, proverty and unemployment. I think that the first part of this is, to some extent, likely to be met. But I have grave misgivings in my mind that we would not be in a position to combat adequately the problem of hunger, proverty and unemployment primarily due to two reasons, because (a) we have the war on our hands which must necessarily drain our resourcess, and (b) due to the explosive population problem that our country is confronted with. All of us in our country are pledged to socialism and I for one have always been an ardent admirer of the socialist philosophy. I however do feel that before we can achieve our targets of socialism, of achieving self-sufficiency in our country, and of to providing every citizen with adequate means of livlihood, it is essential that we should first take into account certain contributing factors, and out of these, I think that the population increase is one of the major contributing factors on which I shall dwell a little later on.

It is essential that when we confront a budget as staggering as this, a certain amount of dissatisfaction is to be expected. The business community have reacted sharply and understandably so. But I would like to make an appeal to them, particularly, as a very large proportion of the business community comes from Rajasthan from where I come. I would like to make an appeal to them that this is the time when the country needs their assistance and they should come forward and support the Finance Minister on the budget.

As this budget is defence-orientated, the Finance Minister has paid a great deal of attention to raise our defence potential and I hope that he will be able to give the army, the navy and the air force the tools to fight the Chinese. But while going through the budget I find that not enough emphasis or rather not sufficient clarification has been given to us on the question of missiles and nuclear weapons. As you are no doubt aware, if we want to fight this Chinese colossus, we cannot do so with the arms of World War I or World War II. We need missiles not altogether by borrowing them from other countries but by producing them indigenously, to get aircraft flying at Mach I or Mach II, and may be in the near future it will be Mark III, which has three times the speech of sound at which stage the ordinary gunnery is not enough to bring down the invading aircraft. What you need is missiles with homing devices which will go and find the targets by electronic guiding principles. Unfortunately, we are very backward in this line, and I hope that the Minister of Finance has adequately provided in the budget for producing these missiles in our own country. These missiles are broadly divisible into air to air and ground to air missiles. With that of course goes the question of radar. As you may be perhaps aware, radar today is so advanced that if any aircraft takes off from Tibet, the moment the wheels leave the ground, the radar in Delhi ought to be able to pick it up, because Delhi or any of

our important strategic targets in India are not more than 15 to 20 minutes flight away from the Chinese bases. Therefore, I think we should be far more vigilant about it and provide for these in the budget.

Another matter which has been rather exercising our minds has been the question of the Ministry of Defence and Defence coordination being in two hands. I have no personal observation to make in this, but at the present juncture, when we are facing this threat from China, it is important that both these important ministries are in the hands of the Defence Minister.

Shri Morarji Desai: It is.

Shri Karni Singhji: No, Sir. They are two different ministries. (*Interruption*). Now come the question of aerodromes and aeroplanes. I think even Rs. 700 odd crores that we are planning to spend on defence will not be able to equip or fill our skies with bombers and fighters. I think that the Finance Minister may have to impose further taxation to try and increase our air-power. It is an accepted fact that in the present context of development in the world, no war can be fought satisfactorily or decisively unless a country has a powerful air-arm and radar. As you know, our country has not got the full aerial might that is necessary. I would very much like to see that by the end of the year or even earlier, our skies would be filled with aircraft, not only ordinary aircraft but jet aircraft which can handle the defence of our country and protect our hearths and homes.

That brings us to the question of aerodromes. You may be aware that the faster the aircraft the longer is the runway that is required. There are many aerodromes all over the country today that are in the process of being lengthened. I can tell you about the runway in my own home town which was built by the British in 1941 as a last line of defence against the Japanese. You can see how far-sighted they were to build such big aerodromes almost two thousand miles away from the front. Our Government is now trying to lengthen the runway possibly to accept larger planes. And, I believe that these aerodromes will be unusable for a period of one whole year. I wonder whether the Government, with the Chinese threat as it is, realises we are not in a position to waste one year in building aerodromes or lengthening runways.

That brings me to the question of producing aircraft in our own country. Our defence factories are producing aircraft and even jet fighters. We are proud to say that we have joined the club of the jet age. But unfortunately most of the aircraft that we are producing are either obsolete or obsolescent. It is important that our engineers now start thinking in terms of Mach II and Mach III aircraft which will not be obsolete at least for the next three or four years. It is no use producing aircraft, giving the country a sense of security that we can fight the enemy and then suddenly find ourselves overwhelmed by enemy aircraft which are faster and which are better equipped. We realise that the handicaps that we have in the country are primarily due to the fact that we are a peaceful country, which does not believe in war and also due to the fact that we have been free only for 15 years. But nonetheless, we have to find a way by which we can fill our skies with aircraft which are so potentially powerful that they can defend the entire borders of our country.

Our country being a peaceful one, with a background of peace and non-violence, it is not difficult for us in India suddenly to become complacent about anything. The present lull in the war has caused a certain amount of complacency among the citizens of our country. People are beginning to think that the war is over. I would only like to tell my brother citizens that the war will be over only when every inch of Indian territory has

[Shri Karni Singhji]

been vacated from aggression. People think that because the Chinese have brought about a cease-fire unilaterally the war has ended and we can go back to peace and enjoy life. That is far from the truth because ahead of us lies a great deal of trials and tribulations, a period in which either through cold war or hot war, India has to win back Ladakh which has been taken from us by force. I hope that the Parliament will voice this sentiment and say to our country that this is not the time to sit back and relax, but this is the time to be prepared to fight.

I would like to make a very small passing observation on the question of civil defence. When the pressure was on, soon after October when the Chinese attacked us, we read a great deal in the papers about civil defence. Unfortunately at some stage, we also read the Prime Minister's observations that civil defence, air raid shelters, etc. were not necessary. I do not wish to cross swords with the Prime Minister, because after all he is in a better position to understand this. I would only like to say this much that I completely disagree with him on this score. One of the most important things and fundamental factors in any war is to keep up the morale of the nation. When you have aerial bombardment, your men, women and children are subjected to bombardment by high explosive bombs. When that happens, it is not difficult for a nation to some extent to lose its will to fight. The only country that can fight an enemy like ours is a country that will dig in its toes and fight back. When the bombs come, we go into shelters and when the bombers have gone back, we go back to work. I can assure you that with our present hospital position as it is God forbid, if there is a big air raid, your hospitals would not be able to meet the problem of attending to the wounded men women and children. Nobody would like to see a mile-long queue in front of every hospital of wounded Indian citizens, particularly when we have time today to take precautions and to see that our citizens are protected. I am quite sure that the Prime Minister, who has revised his opinions on many things at different times, will revise his opinion, God forbid, if our country was ever subjected to aerial warfare. But then, I am afraid, it would be too late. If you want to build your air raid shelters, do them now while the going is good. I think the Prime Minister has an apprehension in his mind that in case of any aerial bombardment, it would be of the nuclear form. I am not prepared to accept that, because we have seen that in both NEFA and Ladakh reasonably primitive arms were used by both sides, although I am sure with the aid of foreign powers, nuclear weapons could have been thrown into the war. Just like in World War II, in spite of the fact that the world knew about gas, it was never used; it only formed a deterrent. In the same way, I am quite sure that even if India resorted to aerial warfare, which we might at some stage or other, if the need arose, we must expect reprisals, but I am quite sure that those reprisals will never be in the shape of nuclear weapons, because if that happens, it will result in a global war and there will be a catastrophe. Therefore, I think it would be in the fitness of things if we started planning in terms of average type of aerial bombardment and take all the precautions that are necessary well in time to safeguard our civilian population.

I have seen a newspaper clipping yesterday about the lack of response to the mass civilian training in rifle shooting. I may submit that, as one rather intimately connected with this movement, I was quite shocked, because I thought our country was so geared and everybody was so enthusiastic to fight the Chinese that the people would at least learn how to

handle weapons effectively. I am sure that we cannot put the blame entirely on the lack of interest amongst the citizens. I think the organisers must share a part of the blame too. I hope the Government will institute an enquiry into this and find out as to why this mass training has not been so popular.

I would then like to make a passing reference to the question of population and family planning, around which the entire problem of your budget revolves. I know that it has, during the last few years when I have taken up this matter, aroused a certain amount of mirth in this House. But I have been thinking of this rather carefully and I feel that the country can be divided into certain age brackets. The present 70 age group which rules our country may not be living in the day when the lid blows off the country and all you have is standing room. But I think my generation, given the average span of life, may have to live in a country which might have double the number of people to look after. With the present advance in science, we have conquered disease to a large extent and we are almost certain that the world, civilised as it is becoming, would not resort to war to reduce population. The only proposition before us now is to control the population through family planning. You have not got a choice. The only thing that the country can do is to take steps today, so that you can control your population, and make sure that your people have a higher standard of living as a consequence thereof and to ensure that the per capita income increases.

Before giving a few figures, I shall quote from a small clipping I have a portion from the Prime Minister's speech:

> "The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, expressed concern at the growth of population in India, which was perhaps the most, elusive and serious internal problem in the country today. Mr. Nehru said, the rapid increase in population was not only responsible for the depressed state of health in the country, but also dissipated the fruits of economic development."

I was delighted to see that coming from the Prime Minister, because I had failed to arouse much interest in him during the last three years or so that I have spoken about population, much to the amusement of some of my friends. Many of them think that I have an obsession about this. But I feel that my generation has to live in a country which is going to be confronted with a task far more difficult than what the present Government faces.

There is a slight misconception in the minds of the people about family planning and its connection with the present war. The average citizen thinks that China has a population of 70 crores and Indian has a population of 44 crores; obviously we should produce more children to have a bigber army. That question has been thrown to me not once but many times. When the first pressure was no, I did not have an answer. Now I know that even if we want to raise an army of 4 or 5 million, we still have enough population to do so without increasing it. You have enough people in this country to raise an army of 40 lakhs or so even without resorting to conscription. Therefore, I think it is important that the Government should now try and make the country wise to the fact that we do not want our country to be burdened with twice the population and we can handle the Chinese menace with whatever population we have.

I should just briefly quote from the Third Plan figures on population which, are in relation to our one year's increase in India. Of course, it would be quite unfair for us to compare our population with other countries. If we take the United States of America, the population of the United States of America is equal only to fifteen years' increase of India.

[Shri Karni Singhji]

U.S.S.R., one of the largest countries of the world, likewise has a population which we shall equal only with fifteen years' increase. Norway has a total population equal to India's four months' increase; Sweden, eight months' increase; Denmark, six months' increase. Each of these countries, as you know, Sir, is very well up in its economic life, the people having a very high standard of living, obviously due to the fact that they have much more money and a smaller population to handle.

I therefore request the Finance Minister and the Cabinet that it is time that we should start thinking in terms of a Ministry for family planning, a Ministry devoted entirely controlling this problem which, in my opinion, is going to blow the lid off this country and leave you only with standing room.

Now I would like to say a few things about the war effort. I think the march past of the Members of Parliament was greatly appreciated by the nation, and I think we could take a bow in genuine pride. The Members of Parliament have, through their rifle club, shown that they are all conscious of their part to be played in the war effort, and we are very keen that this movement about rifle training which the Members of Parliament are now taking will be followed by the rest of the country too. It would not be out of place if I apprise the House of the fact that the Members of Parliament who are members of the rifle club are very keen that they should take part in a friendly rifle shooting contest with the armed forces and the police. The object of this is that we wish to get to know the armed forces better and to convince them that although we may not be as good as they are in rifle shooting, nevertheless in spirit we are with them and we are ready to form a second line of defence should the need arise. I wish now briefly to deal with a few problems other than what I have mentioned.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member has taken twenty minutes already.

Shri Karni Singhji: As the Group spokesman I think I am entitled to a little more time.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have no objection; he can take the whole time, but then another Member from the Group will not have any time.

Shri Karni Singhji: We will apportion it. Thank you. I shall deal with the question of corruption. The hon. the Finance Minister is not here. I think he holds rather different views on this question. His representative is there.

An hon. Member: He is sound asleep.

Shri Karni Singhji: I feel that since Independence our country has gradually degenerated to a stage where corruption is becoming a disease that we have to combat with. I am not saying this as a Member of the Opposition, trying to be critical; my observation is as a citizen of India who wants to leave to his children and grand-children a better, a cleaner India to live in. I think if we all could put our shoulders together, from every part of this House, to see that we build an India which is clean, which is honourable, an Indian of our dreams, an India that Mahatma Gandhi would have loved to have seen, then we would have achieved something. It is inevitable that in a free country, in a democracy, people take liberties, and a certain amount of corruption is inevitable. But the question is, how much and how far will we let it go. After all, the present Government, so to say, is the architect of future India. In their hands lies the destiny of the future of our nation. I hope they will wake up and rise to the situation.

Another observation that I do wish to make, and that deals with our transport problem, is the question of bad roads. The States and the Centre

have invested large sums on roads. But you have only to drive on some of our Delhi's pride highways to see that within a year they are under repairs. Surely, all this money that we are getting from our Plan funds is not to be wasted in corruption and bad roads. If you wish to expand transport facilities and open up the country, obviously we expect that whatever roads we build are going to last at least for a decade or more. You have only to drive round the Diplomatic Enclave or go round Ring Road; I think we will come back with the feeling that there is very little that we can feel proud of. I hope that the foreign people living in the Diplmatic Enclave will not judge India entirely by her roads.

Another problem which has been rather perplexing me is the question of non-delivery of mail. I do not know what the experience of other friends here is, but I feel that twenty per cent of the mail posted today just does not reach. I do not think we as a free country can feel proud of a situation like that. I do hope that the Minister will take stock of things and do something to remedy the position.

A rather disturbing piece of news came in the papers the other day about Ministers' electricity bills. Frankly, I would like to take an objective view of that, because I think it is unfair to be totally critical. It is very important that Ministers who are guiding the destinies of our country live reasonably well, live reasonably comfortably, at least live so well that they can have peace of mind. I am not one of those who would like to see the entire amount cut. But I would like Parliament to fix a certain reasonable figure, so that the Ministers could adjust their budgets accordingly and anything in excess of that could be paid for by them.

The hon. the Finance Minister has, not only in this budget but in previous budgets, made references to foreign travels being curbed. I entirely agree that in the present context of things, when we are short of foreign exchange, we have to have curbs on foreign travel. But I think it is equally important that in the years to come, as our younger generations grow up they must know and see something about the world. And it is important that we do not ban foreign travel for the rest of the next generation. As matters stand today, I have a feeling that for the next twenty years or so the foreign exchange problem is not likely to improve. And if that be the case I feel sorry for our generations to come, because they will know nothing about the rest of the world, not at least first-hand.

In our country, as must be happening with all democratic countries, we indulge in far too many speeches and far too many conferences. The net result is of course nothing. When you have a conference a dozen people get together and you have to have a compromise. I think in the emergency it might be a good idea if these conferences could be reduced and the Government and the various people at various levels take more decisions as things come. Mr. Kamath made a reference at the moment about a certain speech of the Prime Minister; and that bears out my point even more clearly, because if the hon. the Prime Minister made fewer speeches perhaps he would contradict himself a little less.

A brief word on the National Defence Fund. Being an ardent admirer of the response of the nation to the National Defence Fund, during my travels in my constituency and elsewhere I came to know that quite often there was a great deal of pressure put on the citizen, and instead of being a voluntary effort this was made into almost a compulsion. Two States, say for example, Punjab and Rajasthan, got into a sort of competition as to who raised more—of course at the expense of the poor citizen. Two I.T.O's started competing with each other as to who would like to get a promotion quicker, which Income-tax officer

[Shri Karni Singhji]

would collect more. The same with the Collectors. The net result is that the voluntary character of the N.D.F. was completely eliminated and it became a matter of compulsion. But we now have the assurance of the Government that this matter has been taken up and that the people will not be harassed and whatever contributions come from the people would be accepted and would be of a voluntary character.

I shall not take up too much time. But before I conclude I would like to say that some of the important problems that face our country are the war and as a result of that what we need is a supreme determination to win the war; secondly, to eradicate poverty from the face of our country; and, thirdly, to create a sense of security in the minds of all citizens of all classes. It is essential that in a socialist country there should be a reasonable taxation structure. But it is also important that the taxation structure in times of peace should not exceed the total income of a citizen, nor should the taxation be confiscatory. We have to invest in honesty, and I shall clarify this position. When a citizen is taxed beyond a point, be he rich or poor, if his entire attention is devoted merely in trying to make both ends meet or in trying to fight off the Income-tax officer, in trying to run around lawyers, he has very little time left for bringing up his children properly as useful, healthy citizens. Those children who are neglected are either going to be useless citizens or hoodlums. And part of the blame for that will rest on the Ministry of Finance for creating a tax structure which has harassed the citizen beyond a point. I have always believed in a capital levy. If you think there is inequality of wealth, take it away at one stroke. But I do not believe that you should keep on squeezing the citizen out as if he was a tooth-paste tube. I think that is wrong. A citizen should have his mind free to work for the country and fight for the country. He must develop his children, develop their personalities, educate them properly and not be confused day and night and be harassed with taxation. I, therefore, hope that the Ministry of Finance will give this question of capital levy a second thought.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, our main goal at the moment is victory. I have no doubt that our brave armed forces of whom we are proud will attain that victory for our country. we are equally proud of our freedom. As a great man once said, eternal vigilance is the price of freedom, and I hope that we shall continue to be vigilant for ever.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh (Amreavati): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, as everybody knows, we are dealing with this budget in the background of the situation created by the Chinese agression. That not only makes me feel concerned, but I feel a little more concerned than many people in the country, especially because Pakistan and China have chosen this particular moment to come to an agreement about a territory which belongs to neither. I think our whole outlook, not only towards the economy of the country but to the defence of the country as well, should have this background, and if we look ahead and have this background I do not think anybody can quarrel with the budget as a whole.

Besides giving my support to the budget as a whole, I would like also to compliment the Ministry of Finance upon three of its achievements. The first achievement is to have, in spite of the expenditure which we are incurring on the Plans, kept inflation under fairly good check The second achievement, on which I would like to pay my compliment to the Ministry of Finance, is that as a result of the way in which the budget has been framed the deficit finance component of the budget has been very much reduced than was to be expected. The third thing which I liked was that the Ministry was concious of the

need for economising and they did succeed in saving expenditure to the extent of Rs. 35 crores to Rs. 40 crores.

This, of course, is not satisfactory. There are many avenues of further economies. I hope the Ministry and the Minister realise the sacrifice the people are called upon to make. Therefore, there should be a sort of sacredness attached to every pie of tax that he gets in his hands. I feel he has a tremendous responsibility for seeing that every pie that the taxpayer contributes is put to the best possible use. I am not content with this economy alos, because these economies have been probably ordreded on a certain formula by the Ministry of Finance and there is very little effort, I can say quite safely, on the part of any Ministry or any official to really have a careful look at the expenditure they incur and the utility of it. I, therefore, suggest, as a concrete suggestion, that a group of about five to seven Members of this Parliament should form a committee, a very high-powered committee. This is a thing which has not been done for a very long time. Last time I spoke in this House I suggested the bringing back of the Standing Committees which used to curtail and stop expenditure even when monies were sanctioned, and no new expenditure was being incurred without their approval. I regret to say, and I would like the Speaker and you, Sir, to take notice of this fact, that this Parliament has become entirely ineffective. In fact, I am inclined to call this a 'ten-minute Parliament". Most of the Members get only ten minutes to speak. Even before a Member makes his prefatory remarks his ten minutes are over and you are temped to ring the bell. This is the character of this Parliament. I am sorry to say, hardly anybody has looked at it from this aspect. There is a fundamental consideration which not only the Members of this House but the Speaker and the Prime Minister should study. We have introduced parliamentary democracy in this country basing our faith on the success achieved in England. Those people were trained differently; our circumstances are different. Therefore, I would like every responsible person in this House to look at the work of this Parliament and its effectiveness more closely than anybody has done so far. From that point of view, either the bringing back of the Standing Committees or the setting up of some machinery by which the unnecessary expenditure will be stopped while it is being made or proposed to be made, should be seriously considered. There is no organisation at the present moment which is doing this.

We are talking about emergency. But so many illogical things, some of which have been pointed out by my hon. friend, Shri Mathur, are done. Agriculture is supposed to be as important as defence. But nothing has been more neglected in this House and in this country, in spite of the tall talks of many people, than agriculture and agriculturist. These are two things which have not ever received their proper and due position. For many years after independence one individual used to look after both food and agriculture. He was so worried about food supply that he had no time to look at agriculture. While proposing that even the Prime Minister should take over the portfolio of food and agriculture, agriculture never received even that position which the community development, a junior Ministry which had come up later and only for a specific purpose, has been able to achieve. There has not been that status accorded to agriculture even today which even the Community Development Ministry has got. The Minister for Community Development is the master in his own house, whereas here the Minister for Agriculture is subordinate to the Minister for Food and Agriculture, and all sorts of people have manned this position. I, therefore, feel that if anything more is to be done in giving proper recognition

[Shri P. S. Deshmukh]

to agriculture, it must be lifted to the position of having a Cabinet Minister for agriculture alone unmixed with food. Food and agriculture are two different things. Managing food is merely arranging distribution. It has very little impact so far as production is concerned, and it is production about which we are more worried and not about distribution. Distribution can be done just as a *bania* can do. Anybody from the street can do it. But agriculture is not such a simple matter. It is to be done only by those who understand what agriculture is, how a farmer lives and how he produces and how it is possible to produce more. Mere talk of producing twice or thrice does not lead us anywhere.

So, Sir, I suggest that the expenditure involved in every Ministry, especially in respect of food, agriculture and community development and co-operation where the expenditure has increased tremendously so far as the quantum of monetary funds is concerned, should be carefully looked into. What is the function that they do, that is what is to be examined. There are training institutions galore. I think a few years ago people had never heard of or thought that there would be need for spending crores of rupees in training and education of that sort. Yet, what does the Minister in charge of co-operation say? He has started so much of education in co-operation and he is not content with it. But he does not expect it to give any results; there has to be a preparation of the public opinion so far as co-operation is concerned. I do not wish to blame him; probably, that is his sincere view. But all that I point out is that this Government is the most wasteful government that exists. Where has most of our planning money gone? It has meant in most cases to paying the same man who was content with half the salary something more and making him look up to still more. He was content with a particular salary that he was getting. Because there was no other man before the Public Service Commission better qualified than him, they have no compunction in doubling his salary even though he does not possesses the requisite qualifications for the higher post. I would like the Finance Minister to check up and find out in how many cases this has happened. Today a person may be drawing Rs. 350. Tomorrow it may be Rs. 600 or 700. I would like them to examine this matter very closely. Shri Morarji Desai is very punctilious, very careful and very conscientious, but I do not think he has ever tried to see how many crores of rupees are going down the drains. Where more work could have been done, less work is being done because there are too many people to do the same job. When there are so many officers you can never expect any work to be done except incurring more expenditure. This is happening in almost every Ministry and so I would request the Finance Minister to take good notice of this.

I had said that neither agriculture nor the agriculturist had a fair deal because, so far as the agriculturist is concerned, he has never been helped. All our plans are meant to give advice, and even that advice is neither realistic nor consistent. That advice has to be translated into some substantial assistance by which alone the agriculturist can add to the production that he had before. That is the difficulty.

I have very little time to point out the details, but I will mention one instance. The old Bombay State, of which Shri Morarji Desai was the Chief Minister, used to produce nine lakh tons of rice. They increased their production by Japanese method and other methods and brought it to 14 lakh tons. What was the result? What did the farmers receive? For 14 lakh tons the farmers received Rs. 25 crores less than what they received for 9 lakh tons. This is being repeated from year to year even in those areas where we have got the package programme. In Kerala the

prices have gone down by about 30 per cent. So, irrespective of whatever additional production has been achieved as a result of the package programme, more credit, better seed and all that, the farmers are only losing instead of gaining in return for the additional effort that they have put in.

So far as taxation is concerned, there is no doubt about it that the compulsory saving is very good, especially so far as the farmers are concerned. If the farmer can easily spare something for saving, he can leave it with the Government and withdraw when he needs it badly. But, as has been pointed out by more than one hon. Member, this is going to be more vexacious. I do not know how the Finance Ministry can be expected to keep accounts of a person who pays Rs. 2 by way of land revenue. They will have to issue a separate receipt and have a separate account book maintained from year to year with the result that there will be many crores of books. So far as the prize bonds are concerned, it is our experience that there are numerous cases where the prizes have not been claimed by the people concerned. Somehow or the other, they buy a bond and then they are not careful enough to remember the number. They have no knowledge that a prize is awarded to that bond. They merely purchase the bond and then they are not there to claim the prize.

An Hon. Member: Some of them might have died.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: I am sure, everybody in their families could not have perished by gale or hailstorm or some other natural calamity. But, the fact remains, they are not coming forward to claim the prizes. Of course, if the Finance Minister wants to take all this money of the people without any responsibility of returning it, then it is a different matter. I think this is going to be extraordinarily difficult. Then, as has been pointed out by Shri Mathur, where is the saving? As we know, our average *per capita* income is Rs. 330. In the rural areas, it is hardly half of that amount. Probably the UN report which mentions about 25 nP. income per day refers to the agriculturists and farmers in the rural areas. In the case of salaried people Government are exempting all income up to Rs. 1,500 a year. But, so far as these people are concerned there is no exemption whatsoever. I feel that there should be some exemption for these people also, at least up to the level as is being done in the case of salaried people.

Then I want to refer to the backward classes once again. I would like to appeal to the Home Minister once again that he should withdraw the circular that he has recently issued that there should be no scholarship on the basis of caste. This is a reform much too ahead of time. I think the House and the Government are already guilty for having suppressed the backward classes. Here was a Commission appointed by the Government under the provisions of the Constitution. Ministers and hon. Members of this House have taken an oath to protect the Constitution. Here is a Commission appointed under the Constitution the report of which has not seen the light of the day. Even Parliament had no chance to discuss the report of the Commission, even though several promises had been made about it in the House. I warn the Government that the adoption of this sort of attitude is inviting agitation where there is none. These people are as backward as the people belonging to the Scheduled Castes if not more. To deprive a small little help that was given to them, as a result of which they have come forward a good deal, would be wicked, unjust and unfair. I hope the Home Minister would kindly look into this again and would withdraw the circular and allow them the scholarships in the same way as they have been enjoying in the past. Here I would like to recall that Shri Rajagopalachari, when he was Home Minister, had given a categorical assurance that all facilities which have

[Shri P. S. Deshmukh]

been given to the backward classes, especially in the field of education, would never be withdrawn. I hope Government will honour that assurance.

So far as industries are concerned, I must say that they are prospering at the cost of the nation. Because we are short of foreign exchange, there is no competition and yet these people demand and the Government agrees—I do not know how and what kind of Government this is—to the increase in prices of whatever is being produced in this country. I hope the suggestion made by the Maharaja of Bikaner about capital levies would be given effect to. Otherwise, in my opinion this industrialisation is not wholly worth having, because there is something essentially wrong with our policy if things produced with our labour and our raw materials are twice as costly as those produced in the most advanced countries. I think this also requires to be looked into.

Then I want to make one or two concrete suggestions. My friends say that the labourers also are capable of giving a portion of their income for compulsory saving. I do not know if anything could be done to the unexpected bonus which are given to the organised labour and whether a portion of it could be out in the compulsory saving. I would also suggest that 10 to 20 per cent cut should be imposed on all TA bills paid by Government. I know that this suggestion will be very unpopular in this House, but the House must appreciate the substantial amount that it will bring. If every TA bill is subject to a cut of 10 per cent, I do not think anybody will be very much poorer for it.

Lastly, I would like to know what work the Ministry of Economic and Defence Co-ordination has done. I would have expected that co-ordination between community development and agriculture would have been the first thing noticed by this Ministry. I would also say that lots of countries had separate agriculture and community development departments and they have now combined them into a Ministry of Rural Affairs. I think that is a thing that should be done in this country also, and I am sure most of the Members of this House will support that proposal.

15 hrs.

Shri D. D. Puri (Kaithal): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, this Budget that we have before us is proof positive, if proof indeed was ever needed, that India is in dead earnest about defending her freedom and integrity. This is the price that we are willing to pay and do so very willingly. When our freedom and integrity were endangered by the Chinese invasion, there were three courses open for our Government to meet this challenge. One was to gravitate gradually towards joining one of the two military blocs and thus have our defence expenditure underwritten by a foreign power. Very fortunately we have resisted that temptation. The second alternative was to resort to deficit financing to a very much larger extent than the hon. Finance Minister has done, which in the last analysis would have amounted to printing currency and meeting the day-to-day expenditure thereby. The third was the hardest course to be adopted, and I am very happy that the Government has adopted it, namely, to choose the path of self-reliance and of self-sacrifice.

The measure of sacrifice which this Budget proposes is that the new taxes sought to be raised by the Central Government alone amount to Rs. 275 crores which amount is in excess of the total of the new taxes levied in the last six years. We have a total currency volume in the neighbourhood of Rs. 2,000 crores and the new taxes levied by the Central Government in the current Budget work out to almost 13·7 per cent of the total currency we have in circulation. If to these taxes are added approxi-

mately Rs. 100 crores more which the State Governments are raising anew this year, the total incidence of new taxation works out to very nearly 19 per cent of the currency in circulation which is a measure of sacrifice which hardly any country has made even in periods of emergencies.

The resources that are siphoned back to Government in the form of taxation work out to approximately 11.7 per cent of the total national income in 1960-61 which figure rose to 12.1 per cent in 1961-62. The figures for the current year are not available but it is safe to assume that in the current year the increase in national income will be more than absorbed by the new taxes alone. When expenditure on such a colossal scale is undertaken, two things have to be kept in view all the time. Firstly, we have to wage a ceaseless war on wastage and extravagance. It has been emphasised from all parts of the House that you cannot run an emergency and fight a war on the basis that all other expenditure shall continue as usual and all the extra expenditure on defence shall be added on to it as the net addition. That is not the way to meet an emergency. While a great deal has been made of the economies effected by he hon. Finance Minister in his speech, I regret to observe that the expenditure outside defence and unrelated to economic development of the country has increased by Rs. 73 crores over the expenditure for 1962-63. I would suggest that non-defence and non-development expenditure should be frozen at the 1962-63 level in the first instance and then progressive steps should be taken to bring it down. That is the least we can do.

Secondly, we are going to undertake a very large volume of expenditure on defence. While it is true that the actual expenditure on defence will have to be decided by overall considerations of strategy and tactics, nevertheless this expenditure can have a very large impact on the day-to-day economic life of the country. If a part of the money under the heading 'Defence' is spent on equipping our forces with hardware, arms and other kinds of equipment made within the country—whether in the public sector or in the private sector; it does not matter in the least—that part of the expenditure will to a certain extent help the economy bear the new burden that it is being called upon to bear. It might become regenerative in a sense. As has been stated, a very large percentage of installed capacity in the engineering industry today is idle. If this expenditure helps to utilise this idling capacity and increases the overall production in the country, to that extent it shall have extended employment and it would be regenerative and would create the means, the methods and the wherewithal to bear the increasing expenditure. If, on the other hand, this money or a great part of it, is spent on consumer items, like blankets, tents and things like that, or other items which are in short supply, to that extent it would help to create inflation and other difficulties. The point I am making is that there is need for the Finance Ministry to maintain ceaseless vigilance on the manner in which this defence expenditure is incurred so that the overall interests of the economy of the country can be safeguarded and so that we do not land one fine morning into a state of affairs when the law of diminishing returns starts setting into our economy which would be self-defeating, even from the defence point of view.

Having made these observations on the overall economy, I will now deal with the much-maligned Super Profits Tax from which the hon. Finance Minister proposes to raise Rs. 25 crores. I have no hesitation in welcoming this progressive measure. After all, what is the principle underlying the Super Profits Tax? The principle is that if a company makes 200 per cent profit on its capital employed that company should certainly be called upon to pay a higher rate of tax than, say, a company which makes 5

[Shri D. D. Puri]

to 6 per cent profit. It is as simple as that.

It has been stated that it will take away incentive and will be a discount on efficiency. I will dismiss that much-laboured argument with the brief observation that if in the case of individuals the incentive is not taken away by applying a higher rate of tax on higher incomes, I do not know why it should be so in the case of companies. After all, we are all human beings and I myself come first, even before my company. If it does not affect me, I do not know how it is going to effect my management of company.

Secondly, there seems to be some misapprehension in the minds of hon. Members in regard to big or small companies. The tax is based on percentage and not on any absolute figure. If a company has a small capital and makes 200 per cent profit on that small capital, I think it should be treated exactly in the same manner in which a large company which makes 200 per cent profit on its large capital is treated, because in the case of the large company the shares are held by a large number of people and the individual holdings may be quite small. As I said, it is a progressive step that is taken. If we have to raise money, there is no reason at all why those who make exorbitant or relatively exorbitant profits should not be called upon to pay more. Nevertheless, I have some observations to make. I have some suggestions to make and I shall endeavour to point out that even if all these are accepted, the revenue that the Finance Minister is expecting to raise from this will not be diminished. First of all, the base should not be the capital plus taxed reserves. The base should the capital employed. I will not labour that point in detail. After all, if a company meets half of its initial requirements by borrowings, and another company the promoters or the managing agents of which are very rich is able to subscribe to the entire paid-up capital, I do not see why the former company should be placed at a disadvantage vis-a-vis the other company even though their profits may be the same.

Secondly, the 6 per cent above which the profits start attracting the super profits tax should be raised to 10 per cent and I will give my reasons for that. After all, we have to take into account the new flotations and at what rate and on what terms we can attract capital from the market today. Even in respect of preference shares, the Life Insurance Corporation has laid down a criterion that they will not look at preference shares yielding less than 9.3 per cent. The normal yield which a shareholder expects or on which he will be prepared to invest money is 10 per cent on preference shares and if the yield on preference shares is accepted as 10 per cent, then in that case I would plead this 6 per cent should be raised to 10 per cent so as to provide a more attractive return on equity shares.

I have some suggestions to make in this regard and that is that either this limit should be raised to 10 per cent and the present rate of tax reduced or it should be raised to 8 per cent and the rate should be from 8—13 per cent at the rate of 25 per cent, and over 13 per cent it should be 50 per cent. In both these cases, I maintain my calculation is that the tax would yield a revenue of approximately Rs. 40 crores as against Rs. 25 crores as estimates by the Finance Minister.

Another point that I want to make is that the banks should be exempted even as insurance business has been exempted. After all, it is the policy of the Government that banks should create larger and larger reserves and I maintain that relatively banking industry has a very small capital base when compared to its total resources. They are credit institutions. The

impact of the present taxation is going to affect their reserves including the statutory reserves.

Sir, a great deal of noise has been made about managing agency companies. There is no doubt about the fact that the managing agency companies will have to pay in a very big way. But the fact of the matter is that a limited company acting as a managing agent company in the first instance is a device to escape income tax by individuals. Let us be very clear. There is no question of any small managing agency company being forward because they want to attract the capital. They are very jealous in issuing any capital to the public. That is an initial device to escape income tax by individuals and, therefore, if they are taxed in a big way, I personally would not shed any tear.

Another suggestion that I make in this regard is that the taxation scheme should allow a carry-forward from one year to another. I might make my position clear. That is to say, if a company has made profits—but the profits are below 6 or 10 per cent, whatever is the final figure—if they are below 6 per cent in one year, then the actual profits minus 6 per cent should be carried forward to the next year and allowed credit before the super profits tax is levied in the following year.

Finally, Sir, so far as the super profits tax is concerned, I believe that the application of the super profits tax should be on the profits earned hereafter. After all, the normal taxation scheme would apply to the previous accounting year. In most cases, balance-sheets have been made and they have been presented to the shareholders and in most cases even the dividends have been paid out. Therefore, it is, I think, somewhat unfair to apply it to the previous accounting year. I am not sure, but I am informed that the excess profits tax in the last War was not applied on profits made after it was imposed.

Now, I will make a very brief observation in regard to one or two other things and one of them is surcharge on incomes. I entirely agree that the increase in the sur-charge on the low income groups is out of all proportion as compared to the increase in the upper income brackets. For instance, as has been stated, for an income of Rs. 5000 a year, it has been increased from Rs. 42 to Rs. 241 a year, whereas on an income of Rs. 2 lakhs it has been increased from Rs. 1,34,000 to Rs. 1,40,000 only. And a part of the credit is given in the matter of savings. I maintain that savings for a man who earns only Rs. 5000 in a year are no relief at all. He will either have to tighten his belt or he will have to borrow money at higher rates of interest from other services. Therefore, the point I am making is that the savings may hold some relief for the higher income groups. They are just a straightforward piece of taxation for the poor man because the saving may cost him more if he were to borrow from elsewhere. A point was made about the higher income brackets that if you take wealth tax into account, then, in certain circumstances, the total taxes exceed the total income. I think that is quite right. When the wealth tax was conceived, it was recognised that a point must be reached above which wealth must start disintegrating itself and that happens not only in this country but even in Scandinavian countries, I am told, the point at which wealth starts disintegrating itself, that is to say, the total taxes exceed the income, stands at a lower figure than it starts disintegrating in our scheme of things here. Therefore, I would certainly say that there is a margin in the case of sur-charge in the higher income groups for relief to lower income brackets.

Lastly, I would say that this is a tough budget. There is no doubt about that. Practically, every pocket has been touched. But we live in very tough times, made even tougher by the Chinese aggression. The only way that we can maintain and defend our independent, non-aligned policy,

[Shri D. D. Puri]

the only way in which it can be sustained, is at a very heavy cost, and the heavy cost is in the form of the budget that we have before us. I am sure that to maintain our freedom and democracy we shall not only pay this price but we shall pay it gladly.

श्री सोयं (अलीगढ़): आदरणीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, श्रीमान फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर मोरारजी भाई देसाई ने जो इस सदन में बजट पेश किया है, मैं उस बजट को बेकारी का सूचक, शोषित समाज का शोषक तथा अराजकता और असमानता को स्थापित करने वाला एक बजट समझ करके आगे चलता हूं।

पिछले वर्ष के लिए अर्थात् १९६२-६३ के लिए १५००.२५ करोड़ का बजट रखा गया था, और इस वर्ष अर्थात् सन् १९६३-६४ के लिए १८५२.४ करोड़ का बजट रखा गया है। रेवेन्यू से १५८५.७३ करोड़ रुपए की आय का अनुमान किया गया है। इस तरह से २६६.६७ करोड़ का घाटा होगा। डिफेंस के लिए उन्होंने जो ८६७ करोड़ रुपया रखा है उसके लिए मैं उनको धन्यवाद देता हूं। इतना ही नहीं, बल्कि इससे भी ज्यादा रखा जाता तो भी शोषित समाज की ओर से, जिस पर उनका दमन चक्र चलता है, विश्वास दिला सकता हूं कि हम जितना धन दे सकते हैं देते। कम्युनिस्ट चाइना जो कि आज हमारी मातृभूमि पर हमलावर है उसका बजट हमारे बजट से करीब ड्योढ़ा है। जब इस तरह की परिस्थिति हो तो हमारा बजट डिफेंस के लिए जितना भी रक्खा जाय ठीक है। सुरक्षा के हेतु जितना भी धन बजट में रक्खा जाय वह थोड़ा है।

श्री मुरारजी भाई ने ३०५.९० करोड़ रुपये को हासिल करने की बात कही है। इसके लिए उन्होंने अपने साधन बतलाये हैं। जिस समय मैं साधनों पर आता हूं तो मुझे ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि उनका दमनचक्र शोषित समाज पर बहुत तेजी से चल रहा है और उस दमनचक्र के कारण ही मुझे यहां विरोध करने के लिए खड़ा होना पड़ा है। उनका ऐसा कहना है कि ८७.३९ करोड़ रुपया कस्टम ड्यूटी से लिया जायेगा। ११०.४० करोड़ रुपया डाइरेक्ट टेक्सेशन से मिलेगा। अब इस डाइरेक्ट टेक्सेशन में श्रीमन्, ४० करोड़ रुपया कम्पलसरी सेविंग्स का भी शामिल है जिसमें कि व्हाइट कौलर बाबू, गरीब किसान और मजदूर लोग भी शामिल हैं। उसको डाइरेक्ट टेक्सेशन किस प्रकार से कहते हैं? मैं नहीं समझ पाता इस बात को कि १०८.११ करोड़ रुपये उन्होंने ऐक्साइज ड्यूटीज और इंटर स्टेट सेल्स टेक्स से बतलाये हैं। अब टेक्सेशन के लेजिस्लेशन के लिए जैसी कि बेंथम की थ्योरी है :—

"It should be for the greater number of people. Maximum good for the maximum number of people."

बजट हमारा विषमता के ऊपर आधारित नहीं होना चाहिए। हमारी बजट टेक्सेशन की नीति इस तरह से हो कि जो लोग सुख में हैं और आनन्द पा रहे हैं उनके आनन्द में अधिक बढ़ोतरी न होने पाये और जो दुखी हैं उनका दुख इस बजट के कारण और ज्यादा न बढ़ जाये। मुझे यह कहते हुए खेद होता है कि इस पालिसी के ऊपर यह बजट आधारित नहीं है। इस बजट को गरीब, मजलूम, मजदूर या लोकशाही की भावना के ऊपर आधारित रहने वाला नहीं कहा जा सकता है।

अब मैं डाइरेक्ट टेक्सेशन की बात को लेता हूं। इसके लिए मुरार जी भाई ने

कहा है कि ११०.४० करोड़ रुपया डाइरेक्ट टेक्सेशन से आयेगा । उनका यह कथन सत्यता से परे है । उसके अंदर बहुत सी भूल है । एक धोखा दिया गया है । एक तरीके से उन्होंने जैसे कि जादूगर दिखलाता है कि एक जगह तीन गोलियां आ जाती हैं, फिर दो आ जाती हैं और फिर वहां खाली एक गोली हो जाती है, कुछ उसी तरह का हाथ का फेर श्री मुरारजी ने इस बारे में दिखलाया है । मेरा कहना यह है कि इस डाइरेक्ट टेक्सेशन में यह ११० करोड़ रुपया नहीं आयेगा । डाइरेक्ट टेक्सेशन से वहां केवल ७० करोड़ रुपया आयेगा बकाया रुपया वहां पर, यह ४० करोड़ रुपया, कम्पलसरी सेविंग्स से आयेगा जिसको कि मैं अभी लूंगा ।

३३ करोड़ रुपया यूनियन सरचार्ज से आयेगा । इनकमटेक्स में भी डाइरेक्ट टेक्सेशन की बात नहीं कहीं जा सकती क्योंकि इसमें वे लोग शामिल हैं । यह ३३ करोड़ रुपया पूंजीपतियों से नहीं आयेगा, लखपतियों से नहीं आयेगा बल्कि इसमें वह लोग भी शामिल हैं जिनकी कि आमदनी ५००० रुपये सालाना या इससे कुछ ऊपर है अथवा उसके नजदीक है । उन लोगों से भी जो धन लिया गया है वह भी इस ३३ करोड़ रुपये में शामिल है । २५ करोड़ रुपया सुपर प्राफिट टेक्स से आयेगा । इसको मैं थोड़ी देर में लूंगा । १२.४ करोड़ रुपया, बहुत से ऐगजम्पशंस हैं, उनको समाप्त करने से बचेगा ।

15.23 hrs.

[SHRI KHADILKAR *in the Chair*]

श्रीमन्, यह जो ११० करोड़ रुपये की बात कही गई है यह डाइरैक्ट टैक्सेशन से ही नहीं आयेगा । केवल ७० करोड़ रुपया डाइरैक्ट टैक्सेशन से आयेगा, बकाया तमाम का तमाम रुपया गरीबों से लिया जायेगा और उसका भार गरीबों पर जाकर पड़ेगा । इस ७० करोड़ में से भी लगभग २० करोड़ रुपया वहां पर उन लोगों से लिया जायेगा जिनकी कि सालाना आमदनी ५००० के ऊपर या ५००० के लगभग होगी । केवल ५० करोड़ रुपया यहां के करोड़पति और आरबपतियों से आयेगा । इस सम्बन्ध में केवल यह कहना चाहता हूं कि डाइरैक्ट टैक्सेशन में आप ७० करोड़ रुपया लेते हैं । उस वक्त आप डिफैंस की बात को नहीं रखते हैं लेकिन जब गरीब और मजलूम मजदूरों की बात आती है, जिनको कि हमेशा राजा, महाराजाओं और अंग्रेजों ने लूटा और जिनको कि आजकी सरकार भी लूट रही है तब इनडाइरैक्ट टैक्सेशन में २०५ करोड़ रुपया रक्खा जाता है । १०८ करोड़ रुपये के लगभग ऐक्साइज ड्यूटी से आयेगा और ९६ करोड़ से लगभग कस्टम ड्यूटी से आयेगा । इस १०८ करोड़ रुपये की ऐक्साइज ड्यूटी के कारण तम्बाकू की कीमत बढ़ेगी, मिट्टी के तेल की कीमत बढ़ेगी, चाय, साबुन और कौटेन यानं की कीमत भी बढ़ेगी । रोजाना काम में आने वाली चीजों के दाम, जिनका कि इस्तेमाल गरीब या मध्यम वर्ग के लोग करते हैं, उन सब चीजों की कीमत बढ़ जायेगी ।

यूनियन ऐक्साइज ड्यूटी को अगर उठा कर देखा जाय तो सन् ५०–५१ में यूनियन ऐक्साइज ड्यूटी लगभग ६७.५४ करोड़ की थी जबकि सन् १९६३–६४ में यह बढ़ कर ६९०.५७ करोड़ के हो गयी है । तब में और अब में १ और १० का अनुपात है । इनडाइरैक्ट टैक्सेशन में इस वक्त जो यह १ और १० का अनुपात लगाया जाता है तो क्या इस बात को भी देखा जाता है कि जिनके हाथ

[श्री मौर्य]

में आज सरकार है, उन्होंने कितने साधन उन लोगों को दिये है, कितनी सुविधाएं उन लोगों को दी है और कितना आराम उन लोगों को दिया है जिनके कि ऊपर उन्होंने ऐक्साइज ड्यूटी से दस गुना ज्यादा हासिल करने की बात कही है। इनकम टैक्स की बात को मैं आपके सामने थोड़ी देर में रखना चाहूंगा। इनकमटैक्स की बात यह है कि ५००० रुपये जिसकी आमदनी है, सन् ६२–६३ में जहां वह ४२ रुपये बतौर इनकमटैक्स के देता था सन् ६३–६४ में उसको २४१ रुपये देने पड़ेंगे अर्थात् इसमें ४ फीसदी की बढ़ोतरी हुई है। १०,००० रुपये वार्षिक जिसकी आमदनी है और जोकि सन् ६२–६३ में ४७६ रुपये इनकम टैक्स देता था वह अब सन् ६३–६४ में ६३० रुपये देगा जिसका कि मतलब यह हुआ कि इसमें ४.५ प्रतिशत: बढ़ा। १५,००० रुपये की आमदनी वाला जहां सन् ६२–६३ में ११७१ रुपये देता था वहां अब सन् ६३–६४ में वह १८८१ रुपये देगा अर्थात् ४.७३ प्रतिशत: बढ़ा है। इसी तरह २०,००० की सालाना आमदनी वाला पहले जहां २२७२ रुपये देता था वह अब ३२७० रुपये देगा। इसके ऊपर बढ़ोत्तरी ५ फीसदी है। २५,००० रुपये सालाना जो पैदा करता है उस पर बढ़ोतरी ५.०२ प्रतिशत: की है। लेकिन जो व्यक्ति २ लाख रुपये सालाना पैदा करता है उसके इनकम टैक्स के रेट में बढ़ोत्तरी केवल २.७ फीसदी की है। गरीब को जहां आपने इस तरीके से रौंदा है अमीर को उस तरीके से रौंदने में आपको घबराहट होती है। उनके कारण आपको यह गद्दी मिलती है। अगर सरकार गरीबों की तरह उन अमीरों को भी रौंदे तो फिर हमें कोई शिकवा नहीं होगा। अगर गरीबों पर जिस तरह से आपने इनकम टैक्स में वृद्धि की है उसी तरीके से अमीरों पर भी लगाते तो कोई शिकायत की बात नहीं होती। यह बजट असमानता अराजकता के ऊपर आधारित है। ४०० रुपया महीना वेतन पाने वाले को इनकमटैक्स ४ फीसदी अधिक देना होगा जबकि १६०० रुपया मासिक पाने वाले के इनकमटैक्स में केवल २.७ प्रतिशत की बढ़ोतरी होगी।

जब यह डिफैंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स की बात आई थी तो मैंने कहा था कि यह डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स बेगुनाह विरोधी दलों का दमन करने के लिए इस्तेमाल हुए हैं या कहीं पर अपनी व्यक्तिगत दुश्मनी को निकालने के लिए इनका इस्तेमाल हुआ है। हमारे मुरारजी भाई यहां पर नहीं है लेकिन उनके डिप्टी मिनिस्टर बैठे हुए है, मैं चाहता हूं कि वह मेरी यह बात मुरारजी भाई तक अवश्य पहुंचा दें। यह डी० आई० आर० कहां चला जाता है जब वह २०० करोड़ रुपये उन इनकमटैक्स के चोरों के पास है जिन्होंने कि चोरी करके इस मुल्क को धोखा दिया है और मुल्क के साथ दगा की है। अभी तक उन लोगों से यह टैक्स का रुपया वसूल नहीं किया गया है। आखिर जो पैसा उन पर वाजिब आता है वह उनसे क्यों नहीं वसूल किया जाता है? अगर अभी तक वसूल नहीं किया जा सका है तो कब तक यह वसूल किया जायेगा? मैं चाहता हूं कि श्री मुरारजी अपने जवाबी भाषण में इस चीज को साफ करें।

बिड़ला के बारे में मैं एक बात कहना चाहूंगा। श्रीमन्, मुझे यह कह कर मना न कर दें कि यहां किसी विशेष व्यक्ति की बात न की जाये। यह विशेष व्यक्ति की बात नहीं है। इस का पूरे राष्ट्र से ताल्लुक है। बड़ी बड़ी कम्पनियां हैं। डालमिया जैसी कई अन्य बड़ी बड़ी कम्पनियां हैं जिन्हों ने कि मुल्क में जगह जगह पर अपनी

छोटी छोटी कम्पनियां और दफ्तर चला रक्खे हैं। उन के लिए क्या होता है ? हमारे इनकमटैक्स ला में एक प्राविजन है कि वहां पर सट्रलाइज करते हैं, सैंट्रल सर्किल बनाते हैं ताकि कहीं पर इनकमटैक्स की चोरी न होने पाये। यहां के बड़े बड़े पूंजीपतियों के लिए सट्रल सर्किल बने हुए हैं लेकिन हमारे बिड़ला साहब के लिए सैंट्रल सर्किल नहीं बना हुआ है। उन के ऊपर यह नहीं लगाया हुआ है कि यह तमाम कम्पनियां कहां कहां हैं और कितनी आमदनी उन से होती है। खुले खजाने वहां पर इस तरीके से इनकम-टैक्स की चोरी होती है। श्रीमन् मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि मुरारजी भाई के राम-राज्य में बिड़ला जैसे विभीषण को लंका के ऊपर खूब दमनचक्र चलाने का पूरा पूरा अवसर मिला है। बिड़ला के लिए इस तरह से सैंट्रल सर्किल क्यों नहीं रक्खा गया ? बिड़ला के लिए अगर इस तरह का सर्किल पैदा किया जाये तो बहुत सी इनकमटैक्स की जो चोरी हुआ करती है वह बच सकती है। इनकमटैक्स ही नहीं बल्कि जो रुपया वहां पर स्टेट ड्यूटी से आया है और जो रुपया वैल्थ टैक्स से आया है वह १ करोड़ या १ करोड़ से कम है, मुझे तो इस को सदन में कहते हुए शर्म आती है। मैं नहीं जानता कि हमारे आदरणीय फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर के दिल के ऊपर इस का कैसा असर होता होगा ? लेकिन मुझे तो यह १ करोड़ की बात कहते हुए शर्म आती है। जब यहां देश में बड़ी बड़ी अट्टालिकाओं का निर्माण हो रहा है, लोग करोड़पति बनते चले जा रहे हैं, बड़े बड़े एयर कंडीशन्ड बंगले बनते चले जा रहे हैं तब स्टेट ड्यूटी और वैल्थ टैक्स में केवल १ करोड़ या डेढ़ करोड़ रुपया आये, यह कितने ताज्जुब और हैरत की बात है ?

जहां तक कम्पलसरी सेविंग्ज की बात है इस का असर ग़रीबों के ऊपर और मजलूमों के ऊपर पड़ेगा। इस का असर मजदूरों और व्हाइट कालर बाबुओं पर पड़ेगा, ऐसे आदमियों पर पड़ेगा जिन की कि आमदनी केवल १२५ रुपये मासिक है। उस के रोजाना उपयोग में आने वाली चीजों के दामों में २५ फ़ीसदी बढ़ोतरी हो गई है जिस से उस का घरेलू बजट बिगड़ गया है और उस की घर वाली जरूरत की चीजों को खरीदने के लिए पहले के मुकाबले अपने पति से ज्यादा पैसे चाहती है क्योंकि बगैर उस के वह सामान नहीं ले सकती है। ३ फ़ीसदी मुरारजी भाई चाहते हैं और २५ रुपये फ़ीसदी उस के घरेलू बजट में बढ़ती हो गई है अर्थात् उस का खर्चा २८ फ़ीसदी बढ़ गया है। मतलब यह है कि १२५ रुपये पर उस को लगभग ३५ रुपये देने पड़ जायेंगे और उसे केवल ९० रुपये महीना मिलेंगे। पहले ही जब उस को १२५ रुपये महीना पड़ता था तो वह अपने बच्चों का समुचित इलाज नहीं कर पाता था, अपने बच्चों को अच्छे स्कूलों में कौनवेंट स्कूलों में नहीं पढ़ा सकता था जैसेकि मिनिस्टरों के बच्चे पढ़ते हैं, अपने बच्चों को गरम सूट नहीं पहना सकता था, अपने बच्चों को अच्छी शिक्षा और अच्छा भोजन नहीं दे सकता था, उस ग़रीब के ऊपर यह और दमनचक्र आया है कि उस की आमदनी १२५ रुपये महीने से घट कर केवल ९० रुपये महीना रह गई है। यह ठीक है कि पांच साल बाद जो रुपया वह बचायेगा वह उसे दे दिया जायेगा। अब रुपया बचाना किसे अच्छा नहीं लगता ? लेकिन जो आदमी लाइलाज मर जाये और जिस के कि पास कफ़न डालने को भी रुपया न हो उस से बचत कराना कहां तक उचित होगा ? जिस की कि आमदनी पहले ही कम और अपर्याप्त हो और जिस की कि आमदनी सैकड़ों या केवल कुछ हजारों में ही हो, उस के ऊपर यह अनिवार्य बचत करने वाली बात लागू नहीं हो सकती है। इसलिए मेरा कहना है कि ऐसे लोगों के लिए इस कम्पलसरी सेविंग्ज स्कीम को दूसरा रूप दिया जाये। कम्पलसरी सेविंग्ज की जगह पर हम वहां

[श्री मौर्य]

इंश्योरेंस कर सकते हैं ,कम्पलसरी इंश्योरेंस की व्यवस्था कर सकते हैं । कम्पलसरी इंश्योरेंस की व्यवस्था हम उन लोगों के लिए कर दें जिन की कि आमदनी १५० रुपये महीना या उस से ऊपर है । ऐसा होने से उस का रिस्क भी कवर होता है और खतरा भी रुकता है । अगर वह पैसे की कमी के कारण वगैर इलाज के मर भी जाये, तो उस के बच्चों को वह पैसा मिल जायेगा । कम्पलसरी इंश्योरेंस अगर कर दिया जाये तो इस से उस को बहुत कुछ फ़ायदा हो सकता है । इस से आगे बढ़ कर मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि किसान के ऊपर भी यह टैक्स लगेगा । किस किसान पर ? उस किसान पर, जोकि बेचारा मुश्किल से दस रुपये लगान के देता है । कहां से देता है, यह तो उस का दिल ज्यादा जानता होगा । श्री मोरारजी देसाई के घर में कोई भी किसान नहीं है । मैं किसान का बेटा हूं । मैं जानता हूं कि किस तरह से लगान दिया जाता है और इसलिए किस तरह से परेशानी उठानी पड़ती है । आज किसान वे सब आराम नहीं उठा सकता है—बल्कि वह तो स्वप्न में भी उस ऐशो-आराम के बारे में नहीं सोच सकता है—जोकि मिनिस्टरों को उन के बंगलों में मिलते हैं ।

वित्त मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्री ब० रा० भगत) : माननीय सदस्य को मालूम नहीं कि मोरारजी भाई किसान के घर में पैदा हुए ।

श्री मौर्य : हुए होंगे, लेकिन अब तो वह किसान का नाम भी भूल गए हैं ।

श्री रामसेवक यादव (बाराबंकी) : वह ट्रैक्टर किसान होंगे ।

श्री मौर्य : अगर किसान दस रुपये लगान के देगा, तो पांच रुपये कम्पलसरी सेविंग के लिए चाहिए । यह सरकार उस किसान से कम्पलसरी सेविंग कराना चाहती है, जोकि बेचारा अपनी झोंपड़ी में रोज एक घंटे से ज्यादा दीया नहीं जला सकता है । अगर हम इन तमाम बातों को सामने रख कर नहीं चलेंगे, तो सरकार जो यह व्यवस्था स्थापित करने जा रही है, वह पूरी की पूरी व्यवस्था एक तमाशा बन कर रह जायेगी और रोजाना की जिन्दगी में वह लागू नहीं हो पायेगी ।

जहां तक सुपर प्राफ़िट टैक्स का संबंध है, जो कुछ भी फ़ार्मूला बनाया गया है, बहुत से कांग्रेस वाले उस से खुश हैं और बहुत से कम्युनिस्ट भाई भी उस से खुश होंगे । लेकिन अगर उस फ़ार्मूले को एक इकानोमिस्ट की दूरबीन से देखा जाये, तो हम इस परिणाम पर पहुंचते हैं कि यह फ़ार्मूला लागू नहीं हो सकता है । इस से उद्योग और व्यापार में इनिशिएटिव खत्म हो जायेगा । यह सुपर प्राफ़िट टैक्स पूंजीपति पर नहीं है, बल्कि एफ़िशेन्सी पर है, काबलियत पर है । मैं एक मिसाल देना चाहता हूं । एक कम्पनी है, जिस पर सौ लाख रुपया लगा हुआ है । अगर उस को पांच लाख रुपये का फ़ायदा होता है, तो उस पर सुपर प्राफ़िट टैक्स नहीं लगेगा । लेकिन जिस कम्पनी का कैपिटल सौ हजार रुपया है और जिस को सात हजार रुपये का फ़ायदा होता है, उस पर सुपर प्राफ़िट लग जायेगा । यह टैक्स क्वालिटी के ऊपर है, एफ़िशेन्सी के ऊपर है, क्वांटिटी के ऊपर नहीं है । इस तरह का टैक्स इनिशिएटिव को खत्म करेगा और हमारे उद्योगों को समाप्त कर देगा ।

इस बारे में जो आंकड़े बताए गए हैं मुझे नहीं मालूम कि उन को श्री मोरारजी देसाई ने तैयार किया है, सैक्रेटेरियट ने तैयार किया है या उन की कैबिनेट ने तैयार किया है, लेकिन मैं कह सकता हूं कि इकानोमी से उन का कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है ।

अगर सुपर प्राफ़िट टैक्स उसी हिसाब से लगे जैसाकि सरकार की ओर से सुझाव दिया गया है, तो इस से ११० करोड़ रुपया आना चाहिए, २५ करोड़ रुपया नहीं, अगर उस में चोरी नहीं होती है, तो। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि यह सुपर प्र फ़िट टैक्स साइकालॅजिकली, फ़ंडामेंटली हमारे व्यवसाय की रीढ़ की हड्डी तोड़ता है । मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि उस के बजाये अगर कार्पोरेशन टैक्स को ५० फ़ीसदी से ६० फ़ीसदी कर दिया जाये, तो इस से तीस करोड़ के करीब रुपया मिल जाता है । फिर सुपर प्राफ़िट टैक्स को लगाने की क्या आवश्यकता रहती है ?

यह भी मैं जानता हूं कि वह इस में संशोधन करेंगे, लेकिन संशोधन से लाभ नहीं होगा । इस को पूरा समाप्त किया जाये । इस में ऐसी कोई बात नहीं है कि वह इस बारे में ज़िद करें ।

अब मैं करप्शन के बारे में एक दो शब्द कहना चाहता हूं ।

सभापति महोदय : अब माननीय सदस्य अपना भाषण समाप्त करने की कोशिश करें ।

श्री मौर्य : श्रीमन्, इस सदन में हम तीन आदमी हैं जिन में से एक बाहर रहते हैं । क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि मैं कितनी देर बोल सकता हूं ? हम को कितना टाइम एलाट हुआ है ?

Mr. Chairman: Maximum, 20 minutes.

Shri Maurya: I must have 30 minutes at least to give the idea of my party.

जहां तक भ्रष्टाचार का सम्बन्ध है, अभी अभी दो एन्क्वायरीज बैठी थीं, जिन की रिपोर्ट्स अभी तक हमारे सामने नहीं आई हैं । दि न्यू एशियाटिक इन्शोरेंस कंपनी रिपोर्ट और दि रुबी जनरल इन्शोरेंस कंपनी रिपोर्ट में खुले-खज़ाने इस प्रकार का चार्ज लगाय. गया है कि बिड़ला साहब ने इस में रुपये की गड़बड़ी की है, सप्रशन किया है । वे रिपोर्ट्स अभी तक इस सदन और राष्ट्र के सामने नहीं आई हैं । उन को क्यों नहीं सामने आने दिया जाता है ? इस करप्शन को समाप्त किया जाये । मैं यह नहीं कहता कि केवल पूंजीपति ही करप्शन करते हैं, बल्कि इस में बहुत से मिनिस्टरों का भी हाथ है । मैं बड़े दावे के साथ इस सदन में चार्ज लगाता हूं । अगर करप्शन का चार्ज लगाया जाये, तो मेरा हाथ बहुत से मिनिस्टरों के दामन तक पहुंचेगा, ज़रूर पहुंचेगा, क्योंकि मैं ग़रीबों को रिप्रेजेंट करता हूं । कितने ऐसे मिनिस्टर हैं, जिन के बेटे बड़ी बड़ी कार्पोरेशन्ज में डायरेक्टर नहीं बने हुए हैं ? कितने एसे मिनिस्टर हैं, देश के आज़ाद होने के समय जिन की पूंजी एक लाख रुपये थी और जिन के पास आज करोड़ों रुपये नहीं हैं ? यह रुपया कहां से आया है ? क्या यह तमाम खुदादाद इनकम हैं ? इस के बारे में भी एन्क्वायरी होनी चाहिये ।

भ्रष्टाचार को समाप्त करने के साथ साथ इकानोमी भी बरतनी चाहिये । एक तरफ़ तो यह सरकार ग़रीबों को दीया भी नहीं जलाने देती है और अच्छे मिट्टी के तेल की बोतल पर दस नये पैसे और ख़राब मिट्टी के तेल की बोतल पर सात नये पैसे बढ़ा देती है और दूसरी तरफ़ होम मिनिस्टर और दूसरे मिनिस्टर अपने बंगले में पांच सौ रुपये की बिजली जला देते हैं । मैं कहूंगा कि यह रुपये का मिस-एप्रोप्रिएशन है, जनता के पैसे का दुरुपयोग है । यह ग़रीबों का पैसा है । उस का सदुपयोग होना चाहिए ।

जब हम कहते हैं कि नमक पर टैक्स लगा दो या प्राहिबिशन को समाप्त कर

[श्री मौर्य]

दो, तो महात्मा गांधी का नाम लिया जाता है । महात्मा गांधी सिर्फ़ इसलिए कि हम ग़रीब हैं और हमारा ग़रीब मुल्क है, आधा बदन कपड़ों से ढांकते थे । यहां तक कि जब वह बड़े बड़े महाराजाओं और बड़े बड़े विद्वानों से मिले, तब भी उन्हों ने आधा तन ही ढंका, क्योंकि यह ग़रीबों का मुल्क है और वह ग़रीबों को रिप्रेज़ेन्ट करते थे । क्या आज के मिनिस्टर भी ग़रीबों की तरह रहते हैं ? जब प्राहिबिशन की बात कही जाती है, तो महात्मा गांधी का नाम ले लिया जाता है । प्राहिबिशन के बारे में श्री मोरारजी देसाई ने कहा कि यह डायरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल आफ़ स्टेट पालिसी है । मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि डायरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल आफ़ स्टेट पालिसी तो यह भी है कि फ्री एंड कम्पलसरी प्राइमरी एजूकेशन दस बरस में होनी चाहिए थी । डायरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल आफ़ स्टेट पालिसी तो यह भी है कि गोरों की भाषा अंग्रेज़ी को समाप्त कर के हिन्दी चलाई जानी चाहिए थी । इन बातों के लिए तो समय दिया गया है । क्या उन प्रिंसिपल्ज़ को लागू किया गया है ? इस की तुलना में प्राहिबिशन के लिए कोई समय निश्चित नहीं है । सरकार जब भी मुनासिब समझे, उस को लागू कर दे । लेकिन उस के लिए स्टेट पालिसी की आड़ ली जाती है । मैं केवल यह कहना चाहता हूं कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय जिस बम्बई के चीफ़ मिनिस्टर रह चुके हैं, वह उस की पुलिस की रिपोर्ट को देखें । वहां पर आज शराबखोरी बढ़ गई है । हर एक पान की दुकान पर घर में बनी हुई शराब ली जा सकती है । वहां पर क्राइम्ज़ बढ़ रहे हैं और गांव गांव में शराब की भट्टियां लगी हुई हैं ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : इस से ग़रीबों को फ़ायदा पहुंचता है ।

श्री मौर्य : फ़ायदा नहीं, इस से ग़रीबों को नुक़सान पहुंचा है ।

अन्त में मैं कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूं । अगर साल्ट टैक्स लगा दिया जाये, तो उस से करीब पच्चीस करोड़ रुपये मिल जाते हैं । अगर प्राहिबिशन को समाप्त कर दिया जाये, तो उस से करीब १५० करोड़ रुपये मिल जायेंगे । इस के अलावा हमारी इकानोमी को ठीक करने के लिए बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाये । यही नहीं, बल्कि फ़िल्म इंडस्ट्री का भी राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाये । कितने ही ऐसे फ़िल्म आर्टिस्ट और हीरो हैं, जोकि इनकमटैक्स के सम्बन्ध में पचास, साठ या सत्तर हज़ार रुपये का कंट्रैक्ट दिखाते हैं । मैं आप के द्वारा मिनिस्टर साहब को, जोकि हंस रहे हैं, कहना चाहता हूं कि वे लोग वास्तव में पांच लाख से ले कर दस लाख तक लेते हैं । इसलिए यह आवश्यक है कि फ़िल्म इंडस्ट्री का भी राष्ट्रीयकरण कर दिया जाये ।

मेरा सुझाव है कि कम्पलसरी सेविंग की जगह कम्पलसरी इन्शोरेंस लागू किया जाये । सुपर प्राफ़िट टैक्स को समाप्त कर के कार्पोरेशन टैक्स में बढ़ोतरी की जाये ।

इन दो शेरों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त कर दूंगा :

लेता है जहां सिसकी मुफ़लिस का तने लागिर,
मैं ऐसी हुकूमत का पनदार बदल दूंगा ।
फलने न कभी दूंगा मैं जुल्म की टहनी को,
ज़ालिम तेरी कश्ती का पतवार बदल दूंगा ।

आज हर मज़लूम, हर मज़दूर और हर एक दबा हुआ इन्सान यह बात कह रहा है कि या तो शोषण और दमनचक्र को रोको, वर्ना सब्र का दामन हमारे हाथ से छूटेगा, अराजकता आयेगी, असमानता आयेगी और उस अराजकता में यह शैतानियत, यह दमनचक्र मिट कर स्वाहा हो जायेगा, जनजनार्दन का राज होगा, समता आयेगी, एकता आयेगी, भाई-चारा आयगा और राष्ट्र आगे बढ़ेगा ।

पूंजीपतियों की रक्षा करने वाला जो बजट हमारे सामने रखा गया है, मैं करोड़हा-करोड़ शोषितों की आवाज से इस का पूरी शक्ति के साथ विरोध करता हूं ।

श्री भक्त दर्शन (गढ़वाल) : अधिष्ठाता महोदय, मेरी संसद् सदस्यता का यह ग्यारहवां वर्ष है ।

श्री राम सेवक यादव (बाराबंकी) पुराने आदमी हैं आप ।

श्री दाजी (इंदौर) : रिटायर कब होंगे ?

श्री भक्त दर्शन : लेकिन आज मैं पहली बार बजट के ऊपर बोलने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूं । मैं पहले इसलिए नहीं बोला कि कि मैं आर्थिक विषयों पर बोल नहीं सकता था ; लेकिन मैं ने बोलना इसलिए अभी तक उचित नहीं समझा था कि जिन हमारे सुयोग्य वित्तमंत्रियों के हाथों में हमारे आर्थिक नीतियों की बागडोर रही है, उनके सम्बन्ध में मुझे कभी भी कोई सन्देह नहीं रहा है । आज भी इसीलिए मैं इस वाद-विवाद में भाग लेने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूं कि इस बजट के द्वारा हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने और हमारी सरकार ने सारे संसार के, अपने देश की जनता के और स्वयं संसद् सदस्यों के सामने यह घोषणा की है कि हम अपने देश पर जो आक्रमण हुआ है, उसका प्रतिकार करने के लिए कोई भी किमत चुकाने के तैयार हैं ।

इस बजट को तैयार करते समय माननीय वित्त मंत्री महोदय के सामने जो अकथनीय कठिनाइयां थी, उन का यहां उल्लेख करने की आवश्यकता मैं महसूस नहीं करता हूं । एक ओर विदेशी आक्रमण का मुकाबला करने के लिए साधनों को जुटाना और दूसरी ओर हमारे देश के अन्दर विकास का जो इतना बड़ा आयोजन चल रहा है, इसको भी पूरी शक्ती के साथ आगे बढ़ाना—ये जो दो बड़ी कारी परिस्थितियां थीं और जिनके बीच में समन्वय स्थापित करना था और उनका कुशलता के साथ सम्पादन करना था यह कोई हंसी खेल की बात नहीं थी हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने इस बजट के द्वारा जिस साहस का और जिस चातुर्य का तथा जिस दिलेरी का परिचय दिया है, उस के लिए जहां इस सदन के कोने कोने से उन्हें प्रशंसा प्राप्त हो रही है, वहां मैं भी अपनी ओर से अपनी कमजोरी आवाज

श्री राम सेवक यादव : कुछ लोगों के द्वारा प्रशंसा हो रही है ।

श्री भक्त दर्शन : मैं समझता हूं यह बात भी तब साफ हो जायगी जब यह पता चलेगा कि कितने लोग समर्थन कर रहे हैं और कितने विरोध कर रहे हैं । यह तथ्य है कि इस सदन के अधिकांश सदस्यों ने अपनी जोरदार भाषा में उन का समर्थन किया है, उस समर्थन में मैं भी अपनी कमजोर आवाज जोड़ना चाहता हूं ।

श्रीमन्, दो बातें मैं खास तौर से कहना चाहता हूं । तो बजटों का जो मेरा अध्ययन है, वह मुझे यह बताता है कि हम लोग प्रतिवर्ष अपनी आमदनी को कुछ कम दिखलाते रहे हैं और खर्च को अधिक दिखलाते रहे हैं । इस का नतीजा यह होता रहा है कि प्रत्येक वित्त मन्त्री महोदय को देश के सामने और सदन के सामने नए करों के प्रस्ताव ले कर आना पड़ता रहा है । पिछले पांच छः वर्षों के जो आंकड़े हैं वे इस बात के साक्षी हैं कि हम ने जितने घाटे की आशंका की थी, उतने घाटे की पूर्ति ही नहीं हुई बल्कि आखिर में जा कर काफी बचत हुई । उन आंकड़ों को यहां पढ़ने के बजाय मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं और आशा करता हूं कि वह इस के बारे में भी कुछ करेंगे । वह अपनी सूझबूझ के लिए, अपनी

[श्री भक्त दर्शन]

मौलिकता के लिए, अपनी ओरिजिनैलिटी के लिए सदा देश के अन्दर प्रसिद्ध रहे हैं। उन को इस समस्या का पूरी गहराई के साथ अध्ययन करना चाहिये और कोई ऐसी प्रणाली निकालनी चाहिये ताकि जहां तक हो सके इस तरह की जो घटबढ़ है, यह समाप्त हो जाये। मैं स्वीकार करता हूं कि आखिर यह बजट आनुमानिक आंकड़ों के आधार पर ही बनता है और उन के आधार पर ही उन को स्थिर किया जाता है और उन आनुमानिक आंकड़ों में घटबढ़ होने की गुंजाइश रहती है। लेकिन फिर भी मैं इस बात का विश्वास करता हूं कि यदि प्रयत्न किया जाय और इस के लिए पूरी इच्छा शक्ति के साथ कोशिश की जाय तो दो या तीन प्रतिशत का वेरिएशन हो सकता है, अन्तर हो सकता है, उस से अधिक का नहीं होना चाहिए।

दूसरी बात यह है कि सन् १९४८-४९ से अगर हम आंकड़े देखें तो हमें पता चलेगा कि सिविल डिपार्टमेंट्स पर, असैनिक विभागों पर जहां तब ४२.५ प्रतिशत खर्च होता था वहां वह बढ़ कर सन् १९६१-६२ में ५४.७ हो गया, लेकिन जो हमारा रक्षा का व्यय था वह १९४८-४९ में जहां ४३.६ प्रतिशत था, वह घट कर १९.९ ही रह गया। इस वर्ष इस बात का हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने प्रयत्न किया है कि बहुत बड़ी रकम देश की रक्षा के साधनों को जुटाने के लिए रखी जाय। यह ठीक है। लेकिन इस के साथ ही मैं यह भी अनुरोध करना चाहता हूं कि जितना भी गैर जरूरी खर्च है, उस को भी रोकने की आवश्यकता है। मेरे पास इस समय पूरे आंकड़े नहीं हैं लेकिन मेरी जहां तक जानकारी है, हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय और हमारा वित्त मंत्रालय इस बात का प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं कि असैनिक व्यय पर एक सीमा निर्धारित कर दी जाय और उस को आगे न बढ़ने दिया जाय। लेकिन जैसेकि कल मैं ने अनुपूरक अनुदानों की मांगों के सम्बन्ध में भी अपने विचार प्रकट करते हुए निवेदन किया था अभी भी हमारा काफी खर्चा स्टाफ कारों आदि पर हो रहा है। उदाहरण के तौर पर मैं बतलाना चाहता हूं कि सन् १९६०-६१ में १७ लाख २५ हजार ७७१ रुपये स्टाफ़ कारों पर, उन के ड्राइवर्ज पर, उन के शौफ़र्ज पर खर्च किये गये थे। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि इस खर्च को क्यों घटाया नहीं जाता है। अगर इस को घटाया नहीं जा सकता है तो कम से कम नई कारों को लेने का जो हम ने बजट में प्रविधान किया है, इस को तो नहीं करना चाहिये था, इस खर्चे को तो रोक दिया जाना चाहिए था। मैं आशा करता हूं कि इस ओर माननीय मंत्री जी का अवश्य ध्यान जायगा।

अब मैं एक सामान्य बात, एक जनरल बात कहना चाहता हूं। मैं कोई अर्थ शास्त्री नहीं हूं और न मैं ने फाइनेंस के सम्बन्ध में कोई विशेष अध्ययन किया है। लेकिन देश के एक साधारण नागरिक की हैसियत से मैं एक बात माननीय वित्त मंत्री महोदय के सामने रखना चाहता हूं। हम प्रति वर्ष अपने विकास के लिए, अपनी योजना की पूर्ति के लिए कुछ न कुछ नये कर लगाते जा रहे है और उसका परिणाम यह होता है कि इधर कर लगते है और उधर जो खाद्य सामग्री है और हमारी जीवन की अन्य आवश्यक सामग्रियां है उनकी कीमतें बढ़ती जाती है। इसका परिणाम यह होता है कि हमारे जो कर्मचारी है, वे अधिक वेतन की मांग करने लग जाते है जो मजदूर है, वे मजदूरी बढ़ाने की मांग करने लग जाते है तथा जनता को भी इसका कष्ट भोगना पड़ता है। उनकी मांगों की पूर्ति के लिए फिर हमें नये टैक्स लगाने पड़ते है। इस प्रकार से यह जो प्रपंच है, यह जो विशस सर्किल है, इसको हमें तोड़ना होगा। इधर टैक्स बढ़ते जा रहे है, खर्चा बढ़ता जा रहा है, उधर जीवनोपयोगी

वस्तुओं के दाम बढ़ते जा रहे है और इस प्रकार से इस का कहीं कोई अन्त ही नजर नहीं आता है। मैं अनुरोध करना चाहता हूं कि आखिर कहीं पर जा करके तो हम पूर्ण विराम लगायें, इसको पूर्ण विश्राम ं। मैं इस बात को इस अवसर पर इसलिए कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे जो वित्त मंत्री महोदय है, उनकी हमारे विरोधी पक्ष के माननीय सदस्यों ने पचासों तरह से आलोचना की है और उनके स्वभाव के सम्बन्ध में कुछ आलोचना ीक भी हो सकती है। पर एक सब से बड़ी बात जो उन में है और जिस को विरोधी भाई भी स ीकार करेंगे—वह यह है कि जिस बात का एक बार वह निर्णय लेते है और उस पर वह पूरी तरह से अमल कराने की कोशिश करते है, उस पर वह पूरी तरह से ढ़ रहते है। मैं समझता हूं इस समय हमारे देश में कोई ऐसा अन्य आदमी नहीं है जो ऐसी दृढ़ता के साथ, जो ऐसी निर्भीकता के साथ जो निर्णय वह ले लेता है, उस पर वह अमल करता हो। मैं चाहता हूं कि अपनी सूझबूझ, अपनी मौलिकता के आधार पर वे इस समस्या का अध्ययन करके कोई ऐसा रास्ता निकालें, कोई ऐसा मार्ग निकालें, कोई ऐसी नीति निर्धारित करें ताकि कीमत ऊंचे न चढ़ने न पायें तथा कर लगाने की आवश्यकता कम से कम महसूस हो और साथ ही साथ फिजूलखर्ची भी कम हो।

श्री राम सेवक यादव : कोई सुझाव दीजिये।

श्री भक्त दर्शन : यह मत समझिये कि जो विरोधी पक्ष के माननीय सदस्य आलोचना करते है, वे ही देश की सेवा करते है।

मुझ से पहले एक माननीय सदस्य जोकि शोषितों और गरीबों के समर्थक होने का दावा कर रहे थे, उन्होंने जहां और बहुत सी छोटी मोटी बात कहीं वहां अधिक लाभ के ऊपर जो कर लगाया जा रहा है, उसका भी विरोध किया। मेरी समझ में नहीं आया कि आखिर एक ही सांस में दो परस्पर विरोधी बातें कैसे हो सकती है? हमारे साथी जो मेरी बाईं तरफ से बोल रहे थे, श्री डी० डी० पुरी, वह हमारे देश के एक गण्यमान्य उद्योगपति हैं. स्वयं उनकी मिल चलती है और उनकी काफी सम्पत्ति उन मिलों में लगी हुई है; उन्होंने भी इस कर का सिद्धान्त रूप में समर्थन किया है। अगर हम समाजवादी समाज के निर्माण की ओर कदम उठाना चाहते है तो कोई न कोई रास्ता तो निकालना ही पड़ेगा। हां विस्तार की बातों में मतभेद हो सकता है।

अब मैं जो दो तीन कर लगाये जा रहे है. उनके विषय में माननीय वित्त मंत्री महोदय तथा इस सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं। मैं पहले मिट्टी के तेल के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं। मुझ से पहले मेरे मित्र आदरणीय श्री अजित प्रसाद जैन जी ने इस पर प्रकाश डाला है। जब तक हम गांवों में प्रकाश की दूसरी व्यवस्था नहीं करते है, तब तक हमें उनके पास जो थोड़ी बहुत प्रकाश की व्यवस्था है, उसको छीनने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है। मैं इस तर्क को मानने को तैयार हूं कि जहां पहले २२ करोड़ रुपये का विदेशों से मिट्टी के तेल का आयात होता था वहां अब शायद तीस करोड़ का होने लगा है, तथा हम तेल के मामले में विदेशों पर निर्भर रहते हैं। लेकिन हम कई दूसरी चीजों के लिए भी तो विदेशों पर निर्भर है; और क्या इसकी वजह से हमें उनकी कीमत बढ़ाने की छूट होनी चाहिये? मैं इससे सहमत नहीं हो सकता हूं। हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने १०.२५ करोड़ रुपये की छूट खाद्य तैलों पर देने की घोषणा की है। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि मिट्टी के तेल पर कर लगा दिया जाये, एक्साइज ड्यूटी लगा दी जाये, उत्पादन शुल्क लगा दिया जाये और जो खाद्य तैल है, एडीबल आयल्ज हैं, उन पर छूट दे दी जाये, यह कहां तक ीक है, यह तो नाक को उलटा पकड़ने की प्रक्रिया मालम पड़ती है। अतः यह जो सीधा उत्पादन शुल्क मिट्टी के तेल पर लगाया

[श्री भक्त दर्शन]

जा रहा है, इसको समाप्त करने की घोषणा माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी को करनी चाहिये ।

अब मैं अनिवार्य बचत योजना के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूं । आज एक साहब जो शुरू में बोल रहे थे उन्होंने इसका बड़ा मजाक उड़ाने का प्रयत्न किया और कहा कि बाद में हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय "अनिवार्य महा-निद्रा आयोजन जैसी कोई योजना भी चलायेंगे ? लेकिन मेरा यह निश्चित मत है कि यह सही दिशा म कदम उठाया जा रहा है । हम लोगों को यह प्रयत्न करना चाहिये कि कुछ दिनों में अनिवार्य बीमा योजना लागू कर दी जाये । मैं इस में श्री मौर्य का समर्थन करूंगा कि अनिवार्य बीमे की योजना को सोच समझ कर लागू किया जाना चाहिये । विस्तार की बातों में मतभेद हो सकता है । श्री अजित प्रसाद जैन जी ने आज मुझ से पहले बोलते हुए कहा था कि जो साधारण किसान हैं, उन में किस तरीके से इसको लागू किया जाये, यह एक बड़ा विचारणीय प्रश्न है । इस को लागू करने में कुछ जटिलतायें आ सकती हैं जिस का दूसरा पहलू यह भी हो सकता है कि रुपया प्राप्त करने की हमारी आशायें पूरी न हों । इस बजट के अन्दर १०५ करोड़ रु० की प्राप्ति की आशा छोटी बचत योजनाओं से की जा रही है । मैं समझता हूं कि जब अनिवार्य बचत होने लगेगी तो शायद उस में रुपया जमा नहीं होगा । इसी तरीके से जो राष्ट्रीय रक्षा कोष है, मुझे आशंका है कि उस के लिये भी चन्दा देना शायद बन्द हो जायेगा, क्योंकि अनिवार्य रूप से देने वाले वही व्यक्ति हैं जिन के सीमित साधन हैं । आखिर कितनी दिशाओं में वे देश के आर्थिक निर्माण में सरकार का साथ दे पायेंगे ? इसलिये मेरा खयाल है कि इस पर और गम्भीरता से सोचने की आवश्यकता है अनिवार्य बचत योजना में, खास तौर से किसानों के लिये, एक सीमा निर्धारित होनी चाहिये । हमारे बहुत से एकानमिस्ट्स के दिमाग में यह भ्रम पैदा हो गया है कि किसानों की हालत पहले से बहुत अच्छी है । मैं स्वीकार करता हूं कि किसानों की हालत पहले से अवश्य कुछ सुधर गई है । जहां हम झोंपड़ियां देखते थे वहां अब पक्के मकान बनने लगे हैं, गांवों के अन्दर हम थोड़ा बहुत सड़कों का निर्माण करा रहे हैं, पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था को फैला रहे हैं . . . .

एक माननीय सदस्य : वह अपर्याप्त है । इस ओर कदम बहुत नहीं बढ़ा है ।

श्री भक्त दर्शन : मैं समझता हूं कि इस सम्बन्ध में मुझे माननीय सदस्य से गम्भीर मतभेद प्रकट करना पड़ेगा । कदम जरूर आगे बढ़ा है । लेकिन सवाल यह है जैसा कि हमारे योजना आयोग के आंकड़ों ने स्वयम् इस बात को सिद्ध किया है, कि अभी भी गांवों में ४० प्रतिशत व्यक्ति ऐसे हैं जिन्हें भर पेट भोजन भी उपलब्ध नहीं है । कई वर्षों के प्रयत्नों के बावजूद, प्रगति की दिशा में कदम उठने के बावजूद भी हम सम्पन्नता की स्थिति को नहीं पहुंच सके हैं । इस लिये इस समस्या के सम्बन्ध में मैं न तो 'हां' कह सकता हूं और न ही 'न' कह सकता हूं । पर मैं यही कहना चाहता हूं कि इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार होना चाहिये और गांव के लोगों के बारे में कोई न कोई सीमा निर्धारित होनी चाहिये । हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने कहा है कि जिन को मालगुजारी १ रु० से कम है उन पर यह योजना लागू नहीं की जायेगी । मैं समझता हूं कि १ रु० की छट बहुत कम है । इस के माने यह होंगे कि आप किसानों से ५० न० पै० प्रति वर्ष वसूल करेंगे । उन को वह बाद में जा कर किस तरीके से रिफंड होगा, इस में बहुत डिटेल का सवाल है । मैं चाहता हूं कि इस के लिये अधिक की सीमा निर्धारित होनी चाहिये और जो लोग दस रुपया, बीस रुपया या तीस रुपया या अधिक की मालगुजारी देने वाले हैं, उन्हीं के ऊपर यह अनिवार्य बचत योजना लागू की जाये ।

जहां तक डाक घरों का सम्बन्ध है, मैं उन सदस्यों में से रहा हूं जो डाक तार की सुविधायें बढ़ाने के लिये संघर्ष करते रहे हैं। इस विभाग ने जनता की बड़ी सेवा की है, विशेषकर उन पिछड़े हुए इलाकों के अन्दर, सुनसान या निर्जन इलाकों के अन्दर जहां पर कोई भी प्रगति की निशानी नहीं थी, बल्कि मैं तो कहूंगा कि बहुत से ऐसे इलाके हैं जहां पर खाली डाक खाने का खुलना ही स्वराज्य की पहली निशानी है। वहां पर न कोई बांध बन सकता है और न रेल जा सकती है और हवाई जहाज तो केवल स्वप्न की चीज है, लेकिन वहां पर डाक घरों की सुविधा हो जाने से लोगों को स्वराज्य के आनन्द का कुछ आभास मिला है। लेकिन जब यह कहा जाता है कि पोस्ट कार्डों पर करोड़ों रुपयों का नुक्सान हो रहा है, तो वह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती। जहां तक डाक तार विभाग का सम्बन्ध है, मैं उस का बारीकी से अध्ययन करने वाला एक सदस्य रहा हूं। प्रति वर्ष डाक-तार विभाग की आमदनी बढ़ती चली जा रही है। अगर एक खाते में कुछ कमी होती है, मान लिया जाय कि घाटा भी होता है, तो कई अन्य शाखाओं में उस की आय अधिक हुई है। इसलिये मैं खास तौर से वित्त मंत्री महोदय से अनुरोध करना चाहता हूं कि पोस्ट कार्ड की जो कीमत बढ़ाई जा रही है, उस पर पुनाविचार करने की बहुत आवश्यकता है। यह कह देना कि एक पोस्ट कार्ड की कीमत ८ न० पै० आती है उचित नहीं है। मैं समझता हूं कि इस पर भी विभाग को गम्भीरता से विचार करना चाहिये कि क्या सस्ता कार्ड नहीं बनाया जा सकता। उन को देखना चाहिये कि इस से घटा कर कितनी कीमत पोस्ट कार्ड की आती है। इस सदन के माननीय सदस्यों को जो स्टेशनरी मिलती है उस में बना बनाया पोस्ट कार्ड भी मिलता है। जब आप ने अपने पोस्ट कार्ड की कीमत ८ न० पै० आंकी है तो अगर कोई अपना पोस्ट कार्ड लगा कर भेजे और उस के ऊपर भी उस को ५ या ६ न० पै० पड़े तो यह कोई न्याय की बात नहीं मालूम होती क्योंकि पोस्ट कार्ड का कागज बनाने में ज्यादा पैसा लगता है न कि उस के ऊपर मोहर लगाने में। इस लिये इस पर विचार करने की आवश्यकता है। और चीजों में जो बढोतरी की जा रही है, मैं उस का विरोध नहीं करता, लेकिन जहां तक पोस्ट कार्ड का सवाल है उस पर फिर से गम्भीरतापूर्वक विचार किया जाना चाहिये क्योंकि गरीबों के लिये यही एकमात्र साधन है।

अब मैं एक ही बात कह कर अपना वक्तव्य समाप्त करता हूं। यहां पर बहुत से मित्रों ने जो हमारा मद्य निषेध का कार्यक्रम चल रहा है उसे समाप्त करने की मांग रखी है। मैं समझता हूं कि अगर हमारे देश में कोई अपनी विशेषता है, कोई अपना व्यक्तित्व है, तो वह यह है कि हम ने गांधी जी के बतलाये मार्ग पर स्वाधीनता को प्राप्त किया। हम जानते हैं कि हमारे अन्दर भी कमजोरियां हैं, हम गांधी जी के मार्ग पर पूरी तरह नहीं चल सक रहे हैं। परिस्थितियों ने हमें मजबूर कर दिया है कि हम उन में सुधार करें, कुछ संशोधन करें, लेकिन जो कार्यक्रम आज वर्षों से चल रहा हैं उसे हम इस समय केवल एकानमी के नाम पर, रुपया प्राप्त करने के नाम पर, समाप्त कर दें, इस का मैं घोर विरोध करना चाहता हूं। मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार को इस बात के लिए बधाई देना चाहता हूं कि कुछ राज्य सरकारों के जोर डालने पर भी उन्होंने मद्य निषेध को समाप्त न करने की घोषणा की है। उस के अन्दर जो कमियां हैं उन्हें दूर करना चाहिये, लेकिन इस के मतलब यह नहीं हैं कि जिस कार्यक्रम को हम इतने वर्षों तक परिश्रम कर के इस स्टेज पर लाये हैं, उसे समाप्त कर दें। मैं मद्य निषेध के सम्बन्ध में एक और बात कहना चाहता हूं, और वह यह है कि मेरा अपना व्यक्तिगत विश्वास है कि जब तक सरकारी कर्मचारियों पर, मुझे क्षमा करें, यहां तक कि मंत्रियों पर, यहां तक कि हमारे संसद सदस्यों

[श्री भक्त दर्शन]

पर, विधान सभा के सदस्यों पर भी यह अनिवार्य रूप से नहीं लागू किया जायेगा कि वे मद्य निषेध का पूरी तरह से पालन करें, तब तक हम इस को पूरी तरह से सफल नहीं कर सकते । अभी पिछले दिनों मेरे एक प्रश्न के उत्तर में माननीय गृह मंत्री जी ने बतलाया था कि 'सर्विस कंडेक्ट रूल्स' में कुछ संशोधन किये जा रहे हैं

एक माननीय सदस्य : लेकिन हम को स्वास्थ्य की दृष्टि से भी सोचना पड़ेगा ।

श्री भक्त दर्शन : मिनिस्टरों में से अधिकांश नहीं पीते, कुछ हो सकते हैं ।

श्री भागवत झा आजाद: उस तरफ के मेम्बर भी तो पीते हैं ।

श्री भक्त दर्शन : मैं मेम्बर्स को भी कह रहा हूं । अगर मेरा सुझाव मान लिया जाय तो एलेक्शन रूल्स में यह शर्त हो जानी चाहिये कि कम से कम जो आदमी बुरी तरह से शराब पीते हैं, ऐसे भी लोग हो सकते हैं जिन की ज्यादा आदत पड़ गई है, वे मेम्बरी के लिये खड़े नहीं हो सकते । अगर यह चीज हो जाती ह तो इस का असर पड़ने वाला है और इस से बड़ा भारी मनोवैज्ञानिक वातावरण पैदा हो जायेगा ।

अन्त में, मैं आप को धन्यवाद देते हुए जो कर प्रस्ताव हैं उन का मोटे तौर से सैद्धान्तिक रूप से समर्थन करता हूं, इसलिये कि आज हमारे देश के लिये कुर्बानी करने की, त्याग करने की आवश्यकता है, जिस से हम साबित करना चाहते हैं कि अपने देश से चीनी आक्रमण को समाप्त करने के लिये हम कितने दृढ़ प्रतिज्ञ हैं ।

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee (Ratnagiri): Mr. Chairman, on the 28th of last month when the Finance Minister presented his Budget from all quarters—whatever it was, rightist, leftist and so on—I think we all agreed on one point, that he is a very bold man, because his Budget has been attacked from all sides. The poor man has suffered; his spokesmen are there to plead his case. The rich man, of course, has newspapers and his publicity agencies; so for the last one week or so, the newspapers have been full of the 'SPT'. I do not think the poor man's lot is described so sympathetically and so widely. Nevertheless, it is true that the burden of this taxation has fallen very heavily on the poor man.

We appreciate the need for indirect taxation and, to that extent, we realise that the responsibility at this moment of our national emergency falls as much on the poor man as on the rich man, that the prime need of the moment is that we build up our defence equipment and that along with that we should also see that our development programmes, both social and economic, are continued.

The Finance Minister has said that he requires an extra Rs. 450 crores, out of which Rs. 305 crores will come from taxation and about Rs. 150 crores from deficit financing. He has said that indirect taxation as on kerosene must be imposed, and, as Dhebarbhai has mentioned, this is an investment in our national freedom. I would like to say that when we consider the fiscal policies proposed by the Finance Minister, we should do so in the light of the following tests: Does the policy raise additional revenues, such revenues as we need for our defence requirements and to keep up our economic and social development? Does the policy fit into our economic plan? Is the policy administratively effective? In the light of these, I would like to state that the compulsory saving scheme, which starts with an annual income of Rs. 1,500, is not really administratively feasible; nor does it seem to me to be very justifiable.

16 hrs.

A family which has to live on Rs. 1,500 a year has admittedly on paper an ncome of Rs. 125 a month. This is five times the *per capita* income of the country, and therefore he can well afford to pay the 3 per cent of compulsory saving. Recently I have been meeting some factory workers, ordinary industrial workers, apart from wage-earners, whom the Finance Minister has excluded. This is what I have learnt. In point of fact, the man earning Rs. 125 a month, sees only about Rs 80 after payment of provident fund, employee's insurance, interest on loan etc. Out of this he has to give up Rs. 4 approximately per month. We have also to take into consideraton the increase in the price levle whih has come about not only in those rticles on which new taxes have bee imposed, but also in other articles, ie day-to-day articles like grain, att rice, fish etc. Within the last six onths or so I am told the price inde has gone up by 20 points. So, in poi; of fact, he sees only about Rs. 60. Fr him it is a real hardship to give three or four rupees a month.

The nuber of people who earn between R 1,500 and Rs. 3,500 a year —I got thfigures from the Planning Commissio—is about 34 lakhs, and the assess income of these people is about l 724 crores per year. I suggest th:the Rs. 1,500 to Rs. 2,500 level shou be left out of the compulsory saig scheme, because at that level of ime it is a hardship for a man to p even Rs. 4 a month. And what woulbe the loss to the Exchequer? It kalculated that on Rs. 724 crores, at out 3 per cent, it would be about R21 crores. The approximately loss you exempt people up to Rs. 2,500er annum will be about Rs. 15 crore These people, in order to pay for is compulsory saving scheme, wo perhaps have to borrow from t provident fund, and some of the are so badly off that they are noble to contribute even the maximui amount which they are allowed contribute to the provident fi So, I would request the Finance Minister to reconsider this and find out whether up to Rs. 2,500 this 3 per cent saving cannot be spared. It is not that these people are lacking in national effort, in patriotism. They have told me that they have worked on Sundays and given the proceeds of their work to the National Defence Fund. They are prepared to give in personal effort, in labour, but they cannot bear any extra financial burden. This may be the last straw which breaks the camel's back. It is for the Finance Minister and his experts to work out whether they cannot be excluded from the scheme, whether the scheme cannot start from the minimum limit of Rs. 2,500 a year.

The super profits tax is admittedly a tax on corporations, but it will have its effects on the class of people I have mentioned. I do not think it has struck many people that if the company's available surpluses are reduced, the first people who will suffer at the hands of the management will be the labourers, because their bonuses are going to be affected. Of course, it does not necessarily follow, but it will follow, and the immediate effect will be felt by them. That is not all. It is not going to stop at that. It is going to create discontent and unrest among industrial labour. It is going to reduce production capacity. At this time we can hardly afford to bring in any kind of reduction in national productivity, for we are faciling a challenge not only from an enemy on our frontiers, but a challenge within the country, the challenge of having to keep up our progress in our economic and industrial development and the development of our social welfare schemes. Therefore, if we are to reach our Plan targets of production and economic and industrial development, it is time we considered this.

I am fully in agreement with the Finance Minister that the corporate sector should be taxed to the maximum that it can contribute to the national effort, but I would urge that the policy adopted should be such that it does not increase our problem of unemployment, such that it gives en-

[Shrimati Sharda Mukherjee]

couragement to further industrialisation and expansion of our industrial programmes. I was told by the labourers and factory workers that it is the responsibility and the duty of Government to realise that if their production bonuses were affected, there would be serious trouble, and that this might set in motion a string of troubles which would be difficult to handle.

It is the intention of the Government to curb consumption in the form of dividends. It is also the intention of the Government to see that investment is increased. Therefore, I would suggest that the Finance Minister should substitute a different type of tax for the super profits tax. I would say that the 50 per cent corporation tax which exists today should be left as it is. From the residue of the profits, about 15 per cent may be collected by the Government and kept with the Reserve Bank for a period of five or ten years, as long as the Government thinks necessary to tide over the period of emergency. At the end of ten years it may be returned with a low rate of interest, say 2½ per cent. To mop up the rest there could be a tax on dividends of 20 per cent or so. In case the companies did not pay dividends, and did not pay dividend tax, but kept the profits in reserves, these will again be ploughed back into the company's development programme. You will get your 50 per cent and 25 per cent which you can keep in the Reserve Bank. There will be then the corporation tax and the dividend tax which will also be paid by the individual receiving dividend.

I may also add that the super profits tax does not really fulfil the purpose for which it is imposed because it not only creates no incentive but it can also be avoided by increasing the cost of production and by showing expenses which may be difficult to detect. If you want to curtial consumption, you are just doing the opposite by imposing this taxation because you are making it possible to spend more money. It is time that we became realistic and we stopped talking about high ideals. The only thing which operates in the private sector is the profit motive and if you do not realise this and if you are going to say that everyone should work for patriotic reasons alone, you are starting on the wrong footing. As long as the private sector remains, if you want its co-operation, you may as well realise it and make the best use of it.

I shall conclude by making three suggestions. One is that the compulsory saving should be reduced. The second is that the super-profits tax should be substituted by a different form of tax which will give the necessary revenues to the Government without curtailing the incentive and investment in the corporate sector. Thirdly, I request the Finance Minister to reconsider the very heavy taxation on kerosene which is an article of almost indispensible use to the poor man. Thank you, Mr. Chaman.

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Calcutta South West): Sir, listening to the debate for the last two days I have an uneasy feeling that some sort of shadow boxing is going on. I would like to dispose of this apprehension in my mind. This is over the question of the super profits tax.

16.16 hrs.

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

Just now Mrs Mukerjee has made a very original criticism for the first time that it is likely to hurt the labour

Shrimati Sharda Mukherjee: It is quite true.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: is a very enlightened line of approach and I think the other business in this country might well be raised to be

so tactful. Outside this House there is for the last few days a sort of undeclared war going on on this issue of super profits tax. The great stock exchanges of this country are virtually on strike for the last few days and on impression is sought to be given that Shri Desai has for some unknown reasons suddenly become transformed into some sort of a leftist or a socialist doctrinaire and wishes to hurt the private sector..(*An Hon. Member*: A fellow traveller) I did not use that expression. Those who are opposing this tax vehemently and those who are supporting the Government seem to try to create this atmosphere as though something very revolutionary has been forced through this tax. There is so much controversy over this single issue that I am afraid the lot of the poor man is tending to be forgotten. Of course some lip service is being paid to it by everybody. (*Interruptions.*) I am not an exception.

Why has the Government deliberately put the assessment of revenue from this tax at Rs. 25 crores when everybody who understands anything about economics knows that this is a gross underestimation? Some explanation must be given for this. The *Economic Times* puts it at Rs. 36 crores; some of the stock exchanges put it at Rs. 40 crores with which Shri Puri speaking a little while ago agreed. (*An Hon Member*: Somebody says 110 crores). I say it is near about Rs. 100 crores. If you study the returns of the companies through the Reserve Bank bulletins it will not be less than Rs. 100 crores. Is this figure put in here because the Government apprehends that there is going to be wide spread evasion? It may be that the companies will take a hint from this under estimation. Of course it is not necessary to give them hints. I am sure they know how to evade it. Many Members even on that side referred to the practices which are well known in the business world and there will also be a tendency, as the last speaker put it, for them to inflate their costs and expenditure so as to bring down the level of declared profits in such a way as not to attract the incidence of this tax; it is not difficult to do it. We know the kind of people we are dealing with and many complimentary references have been made to them in the course of this debate and I do not wish to add to them. I was going through the sixth report of the Public Accounts Committee which shows that the test audit of 1621 cases has shown a loss of revenue of Rs. 120.77 lakhs due to under-assessment. A test audit of a mere 572 cases shows concealed in come of Rs. 50.50 crores which means a tax liability of Rs. 24.33 crores. According to the same report the gross arrears of income and corporation tax as on 1-4-61 stood at Rs. 29 crores. We are not dealing with small money. These are gentlemen who know how to do these things. My contention is that it is exactly the failure of the Government to use this weapon of direct taxation efficiently in the past which has produced the Dalmia Jain group and such affairs as are exposed by the Vivian Bose Commission report. I wonder if perhaps this tax also is not proposed altogether as a sort of disinterested move solely by the Government. I have a feeling and I have no means of proving it, that some sort of a factional quarrel is involved between different groups of our capitalists. I have a feeling that certain groups perhaps having more right of access to the Government's ear than the others or perhaps having a little more effective influence on the Government would like this tax to be imposed and precisely in this manner so that it would strengthen their position in relation to their competitors in Certain lines of production. Because, obcviously this tax discriminates against complaines with a lower capital base and reserve. I am not pleading for these people at all. It is their domestic quarrel and family capital base and reserve. I am not I am not pleading for anybody. I am just trying to put this angle here: that

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

the mere fact that there is general uproar in the country by all business concerns, and the people representing them, should not blind us to the fact that in certain cases it will be advantageous to certain types of industrial concerns, whereas it will discriminate against others. Old companies, new companies small companies, big companies, all sorts of things have been mentioned here—and companies which have come into existence with very high proportion or ratio of capital and reserves and those very old traditional industries in our country, some of which have been functioning for years long before Independence, which were able at one time to function with very low capital all sorts of things— may be involved in this. But what I can see is this. If it is only Rs. 25 crores which is going to be realised, it is hardly worth-while creating such a commotion about this. But apart from that, the overall effect of this tax in general is, I think, as somebody else has said just now, that it will put a premium on all sorts of shady business practices by perhaps some people who have not been indulging in it so far. I feel that this tax may operate in such a manner that actually Messrs Dalmia Jain may become the model which many people would aspire to, as far as their business practices are concerned.

However, that is for the Government to cope with, with its company law administration, etc., etc. The actual realisation from this tax, therefore, in my opinion, is going to be a very doubtful affair as the Government have started in a most half-hearted fashion by saying that all they except is Rs. 25 crores.

As far as the question of its acting as a disincentive to foreign investment is concerned, I think that a bogey which has been created by some people. I think our present Finance Minister is the last man to do anything which would act as a disincentive to foreign capital coming into our country. I think the British foreign concerns in particular are big companies. After all, the British companies have the bulk of the foreign capital invested in this country and they are not generally very small or weak concerns. They are people who come herewith branches or subsidiaries with collaboration or agreements; they are generally concerns which are quite big an are well established, giant monopoly concerns operating from their own country or even on a global basis.

I think we must remember that the Chairman of the Federation of British Industries, Sir Norman Kipping, who was in this country only the other day, made a very pithy remark. I am sure the Deputy Minister is well aware of it; Sir Norman Kipping said in his report which he submitted to the British Government, on his return home from India, that anyone who invests in India is a sucger, and anyone who does not invest in India is a bigger sucker. That is the condition in which the British industry is. They cannot prosper anymore through simple trading. They know that one of their outlets for investments is in India. I think that some of them probably know it very well that to counter-balance whatever so-called disincentives that may be imposed, there are so many other splended incentives which have been given For example, why should we forget this? Our memory should not be so short. There are tax holidays for newly-started industries; the development rebate of 25 per cent on new machinery; an indefinite carry forward of business losses which is allowed; the abolition of the wealth-tax; the abolition of the expenditure-tax; the tax on new bonus issues which has been reduced from 30 per cent to 12½ per cent. All these things are there. Just because this super profits tax has been proposed, a big outcry starts about disincentive. I think this thing should be seen in its

proper perspective or proportion. My only concern, rather, my worry is, that there seems to be a likelihood—I hope not—since the press reports say that the Finance Minister has given some sort of assurance in Bombay....

An Hon. Member: No, no.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: I should like to hear the "No, no" from him and not from his supporters?—that there will be some modification. In today's *Statesman*, in the column under Calcutta City News, it is said—

Shri Kashi Ram Gupta (Alwar): How can he do it in Bombay unless he has given it in the House?

Shri Indrajit Gupta:—that as a result of his meeting the Bombay Stock Exchange people, to day, for the first time, the share market has recovered in Calcutta, and the prices are steady for the firsttime since the Budget was announced. Therefore, I am a little apprehensive because the stock-exchange remains a barometer which is not altogether something to be lightly brushed aside. So, I hope very much that the Finance Minister will not yield to that kind of pressure.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: That Bombay report is not correct.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: Thank you very much. The reason why I say this is, generally speaking, nobody in this House, not even the spokesman of the Swatantra Party, dare to challenge, the size of the budget or to question it. That is obvious in the very nature of things. We cannot do it. Everybody realise that development and defence taken together would require a big budget. Of course, when the Government imposes a responsibility on the people to give it such huge revenues, it is also the responsibility of the Government to give an account of their money, to spend it wisely and well.

16.26 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair.*]

We do not know yet how this money is proposed to be sent, particularly with regard to the sum of Rs. 867 crores on account of defence. Of course, we shall be discussing it in detail when we come to the Defence Ministry's Grants. But that responsibility is equally well on the Government. The reason why I raise this point is that our quarrel with the budget is never about the size of it. The quarrel is with the pattern of the budget. I just wish to make one or two points to show that it is thoroughly inequitable budget. Nobody grudes to make a sacrifice. Is there anybody in this House to come forward and say that the common people of this country have lagged behind in the matter of making sacrifices? Nobody. So, it is not that they will not make greater sacrifices if necessary. But the point is whether the sacrifices that they are called upon to make and the sacrifices these richer people in the upper income brackets are required to make,—whether these two things—are even equaly balanced; let alone anything else. It is there that I feel, as many speakers have said,—and I do not wish to repeat them—that there is an obvious tendency in the budget which is going the wrong way, in my opinion.

Mrs. Joan Robinson, a well-known British economist—I am sure the Deputy Minister knows she is in Delhi at this very moment—has had this to say, after being in India during this period of emergency:

> "The British economy went a long way towards socialism under the impact of war. Paradoxically, the emergency here has not strengthened those who are in favour of equality, development and social Justice. On the contrary, it is the rightwing element with intimate links with the private sector who will be profiting from the emergency".

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

Mrs. Joan Robinson is not considered to be a terribly radical person and she is considered generally to be a good friend of India, but even she had to make this observation. Therefore, this is a question which must be seriously considered by the Government even at this hour: whether you are not in fact imposing an inequitable burden upon those sections of the people who are least able to bear it. If you feel that after listening to the consensus of opinion expressed in Parliament that there is room and there is need to make modifications and revisions, you will not hesitate to do so.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: For the benefit of the hon. Member who is so knowledgeable, I may refer him to the speech of the Prime Minister, which he made in reply to the debate on the President's Address in the Rajya Sabha where he enunciated as to how the roots of socialism have got to be strengthened while going through the emergency.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: Now, I come to the question of compulsory deposits; many points have been made already and I do not wish to repeat them. The question of land revenue has been raised. I support that idea: that there must be some minimum level of exemption. Why should double standards be applied? In one case, it is Rs. 1,500—the minimum base. Even that, I consider to be a gross injustice. But in the case of these paying land revenue or those paying urban house property tax, why should there be no minimum? I do not understand it. Why should somebody who pays Rs. 5 or Rs. 10 in the whole year as land revenue be compelled to surrender 50 per cent as deposit? Why? This should be considered. I think the average uneconomic land holidings or something like that should be taken as the base. It should be calculated as to what the income and revenue on that is, and a minimum figure should be fixed below which the people will be exempt.

Then there is the question of compulsory deposit by employees—both under the Government and in the private sector. They are already contributing to the provident fund, apart from some other contributions that they make—things like the Employees' State Insurance and so on. I do not understand it. When all the trade unions in this country, without any exception, including the INTUC, have for years been pressing the Government to raise the rate of provident fund from 6¼ per cent to 8—1/3 per cent, the Government for years together hesitated, delayed it, went into all questions of enquiry and so on, simply because the employers were objecting. Finally, after much labour, they produced a recommendation that only four industries in this country should be permitted to raise the rate of contribution. If that rate of contribution had been raised, I have calculated that at least a sum of Rs. 13 crores extra in the form of savings would have accrued. They did not do that. But now they come forward with a compulsory deposit scheme whereby a person who is adready contributing to the provident fund and may be also to the Life Insurance, Employees' State Insurance or Contributory Health Insurance etc. has to make yet another compulsory deposit. At the lower income salary level, I would like o know whether this has got any relation to reality, to that man's requirements and his resources. This is some sort of dream world that the Finance Minister seems to be living in.

I am surprised how anybody can be so utterly isolated from reality. How can these people getting Rs. 150 or Rs. 200 per month cope with this kind of thing? I feel what you will get by one hand from this compulsory deposit, you may very well lose in the course of a year two when there is

a decline in the insurance and provident fund accounts. What do you gain by taking something with one and giving away with the other? other? Therefore, I feel that in this case too the provident fund contributors should be exampted at least at the lower levels.

About the increase in nicome-tax, I have one point to make. I do not want to repeat what has been already said. We are badly in need of tecnical personnel. But so many engineers, scientists and all sorts of technically qualified Indians are abroad. We know several thousands of them employed abroad and also studying abroad with the object of getting employment abroad. Is it not in the national interest to try to bring them back at this time when we are so desperately short of technicians? But if at all aything acts as a disincentive, the way this income-tax has been calculated and the way that this incidence will fall on the middle income groups particularly, will act as a disincentive to bring them back to this country. Why should they come back? They can get plenty of employment in the U. K. and other countries. But we want them to come back and serve our country. Please consider it. This is not the way to treat these people. I am just mentioning one minor point; I do not go into all the injustices on the lower income brackets.

On the question of excise duties, here again, may I ask humbly, why of all things kerosene has been selected? The answer given as far as I know is to save foreign exchange. But it means that kerosene oil will not be available to people for the purpose of lighting or cooking. Nowadays perhaps hundreds of thousands of middle-class people cook on kerosene stoves. Its use as lighting is known to everybody. If this supply is drastically reduced or cut off or if its price becomes prohibitive, what is the alternative which the people will have to turn to? Naturally other forms of oil.

I want to know whether the Finance Ministry has calculated how the foreign exchange earning exports of other oils and oilseeds will be affected. Here you are cutting down kerosene oil because you want to save foreign exchange. I find from some paper submitted by the Commerce and Industry Ministry that this year essential and non-essential vegetable oils and oil cakes which constitute a major export item from India have yielded between April 1962 and January 1963 a sum of Rs. 37.45 crores. They have earned so much of foreign exchange for us. Has any calculation been made? You say on the one hand that you are saving foreign exchange on account of kerosene. But the whole bulk of the demand will be diverted and has to be diverted to other oils. Otherwise, there is no other alternative for the people except that people must live in darkness and in their homes there must be no light. Of course, I am tempted to say something about the Ministers, how their houses are ablaze with light and all that. But I will not go into that. Do you want the people to live in darkness? So, they will have to divert their consumption to other oils. If this vast population of ours, bulk of which lives in the country side, switches over from kerosene to other oils and oilseeds, you lose foreign exchange there. Is it worth it? Has it been calculated? I do not know. I would like to know. I was amazed to read somewher a reply by the Finance Minister that he has reduced the duty on some edible oils. It is very good; but how is that a compensation for kerosene? Nobody eats kerosene to my knowledge.

Another thing I find is that the duty is to be imposed on only processed oil and not on unprocessed oils. I am told the Central Board of Revenue has already issued instructions that this excise duty should begin to be realised on processed oils. As far as I know, ordinary edible oils are not processed, but they are filtered. It is a very ordinary stage of filtering.

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

I am told that the definition that has been given of processing includes filtering, which means that filtering will also be given up now. Then what will happen? Do you want us to suffer a general decline in public health by consuming unfiltered oil? These things must be got nto. I would also humbly request that this question of kerosene should be reconsidered.

I come to the question of price-line. I really feel very sorry for my hon. friend, the Minister of Planning. I wish he were here. I am reminded of the prolonged and agonising debate on the price-line, which went on from session to session, for three sessions. That carefully erected edifice which the poor Minister of Planning built up of assurances and promises in this House as to how the price-lne was going to be held, all that beautiful edifice has been reduced to shambles by one blow by his colleague. This budget gives birth to the most monstrous inflationary forces and the baby which is born is left to be suckled by the Planning Minister. Poor man, I do not know what he is feeling now.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma (Khammam): At the same time, you do not want to freeze consumption.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: On the 1st March, one day after the budget proposals were announced, according to the Financial Correspondent of the Times of India the prices of a wide variety of consumer goods had already gone up by 3 to 5 per cent. On the 6th March—I had given a calling attention notice on this, which has not yet been admitted and so I raise it now—the Government of India by a notification under the Essential Articles Price Control Order, 1963 under the Defence of India Rules, announced certain maximum prices for kerosene, vegetable products, washing soap, printing and writing paper and said that these increased prices would be charged immediately with immediate effect by dealers, irrespective of the fact whether the enhanced duty has been paid or not. I would like to (now what is the meaning of this. I do not know whether a point of order can be raised on this or not; I cannot raise it just now, but it should be considered. These are proposals which are before Parliament; they have not yet been accepted and the Government comes forward with a Defence of India notification saying these maximum prices can be charged immediately even though the enhanced duties may not have been paid. Is this the way the price-line is going to be held? Anyway, our past experience does not give us any confidence . . .

Shri B. R. Bhagat: But the duty comes into operation immediately.

Shri Daji: But you are allowing even those retailers who have not paid the duty to charge the higher price.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: I feel that if the Defence of India Rules are properly used in the way in which they should be used, they can be an effective check both on wholesale and retail dealers. The testing time has come. When the price-line debate was concluding, Nandaji warned that the testing time had not yet come and we should not be complacent. Now the testing time has come; it is a self-imposed test by the Government. Therefore, I want to see how the Government uses these powers now, though I may say, even though it may sound cynical, that I have no confidence at all that the Government will be able to hold the price-line.

Therefore, if prices are not held, where will be the quality of sacrifice, I do not know. If the object of this is to cut consumption, there is an assumption underlying it that it is the ordinary man the common citizen, the ordinary consumer who is responsible for the major part of this inflationary demand for commodities. I do not think that it is correct. It may be partly correct, but I feel that if

there is one biggest single factor which makes for inflationary demand in this country, it is the spending of the Government and its departments. Sir, Shri Mehr Chand Khanna tells us that a sum of Rs. 3 crores is spent every year simply for the purchase of government stationery and I am sure you will agree that whatever government stationery circulates within our purview is certainly capable of some economy. I think it is very obvious to everybody. But the point is, nothing is said here, no effective measures are outlined as to how this expenditure of the government and its own ministries can be drastically reduced, and the whole brunt of cutting down consumption is placed on the common consumr, the public, the common man.

Regarding the price line, Sir, on the 3rd November, at the most acute hour of this crisis, organised labour, the employers and the government were called to Delhi for the famous tripartite conference where the industrial truce resolution was accepted. That was a tripartite agreement standing on three legs responsibly accepted by the workers, the employers and the government. A solemn pledge was given on behalf of the government in terms of the industrial truce resolution that the price line would be held, prices would not be allowed to rise and in exchange for it the labour gave up its right to strike. The employers held out a good lot of assurances that they would give a lot of things (*Interruption*). I want to know whether Government has considered or not the possible impact of this on the industrial truce resolution. I do not mean to say this as a threat. I do not wish to be misunderstood.

The Minister of Shipping in the Ministry of Transport and Communications (Shri Raj Bahadur): It is an insinuation.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: It is a very serious matter. Who has given Government the right to gamble recklessly and unilaterally with this industrial truce resolution? You have removed one of the three legs and you want the edifice to remain as it was. (*Interruption*).

Then, Sir, I feel there is scope, there is a cushion up the Government's sleeve, if I may say so, for it to make certain adjustments and modifications, because it is known to everybody that it has become a regular practice for the last few years to justify additional burdens of taxation whereas later on we find that the revenue receipts have been hopelessly underestimated. This is the current thread, running all the way through. In 1959-60 excess of tax receipts over budgeted estimates were to the tune of Rs. 90 crores, in the next year the amount was again Rs. 90 crores, in the next year it was Rs. 125 crores and in the next year it was Rs. 120 crores. The only target which has been consistently fulfilled and overfulfilled in the First Plan, the Second Plan and the Third Plan is the target of taxation.

Shrimati Yashoda Reddy (Kurnool): And population.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: I did not know you had a target for that too (*Interruption*). Therefore, the deficit estimates of Rs. 424 crores, in my opinion, is also likely to be unreal. Therefore, there is a cushion here for the Government. If the Government is frank and realistic, there is a cushion here which will allow modifications to be made.

Sir, many suggestions have been made. In conclusion, I would just like to mention one or two of them—not all of them. Nationalisation of banks has been mentioned. I wish to add my voice to it. Shri N. V. Gadgil, an ex-Governor, speaking a few days ago at Poona, has made a very strong plea for the nationalisation of banks at this hour—I am talking of everything in the context of the emergency. Then, the question of taking over of foreign trade, especially in things like jute, comes. This golden fibre of jute is going through some golden days at the moment. You know, Sir, it has had an unprecedented boom the like

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

of which has not taken place in 25 years. We all want resources for this emergency. Why should Government not come forward and take over this foreign trade so that the resources can come into its hands for its expenditure on defence development? Why should Dalmia Jain group of industries not be taken over? I cannot understand it. Why should they not be taken over?

An Hon. Member: They are in partnership with them.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: I am only asking the questions and you can give the answers.

Then, of course, there is the question of public sector industries and a better performance by them. This is a question which everybody will have to go into. There is a miserable performance by them, a miserable contribution by them, much below what was estimated of them. Why should that be so?

A lot of commotion is going on about the Privy Purses. I do not think they will yield very much. I am not in favour of cutting them off witnout a single pie. Why should that be so? Why should those poor people be treat like that? My hon. friend, Shri Karni Singhji, a little while ago, was suggesting that the salaries of ministers should be reduced and a ceiling should be fixed so that they can live comfortably. Why not the same thing be done with the princes and their Privy Purses? Some ceiling can be fixed. It may not bring a huge amount of money, but it would have a very good psychological effect.

Then there is the burning question of prohibition. I do not say, abolish prohibition. But at least review it seriously—not as a moral issue, because moral issue is a humbug, if I may say so. Somebody has to convince me if people are drinking less in prohibited areas than in non-prohibited areas. Clandestine consumption of liquor is no less immoral.

Shri Daji: More immoral.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: Is it so? Has it succeeded or has it failed?

Shrimati Lakshmi Kanthamma: You ask the women in the Country.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: Ask them. I know in villages people are illicitly distilling liquor in their back yards, and the result is that even little children, when their mother wants to put them to sleep, are given a couple of cups or a mouthful of this liquid. That is the result of prohibition. Is it very moral? I should say, consider that Rs. 60 crores at least will come to you, and consider the working of it.

Finally, I would just say one last word about my hon. friend who spoke from the Swatantra Party. Those who were the most bellicose a few weeks ago, those who have been the severest critics of the Government in its alleged weakness in matmatters of defence and so on, they are the people who do not want to pay for it. They do not suggest what the alternative avenues of revenue are to be. I think Shri Dhebar hit the nail on the head when he said that this is the economics of the policy of alignment; do not lay hands on our own wealth, do not mobilise our internal resources, depend only on others, on outsiders' Sir, already the the component of foreign aid in our total investment of Rs. 1,774 crores is to be Rs. 552 crores. It is bad enough as it is, politically and economically (*Interruption*). But some gentleman on my left leads us to this logical conclusion that the only way out is more and more foreign aid. That, I suggest, can only be the approach of people who wish to creep for protection under some sort of umbrella, foreign or air umbrella, and I as sure this country will reject that type of approach. The people want

an approach which will allow the country to develop its own independent potential and resources standing on our own feet. My only quarrel with the Government is that the whole pattern by which they seek to do it is socially unjust, inequitous, and I hope they will consider modifications on those lines.

श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद (नालन्दा) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने देश के सामने मौजूदा परिस्थिति को देखते हुए जो कर प्रस्ताव रखे हैं मैं उनका मोटे तौर पर समर्थन करता हूं। वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने अपने बजट भाषण के अन्त में कहा है :

> "क्या चीनियों के हमले की चैलौती का जवाब दिए बिना हमारा गुजारा हो सकता है ? क्या आगे के लिए यह समझदारी की बात होगी कि विकास की अपनी आकांक्षाओं का त्याग करके हम इस चैलौती का सामना करने का प्रयत्न करें ? या सचमुच ईमानदारी से इस का सामना न करने और इस के बदले मुद्रा का फैलाव करने वाली शक्तियों को बेलगाम छोड़ देने में बुद्धिमानी होगी ?

इन परिस्थितियों में मोरारजी भाई ने जो कर प्रस्ताव पेश किये हैं उनकी अनेक रूपों में किसी न किसी ढंग से आलोचना करने की कोशिश की गयी है। लेकिन यह कहा जा सकता है कि हमारा देश जिन गम्भीर परिस्थितियों से गुजर रहा है उनको देखते हुए बगैर बढ़े हुए कर प्रस्तावों के हम हमलावरों का मुकाबला करने के लिए धन एकत्रित नहीं कर सकते। यह भी हमारे लिए जरूरी है कि हमारे देश में विकास के जो कार्य चल रहे थे उनमें किसी प्रकार की बाधा न पड़ने पावे क्योंकि जब तक हमारा देश आर्थिक दृष्टि से समृद्ध नहीं हो जाता तब तक हम विदेशों का अच्छी तरह से मुकाबला नहीं कर सकते। लेकिन यह जरूर है कि जिस परिस्थिति में हम हैं उस परिस्थिति में केवल करों को बढ़ा कर या अधिक धन संग्रह करके ही हम विदेशियों का मुकाबला नहीं कर सकते हैं। । हमारी जो घर की परिस्थितियां हैं उनमें हम काफी सुधार ला सकते हैं। आर्थिक प्रयत्नों के सिवाय दूसरी दिशाओं में और दूसरे क्षेत्रों में भी उचित तरीके से ध्यान देने की जरूरत है।

अनेक लोगों ने इन मौजूदा कर प्रस्तावों की आलोचना की है। जिन कर प्रस्तावों की आलोचना की गई है उन में से दो एक छोटी बातों की ओर मैं जरूर ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं। उदाहरण के तौर पर किरोसीन आयल पर जो कर लगा है, कागज पर जो कर लगाया गया है या अन्य दैनिक जीवन की आवश्यक वस्तुओं पर जो कर लगाया गया है उस पर निश्चय ही वित्त मंत्री को पुनर्विचार करना चाहिये क्योंकि इन का संबंध इस देश के करोड़ों लोगों के जीवन से है। लेकिन इस के साथ ही यह भी निश्चित है जैसा कि श्री राजगोपालाचार्य ने बताया है कि अन्ततः यह जो कर प्रस्ताव होते हैं, यह जो कर लगाये जाते हैं इनका असर साधारण लोगों पर ही पड़ता है लेकिन इस से उन्होंने जो निष्कर्ष निकाला है उस निष्कर्ष से हरगिज सहमत नहीं हुआ जा सकता।

स्वराज्य के एक अंक में एक कार्टून प्रकाशित हुआ है जिसमें यह दिखलाया गया है कि अमरीका के राष्ट्रपति एक गाड़ी पर चले जा रहे हैं और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री सड़क पर खड़े हैं। उन से यह कहा जा रहा है कि लिफ्ट दिया जाता है इस पर सवार हो जाओ। उनकी यह मंशा है उन का यह उद्देश्य है कि हम अधिक से अधिक विदेशी सहायता लें और अपने देश में कर न बढ़ायें। यह जो नीति है उस के ऊपर चल कर वह दिखाना चाहते हैं कि हम तटस्थता की नीति को छोड़ कर अपने देश की आजादी की रक्षा कर सकते हैं। लेकिन मेरा खयाल है कि वयोवृद्ध नेता राजाजी को चीन का उदाहरण नहीं भूलना चाहिए। हमारे देश ने विदेशों से

[श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद]

जितनी मदद ली है उस से भी अधिक मात्रा में चीन के चांगकाई शेक ने विदेशों की मदद ली थी लेकिन चीन अपनी आजादी की रक्षा नहीं कर सका । अगर हम सचमुच अपनी आजादी की रक्षा करना चाहते हैं तो हमें अपनी आर्थिक और दूसरी शक्तियों को अधिक से अधिक बढ़ाने के ऊपर ध्यान देना चाहिये । दूसरों के भरोसे हम बहुत अधिक दिनों तक अपनी आजादी की रक्षा नहीं कर सकते हैं । यह जरूर है कि जिन मित्र देशों ने ऐसे गाढ़े समय में ऐसे संकट के समय में हमारी मदद की है वह हमारे धन्यवाद के पात्र हैं लेकिन सचमुच में वह धन्यवाद के पात्र तब होंगे जब वे हमें हर तरीके से अपने पैरों पर खड़े होने में मदद देंगे । वैसी मदद की हमें दरकार है जिससे हम सचमुच अपनी आर्थिक और दूसरी शक्तियों को बढ़ा सकें वह मदद रूस से आ सकती है, वह मदद अमरीका से आ सकती है, वह मदद इंग्लैंड से आ सकती है या किसी भी देश से आ सकती है । इस के लिये हम ने जो तटस्थता की नीति अपना रक्खी है वह मूलतः सही है । हमने अपने संविधान में अपने निर्माण के लिये अपने राष्ट्र को प्रजातांत्रिक राष्ट्र कहा है और अपनी नीति के रूप में प्रजातांत्रिक समाजवाद की नीति को स्वीकार किया है । प्रजातांत्रिक समाजवाद एक ऐसा शब्द है जिससे हमारी उस मूल नीति पर प्रकाश पड़ता है प्रजातंत्र का सिद्धान्त अमरीका, इंग्लैंड या ऐसे दूसरे पश्चिमी राष्ट्रों का है जबकि समाजवाद का सिद्धान्त रूस जैसे मार्क्सवाद के सिद्धान्तों को मान कर चलने वाले देशों का है । हमारे देश की जो परिस्थिति है, उस स्थिति में प्रजातांत्रिक साधनों के सहारे, प्रजातंत्री साधनों पर ही चल कर अपने उद्देश्य को प्राप्त करने से हमारा वास्तविक विकास हो सकता है । प्रजातंत्री ढंग को छोड़ कर विकास के जो दूसरे रास्ते हैं, अगर उनको अपनाकर हम चलते हैं तो इस देश के जो करोड़ों अशिक्षित, अविकसित या निर्बल लोग हैं, उनको विकसित होने का मौका नहीं मिलेगा । इस देश में हजारों वर्षों से जो परिस्थिति रही है उस परिस्थिति से इन लोगों को ऊपर उठने का रास्ता नहीं मिल सकेगा । दूसरी तरफ अपने देश से आर्थिक विषमता को दूर करने की कोशिश करते हुए यह बहुत जरूरी है कि प्रजातांत्रिक ढंग से हम इस देश में राजनैतिक चेतना को लायें, उन्हें मत दान के रूप में जो राजनैतिक अधिकार मिला है उस अधिकार का वह वास्तविक उपयोग करना सीखें । यह जरूरी है लेकिन यह भी जरूरी है कि हमने अपने सिद्धान्त के रूप में समाजवादी समाज की रचना को जो सिद्धान्त रूप में स्वीकार किया है, उसके लिए यह बहुत जरूरी है कि प्रजातांत्रिक समाजवाद के उद्देश्य को हम नजरअंदाज न करें । इसलिए तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना जो बनाई गई है उस के आरम्भ में भी इस बात की ओर ध्यान दिलाया गया है कि आर्थिक विषमता को दूर करने के लिए कैसे कदम उठाने की जरूरत है । लेकिन यह बहुत दुःख की बात है कि हाल ही में इस देश में आर्थिक शक्तियों का जो केन्द्रीयकरण होता जा रहा है उस की जांच के लिए जो महालनवीस कमेटी बनाई गई है उस ने अपनी जो अंतरिम रिपोर्ट दी है । उस से ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि इस देश में आर्थिक शक्तियों का केन्द्रीयकरण होता जा रहा है । पिछले साल एक सवाल का जवाब देते हुए माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने बताया था कि जहां १०, ११ साल पहले इस देश में दो करोड़पति थे वहां अब उनकी संख्या बढ़ कर २३ हो गई है । यह इस देश की जो नीति है, स्वीकृत नीति है उस को देखते हुए, हमारे देश के आर्थिक ढांचे का जो विकास है उसको उचित नहीं कहा जा सकता है । एक तरफ यह आर्थिक विषमता है जिसको दूर करने की तरफ हमारा ध्यान जाना चाहिए क्योंकि बगैर इसके हमारा देश हरगिज विदेशी शक्तियों का और विदेशी हमलावरों का उचित ढंग से मुकाबला नहीं कर सकता है, वहां दूसरी तरफ यह भी जरूरी है कि इस देश

में जो क्षेत्रीय ढंग पर विकास की असमानता है उसे दूर करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए। अभी हमारे देश के विभिन्न हिस्सों का और विभिन्न राज्यों का संतुलित रूप में विकास नहीं हो रहा है। इस क्षेत्रीय असंतुलन को भी दूर करने की जरूरत है तभी सचमुच हम अपने उद्देश्य की ओर बढ़ सकते हैं।

इन सब चीजों के लिए मेरा खयाल है कि अपने देश के प्रशासनिक ढांचे में जैसे परिवर्तन की जरूरत थी वैसा परिवर्तन हम अभी तक नहीं कर पाये हैं। आजादी के दिनों में जो हमारे नेता रहे, उन्होंने हमारे इस सामने इस देश में आज जो प्रशासनिक ढांचा है उस में परिवर्तन करने के लिए जिस ढंग की मांग की थी, उन के हाथ में इतने दिनों तक शासन सूत्र रहा फिर भी इस दिशा में जैसा परिवर्तन होना चाहिए वैसा परिवर्तन नहीं हो सका है। जब तक हम प्रशासनिक ढांचे में उचित परिवर्तन नहीं करते हैं तब तक जो हमारी नीति है, जो हमारे सिद्धान्त हैं और अपने लिए जो हम उद्देश्य चुनते हैं, उन पर उचित रूप से नहीं चल पायेंगे। यही वजह रही है कि अक्सर हम ने जिन नीतियों को स्वीकार किया है, उन नीतियों को अमली रूप देने में हम आज तक किसी न किसी रूप में और किसी न किसी हद तक असफल रहे हैं। उस की तरफ हमारा ध्यान जाना चाहिए। इस देश का जो प्रशासनिक ढांचा है उस को बुनियादी तौर पर बदलने की तरफ हमारा ध्यान जाना चाहिए। ऊपर से लेकर नीचे तक हमारा जो प्रशासनिक ढांचा है वह किसी न किसी रूप में इस देश की जनता से अपने को अलग मानता है। जब तक यह स्थिति बनी रहेगी तब तक इस देश का राजनीतिक, आर्थिक, सामाजिक, हर प्रकार से जो हम इसका विकास चाहते हैं वैसा ही विकास नहीं हो सकता है।

उदाहरण के लिए मैं यह बताना चाहता हूं कि अभी हमने अपने देश में जो शिक्षा की नीति अपना रखी है वह नीति ऐसी है कि जिस नीति पर चल कर सम्भवतः हम सैकड़ों वर्षों तक अपने देश का विकास नहीं कर पायेंगे। एक तरफ हमारे देश में ऐसे पब्लिक स्कूल्स हैं जिनमें केवल उन्हीं लोगों के लड़के पढ़ सकते हैं जिनकी कि आर्थिक दृष्टि से काफी अच्छी स्थिति है और जिनकी कि आमदनी काफ़ी है और दूसरी तरफ़ हमने देश के साधारण लोगों के लिए अपनी बुनियादी शिक्षा की जो पद्धति अपना रखी है वह गांवों के लिए है। यह ऐसी बड़ी बाधा है, यह ऐसी बड़ी विषमता है कि जिस को अगर हम क़ायम रखेंगे तो हमारे देश में दिनों दिन यह असमानता निरन्तर ज्यादा बढ़ती जायगी और दूसरी तरफ़ जो प्रतिभाशाली व्यक्ति हैं, हो सकता है कि निर्धन परिवार में उत्पन्न हुए हों, उन्हें अपनी प्रतिभा को विकसित करने का मौक़ा नहीं मिल सकेगा। इसलिए आवश्यक है कि जो हमारे मूलभूत सिद्धान्त हैं उनको कार्यान्वित करने के लिए ऐसा प्रशासनिक ढांचा बनायें, इसमें ऐसे ढंग से परिवर्तन करें जिसमें सचमुच में हम अपने उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति में सफल हो सकें। इसलिए मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि हम अपने इस ढांचे में ऐसा परिवर्तन करें जिसमें शीघ्र से शीघ्र हम अपने उद्देश्य और लक्ष्य को प्राप्त कर सकें।

अभी कुछ दिनों से विवियन बोस कमिशन ने जो रिपोर्ट दी है उस की भी चर्चा अक्सर की जाती है। उसकी चर्चा आगे होने वाली है। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं इस बात की ओर ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूं कि अगर हमारे शासन का ढांचा कुछ ऐसा होता जिसमें इस प्रकार की कमजोरियां न होतीं तो सम्भवतः घटनाएं न घटी होतीं। और भी ऐसी घटनाएं घट रही हैं, जिन की तरफ हमारा ध्यान जाना चाहिये और उनको रोका जाना चाहिये। उन पर रोक लगाना मुश्किल नहीं होना चाहिये। एक तरफ वयोवृद्ध नेता हैं जैसे राजा जी हैं, जो बराबर इस बात की मांग

[श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद]

करते हैं कि निजी क्षेत्र को अधिक से अधिक पनपने का मौका दिया जाना चाहिये । ९ तारीख के स्वराज्य में उन्होंने एक अग्रलेख में लखा है कि अधिक से अधिक स्वतंत्रता निजी उद्योगपतियों को मिलनी चाहिये । लेकिन दुख की बात है कि उनका ध्यान निजी क्षेत्र में डालमिया जैन का जो केस है, उनका ग्रुप है, उस में ज्यादतियां हो रही हैं, जो लूट मची हुई है, उसकी तरफ नहीं गया है । इसके बारे में एक शब्द भी कहने के लिए उनके पास नहीं था । पिछले दिनों एक पूरक प्रश्न का उत्तर देते हुए इस्पात और भारी उद्योग मंत्री श्री सी० सुब्रह्मण्यम ने बताया था कि ग्यारह निजी उद्योगपतियों को कच्चे लोहे के कारखाने खोलने के लाइसेंस दिए गए थे, लेकिन उन में से किसी ने भी कारखाना नहीं खोला है । अगर यह स्थिति रही और इसी ढंग से देश के विकास में वे हमारी मदद करना चाहते हैं तो समझ में नहीं आता है कि उनकी मदद की क्या कीमत हो सकती है और क्या कीमत हमारे इतिहासकार बाद में आंकेंगे । जो ढंग है, उसको हमें बदलना होगा । राष्ट्र के विकास में योजना बनाते समय उनका जो हिस्सा रखा गया है, उस में उचित ढंग से उन्हें हाथ बटाना चाहिये, उचित ढंग से हमारी मदद करनी चाहिये ।

17.00 hrs.

सरकारी क्षेत्र से तीसरे योजना काल के लिए जो तीन सौ करोड़ रुपये की पूंजी की उम्मीद की गई थी सम्भवतः उतनी पूंजी नहीं आ सकेगी । इसकी भी हमें पूरी तरह से जांच करनी चाहिये कि क्यों हमने सरकारी क्षेत्र में जो उद्योग कायम किए थे, उन से उतनी पूंजी प्राप्त नहीं हो सकी है, कहां त्रुटियां हैं, कहां खामियां हैं । योजना बनाते समय हमें बराबर ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि जो सरकारी उद्योग से उम्मीद की गई है, वह पूरी हो । मैं समझता हूं कि अभी तक इस तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है कि अन्ततः किस व्यक्ति की जिम्मेदारी होती है, ठीक काम चलाने की, उत्पादन को बढ़ाने की, योजना को कार्यान्वित करने की । जिस किसी व्यक्ति पर आप यह दायित्व डालते हैं, उसको इस दायित्व को पूरी तरह से निभाना चाहिये । उदाहरण के लिए मैं आपको राजधानी में जो पिछले साल बिजली का संकट आया था, उसको ही बताना चाहता हूं । एक कमेटी बनाई गई, श्री धर्म वीरा की अध्यक्षता में, एक डामले साहब की अध्यक्षता में बनाई गई, पता नहीं और कितनी बनाई गईं या बनाई जायेंगी लेकिन अभी तक यह निर्णय ही नहीं हो पाया है, कमेटीज इस निष्कर्ष पर ही नहीं पहुंच पाई हैं कि बिजली जो फेल हुई, उसका दायित्व अन्ततः किस पर है । अगर कोई आदमी अपना दोष दूसरों पर डालता जाए, और कोई भी अपने दायित्व को स्वीकार न करे, तो काम आगे नहीं बढ़ सकता है और न हीं हम अपना कदम आगे बढ़ा सकते हैं । रूस या दूसरे देशों में भी योजनाबद्ध अर्थ व्यवस्था है । वहां भी इस सिद्धान्त में थोड़ा सा परिवर्तन कर दिया गया है । अभी पिछले साल प्रो० लिबरमैन ने कुछ ऐसा सिद्धान्त निर्धारित किया है जिसका उपयोग रूसके विकास में किया जा रहा है कि हम अपने सामने जो लक्ष्य रखते हैं, जो उद्देश्य रखते हैं, उसकी पूर्ति का दायित्व भी किसी पर होना चाहिये । अगर उस दायित्व को पूरा करने में कोई कमजोरी दिखाता है या कोई कमी रह जाती है तो उस व्यक्ति को उसका भागीदार बनना चाहिये, उसको उसका दोष दिया जाना चाहिये और अगर कोई व्यक्ति अपने लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति में सफल होता है, तो उसके लिए उसे शाबासी दी जानी चाहिय, उसको प्रशंसा का पात्र माना जाना चाहिये । अभी तक हम इस रूप में अपने को विकसित नहीं कर सके हैं ।

अक्सर कहा जाता है कि हमारे देश में सरकारी क्षेत्र के उद्योगों का जो काम हो रहा है वह सन्तोषजनक नहीं है । हम अविकसित अर्थ व्यवस्था के भीतर से गुजर रहे हैं । जब

यह कहा जाता है कि उन के ऊपर इतना अधिक बोझ नहीं डाला जाना चाहिये, तो यह बात कुछ समझ में आने लायक नहीं मालूम देती है। हमारे देश की जो अर्थ व्यवस्था है उसका केवल दस प्रतिशत या उससे भी कम सरकार के नियंत्रण में है। दूसरी तरफ दुनिया में जो स्वतंत्र अर्थ व्यवस्था का सब से बड़ा देश अमरीका है, वहां की बीस प्रतिशत से भी अधिक अर्थ व्यवस्था वहां की सरकार नियंत्रित करती है। इस्पात उद्योग के ऊपर जो संकट आया था इस्पात के उद्योगपतियों ने वहां उसकी कीमतें बढ़ाने की बात सोची और उसको ले कर वहां प्रेजीडेंट कैनेडी ने जो कदम उठाया अगर वैसा ही कोई कदम अपने देश में उठाया जाए तो पता नहीं निजी क्षेत्र के जो समर्थक हैं, वे किस प्रकार का शोरगुल मचायेंगे। मैं समझता हूं कि हमें निश्चित रूप से सन्तुलित कदम आगे बढ़ाने की आज जरूरत है।

अब मैं अपने देश की कृषि व्यवस्था के सम्बन्ध में थोड़ा सा निवेदन करना चाहता हूं। बराबर यह कहा गया है कि कृषि का उत्पादन अपने देश में बढ़ना चाहिये लेकिन वह नहीं बढ रहा है। इसके तीन महत्वपूर्ण कारण हैं। पहला तो यह है कि जब तक हम बाढ़ को रोकने के लिए कोई उपाय नहीं करते हैं, उसको रोकने में सफल नहीं होते हैं, तब तक पैदावार नहीं बढ़ सकती है। इसी प्रकार से जब तक देश में जो सूखा पड़ता है, उससे बचाने का कोई उपाय नहीं निकालते हैं, तब तक पैदावार नहीं बढ़ सकती है। तीसरी बात यह है कि जब तक हम किसानों को कोई इंसेंटिव नहीं देते हैं, प्रोत्साहन नहीं देते हैं, प्रोटेक्शन नहीं देते हैं, तब तक उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ सकता है। बीसवीं शताब्दी के आरम्भ से इस देश में उद्योगों का जो विकास हुआ है, उसका इतिहास देखने से स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि हमारे देश के उद्योगपतियों को उद्योगों के विकास के लिए बराबर राज्य की ओर से कितने ही प्रकार के संरक्षण दिए जाते रहे हैं और अब भी दिये जा रहे हैं। दूसरी तरफ इस देश में किसान को खेती के विकास के लिए राज्य की तरफ से अभी तक किसी प्रकार का संरक्षण नहीं दिया जा सकता है। तीन चार वर्षों से सरकार इस बात पर विचार कर रही है कि खेती की फसल के लिए भी बीमे की प्रणाली को काम में लाया जाए और उन्हें खेती की उपज का उचित मूल्य मिले। लेकिन अभी तक इसके सम्बन्ध में कोई उचित निर्णय नहीं किया जा सका है। इस ओर भी माननीय मंत्री जी का ध्यान जाना आवश्यक है।

अन्त में मैं श्री दिनकर जी की कविता की चार पांच पंक्तियां कह कर अपने वक्तव्य को समाप्त कर दूंगा। चीन के हमले के बाद हमारे देश में जो स्थिति उत्पन्न हुई उसी को ध्यान में रख कर उन्होंने यह कविता लिखी है जिस की तरफ मेरा ख्याल है कि हम में से प्रत्येक का ध्यान जाना चाहिये। उन्होंने लिखा है :—

कुछ समझ नहीं पड़ता, रहस्य यह क्या है।
जानें, भारत में बहती कौन हवा है।
गमलों में हैं जो खड़े, सुरम्य सुदल हैं,
मिट्टी पर के ही पेड़ दीन दुर्बल हैं।

जब तक हैं यह वैषम्य, समाज सड़ेगा,
किस तरह एक हो कर यह देश लड़ेगा?

सब से पहले यह दुरित-मूल काटो रे।
समता का पानी, खाई-खड्ड पाटो रे॥
बहु-तल वाली ऊंची-नीची छतों को रे।
जो मिले अमृत, सब को समान बांटो रे।

वैषम्य घोर जब तक यह शेष रहेगा,
दुर्बल का ही दुर्बल यह देश रहेगा।

17.08 hrs.

RELEASE OF MEMBER

Mr. Speaker: I have to inform the House that I have received the following communication, dated the 9th March, 1963, from the Deputy Commissioner, Sambalpur:—

"I have the honour to inform you that Shri Kishen Pattnayak, Member, Lok Sabha, has been released from custody on furnishing bail on the 7th March, 1963 pending submission of charge-sheet by Police."

GENERAL BUDGET — GENERAL DISCUSSION—*Contd.*

Shri Kapur Singh (Ludhiana): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is customary or atleast good form to begin a speech on the Budget by saying a few nice things about the Finance Minister. Much as I appreciate the deep significance of custom, I find myself unable to observe it in this particular case except in a rather limited manner. The Finance Minister has produced a stupendous budget. I is a budget that contains astronomical figures. It is a budget that by its sheer immensity overawes a peasant like myself. True, the problems that India faces today are of immense character, and only an immensely big Budget could meet them. The Finance Minister deserves congratulations that he has matched the immensity of his proposals with the magnitude of the problems that face us. Beyond that, I find it impossible to go in praise of this Budget.

On examining the details of this Budget, it is seen that whereas the Centre and the States collected about Rs. 1900 crores of national income by way of revenue in 1961-62, the corresponding collection in 1963-64 would approximate Rs. 3000 crores. Whereas in the year 1961-62, it was about 13 per cent of the total national income that the State took away, in the current Budget, this percentage may well approximate the figure of 20 per cent. I give these figures on the authority of Prof. Shenoy, as revealed by him in the *Economic Times* of March 2, 1963. This authority asserts that these state imposts represent the potential savings of the people transferred to the Government. Since no part of these savings result from the Government expenditure, the increase in revenues means eating up of national savings. This loss of savings is estimated by Professor Shenoy at about 400 crores during the years 1961-62 and 1962-63. Taking into account the fact that national savings are to the tune of Rs 11 crores per annum, the increase in taxation clearly amounts to a very considerable loss in capital formation and economic development.

It is clear from this that this budget is not well-conceived, and it is bound to retard capital f rmation and economic growth of the country.

Now, a budget of a country merely mirrors the domestic and foreign policies of a country. It is an attempt to realise the needs of domestic policy and the aims of foreign policy. The Finance Minister has well stated that this budget is his attempt to answer the two challenges that this country faces. There is the loss of territory and foreign aggression. Every patriot will agree with the Finance Minister that the budget must be so framed that the country can meet this challenge adequately. Then, there is the challenge of under-development, the challenge of poverty and want and the challenge of low material levels on which our people have to live. This challenge must be met if there is to be peace at home and health in our State.

Our planning policy borrowed from the contemporary Soviet experiment is sought to be justified as the only suitable method of meeting this second challenge. I agree with the Finance Minister that his analysis of the objectives of his budget is good and sound, but I do not agree with him that the solutions that he adumbrates are either the only solutions or that they are genuinely sensible and sound solutions.

It is not my purpose here to enter into a process of detailed criticism of the foreign policy that we have been pursuing ever since Independence. This policy goes under the name of non-alignment. Whatever the content of this policy may be, the only proper way of understanding and appreciating it is by realising that it is a policy which has neither impressed our enemies nor cemented our relations with our friends. I am prepared to concede that the framers of

this policy were motivated by excellent intentions, and they wanted our country to steer clear of the cold war that rages between the two ide logies. The framers wanted to escape the heat and political consequences of this war and at the same time they wanted to retain their freedom to adhere to their own policies and to their own ideologies.

We made no secret before the whole world that we stand for democracy and for liquidation of colon alism and imperialism. This has been our theoretical stand. But the international politics has never been exclusively a matter of theory. We as a country have constantly to keep in view our national interests in a given situation. Since these situations are not fixed or of a consistent pattern, it is not possible for us to honour the logical implications of our theories and at the same time to advance our national interests. This I believe to be the key to the hopeless situation in which India finds herself today.

We stand for democracy and freedom, and yet our transient expediency made us turn a blind eye towards the strangulation of the Hungarian people. We stand for dissolution of colonialism, and yet when Tibet was raped, we could do no better than proclaim to the outside world that the Chinese had the legal right to do so. There is this fundamental dichotomy inherent in the doctrines on which we have based our foreign policy. It is this inner contradiction of our foreign policy which has brought us to the sorry plight in which we find ourselves today.

Where do we stand today in the matter of international politics? What is our position in the outside world today? A big and aggressive nation now stands poised against our Himalyan frontiers, against whom we have no power to defend ourselves at present. Our military weakness and utter inadequacy of our defences have been revealed to the whole of the outside world, the friend and the foe alike. We have not the material resources nor the trained and well-equipped man-power to safeguard our territorial integrity. On all sides, we are surrounded by those who see no advantage in being friendly to us. If there are some from whom we may expect help and sympathy, it is either as a result of pity or as a consequence of what those others believe is their own national interest. We have no friends or power upon whom we have any moral right to call upon to come to our aid in this distress.

This is an ugly picture and it is our foreign policy that has landed us here. It is no answer to this that there are good arguments for the doctrines that have animated our policy. It is no answer to this situation that any other policy that may be suggested is not free of faults. The simple truth is that the policies that we have pursued so far have landed us in a soup, if I may use this culinary expression in relation to our national tragedy that is unparalleled even in our own history.

I would say that our present situation is that of Draupadi of Mahabharat, stripped utterly naked, in the absence of miraculous intervention of gods.

It is no exaggeration to say that as a result of the wrong policies and the wrong doctrines that we have adopted in the past, our national gods on high Himalayas have turned their backs on us. We stand undefended by the gods and indefensible in our helplessness.

The present Budget gravely errs in seeking to find ways and means of meeting the situation without discarding the policies that have led to it. No amount of taxation and no amount of regimentation or concentration of power in the hands of the ruling party can retrieve the situation and save the honour and integrity of this country, unless there is a fundamental change in the policies that have resulted in this sorry plight. By keeping our wrong policies going, our Finance Minister is like a physician

[Shri Kapur Singh]

who tries to cure a syphilitic sore by external ointments, without realising that the germ of the disease is in the blood and not on the surface of the skin.

Now, coming to our domestic policies of economic development, I cannot but say that they are equally ill-conceived. Nobody denies that we are a very much under-developed country. Nobody will deny that it is of the greatest possible urgency that the material condition of the people should be improved. We do not join issues with the Government on this that all measures necessary for material development must be adopted if they are consistent with our fundamental policy of preserving democratic values. In our country, however, we have presumed that the Soviet-type planning is the best possible method of achieving quick results in the sphere of material development. This takes into account only one facet of the Soviet experiment. We have failed to comprehend that the Soviet experiment has succeeded not merely owing to State planning but also through a total denial of basic democratic values, and through a ruthless regimentation that has resulted in great human misery and colossal loss of life. Let us be clear in our minds about the obvious implication that either we must adopt the Soviet methods entirely or we must look for alternative solutions of our problems. The Soviet people are not the only people who have progressed from an under-developed to a highly developed country. Japan, West Germany and many other countries have done much better, and in shorter periods, by adopting less questionable methods. Why must we pursue the path of Soviet planning which is nothing but State capitalism? Why is it necessary for us to ignore the true implications of the Soviet experiment which ultimately leads to concentration of all power and all wealth in the hands of a single class—Djilas's New Class? If this is what we aim at, gathering of all power and all wealth in the hands of a single class, then let us clearly say so. By merely professing faith in democracy and ultimate value of personality, and by merely professing allegience to the freedom, prosperity and dignity of the common man, we shall attain neither, unless we turn our faces from the methods which lead in the opposite direction.

The attempt of the Finance Minister to link his budget proposals with the current Third Five Year Plan cannot but lead to undesirable results.

Shrimati Yashoda Reddy: Instead of reading it the hon. Member may lay his speech on the Table.

Shri Kapur Singh: I am consulting my notes.

Mr. Speaker: I have normally allowed the first and second speeches to be read. This is his second speech. I would not allow the third one to be read.

Shri Kapur Singh: This is no occasion for entering into a detailed criticism of our plans and the results to which they have given rise. The only point that I wish to make here is that the huge expenditure involved in the Third Five Year Plan has no direct or necessary bearing on the basic problem that we face today, namely, the defence of our territorial integrity.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member should also look up more frequently.

Shri Kapur Singh: The Budget proceeds on the assumption that there exists a necessary and causal nexus between the two. My contention is that this is a grievous fallacy. Unless this fallacy is dropped, we cannot get out of the difficulty that we are facing.

It is for this reason that I say that the present Budget has been raised on very wrong foundations. It is for this reason I say that the national objectives which this Budget is expected to

realise shall remain unrealised. This Budget will neither strengthen the defences of the country, nor will it provide good incentives for greater production. This Budget is likely to retard both. This Budget should, therefore, be totally rejected, unless it is basically recast.

I go further and say that this Budget, and the policies of which it is a child, are likely to fail not only in the near future, but that their consequences will go far into the future. Our whole future as a well-knit nation and as a united country is imperilled by the Budget and the policies out of which it is born. Let no man think that, either through sheer persistence in a wrong course of action, or through plausible verbiage, he can escape the consequences of his deeds. The whole accumulated wisdom of our forefathers repudiates such a supposition. The whole experience of History runs counter to such a faith. The Law of Karma is inexorable. Those who forget it do so at their own peril, and at the expense of those whose custodians they may be.

At this stage, with your permission, Sir, I should like to read a short news item which appeared in the Delhi *Statesman*, dated 9th March, 1963, on page 5, column 6. It is under the heading "News in Brief". It reads:

106-year-old Mistake Kills Child

"New Castle, Mar. 8—A coroner ruled yesterday that a builder's mistake in 1857 caused the death a fortnight ago of a four-year-old girl."

"The child, Lesley Bell, was killed by the fall of a jutting stone from an old building here. The coroner said the Victorian workman erred in not placing a supporting slab under the stone 45 feet above the street."

Shri Bade: I may request him to give the horoscope which he just prepared regarding the Budget.

Shri Kapur Singh: This House will not interested in that. If somebody is interested in the horoscope of this Budget, he should come and consult me privately. This House will not be interested in astrological prognostications.

Mr. Speaker: His speech is not based on that horoscope?

Shri Kapur Singh: No, Sir. It is based on facts and rational argument, although the planetary configurations support this reasoning.

This criticism of the Budget, however, may be brushed aside as merely academic. The Finance Minister might well say this critic has been carried away by his own theories and by his own prejudices and thus he has failed to offer any constructive suggestions. It is, therefore, only proper that I should make a few broad suggestions for the consideration of the Finance Minister, so that he may alleviate the harshness of the burdens which he intends to impose upon people, without having to correct the fundamental errors of his Budget. For instance, the Budget proposes the revenue expenditure of Rs. 708 crores on defence as compared with Rs. 367 crores of the last year. This has made it necessary to impose an additional burden of Rs. 232 crores on the people which is sought to be obtained by additional taxation.

The point that I wish to make is that it is not necessary to impose additional taxation to cover up this sum of Rs. 232 crores. It is reasonable to presume that at least 50 per cent of this amount of Rs. 232 crores will be needed for purchasing equipment and armaments which we are unable to produce in this country. Why is it necessary for us to impose this burden of Rs. 116 crores on the poverty-stricken masses of India when our friends, USA, Britain and others are quite willing to offer this

[Shri Kapur Singh]

equipment and armament as aid? This leaves a sum of Rs. 116 crores only to be found. Even this sum can be easily found without imposing additional taxation, direct or indirect.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: Do you want charity from others?

Shri Kapur Singh: We are already living on charity. The whole world is living on charity. There is not a country in the world today which is not living on the charity of others. No country in this world can stand alone..... (*Interruptions*).

Shri Bade: You have taken machinery, armaments and everything. Why fight shy or it?

Mr. Speaker: Order order. He may be allowed to conclude his speech now.

Shri Kapur Singh: To begin with there is olvious under-estimation of revenues in the budget proposals. In the year just ending we are likely to realise Rs. 800 crores as against an estimated revenue of Rs. 730 crores. Allowing for an additional rise of three per cent over last year's industrial production in the coming year, the Central excise and customs duties may be expected to yield a total revenue of Rs. 890 crores as against an estimated revenue of Rs 730 crores. This alone gives us an income of Rs. 166 crores which we need for defence.

Then there is the question of income-tax collections. An additional yield of five per cent at the existing rate of taxatioin can be reasonably expected, and this will yield us about Rs. 8 crores over the proposed budget figure. Similarly, an additional collection of about 12-1|2 per cent can be reasonably expected on the corporate taxation which means Rs. 22 crores. This gives us a figure of Rs. 30 crores which is there but of which no account has been taken in the budget proposals.

In the same manner, is it too much to expect, keeping in view the state of affairs recently revealed by the figures of expenditure on consumption of water and electricity by the Cabinet Ministers, that if there is an honest attempt to effect economy in the civil administration, a sum of Rs. 50 crores can reasonably be saved?

Thus there is all the money already there which the Finance Minister needs for his planning and for his defence expenditure, without his imposing additional taxation on the citizens. There is no good reason that he should propose the heavy taxation which he has done unless he finds intrinsic pleasure in taxation as such. Well as our national poet Asad Ullah Khan Galib said:

शुमारे सुबह मरगुवे बते मुश्किल पसन्द आया,
तमाशए बयक कफ़ बुरदने सददिल पसन्दआया।

Translated into English, it means: my beloved is a refined sadist and mass torture affords him sheer pleasure. If he has assumed a pose of piety, he is none the less the sadiest. Thank you, Sir.

Shri Inder J. Malhotra (Jammu and Kashmir): Mr. Speaker, at the beginning I would like to observe that this year's unusual Budget presented in unusual times has received the usual treatment, especially from the Opposition Members.

17.29 hrs.

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

On the one hand they always say that we must prepare our nation to defend our country. If they criticise each and every kind of taxation whenever and wherever presented,

how and from where do they expect the Government to prepare our nation to defend itself stronger than in the past? Probably one reason which they may have is this. They may think that the situation has changed probably. May I remind them that the situation now is graver than at the time when China invaded India? The unholy alliance and growing friendship between Pakistan and China has added more gravity to the situation. They have nothing else in common than the suppression of freedom and the common enmity towards of India. These two things will bring them more closer. By signing a border agreement with China and by Pakistan's gifting away of 13,000 square miles of Indian territory, it is proved how the distatorship of President Ayub Khan and the dictatorship of comrade Mao would like to handle the question of common enmity towards India in the future.

When we are passing through such grave times, I cannot understand this. Unless the people are prepared to sacrifice a little bit of their income and from all groups of the population, there is no other alternative. The Member of the Swatantra party pleded, and only a few minutes back, Shri Kapur Singh said—I have very great regard for him—that instead of having such a heavy taxation, why we should not extend our begging bowl to the United States of America and let them defend India. When the same persons who believe in this kind of ideology talk about patriotism and defence of the country, at least I fail to understand their approach to their patriotism and defence of the country.

To my mind, to live under the yoke of the United States of America, political and economic, is as bad as to live under the political and economic yoke of China or any other foreign country. No doubt the United States of America has exended much-needed financial and economic help when we were facing hard times and grave times. I am sure that, purely based on equal and friendly co-operation, the United States of America would still in future extend their helping hand for the economic development of India. But we should not become so weak or we should not give up the basic ideology of socialist pattern of society, the basic ideology of complete freedom from any political and economic domination. At the same time, I would like to say that when especially the Swatantra party attacks the taxation proposals,—probably their Deputy Leader, Shri P. K. Deo, referred to the deficiency in agricultural production.—he came out with a very noel argument. He said that agricultural production in the country was not likely to go up till the threat of land revenue, hung over the heads of the peasants, is there. On the one hand it is said that one of the reasons why agricultural production has not reached the desired targets in this country is that the whole land system has not yet been put on sound lines as we wanted it to be through the implementation of the land revenue measures.

This emergency, these hard times, have been a blessing in disguise. All the political ideologies, all the economic approaches, have been made absolutely clear. As far as the Swatantra party is concerned—The Jan Sangh is not very far away from the Swatantra party—they have made it absolutely clear that as far as the defence of the country is concerned, "let us hand it over to the United States of America or any other foreign country."

Shri Kapur Singh: No, no. That is a wrong statement.

Shri Bade: We have never said like that.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: Let him speak; you have all had your chance to speak.

Shri Bade: That is a wrong statement. (*Interruption*).

Shri Inder J. Malhotra: If I am wrong, I would like to stand corrected. When you say there is no need for any increase in taxation, from which source are we to get money for defence except United States of America?

Shri Bade: The Swatantra Party has said it; the Jan Sangh has not said it.

Shri Inder J. Malhotra: You may decide it among yourselves.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: He said, the whole world lives on charity.

Shri Inder J. Malhotra: I am very glad that my hon. friends have changed their views. Now at least I can hope that to some extent they would like to subscribe to my point of view.

Shri Bade: You are quoting wrong statements.

Shri Inder J. Malhotra: Anything can be wrong or right; probably it depends upon the person, how he looks upon it.

Referring to the problem of agricultural production, I do not agree with what the spokesman of the Swatantra Party said regarding land reforms. I would say that unless land reforms are implemented with greater speed and with more sincere efforts, the problem of increasing agricultural production would remain for another 5 or 10 years to come. It is very easy to say that we should not import the required quantity of foodgrains from USA, to fill in the gap of deficit which exists in this country regarding foodgrains. But I would only plead that specially during the present emergency times, we can certainly take more aggressive steps to see that the agricultural developmental schemes started by the State Governments or the Central Government are implemented at least with a little more vigour than in the past.

My hon. friend, Mr. Thomas, is here. I would give him a little more sweet dose at the time of discussion of his Ministry's demands. But now I want to say that it is his responsibility and the responsibility of his senior colleague, Mr. Patil, to see that the land reforms are implemented as soon as possible and as effectively as possible. Very rightly he has said the words which he always says; whenever there is the question of agricultural production, immediately Mr. Thomas or Mr. Patil says, "This is not my responsibility; this is the responsibility of the State Governments." If the matter stands at this juncture, let the Ministry of Food and Agriculture at the Centre be converted into the Ministry of Food Imports and let it hand over all other work about agricultural research, agricultural education, supply of fertilisers, supply of irrigation water, etc. either to the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation—Shri S. K. Dey is here—or to the States. Then we will have no room to grudge every year and to say that they are not doing what they can to increase the agricultural production in this country.

Sir, I will now come to the tax proposals. There is hardly any tax proposal which has not been opposed. The super profits tax has now become a very interesting story. The whole day I was sitting here listening to the debate very attentively trying to follow what was the main difficulty or what was the main thing in this super profits tax. I would say, Sir, that I have been incapable of finding out anything out of this discussion. On the one hand, persons who are intimately connected with big business are opposing it and, on the other, persons who plead the cause of labour are also opposing it. Then, the whole national Press—now, some hon. friend might ask why I call this "National Press" and not "Jute Press"; but by whatever name you may call it there is one thing which is beyond doubt and that is that this Press is also controlled by the big business—

has raised this controversy. The whole controversy about the super profits tax was initiated and is being carried on by this Press. Keeping all these things in view, Sir, I can only conclude that this super profits tax, with some litle modification, is the most needed thing, it is urgently required and it is the only best proposal in the present budget.

Sir, a large section of the people are going to pay the major portion of the tax propoposals not only this year but for many years. Even during the last so many years the people who are heavily taxed pay the minimum tax. I am reminded of an interesting incident. On the 28th February, when this budget was presented, that very evening, I happened to talk to a friend of mine who is an income-tax lawyer. I asked him about his opinion about the budget. He said that when there was more taxation, especially on the higher income group people, they were the happiest lot of the people in the country because the higher income group people would require their services more to suggest them ways and means how to evade those taxes. Sir, there is no doubt that in any government the most difficult job is that of the Finance Minister. If he puts more taxes he is blamed, and if after the taxation proposals are approved by the Parliament the collection of taxes is less then he also gets the blame. I would say that to increase the rate of taxation or to impose more taxes is not as difficult or is not as important as the collection of those taxes.

In this connection I will again give a very common, simple and interesting example. This happens every day, every minute, every hour in every town, big or small, of this country. If one goes to a shop in Connaught Place, buys a thing worth Rs. 10 and at the time of paying the money says, "You have charged me a little more; give me some concession", the shopkeeper immediately says, "All right, you do not demand a cash memo and I will not charge you sales tax". When the cash memo is not given by the shopkeeper, there is no record of his sale. He evades the sales tax on the one hand and also evades ultimately the income-tax on the other. I would strongly plead before the hon. Finance Minister that apart from plugging the loopholes which the higher-income group people are certainly going to find out as to how to evade tax....

An Hon. Member: Invent.

Shri Inder J. Malhotra: My guru has rightly said 'invent' and not 'find'.

An Hon. Member: Who is you guru?

Shri Inder J. Malhotra: Professor D. C. Sharma. ....I would also say that how to plug leakage of sales tax and ultimately income-tax through such sources should also be taken into consideration.

Shri D. J. Naik: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to express my views on the Budget proposals presented to this House by the hon. Finance Minister. May I say that this is my maiden speech? I am not used to making speeches in legislatures. This is the first time that I have come to this august body and I get this opportunity; so, I thank you once more. I may tell the House that I am working among the weaker sections of society and that is the reason why I had not gone up till now to the legislatures. I do not know whether I will be coming again here.

An Hon. Member: Why so?

Shri D. J. Naik: When aggression has taken place on our northern borders, that is, the Himalayan borders, once considered invulnerable, by an unscrupulous Communist country, China, it is imperative that every son of the soil, whether he may be poor or rich, whether he may be belonging to any stratum of our socio-economic structure, should come forward and give his best for keeping up the prestige of our motherland and for the defence of our motherland.

[Shri D. J. Naik]

Looking to the magnitude of the problem the hon. Finance Minister should be congratulated for his Budget proposals. The problem is very great. As I see the Budget proposals, I think, there are two objectives. One is to defend our country and the other is to accelerate the pace of reaching the socialistic pattern of society to which we have pledged ourselves. A socialistic pattern of society has as its base agriculture, and in framing his proposals, the Finance Minister has shown courage, imagination and practical wisdom. In the year 1962-63, the Defence expenditure was estimated at Rs. 343 crores. Subsequently, on account of the massive invasion of the Chinese, it was raised to Rs. 441 crores. In the year 1963-64, it has been estimated at Rs. 866 crores, including a capital outlay of Rs. 158 crores. The increase of Rs. 400 crores in all must be raised by taxation, direct and indirect to preserve the integrity of our country. Is there any other way except to tax and raise the money? There is no alternative left I feel that the hon. Finance Minister has framed the budget rightly and justly.

The rich are taxed more and more every year and this year, the increase in the corporation tax and the super profits tax will bring Rs. 70 crores and something more. This amount is spread over a very small section of the society. Regarding the super profits tax, there has been a great uproar among the big business people, big mill-owners, in the share bazaar and everywhere. I feel that in the circumstances existing today, direct taxes should be increased more and more so as to bridge the vast gulf that exists between the rich and the poor. That does not mean making the rich poor. You have to take something more from them and utilise it for the defence of our country and for the development of our country, so that we can fight aggression from outside. There is aggression from within, aggression of poverty. We have to fight poverty. We have to eradicate poverty. Therefore, the rich people should give more to the coffers of the exchequer. These big companies are making huge profits. They have come forward with hue and cry that the super profits tax will hamper industrial progress of the country and that it will be a disincentive to them. I cannot realise what kind of disincentive it will be to them. Do they not realise the coming danger on the Himalayan horizon? Do they not realise what will be their condition if the Chinese aggression is not vacated? But, their vision is blurred by the profit complex. They do not realise all these things. That is the reason why they are making this hue and cry and why they are creating this great uproar here there and everywhere. Here also, our Opposition Benches are making a great uproar about the super profits tax. I know some of these people, how they are making profits. So, they must give more to preserve our Independence. We have got this Independence because of Gandhiji. We have got this independence because of our great leader Pandit Nehru and others. Our Independence should be preserved at any cost. Everybody should give whatever he can for preserving our Independence. One colleague of mine said that vigilance is the price of freedom. We should be vigilant. We should preserve our freedom. That we should do. These people say that the super-profits tax will be a disincentive. I cannot understand why it will be a disincentive to them. Are there not higher moral values? Is not the preservation of the freedom of our country an incentive to them? Really, it is. So, I cannot understand the argument which is put forward by our big business people. The freedom of our country should be the greatest incentive to them and not the profit motive alone or any other thing.

So, I would appeal to the Finance Minister that the super-profits tax should remain as it is and next year it should be increased, because those

people have become very fat and they have become very big people, and therefore, they should be asked to give more and more to the exchequer.

There is a charge often made that the poor are becoming poorer. It it a false propaganda. I do not know with what motives it is being carried on everywhere, in the urban and in the rural areas. I am working for the last forty years among the Scheduled Tribes and weaker section of the society. The vision of the last fifteen years passes before my mind, a vivid picture just like a panorama. Before fifteen years I know what their condition was. They were remaining half-starved? Today, what is their condition? Today, they do not remain half-starved. I may say they may not be getting two square meals as we get, but at least, they have something to put into their bellies. Their children go to the schools. They are happy.

Sometime back, when I was in my constituency, I contacted some of the people and I asked them the straight question: 'Are pou happy or not?' They told me, 'Yes, we are happy.'. Some of them have wells dug in their fields. They keep good bullocks, they grow vegetables, grow wheat, grow onions and all that. That has come about because of planned development. Otherwise, what was their condition in those days? I know that they were drinking a lot in those days. Now, they are putting in more labour because of prohibition. Let me tell my hon. friends opposite that they are now putting in more labour in their fields. Their family lives have become very cordial and very happy. Formerly, they were quarrelling amongst themselves. During the Holi days and Diwali days, they fought amongst themselves with bows and arrows, and I know that four to five murders were committed every year by those people in the villages. But, now, they are very happy.

Whatever one may say that the income should be increased by scrapping prohibition, I say 'No'. If we increase the income in that way, where do we get the income from? It will be from the poor people. Those who say like this, therefore, are not the protagonists of the poor people; rather, they are making this propaganda just to please the sophisticated people and not the poor people or the Scheduled Tribes people or the labourers.

If you go to Ahmedabad, what is the picture that you will find? You will see how the labourers have become happy there. They now spend more also after luxury goods.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: They never go in for these things.

Shri D. J. Naik: Of course, now, they never spend.

Again, the critics say that illicit distillation has become a home industry. I fail to understand. I live among villagers, and I go round on foot from village to village. I have not seen anywhere this 'home industry'. Sometimes, some of them do distil liquor. I know that. But when there was no prohibition, illicit distillation was rampant and the excise police had to raid villages. Now, that is not the condition. The critics do not know how prohibition has made the people of the lower strata happier. The other day, my hon. friend Shri Yajnik.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon Member has got two minutes more.

Shri D. J. Naik: I would like to take about five minutes.

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

18.00 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, March 14 1963/Phalguna 23, 1884 Saka