

ment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1963-64."

The motion was adopted.

Shri Morarji Desai: Sir, I introduce † the Bill.

12.38 hrs.

FINANCE BILL

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up the Finance Bill, 1963. As the House is aware, 14 hours have been allotted for all the stages of the Bill. I would like to take the sense of the House as to how these 14 hours should be distributed among the various stages of the Bill.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): 12 hours and 2 hours.

An Hon. Member: 10 hours for general discussion and 4 hours for clause-by-clause consideration.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshnabad): 11 hours are enough for general discussion. I suggest 11, 2 and 1.

An Hon. Member: 11 hours and 3 hours.

Mr. Speaker: I have no object to 11 hours for general discussion and 3 hours for the rest. The time-limit for speeches will, as usual, be 15 minutes for Members and upto 30 minutes for Leaders of Groups.

The Minister of Finance: (Shri Morarji Desai): Sir, I move*.

"That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 1963-64, be taken into consideration."

The financial proposals in the Budget and in this Bill have been framed in the context of the grave threat to our national freedom from foreign aggression which has cast upon us a stupendous financial burden for building up and strengthening our country's defences and, at the same time, providing for the developmental needs of its economy. It is, therefore, inevitable that the financial proposals for this year should have some unusual features both in regard to the magnitude of the resources sought to be raised and the unorthodox lines adopted in certain directions in achieving the tremendous task of tapping and mobilising the financial resources of the nation.

The Finance Bill has been before the House for some time and during the general discussion on it, hon. Members have had the opportunity of scrutinising the proposals contained in it from various aspects and expressing their views regarding them. As it is but natural, diverse views have been expressed regarding some of these proposals in the Bill, particularly, because as I have said before, this year's proposals have some unusual features. I am, however, very glad to observe that the need for raising the quantum of financial resources budgeted has received unqualified approval of the House. I am also glad to see that there is a general measure of agreement regarding the justifiability of the specific proposals in the Finance Bill.

Sir, I am very grateful to the House for the views and suggestions made regarding the proposals in the Bill. I have very carefully considered the views expressed and the suggestions made in the matter, both in this House and outside. After examining all the points from various

†Introduced with the recommendation of the President.

*Moved with the recommendation of the President.

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aspects, I have announced the other day some concessions which I considered to be justified and reasonable. Necessary amendments to the provisions of the Finance Bill to give effect to the proposed concessions will now be introduced in the House for its consideration. I shall now briefly explain the amendments to facilitate the consideration of the Finance Bill.

In regard to income-tax, the first one of the substantive amendments relates to the provisions contained in clause 6 of the Finance Bill under which expenditure incurred by a company on the remuneration and perquisites of its individual employees in excess of Rs. 5,000 per month will not be allowed as a deduction in computing its total income for income-tax. For the reasons already stated by me when I announced the concessions, the remuneration paid in excess of Rs. 5,000 to employees of foreign citizenship is not proposed to be excluded from the purview of this provision. This is sought to be achieved by amending the provision to the effect that the disallowance will be in respect of remuneration in excess of this limit in the case of employees who are Indian citizens.

The second one of the substantive amendments relates to the levy of surcharge on income-tax for purposes of the Union on registered firms. Under the present provision this surcharge is at the rate of 20 per cent of the income-tax payable by registered firms on their income from all sources. It is, however, felt that a distinction should be made in the matter of levy of the surcharge between business income and income derived from carrying on a profession, namely, Accountants, Solicitors, Engineers etc. It is, therefore proposed to amend the relevant provision to provide for the levy of this surcharge at a concessional rate of 10 per cent of the income-tax payable by registered firms in respect of their

income from sources other than business.

Further, a clarificatory amendment is proposed to be made to clause 3 of the Finance Bill relating to the additional surcharge. The object of this amendment is to make it clear that relief from the levy of additional surcharge will be available under the provisions of the Income-tax Act in cases where arrear salary is received in respect of a past period or where a resident assessee has been subjected to tax on his foreign income, both in India and in a foreign country.

The next proposed amendment relates to sub-clause (5) of clause 2 of the Finance Bill under which a manufacturer who sells his goods to a person who exports them himself is entitled to a tax rebate with reference to a percentage of the goods sold by him to the exporter. Under the relevant provision as it is worded, the manufacturer will be entitled to get the tax rebate only if the other party exported the goods during the previous year in which the manufacturer sold the goods to him. There may, however, well be some time lag between the sale of the goods by the manufacturer and their export by the exporter. As it was not the intention to deprive the manufacturer of the tax rebate for this reason, it is proposed to amend the provision by omitting the words referring to the export of the goods during the previous year. The remaining few amendments relating to income-tax are of a drafting nature only.

The proposed levy of additional surcharge on income-tax for purposes of the Union on personal incomes had been criticised by several hon. Members during the general discussion on the Budget on the ground that it placed a very heavy burden on the lower income group of assesseses. However, the proposal for the levy of additional surcharge has to be considered in the context of the stupe-

dous effort which the country is called upon to make at this juncture for strengthening its defences. The additional financial resources needed for this task are of such a magnitude that they cannot be raised from a few sections of the people. The burden of the sacrifice has to be spread equitably on all sections of the people according to their capacity to pay, consistently with the need for maintaining a sound economy. The proposal for the levy of additional surcharge has been framed after giving careful consideration to these factors. It will be seen that the tax payable by assesseees in the lower income group hitherto amounted to an insignificant proportion of their income. A married individual with more than one child, having an annual salary income of Rs. 5000 was paying Rs. 42 as tax which is only 0.8 per cent of his total income. The additional surcharge which he will now be required to pay on his residual income will be 4 per cent of which 3 per cent can be in the form of savings leaving the additional tax burden at 1 per cent. This can hardly be regarded as heavy or inequitable burden, particularly in the context of the present situation with which the country is faced.

Another criticism which was made was that the incidence of the additional surcharge on assesseees in the higher income brackets is comparatively lighter or is not high enough. This criticism is not at all justified. The additional surcharge has been proposed to be levied at graduated rates which rise from 4 to 10 per cent on higher slabs of residual income. Further, while the deduction from additional surcharge on making a compulsory deposit is 3 per cent on residual income up to Rs. 6000, it is only 2 per cent of the residual income above that amount. It has to be borne in mind that the assesseees in the higher income brackets are subject to income-tax and super-tax at steeply progressive rates. The maxi-

mum incidence of income-tax and super-tax goes above 80 per cent.

So far as Customs duties are concerned, I am glad to note that there has been very little of criticism during the general discussion on the Budget. Considering that the total additional Customs duties, taking into account the reduction in kerosene, is about Rs. 80 crores, this is a matter for satisfaction. I would, however, like to refer to one or two points which were raised about Customs duties.

Shri Krishna Menon criticised the increase in import duty on capital goods on the ground that much of this will be used by the public sector and that the increase merely puts up the cost of the goods. He also apprehended that a rise in prices on this account would affect the competitive position of our products in foreign markets.

As I mentioned in my Budget speech, our machine building industries have made rapid strides in the recent past and we want to encourage the establishment of further capacity for the production of machinery in the country. The increase in duty on machinery should not, therefore, be taken as purely a revenue measure. I may also add that it is not the Government's policy to make any distinction in the matter of Customs duty between public and private sector undertakings.

As regards the higher rate of duty on capital goods affecting export trade by making products uncompetitive in a foreign market, it may be observed that exports depend on various factors. The fiscal levies mainly affecting exports are either in the shape of export duty on the articles exported or in the shape of import duty on imported components and central excise duty on the manufactured articles.

The effect of export duty is constantly kept under review and necessary adjustments are made from time

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to time. The latest example of this review is the abolition of export duty on tea along with the introduction of the Finance Bill, 1963. Out of 23 articles in the Export Tariff, at present 17 are completely exempted from duty.

As for import duty and Central excise duty, relief is given through schemes granting drawback of the import duty and excise duty realised on the components which go to make the export goods and the excise duty on the finished goods. Such schemes have been in force for several years now, and the number has increased from 50 on 31st March, 1958 to 176 on 31st March, 1963. Apart from these schemes, there are also arrangements for permitting manufacture of goods in bond, without payment of duty, for ultimate re-export free from any levy. There were 18 such schemes on 31st March, 1963 as compared to 3 on 31st March, 1958.

Besides these direct measures of relief, as the House is aware, a provision has also been made for allowing a certain rebate of income-tax and super-tax in respect of profits and gains derived from export of goods outside India. In addition, a provision has been made for allowing a tax rebate to manufacturers producing certain specified commodities on a certain percentage of the value of the goods exported by them directly or sold by them to any other person for export. The import control policy also provides for incentives for exports by granting import licences for restricted articles against export of certain specified goods.

So far as Customs duties are concerned, I am proposing only one amendment in the Finance Bill. This is purely of a clarificatory nature and will not have any effect on revenue. This has reference to clause 22 of the Finance Bill, which provides that in computing countervailing duty on any article, the basic Customs duty

paid should also be included in the assessable value. The amendment will make it clear that where a tariff value has been fixed by Government for any article, it is that value which should be taken into account.

As regards Central excise, the maximum concern was expressed with regard to the increase in duties on kerosene. As already announced by me the other day, the maximum relief which could be given has already been notified. There is no doubt that certain other suggestions for reduction in the burden have also been made, but considering the need for resources, it has not been found possible to do so.

It has been said that the burden on tobacco including cigarettes is also rather high. As regards the variety which is generally used for *hookha* or chewing purposes, the rate of duty for this tobacco has always been kept slightly lower than that for flake tobacco which is generally used in the manufacture of *biris*. This difference during the period from 1st March, 1948 till December, 1957 continued to be of the order of Rs. 1:10 per kilogram. Due to certain changes made thereafter, particularly due to replacement of sales-tax by additional duty of excise, this gap increased to Rs. 1.54 in December, 1957. This had resulted in misuse of lower-rated tobacco for purposes for which generally the higher-rated tobacco was being utilised previously. It was considered necessary to reduce this gap to remedy these malpractices. Hence, gradually, this process of reducing the gap was taken up and the present effective gap after all the changes made by the present Finance Bill leaves a gap of Rs. 1:16 per kilogram between these two main varieties of tobacco. The House will appreciate that all I have done has largely restored the position that obtained before December, 1957.

The proposed increase in the rates of duty on cigarettes will not, however, be more than a nominal burden on the so-called middle classes. A smoker of the average quality cigarettes will be required to spend roughly 2 to 5 naye paise more for 10 cigarettes. For some of the brands like Passing Show and Elephant, there has been no increase in prices at all. The increase in some other popular brands like Scissors and Berkeley is 5 nP. for a packet of 10. It may also be mentioned that tobacco and cigarettes are not articles of necessity but in a way may be termed as luxury and are treated as such by the revenue authorities all over the world.

An hon. Member also wanted to know as to why Rs. 10 crores of income from VNE oils was being forsaken. The duty on VNE oils has been withdrawn deliberately with a view to compensate to some extent the additional burden being placed on the people in other directions. VNE oils are one of the sources of fat for the average man and perhaps, the only source of fat for the poor people; that is why these have been exempted. By enhancing suitably the rates of duty on Vegetable Product, Soap and Paints, it has been ensured that the duty which was being collected so far at the stage of oil used in their manufacture is now recovered at the stage of finished products, thus reducing the real loss on this account to about Rs. 4.5 crores only.

With these remarks, Sir, I move that the Bill be taken into consideration.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): I have to submit one thing. Certain amendments have been given notice of by the hon. Minister. Our difficulty is only this.....

Mr. Speaker: I shall see that they are circulated to all Members.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: It is not that. My difficulty is in regard to moving

amendments. I was consulting the Lok Sabha Secretariat also....

Mr. Speaker: If there is difficulty he should take the earliest opportunity to bring it to my notice, and if there is some difficulty, I shall remove that.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: But the recommendation of the President is required in certain cases. It is not possible for us immediately to get it. There are certain things for which according to the Constitution the recommendation of the President is necessary, as, for instance, when money is to be distributed to the State Governments. How is it possible to minimise the difficulty that arises in such cases? If I want to move certain amendments to such provisions the President's sanction or recommendation is necessary. How can I go to the President immediately and get the sanction? There should be some remedy so that we people also may be in a position to move certain amendments which we would like to move. I want your help or guidance in this matter. It is a serious matter. I am handicapped because of that.

Mr. Speaker: No doubt, it is a serious matter. Is he going to move that some revisions be made?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: May I quote an instance? Shri A. K. Gopalan, Shri Prabhat Kar, Shri Warrior and I also wanted to sign that. We wanted that there should be some reduction in the duty on kerosene and other things. But we were told that we could not do it unless we had the recommendation or sanction of the President. Now, the hon. Finance Minister, who is a Member of the Cabinet has to take it. Suppose I want to take it, what will happen? Will this Bill be detained or will it not be discussed, if I want to move an amendment and ask for exemption?

Mr. Speaker: The duty had been announced earlier, and if he wanted to move for any reduction in that, he could have asked for the permission of

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the President then. Where was the difficulty at that time?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: The remission was announced only the day before yesterday.

Mr. Speaker: The remission was announced the day before yesterday but the duty had been announced earlier. Whenever he wanted to move, he could have moved earlier.

Shri S. M. Manerjee: There has been such a big agitation in the country, and I was thinking that the Finance Minister was going to exempt it to a greater extent, but he has not done so. I want to move that there should be greater exemption.....

Mr. Speaker: Simply because he anticipated that there would be greater exemption but actually there has been less, therefore, he cannot ask for this....

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Now, there is an amendment tabled already. Suppose I want to move an amendment to the amendment, what is the position?

Mr. Speaker: If he wants to move an amendment to an amendment, when he sends it on to me, I shall see whether there is any difficulty or whether the law requires it; at that time I shall see whether the recommendation of the President should be obtained; I can decide when he sends in the amendment. How can I decide on a hypothetical question now?

Motion moved:

"That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 1963-64 be taken into consideration."

Shri A. K. Gopalan: Let me, at the very outset, express the sense of appreciation which we have for the relief that has been given by the Finance Minister, which he thought fit to give in the matter of kerosene as well as the compulsory savings, a relief which has undoubtedly gone a little in alleviating the difficulties which the common people will have to face. But, in this partially meeting the universally expressed demand of the people for a radical revision of the budget proposals which he had placed before us in February last, the Finance Minister has lagged far far behind what the actual situation demands. As a matter of fact, the few reliefs that he has granted in relation to kerosene duties and compulsory savings are just like removing one or two straws from a bundle which had been placed on the back of an overburdened camel. I would, therefore, request him even at this late hour to be far more responsive to the demands of the common people and to radically revise his taxation proposals.

13 hrs.

I would like to begin my observations on the Finance Bill by reminding the Finance Minister that a few dozens of hard-working but now jobless goldsmiths have been forced by his unsympathetic gold policy to commit suicide. In the name of these martyrs of his unsympathetic policy and also in the name of lakhs and lakhs of others, who are still going through the strains of joblessness and poverty, I request him not only to revise his gold policy according to the suggestions that have been put forward by some of us but also to prevent lakhs and lakhs of other sections of the working class from sharing the same fate as that of the goldsmiths. From the cumulative effect of the various taxes which he himself is imposing together with some taxes that are imposed in the States by his colleagues, it would make the condition

of the people no less difficult than that of the goldsmiths.

We have now reached the last phase of the year's discussion of the financial position of the country. Behind the Finance Bill which the Finance Minister has introduced lies not only the discussions we had for the last two months including the Railway Budget but also the discussions in the various State legislatures. Though they are divided for convenience's sake into Central and State budgets, essentially they all cover the common ground of the financial position of the nation and the policies which the Government would like to pursue.

So let me at the outset also make it clear that there are certain broad policies on which we are in agreement. We are solidly behind Government in its declared intention that the basis of all financial and economic policies of the country is, and should be, the necessity for strengthening the nation's defence as well as to improve our work of carrying out the Five Year Plan without abandoning it or even slowing it down. We are, in other words, in full agreement with the stated aim of Government that defence and development should be integrated to each other in order to strengthen the nation as a whole.

The Prime Minister has declared time and again that the problem of the India-China border cannot be settled by military means but that an honourable solution has to be found for it through the methods of peaceful negotiation and arbitration. This applies not only to the specific question of the India-China border but to the question of our entire national defence. No country in the modern world can put exclusive reliance on the military aspect of defence to protect its national territory. Correct diplomacy based on the principles of co-existence will alone secure for our country, as far as any other country in the modern world, that support from foreign countries which will reduce

the possibility of an armed attack. The basis of correct diplomacy is non-alignment. On the other hand, alignment with one or other military groups will certainly make it more vulnerable even in the military sense. Replying on one's own strength combined with the goodwill and moral support of friendly countries is the best foundation for our defence.

National territory, however, cannot be defended by diplomacy alone. The experience that we have gained of the last 16 years of conflict with Pakistan and 4 years of conflict with China, and aggression committed by China has made it clear that whatever diplomatic activity we pursue should be combined with measures to strengthen ourselves militarily. This is the reason why the Government has recently stepped up its defence expenditure. While lending our support to these defence preparations, we also support the policy of negotiations with Pakistan as well as with China. Adherence to the policy of non-alignment naturally means that we have to depend on our own economic potential to strengthen our defences. We have to go further along the path of starting new, and also developing existing, defence industries. We should keep before ourselves the objective of building in our own factories all the arms and equipments and accessories we require for defence. It is true that this cannot be done immediately, but that should be our objective. As far as the immediate requirements are concerned, we should buy them on commercial terms from wherever we can get them. That will, of course, be financially more costly than accepting the terms offered by the western powers. But in reality it is less costly since we will thereby be able to preserve what is precious to us—our national sovereignty.

However, the fact that we have to pay for all the arms and equipments immediately required and also that

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we have start new, and develop existing, defence industries will put heavy financial and economic strains on us. I am sure our people will certainly be prepared for that. Such much about development directly connected with defence.

I would like to state that development as it is by itself is in a serious condition, and Government should pay attention to it. Despite their claims, the Government have not, in the last twelve years of planning, fulfilled the expectations that were roused among the people. Let us look at the record of these twelve years. We find that the only target of planning that has been fulfilled, and over-fulfilled, is the taxation target, while all the other targets, especially the physical targets, have not been achieved.

Let us take the question of the rate of growth. One of the principal objectives of planning we defined in the plan documents is the rapid growth of the national income and *per capita* in order to eliminate poverty. During the last few years, our rate of growth has been a miserable 3 per cent or less. When the First Plan was proposed, we set up a target of doubling the national income in 20 years and the *per capita* income in 25 years from 1950-51. At the rate at which we are progressing, it will take at least 30—35 years to achieve this objective of doubling national income. The *per capita* income also has shown relatively a much lower growth than the national income. It has been growing at a paltry 1.4 to 1.5 per cent, and this is not an alluring prospect for a poverty-stricken people to be enthused at. I may mention here that during the last twelve years, the burden of taxation has gone up three-fold.

The second main objective of planning was stated to be to reduce unemployment and under-employment. What is the position today? In 1950, the number of applicants on the live register of employed was 3,30,743 and

at the end of December 1962, it mounted to 23,79,530. That means, a seven-fold increase. It is worthwhile remembering that the increase in unemployment is continuous and uninterrupted. It is also a well-known fact that only a small fraction of the urban people get registered in employment exchanges and the vast millions of rural unemployed do not get themselves registered and are not counted at all in the employment exchange statistics. In the light of this, the seriousness of this problem can be known. The situation is worsening everyday. It is accepted that between now and 1965—76, 75 million new entrants will be added to the labour force. Already at the end of the Second Plan, there were nearly 10 million fully unemployed. If the annual rate of growth of economy at 7 per cent is achieved, then more than 25 million people can be absorbed in agriculture as well as industry, remaining 50 million will have to fend for themselves in the overcrowded construction and services sector. After all the experience we have already had, the 7 per cent rate of growth is a mirage in the present socio-economic set up and the present policies of Government. The position is that the country, at the rate at which our economy is growing today, will be a miserable hell for crores and crores of people. This is a prospect that few with any social and moral conscience can view with equanimity.

The next object of planning was supposed to be the narrowing of the wide disparities in incomes and levels of living. Undoubtedly it has to be admitted, and even the Government itself has admitted that it has dismally failed in this. Every study, every estimate, has been witness to the unassailable conclusion that the period since independence, especially the period of planned development, has led to an accentuation of the wide disparities between the few rich and the many poor.

Three years ago, 1960, the Government of India appointed a committee to go into the question of changes in income and levels of living of the different sections of the people, but unfortunately, the long-awaited report of this committee has not come. In the meantime, a lot of things have leaked out in the press. Press reports undoubtedly show that during the past few years disparities in income between the poor and the rich have increased.

Many foreign observers in recent months have remarked about the situation in our country. Mr. Abbert West, 83 year old South African associate of Gandhiji, said recently that the gap between the rich and the poor in India was appalling. In his own words:

"The awful gap ought to impress on the Government and the Ministers the great need to bridge it."

Mr. West also felt that the promise of enough food for all 40 years hence was wholly cheerless. This is the opinion of a well-wisher of our country. Similarly, many others have remarked about this aspect.

This is the dismal picture of the people. The other day I read in newspapers that one person commits suicide every third day in Delhi City alone. The number of suicide cases has been increasing steadily. One hundred and eighteen persons put an end to their lives in Delhi in 1962 as against 95 in 1961. This is not the picture of a healthy society.

It is in this background that we have to consider the Finance Bill and its effect on the lives of the people. There is the Central tax. In addition, there is going to be a compulsory levy. On top of all this, there is increase in the State taxes. It is, therefore, that the total increase of taxes, both Central and states, will exceed Rs. 10 *per*

capita this year. Can the vast masses of our people endure this? What will be the effect of this on the lives of the people?

From our experience as well as press reports it has become clear that as a result of this fresh taxation, prices have been pushed up by 15 to 20 per cent. While this is the general picture, the effect of the new taxation measures is bound to hit particular sections of the people hard. This is the case with the handloom weavers. There is a large accumulation of stocks and lakhs of weavers are unemployed or partially employed. The increase in the excise duty on yarn is bound to further worsen the condition of handloom weavers.

With regard to tobacco cultivators also the situation is alarming. I have written to the Finance Minister about certain sections of tobacco cultivators who have no market as their quality is very poor. About 6000 of them in some parts of Kerala will have to stop cultivation and starve. The additional duty on tobacco will only hit the peasants who are already in distress due to the slump in tobacco and the large accumulation of tobacco stocks.

We have also to consider the State Budgets in order to know the burden on the people. The State Budgets almost everywhere have put additional taxes on the peasants in the form of increase in land revenue surcharge water charges etc. Rajasthan has imposed a consolidated general cess of 25 per cent on land revenue up to a holding of 15 $\frac{5}{8}$ acres rising to 50 per cent to holdings above 33 $\frac{2}{3}$ acres. Mysore has put a surcharge of cent per cent on land revenue. Sales tax on foodgrains has also been introduced. In Gujarat additional taxation includes special increase in land revenue increase in the rate of non-agricultural assessment, open land tax in towns, increase in tax on passenger fares and general increase in sales tax. This is the pattern of new taxation in the States. All this

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is bound to increase the cost of living of the people, increase the burden especially on the peasantry, pull down the standard of living and levels of consumption of the poorer section of our people.

On the top of all this, there is compulsory saving. Though some relief has been announced, the scheme introduced along with the Budget proposals is going to be an oppressive measure affecting the peasantry as a whole,.....

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): Hear, hear.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: petty traders, artisans etc. While the Finance Minister says that he will not use compulsion to bring out the gold hoards, it is strange that he has no compunction in introducing such a monstrous measure against the peasants and workers. It is, therefore, obvious that the weaknesses and defects in the working of the Plan are not the result of the new situation created by the Chinese aggression. The causes for this state of affairs have to be examined independently.

My main criticism of the policy underlying the Finance Bill is that far from examining the causes which have led to this failure in the working of the Plan and making necessary reorientation in Government's approach to the Plan, Government doggedly and rigidly sticks to the perverse attitude which it has always adopted. Furthermore, now that the new situation of emergency has arisen, Government proposes to extend that perverse attitude to planning to this new field of defence as well.

What is the essence of this attitude which I call perverse? It is refusal to take an objective and impartial attitude towards the problem of resources. Ever since the First Plan was prepared and placed before Parliament we have been pointing out that it will be totally wrong to depend on the

method of squeezing the poor in order to secure the resources for the Plan as the Government has been doing. We had demanded that the huge accumulated wealth lying in the coffers of big landlords and monopolists should be put at the disposal of the nation. Since we have repeatedly given concrete suggestions as to how this could be done, I do not want to cover the same ground now. But I want to point out two concrete ways in which the huge burdens that are now sought to be put on the people by way of additional taxation can be avoided without abandoning defence and development.

Firstly, some of the key sectors of the national economy which are owned or controlled by a handful of foreign or Indian monopoly capitalists should be immediately nationalised. There was a question even this morning about nationalisation, but no reply was given about the difficulties in the way.

Take for instance the oil industry. It is an acknowledged fact that a few foreign monopolists are so powerfully entrenched in this industry that they are able to dictate terms to the Government. It is only because of the firm determination of the Oil Minister that they were at times forced to give concessions to the Government. Using their vast monopoly, they are still netting huge profits. These profits can be put at the disposal of the nation if only the Government dares to do what certain other Asian countries have done. Instead of doing that, Government imposes a heavy burden of additional kerosene tax on the common man. If this is done, even though a tax is put on kerosene, the price will come down and we will also get crores of rupees as profit.

Another industry that is ripe for nationalisation is banking. Here also, it is a handful of monopolists, though not foreign, who are in control of the industry. I am not unmindful of the fact that a large number of the middle

class people are participants in this industry because they hold shares in it, but it is not these shareholders but a few monopolists who are in effective control of this industry. Utilising this control, they are not only able to earn monopoly profits, but also to so manipulate the working of financial and industrial institutions as to be able to dominate them. Nationalising these banks will, therefore, enable Government to put the entire profit of the banking industry at the disposal of the nation for defence industries and development activities. It will also incidentally curtail the vast powers of the monopolist bankers. We have heard stories of the liquidation of the Palai Bank and Lakshmi Bank. We will also be able to save the depositors from liquidation.

Foreign trade is equally important. The private monopolists who control the import and export trade, together with their counterparts in foreign countries, dominate the whole field of our international economic relations. They are thus enabled to conceal the huge illegal profits which they earn in the course of foreign trade, transform them into legal money and gold and cheat the national exchequer to the extent of hundreds of crores of rupees. As a matter of fact, the huge gold smuggling which goes on from year to year, and against which the Finance Minister thunders in his speeches but is unable to do anything to curb it, is flourishing because of the domination of a few monopolists in foreign trade. Here again, nationalisation would help not only in easing the financial strain on the national exchequer but also in curtailing the vast powers enjoyed by the monopolists.

This applies to a certain extent to important lines of internal trade too. Take for instance the wholesale trade in foodgrains. We have the report of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee. The Government itself had sometime back come to the conclusion that the problem of food supply cannot be satisfactorily solved unless the entire

wholesale trade in foodgrains is being made a state monopoly. But no sooner was this decision taken than it was sought to be sabotaged by somebody. If this had not been done and if wholesale trade in foodgrains had been made a State monopoly, many of the difficulties that are now being met with would have been solved. Proper and efficient management of the institutions of State monopoly in foodgrains would have helped in giving partial solution to the financial difficulties of the Government.

I have given just a few examples to show how the dogged determination of the Government to protect the rights of the monopolists is standing in the way of directing into the public treasury the huge amounts that are now going into the coffers of the monopolists. It is this attitude of the Government that forces it to take the common man's kerosene and tobacco, tea and soap, and all manner of other consumption goods. Secondly, the Government refuse to give serious thought to the problem of economising on administrative expenditure, as well as of avoiding unnecessary and wasteful expenditure even in the field of developmental services. Right under the very nose of the Finance Minister, huge and wasteful expenditure is being incurred in every department. To take just one instance, it is notorious that a major part of the expenditure of the much-advertised community development administration is unnecessary and wasteful. A large number of fanciful schemes included in it do not yield substantial results. The same is true of many white elephants like the Khadi Commission, Social Welfare Board, etc. These institutions do precious little work but yet spend huge amounts on establishments, travelling etc. The little good that is done by these well-advertised boards, commissions, departments and ministries can well be done through the normal developmental departments. I know that it will not be done. That, of course, would not serve the political purposes for which the party in power has de-

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ecided to set up these separate departments and created so many posts for them. Drastic cuts in such expenditures and also the abandonment of such crazy projects like prohibition will earn several crores of rupees for the exchequer. Several times we have reminded the Finance Minister about prohibition. It is not because he will yield to our opinion. But we say it again to impress on him that if we want to get money for these Plans, projects like Prohibition which are useless and which have turned against the very purpose for which they were introduced should be dropped.

Thirdly, if only the Government were prepared to direct its thinking along the lines indicated above, it would have been possible for it not only to continue to carry out the Five Year Plans as formulated now but to reformulate them. The Plan could have been made bigger, the rates of growth higher and development faster.

The Government's refusal to make such a reorientation in its approach to planning and economic policies has led to a very serious situation. I would request the Finance Minister to search his heart and see whether he and his policies are not responsible for the several dozens of goldsmiths who are reported to have been forced to commit suicide during the last two months. I would also request him to consider seriously the effect that will be produced on the lakhs and lakhs of working class, peasant, artisan and middle-class families created by the new series of taxes which he and his colleagues of the State Governments have imposed on kerosene, tobacco, tea, soap, foodgrains, etc. The compulsory saving scheme that he proposes to introduce is bound to be a source of worry and harassment to millions of people because the net that it cast is so wide that very few people will be outside its stranglehold. The desperation into which thousands of goldsmiths' families have already been drawn will inevitably be the lot

of other sections of the people if the Government persists in this policy.

Let not the Minister repeat the unconvincing argument that all these people should make sacrifices for defence and development. It is clear for all those who have eyes to see that it is not these common people but the rich and the wealthy minority who are not making sacrifices. The former princes who plead poverty even to donate the 10 per cent of their privy purses to the National Defence fund, the owners of big stocks of gold who have refused to deposit the gold which they should have surrendered to the Government, the big business bosses who, according to such reports as the Vivian Bose Commission Report have resorted to tax evasion on a big scale—such are the people who have to be made to sacrifice for the nation.

When the question of tax evasion comes; even yesterday, the Finance Minister has said that he would look into it. I want to refer to one company; I would be writing to him in detail about it. It is said to be a non-trading firm in Calcutta but it is trading. So many crores of rupees of income-tax evasion is made by them; this letters says that.

As for common people they have shown through concrete action that they would not hesitate to make whatever sacrifice they are called upon to make voluntarily. Having made those sacrifices voluntarily, they are entitled to ask of the Government that the tax-evading, swindling, profiteering resorted to by the bosses should be put a stop to, that the tax burdens are put on their shoulders and that the cost of living of the common people is not unduly raised through the means of additional taxation on the articles of daily consumption. I will finish, Sir, with one sentence. I warn the Government that in the coming days after passing of this Bill and giving the people very little relief, Government must be prepared to face the wrath of the people.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Trivedi. He wrote to me he is leaving at 3 P.M. today.

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Mandsaur): Sir, I sincerely thank you for the opportunity. We have been discussing the Budget proposals for well nigh a month now. It is good that the Finance Minister has thought it fit to give some relief about kerosene. Though that is a little relief, it is certainly welcome. There is one thing very remarkable about the step-motherly attitude of the Government of India towards certain States which was brought in relief by me and which was voiced by me. I do not know whether it has fallen on every deaf ear or whether the Government is at all going to listen to it.

13.30 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

When the report of the University Grants Commission was discussed in this House, it was noticed by me that whereas other universities and other States were granted as much as Rs. 13 or 15 or 20 lakhs, universities of M.P. State were granted meagre grants of Rs. 66,000 or Rs. 56,000.

Then came the question of the Postal Department; and it struck me as very strange that even while smaller States like Kerala and Gujarat have got their own postal circle, the biggest State in India, from the point of view of size, namely, Madhya Pradesh, has not got a postal circle of its own. We have also brought it to the notice of this House and through this House to the notice of the Government that so far as Madhya Pradesh is concerned, the grant that was made for building roads and developing transport was most meagre in respect of Madhya Pradesh, compared to its size; so much so that even Bihar got Rs. 47.6 crores compared to Rs. 17.3 crores for Madhya Pradesh.

Coming to industrial development loans or the loans that are given by the Industrial Finance Corporation of India, I find from a table that has

been supplied by the Estimates Committee at page 12 of its report—the 35th report—that of the 192 applications made by Maharashtra for getting these loans, 116 were sanctioned; of the five applications made by Gujarat, all the five were accepted; of the 22 applications made by Madhya Pradesh, only seven were sanctioned. The total amount is given in rupees annas and pies, in crores. The whole amount of Rs. 48.93 crores was sanctioned so far as Maharashtra was concerned. So far as Gujarat was concerned, Rs. 9.04 crores were sanctioned. So far as Madhya Pradesh is concerned, Rs. 1.04 sanctioned.

An Hon. Member: For industries?

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Yes; loans from the Industrial Finance Corporation to Madhya Pradesh for development of industries. On a percentage basis it came to just 0.28 per cent of Madhya Pradesh.

It has been noticed and again been brought to the notice of this House before which this Estimates Committee report was submitted that the Estimates Committee itself has drawn the attention of the Government to this fact; that while the percentage of disbursement of loan in respect of Maharashtra, Madras and West Bengal was 23.67, 13.17 and 10.97 respectively, together making a total of 47.81 per cent, it is only 0.28 per cent in respect of Madhya Pradesh. It is thus evident that the less developed States have received comparatively less assistance from the Government than the industrially more advanced States. It says that as long ago as 1948 the Central Government had issued instructions to the Industrial Finance Corporation that in its operation the Corporation should assist as far as may be practicable the industrial development of backward provinces and areas in order that such regions may attain a more balanced economic development. Unfortunately, notwithstanding the various suggestions and the facts which have been pointed out, the Industrial Finance Corporation has miserably failed to

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fulfil the directions that have been given.

The Committee again say in paragraph 32 of its report as follows:

"The Committee are somewhat concerned over the meagre disbursements made by the Corporation so far to the less developed States like Assam, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. . . . This would indicate that the instructions issued to the Corporation at its very commencement that it should assist the industrial development of backward provinces and areas in order that they may attain a more balanced development has been of little effect."

May I, through you and through this House ask that the Government should apply its mind to all these suggestions that are made by the Estimates Committee?

We know that our budget proposals, the Finance Bill, are going to levy a heavy burden of taxation upon the people. We have accepted some of them and, we have got to accept them, since our country is facing an emergency, and nobody can deny that the emergency is before us, and therefore the defence expenditure must increase. But with all that, is it not necessary that we should also apply our mind to cut down such of the expenses as we find to be not commensurate with the present status of our country or the position of our country? We cannot afford to live like Lords or rajahs and maharajahs. We cannot go on spending in the same manner. I heard Shri Morarji Desai saying one day that even in eating things he counts the calories. I think if he counts the calories he must also count the rupees, annas and pies that he spends. He is so careful enough as to go to the bath-room and close the water-tap which allows more water to flow. I will ask him to plug those holes from which money flows. That would be most essential for a man of his stature.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: He is not a maharajah!

Shri U. M. Trivedi: He is not a maharajah; I do not wish him to be a maharajah. But he is Shri Morarji Desai. At the same time, we find that this expenditure is growing. We go to the Secretariat. I do not know what has happened; the number of gazetted officers goes on increasing without any limit. Perhaps nobody seems to work unless and until he is made a gazetted officer. If that is the idea, that idea must stop. About 20 years back, the people in the Secretariat were a hard-working lot. Now they have become an idle lot. They do not put in half the work that was being put in before. The number of clerks has increased; the number of officers has increased, and the number of Class IV staff has also increased. Very recently, there has been a report that steps are being taken to reduce or retrench all that extra staff that has been so recruited. I hope that we had succeeded in pruning even to that extent the expenditure that is incurred on such things.

There is one department which is governed by this Finance Ministry to which I will draw particular attention. For many years now, and perhaps for many more years to come, we would be the greatest producers of opium in the world. We earn a good deal of foreign exchange also through it. But the condition in which the employees of the Opium Department find themselves is very miserable. I have often brought it to the notice of the Ministers concerned that their condition of service must be ameliorated. At one time, it did appear to me that something has been done by the new rules on quasi-permanent services, but the rules have been so applied and the rules have been so worked that those people who have put in 17, 20 or even 28 years of service find themselves to be permanent only for the last one, two or three years. Breaks of service have been manipulated. Even today in the department their position has not been

regularised. The leakage in this department is also very great. The administration of this department also calls for a good deal of probing on the part of the Ministry. It is a notorious fact that there are fixed smugglers operating from Delhi, Punjab and even from foreign countries, in Madhya Pradesh territory. Maunds and maunds of opium are sometimes caught. Very recently there was a big haul of about 8 maunds of opium. Sometimes back there was a big haul of 7 maunds 35 seers of opium. The names of these parties are well-known. There are well-known villages where you will find that there is not a single poor man, although they are villages situated in the interior of the tehsil. They are known merely as peasants, but each of them has got a *haveli*, a big palace built for himself. The village is a village of palaces, because that is the village which belongs to the smugglers. Yet Government seems to be sleeping over it. How is it that these persons are making so much of money? What type of wealth-tax or income-tax is levied from them (*Interruptions*). Government has not taken opium, but they must at least wake up to the situation. It is for the officers concerned that they should wake up.

Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj (Wardha): Can you give the name of the village?

Shri Bade (Khargone): I can give you.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: There is a village known as Karaw Kadwasa; it is in my district and I have been to that village.

Dogs were trained for the purpose of tracing the smugglers, but not one dog has proved successful so far as catching these smugglers is concerned. These smugglers are very rich persons. Very recently I have heard, and it has been published in the papers day before yesterday, that some very senior police officers were recently to be arrested for allowing this type of smuggling; because some very big gun of the ruling party also was involved,

these people were shielded. Apart from it, I find that in this opium department, generally those who are arrested are people with a good deal of money.

In one case, I remember that one smuggler manipulated to have his case transferred to six different magistrates, from one magistrate to another, and ultimately he succeeded in getting all the records of the Jawra municipality changed to show that he was never the owner of the house from which 7 maunds 35 seers of opium were recovered. He was acquitted.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): It can only happen in Madhya Pradesh.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: It happens everywhere. Read the PAC reports. A building costing Rs. 50 lakhs was not traceable. Why does it happen? The whole question before us is that in prosecuting these smugglers, Government spend so much money, but it is not prepared to spend Rs. 200 or Rs. 300 a month for having its own prosecutor to conduct these cases. The police prosecutor joins hands with the investigating officer of the police and both take money from the smuggler. The net result is a lacuna left in the prosecution and the accused gets acquitted. In this manner, Government loses a very big revenue.

There is another case which comes to my mind. There were 1 maund 10 seers of opium at one place and 1 maund 5 seers of opium at the same place where two different persons were arrested. The opium was turned into *elua*. At the end of the trial lasting 12 months, opium became *elua*. The police station officer who kept this certainly swallowed a good deal of money and Government lost all the price of that. Therefore, I would urge that great precaution must be taken by the Government in the administration of these departments which are directly under this Ministry.

We know that in our country, unemployment is growing. It is a very

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wrong complacency on our part to be satisfied with the figures given by the various employment exchanges we have established in the urban areas. Unemployment in the rural areas is tremendous. People are starving. They have nothing to eat. Not only the background class people, but the so called higher class people are also living from hand to mouth, because there is no employment. On the top of it, it has been thought fit by our Government to introduce this Gold Control Order. This order will certainly throw out if not 20 lakhs of people, putting the smallest estimate possible, at least 10 lakhs. Even if 10 lakhs of men are to be left unemployed, that will create a problem for our country. These goldsmiths have been deprived of their means of livelihood by the Government just under the cloak of this emergency, by having recourse to the Defence of India Rules. This is the greatest blow that we can give to a big community in our country for no fault of its own.

We live in tradition. Our traditions and culture are there. Our people are used to a particular type of life; they are used to a particular standard of spending money and using things that they like. Just because we think we are very educated persons and we are advanced, we cannot say to them, "What you do is taboo to us; you do not have ear-rings or nose-rings or necklaces" and so on. We cannot dictate to them like this. The freedom of thinking we have allowed in our Constitution should be allowed in spirit and letter. In our actions, we act as if we are some sort of autocrats who want to keep down the wishes of those who, we think, are not right-thinking people. We have no business to do that.

The profession of the goldsmith was not a profession which we taught him at school or college. It was a thing which was handed over from generation to generation. They learnt a particular method and they live by

their method. They are not a burden to us. They do not do any harm to us. They are labourers. Although many people impute dishonesty to them, I say that their dishonesty is nothing compared to the dishonesty of the big engineers that we employ in the engineering branch. Under these circumstances, would it be possible for us to reconsider this position? In view of the fact that it will throw so many people out of employment, would it not be possible for Government to consider sympathetically that it would be quite proper for us to allow them to carry on their trade?

Let us calculate mathematically. We have not put any limitation on the use of gold. We have put limitation merely on the carat-quantity of gold. We say they must have only ornaments of 14 carats. Now, if 10 tolas of 14 carat gold is to be used it will come to 140 carats and if it is 5 tolas of 22 carats it will come to 110 carats. I say, the country will not lose anything by this arrangement of having put a maximum upon the amount of gold that a particular person may have, but reducing it to a lower quality for making ornaments which generally our goldsmiths are not able to make is, to say the least, autocracy of a type which should not be tolerated in this democracy.

Then I come to the general picture of the taxation system. Most of us who have been earning well even from our early days must have been paying tax. Without grumbling most of us have been paying this tax. Direct tax is there for each one of us and we have been paying it. But, Sir, if the method of levying this tax is such that it makes a man dishonest, I should say, there is sufficient material before us from which we can judge that a man who has to pay a tax and who wants to avoid payment of the tax generally takes recourse only to the legal flaws that are available to him. Beyond the legal flaws evasion of taxation is not much. But there are people who want to evade tax by

criminal methods. We have to investigate why these criminal methods are adopted by such people and see how we are going to checkmate these criminal methods.

We have got the tax evaders whom we generally call by the other name "blackmarketees". We have made no laws to check these blackmarketees, and these blackmarketees are there as a result of mere corruption, pure and simple. There have been instances where big millowners, owners of big factories and others who, either on the movement of sugarcane or in the movement of coal, give wrong figures. What they do is, take more sugarcane and show a lesser amount, get more yield of sugar and sell that sugar in the market, save all the money for themselves, save income-tax for themselves, save sales-tax for themselves and pay a goodly sum of money when the elections come in to satisfy the bosses, the local *Gaulieter* of the Congress Party or any other party.

An Hon. Member: Jan Sangh.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Yes, I am also responsible for it to some extent. We promise them that everything will be hidden, they may do as they like but they have only to pay some contribution when the elections come. I would, therefore, suggest that you put it down at one stroke that no company must be allowed to spend or give any money to any political party for election purposes. Let there be charities and let those charities be for public purposes and for use by the public. Let there be more dharmashalas built, let there be more colleges built, let there be more wells dug, let there be more hospitals built and let there be other things for the benefit of the public. But let them not contribute to the political parties. They take full advantage of the situation by making this contribution to the political parties. It must cease.

The typical tone that has been set, and we generally agree to that, of course, willy-nilly, is to sock the rich. But how far you can go on socking

the rich is the problem. The honest rich will not require any socking, he will pay his tax all right. Those who are dishonest, you cannot sock them; they escape, escape before your own eyes. Most of us must have read the very recent reports of what happened in Bikaner, how much money has been made by particular persons who engaged themselves in the smuggling trade, not only smuggling but in the dirty trade of hiding dacoits coming from Pakistan and making money. It is these people who are a source of menace to our country and who are certainly a source of trouble for us in the matter of collecting taxes.

I will draw the attention of the hon. Minister to the administration of the Income-tax Department. In this department you come across various types of people and officers. Some are extremely honest in their behaviour, good courteous and polite and some are mere fops and flops who behave rudely with people, who treat each one who goes before them as a very dishonest man and make him really dishonest by their own dishonest methods. In order to gain for themselves they make others dishonest. Books have been written by several persons on this Income-tax Department. They are worth reading and they are worth revealing, because these books have been written by those who have been in the department itself and who have practised all these malpractices. I would therefore commend that the hon. Minister will kindly go through such books with a view to put an end to this type of activity by such persons.

The hon. Minister has referred to the taxation on tobacco. I do not smoke. I am not hit by it. I do not think Morarjibhai smokes. So he is also not hit by it.

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): That is the misfortune of the country, that he is not a smoker. (*Interruptions*).

Shri U. M. Trivedi: It is not a misfortune. It is good. But the whole question that has to be considered is the method in which the assessment

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of tobacco excise is being carried out in this country. It is very bad. I should say that immediate steps must be taken to check these persons who are known as excise inspectors or deputy superintendents of excise who go about making money out of these assessments that have been made on standing crops. There must be a simple system of licensing and producing in respect of tobacco as has been introduced in the opium department, if the Government wants to realise excise out of it. Instead of that, it is now left to the deputy superintendents of excise. They go about and collect the duty. They do not care for the crop, they do not care what happens to the crop, they do not care to see what ultimately is produced, they simply say that the production must have been so much, the farmer failed to bring it to the warehouse and therefore so much has been left out. The net result is that at the end of five or ten years—there is no limitation put on them—they say that so much ought to have been the assessment. I remember a case where at the end of ten years a farmer was told that his assessment ought to be so much. Then the poor, illiterate farmer living in a village is told that he has to pay Rs. 1300 or Rs. 2000 and his bullocks, cows, house and everything are being attached under the PDRA. This is the sort of tyranny that has been practised in the Tobacco Department, by the officers and clerks in the Tobacco Department, and this must be put a stop to.

Shri Bade: The assesment on standing crops should not be done.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: With these words, Sir, I conclude.

14 hrs.

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza (Warrangal): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I rise to support the Finance Bill, especially the reliefs and concessions that the hon. Finance Minister announced today.

Even though I am not a believer in the presentation of budget in instalments, there are human considerations involved, and they were very important concessions too for which the country is thankful to the hon. Finance Minister.

The hon. Finance Minister is now working under dual pressure. One is the compulsion of events, the aggression by China and the threatening grumbling by Pakistan which has necessitated a huge expenditure on defence. The other pressure is the compulsion of the demand because of our objectives—the plan, the socialist pattern of society that we are aiming at and the higher standard of living. Neither of these could be renounced or given up. So, I am glad to see the courage of the Finance Minister, who has risen to the occasion. He has not hesitated to propose the most severest taxation proposals. At the same time, we have to thank the people of India also, mostly poor, who have not agitated or even complained about the ruthless nature of the taxes or their severity, even though compulsory savings and taxation on kerosene were such that it was practically impossible for them to put up with them. Still, they were not against taxation, severe though it was, and they were willing to pay it. That is so because today the whole country is moving towards the single idea of keeping this country mighty and free.

The main expenditure is on defence, about Rs. 800 crores. Still, it is a paltry sum, but that is the best that we could do, though it is not sufficient for our defence. Because, what really has happened after partition is that while the size of our country has been cut down, the frontier of India has increased. Our coastline is the same as it was before, except for a small section in the west. Our land frontier is practically the whole of Himalayas from Kashmir to Assam. Then, we have two vulnerable frontiers between India and Pakistan that is new-

ly added to our defence. So, naturally, the budget of pre-independent India could be smaller than the budget of a divided India. That is our misfortune. Since these borders are vulnerable, we have to take special care about them.

Our resources are not enough. So, naturally, we have to turn to foreign aid. My hon. friend, Shri Gopalan, suggested that it should be on a commercial basis. At the same time, he was talking about oppressive taxes and the burden on the poor. In a poor country like ours, what is that system of taxation which can avoid taxing the poor. You cannot have the cake and eat it too.

He suggested the buying of armaments from foreign countries. But how are we going to get the money for it? He suggested nationalisation of banks and the scrapping up of prohibition. Apart from the theoretical consideration about nationalisation, we are faced with an immediate problem. If we nationalise banks, naturally, the profits that go to the private persons will come to the State. But, at the same time, a large number of shareholders are involved in this, and we have to give them compensation. From where can we get that much money for payment of compensation?

So far as prohibition is concerned, what is the merit of the case? Here I am not talking of the ideology or the moral considerations of scrapping up prohibition. Whatever may be the arguments for getting additional revenues by abolishing prohibition, that additional revenue comes from the poor. It is not only the rich that drink gallons and gallons of liquor; a majority of the poor people also go to toddy shops and bear halls. So, even if we abolish prohibition, that money is going to come from the poor people. Here I am not talking of the merits as to whether there should be prohibition or not, but, at the present moment, it is only a visionary. I think it is not a suggestion which we could consider.

Apart from that, I have considered some other arguments that are brought forward about getting foreign aid, specially armaments. Since it is open to inspection, Shri Gopalan says that it is against our national sovereignty. There is also another argument that further aid from the United States and the United Kingdom are based on understanding with Pakistan. About inspection, there is nothing special that the United States has insisted on in the case of India alone. That is the law of the land. Whenever they give arms aid without being paid for it, they have to ensure that the arms are not used against them. That being the position, once we are clear of our objectives, what is there to hide? When the United States and other countries are sure of that, this inspection becomes a mere formality. After all, we have no choice in the matter. We want arms and we have not got the money to pay for it. We cannot dictate conditions and change the law of another country just because it does not suit our Government. That is the position about inspection.

Then I want to say a few words about our understanding with Pakistan. The fact is, as a counter-weight, to balance the weight and power of China, we require a defence unit to the extent that it stretches from Pamir to Singapore. In fact, it was such a unit at one time, but the British Government, sensing the danger in the accumulation of such a large man-power within one country, started slicing operations. First, they removed Burma from this region. Then we had Hindustan and Pakistan and we have nearly missed having another sub-division. Now what they are trying to do is to have the return back. And, by accident of history, China did not receive the same fate. In fact, by the addition of Tibet and Manchuria, it has swelled at both ends, upsetting furthermore the balance in Asia. So, it will be in the interest, I say, of the world powers to restore this balance and remove the instability in this re-

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gion. That is why Russia, USA and UK have all come forward to give aid to India.

I will go further and say that I personally believe that there are no aids which are without strings. There might be very fine strings, invisible to your eyes; they are not without strings. The only way to counteract it is to get aid from both the sides. That is why you find the missile factory that Russia is helping us to build, about which there is a hue and cry in the United States. Similarly, our Communist friends are angry because we get aid from the United States and the United Kingdom. The only way, therefore, is to see that we get aid from both the sides, and that is the policy we are pursuing, which is the right policy.

This balancing of powers and the fact that the Chinese threat to India is also a threat to Pakistan are well known even to President Ayub. He is an army general and he knows that the shortest cut to the plains of India is through the Natu Pass, that once they cross the Natu Pass they will have to cross through East Pakistan and that our country, the whole Gangetic Basin, is like a billiard table—the difference between the altitude of Calcutta and Lahore is only 1,000 feet above sea level. So, it is a military fact that once China crosses the Himalayas and gets a footing on the plains of India it means that it is a threat to Pakistan and it would follow, as day follows night, that it will attack Pakistan.

By having some alliance about the border of Kashmir, Pakistan thinks that it has closed that chapter. that now India is left alone to face China and that in this position it can put pressure on India to get concessions. China can never forget that Pakistan is a signatory to the SEATO and CENTO Pacts the main object of which is to contain China and the

spread of communism in this region. It must be the innocence of babes if General Ayub really thinks that China is no threat to Pakistan. This is a political game which he is playing just now. That was the reason why he offered joint defence long ago. But today, I say, President Ayub is not in a position to honour an agreement even if he makes it. It is not the same position now. It is not the Ayub who was there two years ago. Two years ago he could carry the country with him; today the whole of East Pakistan is under revolt and the opposition in West Pakistan is mounting. So, he must play to the gallery and he is playing to the gallery.

The whole ideology, the whole policy of Pakistan is based on one single factor and that is to work against India. Pakistan was created by anti-Hindu feeling and leaning on the United Kingdom. Today, they are creating anti-Indian feeling and are leaning on the United States. The purpose and the end is the same. Their stability depends upon creating this furore and mass hysteria because they have no economic planning or objectives and the people are dissatisfied. So, this is the only way. Therefore, this is the policy of Pakistan and this is the policy which President Ayub, whatever he may feel within himself or whatever may be his views, is compelled to follow.

Look at this picture now. We have been having negotiations with Pakistan for some time. People say that under pressure of the United States and the United Kingdom, whatever it may be, we have been negotiating. Now, look at the way in which Pakistan has acted. In the very first meeting they came out with the idea that agreement with China has been made in principle about the border. Then, at the last meeting they actually came out with the agreement itself. It is not a mere accident. They make a joint appeal saying that India and

Pakistan should restrain from making propaganda or statements, but before the ink was dry on that joint appeal, Mr. Dehlavi, the Foreign Secretary, and Mr. Ahmed, the Ambassador of Pakistan in America, started an anti-Indian campaign. Even Mr. Bhutto himself, who is one of the negotiators, said that secularism in India is just a garb to hide many crimes. Then President Ayub, the top man, who knows what appeal has been made, says that Pandit Nehru is a stumbling block in the negotiations. On the one side they try to bring pressure on the United States that they should not give aid to India and, on the other side, they try to sabotage the agreement and the negotiations themselves.

I say in this House that our publicity agencies should broadcast all this to the world. They may do it, but they will do it when it is too late. See for example the book of Bertrand Russel which has come. Its title is *Unarmed Victory*. I tried to get hold of a copy and I even approached the External Affairs Ministry, but I could not get it. But I have read several reviews of it in several papers. A man like Bertrand Russel comes out and says that China has a case and that India has given an ultimatum. What were our publicity agencies and embassies doing all this time? Our case is so clear. Not only did we not try all the time to negotiate in spite of the fact that the Chinese were advancing but we made an offer to them to withdraw 20 miles from the disputed area. They did not agree to that. Now that call the 8th September position an ultimatum. Even the 8th September proposal does not mean that they go out of the territory of India. The 8th September proposal itself is a concession. It shows the desire of India for peace and negotiations.

Our publicity agencies all depend entirely on the speeches of the hon. Prime Minister in the House and elsewhere. They simply distribute tomes and tomes of White Papers which nobody reads. Our ambassadors do not

have any press conference like Professor Galbraith. If there is a little misunderstanding, he calls a press conference and clears the whole thing. What are these people doing? I never hear of any of our ambassadors having a press conference or of making our position clear. So, our publicity should be thoroughly overhauled.

One final word and that is this. Whatever be the settlement about Kashmir there should not be any settlement which affects the secularism of India. We are building a united people, we are trying to integrate and we have got a number of forces within that we have to battle with. We cannot upset this just to please Pakistan or out of fear or blackmail. We will never agree to this.

Then, there is talk about the Scotch pattern and dividing the Kashmir Valley. We cannot accept this. After all, it is not Aksaichin alone that is the sacred soil of India. The soil of Kashmir also is sacred and we should not and we will not, under any threat or blackmail, yield to anything which goes against our basic interests. What, after all, will happen, if worst comes to worst, is that China and Pakistan, combined to gether, will fight and they might advance a little. But ultimately they can only fight to a standstill. There is no other solution. Those days have gone when military decisions decided the fates of nations. Now things are different. Ideology, ideas, the will of the people and the consciousness of the people are the biggest weapons that we have and for that we must strive.

Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, in the context of the Chinese aggression—and in spite of the unilateral cease-fire the threat of aggression has not ceased; the emergency continues—it was in the fitness of things that the Budget has been prepared with defence orientation. It has been broadbased and covers almost all sections of the people in the

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country. I appreciate the good intentions and the courage and the conviction behind it.

People would not mind in the context of the emergency and the danger to the country to pay such heavy taxes. I also know that the hon. Finance Minister has taken steps to avoid wastage in the administration and to curtail expenditure wherever superficial expenses are there. But these facts are not so well known to the people. If the people come to know about these things properly, their grievances against heavy taxation will not be to the same extent. We have accepted mixed economy for the development of the country. Many times, in this House, people have not given full support to the accepted policy of mixed economy. Half-hearted support for the development and growth of the private sector is going to do harm in the long run. Such mental reservation is jeopardising our development. At least, it is not allowing a suitable climate to be created for the growth and development of the country. If the private sector has no place in the economy and development of our country, by a Resolution of the House, as a policy, we can determine it and wipe it out. As long as we have accepted that as a policy, to create a bad climate or unhealthy climate for its development is not in the interests of the country in the long run.

The Finance Minister has announced certain marginal concessions on the Budget proposals that he had presented before the House. Although the concessions that he has given are marginal in many places, they have removed certain hardships and eased certain difficulties which may have been there in the working of administration and collection of these revenues, etc. I am not going into much detail of these Budget proposals. The confidence of the market has been created not so much because the concessions have been appreciated to the

extent it was desired, but purely because the Finance Minister has categorically announced that if he finds that the S.P.T. or compulsory savings are ultimately going to retard the pace of progress in the country, he would be the first man to come and ask the House to repeal these measures. This has given tremendous confidence in the market and I am sure, whatever harm has been done in creating a suitable climate for development, will be removed at least to a very large extent.

Much has already been said regarding the super-profits tax. I have conveyed my own feelings to the Finance Minister before. In the light of the recent announcement that the Finance Minister has made, I would only point out one or two things which are more important in detail. Apart from banking institutions, there are trading companies also. They are not given concessions as the banking institutions have been given. Industrial units are as much important for the development of the country industrially. But, unless trading companies also grow to handle the trade for the industrial produce, they will find it difficult and become weak institutions. Ultimately, we may find that even industrial growth will be jeopardised because trading institutions have not equally developed as they ought to develop. As a matter of fact, because of the development rebate, depreciation and other funds, it is comparatively easy for industrial institutions to develop. But, the trading institutions find it very difficult to make any saving to develop. Further, if institutions which have got large organisations all over the country on the selling side are not allowed to develop and save for development, I feel, ultimately, our growth will be arrested to some extent.

Our Budget proposals should be considered with three main issues before us: first, whether they will be able to arrest the price line, or at least not increase the price line

beyond a reasonable margin; second, whether they will arrest inflation of currency and third, whether they will allow progress and development with the pace that we desire in the country. To my mind, the present S. P. T. burden is not able to create circumstances in which production is going to meet the demand which is likely to increase in a reasonable way. If that is not possible, probably, it would be very difficult to maintain the price line as we would desire, especially when the emergency is there. The Super-profits tax is really not a tax on super profits, but it is really an additional tax on the normal profits. I have no quarrel with the name as such. But, to understand it, we should know that normal profit has been additionally taxed. If the additional tax is required, of course, by all means, we have a right to take it and we should take it. If it is going to arrest growth and development, we have to be careful. Because, at present, our taxation measures are round about Rs. 1500 crores to 2000 crores. I would personally feel that depending on the country's growth, the annual revenue should go upto Rs. 5000 or 10,000 crores. It should be really our policy and aim that in the least number of years, our total annual income as revenue should go to the side of Rs. 5000 or 10,000 crores. If we consider in this way, probably, we have to find out where are the real sources of revenue that we can get. Unless our industrial development goes at a very much faster rate, our development and collection of revenue is not likely to increase at the same pace. I do not want to take more of the time of the House on this because already a lot of things have been explained to the Finance Minister and he has already taken a decision in this matter. So it is no use my repeating the same arguments over and over again.

Dividend on equity has been more or less fixed at 6 per cent, as it was originally when the Budget was presented. Even the L. I. C. today, if

you go and ask them for preference shares of good companies, reliable companies, they ask for 9 per cent or even 9½ per cent before they subscribe to such preference shares. Equity shares are more risky. They have to take a greater risk. Even with the greater risk, we fix that their dividend should be only 6 per cent. On cash credits banks are charging more than 6 per cent, 6½ per cent, 7, 7½ per cent, right up to 9 per cent. Under these circumstances, when the interest rate is so high in the country, to fix up the rate on equity shares is not allowing industrial growth and the development of the country and the confidence of the investing public will not be there. A suitable climate will not be internally and internationally created. Of course, the assurance of the Finance Ministry is there. That is why much of the harm which has been done, probably, will be removed.

One thing has come to my notice regarding Defence bonds. Collections for Defence bonds in the districts are done with a certain amount of pressure and coercion. I would go even to the extent that the method employed is practically farce, in the subscription to Defence bonds for the simple reason that these Defence bonds have been allotted probably to the District Magistrate or the Collector and so on. They coerce the trading and the industrial community to subscribe to the defence bonds. As you know, the industrial community people do not have cash. They have to borrow money for their own business and for development. The money spent on the defence bonds is not only for the defence purposes but also for the development of the country; it is the same money which will come from the defence bonds which will be spent also on defence and development of the country, since the same money will be advanced to the traders and the business people and the industrialists and so on.

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Now, the industrial community people are forced to take these defence bonds, and it is also suggested to them that they can sell them at a cheaper rate to the banks etc., and they would sustain a loss of only Rs. 5000 or Rs. 10000 if they buy so much of bonds and so on and so forth. This is how the defence bonds are being sold, and a sort of impression or atmosphere is created before the public that the business community is buying the defence bonds in such large measure, whereas in fact they really only subsidise to some extent the purchase of these defence bonds by the banks, which does not lead to the right type of climate. In this respect, I would request the Finance Minister to see that this kind of false pressure and the false atmosphere which is being created should be removed.

Even on me and my firms such pressures were brought to bear, but I have totally refused to yield to such pressures, and I have said that whatever we wanted to give we would give, and in fact, we have already given to the National Defence Fund, but we as industrialists cannot subscribe to the defence bonds and so on. I do not think that the authorities have taken very kindly to these sentiments. But do not want this false picture to be placed before my contrymen that we are subscribing to the defence bonds in a very great measure and at the same time we are not in a position to detain them with us.

It was not my desire today to mention about the donations that the industrialists have made and the difficulties that they have had to face in this regard. But the Leader of the Communist Party had referred to it today, and previously one of the elderly Members of the House, who is very much respected, had also asked me 'What are the difficulties of the industrialists? Why are they not able to give large donations to the Defence Fund?' He wanted me to explain this

to the House. I would gladly admit and with pride that the poor people have contributed considerably, and probably in some cases they have given the entire saving of their lifetime. Such sacrifices are really worth-while, and they create a suitable climate in the country which we very badly need. But while such people have the responsibility only of their families or themselves, the industrialists, who employ 2000 or 5000 or 10,000 people have to consider this factor also namely that at the end of the month they have to pay salaries to those employees; not only that, but after having paid the salaries, they have to continue their business, for which funds are required. Besides, they have also to plan out the money needed for development from out of the savings, the money needed to meet the tax liabilities and so on. Supposing a person employs two thousand people and he has to pay roughly Rs. 200 per head per mensem, then nearly Rs. 4 lakhs will have to be paid by him at the end of the month. Apart from the Rs. 4 lakhs that he pays, supposing he wants to pay Rs. 5 lakhs to the Defence Fund, then nearly Rs. 20 lakhs goes out of the business from him. Because to the extent of 75 per cent he can borrow on that sum of Rs. 5 lakhs from the banks. To reduce that business in such a short time is not a very easy job, because he has to fulfil his commitments that are there. However, I am not trying to justify that the business community has done all that they really should have done. I am not holding any brief for them. I am only trying to mention their difficulties. Their point of view has very well been put forth by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and I have nothing more to say about it.

Some hon. Members of the House have referred to the well-known phrase of 'man-eaters'. They are to my mind unnecessarily frightened. It might be a reflection of our own

shadow. I agree that the man-eaters are there, but they are not without, but they are within ourselves. The greatest man-eater of all times is the capital 'I', the personal ego, the conceit and arrogance of the man. The mightiest of the men in history right from Ravana, Hiranyakaship, Kansa, Hitler, Mussolini etc. have fallen victims to these baser traits of human nature. However intelligent and brave a person may be, because of these traits in human nature, the greatest and the most powerful men in history have been reduced because of the narrow-minded and selfish and personal outlook in the man. It is because of this that man has fallen from the grace, power and position many a time. If such mighty men were reduced to shame and dust, it is understandable that smaller men like us are also sometimes frightened. But if we realise that this fear is not from anywhere outside, then the fear will automatically disappear. There is no need of giving any warning to others. We have to realise and amend our own feelings, and just as darkness disappears before light, similarly, this fear will also disappear, and we shall soon be enlightened if we only knew how to realise and understand ourselves. By saying such phrases sometimes we are not trying to create an atmosphere of amicability or friendliness. Whatever be the difference of opinion that we may have, there is always a ground for difference of opinion, but we should not try to generate hatred, animosity and distrust because that is not going to help us in developing our country or in taking our country to great heights in the world of which we can be very justly proud.

Shri Arunachalam (Ramanathapuram): I would like to speak a few words on the Finance Bill introduced by the Finance Minister for the year 1963-64.

Our great task at the present juncture is to mobilise all our available resources and energy and direct them

towards strengthening the defence of the country. While it is our inborn desire to be friendly and courteous to all, we cannot afford to sacrifice our basic principles, ideals and rights. I feel that the present emergency opportunity should be fully utilised to integrate our people into a strong and united nation, avoiding all regional and linguistic rivalries and other fissiparous tendencies that may tend to undermine the unity of the nation. No loyal citizen, I am sure, would hesitate to sacrifice his or her life to defend the honour and integrity of our Motherland and strengthen the hands of our beloved Prime Minister.

While coming to the proposals of the Finance Bill, I may say that I support the Bill. But I would appeal to the Finance Minister to consider the present rise in prices of all essential commodities and make necessary adjustments in some of the levies to enable the lower classes of people to meet their requirements. A few reliefs have been announced by the Finance Minister recently, but they are quite inadequate, and they fall far below the expectation of the common man. In one or two respects I feel that the new levies would affect larger sections of the population, especially the middle and lower income groups. The new levy of a surcharge on income will take a heavy toll from the salaries paid to the employees of the Government as well as private establishments, and the salaried classes as a whole who even now find it rather difficult to make both their ends meet would be very hard-hit. I feel there is still some scope, to provide further relief either by lowering the percentage of levy or still raising the exemption limit. There is generally only one bread-earner in most of these middle and lower income groups, and that bread-earner is to get from this month onwards less wages due to the levies introduced, and at the same time, he is expected to pay more for the bread, owing to the rising cost of living index. It would have been a welcome feature

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if these taxation measures to enable the Government to mop up all available resources to build up a sound defence structure for the country, and to implement the Plan Project, were simultaneously followed up with suitable measures to arrest the spiralling rise of prices of essential commodities.

The Super Profits Tax to be levied from this current year may not affect large companies with adequate capital and reserves, but it would affect adversely the growth and development of new ones with smaller capital and meagre reserves and those entirely depending on borrowed capital. Even old companies without adequate reserves would not be exempt from this gloomy future. The relief extended by the Finance Minister to new companies even now seems to be inadequate as they would not be able to build up any reserve even after a number of years.

May I, with your permission, Sir, draw the attention of the Government to the sad plight of the Indians who have spent the best part of their life in the neighbouring countries like Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, and Indo-China etc. and who have been obliged to leave those countries by the restrictive legislative measures introduced by the respective Governments and have had to start their life afresh in their old age. Most of the people affected by the legislative measures of nationalisation of land, banks, etc. belong to the Southern districts of Madras State, and for no fault of theirs, they have been asked to leave the land where they have spent a major part of their life and where their families have settled for decades together. A large number of families affected by these conditions have been returning to Madras State, every month and every week and most of them have today to depend on the mercy and charity of their friends and relatives. If some Governmental aid could be provided to them, they would be able to lead an honourable life and

maintain themselves. I would urge upon the Central Government to extend its helping hand to these repatriates to start some small scale industry to resettle themselves in their own country.

I come from an area, the East Ramanathapuram District, which needs urgent and rapid development. The soil is largely not too fertile and the irrigation facilities are quite inadequate. It was only these circumstances that forced a major portion of the population of this and neighbouring areas to migrate to Ceylon, Malaya, Burma and other countries to earn their livelihood. Even after fifteen years of independence, the conditions in these areas are not far too encouraging. Those who migrated some decades ago have been forced to repatriate themselves, with the result that poverty and desolation have come to stay permanently in these areas. To remedy this rapidly deteriorating condition, I would urge the Government to start a few small-scale industrial units, factories and mills in these areas to enable the population here to march forward along with their brethren elsewhere. The development of fisheries, the laying of Sethu Rastha, the execution of Sethu Samudram Project and such other measures, which are long pending, if undertaken and completed in time, would certainly develop these areas which are too backward today and would provide great relief to the people of the locality.

With these few words, I support the Finance Bill.

Shri Krishnapal Singh (Jalesar): I sympathise with the hon. Finance Minister not because I agree with the proposals embodied in the Finance Bill but because I find that the finances of the Government are more or less in the same condition as my own. We both have to thank the socialistic pattern for it, although in a different way. The only difference is that whenever Government feel,

that they need money, they can come forward with some measures of taxation or other whereas I have to devise my own means.

Shri Bade: Beg, borrow or steel.

Shri Krishnapal Singh: After these few remarks, I come straight to the taxation proposals. My first criticism is that our present structure of taxation is getting so complicated that it is very difficult for any individual to understand what is happening to him. There are direct taxes, indirect taxes, local taxes, panchayat taxes, land revenue, cesses, and God knows what. My humble suggestion is that the first thing Government should do is to simplify this method of taxation.

So far as the taxation proposals are concerned, we all know that the annual *per capita* income in our country is Rs. 293 and some annas. Out of this, one has to meet all these taxes. Compared to this, in America I hear the annual *per capita* income is about Rs. 12,000. What I have been told is that the burden of taxation on the individual is not so heavy even in America and other industrially more advanced countries as it is here. After the suggested taxes have been levied, the tax on individual income would be, I am told, about Rs. 82 per cent on earned income and Rs. 87 per cent on unearned income.

As I said before, we have a very complicated system of taxation. I will say a few words about our income-tax—make only a passing reference to it. We all know that there are cases of evasion. But very seldom does one find anybody trying to emphasise that there are some people who are assessed to this tax but who should not have been assessed at all. What is the remedy? People say they can appeal. But then we all know how costly litigation is. It is not easy for everybody who is arbitrarily taxed to seek relief in a court of law, specially in the appellate tribunals which try these cases. So I suggest that some cheap and simple method should be devised by which those who are taxed with-

out any justification can find ready relief.

Coming to indirect taxation, we have quite a number of them, and they normally hit the poor man especially. Tobacco, which is the poor man's luxury, is taxed fairly heavily. Once I made the mistake of growing tobacco. When the crop was ready I informed the Excise Department about it. They came and estimated the crop, and I discovered that the amount of tax which was assessed was more than the price of tobacco. I hear that quite a lot of people are in the same position. What happens is that somehow or other they try to evade it, and if we increase the tax on tobacco, it only means that we shall encourage this evasion.

The other commodity which is taxed is diesel oil. Diesel oil these days is consumed in considerable quantities by agriculturists both for pumping water and for working tractors, and they will be especially hard hit, as also the small investor who owns road transport vehicles. Therefore, I cannot see any justification of increasing duty on high speed diesel.

Then I come to the new taxes. At the outset I must make it plain that I do not own a single share, nor do I hope to own any share for some time at least, but I do not look at it from the point of view of the industrialist. I want to look at it from the national point of view. Are you justified in imposing this super profits tax? First of all, it will penalise efficient management. Secondly, it will scare away foreign investors. Thirdly, it will prevent capital formation in the country. As everybody knows we cannot develop our industries, even our defence industries, without the aid of foreign capital. Mr. Birla, while addressing the Chamber of Commerce the other day pointed out that whatever you do, even if you invest the entire national income of Rs. 4,000 crores, you will not be able to build up sufficient defence industries in the country. Therefore, for the development of

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defence as well as other industries, you have, for a considerable time, to depend upon the foreign investor, and if you scare him away by increasing your taxes, by devising new methods of taxation, it will be very difficult for you to develop your industries.

The other and greater calamity which the present Finance Minister has brought to the country is the compulsory saving scheme. Even in its amended form I contend it will mean the last straw on the camel's back. It will affect the rural population which is already living from hand to mouth. I should have expected the Finance Minister to give some relief to them in the form of reduction in land revenue. But, what do we find? We find that first of all all the economic holdings have been cut down. At present most of the holdings are uneconomic. People find it very difficult to meet their daily expenses. On those holdings they have to pay a fairly high rate of land revenue, which has been enhanced recently by State Governments. I ask the hon. Finance Minister who claims that he also comes from a village, whether he thinks that any man in the village or any reasonable percentage of the population of his village can easily afford to put any money in the saving scheme.

Secondly, what will be the result? Who is going to maintain the accounts of these small amounts, and what will happen when people want to withdraw them? This happened just after the last war when people were compelled to open post office savings bank accounts, and I remember that there were long queues of people from the villages waiting for hours and hours near the post offices, and they had to go back because there was not sufficient cash. Those villagers will not be in a position to check the accounts. They will have to accept whatever your officials give them, and probably the cost involved in taking this small amount back will be much

higher than the amount which they will get.

The hon. Members would be anxious to know the remedy for all this, how are we going to meet our defence expenditure. The remedy is so very obvious. I mentioned it when I was speaking on Grants for the Defence Ministry. The only remedy is to cut down our civil expenditure. Our civil expenditure has been mounting in recent years. Again, Shri Birla pointed out in the very speech to which I referred, that during the peak of the last war America was spending as much as 93.5 per cent of her revenues on defence and only 6.5 per cent on civil expenditure. We are faced with an emergency, and what are we doing? We are not prepared to cut down our civil expenditure. On the contrary, as we all know, civil expenditure has increased by something like Rs. 73 crores. So, if we are sincere and serious, we should be prepared to cut down our civil expenditure drastically.

I should mention a few ways in which we can do that. As everybody knows, the number of Ministries in our Government and in the State Governments has been multiplying lately. I do not mean to say that they have not got enough work. I dare say you can have a Ministry for flies and mosquitoes and keep them busy. They can collect statistics about flies and mosquitoes, and it is very important also from the health point of view. But it is worthwhile doing it?

I will give one instance. For planning we have the Planning Commission, we have the Planning Ministry and then we have the Ministry of Community Development, doing more or less the same thing. In addition, we now have the Ministry of Economic and Defence Co-ordination. For industries, we have the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, then the Ministry of Steel and Heavy Industries, and then the Ministry of Mines and Fuel, all trying to do the same thing. This is what has been happening to our civil expenditure, it has

been multiplying. I wish the Minister of Health were here so that I could suggest to her that she should put the medical sciences to work to find out some means of putting a stop to our Ministries multiplying.

15 hrs.

I suggest that we should amalgamate some of the Ministries. While speaking on the Defence Budget, I said that we should have a high powered commission to examine all our civil expenditure and to suggest economy. I do not know what the Government did. Personally I am certain that if a really independent commission were appointed they would recommend sufficient economy. Take, for instance, prohibition. Take our embassies. Through the courtesy of our Library, I have collected some figures; I find that we have 79 embassies. A point which is very necessary to mention in this connection is that we are a member of the Commonwealth. Yet for some reason or the other, we have been following an independent policy. Well and good. I am not going to criticise that policy. Even then, cannot we co-operate with some of the other Dominions or with Great Britain and try to reduce this number. It is all right if we were a very rich country and if we had sufficient wealth to distribute. Then, these embassies are very costly. A few years ago we were told that the furniture of one of our embassies cost over Rs. 26 lakhs. There are costly motor cars. I suppose it is necessary to have very costly motor cars, sometimes Rolls Royce, for the ambassadors and high commissioners. These are expensive burdens on a poor country which it cannot afford. I mentioned last year that there were 5,00,000 villages in our country. In all of them, you cannot find even five decent motor cars. If at all there may be some broken motor cars. I shall be grateful to the hon. Finance Minister if he could find five motor cars in all our villages, five cars of the type that we see in Delhi going here

and there. Some of them in the village have got bicycles; they cannot afford to keep even their bicycles going. But you want this extravagance of embassies. There is so much of room for cutting down expenditure. That would provide for the increased expenditure on defence. We can give them more money without imposing further taxation.

Now, what is the position about the Ministers? We have 18 Cabinet Ministers, 10 Ministers of State—probably twelve, 22 Deputy Ministers and six Parliamentary Secretaries. Let us now examine the position in other countries. United Kingdom has only 21 Ministers; United States, only 10. (An Hon. Member: What is the population?) What about the amount of money they spend? The USSR, whom we are trying to imitate, has got only 8 Cabinet Ministers, 16 deputies. We are indulging in this extravagance. Unless we economise and unless we are serious, there is no justification for these taxes. You are trying to draw blood out of the people in the name of taxation. They cannot afford to pay. But you compel them to pay. The other day when the Health Ministry's demands were being discussed, we learnt about the paucity of doctors. Most of the people in the villages do not get enough calories; they are deprived of vitamins. The poor villager when he falls sick cannot find a doctor; even if there is a doctor, he cannot afford to pay him; it is not within his reach and you cannot provide these things free. Yet you want to tax those village people who are lying helpless. Of course they are dumb; they cannot come and say anything here. They depend upon us. If we agree to whatever proposals that are put before this House, they will suffer. May I say, Sir, that if this House pardons the Government for bringing forward such things, I am sure God Almighty will not. Therefore, my humble request to them is this. Being conscious that these measures would probably help us in the long run; Members of the Opposition will get more votes, I say this.

Shri Tyagi: No, no.

Shri Krishnapal Singh: We will see. Lastly, Sir, I say that we should not try to get the proverbial pound of flesh from the people who have not got any.

श्री तुलशीदास जाधव (नांदेड़) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, देश में ऐसी परिस्थिति पैदा हुई है कि उस के लिए हम को पैसा चाहिए और इसलिए यह टैक्सेशन हाउस के सामने रखा गया है। आप देखें कि हमारा खर्चा लगातार बढ़ता जा रहा है। सन् १९५४-५५ में हमारा खर्चा था ७२५ करोड़, सन् १९५५-५६ में ९८३ करोड़, सन् १९५६-६० में १५१६ करोड़, सन् १९६०-६१ में १७१५ करोड़, सन् १९६१-६२ में १८२० करोड़, और सन् १९६३-६४ में होगा १८५२ करोड़। इस तरह से आप देखें कि हमारा खर्चा बराबर बढ़ रहा है। १९६२-६३ में जो ईल्ट्ड हुई वह रूपया सन् १९६३-६४ में खर्च होगा और उस की राशि १८५२ करोड़ है। इस में २५६ करोड़ जितनी कमी पड़ती थी, इसलिए इतने नए कर लगाए गए। इस १८५२ करोड़ में से ८६७ करोड़ डिफेंस के लिए है। सन् १९६२-६३ में रक्षा के लिए ३७६ करोड़ जितना खर्च के लिए निकाला था उस की जगह ५०५ करोड़ खर्चा हुआ। तो आजकल जो देश पर आक्रमण हुआ है उस का खर्चा निकालने के लिए यह टैक्सेशन बिठाया है।

कल हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने कैरोसीन पर कुछ कर कम कर दिया और कुछ दूसरे कर भी कम कर दिए। इस के लिए उन को धन्यवाद। कैरोसीन पर कर लगाने से जो गरीब आदमियों को नाराजी थी वह इस टैक्स के कम करने से दूर हो गयी ऐसा मेरा कहना है। उस के लिए धन्यवाद है।

दो तीन बातें मैं आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। हम देश में सोशलिस्टिक पैटर्न

आफ सोसाइटी की स्थापना करना चाहते हैं और यह उद्देश्य हम ने अपने सामने रखा है। किस तरह से यह हो सकता है, इस का उपाय किया जाना चाहिये। लेकिन आजकल जो कुछ हो रहा है, वह मैं आप को बतलाना चाहता हूँ। आजकल कई जगहों पर देखा जाना है कि कारखाने बन्द हो रहे हैं या हो गए हैं, जिस की वजह से लोगों में बेरोजगारी बढ़ गई है। हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश का उत्पादन बढ़े। यह ठीक है। उत्पादन अवश्य बढ़ना चाहिये। लेकिन अगर कारखाने बन्द होने की नीवत आती है तो उत्पादन किस तरह से बढ़ सकता है। लोग इस आपत्तिकाल में आप को कर देते हैं और ऐसा करते हुए कोई हिचकिचाहट नहीं दिखाते। ऐसी मूरत में हम लोगों का यह धर्म है कि लोगों की हालत ठीक है, इस को भी हम देखें। महाराष्ट्र में कौन कौन से कारखाने हैं जो बन्द हो गए हैं, यह मैं आप को बतलाना चाहता हूँ। कुछ कारखाने हैं जोकि बन्द होने के रास्ते पर हैं, उन कारखानों के बारे में भी मैं आप को बतलाना चाहता हूँ। राठवाड़ा, विदर्भ और पश्चिमी महाराष्ट्र, इन तीन एरियाज में शोलापुर, बारसी, बड़नेरा, जलगांव, नांदेड़, अकोला, हिंगानघात, धुलिया में जो मिलें हैं, वे बन्द हो गई हैं। इन के अलावा और भी मिलें बन्द हैं जैसे माडन मिल्ज, नागपुर, नरसिंह गिरजी, शोलापुर, सकसीरिया, बाम्ब्रे, धनराज मिल, बम्बई, मेहता मिल्ज, अकोला, प्रताप मिल्ज, आदि। इन मिलों को महाराष्ट्र सरकार चलाती है। उन के पास इतनी ताकत नहीं है, इतनी शक्ति नहीं है कि वह और भी उन को चला सके। इस तरफ भी आप का ध्यान जाना चाहिये। और जो दूसरी मिलें हैं, जो बन्द हुई हैं और कई होने के रास्ते पर हैं, उन के नाम भी मैं आप को कुछ बतलाना चाहता हूँ। ये बन्द न हों, इस का उपाय किया जाना चाहिये। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन को सेंट्रल गवर्न-मेंट खुद चलाये। ये मिलें हैं, एम० आर० मिल्ज, अकोला, उसमानशाही मिल्ज, नांदेड़,

ब्रार मैनुफैक्चरिंग कम्पनी, वडनेरा, बंसी-लाल अमर चन्द शिल्ज, हिंगनघात, राजन मिल्ज, बारसी, टैक्सटाइल मिल्ज धुले । जब मिलें बन्द हो जाती हैं, तो इन में कई किस्म की कम्पलीकेशज पैदा होती हैं । देहात में जो मजदूर बेकार हैं, उनकी हालत बहुत खराब है । जो लेंडलेस लेबरर्स होते हैं, जोकि देहातों में रहते हैं, वे भी वहां काम न मिलने पर शहरों की तरफ दूसरे लोगों के साथ आना शुरू कर देते हैं जिस से शहरों की इकोनोमी पर बुरा असर पड़ता है, वहां पर जो काम होते हैं, उन में बाधा पैदा होता है । हमारा उद्देश्य उत्पादन बढ़ाने का है । लेकिन जब मिलें और कारखाने बन्द हो जाते हैं, तो उत्पादन में बाधा पड़ती है । स्टेट गवर्न-मेंट्स के लिए और खास तौर पर महाराष्ट्र स्टेट गवर्नमेंट के लिए यह सम्भव नहीं है कि वह पांच पांच और छः छः मिलें, जिन में पांच पांच और छः छः हजार मजदूर काम करते हैं, चलाये । इस संबंध में मैं आप को एक सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ । सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट का जो इंडस्ट्रियल डिप्लेमेंट रेग्यूलेशन एक्ट है, इस को सूधारा जाना चाहिए । पांच बरस के बजाय दस बरस तक सरकार के साथ मिलें रहनी चाहिये । साथ ही साथ रूल मेकिंग पावर, एग्जाइंटमेंट आफ आथारिटी टू कंट्रोल एंड बोर्ड आफ एडवाजर्ज नियुक्त करने का जो अधिकार है वह भी स्टेट गवर्नमेंट के हाथ में होना चाहिए । यह चीज सेंट्रल गवर्न-मेंट के हाथ में नहीं रहनी चाहिये । छोटी छोटी बातों के लिए सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के पास दोड़ने की जरूरत नहीं होनी चाहिए ।

शोलापुर से मैं आया हूँ । शोलापुर स्पिनग एंड वीविंग मिल जो है उस की दस बारह साल से हालत बहुत खराब हो गई है । वहां पर उस मिल में जहां पहले तेरह हजार वर्कर काम करते थे, अब केवल दो हजार वर्कर ही काम करते हैं । उस मिल की बहुत बुरी हालत है । स्टेट गवर्नमेंट उस को अपने हाथ में लेने को तैयार है ।

लेकिन यह काम सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट का होना चाहिये । आप देखें कि शोलापुर की तीन साढ़े तीन लाख की आबादी है । जैसे किसी आदमी को अर्द्धांग हो जाता है, वैसे ही उस शहर को अर्द्धांग हो गया है । मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस शोलापुर स्पिनग एण्ड वीविंग मिल को जिस तरह से भी हो सरकार चलाये ।

ट्रक्स के ऊपर आपने जितना टैक्स लगाया है, उससे ट्रक वालों को बड़ी हैरानी और परेशानी हुई है । उन पर आज तक जितना टैक्स लगता है, उससे हर महीने अब एक ट्रक के अपरेशन पर चार सौ रुपये अधिक कर लगेगा । इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि कम से कम ४५०० रुपया ज्यादा कर एक ट्रक के लिए उनको साल में देना पड़ेगा । स्टेट गवर्न-मेंट्स जो टैक्स लगाती है, वे अलग से हैं । इन ट्रक वालों की जो फेड्रेशन है, उसने माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी को खत दिया है और उन से रिक्वेस्ट की है, कि जो उनको इससे दिक्कत पैदा हुई है, इस को वह दूर करे । हमारे प्लानिंग कमिशन ने कहा है कि ६० परसेंट ट्रांसपोर्ट् अपरेटर ऐसे हैं, जो पूअर हैं, जो गरीब हैं, जो एक आध ट्रक ले कर अपना गुजर बसर करते हैं । मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह इस हैरानी को कम करने का कोई न कोई उपाय अवश्य करें ।

हम सोशलिस्टिक पैटर्न ऑफ सोसाइटी की स्थापना करना चाहते हैं । इस दृष्टि से जो परसनल, प्रोनरशिप है, वह कम होनी चाहिये । इस चीज को दृष्टि में रखा जाए तो मालूम होगा कि बैंकों का और बड़े बड़े कार-खानों का नेशनलाइजेशन करना बड़ा आवश्यक है । आप देखें कि पांच लाख के नीचे जिन जवायंट स्टॉक कम्पनीज का पेड अप कैपीटल है, वह कितना है और एक करोड़ के ऊपर जिन का पेड अप कैपीटल है वे कितनी जवायंट स्टॉक कम्पनियां हैं । जिन का पेड अप कैपीटल पांच लाख के नीचे है, उन कम्पनियों की तादाद २४,८२३ है और जिन का पेड अप

[श्री तुलशीदास जाधव]

कंपीटल एक करोड़ के ऊपर है, उन की तादाद १२६ है। इन २४,८२३ कम्पनियों का कुल पेड अप कंपीटल १६१.१ करोड़ है और १२६ लाख जो कम्पनियां हैं जिन का पेड अप कंपीटल १ करोड़ से ऊपर है, उन का कुल पेड अप कंपीटल ३५५.८ करोड़ है। इस का मतलब यह हुआ कि एक करोड़ के ऊपर जिन कम्पनियों का पेड अप कंपीटल है, उन के पास अधिक कंपीटल रहता है और जो छोटे छोटे लोग होते हैं, उन के पास थोड़ा पैसा आता है और पैसे का सेंट्रलाइजेशन भी इस में अधिक होता है। ऐसे लोगों की संख्या थोड़ी ही है जिन्हें पास पैसे का सेंट्रलाइजेशन हो गया है। अब आप देखें कि किन फैमिलीज के पास कम्पनियों की डायरेक्टरशिप्स हैं...

श्री मोरारजी देसाई : सब कम्पनियों की बात कर रहे हैं या बैंकों की ही बात कर रहे हैं? क्या आप का मतलब है कि ज्वायंट स्टॉक कम्पनीज को नेशनलाइज किया जाय?

श्री तुलशीदास जाधव : देश में किन लोगों के पास पैसा इकट्ठा हो रहा है, यह मैं दिखाने का प्रयत्न कर रहा हूँ। इसके परिणाम-स्वरूप बेकारी बढ़ती है, मिलें बन्द होती हैं और आम लोगों का काम काज ठीक नहीं चलता है। सरकार की जो यह मिक्स्ड इकोनोमी की पालिसी चल रही है, इस से नुकसान भी कई हालतों में बहुत ज्यादा हो रहा है। किस तरह से कुछ आदमियों के हाथों में पैसा चला जाता है, इस का मैं उदाहरण दे रहा हूँ। सिधानिया हाउसिस जो हैं, उनके पास १०७ डायरेक्टरशिप्स हैं। डालनिया जैन के पास १०३ की डायरेक्टरशिप्स हैं। रूइया के पास ८० की, बिड़ला के पास ६० की, गोयनका के पास ५५ की, पोद्दार के पास ५५ की, बांगूर के पास ५२ की, जत्ती के पास ५१ की, थापर के पास ३५ की और टाटा के पास २१ की डायरेक्टरशिप्स हैं। सिधानिया, डालमिया

जैन, रूइया तथा बिड़ला हाउसिस जो बड़े बड़े हाउसिस हैं, इन में डायरेक्टरशिप्स उन के ही घर में चलती जाती है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस का डिसेंट्रलाइजेशन हो। यह आज हो नहीं रहा है। इस की तरफ भी हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय को ध्यान देना चाहिये। उनके विचार भी समाजवादी हैं, ऐसा मुझे उनकी दो तीन स्पीचिज से मालूम पड़ा है। मैं उनसे प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह इस ओर भी ध्यान दें।

ऐग्रिकल्चर के बारे में मेरा कहना यह है कि प्लैनिंग ठीक नहीं है। आज देहातों तक प्लैनिंग के पहुंचने की आवश्यकता है। जहां तक मैंने देखा है, पंजाब के अंदर जहर थोड़ी प्लैनिंग है गांवों के अंदर लेकिन और जगहों पर गांवों में कोई प्लैनिंग नहीं है। हम देखते हैं हम को १० करोड़ टन अनाज चाहिये। इस के लिये हम प्लैनिंग जहर करते हैं लेकिन जो हमारे आंकड़े होते हैं उन को हम गांवों में जा कर ही इकट्ठे करने चाहिये। ग्राम पंचायतें होती हैं, सोमायटीज होती हैं उन के द्वारा हर जमीन की उपज का पता लगा कर हम को अपने आंकड़े बनाने चाहिये। आज इस तरह की हमारी प्लैनिंग नहीं है बहुत सी जगहों पर। इस का फल यह होता है कि हिन्दुस्तान में प्रति एकड़ जितने अनाज का हिसाब लगाया जाता है उतना होता नहीं है। अगर आंकड़ों को देखें तो आप को पता चलेगा कि भारत में राइस और देशों की तुलना में कितना होता है। यह हिसाब १०० किनोग्राम पर हेक्टेअर के हिसाब से है :

भारत	१५.२
जापान	४८.६
रशिया	१७.३
यू० ए० आर०	५०.१
यू० एस० ए०	३८.४
फ्रांस	३१.६

जिस प्रकार से राइस का यह हाल है उसी प्रकार से दूसरे जो अनाज हैं उनका भी हाल है। यहां पर इतना फटिलाइजर खर्च होता है, इतनी प्लैनिंग की जाती है, फिर भी पता नहीं क्यों यहां का उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ता है। इस में जो खराबियां हों उनका संशोधन करना चाहिये और जो भी कठिनाई इसके रास्ते में हो उसको देख कर दूर करने का इंतजाम करना चाहिये। खेती का उत्पादन बढ़े, बेकारी कम हो और आज कल जो सम्पत्ति का कंसंट्रेशन, हो रहा है वह अधिक से अधिक कम हो इसका प्रबन्ध सरकार को करना चाहिये।

श्री भी० प्र० यादव (केसरिया) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने मुझे जो समय दिया इसके लिये मैं आपका आभारी हूँ। सदन के सामने आज जिस वित्त विधेयक पर चर्चा चल रही है, मैं उसका स्वागत करता हूँ। साथ साथ इस वित्त विधेयक के जरिये व्यापक कराधान को व्यापक क्षेत्र में फैलाने के लिये हमारे माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने जो साहसिक तथा व्यावहारिक कदम उठाया है उसके लिये मैं उन्हें धन्यवाद देता हूँ। क्योंकि देश की सुरक्षा की जिम्मेदारी और राष्ट्र निर्माण की जिम्मेदारी देश के सभी वर्गों पर समान रूप से है।

जिम पृष्ठभूमि को ध्यान में रख कर यह वित्त विधेयक तैयार किया गया है यदि उस पृष्ठभूमि को ध्यान में न रख कर हम इस पर विचार करें तो इस विधेयक के प्रति बेइन्साफी कही जायेगी। चीनी आक्रमण से उत्पन्न परिस्थिति ने देशवासियों को अनायास ही यह पहचान कर दिया है कि सब को, चाहे वह जिस तबके के हों, अपनी इच्छा के मुताबिक नहीं बल्कि अपनी शक्ति के मुताबिक त्याग करना ही पड़ेगा। बुनियादी तौर पर हम देखते हैं कि आजादी की रक्षा देशवासियों के त्याग से ही हो सकती है। इस प्रकार का आशय हमारे प्रधान मंत्री भी बराबर व्यक्त

करते प्राये हैं कि आजादी की रक्षा किसी भी राशि में बाहर से मांगे गये कर्जों से या किसी भी राशि में मंगाये गये शस्त्रों से नहीं की जा सकती। बल्कि आजादी की रक्षा देशवासियों के त्याग की भावना से ही हो सकती है और मैं समझता हूँ कि इस विधेयक के द्वारा हमारे माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने इसी त्याग की याचना की है।

रक्षा के महत्वपूर्ण कार्य के साथ ही देश की आर्थिक प्रगति के लिये योजनाओं को भी पूर्ण रूप से चलाने का जो फैसला हमारे माननीय वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने किया है वह उनका एक साहसिक कदम है क्योंकि देश के साधनों का जुटाव देश की प्रगति के साथ अभिन्न रूप से जुड़ा हुआ है। इसलिये केन्द्रीय सरकार की योजनाओं पर १२२६ करोड़ ६० खर्च करने का अनुमान लगाया गया है। माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने बतलाया है कि सन् १९६३-६४ में करों के वर्तमान आधार पर १५८५.७३ करोड़ ६० के मुकाबले १८५२.४० करोड़ ६० के अनुमानित व्यय की व्यवस्था है, जिसके फलस्वरूप २६६.६७ करोड़ ६० की कमी हो जायेगी। इसके अलावा अभी एक-दो रोज पहले हमारे माननीय मंत्री ने करों में कुछ कटौती की घोषणा भी की है जिसके फलस्वरूप करीब करीब १६ करोड़ ६० का घाटा और बढ़ जाता है। इस घाटे की रकम को पूरा करने के लिये हमारे माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने जो वर्तमान कर प्रणाली में वृद्धि या नये करों का बोझ डाला है या कुछ नई योजनायें चलाने का प्रयत्न किया है, वह अनिवार्य है। लेकिन आज इस प्रकार का प्रश्न उठाया जा रहा है कि कोई राष्ट्र करों का कितना बोझ संभाल सकता है क्योंकि आखिर उसकी भी कोई सीमा है। देश के सामने आज जो चुनौती है और उसके सामने जो संकट है अगर हम उसको अलग कर दें तब तो यह ठीक हो सकता है कि इस देश की गरीब जनता के लिये यह एक बहुत बड़ा बोझ है और वह ऐसा बोझ है जिसको जनता

[श्री भी० प्र० यादव]

संभाल नहीं सकती है, लेकिन करों की यह वृद्धि ऐसे समय में लाई जा रही है जब देश संकट की घड़ियों से गुजर रहा है तथा राष्ट्र अपने अस्तित्व की रक्षा के लिये संघर्ष कर रहा है। ऐसा परिस्थिति में देश के लिये लाजिमी हो जाता है कि वह ज्यादा से ज्यादा त्याग करे, जितना त्याग कर सकता है उतना करे। जब तक हमारी मनोवृत्ति ऐसी नहीं होगी तब तक इस देश की संकट की घड़ियों में हम अपने देश को सैनिक दृष्टि से या आर्थिक दृष्टि से शक्तिशाली नहीं बना सकते।

इस पृष्ठभूमि में मैं अधिलाभ कर के संबंध में भी कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। जहाँ तक अधिलाभ कर लगा कर घाटे की रकम को पाटने का प्रश्न है, यह टैक्स लगा कर हमारे माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने इस कर प्रणाली को एक प्रगतिशील रूप दे दिया है, क्योंकि जब हम पिछले कई वर्षों की कर प्रणाली की ओर दृष्टिपात करते हैं तो पाते हैं कि देश में अधिकांशतः एक्काइज इयूटी में ही क्रमशः वृद्धि की जाती रहा है। जिसका भार अन्नतो-गत्वा देश के गरीब निवासियों पर ही पड़ता आया है। इन पृष्ठभूमि में अधिलाभ कर का इस सदन के सभी सदस्यों ने, कुछ प्रतिक्रिया-वादी लोगों को छोड़ कर, स्वागत किया है। देश की जनता ने भी इस योजना के औचित्य को समझा है। और यह भावना व्यक्त की है कि यह जो टैक्स है वह अनिवार्य है। लेकिन दुर्भाग्य यह है कि देश का यह धनी वर्ग जिनका यहां के अखबारों के ऊपर कब्जा है, यहां के स्टॉक एक्सचेंजों पर एकाधिकार है जो मिल मालिक और करोड़पति हैं व आज इस कर का विरोध करते नजर आ रहे हैं। हालांकि कल ही हमारे माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने उसमें काफी कटौती की घोषणा की है जिससे कि उन को काफी राहत मिल सकती है, फिर भी जैसा अखबारों से पता चला, उन में इस दारे में काफी निराशा देखने का मिलती है। मैं सम्झता हूँ कि इस तरह की निराशा व्यक्त

करके वे इस देश के निवासियों की भावनाओं के ऊपर कुठाराघात करते हैं क्योंकि इस संकट की घड़ी में जिस तरह से गरीब से गरीब लोग सहसूस करते हैं उस तरह से शायद वे लोग सहसूस नहीं करते हैं। यदि वे इस प्रकार से सहसूस करते तो शायद उनको इस तरह की निराशा व्यक्त करने का मौका नहीं मिलता। जो छोटे से छोटे किसान हैं अगर उन पर सालाना लगान का ५० फी सदी कर लगता है तो इन लोगों को भी, अगर कुछ बोझ इन पर पड़ता है, उसे बर्दाश्त करना चाहिये। अधिलाभ कर में दी गयी रियायत की पृष्ठभूमि में यदि हम अनिवार्य बचन योजना में दी गयी छूट को देखें तो यह छूट बहुत ही नगण्य है, क्योंकि केवल नहीं किसानों को रियायत दी गयी है जो ५ रुपये से कम वार्षिक लगान देते हैं। लेकिन मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री से बड़ी विनम्रता से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि देश की एक विशाल आबादी ऐसी है, जिसमें अधिकांश एक छोटे छोटे किसान हैं, जो एक शाम खाते हैं तो दूसरी शाम उन्हें कहां से रोटी मिलेगा, यह भा निश्चित नहीं है। जो लगान वह देते हैं वह या तो कर्ज लेकर देते हैं या कहीं मजदूरी करके देते हैं या अपने मवेशियों को बेच कर देते हैं। ऐसा हालत में मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी से बड़ी विनम्रता से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जो छूट उन्हें दी गयी है उसको और बढ़ा दें क्योंकि जनका छूट देने का जो यह मकसद है कि जो छोटे गरीब किसान हैं उसको इन छूट से राहत मिले, लेकिन इस छूट से वह मकसद हासिल नहीं होता। इसलिये मैं चाहूंगा कि इस रकम को कुछ और ज्यादा बढ़ा दें ताकि जो छूट का मकसद है वह पूरा हो सके।

कैरोसिन तेल पर जो हमारे माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने छूट का घोषणा की उसके लिये वह बधाई के पात्र हैं क्योंकि गरीबों

के लिये या मजदूरों के लिये कैरोसिन ही एक मात्र रोशनी का आधार है। मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री से यह भी निवेदन करूंगा कि जो छूट दी गयी है वह वास्तव में गांवों तक पहुंच जाए मुनाफाखोरों का जेबों में न चला जाये इसके लिये वह हर संभव उपाय करें।

जिस प्रकार सरकार का यह अधिकार और कर्तव्य है कि वह जनता पर कर लगावे, उसी प्रकार उसका यह भी कर्तव्य है कि शासन में ज्यादा से ज्यादा भितव्ययता दिखाया जाये। हमारे माननीय वित्त मंत्रों को इसमें काफ़ी सतर्कता से काम लेना चाहिये। मैं उन से यह कहना चाहूंगा कि नान इंसेशियल एक्सपेंडीचर में जहां भी कटौत की गयी है या की जा रहें हैं, उन चीजों को जनता के सामने आना चाहिये ताकि जनता महसूस कर सके कि इस संकट का घड़ने में भितव्ययता दिखाने के लिये काफ़ी प्रयास किया जा रहा है। साथ ही वह यह भी महसूस और भरोसा कर सके कि हमारी गाड़ी कभी भी का जो पैसा है उसका सही-सही सदुपयोग ही रहा है।

इस बिल में करों का वसूल के लिये उद्योगपतियों को इन्सेंटिव दिया गया है ताकि सरकार को कर समय पर वसूल हो जाये यह बड़े संतोष की बात है। फिर भी मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री से निवेदन करूंगा कि टैक्स के रूप में जो करोड़ों रुपया बाकी पड़ा हुआ है उस पर उन्हें ज्यादा से ज्यादा ध्यान देना चाहिये और ज्यादा से ज्यादा मुस्तैद से उसे बसूल करने का प्रयत्न किया जाना चाहिये ताकि उस धन का इस संकट कालीन स्थिति में ज्यादा से ज्यादा उपयोग किया जा सके।

मेरा तीसरा महत्वपूर्ण मुद्दा यह है कि दामों को बढ़ने से रोकने के लिये प्रभावशाली कदम उठाये जायें और वह कदम ऐसा

हो जो गांवों तक पहुंच जाये। यह बात निर्विवाद है कि नये करों की घोषणा के फल-स्वरूप चीजों के मूल्यों में काफ़ी वृद्धि हो गयी है, पर सब से ताज्जुब तो इस बात का है कि जिन चीजों पर कर नहीं लगाया गया है उनमें भी दाम बढ़ गये हैं। इसलिये सरकार प्रभावशाली कदम उठाये ताकि जो जीवन के लिये आवश्यक चीजें हैं उनमें मूल्य न बढ़ सके।

अन्त में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि बजट प्रस्ताव के साथ आर्थिक समीक्षा की जो एक पुस्तिका दी गयी है उसमें यह स्पष्ट रूप से बताया गया है कि खेतों के क्षेत्र में, उद्योग के क्षेत्र में और खान के क्षेत्र में हमने काफ़ी तरक्की की है। जो तरक्की हमने की है वह बड़े संतोष की बात है, लेकिन प्रगति की जो रफ्तार है वह काफ़ी धीमा है। इस रफ्तार से चल कर जो हमारा लक्ष्य है कि सन् १९६५-६६ तक हम खेतों के उत्पादन में स्वावलम्बी हो जायेंगे, उसमें कम सफलता और आशा नजर आती है। यद्यपि चीन, आज़रबैजान के बाद खेतों की प्राथमिकता दी गयी है लेकिन खेती के उत्पादन में तब तक हम स्वावलम्बी नहीं हो सकेंगे जब तक सरकार लघु सिंचाई जैसी योजनायें समय पर खाद, उन्नत बीज, मुधरे हुये औजारों तथा ऋण की व्यवस्था की योजनायें कागज से उतर कर छोटे छोटे किसान तक नहीं पहुंचायी जायेंगी। मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि तीसरी पंच वर्षीय योजना के इस वर्ष तक देश को एक बड़ी आबादी की आर्थिक दशा में कोई मुद्धार नहीं हुआ है। स्वयं हमारे प्रधान मंत्रों ने सोशलिस्ट फोरम के समानार का उद्घाटन करते समय इस विषय आर्थिक स्थिति पर आश्चर्य प्रकट किया था। इसलिये ऋषि और उद्योग के क्षेत्र में जब तक उत्पादन में काफ़ी वृद्धि नहीं होती तब तक समाज के आम लोगों का जीवन स्तर उंचा नहीं हो सकता, और जब तक समाज के आम लोगों का जीवन स्तर उंचा नहीं होगा

[श्री श्री० प्र० यादव]

तब तक हर बजट, वह बढ़ा हो या छोटा हो, शांति काल का होया संकट काल का, ग्राम लोगों ने लिये बोझ जैसा ही मालूम होगा ऐसा मेरा विश्वास है ।

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, when the Finance Minister made his Budget Speech and announced his taxation proposals, although it was almost known that on account of our defence needs additional taxation was inevitable, it created a great sensation in the country; more so because although for the first time he tried to hit all sections of the society from the measures that he announced it was clear that they would hit mostly the poorer section and the lower middle class section of our society.

I have got many letters from many quarters. Sometimes they are anonymous, but anonymous letters sometimes give you very valuable information. This is a letter written by some anonymous person. This gives the general reaction of fixed income group to the taxation proposals. He says:

"I also want to tell you that if this Budget is passed several salaried people including government servants will kill members of their families and also kill themselves because it is obvious that they will not be able to carry on with these taxes on their heads. Please bring this matter to the notice of the Finance Minister and tell him that the sin of all these suicides will lie on him and the family to which he belongs. He will have to pay dearly for it in the court of God."

These sentiments were expressed by a person who thought that after proposals are accepted it will not be possible for him to carry on with his family and other things. When the Finance Minister replied to the Budget Debate, from his attitude it was

almost taken for granted that excepting perhaps some adjustments in the super profits tax he was not going to give any relief whatsoever. In this context, the recent announcement by the Finance Minister is, I would say, very progressive in nature. We all expected that when he had considered all these aspects, being a realist and practical man as he is, not wedded to any dogmas, if he had taken into account the real impact of these proposals on society, he would have gone much further than what he has announced so far. Many essential matters, things which are very essential to individuals in this country, though very small things like kerosene and post-card, should have received immediate attention. They have received his attention, all right, but he has gone only half way. He has announced a reduction of 50 per cent. in the additional duty in the case of inferior kerosene and 20 per cent. in the case of superior kerosene, I take it, in response to popular demand. I would go further and suggest to him that he can go a little ahead and remove this burden altogether from the people. The same concession can be extended to post-card also. This increase of one naya paisa in the case of post-card affects mostly the common man. The Finance Minister comes forward and says that there is a loss on account of post-cards and foreign exchange difficulty because of import of kerosene. Why not he do away with taxation on these two items and levy a duty on import of foreign liquor into this country? I am sure he can get the money he wants from that new levy.

I also appreciate and welcome his announcement regarding compulsory savings. It is a good thing that he has announced that so far as the small peasants are concerned, those who pay only Rs. 5 per annum as land revenue, they would be exempted from the provisions of compulsory savings. We must help the small peasants. It is

wellknown that the rural sector today is the most neglected sector. It cannot be said that a peasant who pays Rs. 50 per annum as land revenue is in a position to save anything. He just lives from hand to mouth. Therefore, I would suggest to him to extend his concession, which he has given to those peasants who pay Rs. 5 as land revenue per annum, to those who are paying up to Rs. 50 as land revenue.

I also welcome his announcement, so far as salaried people are concerned, those who have a monthly income of Rs. 150 or less. The exemption given to them is a good thing. Otherwise, this levy would have largely fallen on the lower middle class, which is an articulate section of our society. By giving exemption to these people, we are encouraging them to have voluntary savings instead of compulsory savings. It is always better to have voluntary savings than compulsory savings. Because of this concession, more people will save voluntarily, voluntary savings will grow, the investment capacity of such people will grow and they will become investment-minded.

I also agree with the Finance Minister when he says that he is not prepared to give any further concession to the income-tax payer because, as he says, what is really intended in the case of income-tax payers is a general increase in personal taxation, and the option to pay a part of this increase in the shape of a deposit which will be returned is itself meant to be a measure of relief from which no further relief is possible.

As regards the Super-profits tax, the amount of literature that has been distributed, which most of us have received, I believe, shows as if the entire taxation proposal was going to finish the private sector in this country, there will be no incentive, there will be no capital coming forward and there will be no development, only because the Finance Minister has brought the super-profits tax. The 276(ai) LSD—6.

main idea behind the super-profits tax is to encourage the building up of internal resources for further development and repayment of loan capital. In fact, it should really improve the financial position of the companies. In the long run, I believe, this will help the shareholders by putting the company on a sound financial position. It will act as a deterrent against the distribution of excessive dividends. From that point of view, it is a good measure. Also, the concession that has been given will really help the small *entrepreneurs*.

But, when I went through the announcement of the Finance Minister in this matter, I noticed a disquieting feature in it, to which I want to draw attention. I do not know what is in his mind when he says in one sentence, while giving this concession from super-profits tax:

“...I felt the need to depart from conventional methods of increasing savings and taxing the corporate sector.”

Is it a departure from the conventional method? Is it only for the duration of the emergency? Is it an unorthodox measure? I think this is a departure from what the Finance Minister himself stated in the budget speech. In his budget speech, he specifically mentioned about it and said that by having this new taxation we are introducing an important principle in company taxation. Now, why is he so very apologetic about it? Why does he come forward, change the entire scheme of things and say it is an emergency measure?

Shri Morarji Desai: I have not said it is an emergency measure.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: You have said that it is a departure from the conventional methods.

Shri Morarji Desai: That it is, but that is not an apology.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: We want this principle to be a permanent

[Shri Surendranath Dwivedy]

feature, fitted into the taxation machinery of this country. It is not correct to argue that large profits are always an index of efficiency. Neither can it be argued that the higher personal income is only on account of extraordinary abilities. These are fallacious arguments. I think this violates the progressive principle of taxation. We want this principle to be retained in this country. It should be clearly laid down as a principle and as a policy that we are linking company taxation with company profits.

Shri Morarka (Jhunjhunu): It is always related to company profits.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: But not in the manner we have done now. Even after all these concessions, I feel it will be a great burden on the society as a whole, the impact of which would be felt by all. There is no doubt about that. There is already a steep rise in prices and the cost of living has increased. Whether there are any official statistics or not, I cannot say, but, as a practical man, it must have come to the notice of the Finance Minister that there has been a phenomenal rise in prices in the country. When you take extra money to be put in development plans etc. you must ensure that there is some stability, so far as the prices are concerned. Now, in the name of defence and development, people are asked to bear this burden. Of course, people are patriotic enough to bear it. Probably, on account of the huge defence requirements, they may be induced to bear the burden willingly. But, at the same time, when he is taking a great responsibility on himself, the people would ask the Finance Minister whether every pie that he takes from them in the form of taxes is being properly utilised or not. They would ask whether the same sacrifice which is expected of the common man and the same emergency is also reflected in the administration or not. Therefore I think that special

attention should be paid to avoid waste and expenditure on non-productive plans etc. The hon. Finance Minister would really have got the applause of the House if when he proposed these taxation measures he had unfolded his plans about how he proposed to have economy in the administration. I think, I have raised this question earlier also. Does he think it necessary that we should continue to have in the same fashion a large contingent of ministers both at the Centre and in the States?

15:51 hrs.

[SHRI THIRUMALA RAO *in the Chair*]

Is it that for the emergency they are needed? Is it not necessary that at this juncture we introduced some changes as regards the Governors? After all what for are the State Governors? Under the Constitution they are to act in an emergency, but when there is a national emergency, when the whole country is in an emergency, what precisely are their functions? When we are suspending some articles of the Constitution, can we also not suspend this so far as the functions of the Governors are concerned and thereby have a reduction in the expenditure?

I read in the papers that the Home Ministry took some initiative about some cut in its own strength as a result of which they say they would save about Rs. 4 crores. It is also said that there was some committee which went into the strength of the different Ministries and had suggested that as a result of some cuts a sum of Rs. 67 lakhs or some such amount would be saved. It again shows that we have a heavy burden. In the normal course the expenditure has increased manifold and it needs further reduction. That aspect has not received the attention of the Ministry to the extent that is needed at the present moment. I want to know what concrete measures have been taken not only in the Central sphere but also in the States

and other spheres. You say that you are doing something. Some announcement was made here by the hon. Deputy Finance Minister to the effect that some chaprassis and other people were being retrenched. But that is not the way to meet the situation. We must know definitely in what time you are going to effect this economy. Otherwise, what would happen, if it goes on as usual, as it is normally going on and if again people are asked to pay more, is that probably this willingness may ultimately give in to resistance and frustration and people may not be willing to give money to a government and an administration which is not able to effect economy and austerity in its own machinery.

I know, the hon. Finance Minister is a clean person. His dress also is spotless white and very clean. I want that he should as well introduce measures which will remove all dirt near about him. He can say that he is clean but if others remain dirty one is not sure whether he may not be affected thereby. Therefore I want him to take measures so that not only he appears as a clean person but the administration and the jointly responsible Government are also clean.

In this connection, I would again bring before the House the question of Serajuddin and Company. It has been discussed very much in this House. I welcome what the hon. Finance Minister said yesterday.

Shri Harj Vishnu Kamath: Clean the Augean stables.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: He assured this House yesterday that the cases against this firm would go on and that nobody will be considered so high and so important as to escape the processes of law where corruption is concerned. Its coming from the hon. Finance Minister after the interjection of a Congress Member who actually wanted to drop the entire case is significant. It unfolds again

the other aspects of the whole deal. There are forces which are working in this country, there is such a combination between the big business and the so-called progressives that one does not know where the principle of socialism is going to.

Shri Tyagi: He never wanted to drop the case. It is wrong to say that he wanted to drop the case.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I am taking the statement of the hon. Minister as the basis. Shri Tyagi may be knowing more about it, I do not know.

I wanted to take up this case to remove some misunderstandings. When I raised this question in this House on the 21st February, I did not mention any name. I did not say that somebody had taken this amount or that amount. There was no personality involved in it. I only drew the attention of the House to the publication in the newspapers of Calcutta in which it was said that lakhs of rupees have been transacted through a firm and that some Central and State Ministers' names are involved in it. There was no question of some person in this matter. When I wrote to the hon. Prime Minister when he wanted to know more details about it I had made it clear in my first letter that it is not because I am in the Opposition that.....

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

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I will take 30 minutes. I have spoken only for 15 or 20 minutes. I am entitled to 30 minutes. That is what the Speaker said. I am the only speaker from my Party.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member should resume his seat and listen. I understand that Leaders of Parties are allowed only 20 minutes.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: No. The hon. Speaker had announced that Leaders of Groups can take 30 minutes.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: The records may be consulted. We were all here when the hon. Speaker announced that.

Some Hon. Members: The hon. Members: The hon. Speaker said they can have 30 minutes.

Mr. Chairman: Will you please bear with me for a moment? That is the latest instruction of the hon. Deputy-Speaker. Anyhow, he is the Leader of a Party and I would like him to bear in mind the time-limit.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I will try to finish within 30 minutes.

Even in the first letter that I wrote to hon. Prime Minister I had made it perfectly clear that not because I am in the Opposition that I am making this allegation but that our public life is open to such scandalous charges that it is necessary in a democracy to see that corruption is not there. Everyone who is working in the public field is looked down upon with suspicion by the people. Therefore I wanted that there should be a thorough probe into this thing and that this suspicion should be removed from the minds of the people. That is how this matter was brought up. I was really surprised when the hon. Prime Minister made a statement in the AICC and lashed out, of context, saying that some opposition parties wanted to take advantage of this and attack the Ministers personally. I welcome the statement of the hon. Finance Minister because it comes after that statement of the hon. Prime Minister. I want to know where was the person involved in it, where is socialism involved in it.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Bogus socialism.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Is it socialism that in this country you will protest and under the cover of black-marketers and profiteers you will go on preaching to the country having some sort of newspapers as the mac-

hinery for saying that you are progressives and socialists and that you are against the capitalists? There was no such question; no person was involved. What happened? How Shri Malaviya came into the picture? I have never in my letters—I have a bunch of letters exchanged between the Prime Minister and myself; some of them are confidential and I do not want to disclose them but I want to say—nowhere did I mention Shri Malaviya until he himself made a statement. How did he come into the picture? He offered himself. We do not know what was there in Serajuddin and Co. Nobody knows that. Even today in the papers,—not today, some names were published the other day—that Serajuddin was arrested and case was started by the Finance Ministry. I was surprised. Search was made in 1959. I would ask the Finance Minister why he took four years to start the customs case.

16 hrs.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: The matter was in the court.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Four years.

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Finance (Shri B. R. Bhagat): He went to the High Court and the Supreme Court; from December, 1959.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Here also it is stated that when this man was arrested the other day and his house was searched, some personal letters from some Ministers, Union Ministers are understood to have been recovered. This is the latest search. It is not known who are the other Ministers involved. Whether it is only Rs. 10,000 or a few lakhs: it will be known only when the entire matter comes up. That is yet under enquiry, under investigation. Therefore, I urged in the first letters to the Prime Minister that there should be a judicial probe into the matter. We find many persons. Shri T. T. Krishnamachari also made a statement here. I objected then also. I said, there is

no question, I had never mentioned his name, why does he come. Not only that. He has again revealed some more things. He said, yes, there was a proposal to give him a licence, etc.; I did not do it, it was the Finance Minister—Shri Morarji Desai. He said that this was given in 1957:

“... a letter approving the foreign collaboration was issued to this party; the Minister concerned at the time is my colleague, the present Finance Minister.

He said:

“... the final licence was issued in May, 1958 when I was not even a member of the Government.”

One after the other, they are coming forward.

Shri Malaviya may be a good honest man. I do not know that. Personally I have nothing against him. But, it appears he is so much involved in this matter that he wanted to show that this is a simple matter, just I took Rs. 10,000; not for myself, but to help a Congress candidate,—who is that Congress candidate—who is contesting from my own parliamentary constituency for the Assembly. You know, you yourself must have fought for election, Assembly and parliamentary candidates fight together. (*Interruption.*)

Mr. Chairman: I would suggest to the hon. Member to leave the Chair alone.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: But you too have fought an election.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: You have fought the election to Parliament.

What happened? The whole question arose because Shri Malaviya just wanted to escape by saying, Oh, only Rs. 10,000, not for me, but for somebody who probably was indirect-

ly helping me in the election. What happened after that? As I said, when the full report which the Central Intelligence has to give comes, there may be lakhs. One does not know. But, this disclosure really made Shri Malaviya open to the public in the sense that here is a question of impropriety. The Minister asks a firm, which has no personal connection with him, which deals with mineral matters, connected with his own Ministry,—asks him to pay money for a person who is contesting in his own constituency. I would ask the Finance Minister, is not a question of propriety involved in it. Shri Malaviya, instead of defending himself, should have immediately offered to resign by admitting, I have done this. He should have the courage enough to admit at least this much. In recent months, we have seen in England, even when it happened that a model girl absented herself from the court, because at some time or other, a Minister had some meeting with her, the Minister had to explain in Parliament his conduct. That is how public life in a democracy is kept at a high standard. Instead of doing that, he is throwing here in this House all sorts of challenges. I would tell you regarding this. I do not know when he is making a statement. I would like the Finance Minister to take this into account.

There are several charges made against him. We have put several questions. What has appeared ultimately? 1956 December or some such date, he took money. 1956 April, Industrial policy Resolution prohibits anybody, private parties taking licence for manganese ore. Whether the provincial Government did it, whether the Central Government did it, they are all in league. Because it appears that the provincial people have taken about 10, 12 lakhs from this man. They are all working in league. The licence was given as he has admitted yesterday. New licence: it is not only revision; new licences were given in 1957 and 1958. Not only are admitted facts. In

[Shri Surendranath Dwivedy]

view of the admitted facts, is there anything to say that Shri Malaviya is simply innocent, he does not know anything? I tell you, if the records are seen, it will appear that Serajuddin has applied for prospecting licences not only from Orissa. He seems to have with the help of the men at the top—been creating a manganese empire as Mundhra was trying to create an empire. Sixty, seventy applications he has made before the Mines Ministry for prospecting licences in the neighbouring States. I want to put it, is it not a fact . . .

Mr. Chairman: Not much time.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Last point I will make about this. This has been admitted. If this has been admitted, I put it to the Government, what steps are they going to take.

Last point: that has created a little bit of confusion, because these people deliberately tried to create confusion. There is no question of socialism involved in it. The Prime Minister seems to have fallen a victim to this type of propaganda of pseudo socialists. What happened? There is another confusion that he has created. He said yesterday while replying to a supplementary that I have not forwarded any application to the Commerce Ministry for giving permit to export manganese ore. I said, he did not state the fact. He tried to conceal the fact from the House. Here is on record on the 5th of April, I put this question to Shri Manubhai Shah, the Minister for International Trade. I asked the specific question whether it is not a fact that the Mines Ministry forwarded the application of Serajuddin for giving a permit for the export of manganese ore. What is his reply? I said last month; I said that; that means in March. What is his reply?

"As the firm was under a cloud, we have refused the barter".

But, the Ministry forwarded the application. Not only that. He wants

to confuse by saying, I did not recommend; I forwarded. I had in my possession letters. On Shri Malaviya's own admission that application was lying with Shri Malaviya's Ministry. This application was forwarded. Not only forwarded. He says that the Joint Secretary of the Ministry along with the other applications wrote to the Commerce Ministry that this application should be considered. What does it mean? Recommendation: he did not put that very word recommendation.

Shri Tyagi: The Minister did not.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: The Minister is quite an innocent person; the Minister does not know all that is happening. Therefore, what I want to say is, he is trying to confuse. It is not a question of private understanding. Whenever you challenge.

Shri Morarji Desai: On a matter of information, may I say that in all the transactions which take place in the Ministry, the Minister does not know always everything. Powers are delegated to Joint Secretaries and to the Secretaries. When the various Ministries are to be considered, they transfer them. They go there. The Minister does not know. I do not know several things in the Ministry. I can find out, and then revise it.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: But, the Minister is responsible under the parliamentary democratic system.

Shri Morarji Desai: I am not, therefore, judging this case or that case. But, I am only, as a case of general information, saying what the procedure is.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I thank you for the intervention. The whole thing is, when he replies to the House, he ought to admit that this was sent for consideration, that his Secretary did it. He refuses, denies; no; nothing was done. That is my point. He wants to mislead the House. I want to put it that way. It is not a fact . . .

Mr. Chairman: I would request the hon. Member to conclude now. He has already taken more time than what was due to him.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I am concluding.

Therefore, I would say that it is not a private matter to be settled, as often Shri K. D. Malaviya tries by saying 'Mr. Nath Pai, you see the file', or 'Mr. Kamath, you see the file'. It is not a private deal that we are doing. It is a matter which should be given to some judicial body to go into, and it is a public matter and it should be publicly stated here as to what the position is and the entire matter should be exposed, and I think that if it is exposed, the den through which the so-called progressivists in this country are functioning would be exposed. Probably, if Shri Morarji Desai had taken this up earlier, he would have been dubbed as a reactionary. That is why this action has perhaps been delayed; I do not know. But at the same time I would say that if that is exposed, the den through which all these corrupt people, taking the name of progressivism and socialism, in the political life of the country were functioning would be thoroughly exposed, and as a result of that, this country would be saved crores of rupees and the entire political life also will attain a moral standard.

Therefore, special attention should be paid to this matter, and no attempt should be made to see that this is hushed up by bringing into it political questions saying that political parties are doing it. It is, after all, the job of the political parties to expose any corrupt practice or any misdeeds in the administration, and it is the duty of any Opposition or any democrat in this country, and that is the only duty that we are discharging. There is no question of personal vendetta in it or personal matter in it.

Shri Morarka: Before you call the next hon. Member, I would like to ask the previous speaker to clarify

this position. He has charged that Shri K. D. Malaviya gave a wrong information or that he concealed the information from the House, and in support of that, he read out the answer given by the Minister of International Trade. The Minister of International Trade, judging from the answer that he read out, did not seem to have stated that any paper was forwarded to him by the Ministry of Mines and Fuel or that any recommendation was made by the Ministry of Mines and Fuel. A challenge was made by the hon. Minister Shri K. D. Malaviya, but the challenge was not accepted. So, how and on what authority does he now say that information was concealed from the House?

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I have said that I have good authority with me. It is a confidential document. If it is permitted to be disclosed by the person concerned who has given me the document, I am prepared to place that document on the Table of the House.

Shri Morarka: When a charge is made on the floor of the House again and again . . .

Mr. Chairman: Time does not permit of our entering into a discussion of that matter now. There are several other hon. Member who want to speak.

Shri Morarka: When the charge is made on the floor of the House on the basis of a document, then, even if it is secret, the document must be laid on the Table of the House.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: It is for him to disprove it.

Mr. Chairman: There are other occasions to go into these things.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Let it go to a judicial court.

श्रीमती गंगा देवी (मोहनबालबंज) :
समापति महोदय, इस के पूर्व कि मैं आज की बहस में भाग लूं, ऐसे संकट के समय में,

[श्रीमती गंगा देवी]

जब कि एक बाहरी देश ने हमारे देश पर हमला किया है, उस समय की आवश्यकता के अनुसार देश की सभी मांगों को पूरा करते हुए माननीय वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने यह वित्त विधेयक पेश कर के जिस बुद्धिमत्ता का परिचय दिया है, मैं उस की प्रशंसा किये बरीर नहीं रह सकती ।

बैसे तो जब से हम ने अपने देश की स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त की है, हमारे देश में बहुत उथल-पुथल हुई है, बड़े बड़े संकट आए हैं और हमारे देशवासियों ने उन सब का बड़ी आसानी से और गम्भीरता से मुकाबला किया है । हम ने, हमारी सरकार ने, छः सौ के लगभग देशी राज्यों का विलीनीकरण कर के देश में एक बड़ा महान कार्य किया है । इस के साथ ही देश का आर्थिक और सामाजिक विकास करने के लिए योजनायें भी बनाई गईं ।

16:15 hrs.

[Mr. SEBAKER in the Chair]

पहली और दूसरी पंच-वर्षीय योजनायें समाप्त हुईं, जिन के द्वारा देश ने काफी उन्नति की है, लेकिन फिर भी हम उस उद्देश्य को पूरा नहीं कर सके, जिस को ले कर हम ने पंच-वर्षीय योजनाओं की रचना की थी । यह तीसरी पंच-वर्षीय योजना का समय है । इस में भी सरकार करोड़ों रुपये खर्च कर रही है, लेकिन उस का मतलब, उस का अभिप्राय यह नहीं है कि हम ने अपने सामने जो नक्शा तैयार किया था, हम उस के अनुसार चल रहे हैं । और इस समय यह प्रश्न हमारे सामने आता है कि हम समाजवाद के लक्ष्य के कौन से धंश को पूरा कर सके हैं और समाजवाद की सीढ़ी पर हम कितने कदम ऊपर आए हैं । हम ने यह भी देखना है कि हम ने अपने पिछड़े हुए क्षेत्रों में कितना विकास किया है और अपने देश के उन उजड़े हुए कारीगरों और किसानों को, जिन की कलायें समाप्त हो चुकी हैं, कितने उद्योग बंधों में लगाया है । इन सब बातों को

देखते हुए हम यह भी कह सकते हैं कि हमारे देश के वे किसान, जो शहरों के ईर्द-गिर्द बसे हुए थे संकड़ों सालों से, सदियों से, खेतों को जोतते और बोते चने आ रहे थे, हमारे मास्टर प्लानों और शहरों के एक्सपेंशन से उजड़ गए और देहातों में रहने वाले दूसरे किसान अब चकबन्दी के प्लान से उजड़ रहे हैं । चकबन्दी जैसी जिन्होंने स्कीम बनाई, वह बना कर हम ने सरकारी अफसरों के हाथों में छोड़ दी । इस बात का हमें बड़ा खेद होता है कि जो भी प्लान हम तैयार करते हैं देश के उद्धार के लिए और देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था सुधारने के लिए उन सब को बना कर सरकारी कर्मचारियों के हाथ में छोड़ दिया जाता है ।

हमारे प्रान्तों में यह हालत हो रही है कि सरकारी अफसरों ने खेतों को इधर उधर करने में संकड़ों रुपये बनाए, लेकिन जिन्होंने चकबन्दी की इस योजना को तैयार किया था, उन्हें निकल कर यह भी नहीं देखा कि हमारे किसानों की क्या हालत है । जो कोई भी प्लान बनते हैं, वे सरकारी अफसरों के हाथों में छोड़ दिये जाते हैं और जनता पर जबर्दस्ती थोप दिये जाते हैं और उस का फल भुगतना पड़ता है हम जैसे जन-सम्पर्क रखने वालों को ।

इसी प्रकार बजट तैयार कर के करों का ब्यौरा हमारे सामने आता है । सदन के सभी सदस्य उस के ऊपर काफ़ी टीका-टिप्पणी करते हैं और अपने मुझाव भी रखते हैं, लेकिन आप अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं कि उस में कितना संशोधन होता है । देश की आर्थिक अवस्था इन्हीं करों को लगाने के ढंग और इनकी वसूली की व्यवस्था पर निर्भर करती है । हमारा देश गरीब नहीं है । इसी देश का एक व्यक्ति करोड़ों रुपयों से खेल रहा है और इसी देश का दूसरा व्यक्ति दाने दाने और पैसे पैसे को मोहताज हो रहा है । आश्चर्य तो इस बात का है कि जो व्यक्ति एक तिनका भी उठा कर इधर से उधर नहीं रख सकता है, जो परिश्रम

करने का अर्द्ध नहीं है, आज वही अमीर है। जो व्यक्ति केवल मेहनतकशों की मेहनत के उत्पादन को इधर से उधर कराने में पैसा पैदा करने में लगा हुआ है, वही आज देश का पृथ्वीपति है। देश के कारीगरों और कलाकारों के तैयार किये हुए माल का आयात-निर्यात कौन करता है? उन के कठिन परिश्रम से उत्पन्न माल का विदेशों से व्यापार करने का लाइसेंस भी सरकार इन्हीं इने-गिने व्यक्तियों को देती है, जिस से वे मिनटों में लाखों रुपये पैदा करते हैं। हम समाजवाद की बात तो करते हैं, किन्तु उस मार्ग पर नहीं चलते हैं, न चल सकते हैं। सीधी सच्ची बात यह है कि जो व्यक्ति जिस समान को तैयार करता है, यदि उसी व्यक्ति को उस का व्यापार करने की इजाजत मिले, उसी को उस के लिए मार्केट मिले और उसी को विदेशों से व्यापार करने की इजाजत मिले, तो हम देश की जरीबी को आसानी से दूर कर सकते हैं। जब तक सरकार इस पर नियंत्रण नहीं करेगी तब तक अमीर और गरीब के बीच की जो खाई है वह पट नहीं सकती है।

डेमोक्रेसी या वेलफेयर स्टेट में फ्री कम्पीटीशन होना चाहिये। लेकिन हमारी इस डेमोक्रेसी में यह भी नहीं है। चन्द लोगों ने स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज और हेवी इंडस्ट्रीज पर मोनोपली कर ली है। जैसे मैनूफैक्चरिंग आफ कार्ज एंड ट्रक्स है। इसी की वजह से स्माल कार्ज आज तक भी मैनूफैक्चर नहीं हो सकती हैं। और इसी कारण तथा फ्री कम्पीटीशन न होने के कारण प्राइसिस भी दिन-प्रति-दिन बढ़ती चली जा रही हैं। इन प्राइसिस के कम होने की कोई आशा दिखाई नहीं दे रही है।

जहाँ तक करों का सम्बन्ध है नए और पुराने बड़े हुए कर अधिकतर गरीब जनता से वसूल होते हैं। उनकी आय कुछ भी हो या कतई न हो, किन्तु फिर तो उसे देने ही होते हैं।

समाजवादी समाज के लक्ष्य को पूरा करने के लिए करों द्वारा सम्पत्ति एकत्रित कर देश का उत्थान करना है। इसी कारण लोक सभा करों के लगाने की स्वीकृति प्रदान करती रही है। लेकिन करों की वसूली की व्यवस्था और करों के लगाने के ढंग सुधारने की तुरन्त आवश्यकता है। कारण कि सरकार कर लगाती तो है, किन्तु उसे वसूल नहीं कर पाती। अरबों रुपया ऐसा पड़ा है जो कि वसूल ही नहीं हुआ है, न ही सरकार उसकी रिकवरी कर पाई है। आप जिस समय एक्साइज ड्यूटी बढ़ाते हैं कारखानेदार उसी समय अपने तैयार माल को स्टॉक में जमा कर देते हैं और गिनती के समय उसको कर से मुक्ति दिला देते हैं और सेंट्रल बोर्ड आफ रेवेन्यू उस माल पर कर लगाने से छोड़ देती है। कितने ही इस प्रकार के उदाहरण हैं और कितने ही ऐसे कारोबार चल रहे हैं। चूंकि वह कर ठीक तरह से वसूल नहीं कर पाती है, इसीलिए आज हमारी सरकार को पैसे की कमी पड़ती है। लाखों और करोड़ों रुपया इस तरह का पड़ा हुआ है। कंज्यूमर्ज करों का भार वहन करते जा रहे हैं लेकिन वह सारा रुपया सरकार के खजाने में नहीं पहुंच रहा है। स्वतंत्रता से आज तक करों के लगाने और वसूल करने का जो ढंग चल रहा है, वह इस प्रकार है। कस्टम्ज ड्यूटी का जहाँ तक वाल्लुक है, १९४७-४८ के आंकड़े उपलब्ध नहीं हैं। १९४१-४२ में २३१ करोड़ ६९ लाख, १९६१-६२ में १९९ करोड़ ६० लाख और १९६२-६३ में १९९ करोड़ ६८ लाख रुपये इस में वसूल किए गए और ज्यादा तर ये गरीब लोगों ने ही दिए। सेंट्रल एक्साइज ड्यूटी भी ज्यादातर गरीब लोगों से ही वसूल की जाती है। १९४७-४८ में ३८ करोड़ ८९ लाख रुपये इस मद में वसूल किए गए, १९४१-४२ में ८५ करोड़ ७८ लाख रुपये, १९६१-६२ में ४७० करोड़ ९५ लाख रुपये, और १९६२-६३ में ४९२ करोड़ २८ लाख रुपये वसूल किए गए। जिन की बहुत आमदनी है, जो अमीर लोग हैं, वे जो आयकर के रूप में देते हैं, वह इस प्रकार है। १९४७-४८ में के आंकड़े

[श्रीमती गंगा देवी]

उपलब्ध नहीं है। १९५१-५२ में उन्होंने १८७ करोड़ ६० लाख रुपया दिया, १९६१-६२ में ३०२ करोड़ और १९६२-६३ में ३१६ करोड़ दिया। सैटल एक्साइज ड्यूटी ही वह कर है जो इनडायरेक्ट टैक्स कहलाता है और जिस को गरीब लोग भ्रदा करते हैं। इसी से अरबों रुपया सरकारी खजाने में आता है, और जो आंकड़े मैंने आपके सामने रखे हैं, उन से स्पष्ट है।

यह देखा गया है कि सरकार गरीबों के प्रयोग की जो वस्तुयें हैं, उन पर ही कर लगाती और बढ़ाती चली जा रही है। मेरे कहने का अभिप्राय यह नहीं है कि कर लगाया ही न जाए। लेकिन नियम इस प्रकार का बनाया जाना चाहिये कि जो जीवन की आवश्यक वस्तुयें हैं, उन पर कम कर लगे या बिल्कुल भी कर न लगे। या बहुत सोच समझ कर लगाया जाए। अब आप देखें कि गरीब जनता के प्रयोग की कौन कौन सी चीजें हैं। उसके प्रयोग की चीजों में मिट्टी का तेल, पीने का तम्बाकू, कोर्स कपड़ा आदि आता है। कोर्स कपड़े के नाम पर कर लगता है। इसको गरीब आदमी पहनता है। जिस कोर्स कपड़े की दर प्रति गज एक रुपया होती है उस पर २५ नए पैसे प्रति गज कर लगता है। इसके मुकाबले मैं आप सुपरफाइन कपड़े को देख। सुपरफाइन पर ३७ नए पैसे प्रति गज कर होता है और इसका दाम अगर पांच रुपये प्रति गज होता है और इसको अमीर आदमी ही खरीद सकता है। इसका अर्थ हुआ कि अमीर लोग साढ़े सात प्रतिशत ही कर देते हैं और जो गरीब आदमी हैं उनको पच्चीस प्रतिशत कर देना पड़ता है।

तम्बाकू का भी यहीं ढंग है। फिजिकल फार्म के आधार पर कर की दर होने से एक रुपया छब्बीस नए पैसे प्रति किलोग्राम कर पीने हुक्के के तम्बाकू पर लिया जाता है। हुक्का तम्बाकू अक्सर देहात में पिया जाता है, और गरीब लोग ही इसको अधिकतर पीते हैं।

लेकिन चबाने का तम्बाकू जो एक सौ रुपये का दस ग्राम और एक हजार रुपये का एक किलो-ग्राम होता है और जिसे अमीर आदमी ही खरीद सकते हैं, उस पर एक रुपया २६ नए पैसे ही सरकार द्वारा कर वसूल किया जाता है। मेरा सुझाव है कि कपड़े की कीमत पर और तम्बाकू के मूल्य पर कर की दर निर्धारित करके गरीबों को राहत दी जानी चाहिये। इस प्रकार मूल्य पर कर लगाने की द निर्धारित करने से, कीमतों को तय करने से, उनको जांचने में सरकार को महंगाई रोकने में बड़ी सहायता मिल सकती है।

तम्बाकू इंडस्ट्री को यदि अच्छी तरह से देखा जाए तो उपभोक्ता के मूल्य बढ़ाये बिना सरकार को करीब दो सौ करोड़ रुपया अधिक मिल सकता है। इस उद्योग का अगर राष्ट्रीयकरण कर दिया जाए तो सरकार को दो सौ करोड़ रुपये की हर साल अधिक आमदनी हो सकती है।

अन्त में मैं फिर हाउस से यह प्रार्थना करती हूँ कि समाजवादी लक्ष्य को अग्रल में देखने के लिए वित्त मंत्रालय के पूंजीवादी नियमों को शीघ्र ही बदला जाए ताकि सरकार द्वारा लगाये गए कर खजाने में आ सकें।

Shri R. G. Dubey (Bijapur North):
Mr. Speaker, I join the hon. Members of the House in paying my tribute to the Finance Minister for the tax relief he has been kind enough to grant. That means that the Finance Minister is very much alive to the democratic opinion in the country as expressed outside as well as here.

About the compulsory levy, I request him to go a step further and leave that matter entirely to the States because, it seems, the revenue that is going to accrue from that is to be ultimately given to the State. Would it not be wise if you leave the matter to the States? They will find the best method of collecting it. The

other day, I was discussing with hon. Members from Bihar and U.P. An example was given that in Bihar, for 10 bighas of land they had to pay Rs. 50 rent but in many districts it has not been possible for them even to pay the arrears of rent. So is the case in many districts in my own State of Mysore which, I believe, Morarjibhai knows because he was Chief Minister in that area. For two or three years, there have been no recoveries of arrears. Besides that, as Shri Gopalan correctly pointed out, the Mysore Government have levied a surcharge on the land revenue very recently. That is double taxation. Already, for the NDF people have come forth generously to pay to their maximum extent. Under such circumstances I will request him to consider whether this matter of compulsory levy could be reconsidered. I grant the principle that every person in this country, whether he is a man or a woman, however poor he may be, must pay something to the exchequer towards defence. It is a high principle and I agree with that. But these are the circumstances which I would appeal to him to take into consideration.

I would like to say a few words about the gold control order. I have heard the Finance Minister yesterday, and I know that they have kept in view this objective, namely, to prevent the depletion of our foreign exchange resources and to check the depreciation of the rupee value. So, on that ground we cannot have any argument with the Finance Minister, but now, what happens, and what is the condition in the country? I was in my constituency recently, and about 300 persons met me. I could see their condition since the last three or four months. They are totally without any source of employment and they are slowly disposing of their household goods and articles. It is pathetic. Even according to the Government's statement, there were about five lakhs of goldsmiths who were depending for their livelihood on their occupation. They are now thrown

out of employment. I do not know how the Government are going to solve this problem, because unemployment, as it is in the country, persists, and we are not able to solve it in any substantial degree, though we are making progress because of other factors. I leave it at that, and I would appeal to the Finance Minister to see that something concrete is immediately done. After all, if the country is benefited by these measures, in that case, we must also see that the goldsmiths are not thrown out of employment, and their skill in trade for generations should not be wasted.

Then I come to taxation measures. Naturally, in view of the emergency, and the problems that we are facing in respect of our defence against the Chinese aggression, nobody could say anything about levying more and more taxes. But there is one thing. I just wanted to suggest this, as a sort of loud thinking, namely, what should be our taxation policy under a socialist State. We are not yet a socialist State. Our ultimate aim is to establish a socialist pattern of society. But we are still in what we call a capitalist State. Our present economy is a capitalist economy, and we are slowly proceeding from a capitalist economy to a socialist economy, and we are now in the transition stage. So, I wonder whether the taxation policy, to attain the socialist economy, could be different from the time-honoured policy. I am not an expert; I am not an economist. But what I feel is that we must have certain governing principles. It is time that the Planning Commission studied this problem in detail. For example, if you say that you are taxing the rich heavily, because it is so in America or in England—merely because you tax the rich people more—that does not take us towards the socialist goal. Socialist economy has certain definite aspects of planning. I do not mean to say that we must have a dogmatic approach to this problem. But it is time that instead of some loose talk some definite princi-

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pies were laid down to give our policy a socialist angle. From this point of view here is a case or study; how we should raise the taxation resources.

Recently, in the course of the Question Hour, a new suggestion was made about the nationalisation of general insurance. Then there was a suggestion by an hon. lady Member here, who had brought forth a Resolution regarding nationalisation of banking. I agree with the Finance Minister's reasoning that in the context of the present emergency, we could not take it up; it is a highly complicated problem, and obviously we could not expect him to take any decision. But from a long-range point of view, I would urge that this question of nationalisation of banking and of general insurance and other matters should be considered. I do not wish to urge that a dogmatic approach should be taken. But, all the same, there is a case for consideration. Otherwise, how are you going to raise our resources? Our needs are rising every year, and I do not think that every year, year after year, we can impose more and more taxation, and the Government cannot impose taxation to a heavy extent and ask the people to bear it. It would be very difficult. So, you must devise some methods whereby the burden on the consumer could be reduced.

About the public sector and the private sector. I think there is a certain amount of loose talk while we discuss this subject. Hon. Members sometimes say there is no difference between the private sector and the public sector and that we should not talk of differences. But I think we should be deceiving ourselves if we go on arguing that way. There is a difference between the public sector and the private sector. The private sector is there because of certain conditions in the country. The Industrial policy resolution is there. We have accepted the private sector's functioning. But the main motto of the private sector

is production not for social good but production for profit. One of the main defects of the private sector capitalist economy at the moment is that if there is no demand production goes down and sales go down, and then there is an economic crisis. That is why we want socialism. The private sector is also doing good work. I do not mean to say that it should be suppressed. But the private sector is meant primarily for profit, whereas the public sector is meant for social good. As the Finance Minister and the Prime Minister also have said, it may be that the public sector's working may have some defects but ultimately the public sector is the only one sector which we have to encourage. From this point of view, if you say there is no difference between the private sector and the public sector, it is not correct. Public sector must be given price support and other things. What is our credit policy and loan policy? We are distributing loans through the Industrial Finance Corporation. According to Karl Marx, the founder of modern socialism, capitalism develops under certain circumstances. But in India, the capitalists are not in a position to stand on their own legs. I would welcome the private sector if it can develop on its own. But they want to depend on Government for 90 per cent of their needs. What is the good of having a private sector where they have no money? So, instead of the Government paying them, why not Government expand the public sector? From that point of view, I would say that the public sector ought to be given more and more preference. Of course, if there are criticisms here and there, we have to face them.

Coming to defence, we were very happy to hear the Defence Minister making a speech recently. He was very frank. He took the House in confidence within certain limits and said that we are going to have 5 mountain divisions, double our army, modernise the air force and that kind

of thing. But while concluding he said, what is needed is the spirit of determination, the spirit to fight. I know the Prime Minister often lays emphasis on the spirit and determination. But I think everybody should not go on repeating that thing. How is the spirit and determination going to help us against China? China is armed to the teeth. It has the big—the people to bear it. It would by get army in the world. Apart from 5 million under arms, they have a huge popular militia. Can we fight China merely with determination and spirit? It is not necessary for us to speak about determination and spirit to our people. I think the people in this country are much more determined than some of us here. The people want to know how we are going to push back China. That is the people's anxiety. Let us not create confused thinking by merely appealing to sentiment, resistance and determination. That is not going to help us.

I have come across an interesting article by Mr. J. J. Singh, wherein he sums up the position about the Chinese in the following words:

"I have maintained for years that the pattern of the Chinese 'grand design' of conquest will be infiltration into Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and NEFA, disruption of the present systems of governments there and putting in figure-heads who would do as the Chinese bid. They would do that for the purpose of extending their hegemony to the plains of India, looking down our throats and being ready for actions at an appropriate time. I had also thought that they would wait for the demise of Prime Minister Nehru before venturing into India, believing that Nehru's disappearance from the political scene would mean the ascendancy of fissiparous tendencies which, in turn would, create large-scale turmoil in the country. Then with the help of the local communists and other time-servers 'quisling'

governments would be formed in some of the States resulting in chaos and balkanisation of India."

By and large, this reasoning is correct. Our problem now is this infiltration, more than the military problem. We were told that the infiltration of Pakistani Muslims into Assam is according to the Government estimates 3 lakhs, but according to private sources, it is 10 lakhs or more. How are we going to face this problem of pro-Chinese infiltration right on the Himalayan border, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan? In a modern war, as you know, Sir, more than the military tactics, infiltration tactics are very dangerous. What have we been doing to meet the infiltration tactics?

Of course, the other day I went to Alwar and I saw the National Discipline Scheme there. I was happy to see there something which is most suitable for the country. I saw 500 or 600 boys—Indian boys from various States and you cannot imagine that a particular boy was from Gujarat, another from Maharashtra or that sort of thing. Their turn-out and drill gives an impression that they can be very well compared with the army even. I think, Sir, this National Discipline Scheme ought to be extended to our Himalayan border where that kind of infiltration could be met with our National Discipline Scheme. That will be the proper answer also to the communal and disruptive tendencies in the country. I know that the Finance Minister was very much pleased when he attended a function the other day. I am also glad that the Planning Commission has allotted sufficient funds for this scheme. Therefore, this scheme ought to be extended.

I am glad that our defence preparations are going on well. Our officers' team has gone to Washington and shortly our Minister for Economic and Defence Co-ordination will be reaching there for finalising our talks. All the same, in this matter, although I appreciate that there should be secrecy, I think in some respects he

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cannot maintain secrecy at all. Public-minded people as we are, we have been really thinking about it. Take, for example, the air defence of India. For air defence you must have, what you call, radar installations and you must take in hand, the work of building airports and communications all over the border. What is being done now? These things cannot be done secretly. Thousands of labourers are to be employed on digging and levelling. I do not think anything is being done. We are still anxious. Thank God, China may not immediately attack us. But, in the event of an immediate attack, how are we placed? Are we in a position to immediately meet the situation? That question the Government ought to satisfactorily answer.

The last point I would like to touch is about the agricultural production and also industrial production. This question has assumed greater importance in the context of emergency, and we are debating this question here in the House, outside the House and everywhere. As it is, we have attained the target of 79 million tons of agricultural production. But our ultimate target is 100 million tons by the end of 1965. I do not know how within two years time we are going to achieve this target. Something has to be done about it. What I find is, at the district level there is no machinery to mobilise the energies of the people. For example, I am a Congress worker or a social worker belonging to any party and if I want to do something to see that more land is brought under irrigation or that the irrigation potential is fully utilised there is no machinery available through which I can help that campaign. In Maharashtra there is the Zilla Parishads Act. Because there is this Act and there is decentralisation, there is this opportunity for the people there. But in Mysore, I must confess, there is nothing. In many other States also there is no machinery at

the district level. There should be some high level committee which should be entrusted with agricultural production. That committee should meet very often and take decisions. They should give impetus to the people. Take the Land Army or you may call it the Village Volunteer Force. The Village Volunteer Force can go to the villages and do some concrete work. There is nothing being done now. I am sorry to remark that the Planning Commission thinks of some of those ideas ten years after. Possibly the ideas which some persons suggested five or ten years back are being suggested now. Let them do something concrete. There should be some machinery at the district level which can day in and day out look to this matter.

Now, regarding agricultural production, we are glad that Shri Patil, one of our senior leaders, is at the head of this Ministry. I agree, he is a capable man. When he took over charge of this Ministry he said that he was not a Minister for distributing foodstuffs he was a Minister for increasing production. I hope this is being implemented more and more. I know he is doing something in the matter of increasing agricultural production.

Shri Tyagi: Sir may I know who is representing the Finance Ministry on the Treasury Benches?

Mr. Speaker: The hon. lady Minister.

Shri R. G. Dubey: I remember, the late comrade Roy rightly said—there is the Tata-Birla Plan and People's Plan—that agriculture should be the basis of our planning, agricultural production should not be merely for self-sufficiency and we must increase agricultural production more and more so that from the surplus of agricultural production our national economy could develop.

श्री विश्वनाथ राय (देवरिया) : अध्यक्ष जी, चान के भारत पर आक्रमण के कारण जो स्थिति देश में उत्पन्न हुई उसका सामना करने के लिए कर वृद्धि होना और उसके सम्बन्ध में इस बिल का आना स्वाभाविक था ।

एक तरफ जहां देश के सब लोग और सब दल यह कहते हैं कि राष्ट्रीय संकट उत्पन्न हुआ है और उसका मुकाबला होना चाहिए, लेकिन वहां उसके तुरन्त ही बाद यह भी कहते हैं कि उसके मुकाबले के लिए जो तरिके अपनाए जा रहे हैं वे दोषपूर्ण हैं और गलत हैं । इन विरोधी बातों का उत्तर देने से पहले मैं इस सदन के सामने यह बात रखना चाहता हूँ कि इस संकट के कारण जो राष्ट्र में एकता आयी और उसके साथ जो जनता में जोश उत्पन्न हुआ उस जोश का उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए विशेष प्रयास नहीं हो रहा है । यह सही है कि कर वृद्धि करके और उससे उत्पादन बढ़ा कर हम अपने देश की रक्षा के लिए प्रयास कर रहे हैं और इसमें सक्रिय हैं, लेकिन जहां तक देश की आम जनता के जोश के उपयोग का सवाल है, उसको हम उत्पादन बढ़ाने के काम में नहीं ला पाए हैं ।

यद्यपि धनों और गरब यह एक रिप्लेटिव टर्म है, एक्सोल्यूट टर्म नहीं है, लेकिन तब भी हम देखते हैं कि देश में जिन लोगों के पास कम पैसा है, जिनके पास जितना ही कम पैसा है, उनका हतना ही अधिक उत्पाद देश के लिए त्याग करने में दिखाया देता है । इस तरफ के एक माननीय सदस्य ने भी यह स्वीकार किया है कि जहां गरबों की तरफ से सर्वस्व दान के उदाहरण देखने को मिले हैं वहां बड़े लोगों मिल बालों की तरफ से, चाहे वे छोटे मिल वाले हों या बड़े—उस प्रकार का त्याग और बलिदान का उदाहरण सामने नहीं आये हैं । जो लोग सम्पन्न हैं वे राष्ट्र के संकट के समय अपने साधन राष्ट्र के सामाहिक हित के लिए न देकर उससे केवल उत्पादन बढ़ाने की बात करते हैं । वे जो अधिलाभकर है, उसको कम करवाने का प्रयास कर रहे हैं क्योंकि उनका कहना है कि

इससे पूंजा के निर्माण में कमी आएगी । ये लोग केवल उत्पादन बढ़ाने की बात करते हैं, लेकिन जहां तक अपने साधनों की देश के हित में लगाने की बात है उसमें ये आगे नहीं आ पाए हैं ।

अधिलाभकर के बारे में लोगों की आपत्ति है । लेकिन यह अधिलाभकर क्या है ? जिस कम्पनी या फ़ैक्टरी को ६ प्रतिशत से अधिक लाभ होगा उस पर यह कर लगेगा । जिनको ६ प्रतिशत से कम लाभ होगा उन पर यह नहीं लगेगा । ६ प्रतिशत लाभ से ऊपर वाले लाभ पर यह कर लगने से उत्पादन पर कोई असर नहीं पड़ेगा । जिन लोगों पर यह कर लगे उनको अपने व्यय को कम करके इस टैक्स को देना चाहिए । इस संकट के समय लोगों को ६ प्रतिशत से अधिक लाभ करने की बात नहीं सोचना चाहिए । उनको तो उल्टे राष्ट्र हित के लिए अपने साधन अर्पित करने चाहिए । यह बात उन वर्गों के अपने हित में भी है । यह कर उन लोगों के लाभ के लिए है जिनको ६ प्रतिशत से अधिक लाभ होता है वे उद्योग प्राइवेट सेक्टर के हो या पब्लिक सेक्टर के । उत्पादन बढ़ाने के साथ साथ इस प्रकार के कर की भी आवश्यकता है । इसलिए मैं इस कर वृद्धि का समर्थन करता हूँ ।

16:48 hrs.

[Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

इसके साथ ही साथ मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि सब राज्यों में कर वृद्धि के मामले में समानता होना चाहिए जो इस समय नहीं है । मैं उत्तर प्रदेश की बात कहूंगा कि वहां की सरकार ने भूमि कर, यानि लगान पर २५ प्रतिशत कर पहले ही बढ़ाने का कानून पास कर दिया है । उसके बाद केन्द्रीय सरकार की यह योजना है कि किसानों से ५० प्रतिशत लगान का अनिवार्य बचत रूप में और लिया जाए । इस प्रकार उत्तर प्रदेश के किसानों को लगान का ७५ प्रतिशत अधिक देना पड़ेगा और इस प्रकार उनको अपना उत्पादन बढ़ाना

[श्री: विश्वनाथ राय]

कठिन हो जाएगा। इस सदन में कहा जाता है कि किसान फरटोलाइजर इस्तेमाल नहीं कर पाते, इससे सिद्ध होता है कि उनके पास इतना पैसा नहीं है कि कृषि के लिए अनिवार्य चीजों को खरीद सकें। इस कर वृद्धि से उनका यह असमर्थता और भी ज्यादा हो जाएगा। इसलिए मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार से अनुरोध करूंगा कि वह इसमें ऐसा संशोधन करे कि जिससे यदि किसी प्रदेश में पहले से ही लगान वृद्धि कर दी गयी है तो उसमें यह कर वृद्धि न की जाए या उतनी की जाए जिससे सब राज्यों में यह समान रूप से लागू हो।

हमारे देश की अस्सी प्रतिशत जनता गांवों में रहती है और कृषि सम्बन्धी जो भी कठिनाई उत्पन्न होती है, उस का असर उस पर अधिक होता है। आप को मालूम होगा कि हमारे देश का पचास प्रतिशत से भी अधिक राष्ट्रीय आय कृषि के द्वारा होती है। मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यह संकट-कालीन स्थिति साल, दो साल तक ही चलने वाली नहीं है। हो सकता है कि वह बहुत दिनों तक कायम रहे। चान जैसे विशाल राष्ट्र का बढ़ती हुई ताकत का सामना करने के लिए हमारे राष्ट्र को एक दो साल के लिए हों नहीं, बल्कि बहुत दिनों तक के लिए तैयार रहना है। इस लिए कृषि को जिस के द्वारा राष्ट्र की आधी आय होती है, सबल और सक्रिय तथा अधिक उपयोगी और लाभकर बनाने के लिए उस के मार्ग को छोटों-मोटों कठिनाइयों को भी सरकार दूर करे। जहाँ किसान इस बात के लिए तैयार हैं कि यदि करों में वृद्धि होती है, तो उन को दे कर हम राष्ट्र को सबल बनायेंगे, वहाँ सरकार और विशेषतया वित्त मंत्रों को भी इस तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिए कि इन छोटों-मोटों कठिनाइयों को दूर किया जाये, ताकि कृषक समाज, राष्ट्र का आधी आय पैदा करने वाला समाज, लाभान्वित हो कर अपने उत्पादन को बढ़ाए और देश को अधिक कर दे सकें।

मैं आप के सामने उत्तर प्रदेश का उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। आज उत्तर प्रदेश में लगभग आठ करोड़ रुपये सेल्ज टैक्स के बाकी हैं, जो व्यवसायियों और उद्योगपतियों के जिम्मे हैं। इसी प्रकार लगभग आठ करोड़ रुपये का परचेज टैक्स गन्ना खरीदने वाले लोगों के जिम्मे है। इस प्रकार केवल एक प्रदेश में इस समाप्त होने वाले फ़िनाशल यीअर में करीब सोलह करोड़ रुपये सेल्ज टैक्स और परचेज टैक्स के अभी बाकी हैं। यह नहीं। इसी सेशन में गत फ़रवरी में मेरे एक प्रश्न के उत्तर में सरकार की ओर से बताया गया था कि जो गन्ना १९६१-६२ से सीजन में जुलाई, १९६२ के पहले ही दिया गया था, जनवरी, १९६३ के अन्त में ९९ लाख रुपये से भी कुछ अधिक उस गन्ने का मूल्य सिल-मालिकों के जिम्मे बाकी था। यह एक साल की बात नहीं है, बल्कि कई सालों से ऐसी बात चल रही है कि कई लाख लाख ही नहीं, बल्कि लगभग एक करोड़ रुपये तक गन्ने का मूल्य एक एक साल बाद तक बाकी रहता है। उस के कारण गन्ने के उत्पादन में भी कमी होती है और साथ ही गन्ने के फ़ैक्टोरियों में गन्ना जाने से चीनी उत्पादन पर जो एक्साइज ड्यूटी गवर्नमेंट को मिलती है, उस में भी कमी होती है। पिछले साल चीनी के उत्पादन के बारे में सरकार की जो नीति रही है, उस के फलस्वरूप चीनी का उत्पादन कई प्रतिशत घटा और साथ ही केन्द्रीय सरकार को भी एक्साइज ड्यूटी में नुकसान हुआ। इस के साथ ही खंडसारी को सरकार और कृषि मंत्रालय की ओर से गतवर्ष प्रोत्साहन सिलने के कारण राष्ट्रीय अहित हुआ, क्योंकि जहाँ हिन्दुस्तान की फ़ैक्ट्री के शुगर की औसत ९.६ है, वहाँ खंडसारी के जरिये ६.६ के करीब होती है। इस तरह से तीन प्रतिशत के करीब चीनी का राष्ट्रीय घाटा होता है, नेशनल लास होता है, केन्द्रीय सरकार एक्साइज ड्यूटी से वंचित होती है और राष्ट्र का भी नुकसान होता है। जिस प्रदेश से मैं आता हूँ और जहाँ पर मुख्यतया चीनी का ही व्यवसाय

है। सरकार उस की और विशेष ध्यान दे और किसानों को, जिन पर सरकार कर बढ़ा रही है और जिन को फिनांस बिल पास होने के बाद ७५ प्रतिशत रुपया अधिक देना पड़ेगा, इस लायक बनाए कि वे अधिक उत्पादन कर सकें और सरकार को अधिक कर दे सकें।

जहां तक ऋण के बारे में छोटी मोटी कठिनाइयों का सम्बन्ध है, मैं वित्त मंत्री से अनुरोध करूंगा कि वह रिजर्व बैंक से ऐसी सुविधा कराये, जिस से ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में भी छोटे मोटे बैंक कायम हों। चूंकि ऐसे को-ऑपरेटिव बैंक अधिक सुविधाजनक होंगे, इस लिए सरकार उन को अधिक से अधिक संख्या में देश में स्थापित कराने की व्यवस्था करे, जिस से कृषकों को और देश को भी लाभ हो।

इस सदन में कई बार सरकार ने यह एलान किया है कि जहां पर और बचत होती है और खर्च कम किये जाते हैं, वहां भूतपूर्व राजाओं के प्रिवी पर्सों में कमी नहीं होनी चाहिए, क्योंकि उन के साथ हमारा एक प्रकार का कंट्रैक्ट है और विलीनीकरण के समय यह तय किया गया था कि उन में कमी नहीं की जायेगी। चाहे यह सरकार हो और चाहे कोई भी अन्य सरकार आए, जनता के समक्ष उस की सब से बड़ी जिम्मेदारी देश की रक्षा की होती है। अगर छः सौ या आठ सौ परिवारों के प्रिवी पर्सों कम करने से लाभ हो सकता है—और जरूर होगा—तो उस को भी करना चाहिए क्योंकि आज देश की सुरक्षा और अखंडता का महत्व ज्यादा है बनिस्वत इन छः सौ या आठ सौ परिवारों के साथ किये गए पुराने बादों को पूरा करने के। इस विषय में राष्ट्र के हित और उस की सुरक्षा के दृष्टिकोण से सोचना चाहिए, उस दृष्टिकोण से नहीं कि १९४७-४८ में देश की क्या हालत थी। उस समय एकीकरण हुआ, लेकिन आज तो हमारी आजादी को खतरा है, स्वतंत्रता पर संकट है। मेरा निवेदन है कि हम इस बारे में इस दृष्टिकोण से सोचें और उस के अनुसार इस पर पुनर्विचार कर।

276 (A) LSD—7.

इस के बाद मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि कभी चर्चा होती है मुंदड़ा कांड की, कभी चर्चा होती है विवियन बोस रिपोर्ट की और कभी चर्चा होती है रुबी तथा न्यू एशियाटिक इन्वोरेस कम्पनी की। इस तरह की बातें आती हैं और अब प्रायः आने लगी हैं। विरोधी पार्टियों के लोग, चाहे जान कर या अनजाने, चाहे जिम्मेदारी से या जैसे भी हो, उन के बारे में प्रचार करते हैं। इस लिए सरकार एक ऐसी एजेन्सी कायम करे—विरोधी लोग कह सकते हैं कि अधिक खर्च के कारण उस की क्या आवश्यकता है—जो बड़े बड़े उद्योगपतियों, बड़े बड़े उद्योग-बंधों, बड़ी बड़ी कम्पनियों, और जहां आवश्यकता हो, छोटी कम्पनियों की भी बराबर देख-रेख करे। वह सरकारी ऑडिटर या चार्टर्ड एकाउंटेंट्स की तरह से न हो, बल्कि इस विषय में पूरी तरह से देख-रेख करने के लिए एक सरकारी एजेन्सी हो। (Interruption) सदन उससे बच नहीं जायगा। सदन देश के भीतर ही है, बाहर नहीं है।

यहां भी और इस सदन के बाहर भी विरोधी दलों की ओर से यह कहा जाता है कि ये कर बढ़े, देश को कर देना है, लेकिन ये कर इतने क्यों बढ़ाये गये, क्यों नहीं पहले से इसके लिये प्रयास हुआ। इसी प्रकार की बातें देश की सुरक्षा और तेजी से उत्पादन बढ़ाने के बारे में भी कही जाती हैं। बात सही है। लेकिन मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूं कि विरोधी दल के लोग और कभी कभी तो बड़े नेता कहलाने वाले लोग भी एक समय पर एक बात कहते हैं और साल दो साल के बाद उस से बिल्कुल उल्टी बात कहने लगते हैं। मैं आपको इस सदन में कही गई कुछ बातों की याद दिलाना चाहता हूं। आचार्य कृपालानी जी ने, जो प्रजा समाजवादी दल के साथ बहुत दिनों तक थे और विरोधी बैच पर बैठते थे, १४ मार्च, १९५८ को कहा था :

"I would also submit—and this is a very delicate point to which

[श्री विश्वनाथ राय]

I have to refer—we had believed that in a non-violent India, the last thing that the Government would contemplate would be the enhancement of the military budget.....

Shri Kashi Ram Gupta: He is not present in the House.

Shri Raghunath Singh: He was a Member here. He said it in the House. The hon. Member has a right to quote.

Shri Bishwanath Roy:

"But, I am sorry to say, and I think it would disturb the soul of the Father of the Nation that in recent years there has been an increase of about Rs. 100 crores in the military budget."

ऐसी बहुत सी लाइन्ज हैं, लेकिन उन को कोट करने का समय नहीं है। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि उस और बैठने वाले सदस्य या नेता एक तरफ तो यह कहते हैं कि रक्षा पर खर्च किया जाने वाला रुपया बहुत बढ़ रहा है, रक्षा के लिये इतना रुपया खर्च नहीं करना चाहिये और इसकी पुष्टि में राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी का भी नाम लेते हैं, और दूसरी तरफ कुछ सालों के बाद—आचार्य कृपालानी ने ये शब्द १९५८ में कहे थे और पांच सालों के बाद १९६३ में—वे यह कहने लगे हैं कि देश की सुरक्षा के लिये तैयारी नहीं हुई। तैयारी क्यों नहीं हुई? तैयारी साधनों से होती है, दृढ़ प्रतिज्ञा, दृढ़ संकल्प और एकता से होती है, केवल तलवार घुमाने से नहीं होती है। अफ़्ज की दुनिया एटॉमिक एनर्जी और एटम बम की है। विरोधी दल के सदस्य—चाहे वे इस सदन में हों और चाहे बाहर हों—एक समय जो बात कहते हैं, उसमें और किसी दूसरे समय कही जाने वाली उन की बात में मौलिक अन्तर होता है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसी बातों से भारतीय जनतंत्र के लिये खतरा पैदा होता है। जनतंत्र में विभिन्न विचारों की सुविधा

होती है, स्वागत होता है टीका-पिप्पणी का, स्वागत होता है ऐसे दल का, जो किसी समय देश का शासन चला सके, लेकिन वह इस लायक तो हो। वह स्थिति तभी उत्पन्न हो सकती है, जब विरोधी दल जिम्मेदारी के साथ बात करें और जो नीति वे जनता के सामने रखें, उस पर कायम रहें और उस को कार्यान्वित करें। ऐसा न हो कि साल दो साल में उस नीति में मौलिक परिवर्तन हो और एक बात का दूसरी बात से इतना विरोध हो जाये कि दोनों में सामन्जस्य न हो पाये।

मिनिस्ट्री आफ फ़ायनल एंड माइन्ज की डिमांडज पर विचार के समय जो व्यक्तिगत बातें कही गई थीं, वही बातें इस बिल के समय भी कही गई हैं। उस दिन एक बात यह कही गई थी कि कांग्रेस के लोगों के लिये माननीय मंत्रों के प्राइवेट सेक्रेटरी ने रुपया लिया और वह बात गलत सिद्ध हुई। दूसरी बात यह है कि उस मंत्रालय द्वारा कुछ लाइसेंस सिराजुद्दीन एंड कम्पनी को दिये गये किन्तु यह बात भी कल हाउस में जो उत्तर दिया गया उससे स्पष्ट हो गई। जो दो मुख्य चार्जेंज थे, वे दोनों ही असत्य साबित हुये। आगे के लिये जो कुछ होगा उसका तब जवाब दिया जायेगा लेकिन अभी तक तो ये असत्य सिद्ध हो गये हैं। जो बातें चैलेंज दे कर कही गई थीं वे दोनों गलत साबित हुई हैं।

17 hrs.

श्री काशी राम गुप्त (अलवर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी जो माननीय सदस्य भाषण दे रहे थे, उसमें उन्होंने विरोधी दलों की कुछ चर्चा की और कहा कि वे गैर-जिम्मेदारी की बातें करते हैं। जिस महानुभाव की उन्होंने चर्चा की उसको मैं छोड़ता हूँ लेकिन मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जो कांग्रेसी महानुभाव इस समय चुनाव उस क्षेत्र से लड़ रहे हैं, उसके बारे में किस तरह से पंतड़ा बदला गया है, एक नाम देकर बाद में दूसरा ..

Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi): Is this an election meeting? This is not an election meeting. But my hon. friend is talking about the Amroha election which is in his mind.

श्री काशी राम गुप्त : इस तरह के जो तरीके हैं, उनको वे आगे लाते हैं, यही मेरा कहने का तात्पर्य था।

हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय को कांग्रेसी सदस्यों ने बधाई दी है और विरोधी दलों के कुछ सदस्यों ने भी अपने दृष्टिकोण से बधाई दी है। मेरा दृष्टिकोण जो बधाई देने का है वह यह है कि वह इस बात में सिद्ध हस्त हो गये हैं और बड़े नाटकीय ढंग से सफल हुये हैं कि किस तरह से करों को लगाया जाये और बाद में किस तरह से उन में संशोधन किया जाये ताकि उनकी पार्टी के लोगों को करने के लिये कुछ काम मिल सके, उनकी पार्टी को कुछ बल मिल सके और वे पिटाई से बच सकें। जिस प्रकार से उन्होंने मिट्टी के तेल पर कर लगाने की बात कही थी उस में बाद में जाकर संशोधन किया, वह इसका प्रमाण है। उन्होंने कहा था कि फारेन एक्सचेंज को बचाने के लिये उन्हें यह कर लगाना पड़ रहा है और उसके एब्ज में जो खाद्य और अखाद्य तेल हैं, उनमें रियायत जो दी गई है, उससे गरीबों को किसी किस्म का नुकसान नहीं होगा। जिस समय बजट में यह घोषणा हुई और हम यहां से बाहर निकले तो एक कांग्रेसी सदस्य ने कहा कि और तो कुछ नहीं, किन्तु तुम विरोधी दल वालों को दो बातों का जिक्क करने का मौका मिल गया है, एक तो तुम मिट्टी के तेल की चर्चा करोगे और दूसरे कम्पलसरी सेविंग्स स्कीम जो किसानों पर भी लगी है, उसकी चर्चा करोगे। इसके जवाब में मैंने कहा कि हम करों या नहीं करोंगे आप इसका उपयोग जरूर करोगे, लोगों से कहोगे कि घबराओ नहीं, हम ठाक करवा देते हैं और अब एन वक्त पर कुछ ऐसी घोषणा करवा दोगे कि वह जो बात मैंने तब

कही थी वह बिल्कुल सत्य साबित हुई।

श्री त्यागी : हम लोग असर डाल सकते हैं, यह इससे स्पष्ट हो जाता है।

श्री काशी राम गुप्त : इसको हथकंठे-बाजी का नाम चाहें तो दिया जा सकता है दूसरा नहीं। इसमें आप माहिर हैं।

मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि अब मिट्टी के के तेल पर जो कर घटा है, उससे फारेन एक्सचेंज वाली बात कहां चला गई है, क्यों वह प्रश्न हट गया है। राहत की बात तो छोड़िये, इसको लगाने का सवाल ही नहीं था। इस सब का एक ही नतीजा निकलता है कि आप इस तरह से अपना नाति को बनाते हैं कि आपके कार्यकर्ता जिनका कुछ पूछ नहीं होती है, जो बदनाम होते हैं, उसको ढका जाये किसा तरह से.....

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : यह तो पहले फांसो देने का बात हुई.....

श्री काशी राम गुप्त : फांसो की सजा पहले देने की बात हुई फिर कहा अपाल करो इम्प्रिजनमेंट फार लाइफ दे देंगे। यह तराका है जोकि मिट्टी के तेल के बारे में अपनाया गया है। जो दलाल फारेन एक्सचेंज का दाग है था, वह तो ज्यों का त्यों कायम है। मैं समझता हूं यह पहले से बनाई हुई बात था कि हम ऐसा करेंगे पहले और बाद में उसको ऐसे कर देंगे। यदि ऐसा न होता तो सधा सा बात थी कि मिट्टी के तेल पर कर लगता ही नहीं, कमा बेशा करने का सवाल तो दूर। कर लगने का प्रश्न ही नहीं उठना चाहिये था। जनता को जो थोड़ा बहुत उन्होंने राहत दी है, उसके लिये मैं उनको धन्यवाद देता हूं और उसके लिये वह बधाई के पात्र हैं। इससे अधिक मैं इस विषय में कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता हूं।

दूसरा प्रश्न किसानों से लेने का आया। एक तरफ कहा जाता है कि सवा सौ रुपये

[श्री काशी राम गुप्त]

जिसको इनकम है उस आदमी से हम कम्पलसरा सेविंग के रूप में कुछ लेंगे, किन्तु किसान को इनकम सवा सौ कब होता है, इसको आप देखें। पांच रुपये लगान से उसका कोई संबंध नहीं है। अगर सवा सौ इनकम देखना है तो यह देखना होगा कि वह कम से कम तास चालास रुपये लगान के देता हो और वह भा उस जमान के जोकि आवपाशा वाली जमान है। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया जाता है तो उसका सवा सौ इनकम नहीं हो सकता है। उसके साथ भेदभाव किस आधार पर किया जाता है, कौन सा सिद्धांत अमल में लाया जाता है और उसको कैसे कम्पलसरा सेविंग में हिस्सा देने का बात कहा जाती है, यह बताया जाना चाहिये। कम्पलसरा सेविंग तब हो सकता है जब बचत हो और लगान के आधार पर बचत को जोड़ना तभी हो सकता है जब आमदनी के आधार पर लगान को जोड़ दिया जाये। पांच रुपये जो लगान देता है उसको अगर छोड़ दिया जाता है तो उसका कोई तात्पर्य नहीं होता है। इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो कुछ भी किया गया है वह केवल प्रचार मात्र है और यह कहने के लिये किया गया है कि ज्यादातर लोग पांच रुपये देते हैं, इसलिये बहुत से लोगों को हमने राहत दे दी है। एक तो यह दृष्टिकोण है। दूसरा दृष्टिकोण यह है कि इसके जरिये से हम लोगों तक पहुंच कर उनकी बातों को सुनें, उनसे कुछ कहें और कुछ काम हो। वैसे तो इनके पास कुछ करने धरने के लिये रहा नहीं है, इस तरह से ही ये कुछ कर धर लेंगे। मैं समझता हूँ कि ये दोनों जो दृष्टिकोण हैं, इन दोनों से कोई विशेष लाभ होता नहीं है।

एक दूसरी बात को आप देखें। हमारे वित्त मंत्रांज ने जो संगठित उद्योग हैं, जो अपनी आवाज उठा सकते हैं, उनको तो राहत दे दी है लेकिन जो असंगठित उद्योग हैं और जो

अपनी आवाज उठा नहीं सकते हैं, उनको कोई राहत नहीं दी है। जिनका बात का असर उन पर पड़ता है, उनको तो राहत दे दी है, जिनकी बात का असर नहीं पड़ता है, उनको नहीं दी है। इन्होंने टैक्स लगा दिया और किसानों ने अज्ञानवश या किसानों दूसरे कारण से एतराज नहीं किया तो कह दिया गया कि सब टैक्स ठाँक हैं। मिसाल के तौर पर मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि रजिस्टर्ड फर्मों के टैक्सेशन में फर्क डाला गया है। जो प्रोफेशनल लोग हैं चार्टर्ड एकाउंटेंट्स हैं, सालिसिटरज हैं, उनकी फर्में अगर हैं तो दस परसेंट उन पर टैक्स लगेगा और जो बिजनेस चलाते हैं, इंडस्ट्री चलाते हैं, उनका फर्में हैं तो बास परसेंट लिया जायेगा। यह भेद जो किया गया है, इसकी तह में हमें जाना चाहिये। चार्टर्ड एकाउंटेंट्स या सालिसिटरज कोई रुपया नहीं लगाते हैं, वे केवल दिमाग से ही काम करते हैं और उनके पास काम करने वालों की तादाद भी बहुत थोड़ी होती है। कितना उपयोग अपनी प्रतिभा का वे देश के लाभ के लिये कर रहे हैं, यह भी एक विवादास्पद बात हो सकता है। दूसरी तरफ जो बिजनेस करते हैं या उद्योगों में लगे हुये हैं, वे पूंजी लगाते हैं, धन लगाते हैं और साथ ही साथ अपना दिमाग भी लगाते हैं, खतरे उठाते हैं और सरकार की आमदनी बढ़ाते हैं, सेल्स टैक्स बढ़ाने में सरकार का मदद करते हैं। इसलिये होना तो यह चाहिये था कि दस परसेंट बिजनेस वालों से कर लिया जाता और बास परसेंट उन से। लेकिन यहां तो उलटा काम हो गया है। इसको किस तरह से समाजवाद की कसीटी पर नापा जा सकता है, इसको आप देखें। बर्काल या डाक्टर प्रकार के जो लोग हैं, वे अगर फर्मों बना कर बैठ जायें तो एक नया तराका टैक्स से बचने का निकल आयेगा। दूसरे लोग चूँकि संगठित नहीं हैं, रजिस्टर्ड फर्मों के लोग, बिजनेस के लोग संगठित नहीं हैं, इसलिये उनकी सुनाई नहीं हो सकती है।

इस तरह का संगठन न होने के कारण जो हानि हुई है, उसका एक दूसरा उदाहरण आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। आप स्ट्रा बोर्ड की ड्यूटी को देखें स्ट्रा बोर्ड हर तरह के काम में आता है। छोटी छोटी इंडस्ट्री हैं, छोटे छोटे जो काम करने वाले हैं, उनके पैकिंग बाक्सिस के काम में यह आता है। चूंकि ये लोग बिखरे हुए हैं, इनकी कभी सुनाई नहीं हो सकती है। इस टैक्स का नतीजा यह हुआ है कि स्ट्रा बोर्ड का करीब ३० परसेंट दाम बढ़ गया है। कोई चू चरां करने वाला नहीं है। चूंकि उन में संगठन नहीं है, इसलिए उनके राहत देने का सवाल ही पैदा नहीं होता है। अगर यह दृष्टिकोण रहता है तो अंग्रेज की सरकार और अपनी सरकार में क्या अन्तर रह जाता है। अंग्रेज भी यही करता था, हमारी सरकार भी यही कर रही है। जो जवाबदेह सरकार होती है, जो लोकतंत्रीय सरकार होती है, उस में और अंग्रेज सरकार में ऐसी दशा में कोई फर्क नहीं रह जाता है।

एक उदाहरण मैं खाद्य और अखाद्य तेलों का देना चाहता हूँ। इसके ऊपर से जो ड्यूटी हटाई गई है उसका किस तरीके से असर पड़ा है इसके पहले की जो जानकारी है, वह हमारे सामने होनी चाहिये। वह यह है कि जो छोटे कोल्हू लोग चला रहे हैं थे, उन पर पहले कोई ड्यूटी नहीं थी, उन से ज्यादा जो चला रहे थे, ज्यादा कोल्हू जो चला रहे थे, उन पर थोड़ी सी थी और उन से ज्यादा पर थोड़ी और ज्यादा थी और इस तरह से वह आगे चलती थी। एक समान जब ड्यूटी हट गई तो जो छोटी पूंजी वाले थे, जिन्होंने पांच सात या दस हजार लगा रखा था और दो चार आदमी काम पर लगा रखे थे, वे सब समाप्त होते जा रहे हैं और केवल सरकार की नीति के कारण हो रहे हैं। सरकार की नीति के कारण ही ये आगे बढ़े थे और उसी की नीति के कारण वे समाप्त हो गए हैं। इस नीति से कितना नुकसान जनता का हो जाता है, कितनी बेरोजगारी फैल जाती है, इस दृष्टिकोण को अगर हम सामने नहीं

रखते हैं तो कर नीति सही नहीं कही जा सकती है।

यहां पर विशेष चर्चा हमारी मिश्रित अर्थ व्यवस्था की होती है। सरकार तथा सदन के माननीय सदस्य मानते हैं कि यह सही नीति है और इस पर चला जाना चाहिये। लेकिन दूसरी तरफ आप देखें कि क्या होता है। मौनपोली कैपिटल को छोड़ कर भी जितने भी प्राइवेट उद्योग वाले हैं, उन सब की कुछ ऐसे तरीके से नुकताचीनी की जाती है और इससे कुछ हम इस प्रकार से अभ्यस्त हो गए हैं कि हम मानने लग गए हैं कि ये जो लोग हैं, ये सब के सब जो करते हैं, गलत करते हैं; गन्दा काम करते हैं और प्राफिट मोटिव जो शब्द है, उसका भी इसी अर्थ में प्रयोग हम करते हैं। इसका अर्थ यह निकलता है कि ये जो लोग हैं, ये बड़े भारी शोषक हैं। अगर यह दृष्टिकोण चता है और उधर जो लोग इस व्यापार में लगे हैं, वे यह दृष्टिकोण अपनाते हैं कि किसी भी तरह पैसा बचा लेना चाहिये, टैक्स अदा नहीं करना चाहिये और सरकार यह दृष्टिकोण रखती है कि किसी भी तरह से पैसा उन से छीन लेना चाहिये, तो इसको मिश्रित अर्थ व्यवस्था नहीं कहा जा सकता है और न ही इसको समाजवाद कहा जा सकता है, बल्कि अंग्रेजी में इसको अगर हम कनफ्यूशियनिज्म या कनफ्यूशनवाद कहें तो ज्यादा ठीक होगा। यह जो स्थिति चल रही है यह बड़ी घातक है और इस को ठीक करना चाहिये। जिस का जो उचित स्थान है और उस में जो उस का उचित सम्मान है उस को मान कर हम को चलना चाहिये।

माननीय श्री द्विवेदी पहले चर्चा कर रहे थे सिराजूटीन कम्पनी की। मैं निवेदन करूँ कि नहीं मालूम हमारे देश में कितनी सिराजूटीन की फर्म्स हैं जिन से कांग्रेस का सारा काम चलता है। कम्पनी ला के ढांचे को इस तरह से बनाने का तात्पर्य ही यह था कि कम्पनियों से इस तरह से पैसा ले कर सारी राजनीति चले, चुनाव की सारी राजनीति चले। सब पार्टियां आहिस्ता आहिस्ता उस में फंसती चली जायें

[श्री काशीराम गुप्त]

और देश में सझाजवाद का नारा लगा कर उस को पूंजीवाद से भी बुरी दशा में पहुंचा दिया जाये। क्योंकि यदि उन से पैसा लिया जाता है तो निश्चित रूप से पार्टी उन लोगों के चुंगुल के अंदर से बाहर नहीं जा सकती। मैं तो पूलभूत बातों में जाना चाहता हूं, मुझे इस से मतलब नहीं कौन मिनिस्टर इस में फंसा है कौन नहीं फंसा है। मैं जानता हूं कि चाहे मिनिस्टर हो, चाहे बाहर का हो चाहे शासन में हो, सब को यह काम करना पड़ रहा है, कोई इस से बचा हुआ नहीं है।

मुझे अपने चुनाव क्षेत्र का मालूम है कि वहां पर सन् १९५७ में क्या हुआ। एक ऐसा आदमी, जिस के बारे में शायद हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी इस पक्ष में थे कि उसे टिकट न दिया जाय वह चालाकी से टिकट ले गया उस पर बाकायदा आगे चल कर आक्षेप लगाया गया। आज स्वर्गीय श्री जय नारायण व्यास दुनिया में नहीं हैं, उन्होंने आक्षेप लगाया और लोगों ने लगाया कि लाखों रुपयों के कूपन बिकवाये गये। नेहरू फंड के नाम पर लाखों रुपये इकट्ठे कि गये लेकिन उन का हिसाब नहीं छापा गया और सारा रुपया चुनाव में लगाया गया।

श्री भागवत झा आजाद (भागलपुर) : लोग तो यह भी कहते हैं कि आप ने बिना कूपन लाखों रुपये जमा किये और खा गये।

श्री काशीराम गुप्त : मैं किसी खास आदमी के ऊपर इल्जाम नहीं लगा रहा हूं। इस लिये मेरा निवेदन है कि यह किसी एक षण्णह का प्रश्न नहीं है, यह एक मूल प्रश्न है। यह केवल कांग्रेस पार्टी का भी प्रश्न नहीं है, यह सारे देश की पद्धति का प्रश्न है कि आया चुनाव लड़ने वाली पार्टियाँ पैसा ले तो कहाँ से लें और किस प्रकार से लें। इस के लिये यह कहना कि एक पार्टी लेगी और दूसरी पार्टी नहीं लेगी, इस में कोई तत्व नहीं है। वास्तविकता यही है कि कोई भी पार्टी हो लेकिन अगर इस

रास्ते को हम ने अपनाया और यह जारी रहा तो सब की यही दशा होने वाली है। इस सम्बन्ध में हम सब को सोचना चाहिये कि हम इस बीमारी से कैसे बचें और उस से बचने का एक ही तरीका है कि हम भ्रम जनता से पैसा ले कर चुनाव लड़ने की पद्धति को जारी करें। यह तभी सम्भव होगा जब आप विधान सभाओं और लोक सभा के चुनाव अलग अलग करायेंगे। नहीं तो यह गपड़ चौथ बराबर चलती रहेगी।

अभी कल की बात है कि हमारे सदन के माननीय सदस्य श्री पटनायक ने एक ऐसी अजीब नई बात कही जिस का ठिकाना नहीं है। लेकिन शायद हमारे माननीय सदस्यों ने उस पर ध्यान नहीं दिया। उन्होंने कहा कि जो लोक सभा के सदस्य हैं उन को लगभग १५०० रु० मासिक मिलता है। मैंने बहुत सोचन की कोशिश की, श्री ज्योतिषी जी उधर बैठ थे, उन्होंने कहा भी था कि कैसे मिल सकता है। लेकिन हम को अपनी जेब टटोलने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये। मैंने हिसाब लगाया। ४०० रु० मासिक तो हम को तन्ख्वाह मिलती है, पाँच महीने बराबर हम लोग यहाँ बैठे, और श्री यशपाल सिंह इस को तो शायद मान ही लेंगे कि हम को २१ रु० रोज मिलता है और वे भी उस को जायज मानते हैं, तो यह करीब २५० रु० मासिक अर्थात् ३,००० रु० वार्षिक बनता है, ५० रु० इस बात का मान लें कि मकान किराया आदि का कुछ फायदा हमारा कर देते हैं, तो इस तरह से कुल मिला कर कोई ७५० रु० बनता है। फ्री पास जो मिलता है तो वह ग्राम तौर से ड्यूटी के लिये मिलता है और उसे हम सब इस्तेमाल करते हैं। बहरहाल आप कोई भी हिसाब लगा ले, लेकिन १५०० रु० मासिक कैसे बनता है? इस लिये अगर कोई सदस्य जवाबदारी से बात नहीं करते हैं और उस के बारे में चर्चा करते हैं तो इस से जनता में बड़ा भ्रम फैलता है। अगर इस प्रकार से हम जनता में भ्रम फैलाने का कोई काम करें

तो यह देश के हित के विरुद्ध है और इस सदन के मान और प्रतिष्ठा के विरुद्ध है। मेरा निवेदन है कि माननीय सदस्य श्री पटनायक का कौनसा हिसाब है १५०० रु० मासिक का इस को वे देने की कृपा करते तो सब सदस्य उस पर विचार करेंगे। मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि यह एक गम्भीर विषय है। इस सम्बन्ध में हाउस के सभी सदस्यों को मिल जुल कर एक कमेटी बना कर वास्तव में देखना चाहिये कि क्या स्थिति है। जैसा कल माननीय वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने कहा था कि ऐसे भी लोग हैं जो बेचारे जनता के पैसे से चुनाव लड़ कर आते हैं, वे कोई काम नहीं करते, सारे दिन इस सदन के काम में लगे रहते हैं। उन के लिये मैं कह सकता हूँ कि अगर वे सारे दिन को यहाँ पर लगा कर इतना रुपया लेते हैं तो यह कोई बहुत अधिक नहीं है। अगर वे अपने बच्चों को यहाँ रखते हैं तो उन का इस पैसे से बड़ी मुश्किल से निर्वाह होता है, जिस के बारे में इधर उधर की बहुत सी बातें सुनने में आती हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह एक गम्भीर विषय है। इस लिये अगर हम यहाँ पर इस सदन के माननीय सदस्यों की अधिक स्थिति क्या है इस की चर्चा भी ठीक से नहीं कर सकेंगे तो दूसरी चर्चा में कैसे ठीक से कर सकेंगे? यहाँ प्रधान मंत्री के खर्च की बात कही गई है। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि यह जरूर है कि हमारी प्रदेश सरकारें जो हैं वे ऐसा खर्च करती हैं जो कि व जब नहीं है। किन्तु उन सब के बारे में इस रूप से सदन में विरोधा पक्ष के लोग कटाक्ष करे तो यह सही नहीं हो सकता है। हमारे लिये यह जानना जरूरी है कि हमें कितना खर्च करना चाहिये। अगर हम इस स्थिति में हैं तब तो हमें कटाक्ष करने का पूरा अधिकार है और करना चाहिये और अपने सुझाव देने चाहिये, नहीं तो नहीं।

एक बात मैं यहाँ पर राजस्थान कैनाल के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि इस का फाइनेन्स बिल की नीति से सम्बन्ध है। राजस्थान कैनाल बनाई जा रही है लेकिन

भारत सरकार ने उस का सारे का सारा रुपया राजस्थान के सिर पर मढ़ दिया। मैं इस को मानता हूँ कि उधार मिलना चाहिये, लेकिन सरकार यह कहती है कि वह रुपया पंचवर्षीय प्लैन के अन्तर्गत मिलेगा। नतीजा यह है कि मामला गड़बड़ी में पड़ रहा है। जिस राजस्थान कैनाल से क्रांति आयेगी और जोकि सारे देश के लिये लाभकारी होगी उस रुपये को वास्तव में अलग से देना चाहिये, उस को प्लैन का हिस्सा नहीं बनाना चाहिये और जो कंट्रिब्यूशन यहाँ का होना चाहिये उस में उस को नहीं जोड़ना चाहिये। राजस्थान कैनाल का विषय एक बहुत बड़ा विषय है, इस में औरों की नकल नहीं हो सकती, क्योंकि और जगहों पर तो आवादी है, लेकिन यहाँ पर नई आवादी की जायेगी और एक नया सिलसिला होगा। इस में जनता का करोड़ों रुपया खर्च होगा। इस लिये इस समस्या को एक महत्व की बात मान कर उसी रूप में इस को लेना चाहिये।

श्री मोरारजी देसाई : वहाँ से जो फायदा होगा वह भी तो राजस्थान गवर्नमेंट को ही मिलेगा ?

श्री काशी राम गुप्त : श्रीमान् जी, इस में रुपया देने का प्रश्न है। इस समय हम रुपया माँग रहे हैं। मैं यह नहीं कह रहा हूँ कि आप को वापस नहीं दिया जायेगा। मेरा कहना केवल यह है कि जो प्लैन का रुपया २०० करोड़ है उस में इस का समावेश न किया जाय, उसके अतिरिक्त दिया जाय और वसूल किया जाय। केवल इस समय रुपया दिया जाय ताकि सारी प्लैन गड़बड़ न हो, इस दृष्टिकोण से यह बात कही जा रही है। इसी दृष्टिकोण से मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि राजस्थान सब से पिछड़ा हुआ है पावर में, बिजली में। वहाँ पर ज्यादातर वॉल इरिगेशन है, कुओं से सिंचाई होती है, इस लिये यह परम आवश्यक है कि वहाँ पर बिजली का पहुंचना प्राथमिकता से होना चाहिये। यह बात हमारा लैनिंग कमिशन भी मानता है। वहाँ पर जो रुपया दिया गया है वह सब से कम है।

[श्री काशी राम गुप्त]

घब से प्रधिक रुपया ३० करोड़, मद्रास को दिया गया लेकिन हमारे यहाँ केवल डेढ़ या दो करोड़ रुपया पहुँचा है। जो पिछड़े हुए क्षेत्र हैं अगर उन को आप नहीं बढ़ायेंगे तो आप की समाजवादी समाज की नीति अमल में नहीं आ सकेगी।

अन्त में मैं गोल्ड कंट्रोल के विषय में कहना चाहता हूँ। इस सम्बन्ध में जो १४ कैरेट का तरीका निकाला गया है, संभवतः हमारे वित्त मंत्री उस को ही एक अच्छा इलाज मानते हैं। उस से क्या क्या बीमारियाँ बढ़ीं इस की वे जाँच करायें, कितने रुपये का सरकार १ सेल्स टैक्स और इनकम टैक्स में नुकसान हुआ, कितने लोग किस रूप में बेकार हुए, जन की क्या दशा है, इन सब का टोटल लगायें और जो ३० या ४० करोड़ ६० की स्मगलिंग होती है उस से मुकाबला करें और देखें कि उस का क्या नतीजा होगा। उस का दूसरा तरीका भी हो सकता था और वह यह कि गोल्ड ट्रेड को सरकार अपने हाथ में ले लेती। सरकार स्वयं मंगवाने वाली होगी तो गोल्ड का स्मगलिंग नहीं हो सकेगा क्योंकि कोई दूसरा ला ही नहीं सकेगा। उस के बाद उस में से जिस प्रकार से लोगों को जरूरत होती उस प्रकार से उन को दे दिया जाता। परमिट सिस्टम तो अब भी जारी किया गया है। परमिट सिस्टम से लोगों की उपयोगिता के नाते उन को सोना दिया जा सकता तो आज जो हमारे देश में मध्यम और छोटे वर्ग की आर्थिक स्थिति डाँवाडोल हुई है, वह न होती क्योंकि वह आर्थिक स्थिति ऐसी है जो जुड़ी हुई है हमारे सारे कामों से। चाहे कोई भी लोग हैं वे केवल समय पर ही सोना खरीदते हैं। बैंकिंग सिस्टम हमारे देश में चाहे कितना ही आगे बढ़ जाये, वह अभी इस रूप में नहीं पहुँचा है कि लोग सोने के इस्तेमाल को इस विषय में खत्म कर दें। कारण यह है कि सोना जो है वह अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय माध्यम भी है और हमारे देश का माध्यम भी है, वह एक दिन में खत्म नहीं हो सकना और उस के लिए

इतनी जल्दी करना हानिकारक है। इस देश में इस ट्रेड का नेशनलाइजेशन करने की कोशिश नहीं की गई और यह तरीका अच्छा किया गया। नतीजा यह हुआ कि बहुत से गोल्ड स्मिथ्स बेकार हो गये। अब सेल्स टैक्स भी नहीं आयेगा और साथ में चोरबाजारी भी चल गई है। लोगों में सोने को छिपाने की प्रवृत्ति बढ़ गई है। सोना रोकने की बात जो है वह केवल कागज में ही है, अमल में नहीं आई है। कागज पर भाव सोने का कुछ दिखलाया जाता है और बाजार में कुछ भाव लिया जाता है। यदि किसी योजना से ऐसी स्थिति अनिवार्य रूप से पैदा हो जाती है तो उस योजना को योजना नहीं कहा जा सकता। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि इस पर पुनर्विचार किया जाय। मेरा यह तात्पर्य नहीं है कि आप फिर से २२ कैरेट को चालू कर दें। मेरा तात्पर्य यह है कि गोल्ड ट्रेड को सरकार अपने नियंत्रण में ले और नए सिरे से योजना बना कर उस को चलाए जिस से किसी को हानि न हो सके।

अन्त में मैं आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि कि आप ने मुझे समय दिया।

श्री पाराशर (शिवपुरी) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सब से पहले मैं अपने फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब को इस बिल की धारा २९ के लिए, जिस के द्वारा उन्होंने नमक कर को समाप्त किया है, साधुवाद देता हूँ। ऐसा कर के उन्होंने समाजवादी समाज रचना की और एक कदम बढ़ाया है और जो सब स नीचे का तबका है उसको राहत पहुँचाई है और इस के लिए वह बधाई के पात्र हैं।

साथ ही साथ इस के आगे की दफा ३० को समझने में मुझे कुछ मुश्किल हो रही है और मुझे विश्वास है कि वह इस पर पुनर्विचार करेंगे। इस के क्लोज ए में लिखा है कि जो अंग्रेजी दवा है उस पर एक रुपया और दस नये पैसे टैक्स लगेगा एक खास मिक्चर पर,

लेकिन आयुर्वेदिक दवा की उसी मात्रा पर और जो दवा उसी किस्म की बनेगी, उस पर कर लगेगा १५ रु० ५० नए पैसे। यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। मुझे बताया गया है कि ये दोनों दवाएं एक ही किस्म की होती हैं। इससे आयुर्वेद को ठेस पहुंचेगी। हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी मुलझे विचार के हैं। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि वह इस पर विचार करेंगे और इस में ऐसा संशोधन कर देंगे कि आयुर्वेद की दवा पर अधिक कर न लगे।

श्री कमलनयन बजाज जी ने सुपर टैक्स के बाबत जो कहा है उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ क्योंकि ट्रेड और बिजनेस में उस की फाउंडेशन पर रिजर्व बहुत कम है। मैं भी आप का इस विषय में समर्थन करता हूँ और सरकार से अनुरोध करता हूँ कि इस पर ट्रेड और बिजनेस की दृष्टि से विचार कर लिया जाय।

इस इमरजेंसी के समय में जो कर लगाए गए हैं मैं उन का पूरा पूरा समर्थन करता हूँ। बल्कि मेरा तो विश्वास है कि कर लगाने के अलावा हमारे पास कोई और चारा ही नहीं था। जो भी हमारी रक्षा व्यवस्था है उस पर हम अधिक कर लगा कर ही खर्च कर रहे हैं। और अगर वास्तविक दृष्टि से देखा जाय तो यह कर हमारी रक्षा व्यवस्था के लिए कम है, लेकिन क्योंकि हमारी क्षमता इस से अधिक कर देने की नहीं है इसलिए ज्यादा कर नहीं लगाए गए और हम को अपनी रक्षा व्यवस्था के लिए विदेशों से सहायता और ऋण की याचना करनी पड़ रही है।

हमारे मित्र श्री द्विवेदी जी ने कहा कि हमारे रक्षा मंत्री ने यह क्यों कहा कि वह चीन को हटाने के लिए दृढ़ प्रतिज्ञा हैं। अपने अपने विचारों में भिन्नता हो सकती है। परन्तु रक्षा मंत्री ने उस दिन जो शब्द कहे थे वे आज भी मेरे कानों में गूँज रहे हैं कि वह इस देश की रक्षा व्यवस्था को ऐसा बना देना चाहते हैं कि जो भी

इस देश की तरफ आंख उठाए वह एक बार नहीं, दो बार नहीं, दस बार नहीं बल्कि सौ बार सोचे। मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि परम पिता परमात्मा हमारे रक्षा मंत्री को इतना बल दे कि वह इस देश की रक्षा व्यवस्था को ऐसा सुदृढ़ कर दें कि अगर कोई इस देश की तरफ कुदृष्टि करे तो उसको सौ बार नहीं बल्कि हजार बार सोचना पड़े। मेरा विचार है कि इस प्रकार की घोषणा से देश में बल आता है, लेकिन यह केवल घोषणा ही न रह जाय। जिस समय लक्ष्मण जी मेघनाद से लड़ने चले थे तो उन्होंने ने कहा था :

जौ तेहि आजु बघें विनु आबों ।
तौ रघुपति सेवक न कहावों ।

और उन्होंने मेघनाद का बध किया। अगर कोई अपने नेता की नजर में गिर जाता है तो उस का इस से अधिक अपमान और क्या हो सकता है।

सम्भावितस्य चा कीर्तिमरणादति रच्यते

To fall in the estimation of your leader is the greatest calamity of life.

लक्ष्मण ने यह प्रतिज्ञा की थी कि मैं मेघनाथ को बध किए बिना नहीं आऊंगा। तो उन को उस प्रतिज्ञा से बल मिला और वह सफल हुए। इसी प्रकार हमारे रक्षा मंत्री ने जो घोषणा की है मेरा निश्चित मत है कि उस को वह पूरा करेंगे और अपने प्रयास में सफल होंगे।

यह बात मैं भी मानता हूँ, जैसा द्विवेदी जी ने कहा, कि केवल प्रतिज्ञा करने से काम नहीं चलेगा। हमें ऐसी व्यवस्था करनी होगी कि जो देश का शासक है और जो देश का पठन है वह भी ठीक तरह से चलता रहे और यदि उस में कोई त्रुटि है तो उस को दूर करना चाहिए। मुझे उस में कुछ त्रुटि नजर आती

[श्री पाराशर]

हैं और मेरा सरकार से निवेदन है कि उस पर गौर करना चाहिए और उस को दूर करना चाहिए।

इस इमरजेंसी के समय में बार बार कहा गया था कि चीन का सिपाही पानी गरम कर के उस में चाय गरम कर लेता है और चावल गरम कर लेता है और लड़ता है। मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम इस प्रकार की बातों को सुनने के आदी नहीं हैं। आपने भारतीय सैनिकों को यह बात पहले क्यों नहीं बताई। हमारे सैनिकों में तो यह क्षमता है कि जहाँ चीनी सिपाही पानी गरम कर के चाय बना कर और चावल बना कर खा कर लड़ता है, वहाँ हमारे सिपाही अपनी जेब से मुट्ठी भर चने निकाल कर उन को खा कर रात और दिन लड़ सकते हैं। लेकिन आप ने इस की पहले से व्यवस्था क्यों नहीं की। यदि आप हमारे सैनिकों को यह पहले बता देते तो हमारे सैनिक वह काम करते जो चीनी सैनिक नहीं कर पाते।

आप कहते हैं कि चीनी सिपाही रुई के कोट और पाजामे पहन कर लड़ने आता है। यह बात हम को पता नहीं थी। मैं पालियामेंट की लाइब्रेरी में गया और मैं ने चीनियों के संबंध में जानकारी प्राप्त करने की दृष्टि से अध्ययन किया। मुझे एक ऐसी किताब मिली जिस में चीनी सिपाहियों का कोरियन वार के समय का चित्र छपा है। उस में चीनी सिपाही रुई के कोट पजामे पहने भेड़िए से दिखाई दे रहे हैं। अगर आप चाहते तो आप को भी इस का पता लग सकता था और आप अपने सिपाहियों को उस के सम्बन्ध में जानकारी दे सकते थे। हम को अपनी कमजोरियों को अच्छी तरह देखना चाहिए और उन को दूर करना चाहिए। दुश्मन को हमारी कमजोरियाँ मालूम हैं। इसलिए हम को सावधान रहने की जरूरत है कि यदि आज हमारे ऊपर चीनी आक्रमण हो तो हम उस का सामना

करने के लिए पूरी तरह तैयार रहें। हमारे रक्षा मंत्री जी ने जैसी घोषणा की है हम उम्मीद करते हैं कि वे उस को पूरा भी अवश्य करेंगे। हम चाहते हैं कि उन की घोषणा के अनुसार ही हम सफलता प्राप्त करें। हम से जो वह कहें वह हम करने को तैयार हैं लेकिन हम किसी प्रकार अपमान सहन करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं।

रक्षा के प्रश्न के साथ देश की संचार व्यवस्था का प्रश्न भी जुड़ा हुआ है। हमारी जैसी संचार व्यवस्था इस समय है उस से काम नहीं चलेगा। यह व्यवस्था अंग्रेज की बनाई हुई है जिस की सीमा पूर्व में सिंगापुर थी और पश्चिम में अदनथी। इस लिए उस ने अपनी रेलवे लाइन इस तरह बिछाई थी कि पेशावर से कलकत्ता तक, या मद्रास तक या बम्बई तक, यानी उस ने अपनी रेलवे लाइन्स को पोर्ट टाउन्स तक पहुँचाया था क्योंकि उस की सीमा एक ओर अदन और दूसरी ओर सिंगापुर थी। लेकिन आज हमारी स्थिति उस से भिन्न है। इसलिए हम को अपने देश की आन्तरिक संचार व्यवस्था को मजबूत बनाना है। ऐसा न हो कि आक्रमण के समय हमारी संचार व्यवस्था भंग हो जाय। ऐसा होगा तो बड़ी मुश्किल हो जायगी। इस समय हमारी संचार व्यवस्था खतरे की स्थिति में है। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि आप को देश के भीतरी भागों में दूसरी लाइन डालने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए। उदाहरण के लिए अभी पंजाब से बिहार को जाने के लिए उत्तर प्रदेश से हो कर जाना होता है। मेरा सुझाव है कि आप को दूसरी लाइन डाल कर पंजाब को बिहार से सीधा कनेक्ट करना चाहिए। अगर चम्बल पर कुछ लाख रुपया खर्च करके पुल बना दिया जाय तो पंजाब, राजस्थान, उत्तर प्रदेश, बिहार और उड़ीसा को जोड़ा जा सकता है। लेकिन इस प्रकार देश के हिस्सों को कनेक्ट करने के बारे में आप ने सोचा नहीं है। मिलिटरी प्वाइंट आफ व्यू से आप को

इस चीज को सोचना चाहिये। आपको सवाई माधोपुर को झांसी से और कानपुर से रेल द्वारा जोड़ना चाहिए। इस से आप को युद्ध के समय फौज और हथियार ले जाने में बड़ी सुविधा मिल सकती है। आप ने कभी इस दृष्टि से सोचा ही नहीं है।

आज ही सदन में चर्चा हुई कि हमारे समुद्री किनारे के पास चीन का जाहाज देखा गया। आप उस को चीन का जहाज मानें या न मानें, लेकिन हम को खतरे की हर संभावना के लिए तैयार रहना है। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि इस पर ध्यान देने की जरूरत है।

अब मैं आप से एक और निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। जिस घत देश लड़ने को तैयार हो तो उस की भीतरी व्यवस्था काफी सक्षम होनी चाहिये। श्रीमान्, आप मुझे क्षमा करेंगे, लेकिन मुझे कहना पड़ता है कि आज आप की ला एंड आर्डर की व्यवस्था वैसी नहीं है जैसीकि किसी देश की लड़ने के समय होनी चाहिये। मेरी स्टेट को तो छोड़ दीजिये। मैं अपनी कांस्टीट्यूएन्सी की बात नहीं करूंगा। इसलिए नहीं करूंगा कि वह तो ऐसा दिखाई देगा कि मैं पराकाष्ठा की बात कर रहा हूँ, एक्ट्रीस केस की बात कर रहा हूँ। मैं एक्ट्रीस केस की बात नहीं करूंगा। मेरी कांस्टीट्यूएन्सी में तो ऐसा होता है कि डाकू दिन में आता है—रात को उस को आने की जरूरत नहीं है—और वह डिस्ट्रिक्ट हैडक्वार्टर से बड़े से बड़े घनवान आदमी को उठाकर ले जाता है। इसलिए एक्ट्रीस केस साइट नहीं करूंगा। वहाँ जो कुछ हो रहा है, होने दीजिए। जो कुछ हमारे भाग्य में होगा, हम उसको भुगत लेंगे। लेकिन कल या परसों मैं ने अखबारों में पढ़ा कि उत्तर प्रदेश में एक रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित हुई है, जिस में कहा गया है कि पिछले साल वहाँ पर आठ हज़ार डाकू गिरफ्तार हुए और ६५ डाकू मारे गए। तो क्या सारा उत्तर प्रदेश डाकूओं से भर गया है? आठ हज़ार डाकूओं की गिरफ्तारी एक बड़ी बात होती है।

यह तो नहीं होना चाहिये था। राजस्थान की हालत आप देख लीजिए। यह भी नहीं होना चाहिए था। मैं इस पर अधिक समय नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि देश के हित में यह आवश्यक है कि इस की व्यवस्था की जाये।

जहाँ तक पानी और बिजली की व्यवस्था का सम्बन्ध है, रिहन्द एक ऐसा बान्ध बनाया गया है, जिसकी बिजली के बारे में मध्य प्रदेश और उत्तर प्रदेश में झगड़ा समाप्त नहीं हो रहा है। माता टीला बांध बनाने के लिए मध्य प्रदेश की ज़मीन ली गई और बांध बनाया गया उत्तर प्रदेश का, लेकिन जिनकी ज़मीन ली गई है, उन बेचारों को बिजली मिले या न मिले, इस पर कोई सोचता ही नहीं है। आज तक यह समस्या हल नहीं हो सकी है। यह छोटी बात मानी जाती है, लेकिन देश की सुरक्षा, सुदृढ़ता और आन्तरिक व्यवस्था के लए हम को इन छोटी बातों को हल करना चाहिये। जिस राज्य की आन्तरिक व्यवस्था सुदृढ़ और सुसंचालित नहीं होती है, वहाँ कभी कभी कुछ ज्यादा खतरे पैदा हो जाते हैं।

जहाँ तक सहकारिता का सम्बन्ध है, मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि उसके अन्तर्गत बड़ा सुन्दर काम हो रहा है और उस के बारे में मुझे कोई शिकायत नहीं है। उस मंत्रालय की डिमांड्स पर विचार करते समय बहुत से माननीय सदस्य अपने विचार प्रकट करते रहते हैं। मुझे समय नहीं मिला और मैं कुछ कहना भी नहीं चाहता, लेकिन अपने तर्जुबों और अनुभव पर आधारित दो बातें आप के सामने पेश करना चाहता हूँ। पहली बात तो यह है कि उस में अफसरवाद बढ़ रहा है। मैं अधिकारपूर्वक कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि इस मंत्रालय के कोई अधिकारी मुझ से इस बारे में बात करना चाहें, तो मैं आंकड़ों के साथ यह सिद्ध करने के लए भी तैयार हूँ। दूसरी बात यह है कि अफसरवाद के साथ साथ सहकारिता में

[श्री पाराशर]

विदेशी प्रभाव भी बढ़ रहा है। माननीय सदस्य यह सुन कर चौंकेंगे कि सहकारिता में विदेशी प्रभाव क्या होता है। विदेशों की कई ऐसी संस्थायें हैं, जो बड़े शुद्ध भाव से सहकारिता की सेवा करने के लिये हमारे देश में आई हैं। मैं उन का स्वागत करता हूँ और उन के प्रति आभार प्रकट करता हूँ, लेकिन मैं उन से नम्र निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जिस प्रकार सन् १९०० में इस देश में व्यापार की कोठी बनाई गई थी और उस कोठी की आड़ में एक देश ने अपना झंडा यहां पर गाड़ दिया था, उसी प्रकार अगर कोई देश सहकारिता की आड़ में इस देश में अपना झंडा गाड़ने की कोशिश कर रहा है, तो वह बड़ी गलती में है। उस का यह प्रयास इस देश में सफल नहीं होगा। इस से ज्यादा मैं इस सम्बन्ध में नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ। अगर आवश्यक हुआ, तो इस सम्बन्ध में फिर निवेदन करूंगा।

मालूम होता है कि हमारे कुछ माननीय सदस्यों को दो तीन हफ्ते से कुछ ऐसा हो गया है कि सिराजूद्दीन केस का उल्लेख किये बगैर उन का भाषण सम्पन्न ही नहीं होता है। बेहतर यह है कि वे सिराजूद्दीन केस को एक मंत्र समझ कर एक माला बनवा ले और "सिराजूद्दीन केस", "सिराजूद्दीन केस" यह मंत्र जपना शुरू कर दें। अगर वे समझते हैं कि इस में इतना बल है, तो सब कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट्स खत्म हो जायेंगी। मैं अपने सामने बैठने वाले विरोधी माननीय सदस्यों को बड़ा प्रतापी महान् योद्धा समझता था और मैं समझता था कि वे कुछ प्रतापवान् बातें कहेंगे, लेकिन कभी किसी योद्धा ने चले चलाए कारतूस को अपनी बन्दूक में इस्तेमाल नहीं किया। चला हुआ कारतूस तो खोखला होता है। सिराजूद्दीन केस पर तीन चार हफ्ते पहले चर्चा हो गई है और माननीय सदस्यों को कह दिया गया है कि अगर उन के पास कुछ सामग्री है, तो वे लायें और उसकी

एन्क्वायरी को जायगी। लेकिन नहीं, वे तो सिराजूद्दीन केस का माला जपे जा रहे हैं। उस बात के अलावा उनके पास कुछ है ही नहीं। जिस के शस्त्रागार में केवल एक ही हथियार रह गया हो, वह बेचारा उसी को न चलायेगा, तो और क्या करेगा? वह हथियार चल चुका, तो भी वह उसी को चलाये जायगा, वह चले चलाये हुये कारतूस को ही चलाये जायगा।

इस संबंध में मुझे एक कहानी याद आती है। किसी एक गांव में एक बेचारा सीधो-सादा लड़का पर यह इल्जाम लगा दिया गया कि उसने कोई अनाचार किया है। उसने कहा, "ठीक है, अगर मैंने किया हो, तो मुझे सजा दीजिये"। कुछ गांव वालों ने कहा कि "नहीं, यह गलत बात है। उसने कुछ नहीं किया है। वह बड़ा सीधो-सादा लड़का है"। कुछ दूसरे गांव वालों ने कहा कि उसको सजा दी जाये। जिन लोगों ने उसको सजा देने का फैसला किया, उन्होंने कहा कि पत्थर मार मार कर उसको खत्म कर दिया जाये। इस पर उस लड़का ने यह प्रस्ताव रखा कि मुझ पर पहला डेला वह मारे, जिसने पहले किसी परस्त्री का तरफ आंख उठा कर न देखा हो।

संयोग का बात है कहीं से कोई महात्मा-पुरुष वहां आ गए।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : जेसस क्राइस्ट।

श्री पाराशर : उन्होंने कहा, "बिल्कुल ठीक है, इस लड़की को सजा मिलनी चाहिये। मैं भी इसके पक्ष में हूँ, लेकिन इस लड़की ने जो शर्त रखी है, उसको मंजूर करना चाहिये और तब इसको सजा देनी चाहिये।"

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : यहां लड़की नहीं, लड़का है।

श्री पाराशर : उस हात्मा ने यह भी कहा कि मुझ में ऐसी शक्ति है कि अगर किसी ऐसे पुरुष ने ढिला मारा, जिसने पहले किसी परस्त्री की तरफ देखा हो, तो उसकी तत्काल मृत्यु हो जायगी। उस महात्मा के प्रताप में वे लोग विश्वास करते थे। उसकी यह बात सुन कर जो लोग उस लड़की को सजा देना चाहते थे, वे एक एक कर के खिसक गये और लड़की घर चली गई।

हमारे माननीय सदस्य एन्क्वायरी की बात को मन्जूर नहीं करते हैं और खाली कारतूस चला रहे हैं। मैं उनसे निवेदन करूंगा कि वे कृपा करके इन बातों को बन्द करें। ये प्रजातंत्र के सिद्धांत के अनुकूल नहीं हैं। इस प्रकार की थोथी और निराधार बातों को कह कर वे अपने देश और स्वयं अपनी पार्टी को बदनाम न करें और अपने आप को कमजोर सिद्ध न करें। अगर उनमें ताकत है, तो वे एन्क्वायरी की बात को मन्जूर करें और अपना मुह उज्ज्वल करें।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I find that Shri V. K. Ramaswamy is not here. Shri S. B. Patil.

श्री देवराव शि० पाटिल : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, . . .

An. Hon. Member: Sir, he is not Shri S. B. Patil.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: He has started. Let him go on.

श्री देवराव शि० पाटिल : . . . आपने मुझे वचन दिया, इसके लिये मैं आपका अनुगृहीत हूँ।

वित्त मंत्री जी ने कल अपनी बजट प्रोपोज़ल के बारे में मिट्टी के तेल पर लगाये गये कर में कमी करने, अनिवार्य-वचन योजना को कुछ व्यक्तियों पर लागू न करने और अधिलाभ कर में कुछ राहत देने की घोषणा की और उसके लिये मैं उनको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

अधिलाभकर में दी गई रियायत पर कुछ निराशा प्रकट की जाती है। मंत्री महोदय जब पहले बम्बई गये थे, तो इस बारे में राहत की आशा बताई गई थी। लेकिन इस समय जो निराशा बताई जाती है, उस पर वह ध्यान न दें, क्योंकि अधिलाभ कर के प्रति पूंजीपतियों का विरोध गलत है। पूंजीपतियों का कहना या कि इससे पूंजी-निर्माण नहीं हो सकेगा, शेर खरीदने में प्रेरणा नहीं मिलेगी और देश के उद्योग और व्यवसाय पर उसका बुरा असर पड़ेगा। कुछ हद तक छोटी कम्पनीय के बारे में कोई कनसेशन या कोई रियायत देने की बात थी और उस पर विचार हुआ है, लेकिन आज इस पर जो निराशा प्रकट की जाती है, उस पर ध्यान देने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। इसकी दूसरी वजह यह है कि उद्योग में सुपर टैक्स देने की क्षमता है और उस में छः प्रतिशत छूट के बाद जो ज्यादा लाभ होगा, उस से आधा ही उन को देना पड़ेगा। उस से औद्योगिक विकास में बाधा पड़ने की संभावना नहीं है। जहां तक सुपर टैक्स का संबंध है, यह सदन उस के पक्ष में है, इस लिये उस पर फिर विचार करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है।

यह कहा गया है कि कृषि-उत्पादन घट गया है और यह बात सही है। इस बिल की क्लॉज ६ (डी) में कहा गया है : टु इन्क्रीज दि रेट आफ इयूटी आन डीजल आयल । मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इस को डिलीट करना चाहिए, बढ़ाना नहीं चाहिए। कृषि-उत्पादन में वृद्धि की बात कही जाती है, लेकिन जब कृषक को सहायता देने की बात आती है, तो उस पर दुर्लभ्य किया जाता है। आज अगर देहातों में किसानों की तरफ देखा जाये, तो मानूस होगा कि किसान आज इरिगेशन से ज्यादा पैदावार बढ़ाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं और इस के लिए पम्पिंग सैट और आयल इंजिन लगा रहे हैं और उसके लिए जो आयल इस्तेमाल किया जाता है, उस पर यह दाम

[श्री देवराव शि० पाटिल]

बढ़ाना गलत होगा। इस से उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ेगा। मेरी प्रार्थना है कि जहां तक कृषि का सम्बन्ध है, वह भी एक उद्योग है और इस उद्योग के लिए जहां तक डीजल आयल का इंजनों में इस्तेमाल करने का सम्बन्ध है, उस में छूट दी जानी चाहिये। आज छोटे छोटे देहातों में भी किसान पम्प लगा रहे हैं और उन की सहायता से ईरिगेशन कर रहे हैं। यदि छूट दी जाती है तो उनको मुविधा होगी। अगर दाम बढ़ाये जाते हैं तो उन को मुश्किल का सामना करना पड़ेगा। उदाहरण के तौर पर मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि एक टोन पर अगर बीस रुपये बढ़ जाते हैं तो वार्षिक उस को तीस रुपये ज्यादा देने पड़ेंगे। इससे किसान पर बहुत अधिक बोझा पड़ेगा और वह इन पम्पों का इस्तेमाल नहीं कर सकेगा।

जो कर प्रोपोजल हैं और इन में जो बहुत से कर लगाये गये हैं इन कर प्रस्तावों का इस सदन में भी और बाहर भी समर्थन हुआ है। इसका कारण यह है कि इन करों को इसलिए लगाया गया है कि हम को शत्रु को अपनी भूमि से खदेड़ना है जिस का हम ने पक्का इरादा कर रखा है। आज तक डिफेंस पर सिर्फ २५० करोड़ रुपया खर्च किया जाता था। इस बजट में हम ने डिफेंस पर ८६७ करोड़ के करीब खर्च करने की व्यवस्था की है। शत्रु की शक्ति को देखते हुए ही हमें इस में इतनी वृद्धि करनी पड़ी है। कहा जाता है कि इन कर-प्रस्तावों का देश के सभी वर्गों पर, किसान वर्ग पर, गरीब वर्ग पर तथा पूंजीपति वर्ग पर समान असर पड़ेगा। कर-प्रस्तावों में विसंगतियां पाई जाती हैं, उन को दूर करने का विन मंत्री जो ने बहुत प्रयत्न किया है। जहां तक गरीबों का ताल्लुक है, उनकी कर देने की क्षमता को देख कर उन पर कर लगाया जाना चाहिये जब कि वह उन पर ज्यादा लगा दिया गया। जो पूंजीपति हैं, उन की जो आमदनी होती है,

उस को अगर देखा जाये तो पता चलेगा कि उन पर इस का भार कम पड़ा है। पूजनीय पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी ने राष्ट्रीय विकास मंडल की मीटिंग जोकि १८ जनवरी को हुई थी में कहा था कि करों में ऐसे फेर बदल किये जाने चाहियें जिससे उनका बोझा गरीब वर्गों पर अधिक न पड़े। मेरी प्रार्थना है कि आप इन में ऐसे फेर बदल करें कि धनी वर्गों पर इन का ज्यादा असर पड़े।

मिट्टी के तेल पर जो कर लगा है, कहा जाता है कि वह आय बढ़ाने के लिए नहीं बल्कि खपत कम करने के लिए लगाया गया है। इस का मैं समर्थन करता हूं। देश को रक्षा सामग्री प्राप्त करने के लिए विदेशी मुद्रा की आवश्यकता है और हथियार हमें विदेशों से ही मिल सकते हैं। देश की मिट्टी के तेल की जरूरतों को पूरा करने के लिए अगर मिट्टी का तेल बाहर से आयात किया जाता है तो उसके लिए हमें विदेशी मुद्रा की जरूरत होगी। इसलिए उसकी खपत को कम करना आवश्यक है। लेकिन मंत्री महोदय से मैं सहमत नहीं हूं कि मिट्टी के तेल पर कर लगाने से खपत कम होगी। गांवों को आप आज तक बिजली नहीं दे सके हैं और गांवों का अंधेरा दूर करने के लिए तेल का मंद प्रकाश ही उन लोगों को मिलता है। अब जब आप कर लगा देंगे तो मिट्टी का तेल भी उन के लिए खरीदना मुश्किल हो जायेगा। मैं प्रार्थना करता हूं कि पूंजीपति वर्ग पर थोड़ा सा और कर लगा कर, मिट्टी के तेल में और अगर आप कुछ राहत दे सकें तो देने की कोशिश करें।

अधिलाभ कर के बारे में मैं ने अभी एक सुझाव दिया है। उस पर भी ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये। गोल्ड पर जो रेस्ट्रिक्शन लगाई गई है उस के बारे में मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि उस के दो उद्देश्य हैं। एक तो यह है कि नान-आर्नमेंट गोल्ड की मूवमेंट जो हाथों हाथ होती है,

उस पर रेस्ट्रिक्शन लगाई जाये और दूसरा यह कि चौदह कैंट प्योरिटी से ज्यादा के गोल्ड आनमिंट्स नहीं बन सकेंगे । इन दोनों ही उद्देश्यों को अगर देखा जाये तो इस पालिसी को आम समर्थन मिला है । देहाती मुनारों के बारे में अभी तक कोई ऐसी शिकायत नहीं मिली है । स्मगलिंग का जो गोल्ड आता है और जिस को स्मगलर्ज लाते थे, उन के आनमिंट्स जो बनाते थे । अब जब इन मुनारों का धंधा समाप्त हो गया है, मेरी प्रार्थना है कि जो धंधा भी आप उन को दे सकते हों, देने की कोशिश करें ।

इस बजट के दो उद्देश्य हैं, एक तो शत्रु को खदेड़ना और दूसरे विकास की जो स्कीम्ज हैं, कार्यक्रम हैं, उनको चलाते रहना । विकास का उद्देश्य यह है कि भारतीय जनता का जीवन स्तर ऊंचा उठे, उनको आगे बढ़ने के अवसर प्राप्त हों । जब कि चीनी आक्रमण हुआ है और एमरजेंसी डिक्लेयर हुई है उस में गरीबी और उससे पैदा होने वाले जो सवाल हैं, उन पर और भी ज्यादा ध्यान देने की जरूरत है । गरीबी दूर करना बहुत जरूरी है । जब तक गरीबी दूर नहीं होती है तब तक कोई भी सवाल चाहे वह एग्जेशन का हो या कोई दूसरा हो, शक्तिशाली ढंग से हल नहीं हो सकता है । इस वास्ते इस समस्या को हमें सब से पहले हल करना होगा । नेशनल सैम्पल सर्वे की जो रिपोर्ट है, उसको मैंने देखा है । उसमें कहा गया है कि लगभग ५१.७ परसेंट किसान वे हैं जिनका मासिक व्यय १०० से भी कम है । कृषि मजदूर संघ जाँच समिति की रिपोर्ट से मालूम होता है कि कृषि में लगे हुए मजदूरों की संख्या भारत की कुल आबादी का बारह परसेंट है और इनकी वार्षिक आमदनी १९५०-५१ में १०४ रुपये थी जोकि १९५६-५७ में जाकर ९९.४ रह गई । पर कैंपिटा इनकम भारतीय जनता की बढ़ी है लेकिन देहाती पापुलेशन जो है, उसकी इनकम घट गई है । इस वास्ते मेरी

प्रार्थना है कि उनकी तरफ आपका विशेष ध्यान जाये । उनमें जो बेरोजगारी व्याप्त है, वह हल होनी चाहिये । हर एक चीज के दाम बढ़े हैं लेकिन एक ऐसी चीज है जिसके दाम घटे हैं और वह है देहात में मजदूर की मजदूरी । इनकी समस्या अगर आप हल करना चाहते हैं तो उसके लिये यह भी जरूरी है कि कृषि का उत्पादन बढ़े तथा देहातों में छोटे छोटे उद्योग ज्यादा से ज्यादा शुरू किये जायें, ग्रामोद्योग ज्यादा से ज्यादा शुरू किये जायें । इन उद्योगों में तथा कृषि की पैदावार बढ़ने से हमारे देहाती मजदूरों की समस्या हल हो सकती है ।

कृषि नीति के बारे में एक आखिरी बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ और इसके साथ ही साथ जो मूल्य नीति है वह भी आ जाती है...

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : अब आप खत्म करें ।
ए० बी० पाटिल को बुलाना था और आप बोल पड़े ।

श्री बे० शि० पाटिल : यहाँ पर पाटिल बहुत से हैं, इसलिये ऐसा हो गया है । मैंने कल भी आपको लिख कर दिया था कि मैं बोलना चाहता हूँ ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : अब आप खत्म करें ।

श्री बे० शि० पाटिल : एक आखिरी बात कह कर खत्म कर दूंगा ।

हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपने बजट भाषण में कहा है कि अत्यावश्यक जो चीजें हैं, उनकी कीमतों को बढ़ने नहीं दिया जायेगा, उनको रोका जायगा और हो सकेगा तो उन में कमी की जायगी । बजट के बाद से अधिक्त-तर चीजों के दाम बढ़े हैं । चूंकि वक्त नहीं है, मैं सारी डिटेल्ज आपको बता नहीं सकता हूँ । यह इसी से स्पष्ट है कि अगस्त १९६२ से जनवरी १९६३ तक भाव नहीं बढ़े थे और उसके बाद बढ़ना शुरू हो गये । लेकिन आप

[श्री दे० शि० पाटिल]

वेखें कि किसान की जो पैदावार होती है, किसान का जो प्रोडक्शन होता है, जब तक वह उसके पास रहता है, और जब तक वह मार्केट में नहीं आता है, उस वक्त तक दाम नहीं बढ़ते हैं। जैसे ही किसान का माल व्यापारियों के हाथों में गया कि दाम बढ़ना शुरू हो गया। इसलिये आखीर में मैं आप से यह रिक्वेस्ट करता हूँ फाटन के बारे में कि सितम्बर और अक्तूबर में जो भाव थे वही आज हो गये हैं। बीच में २००, २०० रु० फी क्विन्टल गिर गये थे। इस लिये चार महीने पहले मैंने उसकी फ्लोर प्राइस बढ़ाने के लिये विनती की थी, लेकिन उस पर अभी तक ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। और आज मैं एसा सुनता हूँ कि जब सब माल ट्रेडर्स के पास चला गया है, मिल ओनर्स के पास चला गया है तब उसके फ्लोर प्राइस के बढ़ाने की बात कही जाती है। जब किसान के पास कच्चा माल होता है तब उस के भाव की तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं देता लेकिन जैसे ही कच्चा माल पक्का माल बनाने के लिये व्यापारियों के हाथों में चला जाता है तब भाव बढ़ाने की बात होती है। यह इस मंत्रालय के लिये बहुत महत्वपूर्ण बात है और मंत्री-महोदय को इस के ऊपर जरूर ध्यान देना चाहिये।

श्री ह० च० सौय (सिंहभूम) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप को आज मैं धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आप ने मुझ आखीर में ही सही इस योग्य तो समझा कि मैं इस संबंध में कुछ कह सकूँ।

माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने कम्पलसरी डिपॉजिट के बारे में किसानों को जो छूट दी है कि जो किसान ५ रु० या उस से कम मालगुजारी देते हैं उनको इस कम्पलसरी डिपॉजिट स्कीम से बरी कर दिया जाये, उस के संबंध में मैं आग्रह करूंगा कि जिस उद्देश्य से वे यह छूट दे रहे हैं वह उद्देश्य इस से पूरा नहीं होगा। इसलिये छूट कम से कम १५

रु० तक की होनी चाहिये। जब किसानों को वे इस तरह की छूट देना चाहते हैं तब मैं सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करूंगा कि जमीनों के संबंध में जितने भी कानून बने हैं, विशेषकर लड सालिंग के बारे में, उसमें जमीन की उर्वरा शक्ति, उत्पादन शक्ति के बारे में बात की जाती है, लेकिन यहाँ पर ५ रु० का फ्लैट रेट रक्खा गया है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसे बहुत से क्षेत्र हैं, खास कर पहाड़ी इलाके, जहाँ की पैदावार बहुत कम है। वहाँ जो किसान १५ या २० रु० तक मालगुजारी देते हैं उनकी आमदनी बहुत कम है। इसलिये जो भी छूट दी जा रही है उसको बढ़ा कर १५ रु० कर दिया जाय।

दूसरी चीज जिस की ओर मैं इशारा करूंगा वह है तम्बाकू के बारे में। तम्बाकू पर और अधिक टैक्स लगाया गया है। मेरा इशारा अपने इलाके के तम्बाकू पैदा करने वालों की ओर है। फाइनेन्स एक्ट में कहा गया है कि जिस तम्बाकू से बीड़ी सिगरेट नहीं बनती है उस पर ५० नये पैसे ड्यूटी लगाई जायेगी। मेरे क्षेत्र में करीब दो या तीन हजार ऐसे किसान हैं जिन की असली खेती घान की है, मगर इस मौसम में वे तम्बाकू की खेती करते हैं। उन के साथ यह अन्याय किया जा रहा है। वे लोग जो तम्बाकू पैदा करते हैं उस से बीड़ी सिगरेट नहीं बनती, देहाती इलाकों में किसानों को दूसरे तरीके से काम में लाते हैं। फिर भी उस तम्बाकू पर उसी तरह से टैक्स लग रहा है जिस तरह से बीड़ी सिगरेट वाली तम्बाकू पर होता है। इस लिये मेरा आग्रह है कि राँची और सिंहभूम इलाके में जो गलत तरीके से तम्बाकू पर टैक्स लगाया जा रहा है, कानून के वास्ते-लाफ., उस की जाँच की जाये और जो २ या ३ हजार तम्बाकू पैदा करने वाली फैमिलीज हैं, जो कि ज्यादा टैक्स लगने के कारण अपनी तम्बाकू की खेती को छोड़ रहे हैं उन के ऊपर

विचार किया जाय और उन के साथ न्याय हो ।

तीसरी चीज जिस के बारे में सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि बजट के सिलसिले में हम ने सारे रुपये मंजूर कर लिये । लेकिन मैं सन् १९६१-६२ के एप्रोप्रिएशन अकाउंट्स पढ़ रहा था । उस में लिखा था कि इतना सारा रुपया जो हम लोग मंजूर करते हैं उस में से बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा कई मर्दों को लौटा दिया जाता है । उदाहरण के लिये इस किताब में मैं देख रहा हूँ, सन् १९६१-६२ के एप्रोप्रिएशन अकाउंट्स (सिविल) में, कि पेज ८५ पर अंडामन और निकोबार के खर्चों के बारे में जो हिस्सा बतलाया गया है उस में लिखा है कि जो जो भी प्राविजन किया गया है उस में ५० प्रतिशत से अधिक लौटा दिया गया है, इस लिये कि सारी स्कीम इम्प्लिमेंट नहीं हो सकी । यह पता नहीं चला कि इम्प्लिमेंट क्यों नहीं हो सकी । इसी तरह से आगे बढ़ कर देखते हैं कि कई ऐसी स्कीमों हैं जिन में ५० से ६० तक प्रतिशत सरेंडर हुआ है । आज जब कि अपने देश की रक्षा के लिये हमें बहुत धन की आवश्यकता है, तब यह रुपया देने का प्रबन्ध मुश्किल से किया जाता है । क्या मैं ऐसी आशा करूँ कि इतने सारे रुपये को सरेंडर न किया जाये बल्कि काम में लाया जाये ।

आज जो औद्योगिक क्षेत्र हैं उन में नये कारखाने और खदाने बनाई जा रही हैं । पहले भी मैंने इस ओर सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित किया था कि जो हजारों कुटुम्ब उन जमीनों से हटा दिये जाते हैं जहाँ पर नये कारखाने और नई खदाने बनाने के लिये जमीने ली जाती हैं, उन के सम्बन्ध में डेबर कमिशन ने सिफारिश की थी कि जो सारे प्रोजेक्ट बनते हैं उन पर वहाँ के लोगों को फिर से बसाने का और ट्रेनिंग देने का खर्च उसी प्रोजेक्ट में शामिल होना चाहिये । पिछले 276 A1) LSD—8.

सारे बजट में मैं इस बात की खोज में था, मैं देखना चाहता था कि जो आश्वासन डेबर कमिशन का है; और जिसको राज्यों और केन्द्र की सरकार ने भी मान लिया है था, उस को कहाँ तक शामिल किया गया है । सारी खोज के बावजूद मैं इस बात से बहुत हैरान हूँ कि उस सिफारिश को इस में शामिल नहीं किया गया है ।

इस के बाद एक बहुत बड़ी बात यह है कि हमारे संविधान के मुताबिक जो हमारे सारे देश में शंड्यूल्ड एरियाज हैं उन की सिविल एरियाज में जो एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन हैं उन में तेजी लाने के लिये, एफिशिएन्सी लाने के लिये विशेष ग्रान्ट दी जाती है । लेकिन उस के बावजूद मैं देखता हूँ कि इस ग्रान्ट का सदुपयोग नहीं हो रहा है । डेबर कमिशन ने यह कहा है कि हमारी जितनी भी वेलफेअर स्कीम्स बनती हैं उन के लिये सेपरेट हेड और खर्च का अलग हिस्सा होना चाहिये ताकि यह पता चल सके कि उसका सही ढंग से उपयोग हुआ या नहीं और कितना रुपया सरेंडर हुआ । लेकिन इस बजट में और इस फाइनेन्स बिल में भी हम देखते हैं कि इस की ओर कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है । सब से बड़ा अफसोस इस बात का है कि मैं जो भी बातें कह रहा हूँ उस को खुद वित्त मंत्री और दूसरे सारे मंत्री जी हैं व सुनना भी नहीं चाहते । न तो फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर सुन रहे हैं और न उन के उपमंत्री जी ही सुन रहे हैं । उनका सारा ध्यान गप्पों में हो लगा हुआ है ।

वित्त मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा) : हमारे कान उधर ही हैं ।

श्री ह० च० सौय : मैं फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर से यह दरखास्त कर रहा था कि डेबर

[श्री ह० च० सौय]

कमीशन ने यह जो शिफारिश की है कि जो वैलफ़ैर स्कीम्स बनती उनमें है काफी रुपया सरेन्डर होता है, इस लिये वैलफ़ैर स्कीम्स के लिये खास तौर पर अलग हेड बनाया जाय, उस के लिये सेपरेट बजट हो। मैं दरखास्त करूंगा आपके जरिये कि फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर इस चीज़ की जाँच करें और उसकी व्यवस्था करें। जहाँ तक मेरी जानकारी है इस वर्तमान बजट में इसकी व्यवस्था नहीं हुई है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Does he want more time?

श्री ह० च० सौय : जी हाँ, अभी और कुछ समय लूंगा।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He may continue tomorrow.

18.01 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, April 19, 1963 | Chaitra 29, 1885 (Saka).