

12.55 hrs.

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now resume general discussion on the General Budget. 3 hours 50 minutes remain.

The Minister of Finance (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): I think there is the Appropriation Bill for Vote on Account. I would like to have the Chair's direction as to when I will be called.

Mr. Speaker: We should conclude it at 5 o'clock. How long is he likely to take for his reply?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Slightly over an hour, about 1½ hours.

Mr. Speaker: I shall call him at 4 o'clock to reply.

Shrimati Savitri Nigam. She is not here. Shri Gajraj Singh Rao.

Shri Gajraj Singh Rao (Gurgaon): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am very grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to speak.

Shrimati Savitri Nigam (Banda): I have come, Sir. I may be allowed to speak.

Mr. Speaker: I am sorry now; I have called another hon. Member.

Shri Gajraj Singh Rao: I would like to submit that there are substantial relief in personal taxation, i.e. in the income-tax of the low income group. The procedure also has been made less complex. Another bright feature according to me is that he has not acceded to the undue demands of the corporate sector. At the same time, there should be tightening of tax evasion.

A myth is being created by the corporate sector that the budget would hit the poor man and the middle-class man and therefore they (corporate sector) should be given some relief. That is absolutely wrong and incorrect. The third point which is rightly and strongly urged is that there should be more and more emphasis on the nationalisation of industries and a very effective control on banking and other industries. If the poor people are to prosper, if a socialist pattern of society is to be achieved, this is absolutely necessary in my view.

Having dealt with these general aspects, I would put one pertinent question, whether it is a national budget or an economic jugglery, as it is called. 80 per cent of our population live in rural India. Whether they have been taken care of in the budget has to be seen. They are the crux of the society. In case there is really something substantial for them in the budget, I would welcome it. But on the contrary I find that rural India has been absolutely ignored.

13.00 hrs.

The hon. Finance Minister may say that it is a routine type of budget of the British pattern, the European pattern or any other pattern. But we have for a national budget, to go by the conditions in our own country where 80 per cent of the population live in the villages or in rural areas. We are not to cater only for the needs of the 20 per cent big capitalists, blackmarketers or anti-social elements. If we cater to their needs only because they can howl and scowl, because they can hold big receptions or hold brief to the newspapers posing saying that if something is not done for the capitalists it would harm the poor people—this is the fallacy—it will lead us nowhere.

A pertinent question to ask here is this. The budget may have been balanced. There may have even been some surplus. But at what cost? Are we not selling the economic soul of

India to the capitalists whether in this country or outside? We are selling the conscience of real India for ever. I am not a historian, but we are repeating the same thing as of the East India Company if we mortgage 'the economic soul of India like this.

I would then refer to the biggest man of this century, Mahatma Gandhi. What did he say? Are we truly following his path of socialism or a socialism of the type borrowed from abroad? Our country needs the type of socialism which Mahatma Gandhi preached I had at one time the audacity to impertinently ask Mahatma Gandhi: "Mahatmaji, you said that swaraj would come. Now swaraj has come. When would Ramraj come because you had also said that Ramraj would come?" The simple reply was: "When people like you would go back to the villages, Ramraj would come". Thereby he meant that there would be prosperity in the villages and there would be no need, as it is happening today, for anybody and everybody to come to towns. Whether it be ordinary labour clerks or men of other jobs, all are rushing to towns today. Is that the socialism we are aiming at? Is that the socialist pattern of society that we want to bring about? Are we going by the path shown to us by Mahatma Gandhi, I would ask.

We may get foodgrains from other countries. We may get foodgrains under PL. 480. We may pass over the temporary crisis that is there in the country now. But would that help? Are we not selling the economic soul of India when we are borrowing like this. It may be food, it may be defence, it may be other things needed by the country, we are borrowing in everything.

I know we are capable of doing things if there is an earnest desire on our part that they should be done. We have got the resources. Take the case of electricity. I can show you how, a few miles away from here, if electricity had been supplied to wells the production would have increased by ten or twenty times. To

big capitalists, on a demand made over the telephone, connections are given for luxury purposes. For agriculturists who need electricity for their wells, for four to five years they are waiting after installing the engines. They are not given connections. Sir, a humble man like me would go to the Deputy Commissioner, an Assembly Member or even the Minister. The Punjab Chief Minister said that he would get the necessary connection for all these people. But the engineer said that we may go to Ministers or Members of Parliament, but in the offices they have their own socialist pattern of taking Rs. 1,000 per connection. That is the socialist pattern practised as far as the villagers are concerned. These are hard facts and can be verified. I am prepared to face verification by any section of the House. They may verify these facts.

Sir, when it is a question of producing foodgrains, it is the rural India that produces it. When it is a question of defending India in NEFA, Kashmir or anywhere else, it is the rural India that is doing it. What is the treatment that is meted out to the people of rural India? Even when they want to complete a well and ask for cement, they are told that they cannot get it because the Government has no cement and as they are committed for building big palaces, for building big townships like Faridabad. They are told that the Government has cement only for such big people and not for the villagers.

मुझे एक शेर याद आ जाता है। हज़रत
आदम को गेहूं खाने पर अन्नत से निकाला
गया था।

"निकलना खुद से आदम का मुनते
आए थे लेकिन
बहुत बे-आवरू हो कर तेरे
कूचे से हम निकले"।

आज गेहूं पैदा करने की बिना पर...

अध्यक्ष महोदय : इस शेर के बाद तो स्पीच कान्टीन्यू नहीं रहनी चाहिये ।

श्री गजराज सिंह राव : मैं बहुत जल्दी खत्म कर देता हूँ ।

आज गेहूँ पैदा करने वाले....

अध्यक्ष महोदय : जब आपने कहा कि "बहुत बे-आबरू हो कर तेरे कूचे से हम निकले", तो फिर निकल कर भी स्पीच जारी है ?

श्री गजराज सिंह राव : आदम को गेहूँ खाने पर निकाला गया था और गांवों के लोग गेहूँ पैदा करने पर इस सोशलिस्ट सोसायटी में फोर्थ-रेट सिटिजन बनाये गये हैं—वे इस तरह से निकाले गये हैं । मैं आप के नोटिस में निहायत मन्नदिवाना तौर से यह बात लाना चाहता हूँ कि ये जोग भी सोसायटी के अंग हैं ।

मैं एक बात और अर्ज करूंगा । मान लीजिये कि बड़ी इंडस्ट्री लगाने की बड़ी जरूरत है । सरकार वह इंडस्ट्री लगाए, लेकिन उस के साथ यह शर्त लगाये कि गांधी जी की जो कन्सेप्शन था,...

His conception was to have those industries that would cater to the needs of the farmers, to supply things required for rural development. After these 17 years we have not been able to have even sufficient tractors in the country. We do not have sufficient electricity.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब आप खत्म करें ।

श्री गजराज सिंह राव : मैं दो चार मिनट में खत्म कर देता हूँ । मैं साल डेढ़ साल के बाद बोल रहा हूँ ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप ने बहुत वक्त ले लिया है । मैंने कहा था कि हर एक म्बर् दस मिनट ले ।

श्री गजराज सिंह राव : मैंने इलेक्ट्रिसिटी के बारे में जो कुछ कहा है, वह मेरी बात नहीं है । गवर्नमेंट ने एक प्रमरीकन एक्सपर्ट बुलाया था ।

An American expert, Mr. Clyde T. Ellias, was called by the Government. After proper study he submitted a report in which he says:

"Rural electrification is the key to improved farm production and expansion of small industries in India."

Economic and social development would be completely met by this. This is the opinion of the expert called by the Government—my opinion may be a humble opinion because I wear a turban and I am a resident of a village with the result that I may not be cared for.

Mr. Speaker: Those who wear turbans, are their opinions humble?

श्री गजराज सिंह राव : हमारे यहाँ एक कहावत है कि "जट्टा पगड़ी सम्भाल लू" । हम ने तो अपनी पगड़ी सम्भालने की कोशिश की, लेकिन आजकल की सोशलिस्ट सोसाइटी में पगड़ी वालों को फोर्थ रेट सिटिजन की तरह समझा जाता है । They are treated like that. That is our misfortune. But we will keep our puggrees, we will defend the country, we will be loyal to the country and we would not betray the country because of the exploitation by these blackmarketeers and all that. Take the case of black money. If our competent police can unearth the murderers of Kairon, similarly, if they are given encouragement they

could unearth and bring into open all the black money. In that case, our budget will not only be balanced but there will even be a bigger surplus, which can be utilized for the benefit of the 80 per cent of the society. Then there will be no need to borrow money from foreign countries or to beg at the doors of big capitalists in the country.

I come from a rural area and perhaps my ideas may not be liked by many Members here. I have been a devoted follower of Gandhiji. If they have any respect for Gandhiji they should see to it that 80 per cent of the population should be treated as a part of the society instead of being treated as fourth-rate citizens as at present. It should not be done.

In the end, I thank you for giving me an opportunity.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Jammu and Kashmir): Sir, I am very much thankful to you for the time you have given me and also to my party bosses for accommodating me today. I have had the advantage of sitting here and hearing friends from all the sides, not only opposition parties but also my own party. So, in the circumstances in which our Finance Minister is placed, I feel sympathy for him.

The general feeling in the country is that he is trying to accommodate all sections and he has shown certain concessions and a new orientation in this budget, about which I will speak presently. In the very beginning I will say one thing. I am perplexed when I hear references made to socialism, socialistic pattern of society, ushering in an egalitarian society etc. by members of the Opposition as well as by my own party members. The more I hear them, the more I feel that some of our friends are very much confused, and the confusion will certainly increase if certain things are not made absolutely clear.

We are just experimenting with a unique pattern of socialism in our country. The socialism that we know,

or we have learnt so far is pure and simple socialism in which there is no place for the private sector or free enterprise. But in our country we have decided to have a mixed economy in which both the public and private sectors will play their respective role. So, it is very necessary for Government to make two things very clear. I have referred to this in my speeches in Parliament during the last three years in the budget discussion. Government must make it quite clear to the private sector to what extent they can expand, beyond which they cannot go. Unless that is done, the confusion will be bound to be there and, if anything, it will increase. Now different views are heard on this subject from members of the ruling party, even from Ministers and ex-Ministers. So, it is high time that Government pay attention to this.

Secondly, now the people are taxed at three levels. I had suggested earlier from whatever little experience I have of running the administration of my State, and the ex-Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, had almost accepted my suggestion that there should be a sort of broad demarcation between the three spheres of taxation. Now people are taxed at three levels, the local level, the State level and the Central level. There is so much of confusion in realizing taxes that people have become afraid of tax collectors and they are trying to evade taxes. I had suggested that under the leadership of the Finance Minister there should be a meeting of the State Finance Ministers and all those who are concerned with local finances and shaping the fiscal policies of the country where a broad indication should be given of the spheres of taxation at the three levels. Today the local bodies complain that inroads are being made into their spheres of taxation by the State Government. For want of time I will not quote instances. Similarly, the State Governments complain that inroads are being made into their spheres by the Centre. Corporate tax is an instance in point. Therefore, it would be very much helpful if the Central

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Finance Minister takes the lead or initiative to broadly allocate the spheres of taxation at the three levels. If that is done there will be less of confusion and the poor citizen will heave a sigh or relief.

Then I come to the simplification of the tax structure. Whenever I get an opportunity I had been asking the Finance Minister to simplify the taxation laws. I am very much thankful to him for making them a little simpler. As far as personal taxation is concerned, it has been done to a great extent this time. Yet, I feel there is more scope for further simplification. What is the position today? I am sure that most of us had opportunities of presenting ourselves before the income-tax officers with our returns. Now the law has become so complex that we get confused. Sometimes when the income-tax officer says that the tax will be levied at a particular rate, even if we feel that it is on the high side, in order to avoid all the harassment and trouble, we agree to pay whatever he demands. The simplification of the tax law will certainly go a long way in helping the honest tax-payer.

The concessions that have been given in excise duties will certainly help the common man. Then, incentives have been given for shifting of industries from congested areas. For historic and other reasons, many medium and large-scale industries are concentrated at a few focal points in the country. It is high time that they are shifted so that there will be reasonable dispersal of industries about which everybody is speaking in the House.

On family planning, only yesterday I heard Shri Sen, Director-General of Food and Agriculture Organisation. He has warned the whole world, especially this country, about the rapid growth of population. India is one of the countries where this problem is getting more and more acute. Concession given to expenditure on family planning is an indication of the awareness of the seriousness of the problem by the Government. In fact,

I would urge on the Finance Minister to persuade the State Governments also to spend more and more money on family planning measures.

Then, I am glad that he has put a check on purchase of urban properties so that people with a lot of surplus money will not buy more and more urban property, making it difficult for people in the low income group to get dwelling houses. Quite likely, the local authorities may raise the question whether this tax should go to them or to the Centre. I hope the Finance Minister will look into that aspect.

As far as corporation tax is concerned, the Finance Minister has said that the maximum limit has been brought down to 70 per cent. I do not say that we should make the rich richer. But, at the same time, we should not forget one thing. Unless we produce more, unless we add to our national wealth how can we become rich and how can we distribute more to the poorer sections? Therefore, first of all, we have to increase production, convertible into national wealth and then distribute it equitably. Though the Finance Minister has said that he has rationalised the corporate tax and brought it down to 70 per cent, I think that only a fringe of the capitalist class would be benefited by that move; only a very few people will get the benefit from that measure.

Then, I am thankful to the Finance Minister for lifting the excise duty on pure silk fabrics. As the Minister in charge of industries in the State, I had been pressing that pure silk fabrics should not be subjected to excise duties. But nobody paid heed to my requests. In Parliament also, for the last three years I have been making that suggestion. Now that he had done away with this excise duty, I am sure that not only will it help the growth of this industry within the country but it will also help export, which is the prime need of the day.

13.20 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

While framing the budget of a country, attempts should be made to

see that the following problems are solved by it. Firstly, we have to see whether this budget will accelerate the growth of economic activity in this country. So far as the present budget is concerned, I think that to some extent it will do so, and to some extent it will not. I wish I had time to dilate more on this subject.

Secondly, we have to see whether it creates conditions for fresh investment and capital formation. I am very sorry to say that the way in which certain things have been done such as the raising of the bank rate, the present approach to taxes etc., it may not be possible for us to have that sort of capital formation which would enable money to be ploughed back into industry. Of course, there may be a few exceptions of some big business-houses with interlocked management who might be able to do this in some way or the other. But as far as the industry in general is concerned, they would not be in a position to achieve this.

Now, I come to the question of stabilisation of prices and the holding of the price-line. The Minister of State has made some observations on this yesterday. I would respectfully submit that I do agree to some of his observations, but I do not agree to some other observations of his. I want to know what action Government have taken or will take for stabilising the prices and for holding the price-line? In this connection, I might say that one of my hon. friends who spoke yesterday gave certain quotations which were absolutely not germane to the subject before us. Stabilisation of the prices and the holding of the price-line are things on which the reputation of the Government and the country will depend. We have to be convinced on one point, namely how with the present fiscal and financial and monetary policies, the prices will be stabilised all over and how we shall be able to hold the price-line as far as the new year is concerned.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member should try to conclude now. He has already taken ten minutes.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf: I would take another five minutes.

We should also see that there is a progressive increase in national wealth. But we know how much of increase there has actually been. The increase has not been much.

Then, we should be in a position to meet our balance of payments. After all we have to pay our national debts and we have to repay the moneys that we have borrowed from foreign countries together with the interest charges thereon.

In regard to agriculture, personally I do not find that there is any clear indication that this budget is agriculture-oriented. It may be that some moneys may have been kept apart, certain loans and things like that, but that is not enough. I might mention one instance where something needs to be done. I am referring to fertilisers particularly. India is one country in the world where fertilisers are sold at the highest prices. Something has got to be done to bring down the prices here. May I suggest that Government may give substantial subsidy for fertilisers so that a larger number of people may be able to get them at a little cheaper rate and use them for better production on the agricultural front?

So far as the budgeting principles are concerned, it is absolutely wrong either to over-estimate or underestimate the budget. But certain indications of that type of trend have been there during the last two years. May I submit to Government that they should look into this matter? If during last year, certain under-estimations had not been made, perhaps, the people might have been able to get a little more relief, for we have seen how much more revenue has actually been realised. Since more revenue has actually been rea-

[Shri Sham Lal Saraf]

lised than estimated, surely, some relief could have been given to the people and that would have been helpful to them in the country as a whole.

Then, I come to the question of borrowings. I shall not deal with borrowings inside the country just now, but so far as borrowings from foreign countries are concerned, I would like to make a few observations, and particularly I would like to say a word on foreign capital.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member has taken 15 minutes already. He should try to conclude now.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf: Please give me five minutes more.

So far as foreign capital is concerned, I have heard two voices here. Some friends from the Opposition have welcomed it even with any kind of strings, but I feel personally that it is time now that we must look into this question, and particularly the Congress Party must look into this question once and for all and get a policy decision on this point whether we shall have foreign capital and foreign borrowings if so on what terms . . .

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member should conclude now.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf: Please give me at least two more minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am sorry. I cannot give him any more time now. There is a long list of speakers before me.

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी (बलरामपुर) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो बजट पेश हुआ है

उस के आने से पहले सारे देश की तरफ उस की तरफ थी और हम लोग इस आशा में थे कि जो नया बजट पेश होने वाला है उसमें यह देखने को मिलेगा कि हमारी पार्टी या हमारी गवर्नमेंट समाजवाद की तरफ कितनी आगे प्रगति कर पाई है, कितना कदम समाजवाद की तरफ उठाया है। बजट में कुछ संशोधन दिये गये हैं, कुछ एक्साइज ड्यूटी हटाई गई है। उन संशोधन को देख कर पहले पहल हमें ख़ुश हुई और हमने सोचा कि पहली बार एक ऐसा बजट आ रहा है जिस में छोटे आदमियों की तरफ ज्यादा ध्यान रखा गया है। पर उस के बाद जब हम ने उन संशोधन पर विचार किया जो कि ज्यादा बड़े आदमियों और ज्यादा इनकम ग्रुप्स को दिये गये, तो मालूम हुआ कि छोटे आदमियों को सिर्फ चकमा ही चकमा है, उस में कोई खास बात उन के लिए नहीं है।

मैं यहां बहुत सी बातों में नहीं जाना चाहती क्योंकि हमारे साथ भी यह डिस्ट्रिबिनेशन किया जा रहा है कि आज हम लोगों के लिए सिर्फ दस मिनट का समय कर दिया गया, फिर भी बजट में जो डिस्ट्रिबिनेशन है उस की तरफ मैं थोड़ा सा इशारा जरूर करना चाहती हूँ। इनकम टैक्स में जो किया गया वह तो सब के सामने है, और बहुत सी बातें हाउस में कही जा चुकी हैं। लेकिन मैं ने देखा कि जो टैक्स के इवेंट करने वाले हैं, जिन्होंने ब्लैक मनी कमाया है, उन के लिये जो तरीका निकाला गया है उस में भी डिस्ट्रिबिनेशन किया गया है। जो छोटा चोर है उस को छोटी छूट दी गई है और जो बड़ा चोर है उसे बड़ी छूट दे दी गई है। इस बजट में ऐसा प्राविजन हो गया है कि जो ब्लैक मनी वाला है, इसके लिये नया कानून बना है रिकवरी के लिये। तो जो हायेस्ट इनकम स्लैब थी उस में पहले 87 परसेन्ट इनकम

टैक्स लिया जाता था, उसे घटा कर अब 81 परसेन्ट कर दिया गया है। जो हायेस्ट इनकम टैक्स की स्लैब है उस इनकम वालों को, अगर वह ब्लैक मनी वापस करना चाहें तो सिर्फ 57 परसेन्ट या 60 परसेन्ट टैक्स देना पड़ेगा लेकिन जो छोटी इनकम वाले हैं जिन का टैक्स 60 परसेन्ट से कम है उन को अपना सारा कमाया हुआ रुपया टैक्स का दे देना पड़ेगा।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (देवास) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। हाउस में इस समय कोरम नहीं है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The bell is being rung. Now, there is quorum. The hon. Member may continue.

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : जो इस से ज्यादा बड़ी इनकम ग्रुप के हैं अगर वह बतलाये हुए महीनों में अपना ब्लैक मनी वापस नहीं कर देते हैं, या बाहर नहीं लाते हैं तो उनके लिये कोई ऐसी सजा तजवीज नहीं की गई है जो कि होनी चाहिये। ऐसा मेरा विचार है। जो लोग टैक्स इवेड करते हैं या इस तरह से ब्लैक मनी कमाते हैं जब तक उन का पैसा जब्त करने का प्राविजन हमारे कानून के अन्दर नहीं होगा तब तक मैं नहीं समझती कि इस चीज का कोई इलाज हो सकेगा। उनको पकड़ा जाता है, उन पर मुकदमा चलाया जाता है, महीनों और बरसों मुकदमा चलता है और फिर उन को षोड़ा जुरमाना करके छोड़ दिया जाता है। इसलिये मुझे को ऐसा मालूम हुआ कि जो ब्लैक मनी रिकवर करने के लिए प्राविजन है उसमें भी छोटे चोर और बड़े चोर में डिस्टिन्क्शनेशन किया गया है, और जो ज्यादा बड़ा चोर है उसको ज्यादा रियायत देने की कोशिश की गई है।

जो फारिन इनवेस्टमेंट के लिए दर-बाजा खोल दिया गया है उससे हमको

सबको बड़ा खतरा मालूम होता है। मैं नहीं समझ सकती कि जो तजरवा एक बार हिन्दुस्तान के मुगल बादशाह कर चुके हैं उसको हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी फिर क्यों दुहराना चाहते हैं। हमारे यहां अंग्रेज व्यापार करने के लिए आया था, उसको तरह तरह के कनसेशन दिए गये और उन का मतीजा यह निकला कि वह हमारे ऊपर हुकूमत करने लगा, और बहुत मुश्किल से हमने उससे पिंड छुड़ा कर हिन्दुस्तान को आजाद किया है। आज फारिन इनवेस्टमेंट के लिए दरवाजा खोलने से वही खतरा आने वाला है।

यह हमने देखा है इस बजट में कि जो फारिन लोन चौथी योजना के लिए आवेगा उसका 33 परसेंट तो बाहर के कर्ज के इंटररेस्ट और कैपिटल की वापसी पर खर्च होगा। यही नहीं, हमने बजट में भी देखा है और टी० टी० के० साहब ने अपने स्पीच में भी कहा है कि जो लोग बाहर से यहां अपना पैसा इनवेस्ट करने आवेंगे उनको काफी छूट दी जाएगी और उनको यह भी छूट दी जाएगी कि वे अपना पैसा यहां सीधा ला कर इनवेस्ट कर सकेंगे। उन्होंने कहा कि यह हमारी शर्तों पर होगा लेकिन ऐसी कोई शर्तें नहीं बनायी गई हैं जिनके मताबिक वे इनवेस्ट कर सकेंगे।

अब तक जो फारिनर्स के साथ यहां के व्यापारियों का कोलेबोरेशन होता था उसमें यह उम्मीद होती थी कि कुछ समय बाद यह कम्पनी हिन्दुस्तानियों की हो जाएगी, लेकिन अब जो नई स्कीम है उससे वह उम्मीद भी हट गयी। वे लोग अपना पैसा यहां इनवेस्ट करके जो चाहे मनमानी कर सकेंगे।

इतना ही नहीं, अभी तक यह कहा जाता था कि हम फारिन कोलेबोरेशन उन चीजों

[श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी:]

में ही करेंगे जिनका हमारे पास तो हाऊ नहीं होगा। लेकिन अब नई स्कैम के मुताबिक, जिसको टी० टी० के० साहब ने बतलाया है, होटल भी फारिन कोलेबोरेशन से खोले जायेंगे। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि होटल के काम में ऐसा कानसा नो हाऊ है जिसके बारे में हमको फारिन कोलेबोरेशन की जरूरत है। हम देखते हैं कि हमारा अर्शांक होटल चल रहा है, और एफीशेंसी में वह किसी होटल से कम नहीं है। लेकिन उसके इनवेस्टमेंट के बारे में भी ठीक समय पर मुझे बहुत कुछ कहना है। तो इस होटल के काम के लिए हिल्टन साहब का और न जाने किन किन साहब को यहां बुलाया जाता है कि आप आकर यहां होटल खोलिये। मैं नहीं समझती कि इस काम में फारिन कोलेबोरेशन की क्या जरूरत है।

इसके अलावा अब लैटर आफ इंटेंट उनको दिया जाएगा कि आ कर देखें कि कहाँ इनवेस्ट करें। यह बड़े अफसोस की बात है और हमको इसके खिलाफ होशियार रहना चाहिए। और उनको इजाजत दे दी गयी है कि वे प्राइवेट एंटरप्राइज में भी इनवेस्ट कर सकते हैं। उससे भी हम लोगों को बहुत होशियार रहना चाहिए। जब बोकरो की बात आयी थी तो यूनाइटेड स्टेट्स ने सफाई से कह दिया था कि अगर इसको पब्लिक सेक्टर में लयाओगे तो हम इसमें इनवेस्ट नहीं करेंगे, अगर यह प्राइवेट सेक्टर में होगा तो हम इनवेस्ट करेंगे। ऐसा कह कर उसने पैसा नहीं लगाया था। इसका मतलब तो यह है कि जो हमारे यहां पर सामाजिक ढांचा है, जो आर्थिक ढांचा है और जिसको हम बनाना चाहते हैं, उसको वह बदलने की कोशिश करते हैं। आज दुनिया के तमाम मुल्कों में अमरीकी पैसे का हारर है और लोग इससे परेशान हैं कि वह उनको सता रहा है।

आप देखें कि जो लोग हमारे उसूल को नहीं मानते, जो हमारी पीस की पालिसी को नहीं मानते, जो दूसरी पालिसी को मानते हैं, वे वैस्ट जर्मनी के लोग भी आज अमरीकी पैसे से परेशान हैं और कह रहे हैं कि वह उनके यहां हेवक कर रहा है। वैस्ट जर्मनी के एक बहुत बड़े बैंकर ने कहा है :

“The rate at which the Americans have been gobbling up small European companies is positively indecent”.

इतना ही नहीं मेनहट्टेन के आफिशियल्स ने पेरिस में कहा है कि सिर्फ यही बात नहीं है कि अमरीका का पैसा हमारे यहां आता है, बल्कि यह पैसा ज्यादा से ज्यादा 15 या 20 कम्पनियों के हाथ में रहता है। हमारे यहां भी क्या हाल है आप को सुन कर ताज्जुब होगा। मैं एक पब्लिक प्राजेक्ट देखने गयी तो उसके बाहर एक बहुत बड़ा बोर्ड लगा था जिस पर लिखा था कि कि यह अमरीकी की मदद से बनाया गया है। मैंने पूछा कि इस बोर्ड को लगाने की क्या आवश्यकता थी, तो कहा गया कि यह हमारे एग्सीमेंट में है कि हम इस तरह का बोर्ड लगाएं। हमें तो इस बात की खुशी है कि हमारी सरकार ने यह स्वीकार नहीं किया कि जो हिन्दुस्तानी अमरीकी गैंगे खाएंगे वे बोर्ड लगाकर धूमेंगे कि हमने अमरीकी गैंगे खायी है और अमरीका की मदद से हम जीवित हैं।

इतना ही नहीं, आप देखें कि अगर वैस्ट जर्मनी में हमारा कोई मिनिस्टर ईस्ट जर्मनी का नाम लेता है, या उधर जाने की बात करता है तो वैस्ट जर्मनी वाले उस पर हमको धमकी देते हैं कि हम इस तरह की बात नहीं कर सकते वे लोग इतने टची हैं। तो फारिन कैपीटल आने से हमको सबसे बड़ा खतरा यह है कि उस कैपीटल को लगाने वाले हमारे सामाजिक ढांचे को बदलने की कोशिश

करेंगे, हमारे फारिन रिलेशनस को बदलने की कोशिश करेंगे ।

मैं यह बतलाना चाहती हूँ कि आपने जो कुछ चीजों पर एक्ससाइज ड्यूटी कम की है इससे कीमतों में कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ा है । आप कपड़े की दुकानों पर जा कर देखें कि जो रेट आपने मुकर्रर किए हैं उन पर कपड़ा नहीं मिलता । बड़े बड़े मिल वालों ने कपड़े को सस्ता करने के बजाय यह किया है कि उसकी जो मुहर और छाप लगी थी उसको बदल दिया है और अब वे खदर को सटा कह कर बेचते हैं और लठठे को दुसूती कह कर बेचते हैं । उन्होंने कपड़े के नाम को और शकल को बदल दिया पर उसको सस्ता नहीं किया । तो मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि बजट में इस चीज को रोकने के लिए कोई प्राबीजन होना चाहिए ।

आखिर में मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि जब तक आप बैंकों पर कंट्रोल नहीं करेंगे तब तक कीमतों को कम करना सम्भव नहीं है । हमने पिछले दिनों देखा कि बावजूद सरकार के यह कहने के कि हमारा बैंकों पर कंट्रोल है, बड़ौदा बैंक के एक डाइरेक्टर ने 68 लाख का ओवर ड्राफ्ट कर लिया । इस तरह की दूसरे बैंकों की शिकायतें भी हर वक्त आती रहती हैं । तो मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि प्लानिंग तब तक नहीं हो सकता जब तक कि जो उन प्लान्स को एग्जीक्यूट करने के रिसोरसेज हैं उन पर आपका कंट्रोल न हो । इस बजट में कोई ऐसी तजवीज नहीं है जिससे आप फारिन एक्सचेंज का मामला हल करने वाले हैं ।

मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि इसमें क्या दिक्कत है कि जिस जरिए से आपको ज्यादा से ज्यादा पैसा मिल सकता है यानी रूपी कंट्रीज से उस जरिए का आप इस्तेमाल क्यों नहीं करते । अगर जनरल इन्धोरेंस को नेशनलाइज कर दिया जाए तो 45 या 50 करोड़ का मुनाफा हो सकता है ।

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तो मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि बजट में जो हम यह उम्मीद करते थे कि बजट समाजवाद की तरफ ज्यादा जाएगा, वह चीज हमको बजट में नजर नहीं आयी, और आज भी मैं फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब से प्रार्थना करूंगी कि उसको थोड़ा सा ठीक करने की कोशिश करे ।

श्री जि० भंडल (खगरिया) : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो बजट सदन के सामने उपस्थित किया है उस का मैं समर्थन करता हूँ । यह बचत का बजट है, पर बचत का बजट बनाने के बावजूद उन्होंने घाटे की अर्थव्यवस्था को नहीं अपनाया है । और बिना घाटे की अर्थ व्यवस्था को अपनाए काफी सरप्लस दिखाया गया है ।

एक बात इस में जरूर है कि प्रत्यक्ष करों को जितनी छूट देनी चाहिये थी उस से अधिक छूट दी गयी है और अप्रत्यक्ष करों को कम छूट दी गयी है । अप्रत्यक्ष करों में 13 करोड़ की छूट दी है जब कि प्रत्यक्ष करों में 42 करोड़ की छूट दी है । जो उपभोक्ता सामग्रियां हैं उन पर अगर उत्पादन शुल्क में विशेष छूट दी जाती तो कीमतें कम होतीं और उपभोक्ताओं को राहत मिलती और जनसाधारण को विशेष राहत पहुंचती ।

आज देश में बिजली शहरों के अलावा देहातों में बहुत कम पहुंची है और उस की कम व्यवस्था हो पाई है । इसलिये जनसाधारण को किरासिन पर निर्भर रहना पड़ता है । करोड़ों भारतीय मिट्टी का तेल जलाते हैं, अपनी डिबरी या लालटेन जला कर झांपड़ी में उजाला करते हैं या उसे अपनी रसोई बनाने के काम में लाते हैं । वित्त मंत्री महोदय इस किरोसीन आयल पर से उत्पादन शुल्क अथवा जो भी इस पर टैक्स हो उसे यदि वे हटा लेते हैं तो इस से जनसाधारण को विशेष राहत अनुभव होगी । इसलिए अगर हमारे वित्त मंत्री वास्तव में चाहते हैं

[श्र. जि० मंडल]

कि जनसाधारण को फायदा हो तो उन्हें मिट्टी के तेल पर उत्पादन शुल्क या जो भी टैक्स हो उसे उठा लेना चाहिये ।

खाद्य समस्या आज देश के सामने विकट रूप में उपस्थित है । इस का क्या कारण है ? मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे देश में उपजाऊ जमीन की कोई कमी नहीं है लेकिन जो किसानों के पास साधन हैं वे बहुत बढ़िया साधन नहीं हैं । जिस तरह से कि एक युद्ध स्तर पर देश की रक्षा का काम करते हैं उसी युद्ध-स्तर पर मैं चाहूँगा कि सरकार यह कृषि उत्पादन का काम कराये । किसानों को कृषि के लिए सभी आवश्यक सुविधाएं सुलभ करें । सारे देश की उपजाऊ जमीन को चतुर्थ पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्दर सिंचाई के अन्तर्गत ले आइये । अगर सरकार सिर्फ सिंचाई का समुचित बंदोबस्त कर दे तो मैं समझता हूँ कि खाद्यान्न के मामले में बहुत अंशों में हम अपने को स्वावलम्बी बना सकेंगे । सिंचाई की समुचित व्यवस्था हो, सुधरे हुए और अच्छी किस्म के बीज किसानों को मिलें, उन्हें खेती के सुधरे भोजार और उर्वरक मिलें और बेसूद का कर्ज समय पर मिले । अगर यह सब प्रबन्ध हो जाये तो मैं समझता हूँ कि देश में कृषि उत्पादन में काफी वृद्धि हो सकती है । इस तरह से पांच वर्षों के असें में हम खाद्यान्न के मामले में स्वावलम्बी हो सकते हैं ।

शिक्षा के मामले में मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा देश बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ है । खास कर बिहार, जहाँ से कि मैं आता हूँ, वहाँ अभी भी शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में बहुत कुछ करना है । तीन, तीन पंचवर्षीय योजनायें समाप्त होने के बाद भी वहाँ पर 18 प्रतिशत साक्षरता हो पाई है । संविधान में यह निर्देश है कि कम से कम प्राइमरी शिक्षा निःशुल्क और अनिवार्य हो लेकिन स्वाधीनता प्राप्ति के इन 17 सालों के अन्दर हम अभी तक सारे देश में प्राइमरी स्तर तक की शिक्षा निःशुल्क

और अनिवार्य नहीं कर पाये हैं । अगर हम प्राइमरी शिक्षा को अनिवार्य नहीं कर सकते हैं तो हम ऊँची शिक्षा को निःशुल्क कहाँ तक कर सकते हैं ? इसलिये देश में शिक्षा के स्तर को बढ़ाने के लिये शिक्षा पद्धति और प्रणाली में आमूल-चूल परिवर्तन करना होगा । शिक्षा पद्धति में आमूल-चूल परिवर्तन होना चाहिए । राष्ट्रपति, प्रधान मंत्री और शिक्षा मंत्री सब इस बारे में एकमत हैं फिर मेरी समझ में यह नहीं आता कि ऐसा करने में क्या कठिनाई है ? जब देश के सारे के सारे कर्णधार इस को पसन्द करते हैं तो फिर इसे करने वाला और दूसरा कौन है ? उन्हें शिक्षा के मामले में यह आमूल-चूल परिवर्तन करना चाहिए ताकि शिक्षा के मामले में देश प्रगति कर सके । मेरा सुझाव है कि चतुर्थ पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत माध्यमिक स्तर तक की शिक्षा को निःशुल्क अवश्य किया जाये ।

आज हम देखते हैं कि हमारे स्कूल व कालिजों में आये दिन छुट्टियाँ होती रहती हैं जिस के कि कारण पढ़ाई ठीक से नहीं हो पाती है । सप्ताह में रविवार की छुट्टी, आधे दिन की शनिवार की छुट्टी और उस के ऊपर गजेटेड होलीडेज आती रहती हैं जिन के कि कारण पढ़ाई कम हो पाती है । इन छुट्टियों को कम करना चाहिये । इस के अतिरिक्त अभी बोर्ड तथा यूनिवरसिटी परीक्षाओं के लिए स्कूलों और कालिजों में सेंटर कर दिये जाते हैं जिस का कि नतीजा यह होता है कि जिस स्कूल व कालिज में परीक्षा का सेंटर होता है वहाँ के लड़के महीनों तक अपनी रेगुलर पढ़ाई से वंचित रहते हैं । इसलिए मेरा सुझाव है कि बोर्ड तथा यूनिवरसिटी परीक्षाओं के लिये स्कूल व कालिजों में सेंटर न हो कर अलग स्थान पर उन का सेंटर रक्खा जाय । परीक्षा केन्द्र का कहीं अलग भवन निर्माण का प्रबन्ध होना चाहिये । और किसी स्कूल व कालिज में परीक्षा लेने

का प्रबन्ध नहीं होना चाहिए। वह भवन ऐसे जगहों पर बनाये जायें जहाँ पर कि सभी स्कूल व कालिज वाले लड़के आसानी से परीक्षा दे सकें।

टैकनिकल शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे यहाँ टैकनीशियंस की बहुत कमी बतलाई जाती है लेकिन मैं उदाहरण दे कर नाम गिना सकता हूँ कि किस तरह से सैकड़ों टैकनीशियंस, परीक्षा पास करने के बाद भी एक, एक और दो, दो साल से बेकार बैठे हुए हैं और उन को सरकारी नौकरियाँ नहीं मिलती हैं। देश में काफी एक्सपर्ट्स बेकार बैठे हुए हैं, यह राष्ट्रीय क्षति है। सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट में इंजीनियरिंग पास शुद्ध लड़के सेन्ट्रल पूल में रजिस्ट्रेशन के लिए दरखास्त देते हैं तो साल, साल और नौ, नौ महीने तक उन को वहाँ से उत्तर तक नहीं प्राप्त होता है। और रजिस्ट्रेशन नहीं हो पाता। आप की यह इच्छा कि देश में नवयुवक टैकनिकल एजुकेशन प्राप्त करें, टैकनीशियंस देश में ज्यादा बनें, इंजीनियर्स ज्यादा बनें, यह तो ठीक है लेकिन इस के मानी यह तो नहीं होने चाहियें कि वे बेचारे बेकारी के शिकार हों।

अब मैं थोड़ा भाषा समस्या के बारे में चाहूँगा। “बहुजन हिताय” का सिद्धान्त ही भाषा समस्या का हल होना चाहिए। जिस तरह से आज जनतंत्र में हर एक चीज का निर्णय हम बहुमत के आधार पर और “बहुजन हिताय” के लिए करते हैं उसी तरह से भाषा समस्या का समाधान भी हमें करना चाहिए। लोकतन्त्र में सभी प्रश्नों का निर्णय “बहुजन हिताय” और बहुजन कल्याण के आधार पर होता है तो क्या कारण है कि भाषा का प्रश्न इस देश के एक प्रतिशत से भी कम व्यक्तियों के द्वारा ही उलझ कर रह जाय ? मैं चाहता हूँ कि अल्पमत के हितों का भी पूरा पूरा ध्यान रखा जाय। हम उन्हें साथ लेकर चलें, परन्तु इस का अर्थ यह नहीं है कि एक राष्ट्रीय महत्व के प्रश्न पर उन के हठ के कारण

गतिरोध उत्पन्न हो जाए। भारत जैसे देश की एकता के लिये सम्पर्क तथा राजभाषा अपेक्षित है और वह सम्पर्क एवं राजभाषा हिन्दी ही हो सकती है।

जब यहाँ संविधान सभा बैठी हुई थी, कांस्टीट्यूट असम्बली चलती थी तो देश के बड़े बड़े कर्णधार और नेता लोगों ने एक मत से सर्वसम्मति से हिन्दी को राजभाषा के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित करने की कोशिश की। जब हिन्दी को स्वीकार करने का वह निर्णय सर्व सम्मति से हो चुका है तब फिर इस सवाल को दुबारा क्यों उठाया जा रहा है ? इसलिये मैं आप के जरिए सरकार से अनुरोध करूँगा कि वह भाषा के बारे में किसी किस्म की कमजोरी न दिखाते हुए हिन्दी को केन्द्रीय सरकार के राजकाज में अविलम्ब लागू करे। अंग्रेजों की दासता से हम ने मुक्ति हासिल कर ली हम स्वाधीन बन गये लेकिन विदेशी भाषा की दासता और उस के मोह में हम अभी तक फंसे हुए हैं और तब तक हम अपना काम काज विदेशी भाषा के जरिए चलाते हैं हम अपने को पूर्ण रूप से स्वतन्त्र नहीं कह सकते हैं। यह हमारे देश के लिए एक कलंक की बात है शर्म की बात है कि विदेशी भाषा के द्वारा यहाँ का काम चले। जिस भाषा को देश के केवल 2 प्रतिशत लोग जानते हों और 98 प्रतिशत उसे न जानें, उस भाषा में यदि देश का काम काज चलता है तो वह लोकशाही का शासन तो नहीं कहला सकता है और ऐसा होना देश के लिए कलंक और शर्म की बात है।

पिछड़े वर्ग आयोग के प्रतिवेदन के विषय में मैं कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। संविधान के अनुच्छेद 340 के अन्तर्गत राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने एक पिछड़ा वर्ग आयोग काम किया था। उस ने सारे देश भर में घूम कर, दो ड़ाई वर्ष लगा कर और लाखों रुपया खर्च कर एक प्रतिवेदन तैयार किया और वह रिपोर्ट सरकार को और राष्ट्रपति को दी गई लेकिन वह रिपोर्ट खट्टाई में डाल दी गई है और उस की सिफा-

[श्री जि० मंडल]

रिश्तों पर किसी तरह का अमल नहीं हो रहा है जब कि देश में हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के अलावा 65 से 70 प्रतिशत तक अन्य पिछड़े हुए लोग हैं जो कि सामाजिक तौर पर और शैक्षणिक तौर पर पिछड़े हुए हैं। मैं आप के जरिए सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जो उस की परिभाषा है, कसौटी है, जो क्राइटेरिया है उस के आधार पर अमल करते हुए कल्याण अपेक्षित है। 340 धारा में यह लिखा हुआ है :

“The President may by order appoint a Commission consisting of such persons as he think fit to investigate the conditions of society and educationally backward classes within the territory of India and the difficulties under which they labour and to make recommendations as to the steps that should be taken by the Union or any State to remove such difficulties. . . .”

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्य अब समाप्त करें।

श्री जि० मंडल : बस मैं दो मिनट में खत्म किये देता हूँ। जिस तरह से शरीर के सब अंगों के स्वस्थ रहने पर ही हम स्वस्थ रहते हैं उसी तरह से समाज के यह जो पिछड़े वर्ग हैं, हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के अलावा 65 से 70 प्रतिशत तक अन्य पिछड़े हुए लोग हैं जो कि शैक्षणिक और सामाजिक तौर पर अन्य लोगों की अपेक्षा पिछड़े हुए हैं उन को ऊपर उठाने के लिये संविधान में निर्देश किया हुआ है। मैं केवल यही चाहूँगा कि सरकार संविधान के निर्देशों का पालन करे और उन्हें अमली रूप दे जिस से देश सबल हो। बस इतना ही कह कर मैं बैठ जाता हूँ।

श्री श्रीर्य (अलीगढ़) : आदरणीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आनन्द भवन में जन्म लेने वाली बालिका, पूरे संसार का भ्रमण करने के पश्चात संसार के सर्वोच्च सदन,

यू० एन० थ्रो०, में सर्वोच्च आसन ग्रहण करने के पश्चात भी समाजवाद की सद्भावना से सन्तुष्ट हो कर असमानता की दीवारों को ढाने के लिए आतुर है। ऐसी मानव समाज की सच्ची सेविका को हृदय से धन्यवाद दिये बगैर मैं आगे नहीं बढ़ सकता। माननीया पंडित विजय लक्ष्मी धन्यवाद की पात्र हैं।

दूसरी ओर गरीबी के अन्धकार में जन्म लेने वाला बालक, जिस ने जीवन भर शोषण की ज्वाला में मानवता को जलते हुए देखा, स्वयं भी जिसको शोषण का शिकार होना पड़ा, आज प्रधान मंत्री के आसन पर बैठ कर, समाजवाद की दीवारों की नींव रखने में भी असमर्थ है। ऐसे आदरणीय श्री लाल बहादुर जी पर मुझे तरस आता है।

समाजवाद क्या है ?—समता स्थापित करना और समता तभी स्थापित होगी, जब कि इस देश की पहाड़ियों को काट कर खाइयों में डाला जायेगा। बिना इस के समाजवाद की बात करना समाजवाद के नाम पर एक बहुत बड़ा षडयंत्र रचना है।

गणतंत्र भारत का मुनाफ़े का प्रथम बजट प्रस्तुत करने का श्रेय श्री टी० टी० कृष्णामाचारी जी को निस्सन्देह जाना ही चाहिए, लेकिन क्या मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय से अदब के साथ यह पूछ लूँ कि क्या यह मृग-तृष्णा नहीं है ? मैं इस मुनाफ़े के बजट को मृग-तृष्णा से ज्यादा नहीं समझता। राष्ट्र क्या है ? कुछ विशेष व्यक्ति राष्ट्र के अंग हो सकते हैं और हैं। कुछ पूंजीपति वर्ग के लोग भी राष्ट्र के अंग हैं। लेकिन इस देश की जो बहुसंख्यक जनता है, जो इस देश की 95 फ़ीसदी जनता है, उन करोड़ों-करोड़ गरीब लोगों को इस बजट से कोई भी लाभ नहीं पहुंचा है, न पहुंचेगा। जब यह इस तरह का बजट है, तो मैं इस को राष्ट्र के सिद्धांतों के विरुद्ध जाने वाला बजट समझता हूँ। यही कह कर मैं आगे बढ़ना चाहता हूँ।

यह बजट जादूगरी से कुछ कम नहीं है। मैं बहुत ही भ्रदब के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि साधारण व्यक्ति को इस से कोई राहत नहीं मिली है। यूनिवर्स एक्साइज ड्यूटी 1955-56 में 145 करोड़ रुपये थी और 1964-65 में वह 773 करोड़ रुपये हो गई। जो सुविधायें इस मद्दे में वित्त मंत्री जी ने दी हैं, वह छूट न के बराबर है। जूतों, साइकिल के पुर्जों, वनस्पति और कपड़े पर कुछ छूट दी गई है। उधर इस्पात की वस्तुओं और तांबे पर एक्साइज ड्यूटी बढ़ा दी गई है। इस का अर्थ यह है कि वित्त मंत्री ने एक हाथ से देकर दूसरे हाथ से छीन लिया है और एक हाथ से दे कर दूसरे हाथ से छीन लेना कोई गरीबों को राहत देने वाली बात नहीं कही जा सकती।

यह सरकार व्यापार सरकारी है, जो लेना तो याद रखती है, लेकिन देना याद नहीं रखती है। साधारण व्यक्ति के रोजाना के जीवन में काम में आने वाली लगभग सभी वस्तुओं पर कोई छूट नहीं दी गई है। मिट्टी का तेल, चीनी, दियासलाई, चाय, काफी, साबुन, तम्बाकू, ऊनी कपड़े इत्यादि बहुत सी ऐसी चीजें हैं, जो गरीब आममी रोजाना के जीवन में इस्तेमाल करता है। उन पर कोई भी छूट न दे कर भी अगर इस बजट के बारे में यह कहा जाये कि यह जनता के हित में है, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि वह सत्यता नहीं होगी।

जिन अनिवार्य वस्तुओं के बिना गरीब इन्सान जीवित नहीं रह सकता, उनके दाम बंध नहीं पा रहे हैं। आज भी उन में फ्लक्टु-एशन है, कल भी था और इस बजट के कारण भविष्य में भी रहेगा, इस से वित्त मंत्री मुनकर नहीं हो सकते। जो रोजाना काम आने वाली चीजें हैं, जिन अनिवार्य वस्तुओं को देश के नागरिकों को बरीर दिये हुए लोकशाही को जीवित नहीं रखा जा सकता, उन के दाम भी बंध नहीं पा रहे हैं।

कज श्री भगत ने इस बारे में जो दलीलें दी हैं, वे मेरी समझ में नहीं आती हैं। अगर कोई माली एक पेड़ लगाए और हर समय—यन्द्रह बरस के बाद भी—यही कहता रहे कि यह और किनो चीज का पेड़ नहीं है, आम का पेड़ है और उस पर एक भी आम नजर न आए, तो मैं ऐसे माली को क्या कहूँ? योजनाओं के नाम पर उन्होंने जो पेड़ लगाया है, आज उस से कोई फल आता हुआ नजर नहीं आता है और अगर आता है, तो कुछ विशेष व्यक्तियों को ही उस का लाभ पहुंचता है।

राहत मिली है किन को? राहत मिली है मध्यम वर्ग को। इनकम टैक्स में कुछ छूट दे कर और कपड़े, वनस्पति, जूतों तथा साइकिल के पुर्जों पर छूट दे कर मध्यम वर्ग को इस से राहत मिली है। मध्यम वर्ग के अतिरिक्त पूंजीपतियों को भी राहत मिली है। सुपर टैक्स को इनकम टैक्स में शामिल कर के, वेल्थ टैक्स की सीमा निर्धारित कर के और अधिक इनकम टैक्स देने वालों को छूट दे कर पूंजीपति वर्ग को इस बजट के द्वारा बहुत ज्यादा राहत दी गई है। आदरणीय पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू के स्वयं अपने शब्दों में—“वह इस देश के प्रधान मंत्री थे—“इन योजनाओं का परिणाम यह हुआ है कि गरीब और गरीब हुआ है और अमीर और ज्यादा अमीर हुआ है।” जब यह सत्य था और सत्य है, तो फिर क्या मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से यह पूछ सकता हूँ कि जो लोग ज्यादा कमाने वाले हैं, उन को इनकम टैक्स की छूट क्यों दी गई है और जो कम्पनियां ज्यादा कमाने वाली हैं, उन के सुपर टैक्स को इनकम टैक्स में शामिल कर के उन को छूट क्यों दी गई है। इस का कोई भी उत्तर वित्त मंत्री नहीं दे सकते हैं। उन का यह बजट आदरणीय पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू की विचार-धारा के विपरीत जा कर गरीब को और गरीब बनायेगा और अमीर को और ज्यादा अमीर बनायेगा

[श्र. मी.यं]

और असमानता की दीवारों को और ज्यादा बढ़ाता चला जायेगा।

इस बजट से बहुत बड़े उद्योगपतियों को, बहुत बड़ी स्थापित, एस्टाब्लिशड कम्पनियों को और कुछ नये वर्गों को विशेष राहत मिली है, लेकिन श्रीमन, इस बजट से शोषित, गरीब, बेसहारा, मजलूम और नातवां को, छोटे किसान, मजदूर और प्राइमरी स्कूल के टीचर को, सिपाही को, चपरासी को कोई राहत नहीं मिली है। जब यह बात सत्य है कि उन को कोई राहत नहीं मिली है, तब फिर इस बजट का विरोध करना मेरा कर्तव्य हो जाता है।

आज भी करोड़ों इन्सान भूखे मरते हैं, आज भी करोड़ों इन्सान खानाबदोश हैं, आज भी करोड़ों इन्सान नंगे फिरते हैं, यहां तक कि लखों इन्सान ऐसे हैं, जो मरते हैं और उन के मुर्दे भी बगैर कफन के जला दिये जाते हैं। ऐसे लोगों को इस बजट से कोई राहत नहीं मिली है।

जहां तक पर्सनल टैक्सेशन का सवाल है, मैं यही कहना चाहता हूं कि पर्सनल टैक्सेशन में जो छूट इस बजट के द्वारा दी गई है, वह गणतंत्र भारत के इतिहास में एक अद्वितीय घटना है। मैं इस छूट को भी कोई मुनासिब छूट नहीं समझता हूं। इनकम टैक्स व्यवस्था को सरल बनाने के पर्दे में अधिक कमाने वालों को लाभ पहुंचाया गया है। व्यवस्था के नाम पर प्रगति को रोका जा रहा है। एक तरफ तो कहा जाता है कि इनकम टैक्स की व्यवस्था बड़ी काम्पलीकेटिड है और दूसरी तरफ इसी व्यवस्था के प्रश्न को ले कर प्रगति को रोका जा रहा है और कुछ विशेष व्यक्तियों को ज्यादा लाभ पहुंचाया जा रहा है।

वर्ष में दो हजार से तीन हजार रुपये तक कमाने वाले अविवाहित पुरुषों और स्त्रियों के साथ भी इस बजट में नाइन्साफी बरती गई है।

आज प्रदेश जो डेफिसिट बजट, घाटे के बजट, पेश कर रहे हैं, वे भी एक बहुत बड़े संकट के सूचक हैं। विशेष कर पश्चिमी बंगाल ने 17.83 करोड़, उत्तर प्रदेश ने 14.91 करोड़ और बिहार ने 38.94 करोड़ रुपये के घाटे के बजट दिये हैं। एक ओर तो प्लानिंग कमीशन के सामने प्रदेशों ने इस बात का विश्वास दिलाया था कि वे ज्यादा से ज्यादा शक्ति लगायेंगे, ताकि उन को घाटे के बजट न बनाने पड़ें और दूसरी ओर प्रदेश घाटे के बजट दे रहे हैं। क्या इस से केन्द्र को संकट पैदा नहीं होगा? मैं चाहूंगा कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय इस बारे में भी स्थिति को साफ करें।

केन्द्र की ओर से प्रदेशों को जो सहायता दी जाती है, वह पहली योजना में 30 फ्रीसदी थी, दूसरी पंच-वर्षीय योजना में वह 50 फ्रीसदी हो गई और तीसरी पंच-वर्षीय योजना में 65 फ्रीसदी से 66 फ्रीसदी तक हो जाने का भय है। क्या इस से संकट पैदा नहीं होगा? वित्त मंत्री महोदय इस के बारे में भी अपने विचार बतायें।

जहां तक विदेशी कर्ज का सवाल है, मैं केवल यह कहना चाहता हूं कि विदेशों के कर्ज का ब्याज भारत ने देना शुरू किया है। आगामी वर्षों में उस की राशि बढ़ती ही जायेगी। 1960-61 में ब्याज में—मैं ब्याज कह रहा हूं, मूल नहीं—49.9 करोड़ रुपये और 1964-65 में 140 करोड़ रुपये दिए गए। मूल की बात छोड़ दीजिए। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि अमरीका या अन्य किसी देश के कर्ज को आधार बना कर बजट को बनाना बुद्धिमानी नहीं कही जा सकती। लगभग 2,200 करोड़ रुपये का कर्जा लिया जा चुका है और अकेले अमरीका से ही अब तक 6 बिलियन डालर अर्थात् 2,800 करोड़ रुपये की सहायता अनुदान और कर्ज के रूप में

ली जा चुकी है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तरह से हम अपने देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था को मजबूत नहीं बना रहे हैं, बल्कि हम एक ऐसी नींव रख रहे हैं या ऐसी दीवार बना रहे हैं, जिस में कोई सार नहीं है।

जहां तक काले बाजार के रुपये का सवाल है, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वक्तन-क़वक्तन आश्वासन दिये जाते हैं और तरह तरह की घोषणायें की जाती हैं कि जो लोग मई के अन्त तक काले बाजार के धन को बाहर लायेंगे, उन को 40 फ़ीसदी क्रेडिट मिल जायेगा—मई के अन्त तक 60 और 40 की दर रखी गई है और जो लोग मार्च के अन्त तक रुपया जमा करायेंगे, उन को 43 फ़ीसदी क्रेडिट मिल जायेगा, अर्थात् 31 मार्च के अन्त तक 57 और 43 की दर रखी गई है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह सरकारों का रूप नहीं है, यह बनिये का रूप है। सरकार को सरकार का रूप ले कर देखना चाहिए कि इन लोगों ने चोरी की है और जब इन्होंने चोरी की है, तो हम को उन के खिलाफ़ सख्त कदम उठाने चाहियें।

इस प्रकार की योजना उस वक्त भी लागू की गई थी, जब श्री त्यागी फिनांस मिनिस्ट्री के मिनिस्टर आफ़ स्टेट थे और उससे केवल 23 करोड़ रुपया बाहर आया था। मैं उस का भी जवाब चाहूंगा। लगभग 3,800 करोड़ रुपया काले बाजार में है। इस में से कितना धन आप बाहर निकालेंगे, इसका कोई भी अनुमान बजट में नहीं दिया गया है। इस प्रकार की ढील की जो नीति है, ईमानदार व्यापारियों को भी बेईमानी के लिए प्रेरित करती है, उन को भी बेईमानी करने की प्रेरणा देती है। इस तरह की ढील की नीति को न अपनाया जाय।

गल्ले की जख़ीराबाज़ी के बारे में भी आदरणीय प्रधान मंत्री श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री ने घोषणा की थी कि एक हफ्ते के अन्दर अन्दर तमाम गल्ला बाहर निकल

आना चाहिये। आदरणीय प्रधान मंत्री जी जानते होंगे कि जख़ीराबाज़ी ने कितना गल्ला बाहर निकाला। मेरा कहना तो यह है कि इस तरह से काले बाजार का पैसा बाहर नहीं निकलेगा बल्कि काले बाजार का पैसा और भी बढ़ेगा और वह बढ़ रहा है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : अब आप खत्म करें।

श्री मौर्य : अभी तो दस मिनट भी पूरे नहीं हुए हैं।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : आपकी पार्टी का समय सात मिनट है और आप दस मिनट ले चुके हैं। अब दो तीन मिनट में आप खत्म करें।

श्री मौर्य : मैं बहस नहीं करना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन मैथेमेटिक्स मैं भी जानता हूँ। अगर अंकन किया जाय तो आपको पता चलेगा कि कितने ही विषय हैं जिन पर हम नहीं बोलते हैं, मेरी पार्टी का कोई भी माननीय सदस्य नहीं बोलता है। उस समय को भी जोड़ा जाना चाहिए। कितना हम बोलते हैं, कितना नहीं बोलते हैं इसका भी ध्यान रखा जाना चाहिये।

मैं यह कह रहा था कि काले बाजार का पैसा बढ़ रहा है। चमन लाल भी एक हैं और उनके बारे में रिपोर्ट मेरे पास है। उन्होंने चार पांच कम्पनियां स्थापित की हैं।

1. Chamanlal & Bros.
2. Chamanlal (Overseas) Ltd.
3. Steel (1957) Pvt. Limited.
4. Sumara Pvt. Limited.
5. Barter (India) Pvt. Limited.
6. Aryavart Export Corporation.

उन्होंने जरी की चीज़ों को बाहर भेजा और उनके ज्यादा दाम रखे। कहां ये चीज़ें बिकी अभी तक इस का कोई आंकड़ा नहीं दिया गया है। दुनिया के किस बाजार में इन को

[श्री मोयं]

बेचा गया इस का कुछ पता नहीं है। ये किसी भी बाजार में नहीं बिकीं। बल्कि ऐसा लगता है कि ये चीजें भारत से गई और उन को हांगकांग या सिंगापुर के नजदीक जा कर समुद्र में डुबो दिया गया। इसके बदले में उन्होंने इम्पोर्ट करने का लाइसेंस ले लिया जिस को अढ़ाई सौ परसेंट से ले कर तीन सौ परसेंट ज्यादा प्राप्त कर के ब्लैक में बेच दिया। इन सब के आंकड़े यहां पर हैं। मैंने यह एक मिसाल दी है। इस से पता चलता है कि ब्लैक का पैसा बढ़ता चला जायगा। इस तरह से ब्लैक का पैसा रुकेगा नहीं।

गोल्ड कंट्रोल आर्डर के बारे में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि श्री मुरारजी देसाई ने बहुत कुछ कहा था कि इतना सोना बाहर निकलेगा किन्तु केवल 8.6 करोड़ रुपये का सोना ही बाहर निकला था। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि किस तरह से आप सोने को बाहर निकालेंगे। जो व्यवस्था आज है उस से तो सोने के स्मगलिंग को ही बढ़ावा मिल रहा है। इस से तो स्मगलिंग बढ़ेगा ही। इसका कारण यह है कि वही लोग जिन के पास काले बाजार का पैसा है विदेशों से सोने को स्मगल करेंगे, इस मुल्क में लायेंगे और फिर सोने के बांडूज खरीदेंगे। इस तरह से वे अपने पैसे को अधिक से अधिक मात्रा में ब्लैक मनी से व्हाइट मनी में बदल लेंगे और ज्यादा से ज्यादा फायदा उठावेंगे।

शहरों में जो प्रापर्टीज हैं उन पर जो टैक्स लगा है, उस का मैं स्वागत करता हूं। यह बहुत अच्छी बिचारधारा है। जो छूट दी गई है पूंजीपतियों को, करोड़पतियों को, बड़े बड़े व्यापारियों को कम्पनियों के नाम पर, उससे व नाजायज फायदा उठावेंगे। कम्पनियों को छूट नहीं दी जानी चाहिये। यह भी देखना चाहिए हमारे गृह मंत्री, हमारे वित्त मंत्री तथा हमारे आवास मंत्री श्री अण्णा साहब को, कि कहीं इस टैक्स के द्वारा

जोकि अर्बन प्रापर्टीज पर लगेगा, मध्यम वर्ग के आदमों, छोटे व्यापारों, छोटे आदमों जो दूसरों के मकानों को किराये पर ले कर रहते हैं, उन किरायों में वृद्धि न हो जायें, उन के दाम बढ़ न जायें। यह देखना बहुत जरूरी था। यह जो बलिदान है यह कहीं अभिगाप सिद्ध न हो।

खाद्य संकट से कोई इन्कार नहीं कर सकता है। स्वयं एक समझदार आदमी ने अपने शब्दों में इस को कई बार स्वीकार किया है। लेकिन खाद्य संकट कहने मात्र से नहीं मिट सकता है, इस सबन में बड़े बड़े लैक्चर देने से नहीं मिट सकता है। जब तक जमीन उन आदमियों को नहीं दी जायगी जो आदमी खुद हल चलाते हैं, तब तक देश का प्रोडक्शन नहीं बढ़ सकता है, उपज नहीं बढ़ सकती है और जब उपज नहीं बढ़ेगी तब यह संकट दूर कैसे होगा। इस वास्ते उनको जमीन देना बहुत आवश्यक है जो स्वयं हल चलाते हैं।

कमर तोड़ महंगाई, भ्रष्टाचार, बेकारी ये तमाम जो समस्यायें मुंह बाये खड़ी हैं, ये देश के लिए आगे चल कर बहुत दुखदायी सिद्ध हो सकती हैं। इन को भी आप को हल करना है।

आज संकटकालीन व्यवस्था का मजाक उड़ाया जा रहा है। डी० आई० आर० के नाम पर आज देश की रक्षा नहीं की जा रही है बल्कि कांग्रेस पार्टी की रक्षा की जा रही है। डी० आई० आर० के नाम पर एक गलत रवैया अपनाया जा रहा है, गलत नीति बरती जा रही है। ऐसा कर के हम आने वाली पीढ़ियों को लोकशाही का सबक नहीं सिखा रहे हैं बल्कि तानाशाही का सबक सिखा रहे हैं।

भाषा के बारे में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि यहां पर बहुत भ्रम पैदा करने की कोशिश की जाती है। प्रधान मंत्री तथा

दूसरे कांग्रेस के उच्च नेता कहते हैं कि जनता समझ नहीं पाई है। मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब कैबिनेट के अन्दर खुद भ्रम हो, कैबिनेट के मिनिस्टर भाषा के प्रश्न को लेकर इस्तीफा दें तो भ्रम कैबिनेट में हुआ या कैबिनेट के बाहर हुआ? कैबिनेट में खुद भ्रम है, कांग्रेस के उच्च नेताओं में खुद भ्रम है। वहाँ से अगर भ्रम निकल जाए तो सभी जगह से भ्रम निकल सकता है। कांग्रेस नेताओं में से भाषा के प्रश्न पर जो भ्रम है वह निकल जाय तो मेरा पूरा विश्वास है कि देश से भ्रम दूर हो जायगा। विरोधी दलों में कोई भ्रम नहीं है। हिन्दी राष्ट्रभाषा बन चुकी है, देश की भाषा बन चुकी है और वह रहेगी, इस बारे में कोई भ्रम नहीं होना चाहिये। इस को डंडेबाजी से, खतरेबाजी से या तमगेबाजी से, इस्तीफों से, या षडयंत्र रच कर नहीं मिटाया जा सकता है, इस को खत्म नहीं किया जा सकता है। अगर कोई चाहे तो शक्ति का उत्तर शक्ति से भी दिया जा सकता है। हिन्दी भाषी लोग इस तरह की बातों का जवाब बड़ी मजबूती के साथ दे सकते हैं। लेकिन हम नहीं चाहते कि यहाँ पर लोकशाही कुछ उलझन में पड़े, उसको खतरा पैदा हो।

अन्त में मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इस देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था को मजबूत करना है, देश की इकोनोमी को मजबूत बनाना है, तो वित्त मंत्री जो अब आ गए हैं, उन से मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, कि बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाय। जो स्मगलिंग हो रहा है इस को आप रोकें। खड़ीराबाजी को आप रोकें। जनरल इन्श्योरेंस जो है उसका भी नेशनलाइज़ेशन किया जाय। विदेशों से जो तिजारत करने का काम है, वह भी नेशनलाइज़ किया जाय। लाइफ इन्श्योरेंस को मध्यमवर्ग के लिये अनिवार्य किया जाय। जब तक हम यह सब नहीं करते हैं तब तक देश की इकोनोमी को हम मजबूत नहीं बना सकेंगे। साथ ही साथ जब तक जमीनें उन

इंसानों के हाथ में नहीं जायेंगी जो इंसान हल चलाते हैं तब तक देश की उपज नहीं बढ़ेगी।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बजट का विरोध करता हूँ और एक शेर कह कर समाप्त करता हूँ :

यह आज़ादी है या कैदे महन है
बहरों का है दिन बीराने चमन है
गलत है, है गरीबों को हुकूमत
यह सरमाया परसतों का वतन है ॥

Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj (Wardha):
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to correct an erroneous statement in the speech delivered on the General Budget of the hon. lady member Shrimati Renu Chakravartty belonging to the Rightist Communist Party which was fortunately or unfortunately left out in Kerala. She had said while speaking on the general budget here the other day that I spoke in the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industries that donations should not be given to any political parties, etc. etc. I had not said anything of the kind. Not only that I was not attending the session of the Federation at all this year. I was not even in Delhi. A report had appeared in the press in my name erroneously. Error was only in one paper. Six other papers had rightly reported the speaker who had spoken. Even then the hon. lady member just went on to mention my name in the House. The same paper afterwards corrected it and regretted the erroneous mention of the name which had appeared.

Further she ironically cut a very unkind remark that the cat is out of the bag. I only say that you know who is the cat and what is the bag and where is the bag. I would not say out of politeness that the bag contains falsehood or lies, but at least erroneous reports or inaccuracies.

[Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj]

I would further request you—if you consider it rather appropriate you may convey it to the Speaker—that any reference made whether good or bad in the House about any member, may be circulated to the member because sometimes members are not present. It was because of a kind friend that I came to know this and as of her speech was reported in the press. I noticed that this erroneous remark was made against me in the House. If you would consider my request that along with the speeches and other things, if any remark is made, whether good or bad, about any member, that reference should also be sent to the member concerned, I think that would be a good thing.

Shri Rameshwar Tantia (Sikar): After this explanation, will you consider the question of expunging those remarks?

The Minister of Rehabilitation (Shri Tyagi): You must thank your stars that she took notice of you.

Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj: My stars are better.

श्री कमल सिंह (भारगवा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो बजट सन 1965-66 का पेश किया गया है वह बजट बहुत बड़ा बजट है। आज तक कभी भी इतना बड़ा बजट पेश नहीं किया गया। एक समय था जब कि भारतवर्ष का बजट 200 या 400 करोड़ रु० का हुआ करता था, आज वहीं बजट 2300 करोड़ रु० का है। यह बात आपको मालूम है कि हमारा भारतवर्ष एक गरीब मुल्क है। उसकी स्थिति ऐसी नहीं है कि हम इतना खर्च कर सकें और इतना टैक्स बर्दाश्त कर सकें। लेकिन जब पिछला चीन का हमला हुआ तब हमें अपनी सुरक्षा के लिये काफी रुपया लगाने की जरूरत पड़ी और सन 1962-63 में हम को उस का बजट बढ़ाना पड़ा।

हमारा देश कृषि प्रधान देश है। उसकी अर्थ व्यवस्था कृषि पर मुह्सर है। हमारे देश की टोटल नेशनल इनकम करीब पन्द्रह बीस हजार करोड़ रुपया है। इस में से करीब नौ दस हजार करोड़ रुपये की ग्रामदनी एग्रिकल्चर से होती है। लेकिन इस एग्रिकल्चर की हालत बहुत ही शोचनीय है। एक समय था जब कि हमारे भारतवर्ष में गल्ले की, घी की, दूध की और तेल की कमी नहीं थी। मैं आपको बतलाऊं कि सन् 1929 में जब स्लम्प आया तो उस वक्त 2 रु० मन गल्ला बिका, 7 रु० मन चीनी, 3 रु० मन गुड़ और 7 रु० मन लोहा बिका। इतनी बहुतायत हर चीज की थी। लेकिन दूसरी लड़ाई के दौरान में तमाम जखीरा खत्म हो गया। आपको मालूम होगा कि भारतवर्ष में हर गांव में और हर मंडी में सकड़ों, हजारों खतियां हुआ करती थीं। उस वक्त विदेशों से गल्ला नहीं आता था। यह बात ठीक है कि पिछली लड़ाई के बाद जब गेहूं एक रुपये का चार सेर बिका तब हमारे देश में रायट्स हो गये, लूट मार हो गई। लेकिन आज जब अनाज 40 रु०, 60 रु० मन बिका तब लोगों ने उसे बर्दाश्त किया। इस वास्ते ऐसा किया कि लोगों की ग्रामदनी बढ़ गई है, लोगों के पास ब्लैक मनी काफी है। मजदूरों की मजदूरी बढ़ गई है, और उन्होंने इसको बर्दाश्त किया। लेकिन इससे पेशतर सन 1945-46 में जब बंगाल में मुस्लिम लीग की मिनिस्ट्री थी उस वक्त गल्ला होते हुए भी 35 लाख आदमी मर गये थे।

आज हमारे देश में गल्ले की कमी नहीं थी, लेकिन वितरण की दुर्व्यवस्था थी जिसकी वजह से अभाव की स्थिति पैदा हो गई। अगर जोन्स और कंट्रोल्स न होते, रेस्ट्रिक्शन्स न होते तो यह हालत नहीं होती। आज प्राइसेज शूट कर रही हैं गल्ले का अभाव काफी बढ़ गया है, खस तौर से गेहूं

एक स्टेट में 80 रु० मन बिकता है, दूसरे में 40 रु० मन बिकता है, तीसरे में वही 35 रु० मन बिकता है। इसका खास कारण हमारे जोन्स, कंट्रोल और रेस्ट्रिक्शन्स हैं। इसी वजह से काफी स्मगलिंग होती है और दूसरी खराबियां पैदा होती हैं। एक एक ट्रक सामान पर हजारों रुपये रिश्वत के दिये जाते हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं पिछले कई महीनों से कह रहा हूँ कि हमको गल्ले पर से और चीनी पर से कंट्रोल हटा देना चाहिये क्योंकि इससे अननैचुरल तेजी होती है। अगर कंट्रोल और जोन्स न होते तो आज जो हालत शूटिंग प्राइसेज की है या जो गल्ले की कमी दिखाई पड़ती है वह न होती।

मिसाल के तौर पर मैं आपको बतलाऊँ पिछली खरीफ की फसल में यू० पी० में फसल अच्छी हुई, लेकिन यू० पी० गवर्नमेंट ने जिले जिले में कंट्रोल लगा दिया। एक जिले में मक्का बिकी 13 रु० मन और दूसरे जिले में बिकी 30 रु० मन। यह ऐसा तरीका निकला कंट्रोल का और रेस्ट्रिक्शन्स का जिसकी वजह से जनता में त्राहि त्राहि मच गई और अनाज के भाव बहुत बढ़ गये। जब कंट्रोल हटा तो हम ने देखा कि गल्ला मंडियों में आ गया और बिकने लगा। इसलिये वित्त मंत्री महोदय से और दूसरे मंत्रियों से मेरा कहना यह है कि यह देश बहुत बड़ा है। यहां पर कंट्रोल कामयाब नहीं हो सकता है। अगर कोई छोटा सा मुल्क हो तो वहां कामयाब हो सकता है। इंग्लैंड में उसे लगाया गया तो वह कामयाब हो गया, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान में, जहां पर 44 करोड़ आदमी रहते हैं, कंट्रोल लगाना बहुत घातक और गलत है। मैं चाहूंगा कि ऋषि से शीघ्र कंट्रोल को हटाया जाय। अगर आने वाली रबी की फसल पर कंट्रोल लगाया गया तो फिर पुरानी हालत पैदा हो सकती है जिसे हम अभी देख चुके हैं।

इसके अलावा हम देखते हैं कि हमारे देश में लालसेनस ग्रयवा अराजकता काफी बढ़ गई है। अभी हमने देखा कि कीरों कांड हुआ। दिन दहाड़े उनकी हत्या की गई। हम देखते हैं कि देहातों में डाके पड़ते हैं, रहजनी होती है। आज से दस, पन्द्रह साल पहले ऐसी हालत नहीं थी। आज बड़ा आवश्यक है कि इसको रोका जाये। मैं आपको मिसाल के तौर पर बतलाऊँ कि अभी फरवरी की 21 तारीख को जब मैं दिल्ली से आगरे जा रहा था तब रात के लगभग डेढ़ बजे मेरी मोटर को रोकने की कोशिश की गई। रास्ते में लोगों ने ड्रम लगा दिया और लाठियां बरसाने की कोशिश की। लेकिन इतिफाक से मैं निकल गया। मैं ने बेरियर पर इसकी रिपोर्ट की लेकिन उन्होंने सुना तक नहीं। बाद में मैं ने पंजाब के मुख्य मंत्री और होम मिनिस्टर को लिखा। नन्दा जी से भी कहा। आज एक महीना दस दिन होने को आये लेकिन अभी तक उसका उत्तर नहीं मिला। इस तरह की बातें काफी अहितकर होती हैं क्यंकि इसके कारण बड़ा आतंक फैलता है और करप्शन भी होता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसे मामलों में हमारी स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स को और सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को काफी सतर्क रहना चाहिये।

इस सब का कारण यह है कि हम अपना कर्तव्य नहीं उभारते हैं। हमारे लोग यह नहीं जानते हैं कि नागरिकों का कर्तव्य क्या है। हमें स्वतन्त्र हुए आज सत्रह वर्ष हो गये हैं लेकिन हमारी आम जनता यह नहीं समझती है कि उसके नागरिक अधिकार और कर्तव्य क्या हैं। हमारी स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स को और सेंट्र को इस बात का काफी प्रकाशन करना चाहिये और बतलाना चाहिये कि एक स्वतन्त्र देश के नागरिक के अधिकार और कर्तव्य क्या होते हैं। इसको अच्छी तरह से समझाना चाहिये। हम देखते हैं कि यहां हाउस में हम तो अपने ऊपर नियंत्रण रखते हैं लेकिन अपोजीशन वाले हर समय

[श्री अचल सिंह]

गड़बड़ करते हैं और ऐसी चीजें करते हैं जो कि नहीं होनी चाहियें । इस बात की बड़ी आवश्यकता है कि हम अपने देश में नागरिक अधिकारों और कर्तव्यों का काफी प्रचार करें ।

आज हमारा नैतिक स्तर भी बहुत गिर गया है । आज से सत्तरह वर्ष पेशतर हमारा यह खयाल था कि जब हमारा देश आजाद हो जायेगा, तो हमारे देश में जनता को राहत मिलेगी लेकिन हमें दुःख है कि आज हमारे देश में महात्मा गांधी नहीं हैं । वह चाहते थे कि हमारे देश में राम राज्य बने । और वह होता भी, लेकिन वह हमारे बीच में से हटा लिये गये । आज अगर महात्मा जी हमारे बीच में होते तो हमारे देश की तस्वीर कुछ और ही होती । हमारे देश में आज जो भ्रष्टाचार फैला हुआ है उसके लिये श्री नन्दा ने बड़ी कोशिश की है । सन्तानम समिति ने भी अपनी रिपोर्ट दी है । इस सम्बन्ध में बहुत कुछ किया गया है । इस सम्बन्ध में मैं ने श्री मोरारजी देसाई और दूसरे लोगों से बात की है । उनका कहना था कि जनता को इसमें बहुत कुछ करना चाहिये । ठीक है, जनता को करना चाहिये । मैं चाहूंगा कि जनता को इस बात की जानकारी हो । उसके कर्तव्य उसे बतलाये जाने चाहिये । उसको बतलाया जाना चाहिये कि यह चीजें देश के लिये बड़ी घातक हैं । अगर हमारा नैतिक स्तर गिर गया तो चाइना से और पाकिस्तान से लोग मिल कर हमें काफी नुकसान पहुंचा सकते हैं । उनको हमारे यहां की खबरें दे सकते हैं और माल का स्मगलिंग कर सकते हैं ।

आज हमारे देश की जो पर कंपिटि इनकम है उसे कोई 200 रु० बतलाता है, कोई 250 रु० बतलाता है और कोई 300 रु० बतलाता है । हमारे यहां आज टैक्स 2,200 करोड़ का लगाया गया है । फी आदमी पर

40 या 45 रु० टैक्स पड़ता है । गरीब देश में इतना टैक्स होना बहुत नामुनासिब है । मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि टैक्सों में जो राहत दी गई है वह नहीं के बराबर है, खास तौर से कपड़े के ऊपर । कपड़े पर 50 परसेंट की एक्साइज में कमी की गई है लेकिन बाजार में कपड़े के दाम घटने के बजाय बढ़ गये हैं । इसमें मिल मालिकों की गड़बड़ी है । इसकी तरफ पूरी देख-भाल नहीं है । इसकी देखभाल होनी चाहिये और ऐसे लोगों के खिलाफ आपको ऐक्शन लेना चाहिये ताकि जनता को सस्ता कपड़ा मिल सके ।

जहां तक प्लैनिंग का सवाल है, मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी खाद्य समस्या के लिये प्लैनिंग ठीक से नहीं हुई । मैं ने कई दफे वाइस चेअरमैन साहब को लिखा, प्रधान मंत्री को लिखा, कि हमारी कृषि प्लैनिंग ठीक तरह से होनी चाहिये क्योंकि गल्ले की कमी की वजह से हमारे यहां काम गड़बड़ होता है । पहले भी गड़बड़ चलती थी और आज जब हम करोड़ों रुपयों का माल बाहर से ले रहे हैं तब भी हम अपना काम पूरा नहीं कर पा रहे हैं । मैं आशा करता हूं कि इस सम्बन्ध में वित्त मंत्री जी और प्लैनिंग अधिकारी अच्छी व्यवस्था करेंगे ताकि हमारे देश में गल्ला हो । गल्ला देश में तभी अच्छा हो सकता है जब कि उन लोगों को जो काफ़तकार हैं अच्छा बीज, पानी, खाद सब तरह की राहत मिले । इसी तरह से जो समस्या आज बड़ी कठिन है मैं समझता हूं कि सुलझ सकती है ।

Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Burdwan):
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I think Mrs. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit deserves our felicitations for the very cogent and critical speech which she made on the budget. Anything coming from her is entitled to our consideration and respect especially having

regard to her unique public service both in India and abroad. She mentioned one thing which is correct, that socialism is being used as a slogan and the Government is speaking with two minds, and actually there is compromise with socialism at all levels. The budget also depicts that feature.

I was trying to find out what the special features of Shri Krishnāmachari's budget were. The first thing I thought was that it was good and it deserved attention. There was a real attempt to reduce inflation and also to generate resources, increase production and also increase exports and to have a rational tax policy. He has produced a balanced budget showing a revenue surplus. But we are distressed when an expert says that although it is ostensibly a surplus budget of Rs. 10 crores, it is really a deficit budget of Rs. 181 crores, because Rs. 191 crores of borrowing come from PL 480 Fund. There is no doubt whatever that the net drawal from PL 480 fund like this will have an inflationary effect. It is therefore a dangerous thing and might prove on the whole disastrous. I would like the Finance Minister to clear it up, if it is really so and if it really is on the paper a surplus budget and whether it is correct to say that there is a deficit of so many crores—Rs. 181 crores.

Then, Sir, the other important thing that he has promised is the tax credits. But I would like to emphasise that the new system of tax credit should not be defeated by too many checks and balances, and that is very important. Tax credit is good as an incentive but this should supplement and not supplant present incentives which are in operation.

There is one other thing, Sir, which I want to point out, and it is this, that we want real curbs on wastage and public expenditure. I think the hon. Minister is making some attempt

to that effect but we want to know what will be the real reduction and how far he wants to combat those unfortunate tendencies in regard to wastage of public funds. The investment market is really in a bad state. I am told, Sir, by Mr. Palkhiwala who is one of the best experts on this subject—I do not agree with him on every point—that the Labour Government in U.K. is now going to put 35 per cent or 37 per cent as the maximum corporation tax. Cannot we have some kind of ceiling and be done with it so that there may not be perpetual trouble created in the private sector? The hon. Minister is continuously subjected to all sorts of pressure.

But, Sir, honestly I feel that the budget discussion is to some extent unreal having regard to what happened yesterday through the Presidential Proclamation which completely liquidated democracy. In an important State of our country, namely, Kerala, this Government ordered a general election where not lakhs but millions of rupees were spent and they elected M.L.As. This Government has not given a chance to those elected M.L.A's to function as a legislature or to form the administration. They are throttling democracy and liquidating all sorts of civil liberties and civil rights. This is reducing democracy to a mockery. We, the elected Members of the people returned on adult franchise, are voting the grants for our Government. But what about this franchise in that State? Why are they not able to exercise this franchise in one of the States?

Sir, Mrs. Pandit is quite right when she says that Government is suffering from indecision, Government is suffering from vacillation and drift. They are dilly dallying, they are shilly-shallying. Over the language question. What has happened? I do not want to use any language which will aggravate the communal passions or lead to linguistic frenzy,

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

but this is quite clear, Sir, that they have not yet decided, they have not yet placed on the Table, what is their policy. Continuously the Prime Minister says: We would honour Jawaharlal Nehru's assurances on the language issue. How will you do it? The whole of the South is perturbed. West Bengal is in a perturbed mood; other States also. I want to know, what is the concrete shape which it will take. Even if you don't amend the Constitution, would you give statutory legal recognition to Mr. Nehru's assurances? If so, how?

There have been disasters in certain places. Even an Ashram in South India which is associated with the memory of one of the greatest fighters of Indian independence and also one of the greatest prophets of modern age has been subjected to sacrilegious attack and that has made everybody unhappy. We have approached the Prime Minister and the Home Minister. We hope that there will be a thorough probe under Central directive, not by local executive, into this affair. But, Sir, these things will not end until and unless the Government makes up its mind not to pursue the policy of vacillation, the policy of drift and indecision.

The same thing has happened with regard to corruption. We ought to have been tackling this problem firmly, instead of slurring over it. We have heard two Members of the Cabinet, including one who was ex-Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court. Now, the Law Minister stands up and says, I won't look at the document; I won't say whether it is correct or incorrect. This sort of thing is thoroughly disappointing; it is this sort of thing which creates doubts and misgivings in the minds of the people that they are not tackling this problem properly.

The charge was not only against the two Chief Ministers. The charge

was against the cabinet that they did not do their duty. Therefore, Sir, I am submitting that this kind of drift and vacillation should go. There should be a definite policy on the language issue. We should know exactly where we stand and the policy should assuage the feelings in the south and also in other States. We are not against any Indian language. No Indian takes pride in the fact that a non-Indian language is being pursued or being kept as the official language. That is nobody's charge. But taking things as they are, if you want to impose one language on the States there will be trouble. Therefore, let us have a statutory guarantee against the imposition of any language.

Now, Sir, one other thing. It is not a question of constitutional impropriety. My friend Mr. Mukherjee and other friends were talking about the constitutional impropriety of this Presidential Proclamation which was manufactured behind our back. That is not the point. The most important point is that it is thoroughly unconstitutional. Under the Articles of the Constitution you can invoke Presidential Proclamation under one condition. The condition is the breakdown of the Government and its impossibility to function according to the principles of the constitution. You don't allow the Government to be formed. You don't allow the elected legislature to meet. You don't send for the leader of the biggest party elected. The trouble is, this ruling party has been thrown out. Chief Minister Mr. Shankar and other members of the Congress cabinet were thoroughly defeated. They wanted to have vengeance, I may call it a crude vengeance. The vengeance is that they are taking revenge on the electorate. You have spent millions of rupees. You have cast your votes according to the democratic process. According to that democratic process, the Congress party has lost, but still you are

not allowing the other party to function. How? By keeping the Central domination over that State. The electorate has exercised its franchise and it has voted against the Congress party. 12 Members of one party which has been elected to this Parliament have been kept in detention, which means, 60 lakhs of voters in India are now denied their rights of representation. Even today this exercise of franchise is entirely denied to the electorate of the State.

Mr. Justice Basu has written the book on the Constitution and that is most authoritative commentary on the Indian Constitution. He is now a judge of the Calcutta High Court. In his latest book, fourth edition, Commentary on Indian Constitution, Volume 5, at page 179, he says:

“this power can be invoked when the Government cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of India.”

That presupposes that there must be a government, and that government must be given a chance to carry on. If it cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, then you have got the dictatorial power, you can invoke the authority of the Presidential proclamation. The Governor of Kerala was undoubtedly wrong. When he does not allow the government to be formed, when he does not send for the leader of the biggest elected party, how do you know that a government cannot be formed, how do you know that the legislature cannot function? You don't allow the legislature to function, you don't summon the legislature, you don't give the leader of the largest elected party the authority to form the cabinet. Only then this provision can be invoked, in my submission. I feel very strongly on this. This has been a debacle of democracy, thus reducing our parliamentary government to a mockery. And it is being done in

the name of the special prerogative given under the Constitution. But the condition precedent must be satisfied. The legislature must be allowed to function, you must allow the party leaders to form a government. You have kept twenty-eight members of the biggest party in detention. That is an abuse of the emergency powers. You know, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court has declared that this is an unconstitutional law. Although under the Constitution, the Supreme Court for the time being cannot issue a *mandamus* or *habeas corpus* writ, it has held that it is against the Constitution, against certain articles of the Constitution, particularly, you know, articles 19, 20, 21 and so on. Therefore, it is certainly illegal. And under this illegal law you have kept twenty-eight or nine members of the legislature in detention which means you have artificially reduced the majority party to a minority party.

That is not the intention of the provision. You cannot invoke this power. It is not a question of Constitutional propriety. What right has the Governor to behave in this manner? What right has the President to behave in this manner? What right has this Government to advise the President, “Don't ask the Governor to summon the leader of the biggest party and call him to form a government, but issue a proclamation in this manner”? I am reading again from Mr. Justice Basu's commentary, this power can only be invoked if the Government cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

You know, this has been done, the President's proclamation has been issued in five or six cases. Firstly, I remember it was done in Punjab. (An. Hon. Member: PEUSU). It was done in Punjab on the 20th June, 1950 when Dr. Bhargava's ministry collapsed and no alternative ministry could be formed. Therefore, there

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must be a ministry functioning, that ministry goes out, you ask the other leaders to form a government, they cannot form a government, and then you can invoke this power. All these specific cases are cited in this book. Then on the 4th May, 1953 it was done in PEPSU when there was a similar situation. Then on 15th November, 1954 it happened in Andhra when the Prakasam ministry resigned and they could not form another ministry. Then on 23rd March, 1956 in Travancore-Cochin the same thing happened, and again in 1959 when the Namboodripad ministry was dismissed and no other Ministry could be formed. And then on 25th January, 1961 this happened in Orissa.

I am submitting, you cannot play with the democratic rights of the people in this manner. When the people have exercised their voting rights and when the members have been elected, because your party is defeated, because the ruling party is defeated and you got a slap in the face, you are doing like this. It is not proper.

This is not a breakdown. I submit it is a manufactured breakdown. It is a breakdown which has been brought about due to arrogance. When the Chinese wanted to attack India, we said they are aggressors, and the whole of India stood up to fight that aggression. Why? Because we believed that the Chinese were going to destroy our democracy, the greatest thing we have built up in Asia. And what are the Government doing? By their arrogance and flamboyancy they are destroying the very democracy which the Chinese wanted to destroy. That is the real situation.

We are therefore saying that it is an unconstitutional act, it is an unconstitutional proclamation. Mr. Giri had no business—I have respect for him, we have been colleagues here as friends for many years—but I am sorry to say that he had no business to do this. It is a perversion of

authority, and it is an abuse of power by the Governor and by the President and the Home Minister was totally wrong in advising the President to resort to this extraordinary provision.

Shri Rameshwar Tantia: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I congratulate the Finance Minister on presenting a budget after ten years of continuous rising taxes, and this year there are no such taxes but on the other hand there is a small concession both in the personal taxation and to the corporate sector. The price range of cloth, cycle parts and vegetable oils has gone down. Just now the hon. the lady Member was saying that the cloth prices have gone up in the market. But I may submit that it is not a fact. The price of cloth, of medium variety cloth, has definitely gone down.

The Finance Minister rightly said that he wants to create an atmosphere so that there will be more incentives for investment. But I think that as a result of the small concessions which he has given to the corporate sector or in the personal Income-tax there will not be any large saving which can be invested in shares or in the corporate-sector companies. Generally the interest or dividend in shares is about 6½ to 8 per cent. But anybody who reads the newspapers daily will find that good, first-class companies offer interest up to 12 and 13 per cent. For instance, from *The Hindustan Times* of today you will see that first-class companies are offering 12 to 13 per cent, plus 1 per cent incentive. If that is the rate of interest in the market with first-class companies, who are going to invest at 7 or 8 per cent in the ordinary equity shares? So I do not think that the Finance Minister is right in saying that by this small saving in the corporate sector there will be more incentive for investment.

Yesterday the Minister of State for Finance, Shri Bhagat, said in this House, and about three days back the Finance Minister said in the other House, that there are not many chances to reduce the taxes in the corporate sector. But I wish to submit most humbly that here we are debating the Budget, and whatever conclusions they arrive at they should state them only after listening to the arguments of the Members. It is for that purpose that the debate is being held here.

On the one side Government wants that incentives should be given or the utmost should be done to help more investment, and on the other side they are not yielding to anything and not giving even any small concession. I will give some instances. Take a shareholder. There is a belief that shareholders are always rich people. They are not always rich people. For instance, take Tata Ordinary; there are 75,000 shareholders. Take Hindustan Motors; there are 50,000 shareholders. Even a small man can invest a hundred rupees, five hundred rupees or a thousand rupees. How can we think that they are all rich? If that man is going to get 7 per cent and he has to pay out of that 7 or $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent that is coming to him indirectly, a dividend tax, how is it possible that any man will invest money if for a small amount of 7 per cent he has to pay dividend tax? If the Government are rigid about this, that is another thing. But if they want to encourage investment and want to create a psychological factor, then the dividend tax should definitely go. And at least till 10 per cent there should be no dividend tax. Because the 10 per cent, after deducting the 20 per cent, really comes to 8 per cent. And anybody who wants to invest a small amount of money must get 8 per cent. Therefore, the dividend tax should go.

So also the bonus tax. The bonus tax is only in name. I do not know

why the Finance Minister has kept this bonus tax this year also. No bonus was issued last year. Bonus was issued only by two or three companies where the shares had been issued at a higher rate and therefore they gave it in bonus. Therefore, the bonus tax should go.

And also the Capital Gains tax. Suppose the shares are Rs. 250 and bonus has been given. The price will go down to Rs. 125. The first shares are going down to Rs. 125, but on the others Government is wanting to charge Capital Gains tax. Therefore, one cannot understand what this system of taxation is.

Another thing is, there is shortage of capital in the market. Previously, the banks were giving 75 per cent against shares. Now the Finance Minister has said that they should not give more than 60 per cent. Even if they pay $9\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 per cent interest, they cannot get more than 60 per cent. That limit should again be raised to 75 per cent.

Now I come to the public sector industries. Most of the hon. Members who took part in this debate have mentioned about it. I am one of those who say that the public sector is a must. It should be there because there are some industries like fertiliser, steel and other industries, where the private sector cannot put, nowadays, all the big amount of money that is needed. At the same time we should see that these public sector companies are run properly. They are run—I am not against ICS or other officers—by officers of the Government. But I cannot understand one thing. A man who is found fit in the Finance Ministry is transferred to the Education Ministry even if he is not an expert in education. He is then transferred to the Hindustan Steel, then to Heavy Engineering and then to Heavy Electricals. How can one man be expected to handle all these things

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efficiently? How can he look after so many things in an efficient way. It is just like the medicine *Amrit-dhara* which they claim can be used for curing any kind of disease from head to foot. In the same way they think that these officers can handle anything and everything. If they want these officers to manage the public sector industries, then they should have a pool just like the IPS and IAS. In the same way they should have a management pool of officers for these industries. In that pool they should put the ICS or IAS officers so that they may learn something about running these industries.

The total investment in public sector industries is Rs. 2,100 crores. Out of these companies the biggest four are the Hindustan Steel, the Heavy Engineering at Ranchi, the Heavy Electricals and the NCDC. Some hon. Member mentioned that the investment in Hindustan Steel is Rs. 800 crores. There is no harm if they lose for some years, but still the prices are the highest in the world for our steel. Our labour cost is not much. They are not making any profit which they should have made, but still the price is the highest. The position of Heavy Engineering, Ranchi is still bad. The investment is now Rs. 100 crores and another Rs. 125 crores we are going to invest. But their performance is far from satisfactory. In the case of the National Coal Development Corporation, we raised 1,60,000 lakh tonnes last year. The investment is Rs. 88 crores. The profit was only Rs. 3 lakhs in which the interest of Rs. 40 lakhs was not counted. Therefore, I say that the Finance Minister should pay more attention to these public sector companies. He is responsible to this House. Therefore, he has to see whether there is some mismanagement, whether the companies are making some profits or are running at a loss, because he frames his budget after calculating that so much will be the return from these companies.

Then I come to the question of delay due to government procedure which results in great loss to the exchequer. One rubber hose pipe of a lorry belonging to the Indian Airlines at Dibrugarh was out of order. Replacement of the pipe would have cost at the most Rs. 10. But the matter was sent up to higher authorities for order. The case was delayed in the head office in Calcutta for a month and then the sanction was given. In the meantime they had to hire another lorry at a cost of Rs. 2000. Therefore, against Rs. 10 for replacing the pipe they had to spend Rs. 2000 because of procedural delays. Therefore, more powers should be delegated to the people below so that they can sanction such minor repairs and save this kind of loss to the Government. There is another instance of a motor car engine which had to be repaired or replaced and it was estimated to cost Rs. 6000 or so. The sanction was delayed and in the meantime they had to hire another car at a cost of Rs. 17,000. These things should be looked into. After all it is the public money that is wasted like this. If the departments continue to make such delays, I do not know what will happen to the country and how this budget will be adjusted.

Then I come to the housing problem. The only production that is increasing in the country is the population. Definitely, we are sure there, there is an increase of 1,20,00,000 people in the population of the country every year. For those 1,20,00,000 every year we want more houses to be built. But the problem is that of cement. We have given many licences to start cement factories. But nobody has come up to start the work because there is no incentive for investment. The result is that no cement factory is put up and there is no cement. In the State, Sir, from which I come, probably there are better chances of getting a lottery than getting a bag of cement in the white market. If one gets one bag or two

bags of cement, one feels oneself to be very lucky. Same is the case with corrugated sheets. Getting corrugated sheets is out of question. All the corrugated sheets are going to some project or the other. For a small man or a cultivator to get corrugated sheets it is very difficult. If the private sector is not coming forward to put up these factories, it is the duty of the Government to step in. They should put up more fertilizer factories. It is very necessary for the country at the present time because due to shortage of fertilizer our agricultural production is not going up. They should put up more cement factories, more newsprint factories and others.

Yesterday, Sir, Shri M. L. Varma said that there is a psychology against the traders. He rightly said that 93 per cent of the traders are as poor or poor or than the so-called Leftists who are shouting against the traders. There may be some rich people and some tax evaders. I am not pleading for them. Give them whatever punishment they deserve. Some Members from the Opposition try to show themselves as more socialists. But I think if they will search their hearts they will realise that they have more amenities or they are already enjoying more amenities than the so-called traders because there are poorer sections also among the traders. It is no use accusing the Government outright. It is no use condemning the rich people or the traders. I once again say that the traders, if they evade tax, should be punished. But what about the people who are getting money from China, from the China Bank? What about them? Why should they not be punished? They are traitors. It has been proved. Shri N. C. Chatterjee, who is a rightist in his views—he is one of the biggest lawyers in the country—was referring to the Communists in Kerala. I saw that such traitors should be punished. What would have happened if they were in China. They would have been sent to Siberia or elsewhere. We have put them in jail.

The punishment given is less. They should be given proper punishment in the interest of the country.

Shri Shiv Charan Gupta (Delhi Sadar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I welcome the budget proposals laid before the House by the Finance Minister. The Finance Minister has proposed some steps to check the rise in prices. It is common knowledge that the cost of living index continues to increase. There is a special phenomenon. The index rises rather rapidly but the declines are marginal and the net effect remains that the cost of living index continues to rise. This affects, particularly, the landless labourers, who are in backward sections of the society—Harijans,—fixed income groups, shop assistants, government servants and others. It is rather doubtful at this stage how the steps proposed by the Finance Minister are going to affect the rise in prices in the year to come.

But, Sir, generally it is being noticed in the last few months that there has been an agitation in Delhi and in other parts of the country for rise in pay scales of house surgeons, LIC employees and teachers. The teachers have been asking for uniformity in the pay scales, old age pension benefits and security in service. It is right that Government should pay attention to these problems before the agitation takes place because if attention is paid after the agitation takes place and some concessions are given then it compromises the position of the Government and the law abiding citizens are put at a disadvantage.

The Finance Minister has made efforts to stimulate investment atmosphere. In this connection, we should neither be influenced by the Swatantra Party nor the Communist Party. One pleads for the policy, of *laissez faire* and the other believes in State control of means of production. We have our own approach in this matter and it has been clearly mentioned in the Third Five Year Plan objectives.

[Shri Shiv Charan Gupta]

We have to create a balance between public sector and private sector and corporate sector and the economy of the country has to make progress. It has to be self-generating and self-reliant. We have to ensure that concentration of wealth does not take place in the hands of a few and at the same time we have to see that the benefit of increased production is shared by all sections of the society and not by a few individuals. The basis of the Finance Minister's proposals is in this manner and therefore whatever has been said by some members of the Opposition does not hold any ground. I am sure that these desired objectives which have been laid down in the Third Five Year Plan will bear fruit and there will be no cause for anxiety in this connection.

Whereas it is a fact that the public sector undertakings have not been able to give good profits, they lack proper personnel to man them, nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Government continues to pay attention to run them efficiently. Their profits are increasing, but the progress is slow and the Government has to give more attention to it.

The Finance Minister has claimed that his proposals would stimulate investment atmosphere. As I have already mentioned, the need of the hour is more and more production and it would be worthwhile for the Government to keep a close eye on this and to check up that the investment atmosphere is stimulated further and more and more money is available in the country for investment in industries, thereby resulting in more and more production. It is not possible to raise the standard of living of the teeming millions of this country without more production. It is regrettable that the production targets at the end of the Third Five Year Plan are not likely to be achieved both in agriculture and industrial

sectors. Some of these items are worth mentioning—iron and steel, steel castings and forgings, industrial machinery, cement, fertilizers, caustic soda, soda ash, sulphuric acid, paper, newsprint and textiles. This backlog is likely to create other problems and would ultimately effect the growth of national income which is already much behind in the three years of the plan, i.e., about 9½% as against the estimated 15%. There is a shortage of non-ferrous metals in the country. There is no proper guidance to industrialists regarding availability of raw material with the result that the capacity of most of the factories remain idle. In Delhi alone out of 15,000 factories, Delhi Administration is unable to meet the needs of more than 4,000 at present. It is necessary to look into this question. On the one hand there is idle capacity and on the other there is unemployment in the country. After the end of every plan, the back-log increases. Delhi is directly under the Government of India. Here alone the back-log of unemployment in the beginning of the Third Five Year Plan was about 2 lakhs. It was estimated that additional employment opportunities for about 3 lakh persons would be required to be created. But in the two years of the Third Plan about 45,000 of additional employment opportunities were generated in the organised sectors. At the end of March, 1964, 90,000 applicants were seeking work as against 80,000 persons on 31st March, 1963. Of these 48,621 were educated persons, 36,987 were matriculates, 4,602 were those who had passed intermediate examination and 1,032 were Graduates and above. The number of educated unemployed has increased significantly from 10,670 in 1953 to 48,621 on 31st March, 1963. The pace of industrialisation is also very slow. This feature can apply more or less to the whole country. The condition in rural areas is still difficult and no progress whatsoever has been made for developing cottage industries and rural industries in the country.

Besides this, there is a lot of confusion. There is no demarcation of the sphere of cottage industries, rural industries, small-scale industries and large-scale industries. The same items continue to be manufactured in cottage industries, small-scale industries and large-scale industries. It is not possible for a small unit to compete with large-scale unit and for that purpose the Government started schemes of financial assistance to certain items like Khadi. The result is that millions of landless labourers in the villages have no means of livelihood. Their conditions continues to deteriorate. It is, therefore, desirable that a committee of Members of Parliament and experts should go into this whole question and study how and in what manner the idle capacity can be utilised how more raw materials can be made available, how cottage and village industries and rural industries can be developed in order to get more production and how opportunities of employment can be provided to a vast multitude of people who are suffering.

Sir, whenever we discuss the budget we have to pay attention to Defence and Development. Regarding Defence, the Public Accounts Committee has commented that "the Committee are not happy over the shortfall of expenditure in case of these important schemes which have direct bearing on the country's defence efforts". Further it states that "the Committee feel concerned to note that on the one hand the Ministry of Defence have been requesting for more and more foreign exchange and on the other they are not able to utilise even the reduced allotments made to them as indicated by the large surrenders made by them. The Committee feel that the manner in which the foreign exchange has been utilised leaves much to be desired". It is a very sad commentary on the performance of the Defence Ministry. I wonder whether any action would be taken against those found guilty of this negligence.

It is imperative that when we think of development we should pay special

attention to border areas, hilly areas and other backward areas.

From Ladakh to NEFA our developmental activities should increase both in the civil as well as military spheres. For development of NEFA, plan outlay for 1965-66 stands at 272.74 lakhs. I don't think this provision is satisfactory. I want to emphasize this point. If these border areas are not developed, the result will be, the service personnel, the medical personnel, the educational personnel and other civil personnel will not be attracted to go into those areas, and serve the people of those areas. It is very essential that special attention is paid to these areas so that our service personnel and other types of personnel feel encouraged to go there and serve the people there and also a sort of confidence is created among the local residents and their moral fibre built up. They should feel one with the rest of the country and should be in a position to face any pressure which may come from the Chinese.

Although there is a decline in prices the level of prices is still very high. It is necessary to ensure more production of the commodities and also distribution at reasonable prices. There should be a curb on margin of profits and concentration of wealth in the hands of a few.

Lastly, whatever proposals have been made by the Finance Minister, I would like to draw his attention particularly to para 22 of his speech in which he has very rightly and correctly taken cognizance of the fiscal position of this country and has suggested how the Government should keep an eye and vigil on the financial conditions so that more and more money is available for investment and production.

I only wish that while doing so he will keep in view the basic economic policy which we have been adopting from time to time and will not diviate

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from the path which this Parliament has approved from time to time and which our late lamented leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, has set before this country. I hope the Government will hold on to those legacies and will uphold those ideals by which this country is making continuous progress for the last 15 years or so.

15 hrs.

श्रीमती मिनीमाता (बालोदा बाजार) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अगले साल के बजट प्रस्तावों से कुल मिला कर मुझे निराशा ही हुई है। इस को समाजवादी बजट कहना, जहाँ तक मैं समझती हूँ, ठीक नहीं है। मंहगाई इतनी बढ़ चुकी है कि जनता बहुत परेशान है। आज का नारा समाजवाद का है। समाजवादी समाज के बजट को समाजवादी ही होना चाहिये, लेकिन कर न देने के लिये समाजवाद की आड़ ले कर अगर कोई कहे कि हम कर नहीं दे सकते हैं तो यह गलत होगा। कर काश्तकार भी देश को तैयार हैं देश के लिये। कर वे लोग नहीं देते हैं जो कि पूंजीपति होते हैं। वे लोग अपनी पूंजी को बढ़ा कर के कर को बचाना चाहते हैं। वही कर नहीं देते हैं। छोटे काश्तकारों को भी आप देखेंगे गांवों में अगर किसी किस्म के कर उन के सामने आते हैं तो वे उन को देने में हिचकिचाते नहीं हैं। लेकिन समाजवादी समाज का निर्माण करने के लिये हमारी सरकार ने जो बजट रक्खा है वह कोई बहुत अच्छे तरीके का बजट नहीं है।

15.02 hrs.

[SHRI SONAVANE in the Chair]

इस से अधिक अफसोस की बात और क्या हो सकती है कि आजादी के इतने साल बाद भी हम अपनी प्रगति के लिये विदेशी पूंजी पर निर्भर हैं। बजट प्रस्तावों में ऐसी ठोस बातें होनी चाहियें थीं कि जिन से हम विदेशों

से पूंजी न ले कर अपने देश में ही पूंजी का उपार्जन करते। ऐसा तभी हो सकता है जब कि उद्योगों के साथ साथ खेती की भी प्रगति हो और खेती के विकास पर पूरा पूरा ध्यान दिया जाये। किन्तु खेती के तेजी के साथ विकास की उचित व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है। मेरा विचार है कि खेती के विकास के लिये कृषि क कोई अलग योजना होनी चाहिये। यह कृषि योजना कृषि प्रधान प्रदेशों की ओर ज्यादा ध्यान दे।

दूसरा प्रश्न है कि सरकार अनाज के आयात में करोड़ों रुपये खर्च करती है। इस करोड़ों रुपयों की अपेक्षा यदि हम भारतवर्ष में ही अनाज के उत्पादन में थोड़ा सा रुपया और खर्च करें तो हमारे देश में काफी अनाज उत्पन्न हो सकता है। अभी हमारे देश में जमीन का छठवां हिस्सा ऐसा पड़ा है जिस में हम काश्त कर के अनाज उपाजित कर सकते हैं। किन्तु सरकार हमारी खेती के विकास की ओर ध्यान नहीं देती है। काश्तकार चाहे छोटे हों या बड़े हों, अपनी खेती करने में चाहे वह अकाल में पड़ जायें या सरकार के कर में फंस जायें या तकावी के कष्ट में फंस जायें, लेकिन काश्त करने में वे कभी भी हिचकिचायेंगे नहीं। काश्त कर के एक तरह से वे अपना कर्तव्य ही पूरा करते हैं। एक कहवात है :

“उत्तम खेती मध्यम बान, निषध चाकरी
भीख निदान।”

काश्तकार कहते हैं कि काश्त ही उन के लिये उत्तम है। अगर आप काश्तकार को सफल नहीं बनायेंगे तो आप देश को भी सफल नहीं बना सकते हैं, ऐसा मेरा विचार है। यह दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि हम अपनी बुनियादी चीज को छोड़ते जा रहे हैं और इधर उधर उड़ते जा रहे हैं। कोई चन्द्रमा में जाने का विचार कर रहा है कोई सूर्य में जाने का विचार कर रहा है, लेकिन खेती में पूरी शक्ति लगा कर आज कोई काम नहीं करना चाहता। मैं सरकार

से अनुरोध करूंगी कि आज वह अपनी योजना को चार खंडों में बांटे। एक खंड सिर्फ खेती के विकास के लिये, दूसरा खंड हो हमारी सैनिक शक्ति को मजबूत करने के लिये, तीसरा खंड हो शिक्षा के लिये और चौथा खंड हो पिछड़े वर्गों की उन्नति के लिये। जब तक आप खेती का विकास नहीं करेंगे, जब तक आप के देश में काफी उत्पादन नहीं होगा, तब तक आप अपनी सैन्य शक्ति को मजबूत नहीं कर सकेंगे। अगर हमारे पास खाने को नहीं होगा तो हम लड़ नहीं सकते हैं। हमारी छत्तीसगढ़ी में एक कहावत है कि :

“खाये तो टनन टनन, नहीं खाये तो भनन भनन”

खाने को मिलता है तो बुद्धि उपजती है कि हमें क्या करना चाहिये, खाने को नहीं मिलता है तो दिमाग में हर समय यही बात होगी कि हम रोटी का कैसे उपार्जन करें। इस लिये मंत्री महोदय से मेरी प्रार्थना है कि खेती को ज्यादा प्रोत्साहन दिया जाये।

अब मैं अपने प्रदेश, मध्य प्रदेश की ओर आती हूँ। हमारा मध्य प्रदेश कृषि प्रधान प्रदेश है। दूसरे प्रदेश रुपया उत्पन्न करते हैं और हमारा प्रदेश अनाज उत्पन्न करता है। मध्य प्रदेश में 3/8 लाख मीट्रिक टन चावल उत्पन्न करता है जिस में से 3.8 लाख मीट्रिक टन हम दूसरे प्रदेशों को देते हैं। हमारे प्रदेश में गेहूँ का उत्पादन कम है क्योंकि वहाँ पर रबी की फसल के लिये सिंचाई की सुविधा अभी तक नहीं हो सकी है। यह भी हमारी सरकार की कमजोरी है। गेहूँ का उत्पादन मध्य प्रदेश में 8.7 लाख मीट्रिक टन होता है और हमें गेहूँ बाहर से मंगाना पड़ता है क्योंकि वह गेहूँ हमें मध्य प्रदेश से प्राप्त नहीं होता है। यदि रबी की फसल के लिये सरकार द्वारा छोटी सिंचाई की सुविधा दी जाये तो मैं दावे से कह सकती

हूँ कि जैसे हम चावल दूसरे प्रदेशों को देते हैं वैसे ही गेहूँ भी दे सकेंगे।

आप चीनी के मामले को ले लीजिये। हमें मध्य प्रदेश में 12,000 टन चीनी की आवश्यकता है किन्तु उस में भी हम को 600 टन कम मिलती है। यह कमी कैसे पूरी होगी। गांव वालों को दवाई के लिये भी चीनी नहीं मिलती। जो भी सुविधा आज सरकार की तरफ से दी जाती है वह केवल शहरों के नागरिकों को दी जाती है। देहातों की ओर उस का ध्यान नहीं जाता है। मैं कहना चाहूंगी कि सरकार गांवों की तरफ ज्यादा ध्यान दे जहाँ पर हमारी 80 प्रतिशत जनता बसती है। आज सरकार 20 फी सदी जनता की ओर ज्यादा ध्यान देती है। मध्य प्रदेश सरकार ने चीनी के दस कारखानों के लिये सिफारिश की थी सन 1962 में, किन्तु अभी तक केन्द्रीय सरकार की तरफ से उन में से एक भी सिफारिश को मंजूर नहीं किया गया है। यह हमारे मध्य प्रदेश के लिये दुर्भाग्य की बात है।

मध्य प्रदेश सरकार के पास चम्बल योजना है। हजारों एकड़ जमीन बेकार पड़ी हुई है। यदि केन्द्रीय सरकार चम्बल योजना के पास जो जमीन पड़ी हुई है उस पर तीन या चार करोड़ रुपया खर्च करे तो वहाँ पर काफी अनाज उत्पन्न हो सकता है। वहाँ पर जितने विस्थापित आये हैं उन को बहुत ज्यादा तादाद में वहाँ बसा कर के उन को अच्छे काश्तकार बनाया जा सकता है। किन्तु हमारी सरकार खेती की ओर ध्यान नहीं देती है। कहने के लिये मध्य प्रदेश भारत का हृदय स्थल है किन्तु आज विज्ञान के युग में हृदय से कोई काम नहीं लिया जाता है। आज दिल से कोई काम नहीं करता। आज सब लोग केवल दिमाग से काम करने लगे हैं इसलिये दिल की उपेक्षा होती है। मध्य प्रदेश की उपेक्षा इस माने में होती है। मध्य प्रदेश के खाद्य उत्पादन की क्षमता को ध्यान में रखते हुए केन्द्रीय सरकार की ओर से सिंचाई की मध्यम योजना और परियोजना के लिये बी गई राशि पर्याप्त नहीं है।

[श्रीमती मिनिमाता]

तीसरी बात यह है कि मध्य प्रदेश में वन सम्पत्ति भी काफी है किन्तु आज तक केन्द्रीय सरकार द्वारा इस वन सम्पत्ति के शोध के लिये कोई ऐसी संस्था कायम नहीं की गई है जिस में अपनी वन सम्पत्ति से हम काफी धन राशि उपार्जित कर सकें।

सुना था कि कोरबा में उर्वरक रसायन कारखाना स्थापित करने की बात चली थी। यह भी कहा गया कि एक करोड़, पचास लाख रुपया वहां खर्च हो चुका है। अब सुनने में आया है कि कोरबा में यह कारखाना खोलना तकनीकी सलाहकारों की दृष्टि में ठीक नहीं है। मैं पूछना चाहती हूँ कि 1-5 लाख पूंजी खर्च होने से पहले टैकनीकियों ने क्या सिफारिश की थी। जब सरकार का 1-5 लाख रुपया खर्च हो चुका तो उन टैकनीकियों को सूझा कि कोरबा में उर्वरक रासायनिक कारखाना स्थापित करना उचित नहीं होगा। क्या यह मध्य प्रदेश के साथ न्याय है ?

मध्य प्रदेश सरकार ने केन्द्रीय सरकार से 464-28 लाख का अल्पकालीन लोन मांगा था। उस में से आज तक केन्द्रीय सरकार ने मध्य प्रदेश सरकार को 146 करोड़ रुपया ही दिया है। आप सोच सकते हैं कि मध्य प्रदेश सरकार की आर्थिक स्थिति कैसी होगी। मध्य प्रदेश की इनती उपेक्षा हो रही है।

एक उदाहरण मैं और दे दूँ। मध्य प्रदेश का पोस्ट मास्टर जनरल का कार्यालय आज तक नागपुर में ही है। जब प्रान्तों का विभाजन हुआ तो हर प्रदेश अपने कार्यालय अपने प्रदेश में ले गया। पर मध्य प्रदेश का पोस्ट मास्टर जनरल का कार्यालय भोपाल में अभी तक नहीं आ पाया और नागपुर में ही है। क्या आप समझते हैं कि इस प्रकार मध्य प्रदेश की उपेक्षा नहीं हो रही है ?

दूसरी बात मैं शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहती हूँ। मध्य प्रदेश सरकार ने मांग की थी प्राइमरी शिक्षा के लिये सात करोड़ रुपये की। इस में महिलाओं की शिक्षा के लिये दो करोड़ रुपया खर्च करना था। डेबर समिति ने भी सिफारिश की थी कि जितने भी पिछड़े हुए प्रदेश हैं उन को अद्विलम्ब ग्रांट दी जाए ताकि वे प्राइमरी शिक्षा को आगे बढ़ा सकें, किन्तु आज तक केन्द्रीय सरकार ने इस ओर कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया और इस प्रकार मध्य प्रदेश की उपेक्षा ही होती गयी है।

श्रीमती कमला चौधरी (हापुड़) : सभापति महोदय, मैं बहुत कृतज्ञ हूँ कि तीन दिन की तपस्या के बाद आप ने मुझे बोलने का अवसर प्रदान किया।

सभापति महोदय, स्वतन्त्र भारत की लोक सभा का यह प्रथम बजट अधिवेशन है जिस में हम अपने प्रिय नेता जवाहर लाल नेहरू की छत्रछाया से बंचित हैं। स्व० नेहरू जी केवल प्रधानमंत्री ही नहीं थे, जन नायक थे, महान प्रतिभाशाली व्यक्ति थे। उन के नेतृत्व में देश की जनता का पूर्ण विश्वास था।

नेहरू जी के देहावसान के बाद हमारे नेताओं, वर्तमान प्रधान मंत्री, एवं हमारी राष्ट्रीय सरकार पर बहुत बड़ी जिम्मेदारी आ गयी है। उस उत्तरदायित्व को निभाने के लिए गम्भीरता और दृढ़ता के साथ सरकार को शासन को संभाल कर देश की समस्याओं एवं हमारे संकट—यह संकट पूर्ण देश है—का समाधान करना है।

सन्तोष का विषय है कि वित्त मन्त्री महोदय ने समय के चरण देखते हुए 16-17 वर्ष के इतिहास में प्रथम बार लाभांश का बजट प्रस्तुत किया, जिससे देश में एक हर्ष की लहर आयी है, और 1965-66 के बजट

का स्वागत हुआ है। किन्तु जितना अधिक प्रभाव पड़ना चाहिए था वह लक्षण प्रतीत नहीं हो रहे। भीषण महंगाई में कुछ अनार अभी तक नहीं आया है। और अन्देशा है कि भविष्य में भी कहीं यह महंगाई इसी प्रकार अपना मुंह फाड़े खड़ी न रहे।

योजनाओं के लिए समुचित धनराशि की व्यवस्था करते हुए प्रत्यक्ष और कुछ अप्रत्यक्ष करों में छूट दी गयी है, जिससे सभी वर्गों को राहत मिली है, विशेषतः मध्य वर्ग को राहत दी गयी है, जिसके लिए वित्त मन्त्री महोदय धन्यवाद के पात्र हैं। मैं व्यक्तिगत रूप से भी आभार प्रकट करती हूँ। और साथ ही प्रार्थना करती हूँ कि इस प्रभावशाली बजट के प्रभाव को बनाए रखने के लिए दृढ़ता से निश्चयात्मक कदम उठाएँ जिससे व्यापारी वर्ग की अधिक लाभ कमाने की प्रवृत्ति दूर हो और जनता को बजट का प्रभाव महसूस हो, वह आगम की सांस ले सके।

यह बजट करों के ढाँचे को मुदुड़, मजबूत और व्यवस्थित आधार पर ले आने के लिए एक महत्वपूर्ण कदम है, और सरकार की इच्छाओं का प्रतीक है। लेकिन उसके फल मिलने में शंका है। बजट की रूप रेखा से समाजवाद के उपाकाल के बाल अरुण की प्रथम किरण का दर्शन मिला है। भविष्य के लिए यह बजट सुखमय आशा का आधार हो सकता है यदि इससे शासन एवं समाज से भ्रष्टाचार का अन्त हो जाए। ऐसा होने पर ही हमको इसका फल देखने को मिल सकता है।

वित्त मन्त्री ने बजट में बचत को बढ़ाने का प्रयास किया है तथा मुद्रा स्फीति को रोकने के लिए घाटे की अर्थ व्यवस्था को समाप्त किया है। पिछले वर्ष आयकर के सम्बन्ध में मैं ने मन्त्री महोदय से निवेदन किया था—

“अगर रकम 3600 से बढ़ कर 4800 हो जाती।

दबे पड़े जो टैक्स भार से उन्हें नींद मुख की कुछ आनी।”

सन्तोष की बात है कि मन्त्री महोदय ने मध्य वर्ग के संकटों को ध्यान में रख कर छूट दी। यद्यपि करदाताओं के गर्भ, वर्गों की शिकायतें दूर नहीं हुई हैं परन्तु आलोचना करने वालों के हृषियार अथ उतने पौने नहीं रहे जैसे कि बजट अधिवेशन में दिखायी देते हैं।

विवाहितों और अविवाहितों पर समान आय कर की व्यवस्था करके वित्त मन्त्री जी ने माननीय श्री त्यागी जी तथा और विरोधी सदस्यों का मार्ग प्रशस्त कर दिया है, लेकिन मुझे शंका है कि कहीं परिवार नियोजन की योजना को इससे हानि न पहुँचे।

व्यक्तिगत करों में सभी स्तरों पर उल्लेखनीय छूट मिली है। देश की महिलाएँ मन्त्री महोदय की कृतज्ञ हैं कि साड़ियों और चप्पलें सस्ती हो जाएंगी, पाउडर और लिपस्टिक पर इसका क्या प्रभाव पड़ेगा यह नहीं समझ सकी।

करों में राहत मिलते हुए भी इनकम टैक्स अधिकारियों की मनोवृत्ति देखते हुए मन में शंका है। उक्त विभाग के अधिकारीगण ग्राम-दानी को रबर की भाँति खींचने की चेष्टा करते हैं, कदाचित्त वे अपने को छोड़ कर सभी को बेईमान समझते हैं। कितनी ही अच्छी तरह और ईमानदारी से हिसाब पेश किया गया हो, लेकिन वे लोगों को विवश कर देते हैं अपील करने के लिए और अदालतों की शरण में जाने के लिए। अधिकांश व्यक्ति अपील में मुक्त भी हो जाते हैं। मेरे विचार से सिवाय बकीलों के इसमें किसी को राहत नहीं मिलती है। सारा देश आयकर विभाग से परेशान है। यह मैं आप से नम्रतापूर्वक निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ। मन्त्री महोदय अपने अधिकारियों को इस प्रवृत्ति को रोकें और करों में सरलीकरण करने की व्यवस्था करें ऐसा मेरा निवेदन है। इस अर्थे खाते को दूर करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए।

[श्रमत् कमला चौधरी]

जमा योजना की बड़ी रकमें भी वापिस करने की घोषणा करें। इस महंगाई के युग में काले धन वालों के अतिरिक्त सभी को धन का अभाव है, और टैक्स आज भी हमारे यहां धन्य देशों से, इस गरीब देश में, अधिक हैं। माननीय मंत्री महोदय यह बात मुझ से अधिक जानते हैं।

मैं विनम्रतापूर्वक वित्त मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करूंगी कि काला धन बाहर लाने की योजना से मैं सहमत नहीं हूँ। यह तो एक प्रकार से बेईमानी का पुरस्कार है। मैं बहुत अदब के साथ इसका विरोध करती हूँ। इससे सरकार की तटस्थता को एक धक्का पहुंचता है। जिनके पास भी इस तरह का काला धन जमा है, उसको हिम्मत और साहस के साथ निकालने की योजना होनी चाहिए तो देश को खुशी हो सकती है। अष्टाचार निवारण के लिए यह समाज के लिए एक सबक होगा। हमारी सरकार उनके ऊपर कुछ सख्ती करे।

सभापति महोदय, इस माननीय सदन में कृषि उत्थान की चर्चा सबसे अधिक सुनायी देती है। वित्त मंत्री ने अपने बजट भाषण में उसका जिक्र किया है। किन्तु देखने में यह आता है कि किसान के पास खेती के लिए अगर खाद है तो पानी नहीं है, पानी है तो खाद नहीं है। इस तरह कृषि की पैदावार नहीं बढ़ सकती।

सिर्फ एक बात मैं जरूर कहना चाहूंगी और वह है राष्ट्र भाषा के बारे में। इस साल 26 जनवरी को हम लोगों को बड़ी आशा थी कि संविधान में जिस राष्ट्र भाषा को हम ने मान्यता दी है—हम राजभाषा के प्रश्न को तै कर चुके हैं—वह अपने आसन पर आसीन हो जाएगी। लेकिन हमारे साथ ठीक वही बात हुई जैसी कि अयोध्या के राजा श्री रामचन्द्र को जब राज्य तिलक का समय था तो उनको बनवास हुआ था। राजा रामचन्द्र को तो बनवास हुआ था 14 वर्ष के लिए लेकिन हिन्दी के यह बनवास की अवधि मालूम

नहीं कब समाप्त होगी। राजा राम के बनवास की अवधि 14 वर्ष में पूरी हो गई थी लेकिन हमारी राज भाषा के बनवास की अवधि मालूम नहीं कब पूरी होगी? मैं अपनी भाषा में, एक कवि की भाषा में, इस को अदा करना चाहती हूँ और सरकार से इस के लिए प्रार्थना करना चाहूंगी कि इस डिलमिल नीति से, मुझे यह कहने के लिए क्षमा किया जाय, इस से काम नहीं चलेगा। जो बात तय कर दी गई है उस पर हमें दृढ़ता से पालन करना चाहिए।

15 20 hrs

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्या अब समाप्त करें।

श्रीमती कमला चौधरी : बस मैं यह अपनी कविता पढ़ कर समाप्त कर रही हूँ।

“सावधान हो पहरेदारों, तूफानों की चाल
निहारो
संकट में मत हिम्मत हारो, अपना गत इतिहास
बिचारो

उठा रही सर हिंसा नागिन

गांधी के शुचि देश में

एक साथ दूढ़ हो कर तुम ने, भारत को
प्राज्ञाद कराया

प्रेम अहिंसा ध्येय बना कर, तुम ने मान विजय
का पाया

शान्ति अमन का बिगुल बना कर, सारे जग
को है अपनाया

दुनिया को गीता-दर्शन का चमत्कार अद्भूत
दिखलाया

छोड़ रहे क्यों उस सम्बल को, तोड़ रहे
क्यों जोड़े दल को

है भविष्य के उज्जने तारों, देश धर्म का
मर्म विचारो
प्रजातन्त्र की नींव न खोरो
भाषा के आवेश में
सीमाओं पर शत्रु खड़ा है, विपदाओं का
बोम बड़ा है
फिर भी लश्कर टूट रहा है, घर में ही विष
फूट रहा है
बहक रहे हैं कदम तुम्हारे, बिछा रहें पथ
में धंगारे
बृद्धता बन्धन टूट रहे हैं, रस्ते पीछे छूट
रहे हैं
भारत मां के चरण पखारो, असली दुश्मन
को ललकारो
अपनी साख न मिटने पाये, एका तनिक न
घटने पाये
फिर विश्वास जमाओ अपना
गांधी जी के सन्देश में ।

पबंत की अगणित धारारों, मिल कर ही गंगा
बन जाती
प्रान्त प्रान्त की बहुरंग मिट्टी मिल कर ही
भारत कहलाती
जन-जन की अनगिनत बोलियां मिल कर ही
साहित्य सजातीं
जन-जन की ताकत स्वदेश को, मिल कर
ही बलवान बनातीं
तामिल, तेलगू और बंगाली, सभी मिलो
लाओ खुशहाली
अंग्रेजी की छोड़ गुलामी, बनो राज भाषा
के हामी
सब व्यवधान मिटाओ मिल कर
धीर वीर के वेश में
उठा रही सिर हिंसा नागिन
गांधी जी के शुचि देश में ॥

श्री पाराशर (शिवपुरी) : उपाध्यक्ष
महोदय, मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय को उन्होंने
इस बजट के फाइनेंस बिल की धारा 82 में जो
प्रस्ताव किया है कि नमक कर हटाया जायगा,
नमक कर को मिटाने का जो उन्होंने प्रस्ताव
किया है मैं इसके लिये उन्हें बधाई देना चाहता
हूँ। मुझे उम्मीद है कि वह यहां पास हो जायगा
राष्ट्रपिता गांधी जी ने सारा जीवन इस के लिये
प्रयास किया लेकिन उन के जीवन काल में यह
नहीं हो सका। हम ने भी अनेक वर्षों से
इस के लिये प्रयास किया। देर आयद, दुःस्त
आयद। देर से ही सही लेकिन फाइनेंस
मिनिस्टर ने इसे सोचा तो। हालांकि इस का
महत्व बहुत कम हो चुका है यहां तक कि
उन्होंने ने कहीं अपने भाषण में भी इस का
जिक्र तक नहीं किया कि इस को प्रपोज करने
वाले हैं, फिर भी कभी भी उन्होंने किया
उस के लिए वह बधाई के पात्र हैं और मैं
इस के लिये उन्हें बधाई देता हूँ।

इस के साथ ही साथ मैं उन को यह भी
निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यदि वह एक
काम इस में न करते, अपने बजट में, तो
शायद हम यह कह सकते कि भले ही लड़खड़ाते
पैरों से उन्होंने चलना शुरू किया है लेकिन
चलो ठीक दिशा में बढ़े तो हैं, समाजवाद
की ओर उन्होंने कम से कम चलना तो शुरू
किया भले ही लड़खड़ाते पैरों से शुरू किया
हो। झांकना तो शुरू किया समाजवाद की
ओर ऐसा कम से कम हमारा ख्याल होता।
समाजवाद की परिभाषा को जाने दीजिए,
वह बड़ी लम्बी परिभाषा हो जायेगी, उस पर
एक मत भी नहीं है लेकिन यह बात तो माननी
पड़ेगी कि प्रत्येक मनुष्य को उस के जीवन-
यापन की जो मामूली आवश्यक वस्तुयें हैं,
भोजन, वस्त्र और रहने को मकान, यह तो
हर एक को चाहिये ही। लेकिन आज हम क्या
देख रहे हैं? झुग्गी झोंपड़ियों को हटाया जा
रहा है, जबरदस्ती धक्के मार कर उन को
निकाला जा रहा है और ऐसा करने में

[श्री पाराशर]

अक्सर इंसान और बच्चे मर जाते हैं, उन का हार्टफेल हो जाता है। झुग्गी झोंपड़ी वालों की समस्या क्या है ?

सरकार चाहती है कि शहरों में सम्पत्ति न बने। घरबन प्रापरटी को उन्होंने ने उत्साहित नहीं किया है। उस पर आप ने रोक लगा दी है अपने बजट में। मैं इस का कोई हामी नहीं हूँ कि शहरों में सम्पत्ति बढ़े लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि कम से कम कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटीज के जरिए, आप इस समस्या को हल करने का प्रयास तो करते। लेकिन आप ने उसे नहीं देखा। आप शहरों में मकान बढ़ाने नहीं देना चाहते, झुग्गी झोंपड़ी वालों को निकाल भी देना चाहते हैं जिस का कि मतलब यह है कि आप के विचार में कोई चीज स्पष्ट ही नहीं है। आप के दिमाग में कोई स्पष्ट रूप रेखा नहीं है जिस के लिए कि मुझे बड़ा अफसोस होता है।

अब मैं आप से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस के पहले कि मैं दो प्रश्नों पर कुछ कहूँ, एक तो इस देश की रक्षा के लिये जो कि आप की ओर से प्रयास हो रहा है उस के सम्बन्ध में और दूसरे कुछ ऐसे पिछड़े इलाकों के सम्बन्ध में जिस के लिए कि आप कोई प्रयास नहीं कर रहे हैं, इस के पहले कि मैं उन दोनों प्रश्नों पर प्रकाश डालूँ, मैं आप के इस बजट के सम्बन्ध में जो आज आप ने कुछ नये प्रपोजल्स दिये हैं उन के सम्बन्ध में अर्थशास्त्र की दृष्टि से, (एकोनामिस्ट की दृष्टि में) थोड़ा सा विवेचन करना चाहता हूँ। आप ने पर्सनल इनकम टैक्स के स्ट्रक्चर में जो थोड़ा चेंज किया है और आप ने जो सिम्पलीफिकेशन किया है उस के कैलकुलेशन को, उस के लिए आप निश्चित रूप से बधाई के पात्र हैं लेकिन साथ ही साथ, मैं आप से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आप ने अपनी गणना की पद्धति कुछ ऐसी कर दी है जिस से टैक्स बजाय कम लगने के और ज्यादा उस में

आ जाता है। उस को दुरुस्त कर के देख लीजिए। उदाहरण के तौर पर आप ने प्राबिडेंट फंड और लाइफ इंश्योरेंस पहले जहाँ 10,000 रुपये तक ऐग्रेगमेट था अब वह ऐग्रेगमेशन लिमिट बढ़ा कर 12,500 तक कर दी है। इतनी लिमिट तक आप ने टैक्स की रिलीफ दी है। देखने में यह बड़ा अच्छा मानूम होता है कि इससे रिलीफ मिलेगी लेकिन आप ने जो कैलकुलेशन की पद्धति रखी है उस के मुताबिक एग्सेस को कुछ ज्यादा ही देना पड़ेगा। इसलिये इस सम्बन्ध में आप को विचार करने की जरूरत है।

ठीक इसी प्रकार से टैक्स स्ट्रक्चर के सम्बन्ध में कुछ सर्टिफिकेट देने की आप ने स्कीम निकाली है। लेकिन मेरा कहना है कि टैक्स क्रेडिट सर्टिफिकेट की आप की स्कीम एक समान दृष्टि से देखने वाली होनी चाहिये थी।

इंटरप्राइजिंग इंडस्ट्रीज जो कि इंटरप्राइज कर के मोडरनाइजेशन करना चाहती हैं उन को आप ने उस स्कीम से बंचित कर दिया है तो क्या आप उन को लाभ देना चाहते हैं जो कि लैथार्जिक हैं? अभी हमारे एक भाई ने पालकी वाले का जिक्र किया था। मैं आप के सामने हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स के 24 मार्च के अंक में जो एक लेख निकला है उस की तरफ ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ जिस में यह कहा गया है कि न्यू टैक्स क्रेडिट स्कीम रिवाइज फोर लैथार्जी है। जो अपनी इंडस्ट्रीज की उन्नति न करे और लैथार्जिक बना रहे उस को तो आप इनाम देना चाहते हैं लेकिन जो इंटरप्राइज करके मोडरनाइजेशन कर के अपनी इंडस्ट्री की तरक्की करे उस को आप कोई इनाम नहीं देना चाहते हैं यह आप ने कौन सी बुद्धिमाना का परिचय दिया है? मुझे तो ताज्जुब होता है कि उन से कैसे यह भूल और गलती हो गई? मैं चाहता हूँ

कि वित्त मंत्री जी खास तौर पर इस सम्बन्ध में विचार करने की कोशिश करेंगे ।

इस तरीके से आप ने एक्साइज ड्यूटी में रिलीफ दिया है, रिआयत दी है लेकिन जैसा कि कई भाइयों ने कहा उस रिआयत में आपको टैक्सटाइल इंडस्ट्री को भी शामिल करना चाहिये था । गरीब जनता के पहनने के मोटे कपड़े पर रिलीफ देनी चाहिये । इसी तरह से फारेन एक्सचेंज को मजबूत करने के लिये, एक्सपोर्ट करने वाली जो चीजें हैं उन को भी आप को इस में शामिल करना चाहिए था । इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि आप इस सर्किल को थोड़ा वाइड कीजिये, थोड़ा चौड़ा कीजिये और उन चीजों को आप जरूर बढ़ावा दीजिये ।

अब मैं एक ही बात कह कर अपना भाषण पांच मिनट के अन्दर ही समाप्त कर दूंगा । हिन्दुस्तान की हिफाजत के लिए मेरा यह निश्चित मत है कि देश को ऐटम बम बनाना चाहिए । मैं दलीलें दे सकता था कि ऐटम बनाना देश के लिए क्यों आवश्यक है लेकिन उस के लिए समय नहीं है, उपयुक्त समय आने पर कभी फिर मैं निवेदन करूंगा । आप यह कहते हैं कि कौनाडा से हमारा अनुबन्ध है और उन की जो टैकनीकल ऐड उस के बनाने में हमें मिली थी उस वक्त हम ने वायदा किया था कि हम केवल शांति के लिए ही ऐटम का इस्तेमाल करेंगे तो मेरा कहना है कि हम उन की ऐड से न बनायें, अपनी खुद की शक्ति, एफर्ट से हमें ऐटम बम बनाना चाहिए और उस के लिए जितना भी पैसा चाहिए देश वह पैसा देने के लिये तैयार है । अगर आप ऐटम बनाने पर पैसा खर्च करेंगे तो कोई उस पर ऐतराज नहीं करेगा क्योंकि देश की रक्षा सर्वोपरि है ।

एक दूसरी चीज यह है कि आप समझते हैं कि आप रिटैलियेशन के लिए भी ऐटम बम का इस्तेमाल नहीं करना चाहते । जैसा आप का स्टेटमेंट निकला है और जैसा

कि आभास हो रहा है उस से पता चलता है कि आप इस नतीजे पर पहुंच चुके हैं कि ऐटम बम आप को बनाना पड़ेगा । हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने कहा था कि फिलहाल हम उस पर विचार नहीं कर पाये हैं । अब फिलहाल के क्या माने हैं ? इस फिलहाल के क्या मानी हैं ? अगर फिलहाल के मानी यह होते हैं कि आप ऐटम बम बनाना चाहते हैं तो स्पष्ट कीजिये । दुनिया के सामने साफ साफ कह दीजिये, हिन्दुस्तान की 44 करोड़ जनता के सामने घोषणा कर दीजिये कि अगर कोई हमारे देश पर ऐटम बम से हमला करेगा तो हिन्दुस्तान के पास ऐटम बम भी है, ऐटम बम कैरियर्स भी हैं लेकिन हम उन को तब तक नहीं चलायेंगे जब तक कि कोई हम पर ऐटम बम से हमला नहीं करेगा और हम पर ऐटम बम नहीं गिराया जायगा ।

पिछड़े वर्ग के लोगों और पिछड़े इलाकों के लिये इस सरकार की ओर से कुछ भी नहीं हो रहा है । उदाहरण के तौर पर मैं तीन वर्ष से कह रहा हूँ कि झांसी सवाई माधोपुर के ऐरिया में एक रेलवे लाइन निकालनी है । आप को चम्बल का पुल पाली पर बनाना है । कोरबा के फटिलाइजर प्लांट को आप मध्य प्रदेश से हटा कर ले जा रहे हैं यह बात आप को नहीं करनी है । इस प्रकार से आप को बहुत से ऐसे काम करने होंगे तभी जा कर इस देश की तरक्की होगी । अगर देश का संतुलित तरीके से विकास नहीं किया जायगा और एकांगी तरीके से यह विकास का कार्य किया जायेगा तो देश की तरक्की नहीं होगी । इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना स्थान ग्रहण करता हूँ ।

Shri Krishna Menon (Bombay City North): I must confess to a sense of suffering from the impact of the events of the last 24 hours in approaching any political problem or making any political speeches at the present time. Our latest exercise in democracy has resulted in a still birth. What its consequences and implications are or will

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be it is too early for us to say. All we can say is that it is not one of the glorious chapters of our recent history.

This is neither the occasion nor the place, and the time is past, because we heard about it after the event, to talk about it. So, I pass on from there to do my first duty, and that is to congratulate my former colleague, the Finance Minister, on a Budget which has been skilfully presented, and which, in its first four introductory pages, has set the tone.

The Finance Minister is a lover of music, and therefore knows all about tones, but I think he also knows, which I know but little that tones should have certain relation to tune, to scales, to rhythm and harmony. I know enough to admit that these are not easy to achieve, and while a person may be a lover of music, he may not be a musical artist, and if he is, he may be still in the process of development.

Furthermore, I want to speak about the artistry of this Budget. It is not the Finance Minister's habit to let down anybody lightly, but he has let us all down rather smoothly from one set of economic policies into another. That is to say, there is no announcement of any fundamental changes from our Industrial Policy, or from the Resolutions of the ruling party or anything of that kind. The change is sought to be achieved by institutional changes or terms of economic relations. The Finance Minister is far too good a parliamentarian to be able to come and say that he will put down the plans for the next four years, because no Parliament can bind any future Parliament, but every Government can create institutions which in effect bind Parliament.

We have, therefore, before us what, in words, is said in the President's Speech to be "a Statement of Revenue and Expenditure". Neither in this country, nor in any other, since the World War

one, have Budgets been merely Statements of Revenue and Expenditure. They are statements of Economic Policy, and I have the very sound authority of the Finance Minister himself, I believe it is at page 14, where he says: that Budgets cannot be mere Statements of Revenue and Expenditure. He has also assisted us by placing before the House in the beginning of the Session an Economic Survey, which, I believe, at least some people would have read. Therefore, the claims that are made for this Budget should not be taken from mere press reports of Surplus, Deficit, this, that and the other. Speaking for myself, these words of Surplus and Deficit have meaning only in terms of their economic content. Any accountant can produce a "surplus". In fact, every Balance Sheet looks balanced at both ends. Therefore, a surplus or a deficit can in a sense be produced. I myself do not attach great importance to it, but if I have the time, I will come back to it a little later.

Therefore, we will have to think of the Budget in terms of the economic policies, in terms of its relation to economic development. Thinking in terms of economic development means the relation of these proposals to the orientation, the ethos that is given to them, and their relation to either the growth or the contraction of the National Product and the social content of that national product, and the impact and relation of all these on the bulk of our population, on our social development, on our morale, our place in the world and our capacity to contribute to peace on this planet. These are the essential criteria and content of a modern economic policy.

Before I go into it further, I want to say that any person, to whatever political party he may belong, who tries to say that there has been no great economic development in our country, that our economic growth

and development is not comparable with what has taken place in other places, either at this time or in the past, would be speaking against the content of historical facts. There has been considerable Growth, enlargement of the content of the National Product as such; there has been increase in Agricultural and Industrial production; there has been enlistment of larger numbers of people in the field of industrial employment, much larger than in other spheres. But our Constitution enjoins upon us to take into account the fact, which even the highest court in our land lays down, that the working population are partners in production and development. In that context, this National Product and the increase in our national product, from 2½ to 4½ per cent now or something like that, is very creditable, and is high compared to the development in Japan of a similar period, that is in the beginning of this century. But this growth is not reflected however in its beneficial impact in respect of the stomachs of the people.

I am not today going to speak on Food or Agriculture, particularly because I see Dr. Ram Subhag Singh—he has left the Food Ministry, but he still speaks about it a great deal. Therefore, when we speak, first of all we should think in terms of the last 17 years. It is said that the Budget is a projection of the future, it is a grand strategy as it is called and the delineation of the equilibrium that should emerge, but when we look back on the last 17 years we find—I am not going into the whole history—that the main outstanding feature in our economy is Community-Controlled Enterprise, which is what is popularly called public sector—how public it is is another matter, and similarly how private the private sector is, is also another matter—but the place of the public sector be laid down, it should occupy the commanding heights of the economy in order that the equilibrium of development might be such that, without violence and at the same time without taking away the initiative of the people, it would be possible to

move our society towards Social Justice. Our structure today is, therefore, what sometimes people have called a mongrel structure, but this is inevitable in the historical context of our time.

In this Budget, if you look at pages 5 and 6, are set out the main aims—not the aims, but the problems that are before us, and the Finance Minister tells us that there should be “new and complex” developments. I do not know what the words “complex developments” mean; perhaps complex in the sense that they are not purely national; in that sense they are complex. And the ingredients required for it are said to be capital and know-how, the Ploughing back of savings, the participation of citizens—(we all know who these citizens are) for it is not the whole or bulk of people. It says, and I repeat, that there must be an “attractive return for the Capital that is invested”. It says the aim of our policy should be attractive return for the capital that is invested. This is a little different from what we heard before.

The Finance Minister has used an expression—I hope he will explain a little later—about “planning in depth.” He says ‘planning in depth.’ There is no doubt there should be planning in depth because the essence of planning for all these 17 years has been its depth, but in the “depth” we should not find ourselves rooted in somebody else’s country! That is a very different kind of “depth” it should not be a depth from where we cannot find the base and direction of the Plan. Then that is another matter altogether.

15.41 hrs.

[Mr. SPEAKER in the Chair]

The Finance Minister also says there must be provision of loan finance. I think it must be said to the credit of the Finance Minister that he has provided for this loan finance, in what he likes to call, his surpluses. He also speaks about the “maximisation” of the fruits of the past as such. But maximisation of the fruits of the

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past is one of those things in terms of which, a great deal can be said about economic and industrial relations. These, however, have to come hereafter along with the momentum of planning.

I wonder,—in view of the shortness of time, the limitation of time on the one hand and of my capacity on the other—they are such that it is not possible to deal with this very helpful document in any adequate detail. I would like to point out, just for the purpose of getting an idea of it all, the kind of slogans, the kind of things that we use to think of and say them. Then i.e., formerly, we spoke of development and used the great phrase of the “take-off”, and self-generation, self-sufficiency, self-reliance and a number of other things. But now, what do we say? We say, or rather, we do not say but we work for the creation of greater monopolies and “Incentives” to Capital, more and more Incentives to Capital: that means, foreign capital for the most part.

We hear it also being said that social justice is not consistent with economic growth. I do not expect any such statements from the Finance Minister or any of his colleagues though some “experts” in purdah in his ministry might say sometimes such things in “Seminars”. But those with whom he is closely associated or his policies are closely associated, those who speak in International Centres, so called, and other places, have put out during the last few weeks that social justice is inconsistent with economic growth. Recently, it took place in this city—what is called a Round Table. How round it was, I do not know. There were six Indians on one side and six Americans on the other. Four Indians joined the six Americans and left two Indians aside. Two Indians are good enough, I suppose, for six Americans and four Indians who crossed out. But there it is. What they said was that social justice and economic growth could not always go on together. What

is more, the Labour Leader Expert said that even in the labour organisations in the United States or elsewhere, they have not got enough social justice. But it must be said to the credit of Prof. Rao and Dr. Lokanathan that they said that social justice has to be not only a concomitant but a pre-requisite to economic growth.

We hear certain things being said from commanding heights. I am sure Shri T. T. Krishnamachari would not mind if I say this: I have not got the “chapter and verse” here, but he will find it in the book. He tells us that the key to the whole of his policy is that foreign investment is the catalyst, or a catalyst. Catalyst, Mr. Speaker, is not my word. He says foreign investment is the catalyst in development of the future. I would like to give you the meaning of the word catalyst. It is a process; that is to say, the effect produced by a substance that, without undergoing a change itself, aids in the chemical changes in others. That is to say, that the foreign investment and everything else that comes here, they would remain unchanged while the rest changes under the influence of this catalyst process. This catalyst process which is supposed to be in the pivot, the main feature of this new economy is, in my humble submission, totally contrary to the objectives of the Indian National Congress, contrary not in words, but in the principles of our policy and what is more, the orientation that we have to take.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am afraid the clock travels faster than me. There are 48 pages in the budget speech of the Finance Minister which, I must say, for a Finance Minister is a brief one. You know in our Parliament there are no aids to the speaker, only simple water, not as in the British House of Commons. Within these 48 pages, the preliminaries take three and a half pages; four pages are covered by the private sector; four and a

half pages cover Incentives to Investment; three and a half pages are covered by the Budget Estimate; five pages by Indirect Taxes; four pages are devoted to Corporate Taxation; nine pages to Personal Taxation; one page to Export Promotion. And, in order that Dr. Ram Subhag Singh may not be disappointed, half a page to Agriculture!

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Railways (Dr. Ram Subhag Singh): We are always neglected!

Shri Krishna Menon: Agriculture in our country is responsible for 45 per cent of our national income.

An hon. Member: About 90 per cent of the people are agriculturists.

Shri Krishna Menon: It covers 63 million families in this vast country of ours with about 570,000 villages. It also "employs" untold millions that we do not know enough about and, what is more, the bulk of the people who are under-privileged are covered by agriculture. Not only is this subject covered by just half a page but there is no mention about the economic policy in regard to it. Of course, there is some mention about fertilisers and the production thereof, expansion, and so on. But in his statement about economic policy, there is no reference as to how the vast numbers of our population can be geared into the enterprise, the social, economic and industrial development. That is to say, there is no reference to Rural Industrialisation, as such. There is no possibility of our understanding how we can feel any growth in the Agricultural sector, apart from what has been called the maximisation of the momentum of past, and that it has to get everywhere. The real answer is, there will be the importation of Turnkey Fertiliser factories and we must consider in this context that even if we imported 300 million worth of fertilisers every year, whether that would make only a pound's worth in this country per head almost to which it would come later on.

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Therefore, the effect of this policy, in my submission, are certain casualties. The first casualty—in this reversal of this policy—is vision, that courage and the imagination and a sense of integrity in policy that there was in relation to it. The second casualty in this is the Public Sector. The third casualty,—or rather, it will become a casualty, now with which we are but embattled—in nationalism versus foreign intervention. It is a question—I do not know, but I take it like that—of nationalism on the one hand and economic imperialism on the other. I make no apology for making this statement. Personally,—as my colleague Shrimati Vijay Lakshmi Pandit knows—I object to the word "neo-colonialism", because there is nothing "neo" about this in colonialism. It was always there. That is the economic imperialism which is coming by the backdoor. The fourth Casualty is the draining away or the sapping away of our vitality and the lack of our looking into our own resources and the drawing on our capacity for self-help as such. Finally,—I am not exhausting this list—the first of these Casualties in terms of those affected will be the small men; not the smaller men and then the small, but first the small, then the smaller and then the not so large and then will come finally the not so very large. They are all affected by economic imperialism. That is the process of monopoly.

We heard in the last few years, when the late Prime Minister was alive, a great deal about our attacking the citadel of monopoly as such, but a great deal of the political, economic terms and propaganda that has gone into the development should be considered. It cannot be said that Members of Parliament and members of the public do not read almost these matters on the new policy, and Responsible members apart, such as the Home Minister, the Finance Minister and such others as the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Delhi and some more who are responsible members of our community are drawn in various ways into the drives that make

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for this formulation of our new economic policy. Therefore, these casualties are things which should argue us to thought and action. We should try to avoid them as best as possible. Perhaps the best way would be to quote Mr. John Lewis, Minister-Director to the United States Aid Programme in Delhi who has come to this country. He told Indian industrialists that there is a "shift" in our economic policy. There is no room for misunderstanding there, and we cannot dismiss it by saying it is not for him to say so. This shift in economic policy is to move away from community control.

The Finance Minister says that Bank credit is not available to the public sector and to the private. We are told, not in the Budget statement, but in the general economic talks that go on, that there is "freezing" in the flows of credit and money be found. With what little economics I know, and the studies I have made of this problem, I find there have been large sums of money coming into industries. But if stocks are not high in demand, it is because the money is absorbed into other fields where the profits are much higher. That is perhaps why people do not want to buy stocks. It is not correct to say that there is no capital formation. The issues have been phenomenally larger.

The Finance Minister was concerned about what he calls unaccounted money. One of the contributions that could be made towards making money more accountable is to take away the power of some of the great banking houses to cover these up. In spite of whatever might have been said by Government or anybody else, I think the time has come when the great Commercial Banks of this country have to be nationalised, not because of ideology, but because of economic and social reasons. That is where a great many of the anti-social factors find a way. What is more, they have transferred to them, some sovereign

powers which ought to rest in the Government itself. Still another reason is that if these great Commercial Banks are nationalised, banking would spread more into our community. The spread of banking in the Indian community is so small. In centres with a population of 5000 and below, 67 per cent have no banking facilities of any kind. All those small amounts of money which are tied at the end of the dhoti or put in a tin can remain idle; they are probably larger than all the uncovered money—reward of the Finance Minister's unearthing campaign. That they do not go into the pipeline of production as such. In the United States, if it is possible for Unit Banks to develop, it should be possible here also. They could be private but not monopolistic. If that is done, it would be possible for the vast mass of our population to have banking facilities. In the context of our scarcity of communications, it is essential that we take banking to the people and not only to the banks.

The basic forces are to be shifted from ourselves to the incentives for foreign capital. There is no reason why outside people should come and develop our country except for their benefit. I am glad hon. Members agree. What are those incentives? There are no reliable figures, except the figures supplied by the Reserve Bank in regard to the chemical industry. People talk about incentives for foreign capital. Foreign money goes into specific things like chemical industries, petroleum, engineering, etc. There is no question of piping foreign money into India as a whole unless it comes through the Government. This foreign executive has not to do with Government enterprises. That is all private investment equity Capital as such. Out of 85 chemical industries listed in the Reserve Bank report 35 of them have foreign collaborations. So far as my calculations go—my arithmetic may be wrong—their average returns by way of in and out flow

of money are about 25 per cent. That is where I said the casualty is national interest. You would get foreign collaboration, the return for which is 10, 15 or 20 per cent and the return of the capital may be in 20 years. Suppose the investment in collaboration is 100 million. It is said to be returned in 15 years according to some people; but we will give 25 years—says the foreign Minister. But in the first five years, as profits they will get back more than whatever they invested, making the spread-over of capital repatriation meaningless.

Recently the University of Columbia in the Law Department, God knows why, made a research into foreign international investments in India. What I am going to mention are not my figures; the Columbia Report said that between 1955 to 61, in six years, the inflow of foreign private capital into India was 212 crores. It was made up partly with Rs. 83 crores which were earned in India itself as profits. That leaves Rs. 129 crores. They exported in this period Rs. 73 crores as profits. That leaves in five years Rs. 55 crores roughly—Rs. 10 crores per year of net inflow. This is the net inflow. We have got to differentiate between the gross inflow and net inflow in these matters. Due to shortness of time and other things, I do not want to introduce into this any political or other considerations. I am giving only the economic factors.

No country can develop today without foreign collaboration. But I believe after 17 years of our development, after having talked about the take-off stage in the beginning of the third Plan, we have come to a stage where it is not necessary to go much outside, for equipment and know-how and for turn-key fertiliser factories. We were told, by the entrepreneur yesterday that if we want fertilizers, "we must allow investment in oil refineries" or, if we want capital for oil refineries "we will have to give participation in locomotives" and so on.

A great deal of play is made of the word production and distribution. I must have a sense of guilt about it too, because in some place I said in urging greater production that, you cannot distribute poverty and there must be greater production. There is no fundamental difference however between production and distribution. Production is distribution, because in the process of production, distribution takes place. When you build a house or locomotive, you are distributing at the same time wages, materials, etc. Production and distribution are a simultaneous and interrelated process, which cannot be separated. There is the usual traditional view; one of our senior colleagues told me once "Let anybody produce; what does it matter? Who does it? They are all here in the country; we will take them over." The position is, we would not take them over, but they will take us over. It is all very well to say, why have you such an inferiority complex? Because I have seen empire at work—the history of empires. This is the day when people want to be liberated from empires. People who are far less powerful than us will not permit their economy or industries and their moral, national and spiritual values to be dominated or conditioned. We as a nation have to stand up. We have also come to the stage when it is not necessary for us to be too dependent.

I want to offer my respectful congratulations to the hon. Finance Minister on his having said that there would not be any contraction of the size of the fourth plan. Any talk of contraction would not reflect the reality, because the third plan carries a momentum and there is the rise in population too to take into account. So, anybody who talks about contraction of the fourth plan is thinking in terms of the accountant's balance. Planning cannot be done by accountants and by money putting in figures the "balance". I will have to skip over many of these things, Mr. Speaker; I will perhaps come and talk to you some time.

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I yield to no one in appreciating the great developments that have taken place in our country. There is a great deal of talk of foreign collaboration. I had something to do with it as early as 15 years ago. Some of the projects which were to be finished in five years are still going on. During this period we have been buying equipments, spare parts and so on from the collaborators. This imperialist process goes on and will go on as long as we permit it.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I make suggestion for action, the time has come when the Government should consider the appointment of a committee of technical people, not attached to Government, not even Members of Parliament, but of economists and technical people to report on what has happened in all these matters during the last ten years. Let them report what is the net content of foreign collaboration in public and private enterprises.

16 h.s.

Secondly, the Railway Minister introduces in this Parliament, from time immemorial, a separate budget because the railways are a public enterprise. Incidentally, the railways did not become a public enterprise for ideological reasons. The dividends of the old railway companies were guaranteed on the revenues of India. Like the East India Company, their directors became richer and richer and the companies became poorer and poorer. So the Government introduced control. The British Government did not consider whether it was an imperial government or a socialist government or anything of that kind; they took over the railways as a business proposition to avoid losses. As a result, today the Railway Minister introduces a separate budget. It is all to the good. I believe, it is worth our consideration whether in view of the large number of public enterprises we have today and the consideration they should receive—not in the way of pin-

pricks—and the hope that all of us had that the public enterprises will grow and become one of the main sources of the income of our community, a separate budget like the Railway Budget is introduced. Budgets of the public enterprises sector should be presented and be discussed and considered by this Parliament.

I have also submitted that we should give consideration to the question of nationalisation of the Commercial Banks and also to the creation of a large net-work of Unit Banks which later would have no spider-web network all over the place whereby the economic life of the poor people is controlled, but would provide on the spot, and capacities and facilities for the population for investment.

It is also necessary to consider that, in view of the fact that Agriculture has progressed from what was, I believe, 47 million tons of food production before independence to somewhere about 72 million or 78 million or 80 million tons—it depends upon from where the statistics come—now, the time has come to look into the question whether this growth is keeping pace with the growth in population. If it is to keep pace with the growth in population, the material for its advancement has to be found. Here also a certain amount of *swadeshi* is necessary. A large quantity of our organic material has to be scientifically organised on a large-scale industrial basis so that whether it is green or other organic manure it comes into scientific processing as in countries like Japan and so on. We may then be less dependent on foreign investment and control and it will not be said to us of the foreigner that if we want fertilisers we will have to hand over our petroleum industry as well. I think there is a large quantum of industrial equilibrium which we have to seek, where we produce something, something is wasted, it comes back and thus the circuit goes on. There is an

enormous amount of organic material which would nourish our soil in this way.

It is also necessary to consider whether out of the 70 million to 90 million acres of what is called waste land that we have—I am not talking of Madhya Pradesh only—Government could not consider converting them into productive land. The Government should consider whether instead of the present device of importing large quantities of foodgrains from other countries which have the effect of depressing the incentives of our farmers it would not be possible to make these waste lands into the granaries of India. Large scale of farming on an industrial scale would be possible. Their main function should be to supply reserves and build up buffer-stocks as such so that we do not force food crisis. We could build up "Suratgarhs" in different States on as large or larger scale.

The fourth suggestion I would like to make is about the extension of the social services. The Education Minister is not here. It is 17 to 18 years since we attained independence. When we became independent it was said and he aimed that after 15 years there should be no illiteracy in this country. It is quite true that literacy is not necessary either for health, wealth or anything of the kind. But literacy is a hall-mark of equality in democracy. Those who are illiterate will tend to become a separate caste; they will become under-privileged. If on the other hand a few of them have other power, economic, social or otherwise, these will be used in a less informed way than otherwise. For these reasons universal literacy must be accepted as a process to be speeded up which is necessary for the purpose of democracy. I think it is time that this Parliament looks into the question of extension of our social service programmes which can no longer be done on what may be called the pilot model of getting civil servants. There is no reason why the civil servants should be subjected to all these as

experiments. After all, they work like everyone else. Incidentally, I found that at the round table to which I referred, the 'constructive' contribution made by a former Finance Minister was Shri Dey's department should be abolished. I do not say 'constructive'. I said 'constructive' in inverted commas. I do not regard the Delhi Vice-Chancellor's proposal as a constructive suggestion.

I do not want to shift my attention to what may appear as a stress on the importance of surplus in Budgets. There is nothing inherently wrong in deficit financing and there is nothing particularly virtuous in a surplus budget because it depends on how you make the budget and the economic circumstances and development plans at a given time. In this particular case the surplus is made up of Rs. 121 crores that comes from the PL 480 funds. Furthermore, the Finance Minister himself says that all long-term loans are deficit financing. Anyhow, 70 per cent of them would be of the character of deficit financing. Therefore, of the Rs. 100 crores that he has provided for, somewhere about Rs. 70 crores must be reckoned deficit financing. It is, in my submission, as wrong to say that there is something sinful about deficit financing as for me to tell Shri Morarka that his business has an overdraft in the bank and therefore he should not be in business. Whoever runs business on his own money? Nobody does business on his own money. It is done either on Government money or on bank money by way of bank overdrafts. This is akin to saying that deficit financing is an over-draft on the community.

Therefore, I want to say, the only reason why I spoke in this and did not refer to any of the other items that come under the Demands for Grants is that we appear to be having a tendency to shift the balance of our policy. I want to say, speaking for myself, that the masses or our people are not quite unaware of this. Our poverty is very vast. We have to

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eliminate poverty. It is not a question of passing resolutions or making speeches. It has to be covered and provided for by institutional changes and arrangements in the terms of Economic. For instance in Agriculture it is to be covered by the quantum of fertiliser available, proper distribution and other things as well.

Sir, I have not said one word about the escalation or reduction of taxes. I do not intend to take the time of the House except to say, generally speaking, this is a rich man's budget. The reliefs given are not to or for very small people. But what we have to remember is this. Direct taxation in our country covers only a microscopic section of the population. I am not talking of the rich ones only. Even if you take the people of Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000 per month income group, they form a very small section of the population. The taxation that covers everybody is a taxation that Gandhiji abolished—the salt tax. When the British were there there was only one salt tax; now there are several such taxes to meet our revenue requirements. That is to say, every conceivable commodity comes in for a degree of indirect taxation in one way or another and the individual citizen pays. The incidence of the taxation is heavier on the poor man than on the rich man. Therefore, in maintaining social justice it is necessary for us to consider whether—what methodology I cannot say—the burden cannot be distributed with a reality of equality in burden.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wonder if you will forgive me if I extend the time that you have conceded to me, as I find the burden that I have to bear by way of answer to charges is getting heavier with every speaker. My hon. friend who sat down just now, may I say, my colleague, a good friend, accused me of—or, shall I say, he praised me for being musical.

Shri Krishna Menon: I said a lover of music.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I go a step further. Though I do not exude a love of music, I happen to know something about it.

An hon. Member: Do you sing yourself?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: May I say also that music is divided practically into two categories, Western and Indian music; eastern if you like, but Indian music is predominant? And there is a basis for the classification which distinguishes the two types of music. Western music depends upon harmony and Indian music depends upon melody.

Shri Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh (Parbhani): And Parliamentary music?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Upon harsh voices.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am afraid the music that we had here at the commencement of the budget discussion was more Western in its texture and character than eastern. It started with my hon. friend, Shri Masani—who has not honoured us with his presence today, who set the pace, I am afraid, for the tone and character of the discussion, which luckily many hon. friends did not seem worthwhile adopting. The counterpoint was provided by my hon. friend, Shri Krishna Menon. In character they resemble because they are both negative, the point of it being that both being foreign, largely because both these hon. gentlemen had been inducted and inculcated in the spirit of foreign civilisation. They aimed at harmony and produced disharmony.

I would not like to cross swords with my friend and colleague—I consider him still a colleague—a member of my party; it does not seem seemly for me to extend my criticism to members of my party, because most of

them speak about the Finance Minister and the budget perhaps with personal reasons. Perhaps it is a fact that their pet corn has been trodden by something I have said or I have not done. But I would be failing in my duty if I do not point out a lighter side of the intervention of my hon. friend, Shri Krishna Menon. He brought, as he does wherever he goes, a touch of the Roman Pro-consul and he, very nearly perhaps as a soloist, repeated the performance depicted for us by Shakespeare in his memorable play Julius Caesar, swinging between various moods, the mood of Brutus, the mood of Cassius, the oration of Mark Antony, willing to wound but afraid to strike. Perhaps I have done with Shri Krishna Menon and I shall say no more by way of reply to what he has said.

In this diversion which has been provided by my hon. friend I should not forget my duty to the House. Therefore, at the outset I would like to express my gratitude to a very large number of hon. Members who took part in the general debate. In my budget speech I had expressed the hope that apart from balancing the plusses and minuses in Government accounts, this year's budget would have to set the stage for the Fourth Plan. I am afraid, I find myself in agreement with Shri Krishna Menon. To this end, I have attempted in my budget proposals to import a measure of stability to the economy, to provide for the growing needs of development and to encourage greater production and more efficient use of resources already invested, to give a measure of relief both in direct and indirect taxation, to the extent possible. I admit that it has not been possible for me to give relief to any large extent because of the overriding consideration that the other objects that I had mentioned could not be sacrificed. I am naturally gratified, being human, that mixed with some condemnation, some pointing out the failures, most of the hon. Members who have taken part in the debate have been

in agreement with this underlying approach of this budget. It is only to be expected that even those who are in general agreement should have some criticisms and suggestions to offer. I would like to assure hon. Members that I propose to give the most serious consideration to these suggestions. Indeed, in the latter part of my remarks this evening I propose to indicate a few changes that I want to make in the Finance Bill when it comes up for consideration before the House.

It is natural also that, in a representative assembly like this, there should be some—why some, even many—hon. Members who find themselves in disagreement with certain parts of my budget proposals. My hon. friend, Shri Masani, for example, thought that the budget is inflationary. He had the benefit of the accumulated wisdom of these years in explaining what is inflation and what is not inflation. He said that it is not conducive to improvement in the balance-of-payments position or the promotion of growth. There were other friends who said that the budget proposals represent a retreat from the socialist ideal. My good friend, Shri Nath Pai, who also is not here, in his very laudable desire to spare me from indigestion, went as far as to accuse me of surreptitious budgeting. I do not know how that could be done. Perhaps, he might tell us something about it.

Sir, if you would permit me I would like to take some of the general criticisms before I come to the specific points raised by hon. Members. It is a pity that I have to refer to Shri Masani, even though he is not here. Because, spoken word hurts. We have a saying in a very well-known work in South India that the scar that is created by burn heals but the scar that is created by the spoken word does not. I am afraid my hon. friends opposite, be they from one party or another, have been indulging in attempts to inflict scars created by the spoken word.

Shri Kapur Singh (Ludhiana): Are they unhealable?

Shri Vasudevan Nair (Ambalapur-zha): Do you take them to heart?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I am afraid that is what the South Indian saying is. Shri Masani made great play of dealing with some of the specific aspects of the budget proposals to support his thesis. He, however, showed his real hand when he disclosed what he described as his alternative to my budget. Stripped of metaphors, parables, vituperation and invective, Shri Masani stands for a sizable reduction in taxation by an equally sizable reduction in expenditure—both Plan and non-Plan. I think in this he errs on the side of moderation, because I have heard in an assembly which was held somewhere else during the last week, people spoke about a taxless society. Of course, I do not know if my hon. friend, Shri Krishna Menon is very near it himself. Because, all indirect or direct taxation hurts the people. Perhaps, he also agrees that the taxless society is the best. It is a very curious polarisation in our political life. You do not know what will happen tomorrow.

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): It is a taxless society or tactless society?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: The recipe of my hon. friend from the Sivatantra Party is to scrap the Fourth Five Year Plan and to extend the Third Five Year Plan from 5 years to 7 years. Perhaps he had this in mind that the Third Five Year Plan had some elastic character about it like India Rubber. If we give up our plans, says Shri M. R. Masani, then we shall be able to avoid inflation and balance of payments difficulties and stimulate faster growth. I do not know how that will happen. I am afraid I can only say in reply to such a proposition that it is unacceptable to us. I have no doubt at all that the proposition is equally unacceptable to

the greater part of our country. Shri M. R. Masani and his party really believe in scrapping the Plan and leaving the development of the country to the tender mercy of *laissez-faire*. I think that they ought to carry this doctrine of *laissez-faire* to the electorate and wait for the results.

There is a tendency to disparage our own achievements under the Five Year Plans and to shut one's eyes to our real achievements. This is not the occasion for me to recount the progress of the Indian economy during the past ten or twelve years. Shri A. P. Jain—I am very sorry I was not present when he spoke—had already mentioned the fact that Indian industry has achieved progressively higher rates of growth from Plan to Plan. Taken as whole, our record in regard to agricultural production also compares well with that of most other countries.

I would like to say that the expectation of foodgrain production this year is in the region of 87 million tons. A great deal was made of the fact that the real income during the first two years of the Plan increased only at the modest rate of 2.5 per cent a year as a result of bad agricultural harvest. This rate of growth had already been stepped up to about 4.5 per cent in the third year, and during 1964-65, when weather conditions have been good, we have been able, according to preliminary estimates, to estimate an overall growth in real terms of something just a little short of 7 per cent. Taking the bad and the good together, our record of growth during the Third Five Year Plan is not unsatisfactory. I would be the last one to claim that it has been satisfactory either. But we shall have to continue to strive to improve upon this performance in the future.

Some figures were mentioned. I would like to say this on the question of agriculture which has only got half a page in my budget. I shall deal with the question of the primary responsi-

bility in regard to agriculture later. But I would like to say that the expenditure on irrigation during the three plans was about Rs. 1417 crores. Rural electrification which has been badly neglected in the first two Plans has been stepped up during the Third Plan, and during the first four years, we have spent nearly Rs. 53 crores on rural electrification. Also, in the case of fertilisers where it is apparently objectionable to install fertiliser factories here in this country, we have been importing fertilisers for the first four years of the order of about Rs. 104 crores.

I had promised some time back that I might be able to give this House an idea in greater detail than what the memorandum provides, of the Fourth Five Year Plan. I have to apologise to this House that I am not in a position to do it today, because we have not got to that stage of thinking where I would be able to put it in language in which I could convey the ideas to this House. I have got to defer that privilege to some later occasion. But let me make it clear, however, to Shri M. R. Masani and his friends that no matter what they say, there shall be a Fourth Five Year Plan with a progressive increase in investment outlays from year to year, and we have enough confidence in the dynamism of the Indian economy to be able to say that these increases in investment will be financed in a non-inflationary manner.

Having given his diagnosis and remedy, Shri Masani lapsed into a bit of psycho-analysis. He mentioned that we in the present Government are pursuing wrong policies. Of course, we are otherwise, why should Shri Masani speak at all?—Because we are prisoners of our horrible legacy and because we are advised by a Planning Commission whose members are fellow-travellers! He made a reference to two hon. members of the Planning Commission. One of them is Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, who I do not think even in a remote manner in a dream could be characterised

as a fellow-traveller. I am glad that my hon. friend, Shri Krishna Menon, thinks he is a reactionary.

Shri Krishna Menon: I am sure the Finance Minister does not want to misrepresent me. I said to the contrary.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: As a matter of fact, misrepresentation is not only one person's privilege.

I am glad that Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao can lay the flattering unction to his soul that he is indefinable. The members of the Planning Commission, including my esteemed friend, the Deputy Chairman, are quite capable of looking after themselves and replying to any slur on their integrity. I do not, therefore, wish to say anything in their defence.

But I would be failing in my duty if I did not say a word about the great leader, who is, unfortunately, no longer in a position to defend himself in person, which he did all these 17 years adequately. We on this side cannot bear to hear a word said about Jawaharlal Nehru. It pained me that even after a parliamentary experience going to very nearly 38 years my emotions have been so controlled and cribbed that I could not take sufficient offence when insults were hurled at the head not of a living person but a person who is dead and who appears in the world only once in 500 years.

I will repeat that we on this side cherish the legacy of Jawaharlal Nehru. I can only say that if there are any on the other side who wish to throw dust at the sun, they will find before long that the same dust falls into their eyes. I need hardly say anything more.

I was particularly pained at the suggestion that the budget that is presented marks a retreat from socialism. Why should I take umbrage on what Shri Masani says? What about people behind?

Shri Tyagi: Not all.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: It was said it represents a gift to the private sector for assisting concentration and abuse of economic power. Shri Nath Pai said, for example, that we are making up in words what we lack in action. In fact, act we have been doing, perhaps indifferently we act. But it is the privilege of Shri Nath Pai not to act but only to speak, except perhaps when he jumps from one place to the other. That is the only action we see in him.

I shall not, therefore, use any words to describe my allegiance to the socialist ideal. As I said in the other House, it is hardly necessary for me, who is not a ritualist, to start my function, that is the budget speech, with a *sankalp* that I am a socialist; I am going to be a socialist. Action should speak for itself. May I ask if it is contrary to socialism to give general relief in taxation? May I ask if the additional wealth tax on urban property takes us nearer to socialism or away from it? May I also ask if the endeavour to avoid deficit financing of any pronounced character and inflation will benefit the common man rather than the man who reaps unearned profit in an inflationary situation? It is true I have proposed several incentives for higher production and greater efficiency in this Budget, but it is for the benefit of the people that we want greater efficiency and greater production, not for the few. Can we really make an impact on the grinding poverty of the masses without exploring every possible avenue of increasing production and means of livelihood? Assuming that I abolish all the indirect taxes tomorrow, would it be possible for the man in the street to get his goods at cheaper prices with the present distribution system? Have I not seen in a paper the other day the instruction, ostensibly given by the head of an institution, that the reduction in excise duty should not be passed on? In fact, today our in-

direct taxes are both a necessity and a utility. They are utilitarian in the sense that they provide us with the wherewithal. They are a necessity because they curb consumption, because the demand curve today in India in respect of every commodity is much higher than the supply curve.

Have we or have we not continued the policy of enlarging the role of the public sector, not only in basic industries, but also, as it is not proposed, in other directions? Does socialism require that we adopt a dog in the manger policy whereby we prevent the private sector from doing things even when our hands are more than full with what we have ourselves undertaken under State auspices? And does socialism, as I understand it, have one or two keys with which you can open the flood-gates, like nationalisation of banks? My hon. friend, I think, said that this is the key. Yes, of course when he becomes Finance Minister—I hope he will some time—he will find that the key does not really act, it does not open the door.

Shri K. D. Malaviya (Basti): It will.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Maybe, it is a matter of opinion.

I do not think any one who has examined these questions and my Budget proposals in the light of these questions can dispassionately come to the conclusion that it represents a departure from the socialist ideal or from the industrial policy that has been laid down by this Government and its predecessors.

It has been said that I have indulged in surreptitious budgeting because I announced some tax concessions in December, and levied the regulatory customs duty ten days before presenting my Budget. I fail to understand what is surreptitious about taking steps in the course of the year when these steps become necessary

and submitting them at the appropriate stage for approval of this hon. House. May I say that I did feel that we should take this step, some time early in February, of raising the duties? In fact, I thought I should not do it when Parliament was going to assemble in a fortnight, though a fortnight was precious for me, and I am deeply obliged to you, Sir, for having given me permission to steal one day and announce these proposals of the Government on the 17th February, contrary to the usual practice that no business is transacted on the first day.

Therefore, the suggestion that the exercise of this power by Government is surreptitious and is a way of getting round the wishes of Parliament, is completely without foundation. One may have two views about the desirability or otherwise of a particular step, but it is the business of the Government to act promptly within the power available to it and with parliamentary approval, and if Shri Nath Pai or anybody considers that this is surreptitious dealing, I can only say that either my knowledge of the English language is imperfect, or that he has got to go back to school.

I would like to deal a little more with deficit financing, particularly as I see one hon. Member of the Swatantra Party is present—and he dealt with that subject.

As I said in the other House, I would not like to indulge in any academic controversy as to what would be the proper definition of deficit financing. My claim is simply this, that in relation to the budgets that I and my predecessors have presented in the recent past, the budget for the coming year represents an advance towards avoiding resort to inflationary financing. In a growing economy, some monetary expansion is not only necessary but is even desirable. But in the conditions that have prevailed in the country for sometime

now, it is necessary to make a decisive impact for reversing the psychology of inflation.

The hon. Member, Shri Masani, distorted my reference in the budget to the fact that in the past a part of our long-term borrowing had to be supported by the Reserve Bank. I am grateful to my hon. friend Shri A. P. Jain for quoting in full my statement in the budget speech in this regard. We have this year reduced the scale of long-term borrowing by the Central Government. It may well be that a part of this year's borrowing programme also has to be supported by the Reserve Bank. Nevertheless, hon. Members would, I am sure, concede that the avoidance of deficit financing by way of reduction in cash balances and issue of treasury bills to the Reserve Bank marks an advance over our performance in the past.

While the overall surplus or deficit in the budget is important, I would like to stress in particular the surplus on revenue account. It is this surplus on revenue accounts which represents what are called public savings. In keeping with the growing needs of the public sector for investment, it is desirable that public savings should grow from year to year. An economic classification of the budget has already been made available to hon. Members. I would like to apologise that I have not been able to yet produce a Hindi version largely because of the difficulties in finding the correct nomenclature. I would like to refer in particular to one significant fact that is revealed by this classification. The classification shows that the buoyancy in revenues and the efforts made by Government to check consumption expenditures will result in a substantial increase in the savings of the Central Government from Rs. 181 crores this year to Rs. 277 crores in the coming year.

There has been some misunderstanding about the gain to the budget

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as a result of PL 480 transactions. I do not propose at the moment to go into the ethics of the problem, whether we should import foodgrains or not. We ourselves in this country have two sets of opinions. As Finance Minister who has to find foreign exchange, I have been resisting this idea of importing foodgrains by spending free foreign exchange or for that matter for spending foreign exchange even on the transit of foodgrains. But when the times are grim and the people are starving, there is hardly anyone in the country outside or in this House also who would not say, it does not matter if you do not import anything else but do import foodgrains. One has to balance these two considerations and face them, the consideration of necessity at a given time, and also the necessity to encourage local production and not to have a growing foreign debt.

It has been said, for instance, that the investment of PL 480 counterpart funds in Government securities will increase from Rs. 11 crores this year to Rs. 191 crores next year. It has been suggested that the improvement in the budgetary position is mainly on account of this factor. Hon. Members should, however, remember that counterpart funds are also used for making loans and grants to the Government of India. I do not blame Shri Dandekar because his study of the budget has been necessarily so, because he is not in a position as he was some decades back, of being able to get people to put up the papers for him. Thus, the total receipt from counterpart funds including such loans and grants was Rs. 306 crores in the current year. It will be Rs. 331 crores next year. Surely this does not represent a large fortuitous improvement in the budgetary position as a result of larger PL 480 transactions. I do not wish to dispute that import of foodgrains under PL 480, like assistance in other forms from abroad, helps the budgetary position. But I am merely

disputing the suggestion that the improvement in the budgetary position next year is on account of larger receipts from PL 480 transactions. As a matter of fact, even PL 480 food imports do not help the budgetary position in so far as these imports are utilised for building up stocks. Let me add that we have made provision for larger imports of foodgrains next year to help us build buffer stocks so as to enable us to meet any eventuality on the food front.

Despite detailed analysis of this point by the Reserve Bank in the past, Mr. Dandekar prefers to believe that the analysis of the Reserve Bank is extremely perverted and that PL 480 transactions result in deficit financing of an inflationary character. I do not wish to challenge Mr. Dandekar's claim to understand monetary phenomena better than the Reserve Bank. Maybe he might have had the misfortune to have been in the Reserve Bank if he had continued in service. For my part, I prefer to believe in the wisdom and expertise of the Reserve Bank, who are my advisers for the time being.

A number of speakers have referred to the financial position of the State Governments. In my budget speech, I have already drawn attention to the deficit budgets presented in a number of States. We have made further analysis of the State budgets for the coming year, which shows that on the basis of their budget estimates, the State Governments as a whole will have a deficit of as much as Rs. 75 crores in 1965-66. I do not wish to conceal my perturbation at this state of affairs. I have a detailed assessment of the finances of State Governments. I do not think, time being short, I should burden this House with all these details.

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla (Manasamund): He may lay it on the Table.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: The only fact that I would like to state is this. Admitting that the present position of State Governments' finances is disconcerting, it would not be correct to say that the deficit of the State Governments arises merely from substantial increases in non-plan expenditure on revenue account. (It has been possible to identify from the budgets the non-plan expenditures of some States). The reason for the deficit is really the large size of their plans. It may well be, as my hon. friend, Shri A. C. Guha pointed out, that the State Governments are showing deficit this year for tactical reasons to enable them to make out a better case for larger devolution of resources from the Finance Commission. I hope he is right and the real deficits in the State budgets would be smaller than what had been indicated. I propose, therefore, soon to have discussions with the State Governments to review their financial position including their borrowing programmes for the coming year.

Some hon. members have referred to the large outstanding debt of the State Governments. On 31st March, 1965 this debt is estimated to be Rs 4723 crores against Rs. 2735 crores in March 1961. The bulk of the debt of the State Governments is to the Central Government.

A number of speakers have referred to the specific problems of individual States. May I say that it is a matter in which I fully share their feelings. My hon. friend, Shri D. N. Tiwary, spoke about Bihar. I have been to Bihar. We have a strange paradox there of our having conquered or very nearly conquered nature. Out of a total of more than 20 million acres round about 7 to 8 million acres will be brought under stabilised irrigation. Besides, Bihar has got large natural resources. The peasantry of Bihar is extremely hard-working and resourceful. Therefore, it is a paradox when you find that the backwardness of North Bihar is something evident. I do hope that it will be

possible for the Central Government along with the State Government to remedy the situation. I cannot say that I am a wizard and I can do the trick, but I do hope to try.

The position in regard to certain parts of Uttar Pradesh, notably the eastern areas, is equally bad.

Shri R. S. Pandey (Guna): Do not forget Madhya Pradesh.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: We have taken on as a part of Central Government liability the improvement of the economic condition in four districts. It is the intention of the Government to extend the area of direct economic assistance in the backward parts of Uttar Pradesh. Sir, hon. Members of this House know that we have started work on a lateral road which commences, at the moment, from Bareilly but it will be extended to Dehra Dun right up to Amingaon which is near Gauhati. The road is expected to be ultimately a first-class road and it will be concreted. It is our hope that resurgent U.P., resurgent Bihar and backward North Bengal and Assam would grow round about this road.

Some hon. Member asked me as to what happened to the resolution passed in one of our party meetings about new cities. We are deeply engaged in evolving plans for shifting industrialisation from where it now exists on to new areas. Rural industrialisation, if I may be permitted to say something about it, is a contradiction in terms, because the moment a rural area gets industrialised it becomes urban. The idea is to shift industrialisation to the rural areas, and I hope that the ambition to have 75 new cities in India within Fourth and Fifth Plans would eventuate.

I think that is also the key to the situation so far as Madhya Pradesh is concerned.

I have not spoken at length about the financial position of the State

[Shri T. T. Krishnamachari] Governments, not because I do not have any sympathy with their difficult problems or any understanding of them. I have taken every opportunity of visiting individual States and watching the progress in various projects.

My hon. friend, Shri M. L. Varma, spoke about Rajasthan. I must say that it is one of my unforgettable experience of having stayed for two days in Rajasthan, in the desert. Hardly anybody goes there. It seems I was perhaps the first Minister who went there. My friend the Chief Minister of Rajasthan apologised for having taken me in a jeep 110 miles across to the frontier. He said he should have suggested taking me in a helicopter. I said it was a good thing having taken me in a jeep because I saw that part of the country. The people there, whose life is the same as that of the people on the other side of the frontier in Pakistan who essentially live on what you might call a purely arable economy, asked for one thing only. They do not ask for hospitals, they do not ask for housing, they do not ask for roads, they only want water. I was told the other day that in a place while drilling for oil they were able to succeed in getting some water. It is something remarkable. The place where I stayed was in the desert. We had to bring water there from 110 miles away. The whole place where water has been found is so glad of having had water there. It is said that the Central Government should take direct interest in the Rajasthan Canal. Some hon. Members think that what is more important should be done by the Agriculture Ministry or by the Irrigation and Power Ministry. Then some hon. Members ask: is there any quarrel between the Finance Ministry and the Irrigation and Power Ministry or a quarrel between the Central Government and the State Government. There is nothing of that sort. The important thing that has to be realised is this. The canal is a means to an end; it is not an end in

itself. The overseer, the engineer, the contractor, the workers and the person who designs the canal, they are all necessary for building a canal. But, having built it, if they leave it like that, the canal will be useless. Many canals were found useless in the past. So, we think more of the development aspect of the Rajasthan Canal, which has to be provided initially. Simultaneously, we work on the Canal also. I do hope it would be possible for us to bring into being the Rajasthan Canal Board and expedite and complete this work within the next 6 or 7 years. I have no doubt that Shri Manak Lal Varma would agree with me that that would bring satisfaction in a larger measure than anything we can do to the backward areas of Rajasthan.

That is why I have taken every opportunity to visit individual States and watch the progress of various projects, and do whatever I can to expedite the implementation of these projects. I propose to continue my visits to these States as often as I can.

An hon. Member: Visit Kerala also.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Provided, my hon. friend will give me safe conduct.

Shri Daji (Indore): Provided. Shri Nanda does not detain you.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Well, that will solve my problem.

Ultimately, the responsibility of the State Governments and the responsibility of the Central Government for development cannot be separated into different compartments. These responsibilities are to the people of India. No matter what the differences between the States and the Centre on their problems are, we have to look upon them as a whole and tackle them in a spirit of mutual understanding. At least in this respect I would like to express not only my agreement but also my gratitude

to my hon. friend, Shri Malaviya, who has assured the House that the Congress Party stands united in its determination and strengthen the unity of the country.

I would like to touch one or two important problems before I come to answer one or two questions. Some hon. Members have referred to the difficult balance of payments position. I myself would like to underline the gravity of the foreign-exchange situation which impelled me to come to this House ten days before the presentation of the budget with some drastic measures. The situation arose from a variety of factors, to some of which I have already made a reference in my budget speech. We had to carry the burden of increased imports of foodgrains and fertilizers; and while our exports have increased, the increase during the current year has been less than in the last year and is not commensurate with our requirements. There was naturally a pressure on our reserves which declined by about Rs. 90 crores between the end of March 1964 and the third week of February 1965. Considering the low levels of reserves with which we started the year, a depletion of this magnitude could not but cause concern.

I am happy to say that in recent weeks there has been some increase in reserves, although the increase is relatively small. We have also arranged for a stand-by credit of \$200 million from the International Monetary Fund which, I hope would help us see through the lean period ahead.

Government has also taken steps to improve the rate of utilisation of foreign assistance. As hon. Members are aware, utilisation of foreign aid has been steadily going up. It was Rs. 251.2 crores in 1961-62, Rs. 325.3 crores in 1962-63 and Rs. 402.3 crores in 1963-64. The actual disbursement of aid during the current year may be as much as Rs. 500 crores, which is roughly equivalent to the amount of fresh commitments of aid every

year. We expect the pace of utilisation to improve further.

Our success in improving the rate of utilisation is in no small measure due to the increasing proportion of aid in recent years being in the non-project form. We have reached a stage in our development at which an increasing proportion of our imports consists of metals, materials and components for fabrication of capital equipment rather than complete equipment. I am glad to say that there is much greater appreciation now than a few years ago among the donor countries of our need for non-project assistance. I cannot help emphasising too strongly the point that the only lasting solution to our foreign exchange problem lies in a rapid increase in export earning and also a diminution of our imports, what we might call import saving. Some of the concessions which I have announced should help the export drive. Government seeks to remove the impediments in the way of exports, but it is clear that the measures taken in this direction should not be such as to make excessive demands on our scarce foreign exchange resources. Industry must, therefore, give the highest priority to production for exports and this also means competitiveness in regard to price as well as quality.

I am wondering whether I should make a reference to private foreign investment. I am afraid that it has become hackneyed. I rather feel that I should pass over it for this reason that I have stated this before. But there is a very curious sophisticated metaphysical interpretation given by my hon. friend Shri Krishna Menon about foreign capital, and the suggestion made by some hon. Members—I suppose I would not doubt their intentions anyway—is that something is being done which would completely enslave this country and bring us back to a position in which we stood in 1947. I am not cast in a heroic mould. I shall not say like Sir Win-

[Shri T. T. Krishnamachari]

ston Churchill that I am not here to liquidate the Indian freedom, but I think that the fears, perhaps *bona fide*, are completely unfounded. I wish that foreign capital does come in a measure where we can say "All right, we do not want any more of it". I do not think that it is coming like that, nor is it true that merely because one or two people make an offer which is unacceptable we are going to accept all kinds of things which will enslave us, nor do I feel that the figure quoted by my hon. friend Shri Krishna Menon represents the outgo from this country. My hon. friend there, the very clever enterprising Member from the Communist Party mentioned something like about Rs. 98 crores of outgo. A very large portion of the outgo represents interest on borrowings, both for the public and private sectors. I think the outgo really in the form of profits and dividends is about a quarter of the amount that she mentioned.

My hon. friend Shri Krishna Menon whose knowledge of English is certainly far better than mine referred the word 'catalysts'. It may be that I use the word in a very generic sense not being educated in England and not knowing the language very well. May I correct myself and say that I only need it as a top-dressing? May I say that I need it as a trace element? Will that be wrong? I do not know. Some chemist will probably tell me that trace element means that it is not a trace but it is the whole of the element itself. Just that is all it would do. The fact that hon. Members forget here is this that there are many countries that want foreign capital. Many countries offer more attractive terms than we do. There is no meaning in our thinking that foreign capital is waiting at our doors, knocking all the time and hon. Members and I should say 'No, I would not open the door'. That is not the fact. I do not want to refer to the virtues, the merits, the good effects of foreign capital in regard to the

future progress of India, and labour this point further because I have no vested interest in defending foreign capital in this country. If my hon. friends have any views to the contrary, they might give them up. I suppose I have been as anti-British as anybody else because I have been for a very long time doing business with them—and I can tell you that no one hates a person more than the person with whom he does business. That is by the way. I shall not labour that point.

17 hrs.

But I give this assurance to hon. Members that so long as I am here—how long, I do not know; sometimes I thought I was going away soon . . .

An hon. Member: Why?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: But like a bad coin, I have a way of turning back again. I am one of those patent illustrations of the operation of Gresham's law. So you may never get rid of me; I may stay here for a long time to come.

I can tell hon. Members that I yield to none,—not to my hon. friend, Shri Krishna Menon, not to my hon. friend, Shri Keshav Dev Malaviya, or anyone else, who use this for a political purpose—in this matter; foreign capital will come on our terms foreign capital will come on terms on which on we can repatriate, it will come on terms that we can accept because repatriation must be easy. As my hon. friend, Shri A. P. Jain, said very rightly, it will be selective. I am not going to ask foreign capital to come—they might have come before—to make bolts, nuts and screws. They won't come again. The only thing is that our honour, our pledged word, will stand. They will go in time. A number of those factories, nuts and bolts factories, probably will not remain here. They will go seeking other more profitable avenues. But certainly there is no use saying, 'I can do everything'.

I went to Ludhiana the other day. I visited 40 shops. They can do every thing. But they cannot do it with that quality. Quality is not there. Secondly, the cost is very high. Modern industry today is highly mechanised. There is a high degree of automation, which means a high degree of electronics injected into the equipment. We are nowhere near that. We are making machine tools and we are making them at a profit. But we have not still made one electronic machine tool. We make some electrical, ones, not electronic ones. The whole field of electronics is still something closed to us. We need such people. It may be that Indians who have gone abroad, to the States, they are people who are employed in electronic firms. We might get them back and pay them what they want. Some hon. Member said, pay them a thousand rupees. Well, people there get a thousand rupees a week or less than a week, in the States. They won't be here. My hon. colleague, the Health Minister, is not able to keep her doctors here, because we cannot pay them enough. We might do without foreign technicians. But you make up your mind which one you want—you cannot have both at the same time—economy in payment or development very fast. Therefore, I shall not labour this point.

Shri K. D. Malaviya: Let us pass on.

The Minister of Planning (Shri B. R. Bhagat): Convinced.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Sometimes my hon. friend's impatience helps

Unaccounted money. My hon. friend, the hon. Member for Phulpur, spoke about unaccounted money. May I say that I share her sentiments? If she had looked into my budget speech—it is not a document worth bothering about, badly drafted, and very badly delivered too;—she would have found that the same feeling of hesitation was there in my mind. Am I doing the right thing? Is it proper

for us to let down people who have paid their taxes honourably, though they have been few in number?

But there is one factor which I would like to mention to my hon. friend. A Finance Minister has to abstract himself from his surroundings. For the time being he is like an astronaut who is in an air-conditioned atmosphere. The only thing that I want is my money, and that is why we have this power to compound. Revenue considerations will not admit of anything else, and that is why the American law, with which she is very familiar, says that the power to tax is the power to destroy. When you have to make the money by taxation, you can also destroy in the process. That is why I have to forget that I am an ordinary, commonplace human being, and remember that I am a person who has to garner the savings of the country which have got locked in various hidden places in the country.

Another fact which made Government adopt this course is this. There may be a little loss, not the whole lot of it, because if a person has hidden wealth and says that he will bring it out, there is a section in the Income-tax Act—section 60 at the time I knew it, now it is section 89 or something like that—by which we have to tax the income over a period of ten or twelve years, and perhaps he would not be paying over 60 per cent.

Secondly, we would be exposing our officers to temptation and disrepute. Maybe Shri Nath Pai or somebody would say: "What about X? He has taken money". The position of income-tax officers is far more unenviable than mine, or for the matter of that, of any member of the Treasury Benches. Therefore, we do not want to place income-tax officers in that position.

(Shri T. T. Krishnamachari)

Maybe, the thing will not succeed, does not matter. The wheels of Government grind slowly, but they grind nevertheless. But I think we will squeeze the money out—may be Rs. 2, 3 or 5 crores, but the money will be squeezed out. That is both my explanation and apology to my hon. friend.

One other matter which I would like to say before going into details, is this. Personal references were made. We happen to be in this unenviable position. The hon. Member opposite once made a reference to me in regard to a particular matter. I had nothing whatever to do with it. I sent for the relevant file. I found that the orders had been passed by the late lamented Prime Minister. I took a photostat copy of it and I sent it to the hon. Speaker, and I asked the hon. Member to retract what he had said. He would not. The trouble about it is that apologising is a bourgeois virtue, and therefore people would not apologise.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: But self-criticism is sometimes good.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Barrackpore): Do not bring in Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to cover up your sins.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: The fact about it is that my sins are small, but I can tell you that this is a matter where a photostat copy was given to the Speaker, and that photostat copy contained the signature of the previous Prime Minister.

My hon. friend, Shrimati Renu Chakravartty, is a very charming person generally, but when she pursues a particular thing, she pursues it to the end. Therefore, this man, the Finance Minister, must be a bad person. Everything that he does is intended to benefit somebody else. He must be passing orders to benefit his friends in South India. If he does

not do it by law he must be doing it by executive instructions.

I asked my department today if I had done it at any time. Of course, people who are my friends, who are my enemies, who are neither my friends nor enemies all deal with the department from time to time. Every body pays taxes or does not pay tax. I found that there was some reference in 1957, which was answered in the negative, and I found that it was pursued further. The name of the firm is Messrs. T. V. Sundaram Iyengar & Sons, and I was told that they paid penal tax for a number of years, and went to court in 1962-63 and the tribunal decided in their favour. I am afraid that after I became Finance Minister, I asked the department to appeal against the decision. I did not probably even know who the party was, but in any event, when the law is interpreted adversely, we ask for an appeal. I can also tell the hon. Member that many of these amendments that we have made are a result of my asking the department to submit to me cases before they appeal to the Supreme Court. Any case that goes against us in the high-courts, I want them to be sent to me, because sometimes it happens that the high court is right and the party spends unnecessarily and the matter is taken to the Supreme Court; it takes five to seven years. The party even dies in the meanwhile. In 50 per cent of the cases, where I found that revenue losses by way of interpretation of a principle will not be considerable, I have asked them not to appeal; not because I wanted to stop a particular party or other; maybe, in some of these cases we have set right some things in this particular legislation because we find that the court decision has to be carried out. There are various things that happen in which the interpretation is always against.

One hon. Member pointed out somewhere that the law is all right but

that the rules that are framed by the income-tax authorities are wrong. I found out today that some of the rules which have been passed perhaps inadvertently were wrong. So, I will tell my hon. friend that she might certainly hug to her opinion and probably she might bring it up again and again. But nobody has benefited by anything that we have done. In fact, I found that one concession which probably they were able to take—they did not get it as they were too big for the concession.

Another thing that was mentioned was Bird & Co. The mention of Bird & Co., is like what in the first world war an old lady used to react immediately, when once the mention of Mesopotamia was made. Because she had somebody there in the Mesopotamian war. So, the House reacts quickly by the mention of Bird & Co. I can tell you we have not allowed anybody who is a criminal to go away. Proceedings have been taken. Of course, they have resisted the proceedings by going to the court. But nobody has been allowed to flee away from this country and escape punishment, because a director is not punished unless we can prove that that man is cognizant of what had happened.

A reference was made by my hon. friend to New Jute Mills or something like that, which was owned by a gentleman called Ramnath Goenka who incidentally happens to be a friend of mine. He said something was not done. I made enquiries. There was no case at all. The point about it is this. We easily mention the names of the other parties in order to offend the Ministers. I am quite prepared if the hon. Member were to say that I am deaf, I am blind, my nose is not straight, my voice in croaking or my intelligence is sub-standard. I do not mind it; we are here for that purpose. But I think they should stop mentioning other people's names and hurting them.

My hon. friend over there—he is

not here and of course he would not be here—mentioned something which would be flattering to me as a father. He mentioned that T. T. Krishnamachari & Co., which is owned by my sons, had about Rs. 20 lakhs to Rs. 30 lakhs. Of course, between Rs. 20 lakhs and Rs. 30 lakhs, there is a big difference in terms of lakhs, because, if I had one lakh more, I would be a rich man. The hon. Member said that before the British left, apparently they gave it to them and now they are worth Rs. 4 crores. Well, I know nothing about it. In fact, I know very little about them. But I can tell you one thing. It is apocryphal. In fact, crore-paths are not found in South India except perhaps a handful. But the point is, it sticks. I do not want to speak about my boys. Certainly they are not worth even about Rs. 30 lakhs or anything like that. Maybe I was worth a little and I have got impoverished. That is a different matter. If we are fools to come into politics, I could not blame anyone, least of all Dr. Lohia.

The point is that in this House it has become a practice to make charges not only against members of the Treasury Benches but also against other people unconnected with the House, and they have no escape. I do not know what a lawyer would do about it. I do not know how the law protects it. I would beg of hon. Members not to do that: not so much because I have been mentioned. If I have done something, I can take the blame. I do not mind if it affects me. In fact, one thing which we do as we grow old and you become a Minister or even you are in a party like this, is to develop a duck's back. But the point is something must be done to stop this: not the character assassination of Members of the Treasury Benches; they are here and they can accept it, but of the people who are outside, whose names are mentioned and who have nothing whatsoever to do with this House or the party or the way in which the Government is carried on.

[Shri T. T. Krishnamachari]

Sir, I have exhausted my time. I have to make a few announcements. My hon. friend Shri Morarka made some very valuable points, but I would not speak about them for lack of time. I would now like to make a few announcements of what I to do when I bring the Finance Bill. My hon. friend Shri Masani also wrote to me a letter to the effect that a new provision regarding reduction to be made in provident fund, insurance premia, etc., will incidentally have the effect of reducing the tax relief on certain levels. As I mentioned in my budget speech this simplification was intended primarily to facilitate the calculation of the tax liability by each individual. No measure of simplification of this sort can leave the position of all income-tax payers completely unchanged. In deciding on the consequences of any particular simplification one has also to bear in mind other changes in personal taxation, such as the overall reduction in the rates of tax and the fact that unlike last year when the annuity deposit was payable even in respect of the amounts paid towards provident fund contributions, etc., the annuity deposit now would be payable in respect of only half of such amounts. It is, however, my intention to have this matter examined further and to propose an appropriate change in the Finance Bill before it comes up for consideration, so that the incidental reduction in the tax relief resulting from the new provision regarding provident fund contributions, etc., is mitigated as much as possible. It may be, for example, that in computing the total income we may allow a deduction of 60 per cent as against 50 per cent now proposed of the qualifying amount of savings on the first Rs. 5,000 of such savings. If I have 60 per cent all along the line, it will only benefit the higher slabs. A two slab system of this kind would remove much of the discrepancy to which my attention was drawn. In about five instances—a person getting Rs. 16,000 will pay Rs. 36.25 more,

apart from the tax concessions he has got; a man getting Rs. 18,000 will pay the same extra amount; whereas a man who has got Rs. 20,000 will make a small net saving of Rs. 48; a man getting Rs. 21,000 would lose Rs. 43, a man getting Rs. 2,2000 will lose Rs. 54 and a man getting Rs. 23,000 would lose Rs. 15. These are the five instances, if you make a change to 60 per cent for the first Rs. 5,000 and 50 per cent thereafter. There would not be altogether an elimination of the disadvantage, but a very large number of persons will get some benefit.

There has also been some discussion about the purposes for which the tax credit certificates granted with reference to the central excise duty on increased production and with reference to additional corporation tax payable by a company should be allowed to be used. Our intention was that these certificates should be allowed to be used for purposes relating to expansion as well as for discharging debt obligations. In fact, it has been pointed out by Shri Dandekar, Shri Masani and Shri Morarka. I mentioned it in my budget speech, but it has not found a place in the Finance Bill. This defect will be removed.

A number of speakers including Shri Masani expressed the fear that the incentives I have proposed for additional production, for promotion of exports and for more efficient use of existing capital, while welcome in themselves, might give a great deal of scope to the Government for the exercise of arbitrary power. I am afraid this fear or apprehension is based on a misunderstanding of the incentives that I have proposed. The concession, for example, regarding the issue of tax credit certificates in respect of the additional corporation tax payable by a company is applicable to all companies engaged in the manufacture or production of any of the articles mentioned in the First Schedule to the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act of 1951.

There is, therefore, no question of this particular concession being granted by the Government in an arbitrary manner without reference to the hon. House. I would like to underline also that this concession would facilitate not merely increase in production but even more important, the more efficient use of the capital already invested. Higher tax liability and higher profits, as hon. Members would no doubt appreciate, are the function not only of increased production but also of greater efficiency. I think my friend, Shri Morarka, missed this point when he said the Budget contains nothing to encourage reduction in cost of production. Let me make it clear also that the amount of the tax credit certificates in respect of the Central Excise Duty, the Corporation Tax and exports will all be excluded from income for purpose of taxation.

As the Finance Bill makes it clear, the tax credit certificates in relation to exports and the tax credit certificates in relation to the excise duty paid on increased production will be issued on a selective basis.

The financial inducements necessary for promoting exports and for increasing production necessarily differ from commodity to commodity and there is no escape from applying concessions in these two fields on a selective basis. Hon. Members may, however, rest assured that it is my intention during the discussion on the Finance Bill to give a more precise idea of how these two concessions are proposed to be applied. I might add for the sake of clarification that exports after 28th February 1965 will qualify for whatever concessions are announced under this scheme irrespective of when the details of the scheme are announced.

As the Finance Bill now stands, the provision regarding exemption from wealth tax for five years for equity shares subscribed and paid for by an assessee in an industrial company where such shares form part of the initial issue of capital by the company applies to such shares

subscribed and paid for after 28th February 1965. It has been suggested that equity shares subscribed and paid for during the last year, that is, during 1964-65 should also be eligible for this concession and that appropriate recognition should be given to the fact that a large part of the new equity issues floated last year had to be under-written by financial institutions and others. It is my intention to propose appropriate changes in the Finance Bill to take account of these representations.

Hon. Members will recall that I had announced in my Budget Speech that I would introduce a new series of Small Savings Certificates with a higher rate of interest than at present. I had also said that the interest on the new Certificates would be taxable unlike in the case of existing instruments which will also be continued. It is now proposed to issue new Certificates to be known as 'National Savings Certificates (First Issue)' which will be available at all post offices from 1st June 1965. Purchasers of National Defence Certificates on or after 1st April 1965 will also be given the option to convert them into the new Certificates from the same date as the original issue.

The new Certificates will have a ten year term with a maturity value of Rs. 180 for every Rs. 100 invested. They can be held only by individuals, either singly or jointly, up to a limit of Rs. 25,000 for single holdings and Rs. 50,000 for joint holdings. They can be encashed after an initial lock-up period of two years, the yield progressively rising from year to year. The facility of nomination, pledging, transfer, etc., will also be available as in the case of the existing National Defence Certificates.

The accumulated interest received on encashment of the Certificates will be liable to income tax as earned income, but there will be no deduction at source. The interest will attract tax at the average rate appli-

[Shri T. T. Krishnamachari]

cable to the investor's other taxable income, after excluding the interest on these Certificates. For those who are not liable to pay income-tax on their other income, the compound rate of interest on the new Small Savings Certificates would work out to a little over 6 per cent per annum.

Opportunity has also been taken to review the interest rates on the Post Office Savings Bank deposits and the Cumulative Time Deposit Accounts. From 1st April, 1965, the deposits of individuals in the Post Office Savings Bank, including the past accumulations, will earn tax-free interest at 4 per cent without limit of deposit. The Cumulative Time Deposit Accounts opened on or after 1st April 1965 will now earn a bonus at maturity in addition to the existing maturity value, amounting to Rs. 15 for a 5 year account, Rs. 50 for a 10 year account and Rs. 100 for a 15 year account for a monthly deposit of Rs. 10 and proportionately for other deposits. The bonus will be tax-free and the deposits in the case of 10 and 15 year accounts will continue to count for deduction from income for purposes of tax in the same manner as Provident Fund contributions and life insurance premiums.

Formal notifications giving effect to the proposals for issue of the new Certificates and for increasing the interest rates are being issued separately.

Hon. Members will recall that the Finance Bill seeks to give effect to my announcement of 24th December 1964 to exempt interest on Government securities from the unearned income surcharge. I have already mentioned that interest on the new Small Savings Certificates will also be treated as earned income. It has been represented that the same treatment should be accorded to similar income from investment in Government sponsored institutions such as the Unit Trust. We are examining these representations and it is my intention to propose a suitable change

in the Finance Bill when it comes up for consideration before hon Members.

Sir, I have very nearly done. I would like to express my thanks for such support—liberal in some cases, halting in others and grudging in some other cases—that my budget has received from this hon. House.

I would like to say one thing. Certain general references were made to Government—how they work, the manner they are going on with their work and taking decisions, their indecisive attitude, their halting attitude in certain matters. May I say as a sort of rebuttal to the people who might have such an impression about our Government that our Government is functioning as a Government. The budget is only a part of its functioning. You might say that Government's actions are wrong. My hon. friend, Shri Krishna Menon, speaks almost in the words of Alexander Pope of the rape of democracy yesterday. It is quite possible for hon. Members to have different opinions in regard to different actions of Government. They might not approve of them. They might say that they are wrong. They might say that we are not taking a long-range view of the problem. Hon. Members opposite might not approve of our policy. Somebody else might say that something else should have happened but it has not happened. All that is perfectly correct. I do not say that this Government is completely infallible. Even the Government of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was not; many people criticised it. Therefore, our fallibility is something which we admit. But I do feel that it is a Government which is carrying out its functions. Somebody said that it is a mediocre government. Yes. But it so happens that the hon Member who spoken of the mediocre government has been born in a mediocre nation and a mediocre community.

Shri Parashar: No, our nation is not mediocre.

17.28 hrs.

***DEMANDS FOR GRANTS ON ACCOUNT, 1965-66**

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: May be. A nation is made up of people who compose of it. Personally I think that we are not a mediocre nation.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the third column of the order paper, be granted to the President, on account for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1966, in respect of the heads of demands entered in the second column thereof against Demand Nos. 1 to 149."

The motion was adopted.

I think my hon. friend from Phulpur has upheld the dignity of this country in the conference of the United Nations as nobody else has done. Is that something of which we need be ashamed of? I am sure that if we have any such function and if we make a request she will do it likewise. I do not see why we should call ourselves mediocre. I have not found any difficulty in any conference table in any country in upholding my country. I am not talking for myself. Therefore, I would beg of hon. Members that in moments of anger in moments of strife, or because of disapproval of particular policies, let us not say things which we will regret later. This nation has to proceed. We are not mediocre; therefore, your government is not mediocre. We are not indecisive; therefore, your government is not indecisive. But we are human beings and, therefore, liable to err. I have to make my humble contribution to this country and I have presented to the country a budget which may be is disagreeable in many ways but it is a budget which has been inspired by my association with great people. Whatever Shrimati Renu Chakravartty may say we cannot forget Jawahar'aj Nehru. If they do not have a Jawaharlal Nehru, what can I do about it. At least I have something to remember. Without doing damage to the memory of that great man under whom we served, we have presented a budget in consonance with the principles that he taught us. And I think this country will prosper, we shall have a Fourth Plan and we shall continue to hold our head high.

[The motions of Demands for Grants On Account, 1965-66 which were adopted by the Lok Sabha, are reproduced below—Ed.]

DEMAND NO. 1.—MINISTRY OF CIVIL AVIATION

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,38,000 be granted to the President, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1966, in respect of 'Ministry of Civil Aviation'".

DEMAND NO. 2.—METEOROLOGY

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 50,15,000 be granted to the President, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1966, in respect of 'Meteorology'".

DEMAND NO. 3.—AVIATION

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,13,33,000 be granted to the President, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1966, in respect of 'Aviation'".

*Moved with the recommendation of the President.