

**Mr. Speaker:** It was circulated. Mr. Kamalnayan Bajaj.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** Will the Minister reply today or tomorrow?

**Mr. Speaker:** Tomorrow.

**Shri M. R. Masani (Rajkot):** When will the debate end?

**Mr. Speaker:** It will continue for the whole of tomorrow.

12.48 hrs.

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL  
DISCUSSION—contd.

**Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj (Wardha):** I was saying yesterday that the Finance Minister had made a good survey and showed a good grasp of the economic development of the country. But looking through the tax proposals, I have come to the conclusion that he has not been bold enough to solve the various problems. He has given only some trifle concessions like abolition of the tax on bonus issues, reduction in the incidence of tax on dividend and 5 per cent. reduction in surtax. It was probably thought that it would improve the psychology of the share market. But the 10 per cent levy on corporate tax and the individual income-tax has more than offset that. Last year on account of diminishing returns on corporate tax and individual taxes, certain amount of concessions were given, but this year, in spite of the fact that the Finance Minister announced that there should be more savings, he has failed to give any such concessions.

The super profit tax was levied after the Chinese aggression. This tax was changed into surtax by the previous Finance Minister, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari. This tax operates after the normal taxes have been paid and certain amount of profit is allowed to be exempted. This tax is

a kind of tax on efficiency of the corporation. The corporation which works with greater efficiency has to pay more because of the surtax. The surtax was legitimate and could be justified during times of war, but in normal circumstances, especially after the Tashkent agreement, there is no moral justification for the retention of this kind of tax at all because it is a discriminatory tax on persons who are making special efforts to make more profits. So I fail to understand why this tax is continued on those people who are working the corporation with greater efficiency. This tax should really have completely gone.

12.50 hrs.

Now, I come to the 10 per cent surcharge on individual taxes. Although at the lower limit of income-tax a certain amount of concessions or exemptions have been given that is so negligible, because on an income of Rs. 6000, the exemption or concession given is only about Rs. 14. But the excise duty on sugar has been increased, and if a person with that income has to pay the increased excise duty on sugar, then it would mean that on sugar alone he will have to pay more than Rs. 14 which he would otherwise save on an income of Rs. 6000. So, even the exemption which has been given to the lower income group is only a paper transaction, but probably on the whole, there is more burden on the tax-payer in that respect.

During the last year, the returns from the taxes were reduced. During 1965-66, the estimated corporation taxes were Rs. 371.6 crores, but the expected amounts are only Rs. 330 crores; so, about Rs. 41.6 crores were received less. Similarly, in regard to personal taxation, in 1965-66 the estimated amount was Rs. 271.6 crores but the expectation is only about Rs. 260 crores, thus leaving a shortfall of about Rs. 11.5 crores. If we see this we find that the diminishing return has

already set in under this high rate of taxation. Any expert on economics can be made to go into it and he will not come to any other conclusion except this that the taxation has risen to such a high level that diminishing returns have already set in. For that very reason, during the last year, the previous Finance Minister had reduced the taxation to some extent. In 1964-65, on individual earned incomes, the taxes at the highest slab amounted to 82.5 per cent, but in 1965-66 they were reduced to 74.75 per cent, but this year again, they have been increased to 82.25 per cent, almost to the level of 1964-65. This is the position in regard to earned income. As regards unearned income the percentage would be about 7 or 8 per cent more. If you take the total taxation, on unearned income, the figure may amount to 120 per cent of the annual income; in the case of earned income, it may come to about 108 to 110 per cent.

It has been said that there should be more savings, and there should be more production and more industries should be developed and more investment should be there but then if one has to pay more than 100 per cent by way of taxes, where will the savings be in the private hands or in the corporations?

The total dividend that the companies had paid last year was about Rs. 71 crores. As compared to that, the additional taxation which had been levied was Rs. 43 crores. If Rs. 43 crores are to go out of that profit, then how are the companies going to maintain the dividend and how are they going to have savings for investment?

Of course, some trifling benefits have been given to the extent of about Rs. 7 crores by reducing the dividend tax and by giving exemption up to 10 per cent on dividend and by allowing the bonus issues without taxes and so on on the national income which was taxed previously. These

are some of the things by which the psychology could be improved; though they do not result in much monetary benefits, they have removed certain irksome difficulties which were there; and the psychology which was bad in the share market has also been improved; perhaps, these things would simplify the tax structure and remove unnecessary administrative work which was not very profitable. From that angle, I really welcome these changes. But these things have been more than offset by the levy of 10 per cent tax. This is my inference; I am not saying this on the basis of my information as such, but my inference is that when the total fiscal tax structure was framed, some of the irksome taxes were removed, and five percent concession was given on the surtax, and since savings had to be improved, I feel that some concessions on the corporation and individual taxes must have been framed in the original budget when the Finance Minister had framed it. I fail to understand how when there is the argument that there should be more savings, all of a sudden this 10 per cent increase on individual and corporation taxes has come about. I wonder whether it was a part of the budget as originally framed or whether it has been an after-thought which has been superimposed later. If it was an after-thought, it would mean that the intentions of the entire fiscal policy were changed later on at the last moment because of certain political or other considerations.

Last year, a trend was introduced to lessen the tax on the highest slab because of the diminishing returns; and the psychology began to be slightly adjusted. But again within one year, if the trend is changed and it is brought to the original level, then we lose the confidence of the taxpayer thereby, which in the long run is not good, nor is it fair to the taxpayer.

Last year, the previous Finance Minister had assured the House that there would be Rs. 150 crores reduc-

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tion in the civil expenditure and so on. But in spite of that there has been an increase of Rs. 236 crores, making a total difference of Rs. 386 crores. Of course, Rs. 30 crores increase is on account of defence needs, and that is quite understandable; if we take out these Rs. 30 crores, then the difference would still be high, being of the order of Rs. 356 crores. This is not a very small amount, and I hope the hon. Finance Minister will do well by applying his mind and getting more savings under administration, by avoiding wastage and unnecessary costs which have gone on increasing from year to year. In 1950-51, the civil expenditure was Rs. 31 crores, but in 1965-66 it went up to Rs. 122 crores, and in 1966-67 it is estimated to be Rs. 141 crores. If this is the rate at which civil expenditure increases but if our total development does not increase at a similar rate, then where is the justification for such increase in administrative costs? In the entire budget of 1965-66 the total non-productive expenditure was about Rs. 1528 crores out of Rs. 2470 crores total revenue. During 1966-67, the figure is Rs. 1666 crores out of Rs. 2719 crores total revenue. This is the order of the non-productive expenditure. I admit that all non-productive expenditure is not useless expenditure; there are categories of such expenditure, which are useful. But still we must have a limit on the percentage of such expenditure we must lay down to what extent we can go in for non-productive expenditure and to what extent we must invest in creative or fruitful fields in the country. If 65 to 70 per cent of the total revenue goes into the non-productive category and very little remains for productive investment, then how are we going to effect savings even in the public sector? It is surprising to find that in the entire public sector, we are going to invest this year Rs. 345 crores. The total revenue from the corporate sector was about Rs. 340 crores; with the

increase in taxation, it is going to be Rs. 376 crores. As against this, we are going to make an investment in the public sector of Rs. 345 crores. If we are going to invest all the money which comes from the private sector in the public sector, I have no grievance. You may do so. But what is the return on the public sector investment? It is a bureaucratic sector, I am glad that even members like Shri Nath Pai described it as that yesterday, which I described two years ago in this very House, that it is a bureaucratic sector, a government sector, not a public sector. I can understand a public sector where the public is directly interested. Take the private sector where the public companies are there; there are thousands and thousands of shareholders belonging to the public; that is the public sector where the public has direct control and managers and shares in the profit and so on.

13 hrs.

On the total investment of round about Rs. 3200 crores or Rs. 2800 crores in the public sector, the return is not more than 1½ per cent. There again, I may be excused if I use that word and say that the balance sheets of some of these public-sector undertakings are not properly drawn in the commercial sense. In some of the balance sheets, they show some profit without providing for depreciation. It is a fabrication. If a private-sector company does that, that is without providing for depreciation shows a profit, it will be taken to task by the company law board. If this kind of balance sheets are allowed in the public sector without taking account of depreciation, it is not a fair practice.

I would say that the public sector should be run on entirely commercial

lines in a systematic, methodical manner. If the Government find it difficult to do so, which we see from the results of so many years, I on behalf of the business community, give this assurance. There are patriotic business people who are experienced also. I assure the House and say this. Give us half a dozen public-sector concerns you are not able to manage, and in a reasonable time, we will give you what we want, how much money we want; we will tell you what we are going to do, we will give you the full programme and policy. We will run them.

**Mr. Speaker:** His time is up.

**Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj:** Please give me five more minutes. When in the midst of my argument, there is a solitting up, it becomes difficult to continue the thread.

I give the House this assurance. Let us have a trial. But I would make it clear that there should be no political or administrative interference. You have every right to check and inspect, guide and advice. But then you should leave it there. There are private-sector people in the country, good, influential and experienced. Instead of nationalising the material wealth, I would say this. If you want to do it, do it by all means. But why not nationalise the real talent in the country, the good qualities experience and talent of the people, and ask them to serve the country by managing the public-sector concerns properly? That is the eastern way, the Asian way. We know of the rishis and munis. We have the system of *sanyas* and *vanaprasth*, national service. I think if a proper call is given in the proper way, there will be people coming forward, people who have done everything in their life who will give their best for the country and do this service for the sake of the country.

I would not take much more time. On the Gold Control Act, I have spoken when it was enacted. After that,

it has been distorted again by the previous Finance Minister. I think it has done enough damage. We should really remove it. I would not argue more about it.

I would also say a word about the annuity deposit scheme. It is a very troublesome, new device. It has brought in only Rs. 40 crores. Even if somebody pays whatever is due, what is the position. Suppose Rs. 150 is due as annual deposit. He has to pay in four instalments. If there is a difference of Rs. 10 he has to pay and then apply for refund. A person has to wait at the Reserve Bank for three, four five and six hours. For a year and a half, many people have not even received the receipt for their payment. As it goes on increasing, after a few years I think the administrative cost will be out of proportion to the receipt. Then I have my doubt whether the Reserve Bank will be able to cope with it efficiently. So why keep such an anomalous, irksome and troublesome new device in taxation? Even if you want to keep it, make it completely optional.

In 1962, the total revenue of the Government was Rs. 1300 crores; in 1966, it has increased to Rs. 2,700 crores, more than double. If Government has increased taxation, I am happy, but really, to that extent, has the country progressed? Has it progressed one hundred per cent?

13.07 hrs.

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

The burden of the heavier taxation falls on the Indian people. This is the cause of further inflation. If all this money that had accrued in the hands of Government was profitably utilised for development, more goods would have been produced and costs would have come down which would have been beneficial to the country. Our total national income is round about Rs. 15,000 crores. Out of that, if Rs. 2,700 crores is the total collection of the Central Government, it comes to 18 per cent

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of the total national income in government's pocket for administrative expenses. Apart from that, there are State Governments who are collecting taxes. I do not know the percentage in their case; it may be altogether 25 or even 30. It is regarded by economic experts of the world that if the revenue increases more than 20 to 25 per cent of the total national income, it is serious; if it increases more than 30—35 percent, it is disastrous. These figures make us tremble sometimes and ask 'where are we really proceeding?'. We have to take serious note of these things.

Two more points and I will conclude. There has been some criticism in the House of the managing agency system. The system may go; I hold no brief for it. But I would only say this that when we want to develop our country, a system is there which is a co-operative system not only of families but of friends come together. If you find it bad and if you can replace it by something else, remove it, but do not create a vacuum by which industrial development will be retarded. I will give you an instance. Some people in my close relationship thought of forming a new company some years ago. They have tried to persuade Government to allow them to have a managing agency. Just because they are small people, it has not been sanctioned. The Government's argument is, 'Whatever percentage, 10 or whatever it is you want, you name two people and take 5 per cent each; but they will not agree to the managing agency'. I am prepared to argue and convince the House that unless we have the managing agency system in the present conditions of our development, we cannot bring people together with the resources of entire families and friends pooled together. Under this system, they can share. If the profit of the managing agency is more, you can always introduce a curtailment slab and so on. That is a different

matter. But do not disturb the system and dispense with it entirely without giving the matter serious thought.

Yesterday there was an argument about the significance of the word 'bania' in the House. Shri Nath Pai used it and I said that I am proud to be a bania. Here I would give the meaning of the word 'bania', as I understand it. For that I have to speak in Hindi.

बनिया वो जो सबका बन सके ।

बनिया वो जो सबको अपना बना सके ।

बनिया वो जो सबसे बना सके ।

बनिया वो जो सब कुछ बना सके ।

हमारे राष्ट्रपिता महात्माजी भी बनिये थे ।

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): I wish I were one.

Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj: I would be proud if you were.

Shri K. C. Sharma (Sardhana): It is his meaning.

श्री कमलनयन बाजाज : हमारे शास्त्रों में बनिया को महाजन कहा है, अर्थात् जनों में जो महान है वह महाजन है । इस तरह से जिन को शास्त्रों में कहा गया है उनको भी आप आज जो कुछ कहें । बनिया का मतलब क्या है यह तो मैं ने बताया । अब अगर आपका इंटेंशन अच्छा नहीं है तो आप इस शब्द को कमेंट के साथ कह सकते हैं और अगर आप का इंटेंशन अच्छा है तो आप इसको अच्छी तरह कह सकते हैं ।

महात्मा गांधी ने अछूतों को हरिजन नाम दिया, पर कई लोग उनको कमेंट से हरिजन कहते हैं । बनिया वह है जिसकी सब के साथ बन सके और जो सभी काम अच्छी तरह बना सके ।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी (कानपुर) :  
बनिया वह है जो बना हुआ हो ।

श्री कमलनयन बजाज : अपोजीशन में  
कुछ लोग ऐसे हैं जो बने हुए हैं और हम लोगों  
को भी बनाने की कोशिश करते हैं ।

Shri A. C. Guha (Barasat): The Finance Minister in any country is mostly a prisoner of circumstances. He has to act within the prevailing economic conditions in the country. But that would apply more aptly to the present Finance Minister who had taken over charge only about two months before presenting the budget. So, he has to work within the prevailing conditions, and also within the broad framework of the budget which was mostly prepared before his taking over.

Moreover, it is not possible for any Finance Minister to make a radical change in the financial, fiscal or monetary policy of the country. He has to take some time to give a new drive, create new tendency, to the economic policies of the country. So, I am afraid the present Finance Minister may get some vicarious abuses and also some vicarious commendation if any, because he is not responsible for whatever present economic condition—good or bad is prevailing. He has only to carry over the burden and the legacy left for him and created during these last 16 or 17 years.

To some of us, the word socialism has become something like a mantra, whose incantation will lay the ghost of capitalism or reactionism, and socialism will dawn only if the Finance Minister or the Prime Minister can utter the word socialism a number of times. It has been stated in this House that this budget does not carry any indication of the 'Bhuvaneshwar resolution', or has not taken any step towards the reduction of inequalities. I think the Finance Minister has stated that the Government is on policy and principle averse to concentration

of wealth and economic power or continuance of inequalities of wealth and power. That he has stated in the budget speech, and so, he has adhered in his budget speech also to the fundamental policy enunciated for the country, for this Government, that is the reduction of economic inequalities and equal economic opportunities and power for all.

The present Finance Minister has not only to find the money for the current revenue expenditure, but he has also to find money for the capital expenditure and for the plan envisaged and undertaken by the country. For that he has to impose certain taxes. I realise that it is his obligation, and I do not like to blame him for that. If there is any one to be blamed, I think the blame should lie also on this House, because the budget and the plan were all discussed year after year in this House and approved by this House. So, if there have been failures in our expectations, if there have been failures in reaching our goal or any retardation in progress then the responsibility lies with the Government, and also to some extent with the House. We cannot absolve ourselves from the responsibility for the failures, because every policy was discussed and accepted by this House.

Having said this, I would like to point out some of the dark features of the present economic position also as reflected in the present budget. The most alarming economic feature of the country is inflation. If the Government could have put a stop to this inflation, if the Government had been able to control the price spiral, I think most of the problems would not have come, or would not have come in such a severe form as now.

For this inflation I think the fiscal policy of the Government is mostly to be held responsible. I take up this issue first because this is the pivotal point on which other problems will more or less hinge. During these few years,

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Government's revenue has increased by more than 300 per cent, during three plan periods, and a huge amount of money on account of this expenditure has been pumped into the hands of the people, but there has not been any corresponding increase in the supply of goods. During the last ten years, that is, during the second and third plan periods, supply of money has increased by over 100 per cent, but the supply of goods has increased only by about 40 per cent. So; the resultant position is that money has been abundant, but goods have been scarce, money has been pursuing and runningg after goods, and goods have been trying to hide. That is the main reason for this inflation.

The previous speaker also referred to non-development expenditure of the Government. In 1950-51 the non-development expenditure of the Central Government was only Rs. 260 crores, and of the States Rs. 223 crores, total Rs. 483 crores, but in 1964-65 non-development expenditure has gone up to Rs. 1,065 crores for the Centre and Rs. 544 crores for the States, the total coming to about Rs. 1,610 crores. If during the plan non-development expenditure of the Government has gone up by about 400 per cent, you can realise what position has to be created.

The Finance Minister has stated in his budget speech that there is urgency of restricting Government expenditure both of the Centre and of the States, both of development and non-development, both on capital and revenue accounts, but there has not been any indication in the budget proposals in that direction. Perhaps, having realised the problem, it has not been possible for the Finance Minister to curtail the expenditure of the Government.

One proposal, which I would like to put before the House, and through this House to the Government, is that there should be a deliberate policy

of contradiction of money supply. We should realise that this inflationary tendency in the economy of the country has come in the wake of the inflation created during the last world war. The internal purchasing power of the rupee during the last world war had gone down by about 50 per cent, and since then the internal purchasing power of the rupee has gone down very radically, and I think, considering the price structure of 1939, the present purchasing power of the rupees will not be even 20 paise.

So there should be a deliberate policy of contradiction of money supply or at least the supply of consumer goods should be made to catch up with the supply of money. It is not an easy task; it will take some years for the government to supply enough consumer goods to catch up with the circulation of money.

Another matter for which there is no justification at all is this. Government has increased six times the dearness allowance to the central government employees during the three plan periods, first in 1961-62, then in 62-63, then in 63-64, 64-65, and in 65-66 it has been done twice. The total amount, excluding the recent announcement of allowance to employees getting over a thousand rupees, comes to Rs. 161.35 crores annually. I cannot understand a more senseless and foolish policy than this. The total number of central government employees is about 2.6 million out of a total of 460 million. This only indicates that the government is solicitous and anxious only about their own employees, forming less than one per cent of the total population in the country. I recollect that last year in this House both the Ministers of Finance and of Home Affairs stated or admitted that the increase in dearness allowance in the earlier part of that financial year had been more than neutralised by the increase in the price following immediately afterwards. Knowing this and knowing

that it adds to the distress and difficulties of the 99 per cent of the other people, government have been putting this burden of about Rs. 300 crores on the general tax-payer. Instead of fighting the inflationary trend in our economy they have taken to this useless and harmful but easier way.

During the three plan periods, government have imposed and realised taxes commulative amount being to Rs. 3,000 crores annually. Only in the Third Plan period they have imposed taxes whose annual collection would be about Rs. 2100 crores. In the Second Plan it was Rs. 218 crores and in the First Plan Rs. 170 crores. The total tax imposed for the implementation of the Three Plans amounts to about Rs. 3,000 crores annually. When new taxes are imposed, every time we are told that this is intended to mop up the surplus purchasing power but nothing is done and no surplus power has been mopped up. All these new taxes have helped to increase the price which more or less has the same effect as inflation, though in economic terms the two may mean different things.

There is one problem which is being discussed inside the country and also abroad. Some foreign countries have been advising us on this devaluation of our rupee. It is such an important issue that a clear and categorical denial of any proposal of devaluation should be made by the Finance Minister himself or by the Prime Minister so that there may not be any irresponsible discussion. Whatever advantages that they advocates say, would accrue to India, are all imaginary; it is doubtful if it will mean only increase in our exports but it will mean very much less receipts for our exports and more payments for our imports, particularly when the gap between export and import is ever widening. We will have to pay much more on our imports than we may expect to earn on increased exports.

If it is a question of promoting exports, it can be done by subsidising

exports as is now being done in the case of sugar. Every consumer of sugar in India has to pay for the subsidy paid for the export of sugar. That is a more economic and sensible way of promoting exports than by devaluation of the rupee. While taking about exports, I am surprised at the complacency prevailing in the concerned ministry. Only a few days ago there was a Bill on the export-import control. The minister expressed his satisfaction over the export performance of his ministry because the value of the exports has increased. But if we look into our actual performance, the position is this. From 2.02 per cent of the total world trade, our share has come down to 1.15 per cent. The minister should not be complacent about this. Energetic and definite steps to promote exports should be taken. Another curious thing is that when the minister was eloquent here about the performance of his ministry, the Deputy Minister stated:

"At present, the country's export effort is feeble. From 1950 to 1964, world exports increased from \$56,689 million to \$151,800 million, while during the same period India's exports went up only from \$1,146 million to \$1,749 million."

He had said that the country's share of the world exports shrank from 2.02 per cent to 1.1 per cent.

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

**Shri A. C. Guha:** I shall take a few minutes more.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He has already taken 20 minutes.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** I know; but the Chief Whip of the Congress Party has said that I may be given more time. Now, about the promotion of export, certain incentives schemes have been devised, particularly the import entitlement scheme and the tax certificate scheme. I am very much doubtful about the import entitlement sche-



[Shri A. C. Guha]

me. I am afraid all these incentive schemes leave scope for sending the money to the black market. It should also be realised that there is a divergence of opinion between the Reserve Bank and the Commerce Ministry about the total earnings by way of export, and this divergence about the statistics of export earnings only indicates that certain monies which are expected to go to the coffers of the Indian foreign exchange have not gone to the coffers of the Indian foreign exchange, but they must have gone to some black market. This is one aspect which should be taken care of so that not only the question of promoting our exports but also the question of looking to the fact that the export earnings should come to, and be accounted for by the Reserve Bank. It should also be taken care of, so that the country may get the full benefit out of it.

The main problem now for the country is this: whether it is for checking inflation, or for earning of foreign exchange, we have to increase our production. I hope there should not be any doctrinaire or ideological inhibition put on production. Every scope should be given for greater production, provided production is achieved efficiently and economically.

The previous speaker pleaded about the performance of the private sector, and the Commerce Minister also, a few days ago, gave a good conduct certificate to the private traders. I do not think the country will share this view about the performance of the private sector; they are mostly for profit, and they do not care either for the quality or for the prices of the product. They have an ensured and protected market and expanding the market too, where any commodity can be sold at any price. This tendency on the part of the private sector should be checked. The Government should take some control for ensuring the quality as also the price.

I think at present the Government have no authority to enquire into the costing of the industrial goods. They should take certain authority and should do it regularly. It is on rare occasions when any commodity is referred to the Tariff Commission for protection, and only then the Tariff Commission looks into the question of costing. That is not an adequate. The cars manufactured in India are sold at about 70 to 80% higher price than similar cars abroad—I mean those manufactured abroad by the foreign firms with whose collaboration the cars are manufactured in India.

Most of the engineering goods in India are a high-cost ones, and it is frankly admitted that ours is a high-cost economy. In a poor country, if you develop a high-cost economy, it means an enormous difficulty and distress for the poorer sections.

I have referred to the taxation proposals. It seems the Finance Minister has become bold enough. Previously, when there was any new tax imposed, or when any new tax was proposed, the Finance Minister at least used to be somewhat apologetic. Again in 1962-63, after the election—not pre-election year as now there was a proposal to the tune of Rs. 60.80 crores by way of taxes. Then the Finance Member who was a much stronger person than the present Finance Minister said that it will “no doubt impose a burden of sacrifice on our people.” He justified it and said that it “will take us yet closer to our goal of raising adequate resources for our Plan.” Then he also gave us the assurance or a warning and said that “the point to remember is that there are only two alternatives to such taxation—inflation or stagnation.” I think the Government or the Planning Commission have been kind enough to give us all the three—taxation, inflation and also stagnation. There is definite economic stagnation.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Please finish.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** I am not a frequent speaker. I would take just three minutes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He has already taken 25 minutes.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** I shall finish in a few more minutes.

**Shri K. D. Malaviya (Basti):** I will also plead for him!

**Shri A. C. Guha:** On a previous occasion also, when there was a tax of about Rs. 60 crores which was sought to be imposed, a much stronger Finance Minister also pleaded that his proposal was a formidable bill of fare or it would mean some great sacrifice. But then the present Finance Minister has become bold enough to put up Rs. 120 crores of taxation. It is not Rs. 101 crores, that will come to the exchequer of the Government. It will come to Rs. 140 crores, because the State Governments will get Rs. 41 crores plus another sum of about Rs. 9 crores to Rs. 10 crores. So, it will be in all about Rs. 150 crores of new taxation put on the tax-payers. But there is no word of apology or no assurance of any good or better day coming. I think that the Finance Minister has not put any good prospect which he may not be able to fulfil, and so, it is better that he has been frank.

One word more about the State finances. India is a federal Government and the finances of the State as such include the finances of the several States of India. The Finance Minister has stated the unsatisfactory financial position and the undesirable budgetary tactics. I have great sympathy for the States. They have only limited resources; they have restricted resources. The Centre can increase any tax or raise any new tax, but the States' scope for taxation is very limited. But even then, it would not be proper for the State Governments to get unauthorised

overdrafts from the Reserve Bank. But I shall give the Finance Minister some credit because of the fact that he has tried to relieve the State Governments of some burden. Apart from what the States will get out of the recommendations of the fourth Finance Commission—I think it will be Rs. 144 crores or something like that—he has also given Rs. 100 crores as loan for the current year, and for the next year he has provided about Rs. 41 crores more, as annual finances for the States, I hope that the States will now be able to fulfil their obligations of maintaining sound budgetary conditions and a stable economy.

Before concluding, I wish to say that both the Centre and the States should adopt a definite policy of contraction of money supply. There is enough scope for the Government to curtail expenditure by about five to 10 per cent and also some of the developmental expenditure might be deferred till the production of the country can come up somewhat to the level of the circulation of money.

**Shri Warior (Trichur):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, when the debate on the budget or on any other important matter goes on here, it must not be just like two lawyers contending and the presiding officer commenting, "why do you contend like that? A decision has been taken much earlier." That should not be the attitude of the Government. I am constrained to remark that the Minister should give more attention to what is said here, and some other hon. Members should not disturb the Ministers when the debate is going on. That is a very bad thing often noticed here. We ourselves lose all our interest and enthusiasm to speak. I hope the ministers will pay more attention to what is said by the members, whether it is relevant or not. After all, we are not fortunate enough to be briefed by so many Secretaries as the Ministers. So, there might be unconnected things also. Whatever is in our mind, we give expression to it and the government should respond

[Shri Warior]

to it. Then only it is a responsible government. I hope in this debate government will give more pointed attention to certain remarks coming not only from this side but that side of the House also.

Whenever budgets are presented in this house or in any legislature, we expect that the real things happening in the country will be reflected at least broadly in the budget. But this budget is not reflecting that way. The budget must be a real mirror—not a distorting mirror—of the situation in the country. This budget views things only from one angle. The most ignored angle is the people's angle. People are remembered only when taxation comes. They are forgotten for all other matters. Even for partly concessions to be given, they are completely ignored. The graceful attitude is still retained only to that section of the community which can hold its own.

Many a debate has taken place in this House regarding the food problem. Actually many economists have repudiated all the arguments and justifications for such a food muddle in this country. The ministerial ranks are always harping upon the problem of more production. God also has helped them in the form of failure of monsoons, weather conditions, etc. which are not in anybody's control, which cannot be obliterated by mere speeches or any government action. When the monsoon fails, what can the minister do? It is quite a natural way of justifying things, but in spite of all this, we have to do certain things for the people, who must live and carry on their avocations. I read an article by the eminent economist, Dr. Raj, in the *Times of India* dated 20th January where he says that the entire policy question has to be re-viewed in the light of procurement and not of production. He gives us facts and figures to show that even with all the failure of monsoon and production, if there is equitable dis-

tribution, we can give about 14 ounces of cereals to the people. But that side is not looked into; it is left to take its own course.

80 per cent of our people are agricultural producers, but the entire policy is manipulated from the angle of the consumers, that too a small percentage of consumers residing in the cities. Rationing was introduced only in the cities and not in rural areas. There are agricultural labourers who are suffering from time immemorial. Why has not the government turned its attention to the agricultural labour population? It is because the government looks after only that organised section of people living in urban areas, who can shout, demonstrate and take action. What about the 80 per cent of the people living in our villages? Take the price policy. In my place, we are given Rs. 4 per measure of paddy i.e., about Rs. 40 per *para*. As a cultivator, I can say we spend more than Rs. 60 for that. Why should not the government give Rs. 60? The Government is trying to import all sorts of things fertilisers, inputs and outputs—so many new terms have been imported! As an agriculturist, I can say we can increase food production if only we are given a price which is economic to us. After spending Rs. 4 per measure of paddy, if we get Rs. 4, it is not only uneconomic, but ruinous. This process has been carried on for so long that the survey report on rural indebtedness shows that the agriculturists are indebted to the extent of Rs. 900 crores. You can imagine how much interest has accrued on that. The agriculturist population is at the mercy of the anti-people policy of the government. Instead of paying through the nose for PL 480 imports, why not give a few chips more so that we can produce more?

Instead of fertilisers, let me ask the government, what has it done to mobilise the human waste of 47

crores of people, produce compost and cultivate the land? The human material is the most precious, but that is the least valued. It can be shot down like rats and dogs in the streets. This elementary thing is not taken into consideration.

A whole generation of people, who have fought against the imperialist oppression and foreign capital domination in this country, are aghast and surprised that they are going to be handed over lock, stock and barrel, to the very same imperialists in the form of the Boothalingam agreement and things like the fertiliser deal. It started in Mr. K. D. Malaviya's time. 51 per cent of capital was given to Phillips and Company in the refineries. We have seen the result. We know the things that have happened in the streets of Calcutta and its suburbs and in Bombay and Kerala. I find it is reported in the papers that UP will be following the same course. I do not know which other State are coming in this line. We can expect explosive situations not only in one part, but in several parts of the country, which means in the entire country.

Take, for instance, the workers' question. Factories are closing down one by one. Textile factories are affected. Hundreds and thousands of workers are on the streets. Government does not realise it. There is the question of coal mines, backlog of unemployment, bonus question, etc. In this very same budget, a concession given to the corporate sector is going to affect the bonus question much more. I am quite sure that the Government will be bringing forward an amending Bill to amend the Bonus Act that we passed, because all the companies in the corporate sector will be pleading that they cannot honour this 4 per cent minimum that has been fixed and they will have to bring down the quantum of bonus. I can say that as a trade union worker. I know that such a Bill is going to come. That is already talked

about in the trade union circles. This is what I have to say about the people so far as the agriculturists and industrial workers are concerned.

Then there is the question of government employees and other private employees. What is their position? In Delhi, a pav or a quarter kilogram of *bhendi* costs eight annas today. Whereas last year we paid Rs. 30 month for our vegetables, this year we have to pay about Rs. 80 to Rs.90 per month. How can the poor people afford to pay that much? Shri Guha was saying that six times the dearness allowance has been increased. I can tell the Government, I can tell Shri Guha and his party also, that the workers and employees of the Government should not be given any dearness allowance at all. Let the Government have their own ration shops, their own foodgrain shops and shops which will deliver other commodities at prices to be fixed by the Government. Then there will not be any clamour at all. Once the Government opens such shops, we know the workers will get their things at fixed prices and the rural people will also get them in due course. But the Government is not prepared to do that. Therefore, the government employees and private employees are also on the war path.

This is the situation. Does this situation reflect in this budget? No. Does this dismal situation, this unfortunate state of affairs in our country, reflect in this budget? There is no such thing. The new Finance Minister had this to say in his speech:

"Some of the difficulties such as the inadequate performance of the economy, the sluggishness of the capital market, the pressure on the balance of payments and the rise in the prices of essential commodities have been with us now for a number of years...."

These were not there only in the last year, there have been with us for a number of years. I wish to ask this

[Shri Warior]

Government how it happened that for a number of years these things had been continuing? Should I give a more emphatic, more sharp indictment of this Government than contained in this sentence? What is more, except the people everything else is here. Such difficulties, such inadequate performance, he says "of the economy". It means the entire thing is a failure and a collapse. Sluggishness of the capital market, our hon. friends will take care of—I mean our hon. friends like Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj and others. Then, "pressure on the balance of payment", God is responsible for that. If the monsoons had not failed, we would have exported more groundnuts and we would have got more payments from foreign countries with the result that these balances would have been favourable to us and not adverse to us. These continued for a number of years. The rise in the prices of essential commodities is just by the way, and the Finance Minister says:

"..... it is imperative that budgetary and, indeed, all economic policies are framed with a view to reversing these adverse trends."

Actually, no reversal of any of these trends is here—except, of course, it may be in the capital market—I do not know. But all the capitalists papers and financial papers are saying that the capital market is not enough supported or enough spurred. They do admit of course, that they have got something. I have been hearing very minutely what Shri Morarka, Shri Bajaj or other eminent Members have been saying about the capital market. It is funny that these people are now coming against even this budget. It is just like asking for more. They know more pressure is to be added and then they will get something more. That had happened before also. They are asking for more and more concessions. Actually they are laughing in their sleeves. They know that only they have got at least a fair deal in this budget at the expense of the poor people and, as I said, they are laugh-

ing in their sleeves. At the same time, very seriously and very gravely they are asking the Government whether they have helped the capital market or not, whether they have helped to increase production or not, whether these things are creating more inflation or not and so on. All these questions of economics are posed, not to hood-wink that gentleman who is sitting there with the finance portfolio, Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri, because he knows the thing and he has more knowledge of the company affairs than anybody-else here, not only the holes but the loopholes also, but to hood-wink us, we laymen who do know these intricacies of economics. So they say: "Oh! the entire market is collapsing, the entire stock market is going to disruption and therefore you should give more, give more and give more". Because we do not know the real position, we will also be supporting their claim. It is for that purpose that they are saying like this.

Sir, I have made a study of the entire tax structure for the last 15 years. I have been devoting some time to read all these things. You will note that whenever the tax is raised, and abnormally raised, it is always on the indirect taxes more than on the direct taxes. Shri Morarka was yesterday saying that any tax for that matter, whether direct or indirect, will finally come down upon the people. That may be true, because the people are defenceless, the people are unarmed, they are innocent of the workings of all these things and therefore the people in business know how to put all the burden on the shoulders of the people. That is true, and the Government ought to have come to protect the interests of the people in that respect. That the Government is not doing. Apart from that, if you look at the tax structure itself you will be aghast, you will be surprised rather, to see this, because, Sir, you are also paying in the same way as we are paying. We know that most of us are not able to meet these tax burdens like this. The total tax revenue

of the Union and State Governments increased enormously during the last 15 years. From Rs. 739 crores in 1951-52 it has come to Rs. 2791 crores in 1965-66. New estimates have come now. The total yield over this taxation is not the estimated yield. We all know it is the trick of making the budget that whenever the revenue is calculated it always will be an understatement and when the expenditure side is stated it will be an over-statement. This is purposely done. Never in the annals of history of taxation in this country I know so far the Government has realised less than what is budgeted. I do not blame anybody for doing that. It is a policy inherent in this budgeting. Not only that, most of these amounts shown as expenditure will not be expended at all. Suppose there is a provision to construct a factory, without knowing any of the details of the project they may first put a token amount. Then, without knowing whether cement or iron is available or not, they allot more funds. Afterwards, without knowing whether foreign collaboration and technical know-how are coming forward or not, without knowing what the capital cost and the initial expenses would be, they allot still more funds. Many a time the Estimates Committee has pointed out in its reports that not only is the money not expended but, in some cases, it is not even surrendered. Why should the Government do that? Why should the Government tax the people without knowing how much they require?

14 hrs.

Here I will give you some figures. The total yield of the additional taxation measures of the Centre is estimated to aggregate Rs. 2,260 crores against the Plan target of Rs. 1,100 crores. The additional taxation measures of the State Governments are expected to yield about Rs. 590 crores over the Plan period. The total yield from additional taxation during the Third Plan will amount to Rs. 2,850 crores, as against the target of Rs. 1,710

crores—Rs. 1,100 crores for the Centre and about Rs. 600 crores for the States. Is it not a staggering figure? I know these figures are very small, compared to the figures for big capitalist or imperialist countries like the United Kingdom, France or USA. But, then, our country is a poor country. Our people can hardly afford to pay taxes. So, every pie collected as tax should be accounted for and utilised in a proper way which will give some benefit to the tax-payers. But is it being done? Not at all. Taxes are collected and the money is expended on schemes which will yield no returns or give any benefit to the poor people of the country. The reports of the Estimates Committee, Public Accounts Committee and the Committee on Public Undertakings are full of instances where money has been spent recklessly without any regard to the rules and without any compunction whatsoever.

Now I come to another aspect of the collection of taxes, the break-up between direct and indirect taxes. Here I will give some figures. The total tax revenue of the Central Government in 1950-51 was Rs. 357 crores—Rs. 130 crores of direct taxes and Rs. 227 crores of indirect taxes. In 1965-66 budget, excluding the supplementary budget of taxation of Rs. 100 crores which Shri Krishnamachari presented last year,—an extraordinary procedure, a second budget in the same year—the total tax revenue was Rs. 1,682 crores—Rs. 566 crores of direct taxes and Rs. 1,116 crores of indirect taxes. The increase in total revenue was Rs. 1,325 crores out of which direct taxes was Rs. 436 crores and indirect taxes Rs. 889 crores.

This is not the whole story. The excise duties alone will show you how much the consumer goods are taxed in this country. Tax revenue from kerosene in 1955-56 was Rs. 243 lakhs. In 1965-66 it rose to Rs. 4,500 lakhs, an increase of Rs. 4,257 lakhs. This is the fate of kerosene oil which is ordinarily used by the poor people in the villages which are not ordinarily used by the poor people in the village

[Shri Warrior]

which are not electrified. The revenue from matches was Rs. 1,008 lakhs in 1955-56. In 1965-66 it rose to Rs. 2,850 lakhs, an increase of Rs. 1,342 lakhs. In the case of tea, it was Rs. 317 lakhs in 1955-56. In 1965-66 it became Rs. 1,700 lakhs, an increase of 1,303 lakhs. In the case of soap, it rose from Rs. 155 lakhs in 1955-56 to Rs. 467 lakhs in 1965-66, an increase of Rs. 307 lakhs. On sugar, on which so much of controversy has been raised, it rose from Rs. 1,858 lakhs in 1955-56 to Rs. 5,365 lakhs in 1965-66, an increase of Rs. 3,507 lakhs. We are paying so much on sugar, not only to feed ourselves, but feed people abroad also by export of sugar. Yet, I am quite sure, they will not change that policy. In the case of tobacco the revenue in 1955-56 was Rs. 3,648 lakhs. In 1965-66 it rose to Rs. 8,858 lakhs, an increase of only Rs. 5,192 lakhs. It looks as if tobacco is the special target of all successive Finance Ministers in their budget proposals. They all seem to be anti-tobaccoists. It is supposed to be a luxury item and so it is taxed out of all proportion. That is why the increase in revenue from tobacco alone amounts to Rs. 5,192 lakhs.

Of course, I can understand that for the development of this country if the Government wants money, we must pay. I can also understand that in a developing country austerities are necessary. Recently, I was reading a speech by Fidel Castro of Cuba, the erstwhile friend of China. China declined to supply Cuba rice. The only commodity exported by Cuba is sugar. Fidel Castro addressed the people of Cuba and asked: "do you want the economy of this country to go to ruins or eat a little less rice and more of vegetables and other things? I will provide you with more fish, more vegetables and other things."

In our country also, our benevolent new Prime Minister addressed several meetings and asked the people to substitute other food for rice and

wheat. But I am not convinced; nor are the other people convinced. Here in our country rice is available in every nook and corner; only, you have to pay through your nose. Even in Kerala I can purchase rice. I am sure, Shri Govinda Menon will substantiate that statement. Rice is available in Kerala at the rate of Rs. 2.50 per kilo. In Bombay rice is sold at the rate of Rs. 275 per quintal. In every State, every district, every taluka you can get rice, unless of course it is cordoned off, just like Bengal. It is a foolish thing that they did in Bengal. When rice is available for a higher price in any area, how can I convince the people that there is dearth of rice? When wheat is available in plenty, of course for a higher price, how can I convince the people that there is no wheat? So, it is difficult to convince the people that there is shortage of food. Of course, if the entire production in the country is procured and equitably distributed to the people all over the country then there is no question of disputing the contention of the Government that there is real dearth; not otherwise. If there is real scarcity, let it be equitably distributed over the whole country. If there is real plenty, let it also be equitably distributed over the whole country. Then nobody will complain. But that is not done. The position today is that those who are in the high income bracket, those who can afford to pay a higher price, they get enough food; but the poor people who cannot afford to pay a higher price, they do not get it.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** You have taken 30 minutes.

**Shri Warrior:** I wanted to say something more.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** You have already taken six minutes more than you were entitled to.

**Shri Warrior:** I wanted to have more figures given but never mind about it.

So also is the case of money. Why I oppose these taxation measures is

not because I grudge giving the Government enough money for development. Even a paper like the *Eastern Economist* says that there is no justification at all for this new taxation. I would have understood it if the *Eastern Economist* had said that there was no justification for more taxation on the corporate sector; but, no, on the entire taxes they are very clear. They say that these are asking for sacrifices without any gains at all.

In this connection may I bring to your notice two very relevant instances of the attitude of the Government in not being particularly serious about getting money from where it can get it and getting the money from where it cannot get it. They do not want to take the money from where they can get it. Money cannot come from people who have no money; money can come only from people who have money. Suppose, you ask the Marshal to search me and get Rs. 100. Can you get it? I do not think you can get it because I have not got it.

**An hon. Member:** You may be having it in your house.

**Shri Warior:** But there was an MP whose house was searched by the thief, not by the Enforcement Branch, who got Rs. 76,000 or Rs. 86,000.

**Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur):** That amount was between Rs. 8,000 and Rs. 6,000 and the reporter said Rs. 86,000.

**Shri Warior:** I am sorry, if it is a printer's devil and it is actually Rs. 6,000; but there was another case of a very eminent man murdered in the heart of Delhi for keeping about Rs. 70,000 or Rs. 76,000. Then, there was another case. Recently a very respectable gentleman was caught at Palam Airport with a silly amount of Rs. 8 lakhs.

**An hon. Member:** Small amount.

**Shri Warior:** Silly amount. I do not call it a small amount. If anybody calls a large amount a small amount, we are not very serious

about these things. It is such a silly thing.

And may I add to the list one more? Here comes to my knowledge a judgment. This may also go on record with your permission. On September 28, 1965, Hon'ble Mr. Justice A. N. Ray delivering his judgment on an interim application in suit 600/61 in the High Court of Calcutta, made certain very serious remarks and passed strictures on the glaring collusion of revenue department with Hari Das Mundhra. This is a judgment, incontrovertible. The significant aspect of it may be read with your permission it reads:—

"It is significant that though Hari Das Mundra is indebted to revenue for over one crore of rupees by way of tax for several years, the revenue authorities have taken no steps to realise this amount. It was argued on behalf of the petitioner that Hari Dass Mundra has not paid for the shares and that he is not in a position to pay for the shares. Identical contention had been advanced in this suit and that contention was not accepted for the reasons discussed in the judgment. It is a matter between revenue authorities and Hari Dass Mundra as to why the revenue has not been collected. It is a matter within the province of revenue authorities".

who are within the province also of Shri Sachin Chaudhuri.

Sir, I have spoken at length about tax imposition; one more sentence about tax collection and the picture is complete. A news item appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta. These things do not come from your State or my States this will come only from Bombay, Calcutta, Kanpur and such other places and so you must also be interested in it. The search conducted by the Enforcement Directorate, Government of India, refers to the office of the solicitors firm Orr Dignam—O R R, Orr; DIGNAM,



[Shri Warior.]

Nignam; I do not know the pronounciation—

The Minister of State in the Department of Parliamentary Affairs and Communications (Shri Jagannatha Rao): Orr Dignam. You can ask Shri Mukerjee.

Shri Warior: I do not consult my leader in these things.

...Orr Dignam and Company at 29, Netaji Subhas Road, Calcutta and the residence of their senior partners. I have the names here but I do not read them. Many things were found. I wish to know from the Finance Ministry as to what happened to this; whether this case is proceeded with. This has appeared in a very respectable paper of Calcutta, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, of 12th February, 1966 on page 5. It is sufficient reference, I hope. I wish to know this because there were serious rumours about it and I do not want to give any credence to them until and unless we hear from the horse's mouth itself.

This is the story of the collection of taxes; this is the story of the imposition of taxes; this is the story of the spending of taxes. That is why I say that this Budget is not a people's budget or a budget for the people but against the people.

श्री ब्रज बिहारी मेहरोत्रा (बिल्हौर) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कई दिनों के इन्तजार के बाद आज मुझे जो बोलने का अवसर दिया है, उसके लिये मैं बहुत आभारी हूँ।

यह बजट जो वित्त मंत्री ने उपस्थित किया है, इसे देखने से पता लगता है कि प्रति व्यक्ति के ऊपर हमारे देश में 40 रु० से अधिक टैक लगा दिया है और इस टैक्स का 30 प्रतिशत के लगभग अकेले प्रशासन पर खर्च होता है और प्रशासन कैसा है कि जिससे छोटे से छोटा और बड़े से बड़ा आदर्मी भी परेशान है। आप किसी भी दफ्तर में चले

जाइये या किसी बड़े दफ्तर में किसी अफसर के सामने जाइये, यदि उसे यह न मालूम हो कि आप डिप्टी स्पीकर हैं, तो शायद आपको चिक् उठाकर अन्दर जाने की नीवत ही न प्राये और चपरासी आपका कांड ही अन्दर न ले जाये।

महाराष्ट्र के भूतपूर्व गवर्नर बाबू श्री प्रकाश ने अपने एक लेख में लिखा है, उन्होंने अपनी बीती का जिक्र किया है। उन्होंने बतलाया कि जब वह महाराष्ट्र के गवर्नर थे, तो वह अपनी लड़की को जो अमरीका से आई थी, उसको रिसेव करने सान्ताक्रूज़ एयरपोर्ट पर गये। उस लड़की के साथ जो सामान आया, 10-5 मिनट में उसको देखा लिया गया और वे बक्से कस्टम से पास हो गये हैं। और वह अपनी लड़की को ले आये जब वह महाराष्ट्र के गवर्नर नहीं रहे, और फिर जब उनकी लड़की बाहर से आई तो वह फिर उसको लेने सान्ताक्रूज़ एयरपोर्ट पर गये, उस समय उसके सारे सामान को इस बुरी तरह से बखेर दिया गया, कि जिसको समेट कर रखने में उसको घन्टा भर लगा और रो-रो कर उसने अपने सामान को बक्सों में रखा, किसी ने उसकी सहायता नहीं की। यह है हालत हमारी इस हुकूमत के परिवार की। जिनके लिये हम मोटी रकम की शकल में टैक्स वसूल करते हैं बेचारे किसानों से।

फिर उस किसान की हालत को कौन पूछने वाला है, खाने की चीजों में एक छोटी चीज चीनी होती है क्रिस्टल शुगर किसानों को बिल्कुल भी नसीब नहीं होती। हमारे प्रदेश में ऐसे गांव के गांव पड़े हुए हैं जहां फैंक्टरी की बनी हुई क्रिस्टल शुगर पहुंचती ही नहीं है। वह क्षेत्र किसी तरह से खाण्डसारी शुगर से गुजर करता था लेकिन उस खाण्डसारी शुगर पर भी वित्त मंत्री ने इस बार टैक्स लगा दिया है। खाद्य मंत्री ने तो यह कहा है लेकिन उत्तर प्रदेश से उसकी मूवमेंट रोक दी

गई है। जो फार्मर था वह षबरा उठा। आज जो खाण्डसारी प्रोड्यूस करता है वह परेशान है कि क्या होगा हमारा यह व्यापार रहेगा या नहीं रहेगा उसका यह व्यापार चलेगा या नहीं चलेगा। एक तरफ तो यह कहा जाता है कि किसानों को रेमूनरेटिव प्राइस देंगे। हम लोगों को इंसटिव देना चाहते हैं और काश्तकारों से हम यह आशा करते हैं कि वे अधिक पैदा करें लेकिन दूसरी तरफ काश्तकारों को जो मिलने वाली चीजें हैं उन पर नये टैक्स लगाये जाते हैं। हम ही नहीं राज्य सरकारें भी टैक्स लगाती रहती हैं। अधिक उपजाने के लिए किसानों को कुछ चीजों की आवश्यकता है जिन की पूर्ति करना बहुत जरूरी है। उनको ऐसे साधन चाहियें जिन का वे खेती में इस्तेमाल कर सकें। हमारे प्रदेश में बड़े बड़े बांध बने हैं और उन से बिजली उत्पन्न होती है। लेकिन ट्रांसमिशन लाइन्स का कहीं पता ही नहीं है। ट्रांसमिशन लाइन्स अगर बनी भी हुई हैं तो भी उनको बिजली नहीं मिलती है। ट्यूबवैल पड़े हुए हैं लेकिन एनर्जाइज नहीं किये जा रहे हैं। जहां पर बिजली पहुंची भी है वहां के जो किसान हैं वे भी दर दर की ठोकें खाते फिरते हैं लेकिन उनको बिजली का कनेक्शन नहीं मिलता है। बेचारों ने किसी तरह से कर्ज लेकर साहूकार से या वसे बचा कर डीजल पम्प खरीदे हैं और उन से वे काम चला रहे थे लेकिन अब सरकार ने डीजल तेल पर भी टैक्स बढ़ा दिया है। इसका नतीजा यह होगा कि उनके पम्प पड़े रह जायेंगे। फिर आप को कहां से अन्न मिलेगा? आप किसान से यह आशा करते हैं कि वह अन्न अधिक पैदा करके आप को दे उपज बढ़ाये लेकिन उत्पादन करने वाले जो साधन हैं उन पर आप इतने टैक्स लगाते जा रहे हैं किसान पर आप इतना बोझ डालते जा रहे हैं कि उनके प्रयोग को ही वह भूल जायेगा।

फर्टिलाइजर की भी बात की जाती है। आप फैक्ट्रीज भी खोलना चाहते हैं। बड़े बड़े  
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जो दुनिया के मुल्क हैं उनको आप फर्टिलाइजर कर रहे हैं कि यहां आ कर वे फर्टिलाइजर की फैक्ट्रीज लगायें और फर्टिलाइजर पैदा करके दें। क्या फर्टिलाइजर आप इसलिए पैदा करना चाहते हैं कि किसान उसको ले जाये और उसकी फसल भस्म हो जाये? कारण यह है कि उसको समय पर पानी तो मिलेगा नहीं। अगर पानी नहीं मिलेगा तो फर्टिलाइजर किस काम आयेगा। इस वास्ते जरूरत इस बात की है कि उसको पहले पानी दिया जाये। हमारे प्रदेश में पानी है। आप वहां पर किसानों के लिए पानी की व्यवस्था तो करें। उत्तर प्रदेश ऐसा प्रदेश नहीं है जहां धरती के नीचे पानी न हो। मैं कहता हूं कि धरती के नीचे समुद्र है। बोरिंग करके उसको बाहर निकालने के उपाय आपको खोज निकालने होंगे। हमारे श्री केशव देव जी मालवीय ने जिस वक्त वह आयल एंड नैचुरल गैस कमिशन के मंत्री थे उस वक्त बताया था कि विदेशों से कुछ इस तरह की जीपें आई हैं जिन में रिग्ज लगी हुई हैं और उन रिग्ज से हजारों फीट तक बड़ी ग्रासानी से बोरिंग किया जा सकता है। लेकिन उधर सरकार का ध्यान नहीं है। सरकार का ध्यान इस तरफ है कि बड़ी बड़ी रिग्ज लगे बड़ी बड़ी फैक्ट्रीज लगे जहां फर्टिलाइजर पैदा हो लेकिन साधारण रूप से पानी की कोई व्यवस्था न की जाये। किस तरह से यह काम चलेगा? किस तरह से किसान अन्न पैदा करके आप को देगा? किसान को तो खेती के लिए साधन चाहियें वक्त पर पैसा चाहिये। पैसा उसको वक्त पर मिलता नहीं है। जो पैसा मिलता भी है उस पर सूद बहुत उसको देना पड़ता है और उसको पाने के लिए उमको बड़ी हैरानी और परेशानी का सामना भी करना पड़ता है। पूरा पैसा उसको फिर भी नहीं मिलता है। किसान परेशान रहता है। छोटे छोटे जो किसान हैं उनको तो कर्ज मिलना भी नहीं है।

मेरे मित्र कह रहे हैं कि रिश्वत का भी मैं जिक्र इस सम्बन्ध में कर दूं। मैं उस बात

### [श्री ब्रज बिहारी मेहरोत्रा]

को नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ। बहुत से लोग उसको कह चुके हैं। मैं जानता हूँ कि जहाँ लोगों में अवज्ञा की भावना है जहाँ लोगों में काम के प्रति लापरवाही है लोगों में अनुशासनहीनता है वहाँ भ्रष्टाचार भी है। इस वास्ते भ्रष्टाचार का जिक्र कर्क या न कर्क कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ता है। वह चीज तो अपनी जगह है। लेकिन आप देखें कि किसान से आशा यह की जाती है कि वह अधिक पैदा करे। लेकिन अधिक पैदा करने के लिए उसके पास साधन कहां हैं? आप गोसंवर्द्धन के लिए क्या उपाय कर रहे हैं? बड़े बड़े ट्रैक्टरों की तो आप बात करते हैं लेकिन गोसंवर्द्धन की तरफ आपका ध्यान ही नहीं है। बड़े बड़े ट्रैक्टर अपने मूलक में बनाने में तो शताब्दी लग जायेगी और छोटे छोटे हाथ से चलने वाले, पावर टिल्लज बन सकते हैं लेकिन उसकी तरफ सरकार का ध्यान नहीं जा रहा है। न जाये उधर आपका ध्यान, कम से कम गोसंवर्द्धन की तरफ तो सरकार का ध्यान जाना चाहिये, गाय, बैल, नस्ल सुधार आदि की तरफ तो आपका ध्यान जाना चाहिये। आप कहते हैं कि आप इंसेंटिव देते हैं। कहां इंसेंटिव आप देते हैं? खाद्य मंत्री ने एक इंसेंटिव का शब्द पकड़ लिया है। आप ने कहा है कि किसान को इंसेंटिव प्राइस आप देंगे। लेकिन क्या सचमुच किसान को इंसेंटिव प्राइस मिल रही है? किसान गल्ला आपके हाथों बेचना नहीं चाहता है, वह व्यापारी के हाथ बेचना चाहता है। अगर आपकी इंसेंटिव प्राइस होती तो वह गल्ला आप को न बेचता? क्यों व्यापारी को वह बेचना? मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इन सब बातों पर गम्भीरतापूर्वक विचार करें। आपकी कथनी और करनी में कितना बड़ा अन्तर है, इसको आप देखें।

एक तरफ तो सरकार खादी कमिशन के नाम पर करोड़ों रुपया दे रही है, इसलिए दे रही है कि गृह उद्योग चले, खादी उद्योग

चलें, कुटीर उद्योग चलें, काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज पनपें लेकिन दूसरी तरफ आप बड़ी बड़ी फैक्ट्रीज खड़ी कर रहे हैं। धान जो हाथ से कूटा जाता है उस काम को आप खत्म करना चाहते हैं, बड़ी बड़ी धान फैक्ट्रीज आप लगाना चाहते हैं। तेल पेरने के लिए भी आप बड़ी बड़ी फैक्ट्रीज लगाने को प्रोत्साहन देते हैं लेकिन धानी की तरफ आपका ध्यान नहीं है। आप चाहते हैं कि जो रुपया सरकार खादी प्रामोद्योग को इन कामों के लिए देती है वह बट्टे खाते चला जाये और काम चलने ही न पाये। ये परस्पर विरोधी आप के तरीके हैं। बड़े बड़े फार्म स्थापित करके उन में आप बीज उपजाना चाहते हैं। क्यों नहीं आप किसान को प्रोत्साहन देते हैं कि वह आप को अच्छा बीज जिसकी आप बड़ी तारीफ करते हैं, अधिक मात्रा में पैदा कर के दे। उसको वह अपने खेत में पैदा करके आप को दे। उत्तर प्रदेश की बात हम जानते हैं। वहां पर जमीन पर सीलिंग लगा कर छोटे छोटे किसान कर दिये गये हैं। उनके पास थोड़ी थोड़ी जमीन कर दी गई है। आपकी नीति यह है कि किसी आदमी के पास ज्यादा जमीन न रहने पाये। एक तरफ तो आप की यह नीति है और दूसरी तरफ आप मंकेनाइज्ड फार्मिंग को प्रोत्साहन देना चाहते हैं। आप इस मूलक को अमरीका बनाना चाहते हैं। हमारा मूलक अमरीका नहीं बनेगा। यहां बेकारी बढ़ेगी और बेकारी बढ़ाने के बाद दंगे बढ़ेंगे, उपद्रव बढ़ेंगे, अराजकता बढ़ेगी जिसका नमूना हमें अब दिल्ली में ही आंखों के सामने देखने को मिल रहा है।

न प्राइस कंट्रोल आप कर सकते हैं, न अधिक उपजाने के लिए जो साधन मूलक में मौजूद हैं, उनकी तरफ आपका ध्यान जा रहा है। जो कुछ आप कर रहे हैं उससे कोई भविष्य बड़ा अच्छा नहीं नजर आ रहा है। मैं यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप देखें कि आप के प्रोग्रामों में कहां त्रुटि है, कहां कमी है।

आप ने टैक्स लगा रखे हैं। आप ने जो टैक्स लगाये हैं वे तो लगाये ही हैं हमारे प्रदेश में तो जमीन पर 25 परसेंट सरचार्ज भी लगा दिया गया है। इतना बोझ अगर किसान पर होगा तो उसकी कमर टूट जायेगी। वह पहले ही टूटी जा रही है। लेकिन वे इन टैक्सों को देने के लिए भी तैयार हैं। बशर्त कि आप साधन उपलब्ध करें इस तरह के, जिस तरह के मैंने आपको बताये हैं।

हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश के कुछ जिले हैं, पूर्वी जिले हैं, जहाँ पर बहुत बुरी हालत है। हमारे सदन के एक मँम्बर ने रो रो कर आप को यह बताया था कि वहाँ लोगों को चार आने पैसे और एक लोटा मोलेसिस का मजदूरी में मिलता है। इतनी ही एक दिन की उनको मजदूरी मिलती है। स्वर्गीय पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने एक कमीशन की नियुक्ति की थी ताकि वहाँ पर कुछ विकास के कार्य किये जायें। वह स्कीम भी अब खटाई में पड़ गई है। कैसे आप का ध्यान इन तमाम चीजों की ओर दिलाया जाये, कैसे आपका ध्यान इन तमाम मुसीबतों की ओर आकषित किया जाये, समझ में नहीं आता है।

यातायात के साधनों की हालत यह है कि ट्रेनों में तीसरे दर्जे में भीड़-भाड़ का कोई ठिकाना ही नहीं है, उसकी कोई इतिहा ही नहीं है। हर रोज़ ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि कोई मेला चल रहा है। आपके पास अच्छे इंजन हैं, अच्छी गति वाले इंजन हैं, ज्यादा डिब्बे खींचने वाले इंजन हैं, लाइन भी अच्छी है, तो क्यों नहीं तीसरे दर्जे के अधिक डिब्बे लगाये जाते हैं? लोगों को कुछ सुविधा मिल जाये, वह काम नहीं किया जा रहा है। आप को किसान की, देहात में रहने वाले आदमी की, खेतिहर मजदूर की परवा नहीं है जो तमाम मुसीबतों को झेलता है। आप के तमाम प्रोग्रामों को पूरा करने की उस में कहां से चेतना आयेगी? कैसे वे अधिक अन्न उपजा कर आप को दे सकेंगे?

आप इन सब पर सोच विचार करें। आप ने बड़े बड़े फार्म बना दिये हैं। क्या ये आप के फार्म लाभकर साबित हो रहे हैं, लाभ में चल रहे हैं? क्या ये एग्रिकलचरल फार्म घाटे में नहीं चल रहे हैं? अगर तमाम खर्च जोड़ दिये जायें, बड़े बड़े अफसरों की तनख्वाहें जोड़ दी जायें तो पता चलेगा कि तमाम ये एग्रिकलचरल फार्म घाटे में चल रहे हैं। क्या इसी तरह से आप तमाम किसानों को घाटे पर खेती करने के लिए मजबूर करेंगे?

जिस क्षेत्र से मैं आता हूँ वहाँ एक पुल पड़ता है। मैंने दस वर्षों तक अपनी असेम्बली में उस पुल के लिए कोशिश की है। जिस दिन से मैं यहाँ आया हूँ बराबर उसका चिन्तन करता आ रहा हूँ, बराबर प्रयास करता आ रहा हूँ। मैं कहता आ रहा हूँ कि यमुना पर वह पुल बने, कानपुर-झांसी रोड पर कालपी के पास वह पुल बने। उस पुल को बनाने का आश्वासन भी मिला था। एक प्रश्न के लिखित उत्तर में यह जवाब दिया गया था। यह कहा गया था कि इसको हाथ में लिया जायेगा। अब मालूम हुआ है कि उस स्कीम को उठा कर ताक पर रख दिया गया है और यह पुल नहीं बनेगा। इन लोगों ने क्या कसूर किया है, यह मैं आप से जानना चाहता हूँ। हमारे क्षेत्र के लोगों ने जिस वक्त पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारा युद्ध चल रहा था आप को हर तरह का सहयोग दिया था, हर प्रकार की सहायता प्रदान की थी। हमारे यहाँ के जवान भी मोर्चे पर जा कर कटे थे। जिस वक्त पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारा युद्ध चल रहा था तो कहीं यह बवण्डर नहीं था। अन्न की कहीं कमी नहीं थी। अन्न की कमी का बवण्डर भी हमारे विरोधी साथी पैदा करते हैं जो यह चाहते हैं कि गवर्नमेंट फेन हो जाये। ये लोग जो चैतावनी देते हैं, उसको आप समझें। अगर न समझें तो आपकी खुशी। एक तरफ तो हमारे मित्रों की चैतावनी है, जो इस तरह के बवण्डर क्रियेट करते हैं, केरल में दंगे इन्होंने करवाये हैं

## [श्री ब्रज बिहारी महरोत्रा]

बंगाल में और कलकत्ता में करवाये हैं, पंजाब में भरवाये हैं और अब दिल्ली में करवा रहे हैं, दूसरी तरफ हम हैं जोकि इनकी चेतावनी को समझ नहीं पाते हैं। इन को तमाम बे लोग मिल जाते हैं जो बेकार या अर्धबेकार होते हैं या जो बेजार होते हैं बवण्डर करवाने के लिए। इस वास्ते सरकार का इन तमाम चीजों की तरफ ध्यान जाना चाहिये और उसको सोचना चाहिये कि क्या तरीका इस सब से बचने का हो सकता है। एक ही तरीका हो सकता है कि 48 करोड़ वाले इस देश में हर आदमी को काम मिले, देहात में लोगों को करने के लिए काम मिले और खादी कमीशन की जो योजना है और जोकि एक अच्छी योजना है, वह ठीक तरह से चले। वह तभी चल सकती है जब आप उसे सच्चाई के साथ पूरा करने में अपना सहाय्य प्रदान करें। आप एक तरफ तो खादी कमीशन को रुपया देते हैं सहाय्य के लिये, दूसरी तरफ जो काम वह करता है उसकी जड़ काटने का प्रयास करते रहते हैं। यह योजनायें कैसे सफल हो सकती हैं।

मैं यह आशा करता हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो टैक्स लगाये हैं खंडसारी शुगर पर या बीजल आयल पर, उन को वापस ले लेंगे। इस से किसानों को इतमीनान हो जायेगा कि उन की बात सुनी जाती है, उन का कुछ खयाल है इस गवर्नमेंट को।

सुबह्यप्यम साहब की जो योजनायें हैं वह ऐसी हैं जिन में विदेशीपन अधिक है, देशीपन कम है। हमारे देश की परिस्थितियों के अनुकूल योजनायें नहीं बनती हैं और इस से देश की समस्यायें बनी रहेंगी और सरकार को सफलता नहीं मिलेगी।

Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Jammu and Kashmir): I rise to support this

budget that has been presented by such a straightforward and honest person as Mr. Sachindra Chaudhuri. Speeches have been delivered from both the sides of the House, when a number of things have been said about his person. I wonder, I am rather amazed, why while the budget is presented on behalf of the Central Government of a country like India, my friends should have imputed motives to his person, to his personal capacity. I wholly dissociate myself from those remarks and I disagree with them. No doubt, every hon. Member has a right to examine the budget from all angles just as was done by my friend, Mr. Warior, who spoke from his angle. Of course, he has every right to speak whatever he likes.

But we have to appreciate the position and also the time when this budget was prepared and presented to this House. It was only three or four months ago that we were at war. All of a sudden our transport services came to a standstill; our development activities had to be stopped altogether and many things happened which naturally gave a halt to the functioning of our economy. Keeping that in view and also keeping in view the urgency of the need that has arisen because of the war, naturally Government have to find resources.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I draw your attention pointedly to this: the Deputy Finance Minister should listen to what is being said here otherwise he has little business to sit there.

As I said, we have to keep in mind the time, the occasion and the circumstances in which the budget has been prepared.

First, I must congratulate the Finance Minister for one thing. For the last three years I have myself been agitating in this House that the present income-tax laws are intricate and

sometimes they create a sort of jumble. I have personal experiences of these while getting my taxes assessed—income-tax and others. It is very difficult to argue with the income-tax department people and make them agree. I must congratulate the Finance Minister for one thing: this time he has attempted to make the income-tax laws straight and this would make it a little easy for the assesses to know what and how they are assessed. I must once again congratulate the Finance Minister for having come up with a straight law so far as income-tax is concerned.

I am glad that the Finance Minister has come now. I was just appreciating the budget presented by him.

For raising the exemption limit so far as income-tax is concerned, we should really pay a compliment to the Finance Minister. He has taken a bold step. Though the receipts from this class of assesses may not be very much, still it is better because previously a lot of harassment was caused to the people and also to the income-tax department. I heartily appreciate this bold stand on his part, about which most of us here have been agitating for years. Today he has come up with these proposals which are very much to be appreciated.

Some irritants have been removed so far as functioning of corporate bodies in this country are concerned. Here I must make one or two things clear. I have been speaking about these before also. When I hear from some of my friends like Shri Alvares or Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, for both of whom I have great respect, it is all right; they may be correct because they speak from a particular ideology. But different voices are being heard from friends belonging to the Congress Party and this creates a sort of confusion. Government must make clear certain things once and for all. From the housetops it is said that we believe in mixed economy; if that is so, let it be clear once and for all to what extent

the private sector has to exist. Just raising the voices within the Party itself is creating a lot of confusion and I must say frankly that it is sometimes misleading. It is for the Leader of the Party to make it clear once and for all to all his colleagues, friends and comrades.

When you give a place for the private sector to function, let it function without irritants. Taxation is something different altogether. We heartily welcome taxing them for the sake of the community, but when you place some irritants, it becomes difficult. Nowadays what is the position of industrialists? It is not only the income-tax department and other tax departments, but a number of other representatives from different agencies also keep on visiting and placing impediments in the way of the smooth working of the industrial units. If the working of these institutions is made easier, is made more clear, then it would be better for those institutions, for the country as a whole and it would also facilitate collecting revenues which we need most.

We have been impressing on capital formation. Capital formation does not take place within the country. I cannot understand this: on the one hand we agree to borrowing money from foreigners and paying interest and everything, and on the other hand conditions are not created in the country for capital formation. If policies are enunciated where we allow capital formation on our conditions, i.e., if capital that is formed is plunged back into developmental activities of the country, that should be welcome. I personally prefer our doing that to getting money as aids and loans, though where it is necessary I would allow that also. But comparatively speaking, I would say that those conditions should be created which will permit capital formation in the country and that alone will take us towards a self-generating economy. When I see the present conditions through the institutions or undertakings that are run by

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the Centre or by the State, I feel that there is very little that is done to carry us forward towards a self-generating economy. If that is the economy, I do not know where it will lead us to. I will speak on it a little later.

Expenditure tax has been abolished. I welcome it, though, from a sentimental point of view, some friends may say that it should have continued. When we see how much of revenue has been collected, I must say that it is not worth it; it is simply wasting the time and energy of our officers. If the staff, both ministerial and executive, apply their minds to collecting the revenues, the arrears, that will be far better and more paying and that will be in the interest of the country as a whole.

Our efforts, as far as collection of taxes is concerned, should be with one point in view. Let there be less effort and let the deterrent be more severe. If that orientation is given to the system of tax collection, that would be easier; that would be helpful; that would be beneficial.

When I come to the functioning of the fiscal and financial policies, both at the Centre and in the States, I find that there is a gap between the two. Three or four years back, when Shri Morarji Desai was the Finance Minister I had suggested to him that under his lead as the Finance Minister of the Central Government, he should in collaboration with the States formulate their fiscal and financial policies so that firstly the tax structures could be codified, and secondly the spheres of taxation also could be well defined. I agree that a number of changes have taken place since then but this is a suggestion worth pursuing. Today, from the little experience that I have had by working in a State, and from what I have seen at the Centre also, I find that the spheres of taxation are not well defined. There is a big grouse among the local bodies today that the

State Governments are interfering in their spheres of taxation. We find that the local bodies and bigger corporations have mostly suffered for want of sources of revenue. I would like to know whether anybody has cared to look into this matter. I think nobody has done so. Then, again, the State Governments often say that the Centre is making inroads into their spheres of taxation. Can anybody say authoritatively how far they are correct?

Again, there is another thing on which a number of questions have been put; in fact, even the hon. Finance Minister himself has referred to this in his budget speech and said that our State Governments have overdrawn from the Reserve Bank without any sanction. I would like to know whether that kind of thing is going to be permitted. I would submit that the States should not be permitted to do so. Speaking in the light of the experience from my State, I feel that if that sort of permission is given to the States then there would be no end to it, and one does not know in what difficulties they will place the Centre and at what time. In view of that, I would submit that the Centre should have a stronger grip on this matter. Once the straight forward and perfect gentleman like our present Finance Minister takes up this question and does something in this regard, people would understand that he means what he says.

Then, I come to the question of the Plan expenditure. My hon. friends Shri Nath Pai and Shri Morarji had referred to this yesterday. In the First Plan, nearly Rs. 1400 crores were allocated to the States for planned development. In the Second Plan, the amount given was twice that. In the Third Plan, it was much more than that. So far as the Fourth Plan is concerned, in the first year we are proposing to spend the entire amount that we gave to the States in the First Five Year Plan. But may I ask, after pumping in these crores and crores of

rupees into the coffers of the States, to what extent they have been successful in creating a self-generating economy? I would submit that they have not been able to generate or create conditions for such a self generating economy. After all, we are responsible to somebody else for the repayment of the moneys, because we borrow money on interest and then pay the States. So, I feel that the Finance Minister at the Centre should take over the responsibility to see what is happening in the States in regard to these moneys which are allocated.

With your permission, I would like to place just one or two instances before the Finance Minister in this connection, from my own State. Take, for instance, the low income group housing scheme. When the scheme was started, money was allocated to the States, and lands were allotted; applications were called for from the people and lands were allocated to the people belonging to the low income groups. Under the very conditions under which the lands have been allocated, the person concerned, whoever it be, whether it be myself or A or B or C or D has to build the house on that land. But what has actually happened is this. That very land is being sold and has been sold at one thousand per cent profit.

**Shri Inder J. Malhotra (Jammu and Kashmir):** Who has sold the land?

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** The allottees to whom the land had been allotted had sold the land. That was the position in my State, and I believe that the same must be the case elsewhere also. In the case of these beneficial schemes where the money goes from the Centre to the States, why should that kind of thing happen? I would, therefore, request the hon. Finance Minister to look into that.

Another thing that I would like to mention is this. In a number of States I must say that today some groupism has taken place, and certain groups

want to survive and remain in power somehow. May I ask the hon. Finance Minister to see what sort of tactics are being resorted to by them in order to keep themselves alive in power? So far as my State is concerned, for instance, I may tell you that a number of people are being raised in uniform and without uniform, and lakhs of rupees are being spent on them in order that the groups in power may keep themselves in power. A similar thing might be happening in other States also.

My main point is that unless and until the Central Ministry of Finance has a hard grip on the finances of the country as a whole, things will not prosper and we shall not achieve the desired results. I would not like to go into details because I do not have much time. It will all depend on how our Finance Ministry at the Centre will function.

My hon. friend the Planning Minister has just left the House, but I would like to ask him one question. We have had the First Five Year Plan schemes, the Second Five Year Plan schemes and then the Third Five Year Plan schemes. May I ask the hon. Minister to see how many States have kept themselves absolutely consistent and how many of them have kept to the standards that that they had kept before themselves? After getting the allocation from here, how have they been spending the money in their States? Unless somebody looks into these things, and unless some authority is there to look into these things, we cannot expect results in the country as a whole, and the people will continue to suffer as they are suffering today.

This morning, we were attending a meeting with a particular Ministry. I asked the particular Minister in charge of such and such Department 'I was very happy to find certain results discernible before, but now what has happened to them?' I asked him why those results were not visible now. He



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replied back to me 'I do not want that you should speak something against me or against any colleague of mine.' I told him 'Please understand me correctly; I have equal interest in you or in your Ministry or in the other Ministries, and I am genuinely interested in the matter'. I too was associated with the small-scale industry for a certain number of years, and we had expected certain results. When the small-scale industries were started, a great fervour was created in their behalf and an atmosphere was created for them in the country. But today what is the position? Most of them are starved for want of components, spare parts and raw materials. Again, may I cite an instance from my own State?

The Pashmina wool industry and the shawl industry are known for ages not only here but outside the country as well. The raw material, namely the Pashmina wool has been stopped from coming into this country for the last ten or twelve years ever since the Chinese occupation of Tibet which was the source from which we were getting that wool. I happened to be the Minister in charge of industries there. I am not saying this to highlight what I had done, but I am merely giving this as an instance. We immediately realised that we would not be able to get Pashmina wool any more, and so we got the industry shifted towards Merino wool. Then, firstly, we used to import the cloth and then got it embroidered and then sold it. In the second stage, we got only the yarn, we got cloth, woven and then got it embroidered and then sold it. The third stage was that under the advice of the Central Ministry here, we set up two plants there to spin the yarn; we used to spin the yarn, then weave the cloth and then had it embroidered. Thus, three industries had come up as a result of this. But today what is the position? Not only these three industries but the whole industry is absolutely starving; they are not getting the necessary raw material, the imported wool tops.

On the one hand, we say that we are very much for export drive. I am glad that our Government are doing everything possible to boost up the exports. But we must also see that what we have already done here, for which we have spent the very precious money borrowed from outside on interest, is not allowed to suffer. I would like to know what effect has been created by all this spending? Of course, I would not say that the effect has not been created at all, but much of it is going down the drain, because these small industries cannot get the raw materials, components and spare parts. Therefore, I would submit that this matter has to be gone into. I would respectfully submit through you that our Finance Minister should look into this problem. I am sure he will have his full grip over this matter. He has been watching things while he has been here with us and I am sure he will watch things carefully when he is there on the Treasury Benches; we know how straightforward he has been, and how he has been trying to understand the problem and solve it and give his reaction. I am absolutely sure that he will look into this and see that these industries do not suffer.

All of us must not only sympathise with our Finance Minister today but must lend our full support to him, whether we are here on this side of the House or on the other side. I have already pointed out the conditions under which he had to take up this responsibility and how many pressures he has upon him. For instance, there is the pressure to reverse the adverse balance of payments position. Then, the pressure of repayment of interest is there. Then there is famine relief also; I do not know how much we shall have to pay for famine relief. Then, we have war damages, the damages that have been caused because of the war on our borders etc. So, the hon. Minister will have to look to a number of things and provide for them. I have not got the time to go into the

details, but I must say that the way in which he has been able to earmark funds for meeting certain items of expenditure for which we were not providing in the past at all, is something which we heartily appreciate.

But there are certain important things that he has to look to. For instance, the national income is disappointing.

Also our *per capita* income is ridiculously low. I would not go into details because I am hard pressed for time. But may I expect of the Finance Minister along with his other colleagues in the Centre and also with the Finance Minister in the States, to look into this matter and see how soon—how sooner—we will be in a position to make at least some shift towards a betterment of both the national income and *per capita* income? Once we do that, I think a number of other problems will be solved. Today the country is passing through many hardships.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** His time is up.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** In conclusion, I again lend my full and wholehearted support to the Budget. I am very glad to say that at least this time an honest and straightforward gentleman has given us a very straightforward Budget. But keeping in view all the cobwebs that have cropped up and the dents that are there, he has to do a lot of work, a lot of physical work, intellectual work and mental work. Only then will he be able to bring us out of many a difficulty through which we are passing.

**श्री श्रीकार लाल बरवा (कांटा) :**  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हम ने यह सोचा था कि चूंकि वित्त मंत्री नए आये हैं इसलिए कुछ टेक्सों के भार में कमी होगी लेकिन वह तो टेक्स के ऐसे आंकड़े लेकर आए कि कुछ कहना ही नहीं और उन्होंने जन-साधारण के वैदिक उपयोग में आने वाली

आवश्यक वस्तुओं जैसे तेल, शक्कर, डीजल प्रायल और कपड़े आदि, सारी गरीब आदमियों के काम में आने वाली चीजों पर टैक्स लगा दिया। टैक्सों की भांति ही उन्होंने भरमार कर दी और 111 करोड़ रुपये के टैक्स वित्त मंत्री जी ने आते ही लगा दिये। इस पर भी मजे की बात यह है कि टैक्सों को और भी ज्यादा बढ़ाने की भविष्य में उनकी भावना मालूम होती है। एक दो शब्द उन्होंने ऐसे कहे हैं जिनसे कि इसका कुछ आभास सा मिलता है जैसे यह बजट जल्दी में बनाया गया है और इस पर शायद पुनर्विचार किया जाय और हो सकता है कि चुनावों के बाद हमें और भी टैक्स लगाना पड़ जाये। यह शायद चुनावों को दृष्टि में रख कर टैक्सों का बोझ कुछ कम कर दिया है क्योंकि चुनाव शीघ्र ही आ रहे हैं। सप्लीमेंटरी बजट चुनावों के बाद में पेश होगा मुझे शायद ऐसा दीखता नजर आता है। हर एक साल में नया बजट आने पर कर्मचारियों का पहली ही महंगाई भत्ता बढ़ा देना इस से यह प्रतीत होता है कि महंगाई भत्ता जो बढ़ाया गया है उस के उपरान्त टैक्स लगाया जाय तभी जाकर वह वसूल हो सकेगा क्योंकि पांच, सात परसेंट यह कोई महंगाई भत्ता बढ़ना नहीं है। केन्द्रीय कर्मचारियों की भाज हालत देखिये। अब खाली कोट, पेट देख कर आप खुश हो जायें उसकी बात प्रसंग है लेकिन वहां उनके घरों में जाकर देखिये तो शायद खाने, पीने के बर्तन भी नहीं होंगे। केन्द्र के जो कर्मचारी हैं उनकी हालत अभी भी ठीक है ऐसा कह सकते हैं जो 500 रुपए से ऊपर हैं लेकिन यह जो अभी 1000 से 2250 तक वेतन पाने वाले सरकारी कर्मचारों हैं उनके भी 100 रुपये बतौर महंगाई भत्ते के बढ़ा दिये गये हैं तो क्या उनके घर में कमी हो गई थी जा इन बड़ी तनख्वाह पाने वाले एम्प्लोयर्स को 100 रुपया और बढ़ा दिया जब कि देश में काफी तादाद ऐसे गरीब लोगों

[श्री भोकार लाल बेरवा]

की है और कर्मचारियों की है जो कि 60 और 80 रुपये मासिक पर काम कर रहे हैं। इसके उपरान्त आप राज्य कर्मचारियों को ले लें। 80 लाख राज्य कर्मचारी हैं उन का अगर महंगाई भत्ता बढ़ाने की बात आती है ता राज्य सरकारें उसमें अपनी असमर्थता प्रकट करती हैं, केन्द्र से जब वह इसके लिए मांग करती हैं तो केन्द्र कहता है कि आप इसके लिये स्वयं साधन जुटायें और इसका भार राज्य स्वयं संभाले। अब राज्यों को पर्याप्त पैसा नहीं मिलता है तो राज्य बेचारे कहां से अपने कर्मचारियों का महंगाई भत्ता बढ़ा सकते हैं और परिणामस्वरूप गरीबों की कठिनाइयां बढ़ती हैं और एक उनमें असन्तोष पैदा होता है।

यह बड़े शर्म की बात है कि केन्द्र के कर्मचारियों का महंगाई भत्ता बढ़ जाये और राज्य के कर्मचारियों का न बढ़े। क्या महंगाई प्रदोनों की कम बेशी है क्या केन्द्र के कर्मचारियों के लिए अलग स्टोर खोल रखे हैं और राज्य के कर्मचारियों के लिए अलग स्टोर खोला रखे हैं? महंगाई दोनों के लिए बराबर है लेकिन मुझे बड़े अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि राज्य के कर्मचारियों का महंगाई भत्ता नहीं बढ़ा है जब कि केन्द्र के कर्मचारियों का बढ़ा है। मैं तो कहूंगा कि केन्द्रीय सरकार राज्य के कर्मचारियों का महंगाई भत्ता बढ़ाये और जितना पैसा बढ़ाये वह केन्द्र सरकार खुद दे क्योंकि कर्मचारियों के ऊपर यह कर भार इतना बढ़ गया है कि वह बेचारे अपना जीवन निर्वाह नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। बड़े शर्म की बात है जो इस तरीके से देश के अन्दर हर प्रान्त के अन्दर यह झगड़े चल रहे हैं। केरल में देखिये, कलकत्ते में देखिये, राजस्थान में देखिये, हर जगह भुखमरी फैली हुई है, संकटकालीन स्थिति बनी हुई है और अगर कोई मुंह उठाता है तो उसे सक्ती से दबा दिया जाता है। आज के दिन

लाठी चार्ज तो एक मामूली सी बात हो गई है। कुत्ते, बिल्ली की तरह आदमियों को मारना यह शासन को शोभा नहीं देता है। मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि जब हमारा देश आजाद हुआ तो 179 करोड़ रुपये का टैक्स था जब कि आज 400 करोड़ रुपये का टैक्स हो गया है। जब मैंने बजट पढ़ा तो मालूम हुआ कि यह टैक्स का भार जन-साधारण पर बहुत पड़ा है। बीड़ी है तो माचिस नहीं है, चाय है तो चीनी नहीं है, टाई है तो कमीज नहीं है, मुंह है तो पेट नहीं है। सारा ही खत्म हो गया। आखिर किस तरीके से यह शासन चलेगा ?

अब मैं आपको इन टैक्सेज के आंकड़े बतलाता हूँ कि कौन कौन टैक्स किस किस के ऊपर लगाया गया है? मिट्टी के तेल पर टैक्स 50 करोड़ रुपया लगाया गया है। माचिस पर साढ़े 20 करोड़ रुपया, कपड़े पर 90 करोड़ रुपया, चीनी पर साढ़े अठ्ठावन करोड़ रुपया, बीड़ी-तम्बाकू पर 12 करोड़ रुपया, पेट्रोल और डीजल आदि तेल पर 75 करोड़ रुपया, इस तरह कुल 400 करोड़ रुपये के टैक्स लगा दिये। यह बड़े शर्म की बात है कि डीजल तेल पर जो कि किसानों के काम में आता है उस पर भी टैक्स लगा दिया, कपड़े पर भी टैक्स लगाया है लेकिन सिर्फ फाइन कपड़े के लिए लिखा है कि उस पर टैक्स लगेगा। सुपर फाइन पर टैक्स नहीं लगाया गया है क्योंकि यह सुपरफाइन कपड़ा तो मिनिस्ट्रों के खुद काम में आता है इसलिए उस सुपरफाइन पर कोई टैक्स नहीं है टैक्स सिर्फ फाइन कपड़े पर उन्होंने लगाया है। जाहिर है कि सुपरफाइन जो कि बड़े बड़े लोग पहनते हैं उस पर टैक्स लगाते तो बड़ा ही-हल्ला मच जाता इसलिए उस पर नहीं लगाया गया है। वित्त मंत्री जी ने टैक्स से मोटे कपड़े छोड़ दिये यह थोड़ी सी जरूर उन्होंने गरीबों पर मेहरबानी कर दी।

में निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो टैक्सों का भार है यह और देशों के मुकाबले में भारत में इतना अधिक क्यों है? इस बजट में मैंने दो, तीन जगह पढ़ा है। बड़ी बड़ी इंडस्ट्रीज के नाम लिये गये हैं। कि हम ने यह बड़ी बड़ी इंडस्ट्रीज चला रखी हैं। मुझे देखने से यह मालूम पड़ा है कि यह सारे जितने टैक्स हैं या सारी इंडस्ट्रीज को खा जाते हैं। मैं आप को कुछ इंडस्ट्रीज के मोटे मोटे आंकड़े बतलाऊँ कि किस तरीके से इंडस्ट्रीज के अन्दर नुकसान हो रहा है? गरीब आदमियों पर जितने कमर तोड़ टैक्स लगाये गये हैं वह सारे के सारे यंत्रिकरण खा जाते हैं।

61 उद्योगों में 1780 करोड़ रुपये सगे हुए हैं। 1040 शेयर कैपिटल और 740 करोड़ रुपये ऋण और 1966 में यह रकम 2400 करोड़ रु० हो जायेगी। इन 61 उद्योगों में से जो गवर्नमेंट की मानी हुई कम्पनियाँ हैं उन की बाबत में बतलाना चाहता हूँ, कि हम क्या कर रहे हैं क्योंकि हमारे बंधुओं ने जो गैर सरकारी उद्योग थे उनकी बड़ी आलोचना की है कि उन के भाव तय कर दिये जायें उन के रेट्स तय कर दिये जायें और उन को नियंत्रण में चलाया जाय क्योंकि वे ज्यादा लाभ कमाते हैं। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह स्वयं अपना चेहरा धाड़ने में देखें, सरकारी बड़े उद्योगों की अवस्था को देखें तो उन्हें असली हकीकत का पता चल जायेगा। जिन ट्रान्सपोर्टों को आपने नेशनलाइज किया है उन की हालत को आप देख लीजिये। दिल्ली ट्रान्सपोर्ट, राजस्थान ट्रान्सपोर्ट और उत्तर प्रदेश ट्रान्सपोर्ट इन सब का दीवाला निकल रहा है और कुछ दिनों ही यह चलेगा।

सरकारी कारखानों की बाबत में आपको बतलाऊँ कि हिन्दुस्तान स्टील कम्पनी में 800 करोड़ रुपया लगा है जिसके कि अन्दर दुर्गापुर, भिलाई और कर्केला के

कारखाने आते हैं। उनकी रिपोर्ट मिल चुकी है लोहे के दाम सब देशों से ज्यादा होते हुए हुए भी 1964 के अन्त तक मार्च की समाप्ति पर 6 करोड़ का घाटा है। 450 करोड़ का ब्याज करीब 30 करोड़ होता है वह अलग है और पिछले साल 61 करोड़ का घाटा था।

हेवी इंजीनियरिंग कारपोरेशन, रांची, में 100 करोड़ रुपया लग चुका है और 125 करोड़ रुपया और लगने बाकी है और तैयार होने पर 60 करोड़ से ज्यादा का उत्पादन नहीं होगा। इस कारखाने में 60 लाख रुपये की हानि आग लगने से हुई है जिस में कि विदेशों का हाथ है। अभी प्रोडक्शन चालू नहीं हुआ है। आग लगने में विदेशों का हाथ था बाकी कम्युनिस्ट भाई भी जिम्मेदार तो हैं ही और वह जैसे चाहें उधर मुंह करवा देते हैं। वहाँ पर 60 लाख का नुकसान हो गया बगर प्रोडक्शन के किये हुए।

नेशनल डेवलपमेंट कारपोरेशन में 20 कोयले के कारखाने हैं जिन में कि सालाना 1 करोड़ 70 लाख का कोयला निकलता है और कोयला धुलता भी है। पिछले वर्ष 18 करोड़ रुपये का कोयला नहीं बिका और सारा ब्याज बर्गरह मिलाकर 4 करोड़ रुपये का नुकसान हुआ है।

हेवी इलेक्ट्रिकल्स (इंडिया) लिमिटेड में चार कारखाने बन रहे हैं। सबसे बड़ा कारखाना भोपाल का है। उस में उत्पादन शुरू हो गया है। कुल 60 करोड़ रुपया लगा है। इस में पिछले साल कुल साढ़े 4 करोड़ का उत्पादन हुआ है और 5 करोड़ 90 लाख रुपये की हानि हुई है। इस में प्राये दिन मजदूरों से झगड़ें होते रहते हैं।

फाईलाइजर कारपोरेशन के अन्तर्गत दो कारखाने हैं, सिंदरी और नांगल। अब तक 82 करोड़ रुपया लगा है। 1963-64 में कुल 26 करोड़ का उत्पादन हुआ

[श्री श्रीकार लाल बेरवा]

है। इसमें 2 करोड़ 23 लाख रुपये का लाभ दिखाया है उसमें पहले छूट और ब्याज को देखो तो दोनों बाराबर हैं और वह कुछ भी नहीं है बाकी इतनी गनीमत है कि इसमें नुकसान तो नहीं हुआ है।

15 hrs.

नेवेली लिग्नाइट मिलिटेड में 80 करोड़ रुपये लगे हुए हैं और 32 करोड़ रुपये का कर्ज है। उसकी सब खानों का काम चालू है, लेकिन वहां पर ब्याज सहित 640 लाख रुपये का घाटा है।

जो माननीय सदस्य गैर-सरकारी कारखानों की आलोचना कर रहे थे, मैं उनको बताना चाहता हूँ कि सरकारी कारखाने जनता को क्या दे रहे हैं।

इंडियन रिफाइनरीज लिमिटेड के तहत गौहाटी और बरोनी के तेल-शोधक कारखाने और गौहाटी, सिलिगुड़ा, हलदिया, बरोनी और कानपुर को पाइपलाइन की योजनाएँ हैं। उस पर कुल 62 करोड़ रुपये लगे हैं और ब्याज सहित 1 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा है।

जहां तक एयर इंडिया लिमिटेड का सम्बन्ध है, उस पर 27 करोड़ रुपये लगे हैं। वहां पर पिछले वर्ष 2 करोड़ रुपये का लाभ हुआ था। इस संस्थान को छोड़ कर सब सरकारी कारखाने घाटे पर चल रहे हैं, जिन पर 1300 करोड़ रुपये लगे हैं। यह ठीक है कि कुछ छोटे छोटे कारखानों ने फायदा दिखाया है, परन्तु बड़े कारखानों की स्थिति को देखते हुए वह नगण्य है।

15.01 hrs.

[SHRI SHAM LAL SARAF in the Chair.]

जहां तक टैक्सों का प्रश्न है, मैं आंकड़े से कर, आय को बताना चाहता हूँ कि भारत

में कम्पनियों पर अधिकतम टैक्स लगा हुआ है। भारत में कम्पनियों पर कर 70 परसेंट है और जो कम्पनी डिविडेंड देती है, उस पर साढ़े सात परसेंट और टैक्स है। इसकी तुलना में मिश्र में 18.8 परसेंट, हांगकांग में 12.5 परसेंट, इटली में 36.2 परसेंट, मलाया में 40 परसेंट, आयरलैंड में 31.7 परसेंट, ग्रीस में 38.2 परसेंट, पाकिस्तान में 50 परसेंट, अमरीका में 48 परसेंट, कनेडा में 50 परसेंट, यू० के० में 53.7 परसेंट, फ्रांस में 50 परसेंट, जापान में 38 परसेंट और बेलजियम में 30 परसेंट कर लगाया जाता है।

यह हमारे कांग्रेस शासन की स्थिति है। आज जनता टैक्सों के भार से कराह रही है। आखिर ये टैक्स कहां तक बर्दाश्त हो सकते हैं। नमक और शक्कर तक पर टैक्स बढ़ा दिया गया है।

कोई भी बता दे कि जितने भी कारखाने चल रहे हैं, क्या उनमें से कोई भी गैर विदेशी सहायता या विदेशी मुद्रा के चल रहा है।

श्री अन्सार हुरबानी (बिसौली) : नमक पर टैक्स नहीं है।

श्री श्रीकार लाल बेरवा : रेलवे मंत्री ने कहा है कि उसको आधा कर दिया है। माननीय सदस्य उसको क्या मानते हैं? जब किराये का भाड़ा बढ़ा दिया गया है, तो वह देना पड़ेगा।

सभापति महोदय : उसका तात्त्विक ट्रांसपोर्ट से है।

श्री श्रीकार लाल बेरवा : जितनी भी फ़ैक्टरीज का मैंने जिक्र किया है, वे सब विदेशी सहायता से चल रही हैं। यह बड़े शर्म की बात है कि दिल्ली से बम्बई को जो बौइंग जाता है, उसमें चाय के लिए शक्कर

विदेशों से आती है। सिपाहियों के लिए डिब्बों में बन्द पानी भी विदेशों से आता है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या हमारे यहां गंगा का पाना नहीं है। वह तो साब, दो साल तक नहीं बिगड़ सकता है। आज हमारी स्थिति यह है कि हम विदेशी अन्न खाते हैं, विदेशी शकर को चाय पीते हैं, विदेशी पानो पीते हैं, विदेशी कपड़े पहनते हैं, वि शो बोली बोलते हैं—आज हम विदेशों के चक्कर में हैं।

इस के वायजूद सरकार को और से कहा जाता है कि हम दस साल में आत्म-निर्भर हो जायेंगे। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि यह कैसे सम्भव हो सकेगा। हम देखते आ रहे हैं कि पिछले तीन चार सालों में ५० एल० ४८०—के तहत ३२५ करोड़ रुपये का अनाज अमरोका से मंगाया गया है। हमारा उत्पादन घटा जा रहा है और आयात बढ़ रहा है।

जब अन्न समस्या का चर्चा होता है, तो सरकार की ओर से कहा जाता है कि देश को पापुलेशन बढ़ रहा है। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि देश में चिकित्सा-मुविधियों और डाक्टरों का स्थिति क्या है। सावियत संघ में ५३५ लोगों के लिये एक डाक्टर है, मास्को में ८०० लोगों के लिए एक डाक्टर है, जापान में ९४३ लोगों के लिए एक डाक्टर है, ब्राजिल में २,००० लोगों के लिए एक डाक्टर है, जब कि भारत में ६,००० लोगों के लिए एक डाक्टर है। इस स्थिति में पापुलेशन में वृद्धि क्यों नहीं होगी।

इस के अतिरिक्त ४०० प्राथमिक चिकित्सा केन्द्रों में डाक्टर नहीं हैं और ८०० विकास खण्डों में प्राथमिक स्वास्थ्य केन्द्र नहीं हैं।

डा० सुशोला नायर परिवार नियोजन को बहुत तारीफ करता है और कहती हैं कि हमने इस पर इतने करोड़ रुपया खर्च

कर दिया। लेकिन मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि लोगों में इसके बारे में इतना अज्ञान है कि राजस्थान में औरतें नप के बारे में नहीं जानती और वे कहती हैं कि हम शफाबाने में नहीं जायेंगी, क्योंकि वहां पर सांप लगा रहे हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह जनता के साथ खिलवाड़ किया जा रहा है।

जहां तक हमारी आबादी का प्रश्न है हमारे देश में १९५१ में ३३१ मिलियन १९६१ में ४३९ मिलियन, १९६४ में ४७६ मिलियन पापुलेशन थी और १९७० में वह ५६० मिलियन हो जायेगा, जिसके लिए १७५ मिलियन टन अनाज का जरूरत पड़ेगा। सरकार की ओर एलान किया गया है कि १९७० में १२५ मिलियन टन अनाज पैदा किया जायेगा। इस अवस्था में जो ५० मिलियन टन की कमी रहेगी, उसको कैसे पूरा किया जा सकेगा ?

सरकार का ओर से दावा किया जाता है कि देश में उत्पादन बढ़ रहा है। लेकिन आंकड़ों से पता चलता है कि खाद्य पदार्थों का निर्धारित लक्ष्य १० करोड़ टन था, लेकिन उत्पादन ८.१ करोड़ टन हुआ। इसी प्रकार कच्चे लोहे का निर्धारित लक्ष्य ३ करोड़ टन था, जब कि वह १.५ करोड़ टन हुआ, कोयले का निर्धारित लक्ष्य ९.८ करोड़ टन था और वह ६.६ करोड़ टन हुआ। खाद का निर्धारित लक्ष्य ९.२ करोड़ टन था, लेकिन वह .६२ करोड़ टन हुआ, सीमेंट का निर्धारित लक्ष्य १.३ था और वह केवल .९५ हुआ, तिलहन का निर्धारित लक्ष्य .९८ टन था, लेकिन वह .६७ हुआ, स्टील इंगट का निर्धारित लक्ष्य .९२ था, लेकिन वह .६० हुआ और पेट्रोलियम का निर्धारित लक्ष्य १.७ था, जब कि वह केवल .९२ हुआ।

राजस्थान में गांधी सागर डैम पर ८० करोड़ रुपया लगाया गया है, लेकिन किसानों को पानो नहीं दिया जाता है और

## [श्री श्रीकार लाल बेरवा]

फिर भी उन पर सुधार कर लगा दिया जाता गया है। एक कहानी है कि एक नाई ने किसी व्यक्ति की हजामत करने के बाद उसको कांच और दिखा दिया और उसके चार पैसे और मांग लिये। इसी प्रकार सरकार ने नहर निकाल कर किसानों को दिखा दी और उन पर टैक्स लगा दिया। गेहूं, तिल और गन्ने आदि की पिलाई तो बढ़ा दी गई है, लेकिन पानी का नाम नहीं है।

यही नहीं, किसानों को बीज दे दिये गए, जो उन्होंने जमीन में डाल दिये, लेकिन बगैर पानी के वे बीज धूप में जल गए।

जहां तक बिजली का सम्बन्ध है, उसका निर्धारित लक्ष्य 45,000 मैगावाट था, लेकिन उत्पादन केवल 36,000 मैगावाट हुआ। डीजल इंजिन का निर्धारित लक्ष्य 166,000 था, लेकिन उनका उत्पादन केवल 60,000 हुआ। इसी प्रकार सिंचाई की व्यवस्था का निर्धारित लक्ष्य 295 करोड़ एकड़ था, लेकिन सिर्फ 2 करोड़ एकड़ के लिए व्यवस्था की गई।

ये आंकड़े बताते हैं कि सरकार हम देश को रसातल को ले जा रही है। जहां तक खर्च का सवाल है, वह कम नहीं हुआ है। अगर सरकार ने अपने खर्च में कमी की होती, तो उसको विदेशों के सामने हाथ न फैलाने पड़ते। अनुत्पादक मदी में सरकारी खर्च 1950-51 में 518 करोड़ रुपये, 1960-61 में 836 करोड़ रुपये और 1963-64 में 1655 करोड़ रुपये हुआ। किसानों की हालत यह है कि उनके बदन पर कपड़ा नहीं है लेकिन सरकार की ओर से अपने खर्च में

कमी नहीं की जा रही है, बल्कि टैक्स पर टैक्स लगाए जा रहे हैं।

इस बार रक्षा के लिए 850 करोड़ रुपया रखा गया है। रक्षा के बारे में हम ने राजस्थान में अच्छा नमूना देखा था कि जब पाकिस्तान के विमान घड़ाघड़ बम फेंक रहे थे, तो सुखाड़िया जी बालोतरा में भाग कर घर में घुस गये। हम कई सालों से चिल्लाते आ रहे हैं कि सीमा क्षेत्रों में सड़कें बनानी चाहिए, लेकिन उस तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है। परिवहन मंत्री ने कहा है कि इस पर तीन साल और लगेंगे। क्या जब चाइना का हमला दोबारा हो जायेगा, तब ये सड़कें बनेंगी ?

मैं यह भी चाहता हूं कि राजस्थान में हमारी जो हार हुई है, एक वैज्ञानिक तरीके से उस की जांच की जानी चाहिए और उस के अनुसार अपनी कमियों को पूरा किया जाना चाहिए।

राजस्थान में सड़कें भी नहीं बनाई गई हैं और वहां पर पानी की भी कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है, जिसके लिए हम अठारह सालों से चिल्ला रहे हैं। हमारे सिपाही पानी के बिना प्यासे मरते हैं। सुखाड़िया जी कहते हैं कि बह क्षेत्र हरा-भरा हो जायेगा।

आज हरा-भरा नजर आता है, लेकिन हम जब आंकड़ों के अनुसार देखते हैं दुनिया में, तो हमारे आंकड़े दुनिया में रसातल को ले जा रहे हैं। यह बड़े अफसोस की बात है। ये समझौते पर समझौते करते चले जा रहे हैं, पहला समझौता नेहरू-लियाकत समझौता हुआ, करोड़ों आदिमियों को, डेढ़-पौने दो करोड़ हिन्दुओं का सत्यानाश कर दिया। उस के बाद कोलम्बों समझौता हुआ, तीसरा कच्छ समझौता हुआ, चौथा हमारा ताशकन्द समझौता हुआ और इस ताशकन्द समझौते के बारे में कल ही

प्रश्न हुए थे, उन्होंने कहा कि कोई समझौता नहीं है, भूटो ने साफ कह दिया, जब तक काश्मीर का मसला हल नहीं होता, हमें कोई समझौता मान्य नहीं होगा। लेकिन हमारी सरकार फिर भी कहती है, कि हम बातचीत करेंगे। यह बातचीत किस पर करेंगे, क्या उस काश्मीर पर करेंगे जो हमारे पास है, क्या बातचीत करेंगे? हमारे स्वर्ण सिंह जी, विदेश मंत्री, अभी हाल में एक फौज बना कर रावलपिण्डी ले गये थे, लेकिन अपनासा मुंह लेकर वापस आ गये।

**सभापति महोदय :** अब आप खत्म कीजिये।

**श्री श्रींकार लाल बोरबा :** खत्म कर रहा हूँ, दो मिनट और दे दीजिये।

करोड़ों रुपये का खर्च हमारा रक्षा पर हो रहा है, हमारे विदेश मन्त्री स्वर्ण सिंह जी फौज की फौज लेकर रावलपिण्डी गये, लेकिन अपनासा मुंह लेकर वापस आ गये। पाकिस्तान ने करोड़ों रुपये की हमारी सम्पत्ति जब्त कर रखी है, फिर भी आप समझौता करने के लिए तैयार हैं, बड़े शर्म की बात है।

पाकिस्तान के साथ कच्छ समझौता हुआ, लेकिन उस के बावजूद भी पाकिस्तानियों ने वहां पर खाइयां खोदीं, वहां पर सड़क बना ली हैं, लेकिन उसके बावजूद भी आप कहते हैं कि ताशकन्द समझौता सफल हो, यह बड़े शर्म की बात है।

मैं वित्त मंत्री से निवेदन करूंगा कि जितना टैक्स इन गरीबों पर लगा है, वह सारा टैक्स माफ किया जाये और इस पर पुनः विचार किया जाये। इन शर्तों के साथ मैं इस बजट की आलोचना करता हूँ।

**Shri J. B. S. Bist (Almora):** The finance minister in his budget statement has tried to combine some reliefs with a number of increases in existing tax-levies in the hope that while no one will be happy the edge of criticism would be blunted.

I doubt very much if he has been successful. The increase in excise duty on sugar, tobacco, cloth and certain other consumer goods would not endear him to the common people. The increase in personal taxation is another tax measure, which is bound to be unpopular. The capital market which he was hoping to revive by his palliatives has not revived. The only argument which he can use in his defence is that faced as he was with the grim economic realities, resulting from conflict with Pakistan—fall in food production, tight foreign exchange and a host of other problems—this was the best he could do.

Since the budget debate provides this House with an opportunity to discuss the major economic and political issues, I would like to refer to a problem to which much attention has not been focussed. I regret to say that despite 18 years of experience, we have not been able to evolve a consistent frontier policy. There are problems in all regions located in the periphery of our country. Manipur, Nagaland and now the Mizo hills are faced with troubles. While the demand of these regions for secession from India cannot be accepted and is patently wrong, we have to analyse the reason behind this movement. During the British times, the administration in these areas was nominal. The British frontier policy was to leave these regions in the east, west and the north, free so long as the people were loyal to them. If they become troublesome expeditions were launched to quell disturbances, including aerial bombing, if necessary, as in the case of the NWFP against the Pathan tribals. After we became free and administration spread out



[Shri J. B. S. Bist]

to these areas, simultaneous attempt should have been made to bring about emotional integration of these frontier people in the main stream of Indian life and culture. We should not forget that the majority of population in these areas is from a different ethnic stock than the one living in the Indo-gangetic plain and the south. There is no common bond of religion that binds these areas with the rest of the country. What the administration should have done is to set the process of emotional integration in these areas first. Economically, the development of these areas started receiving attention rather late and, coupled with the feeling of inferior status, the feeling of economic neglect also grew. Ambitious local leaders took advantage of the situation and, encouraged by foreign elements, started talking of independence from the Indian Union. While it is true that so long as disturbances continue the government's primary duty is to restore law and order, it should not be the end of the story. You should seriously think what we can do to win the confidence of these unsophisticated simple people.

In my view, there is some misconception about the constitutional arrangement in our country. We normally think of the states and the centre and want bigger and bigger states. Only after the States Reorganisation Commission the principle of linguistic states was concluded and a number of new states come into being. While this might satisfy the aspirations of the major linguistic groups, how to satisfy the aspirations of the people who are isolated from us and do not feel the same emotional attachment to the national sentiments? This is the main problem that we face with regard to the tribal communities in the border regions. Major world powers like the USA and the Soviet Union have tackled this problem satisfactorily by conceding autonomous units wherever there is genuine demand for them. In the United States they have been given the sta-

tus of territories and can qualify to full statehood after a period of time. Can we not think of something on those lines? In our own country, wherever this experiment has been tried, it has worked satisfactorily and helped to remove discontent. The SRC had recommended the merger of Himachal Pradesh with Punjab but the late Prime Minister Shri Nehru in deference to the wishes of the people decided to maintain their separate identity and won their affection and goodwill in contrast to the hill people of neighbouring Punjab who remain discontented and clamour for merger with Himachal Pradesh. In Assam the hill districts ask for autonomous status and there is resistance. This creates frustration, discontent, and encourages separatist tendencies. I do not see any reason why we cannot have the same pattern as in the United States, that is, statehood for bigger units and territory for smaller ones. One of the chief objections that is put forward against constituting small administrative units is that they are dependent on central boundaries. But if the truth were to be told it would be found that the bigger states with infinitely larger resources are dependent on central subventions far more than some of the smaller units.

Some of the smaller units, notably Himachal Pradesh, have made very good use of the Central aid given to them and have made great progress during the last few years. For instance, while Himachal Pradesh with a total income of Rs. 7.35 crores, spent Rs. 20.85 crores in 1965-66, and its deficit was wholly met by the Centre, Orissa with an income of Rs. 57.39 crores spent Rs. 144.72 crores and 88 per cent of its deficit was met by the Centre; and Assam with an income of Rs. 53.05 crores spent Rs. 117.64 crores and its deficit was wholly met by the Centre, including the income from its share of Central taxes which Himachal Pradesh does not get. The proportion of income to

expenditure in the case of Himachal Pradesh works out to about 44 per cent while in the case of Orissa, it works out to only 39 per cent and Assam, 45 per cent.

The percentage of Central aid in the form of grant-in-aid, loan and share of Central taxes in the case of some of the major States works out as follows: Punjab, 88 per cent; Uttar Pradesh, 94 per cent; Madhya Pradesh, 93 per cent; Bihar, 96 per cent; Gujarat, 86 per cent; Mysore, 90 per cent; Orissa, 88 per cent; Assam, 100 per cent; Andhra Pradesh, 89 per cent; and Madras, 91 per cent. I hope in future, the argument of Central dependence would not be flung at smaller units to deny the right of self-rule to people who do not want to be suffocated by the embrace of their bigger brothers.

If autonomy is granted to small units, particularly in the border areas, it would neither weaken the national defences nor harm the national interests. On the other hand, by winning the affection of the border people, and reposing our trust in them, we will make them a bulwark against the enemy.

The need to win the confidence of the border people is all the greater today because of the Chinese menace from the north. It is no secret that the Chinese are mobilising all along the border, and are waiting for the snows to melt before they launch their fresh offensive. The Chinese intentions may not be to launch a full-scale offensive but to harass us so that we deploy our resources to defence and our economic development is retarded. In this limited offensive, the border people can be a great asset to us if they are content and feel that the fight against aggression is as much theirs as ours.

While the Government under the leadership of the Defence Minister has taken steps to strengthen the borders, the programme of economic development is still slow and halting. Despite promises, the road and rail-

way schemes to make the border areas more accessible are not progressing with the speed with which they ought to. Last year, the Minister of Railways had assured, that the broad gauge link to Haldwani and Kathgodam, the rail-head which connects the border areas in the central sector would receive priority. I would like to know what has been done about it. This broad gauge line, when laid, would also be of strategic importance because of the fact that the time lost by the military in shifting from the broad gauge to the metre gauge as at present would be avoided. So as things stand today it would not be good to be complacent, and the earlier we get this broad gauge done, and better it is for the swift movement of troops.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani (Amroha):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I sympathise with the present Finance Minister. He has inherited a very difficult job and it stands to his credit—not that he has presented a good or a bad budget—but he has been able to present one at all in such a short time. We are familiar with like performances. Before Independence, and after Independence, it is believed that our administrators can do everything, from administration to managing commerce and industry. So also any person who comes into the charmed circle of the Congress and is raised to Ministership, is expected to do everything and do it efficiently, from finance to food and foreign policy; from home policy to hell, from railways to rehabilitation, from atomic energy to astrology. So, our new Finance Minister has very successfully tried his hand at making a budget with which he was not familiar.

Sir, let us see what a budget ought to be. You will excuse me if I ask neighbour to read for me what the Finance Minister himself has said about the requirements of a budget, and then read to you something that a foreigner has said.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad):** By your leave. The Finance Minister, in his budget speech, said:

"The budget of the Government of India is a major instrument for implementing our plans and policies. It has to be framed, therefore, in response to current economic trends as well as the long-term requirements of the economy."

On the 25th January, 1965, soon after assuming the high office of President of the United States, President Johnson said:

"A budget is a plan of action; it defines our goals, charts our courses and outlines our expectations. It reflects hard decisions and difficult choices."

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** Sir, let us examine this budget from what is required in our economy. It is a fact that our economy has been for some time in a bad way. Does the budget take away the strains from which this economy has been suffering? Does it diminish in anyway the rising inflation? I am afraid it does not. It rather increases inflation, as many speakers have pointed out. Does it stabilise the ever-increasing prices? But when inflation is rising, it would be impossible to check the rise in prices. I am afraid this strain on our economy is not tackled by the budget.

Then, let us see if there has been any relaxation in tax burden which has ever been increasing since Independence. It seems to me that this Government is a bottomless pit in which all money can be sunk but nothing comes out of it. The budget should be able to put into the pockets of the people more than it takes away from them—it should increase production, increase commercial and industrial activity and in a general way re-make the nation. But the budget does nothing of that sort.

Let us look at the direct and indirect taxation. Excise duty has

increased from Rs. 65 crores in 1951-52 to more than a thousand crores this year. A further increase has been made in the excise duty on sugar, cloth, tobacco, transport, etc. This is the condition of indirect taxes which fall heavily upon the consumers of all classes, especially on the salaried classes and the poor people.

About direct taxes, my Congress friends and friends in the opposition have given statistics about direct taxes in other countries. It appears that we are the heaviest taxed country in the world. There is multiplication of taxes. It is said that this multiplication is because there is tax evasion. If there is tax evasion, the remedy is with the police and the income-tax office. The remedy is not to increase the number of taxes. I have to pay a little income-tax and I have to engage some experts services. It costs me more than the tax I have to pay, because it is such a complicated affair to fill up the many columns that have got to be filled. Even when the expert makes the income-tax returns, so many questions are asked, which are absolutely useless. The honest man is harassed. Only the dishonest man prospers. The more the direct taxes are increased, the more are the ways found by the blackmarketers and corrupt industrialists and commercial people to evade due payment of those taxes. If it were not so, the taxes are such that very little would be left behind. If that little is left behind, how are the financial empire made after independence? The government seems to be sleeping over the proper collection of taxes and it allows criminal elements to prosper and honest men to suffer.

The real need of the present times is increased production. For that, we are wisely told that there must be capital. Capital, we are told, is gathered from savings. Savings are effected by tightening of the belt. So

far as the tightening of the belt is concerned, I am afraid it has gone beyond the last hole. The only possibility is that the belt will give way and along with it the pant also!

**Mr. Chairman:** Not the drainpipe.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** The drainpipe has an arrangement of draining itself! That is all right.

There is no possibility of increased production when capital is not formed or when all the capital that is formed or most of it is taken away by the government. That most of it is taken away by the government is plain from the fact that there is conspicuous consumption among the industrial and commercial classes. Those people who never travelled even in second class now travel not even by air-conditioned class, out by air. I have seen that 95 per cent of air traffic is either at the expense of the public taxpayer—that means, the administrators travel—or by tax waders. The taxes are so heavy that people think that it is better to spend money rather than pay to the government. This conspicuous consumption is on the increase.

Equity capital is found from the middle classes. But the middle classes are drained white. The salaried classes are today not the middle classes, but the lower middle classes and the lower middle classes have been reduced to the position of landless labourers in the villages. Where is the capital to come from, which will increase production?

We have an adverse balance of trade with every country in Europe—even with countries like Rumania and Italy, which are considered to be some of the poorest countries. Our exports used to be in the neighbourhood of 76 per cent of our imports. Now our exports are only 52 per cent of our imports. The adverse balance of trade has not been thought of in the budget, as if it does not impoverish the country. As a Congress

friend said yesterday, what do we get from foreign countries? We get fibre yarn, artificial silk, in exchange for what we send out. Our exports cannot compete in the world market, though we have got the cheapest labour here. Yet on account of the financial circumstances—taxes and other things—we cannot compete in the world market. A motor car costing Rs. 4000 in Germany costs here Rs. 15000, though our labour is cheap.

Pathetically, we are increasingly depending on foreign aid. I agree with the young man who was speaking yesterday, Mr. Morarka, that foreign aid can be helpful only under two conditions. Having not that help, we should be free to purchase in the competitive market of the world and not from America, paying 30 per cent more than what we would spend by purchasing from some other countries. Another condition is, we should be obliged to pay back our loans in dollars, but we must pay in kind. Unfortunately America need nothing from us. It produces everything that it needs within its own borders. Its internal trade is 95 per cent of its production; it is only 5 per cent that goes out.

Before independence we considered that our administration was topheavy, but that was nothing compared to what it is now. The expenditure on it has increased at least 500 per cent since 1951-52. There is a multiplication of offices, there is a multiplication of ministries. It is supposed that when a minister comes he only draws his salary. It is not known that a minister has a train of these secretaries, deputy secretaries, assistant secretaries, clerks, stenographers, peons and all sorts of people. Each ministry costs a fortune. Then, there are the useless governors who serve no purpose at all, except they may be useful for party elections. Then, there are the second chambers in the States. They provide only patronage to the ruling party, and

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the ruling party supposes that it is going to rule for ever.

Further, we have planning. With whose aid are we carrying on this planning? It is with the help of our corrupt and inefficient administrators. There are some members in the planning Commission who are politicians, and they are always thinking of leaving the Planning Commission on some pretext or the other and going to fresh fields and pastures new. They are always thinking when they would become diplomats or ministers. They are only birds of passage as even our Finance Minister today is. I think he will soon be relieved by more ambitious people who are supposed to be more knowing people also. I do not think he is very happy in his present job.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member should try to conclude now.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** Now, Sir, since you have rung the Bell I will leave the budget and the administration and Planning. Though the Plans were declared to be neither properly conceived nor properly executed, yet it is said that one swallow of very bright plumage will make the summer in the Planning Commission. We wish him all success.

Talking about the political situation, every day there are questions asked in this House and there are adjournment motions moved which are fortunately now allowed and which were not allowed on previous occasions. Sir, I charge this Government for having created confusion in this country by its food policy. It is useless to say that the Opposition Parties are taking advantage and are exploiting the people. Sir, I remember, when we were in jail, we of the Working Committee and also all the leaders, in 1942-43, there was a famine in Bengal. 30 lakhs of people died in the city from which our Finance Minister comes. We felt very un-

happy that there was not a voice raised, that the people were dying, they would plunder a shop that was full of eatables, they did not go and raid a godown where the grain was stored. We were ashamed that our country had fallen so low that nobody could raise his voice when 30 lakhs of people died. Today, our rulers who were in jail then—I do not know how many, the proportion is perhaps very low—say that nobody should exploit the situation. Must we allow our people to die of starvation, and no voice should be raised, nobody should blame this Government? It is their bungling that has produced this starvation. Last year, six million tons of foodgrains from foreign countries were brought to India and this was considered to be the greatest amount ever got from abroad. It was stated in those days that they were building up buffer-stocks. When this year it is a little lean year, where have the buffer-stocks gone? They have disappeared. One does not know where they were stored. What has happened to them? This Government is responsible for the food situation. If the situation was not there, it would be impossible for the Opposition Members to exploit it. The situation is there, it is capable of being exploited, and so it is being exploited. It would be an evil day if nobody raises his voice against starvation. We are told time out of number that there are no starvation deaths. I say, Sir, it is wrong to say that anybody can die of starvation. People have starved for 60 to 70 days and yet lived. It is only that starvation brings about some disease or other from which people die. Our people have been dying inch by inch. Do you want us not to raise our voice here? I say it would be our duty to ring the bell of revolt against this Government and its policies which are responsible for this situation. The Government says that it is responsible for law and order. Who then, is responsible for food? They are not responsible for feeding the people and

they are responsible only for law and order! Gandhiji used to say: "I cannot carry spirituality to the poor except in a bowl of rice". I say, you cannot carry law and order to the starving people except in a bowl of rice. That bowl of rice is missing. Our economy has gone wrong, our calculations have gone wrong, our plans have gone wrong. It seems that under your skull there seems to be a little small quantity of grey matter. The skull seems to be devoid of even the ordinary quantity of grey matter. You are ruling this country, you are misruling it, you are creating misery everywhere and you shoot. These policemen and army people who are for our defence, who are our friends, whom we ought to respect and whom we ought to encourage, you are bringing them into contempt by making them to shoot their own countrymen. You know why the French Revolution took place. It was because the army was asked to shoot their own people instead of shooting its enemy. Today you are asking your army and your police to shoot their own fellowmen. How long are you going to do this? I charge you with the murder of people. I charge you with having bungled the situation. You have divided the country not only into zones but into States, not only into States but also into districts and sub-districts. One district cannot sell foodgrains to another district. One man living in one district cannot purchase food from the people of another district, though the blackmarketeers do it. Those who indulge in smuggling can do it, but an honest man cannot do it and he must obey you. You say: "even if you weep you will be punished". We have no freedom even to weep in our misery. You charge us for weeping. You say: "why are you weeping, you are creating trouble and you are creating riots". What did the Government do in Bengal? The Law Minister here said that there will be no inquiry. They had to rub their noses with the ground and have an inquiry. And then when did they do it? When there was rioting. When did they rush rice

stocks to Kerala? When there was rioting. And when did they increase the quantity of wheat in Bengal? The other day the Food Minister frivolously stated "I am giving all the wheat that is necessary". Today he has increased the quota after the riots. You are making the people riot against you.

Coming to the problem of linguistic States, you have again raised the bogey. How did you do? Why did you do it? One fine morning the Congress Working Committee decides that the State of Punjab should be divided. They have not studied even the maps. There are districts in Punjab which are predominantly Hindi-speaking, three or four. There are other districts which are predominantly Punjabi-speaking. In the middle, the population is mixed, speaking both Hindi and Punjabi, their ratio being 45 : 55, 60 : 40, 70 : 30 and so on. How are you going to divide this State?

You appointed two committees— one, a committee of this House and another, a committee of the Cabinet. The Working Committee decides the issue without having studied the problem. These Committees were formed to study the problem. Without studying the problem, the Working Committee give their order. This is not the way to do things. If you are going to have linguistic States, have them once for all. Divide Kashmir from Jammu and have a separate State of Jammu and Ladakh. Let us not have periodical rioting. Let us do it once for all. The operation may be made and the country may be divided linguistically so that we do not have this problem hanging above us. Today it is Punjab, Tomorrow it will be the little State of Vidarbh, and the third day it will be Tamilnad which would like to secede from India. This is not the way of government. Either govern or leave us to ourselves; leave us to God. Gandhiji used to say to the British Government: leave us to God or to confusion, because out of that confusion we will be able to do some things; but this organised confusion,

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of our Government, cannot be managed.

Shri M. G. Thengondar (Nagapattinam): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the budget proposals of our Finance Minister and, while doing so, I am thankful to you for having given me an opportunity to participate in this discussion.

Sir, in order to further strengthen the economy as well as to satisfy the needs of the people we have to increase the agricultural production. To achieve the targets of food production the Government should take steps to introduce and encourage modern methods of cultivation and increase the area of cultivable land. The Government should formulate a policy and supply required resources for multiple crop system in all the possible areas. There are large areas of waste land in the coastal areas of Tanjore district in Madras State. Lift irrigation should be introduced in these areas where drainage water which otherwise goes to waste in the sea is available in plenty for cultivation purposes.

During the rainy season most of the cultivable lands get flooded as there is no proper drainage, resulting in heavy loss to the farmers. Therefore, proper drainage schemes should be taken up in Mannargudi, Nagapattam and Tiruthuraiipundi taluks. In Tanjore district nearly one third of the cultivable land is served by the Cauvery-Mettur Project, which was formulated more than 40 years ago. Supply of water to the lands is still continued at the same rate at which it was designed 40 years ago, even though more areas have been brought under cultivation. Moreover, large portions of irrigation channels have been silted up and water does not reach the tail end, thus greatly affecting production. So, immediate steps should be taken to strengthen the banks of the Grand Anicut Canal and its branches and to remove the

silt and deepen, wherever necessary, so that there is no water scarcity in the tail end villages.

Another important point is that the Government should provide all essential implements to farmers like better seeds, fertilizers and tractors. Farmers in Tanjore district feel the insufficiency of tractors for cultivation purposes. 70 per cent of the tractors available in Tanjore district are kept idle in Government workshops for want of spare parts. Government should release foreign exchange and permit import of spare parts for the tractors owned by Government as well as by private cultivators. Government should also set up a factory for manufacturing small tractors at a suitable centre in Tanjore district to meet the increased demand for tractors.

Russian power drill is a useful means to tap the underground water and it will solve the scarcity of water for cultivation. Shortfall of water supply from Mettur reservoir has badly affected the agricultural production this year. Therefore, more Russian power drills should be allotted to Tanjore in the coming years to meet the failure of the monsoon. In cases where the drilling operation is not successful, Government should meet the entire cost of drilling operations without taxing the farmers. Wherever it is successful, subsidy to the extent of 25 per cent can be granted for the erection of the power drill, as in the case of well schemes in Tanjore. In order to cope up with the power demand of the newly-adopted well-scheme with electric pump sets in which more than 20,000 wells will be provided, a thermal power station should be constructed in Nagapatam, utilising all available sources of coal, including transporting lignite by ships from Neyveli through Cuddalore Port and coal from Calcutta port.

Short-term crop of ADT 27 (Japanica-Indika) which was introduced by

the Department of Agriculture of the Madras Government last year is found to be highly successful in Tanjore district. Therefore, this variety of paddy seeds should be introduced in large areas in order to increase paddy production.

Owing to failure of monsoon and scarcity of water during the last harvest, the whole of Tanjore district has been seriously affected. The yield of paddy was very poor in most of the areas and there was absolutely no yield in some areas. This year is a testing period for the farmers in that district. Therefore, it is desirable to give remission of land revenue and postponement of collection of agricultural loans to next year in Tanjore district. I hope the Centre will give directives to the State Government of Madras in this matter.

After the agricultural operations are over, during the off-season of nearly six months in a year the villagers in Tanjore and surrounding districts are jobless. To some extent their hardship is relieved by the establishment of the Aruran Sugar Factory at Vadapathi Mangalam in Tanjore district, where agricultural labour are employed in the factory. The setting up of the sugarcane factory in Tanjore district is a great boon to the jobless farmers of the district as well as surrounding districts. But the facilities and the financial aid given by the Government for expanding this sugar factory and improving the roads in this area are inadequate. Therefore, I would suggest that the sugarcane cess collected by the Government should be utilized solely for construction and improvement of roads in the sugarcane cultivation areas. Assistance should also be given to the farmers who are supplying sugarcane to the factory.

15.58 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

There is a lot of criticism about the inadequate reception of radio pro-

grammes transmitted through Tiruchi Station of AIR. Therefore, a more powerful transmitter should be installed in the AIR station at Tiruchi. Since one more broadcasting centre has been opened at Tirunelveli, from where all the main programmes of Tiruchi are being relayed and in view also of the extra programmes, the amount allotted for Tiruchi AIR is quite inadequate. Therefore, more funds should be sanctioned for Tiruchi AIR. Television scheme may also be introduced at Tiruchi for catering to the southern districts of Madras.

There is no major industrial undertakings so far in Tanjore district even though huge funds have been allotted for industrial development in the Five Year Plans.

16 hrs.

The re-imposition of the tax on cigar will curtail the demand for it in the market and will ultimately affect the producers at farms and the employment opportunity of the people of Tiruchi and Dindigul areas of Madras State. It may possibly lead to the virtual closure of this cottage industry. The incidence of this excise duty per cigar in the open market is as high as between 31 paise per piece and in cases of certain sort 19 paise and in others, the least being 1.5 paise per piece. Therefore, the tax incidence with the cost together make the manufacture as also consumption is impracticable. I persuade our Finance Minister to withdraw the tax re-imposed on cigar since the expected yield from this is Rs. 4.5 lakhs only.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He may continue later.

16.01 hrs.

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT—  
Contd.

DISTURBANCES IN DELHI—contd.

Shri Kapur Singh (Ludhiana):  
Sir, I move:

"That the House do now adjourn."