

AYES—contd.

Mansan, Shri	Pratap Singh, Shri	Shashi Ranjan, Shri
Maniyaganadan, Shri	Rajdeo Singh, Shri	Shastri, Shri Ramchand
Masuriya Din, Shri	Ramdhani Das, Shri	Sheo Narain, Shri
Matcharaju, Shri	Rane, Shri	Shree Narayan Das, Shri
Mehdi, Shri S. A.	Rao, Shri Jaganatha	Siddananappa, Shri
Mehrotra, Shri Braj Bihari	Rao, Shri Ramapathi	Sinha, Shrimati Ramdulari
Mehta, Shri Jashvant	Rao, Shri Rameshwar	Sinha, Shri Satya Narayan
Mengi, Shri Gopal Datt	Rattan Lal, Shri	Sonavane, Shri
Menon, Shri Krishna	Ray, Shrimati Renuka	Soundaram Ramachandran,
Mohanty, Shri Gokulnanda	Sadhu Ram, Shri	Shrimati
Muthiah, Shri	Saha, Dr. S. K.	Swamy, Shri M. P.
Naskar, Shri P. S.	Saigal, Shri A. S.	Tantla, Shri Rameshwar
Niranjan Lal, Shri	Samanta, Shri S. C.	Tiwary, Shri K. N.
Pande, Shri K. N.	Sannani, Shri	Tiwary, Shri R. S.
Pandey, Shri Vishwa Nath	Sanji Rupji, Shri	Tula Ram, Shri
Panna Lal, Shri.	Saraf, Shri Sham Lal	Tyagi, Shri
Patel, Shri Chhotubhai	Sarma, Shri A. T.	Ulkey, Shri
Patel, Shri Man Sinh P.	Setyabhama Devi, Shrimati	Upadhyaya, Shri Shiva Datt
Patil, Shri D. S.	Shah, Shri Manabendra.	Valvi, Shri
Patil, Shri J. S.	Shankuntala Devi, Shrimati	Varma, Shri Ravindra
Pattabhai Raman, Shri C. R.	Sharma, Shri D. C.	Venkatasubbiah, Shri P.
		Vyas, Shri Radhela]
		Yadab, Shri N. P.

NOES

Alvares, Shri	Kamath, Shri Hari Vishnu.	Pattanyak, Shri Kishen
Badrudduja, Shri.	Kandeppan, Shri S.	Ram Singh, Shri
Banerjee, Shri S. M.	Kapur Singh, Shri	Ramabadrn, Shri
Barua, Shri Hem	Kar, Shri Prabhat	Ranga, Shri
Bheel, Shri P. H.	Kripalani, Shri J. B.	Sezhlyan, Shri
Chatterjee, Shri H. P.	Krishnapal Singh, Shri	Singhvi, Dr. L. M.
Dandekar, Shri N.	Limaye, Shri Madhu	Sivasankaran, Shri
Deo, Shri P. K.	Manoharan, Shri	Swamy, Shri Sivamurthi
Dharamalingam, Shri	Masani, Shri M. R.	Trivedi, Shri U. M.
Gulshan, Shri	Misra, Dr. U.	Vishram Prasad, Shri
Gupta, Shri Kashi Ram	Mukerjee, Shri H. N.	Yadav, Shri Ram Sewak
Gupta, Shri Priya.	Nair, Shri Vasudevan	Yashpal Singh, Shri.
Kakkar, Shri Gauri Shanker.	Nath Pal, Shri	

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The result of the division is: Ayes—97; Noes—38.

The motion was adopted.

Shri C. R. Pattabhi Raman: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

The Minister of State in the Departments of Parliamentary Affairs and Communications (Shri Jaganatha Rao): At three o'clock.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The Finance Minister will be called at 3.00 and till then this discussion will go on.

13.18 hrs.

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—Contd.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will now proceed with the discussion on the General Budget. May I know when the Minister will reply to the debate?

श्री बीरबहा सिंह (महामू): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कल मैं कह रहा था कि हमारा देश आज कल बड़ा कठिनाइयों में से गुजर रहा है। हमारे देश के सामने बहुत सी प्राथमिक कठिनाइयाँ हैं, अनाज का समस्या है और विदेशी मुद्रा की कमी होने के कारण कई समस्याएँ पैदा हो गई हैं। और उसके साथ साथ विकास और रक्षा के लिए धन की आवश्यकता है। इसलिए हम पृथ्वी में ही हमें

[श्री वीरभद्र सिंह]

इस बजट के ऊपर चर्चा करना चाहिए और इस बजट को देखना चाहिए ।

मुझे इस बात की बड़ी प्रसन्नता है कि इस साल के बजट में माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने एकसपेंडेंचर टैक्स का नमाप्त किया है । कई माननीय सदस्यों ने इसके खिलाफ कहा है मैं समझता हूँ कि इसमें कोई सैद्धान्तिक बात नहीं है कि इसको जरूर रखा जाए । यह एक ऐसा टैक्स था जिससे बहुत कम प्राप्ति होता था और उसके मूलावले में उसको इकट्ठा करने में बहुत कठिनाइयाँ होती थी और कई दिक्कतें पैदा होती थी । इसलिए इस टैक्स को खत्म करके माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने अच्छा ही किया है । इसके अलावा मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि व्यक्तिगत करो में जो सरकार ने छूट दी है उसकी भी मैं सराहना करता हूँ । इससे कई लोग जो कम आमदना वाले हैं उनको राहत मिलेगी । मगर इसके साथ साथ जो चीनी खांडसारी और डिजेल आयल पर सरकार ने ड्यूटी लगायी है, मैं चाहूँगा कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय उसके बारे में फिर से विचार करें क्योंकि इस ड्यूटी को लगाने से इन चीजों की कीमत अवश्य ही बढ़ेगी और जो कन्ज्यूमर्स हैं उभोक्ता है उनको हानि होगी । श्रीमन् आजकल हमारे देश में अनाज की कमी है । हमें बड़ी भारी मात्रा में बाहर के मुल्कों से अनाज मंगाना पड़ रहा है और किसानों से हम यह कह रहे हैं कि आप अधिक अनाज उगायें । ऐसा हालत में अगर हम डिजेल आयल के ऊपर ड्यूटी लगाते हैं जो कि किसान अपने ट्रैक्टरों में और पानी के पम्पो इत्यादि में इस्तेमाल करते हैं तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बहुत उलटी बात है मैं चाहूँगा कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय इस और भी जरूर ध्यान दें । इसके अलावा 10 प्रतिशत स्पेशल सरचार्ज आमदना के ऊपर लगाया है मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बहुत ज्यादा है और उसको भी घटाकर अधिक से अधिक 5 परसेंट कर देना चाहिये अगर

वित्त मंत्री महोदय उसको बिलकुल ही खत्म नहीं कर पाते ।

चेयरमन साहब इस वर्ष के बजट में प्रतिरक्षा के लिए जो रूपया खर्च होने वाला है वह वाजिब है । देश की रक्षा करना हमारा सबसे पहला फर्ज है और मैं समझता हूँ कि देश का रक्षा के लिए कोई भी कुंआनी कोई व्यय अधिक नहीं है और मैं तो यह कहूँगा कि अगर जरूरत पड़े और इससे भी ज्यादा रुपये की आवश्यकता हो यह माननीय सदन उस धन-राशि को बड़ा खुशा से सरकार को देगा । लेकिन इसके साथ-साथ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा सरकार को हमारे उन पड़ोसी देशों के साथ जिनके साथ हमारे ताल्लुक अच्छे नहीं हैं फिर से दोस्ताना ताल्लुकत पैदा करने के लिए भरसक प्रयत्न करते रहना चाहिये इस बारे में जहां तक चीन का सवाल है मुझे उससे कोई खास उम्मीद नहीं है । मैं समझता हूँ कि चीन आजकल दुनिया में एक अजाब नाति अपना रहा है । चीन संसार का एक मात्र देश है जो कि संसार में शान्ति नहीं चाहता वह सारे संसार पर छा जाना चाहता है और साथ में मैं तो यह भी कहूँगा कि वह आज के संसार का सबसे बड़ा इम्पिरियलिस्ट कंट्री है । मगर जहां तक पाकिस्तान का सम्बन्ध है, मैं यह आपसे जरूर कहूँगा कि हमारे और पाकिस्तान के बीच में जितने भी इस वक्त झगड़े हैं वह ऐसे नहीं हैं कि जो अगर कोशिश की जाय तो दूर न हो सके । मगर इसके लिए दोनों ओर से सद्भावना को जरूरत है । मैं यह जानता हूँ कि हमारा और से इस सद्भावना में कभी भी कमी नहीं रहो है । हम हर वक्त इस तरफ कोशिश कर रहे हैं । मगर जहां तक पाकिस्तान का सवाल है उम्मेद अभी तक इस सद्भावना का सबूत नहीं दिया पर इसके बावजूद भी हमें हताश नहीं होना चाहिये और हमारा जो कोशिश है वह निरन्तर जारी रहनी चाहिए । श्रीमन् मैं यह कह दूँ कि चाहे हम इस बात को चहे या न चहे,

वसन्द करे या न करें, हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान दोनों का भविष्य इकट्ठा जुड़ा हुआ है और यह देशों के हित में है कि यह दोन्न बनकर अच्छे पड़ोसी को तरह रहें ।

हमारा देश श्रीमन् संसार के उन देशों में से है जिनमें कि सबसे अधिक टैक्स हैं । फिर भी प्रति वर्ष टैक्सों का बोझ बढ़ता ही जा रहा है । इस वर्ष लगभग 100 करोड़ रुपये के नये टैक्स लगे हैं अनता टैक्स देने से इन्कार नहीं लेकिन उसे इस बात का दुख है कि जो रुपया सरकार टैक्सों के रूप में उनसे लेती है उसका उसका ठीक से इस्तेमाल नहीं होता उसका अपव्यय होता है । जो फिजूल खर्ची हमारे चारों तरफ होती है वह किसी से छिपी नहीं है । प्रायः किसी भी प्रादमी से पूछिए चाहे इस माननीय सदन का सदस्य हो या बाहर जनता का प्रादमी हो वह औरन आपको कई ऐसे उदाहरण बता देगा जिससे साबित होगा कि चारों तरफ फिजूलखर्ची हो रही है । इसके अलावा सरकार ने अपने खर्च में भी कमी नहीं की है । हर साल हम इतना सुनते हैं, सदन में कहा जाता है कि सरकार को कमी करनी चाहिए अपने खर्च में लेकिन हम देखते क्या है कि इसके बावजूद भी हर साल सरकार के खर्च में वृद्धि होती जा रही है मेरा मतलब प्लान के खर्चों में नहीं है, वह तो होना ही चाहिये मेरा मतलब है कि प्रशासन का जो खर्चा है वह कम होना चाहिये ।

13.25 hrs.

[SRI SONAVANE in the Chair]

इस वक्त जो मौजूदा टैक्स हैं उनकी भी बसूली ठीक तरह से नहीं होती । अगर उनकी बसूली ठीक तरह से की जाये और सरकारी खर्च में कमी की जाये तो नये टैक्स लगाने की जरूरत ही नहीं रहेगी टैक्सों के बसूल करने का जो तरीका है उसमें बहुत से लूपहोल्स हैं । माननीय सदस्य श्री नाथपाई ने तो अपने भाषण में कहा था कि

वह लूपहोल्स ही नहीं, इतने टनेल्स हैं जिनके रास्ते करोंडों नया गायब हो जाता है । मैं चाहूंगा कि नये नये टैक्स लगाने के पहले सरकार इस और भी ध्यान दे ।

श्रीमन् मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि वक्त प्रागया है कि इन घामदनी के नये नये जरिये दूँ । जब भी रुपये की जरूरत पड़े उन वक्त सिर्फ एकपाइज़ ड्यूटी लग दे ऐसे या नये टैक्स दें जिनका सीधे कीमतों पर असर पड़ता है, वह ठीक नहीं है । हमें चाहिये कि इस प्रकार की टैक्स प्रणाली हम अपनाये जिससे कि कीमतों पर सीधा प्रभाव न पड़े ।

दूसरी बात जो मैं सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि सारे देश में एक समान उन्नति होनी चाहिये । रीजनल इम्पैलेस नहीं होना चाहिये मगर आज हम देखते हैं कि ऐसा नहीं हो रहा है । इसकी मिसाल चारों तरफ है पंजाब में हरियाना को लीजिये । पंजाब में हरियाना का जो इलाका है वहां पर लोगों को शिकायत थी कि वहां इतनी तरक्की नहीं हुई जितनी की होनी चाहिये थी । उसका फल है कि वहां लोगों में असन्तोष फैला और जो कुछ वहां आज हो रहा है वह आपके सामने है । इसी प्रकार ईस्टर्न यू० पी० और नार्थ बिहार के लोगों की शिकायत है वहां पर उतनी तरक्की नहीं हो रही है जितनी कि होनी चाहिए । राज्यों में भी यह शिकायत है कि कुछ राज्यों में ज्यादा तरक्की के काम होते हैं और कई में कुछ नहीं होता । इसी बारे में मैं अपने प्रदेश के विषय में कहना चाहता हूँ । मैं हिमाचल प्रदेश से आता हूँ जो कि एक छोटासा केन्द्रीय प्रशासित स्टेट है और जो एक पहाड़ी इलाका है पिछले 18 सालों में जब से कि आजादी हुई है और हिमाचल प्रदेश का जन्म हुआ है उस वक्त से लेकर आज तक हिमाचल प्रदेश में, खासकर पब्लिक सैक्टर में, एक भी छोटा या बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण कारखाना नहीं लगा । यह एक अजीब है इसके अलावा मैं आपसे अर्ज करना चाहता

[श्री बीरभद्र सिंह]

हूँकि हिमचल प्रदेश एक पहाड़ी इलाका है। वहाँ पर कई नदी नाले बहते हैं और वहाँ बहुत बिजली पैदा हो सकती है। एक एस्टीमेट के मुताबिक वहाँ पर 43.43 लाख किलोवाट बिजली पैदा हो सकती है जिसके बारे में डा० के० एल० राव जानते हैं और यहीं नहीं आप खुद अन्दाजा लगाइए कि 43.43 लाख किलोवाट बिजली पैदा करने में प्रदेश की 129 करोड़ रुपये प्रतिवर्ष आय बढ़ सकती है और बिजली उपलब्ध होने के बाद जो वहाँ कारखाने लग सकते हैं उन छोटे बड़े कारखानों से जो आमदनी होगी वह इसके अलावा होगी। अगर इस वक्त मौजूदा हालत क्या है? हिमाचल प्रदेश में जहाँ इतनी बिजली पैदा करने की क्षमता है वहाँ इस वक्त केवल 750 किलोवाट बिजली पैदा हो रही है। हाउस को इस बात को सुनकर ताज्जुब जरूर होगा। श्रीमन्, मैं चाहूँगा कि इस बारे में भारत सरकार विचार करे और इसके लिए धन दे। क्योंकि बिना धन के यह काम नहीं हो सकता। इसके अलावा मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिमाचल में बिजली पैदा करने की क्षमता का मुकाबिला स्विटजरलैंड जो कि संसार का समृद्धशाली देश है, एक साथ हो सकता है। कमी सिर्फ केपिटल की है, धन की आवश्यकता है इस केपिटल को भारत सरकार को प्रांवाइड करना चाहिये। दूसरी बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ

Mr. Chairman: Please conclude.

Shri Virbhadra Singh: Sir, I have just started my speech.

Mr. Chairman: I know it. The records are with me.

Shri Virbhadra Singh: I want two more minutes.

Mr. Chairman: He might conclude his speech soon.

श्री बीरभद्र सिंह : इसके अलावा मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिमाचल प्रदेश

एक ऐसा इलाका है जहाँ पर इस वक्त ऐं-ऐं-बांध लगे हैं जैसे भाखड़ा नंगल, विशाऊ बांध, जोगेन्द्र नगर पावर हाउस। यह सारे हिमाचल प्रदेश के अन्दर स्थित हैं, हिमाचल के बोर्डर पर स्थित हैं। लेकिन हिमाचल के इन रिमोन्ड को दूसरे प्रदेश एक्सप्लायट कर रहे हैं। हिमाचल को एव पैस बा भी फायदा नहीं। हिमाचल प्रदेश सारी बिजली खरीदकर बन्जूमर्म को देता है।

यह एक अजीब बात है कि एग वक्त कई सूबों में पानी को लेकर झगड़े हो रहे हैं। आंध्र प्रदेश और महाराष्ट्र के बीच में गोंदावरी के पानी के ऊपर कितना झगड़ा हो रहा है? हम चाहते हैं और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि हिमाचल प्रदेश की जो समस्याएं हैं और जो हमारे हकूब है उन के बारे में भारत सरकार जरूर ध्यान देगी।

इस के अलावा अन्त में मैं पंजाबी सूबे के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ

Mr. Chairman: Your allotted time is over. Please try to conclude.

Shri Virbhadra Singh: I want to say that we, the Members from Himachal Pradesh, never get time to speak and when we do get time to speak we just get five or six minutes. It is not fair to us.

Mr. Chairman: You should have talked about this earlier. Please conclude within two minutes.

श्री बीरभद्र सिंह : पंजाबी सूबे के बारे में मैं आप से अर्ज कर रहा था कि जो कांग्रेस कार्यकारिणी ने फैसला किया है उस का हम स्वागत करते हैं। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि भारत सरकार भी इस बारे में शीघ्र निर्णय करेगी और भाषा के आधार पर पंजाबी सूबे को बनायेगी। इस के साथ साथ मैं यह कहना चाहूँगा कि आज जो हरियाणा की मांग है उस का भी साथ में ही फैसला हो

जाना चाहिए और पंजाब के जो पहाड़ी इलाके हैं, जैसे कांगड़ा, कुल्लू, लाहौल, स्पती और शिमला; उन को हिमाचल प्रदेश में मिलाया जाये और हिमाचल प्रदेश वा एक पूर्ण राज्य के रूप में निर्माण किया जाये। धन्यवाद।

Shrimati Maimoona Sultan (Bhopal): Mr. Chairman, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity. In giving me time today you have also convinced me of the fact that patience is always rewarded.

Sir, before I proceed any further in my analysis of the Budget, I shall briefly refer to the two speeches made in this House on the opening day of the debate. The first came from the Swatantra leader, Shri Masani, and the other was made by the hon. Member, Shri Hiren Mukerjee.

It has been very interesting and very revealing indeed to listen to these two leaders as also to note their reactions to the proposals of the Budget and to the various economic policies that have been pursued by the Government in the past to be followed in the future months and year to come.

Both the leaders disagreed with each other violently only to agree on one single point, that is, the condemnation of the Government. Both the leaders have always tried earnestly to pull the Government in different directions—one to this extreme and the other to that extreme—and when they fail in this effort they lose their temper.

As for the speech of Shri Masani—I am sorry, he is not here—it is true that he makes very useful contribution to the debate, but somehow the underlying tone of his speech reminds me of a French story which I cannot but tell this House.

It has been said that a certain French lady in a dispute with her neighbour came out with this remark—

"I meet no one but myself who is always in the right."

Obviously, Shri Masani is not the only person who thinks so highly of his own opinions and of his own judgments.

One of the major grievances of Shri Masani, apart from other reasons, also emanates from the fact that this Government never listens to what he has been predicting and prophesying all these years. Had the Government been wise enough to listen to the precious gems of thoughts Shri Masani has been scattering all round, then what would have happened? The learned Member, Professor Ranga, gave an indication of it yesterday in his marathon speech and election manifesto combined. Had this Government been polite enough to be overthrown by the Swatantra Party then what would have followed? There would have been an era of prosperity all round, no inflation, no rising prices, the rich would have been rich the poor would have been poor and, I presume, there could not have been any food crisis either because the rains also would have come down from the skies and then everybody would have been happy—Shri Masani would have been happy, the big business would have been happy and, when these two are happy, consequently the common man also has to be happy. This is very simple and very logical. Naturally, when the giants of industry are happy, the common man dares not to be unhappy.

But that was not the point. I am not trying to minimise for a second the immense contribution that the hon. Member makes to the debate. But what I wish to emphasise is the fact that there is a basic and sharp difference between the policies of the Swatantra Party and those of the Congress on basic economic issues. We also believe in increased production:

[Shrimati Maimoona Sultan]

we also believe in increased prosperity for the people, and emphatically we do, but side by side the concentration of economic power in the hands of the few as given out by the report on the Monopolies Commission, the inequality of wealth between the rich and the poor; and between high and low is repugnant to us. It is because of this basic difference that whatever Shri Masani says becomes so jarring to the ears.

Now let us see what the hon. Member, Shri Hiren Mukerjee, had to say in his speech. Fortunately or unfortunately, his speeches are always so charged with emotions that it is really difficult to follow the reasoning or the arguments behind what he says. Beyond that I am not going to criticize the hon. Member any further, because I have great respect for him; but at the same time, I wish to point out that the language that the hon. Member makes use of is a very familiar language to us. He has accused the Government of 'surrendering to moneybags' and making "concessions after concessions to the top dogs of industry." I must say, this is a very familiar language. This is language that the Communist leaders and their followers use all over the world in the denunciation of the policies they do not approve of. Their language is the same, their strategy is the same and also their objectives are the same. Therefore we are not surprised at that.

With your permission, Sir, I have got a line from an Urdu poet which has got a bearing on the subject and which I wish to read out to you. These are the Urdu lines:—

राहजन राह में दानिस्ता जलाते हैं चिराग,
काफ़िला जुल्मते झनदार से बच करे गुजरे

It only means that there are people who are in fact robbers—I am not saying it, the poet said it—they light the path of the people with candles

deliberately to beguile them, but it is for the people to know that there is really darkness and not light that awaits them. Now there may be individuals who are exceptions to it but by and large it is true. Sir, there is another Persian line which says:

मनखूब मीं शनासम ई पीराने पारसारा

It means, I know them too well who profess such high ideals; and that is the fact.

Now I shall briefly refer to the speech of hon. Shri Kripalani. It is well nigh impossible for me to criticize the hon. Member for he is a very senior Member, a very respected Member of this House; but, at the same time, I wish to point out, that this country has got an unprecedented record of glory and achievements in the past. Only recently we emerged out of the conflict with Pakistan and we emerged as a united nation and as a proud nation. The unity this country came out with in this hour of crisis despite the diversity of language, religion and so many other obstacles, would ever remain unsurpassed in the annals of history. That is a fact and, therefore, I say that this country could never be subjugated to any foreign aggression because it is a resilient nation, it is a vigorous nation. At the same time, this country has bled many times in the past because of what its own people did towards it. It has been said Sir, that when Caesar fell, he received many wounds but the blow that really killed him came from Brutus. It was not really the weapon that killed him but it was the unkindness of Brutus. So, this country is also going to survive many blows. But the blows that it receives from its own people are going to make it weaker and weaker.

I do not absolve the Government of its responsibility towards the people. The Government is responsible to the people, to give them food and to give them protection. But at the same

time the responsibility of the Government does not mean that the Opposition has no responsibility at all. This is a new conception of the responsibility and duty that we hear these days; the responsibility towards the people could not be discharged without aggravating a situation, without exploiting a situation; and that is what is happening these days.

Sir, I did not have the privilege of working with Mahatma Gandhi as Kripalaniji had or other hon. Members had. But we all know what were his teachings, the manner in which he lived and the manner he gave up his life. At the age of 80 or more, he went from place to place restoring sanity among the people and pleading with them not to indulge in acts of violence. If we take the name of Mahatma Gandhi, we should also tell the people that he never condoned even a single act of violence in all his life not even in the name of freedom of the country which was so dear to him.

Since I have gone so far, I may also refer to Dr. Lohia, about what he said yesterday. Dr. Lohia is not here.

The recurrent theme of his speech was

“भारत, तेरी काफ़ी बह रही है”

This is what he said. He said many other things also but I shall refer to that part of his speech only.

I better reply to him in the language he used.

डाक्टर साहब ने कहा, “भारत, तेरी काफ़ी बह रही है।” भगवत तो हिन्दुस्तान के लिए यह मिसाल देना ठीक नहीं है, क्योंकि फ्रांस और हिन्दुस्तान में बड़ा फ़र्क है और इसलिए यह मिसाल यहाँ लागू नहीं होती है। लेकिन फ़र्क कीजिए कि डाक्टर साहब को बुझा है और वहम है कि ऐसी बात हो रही है, तो बर्हसियत एक लोडर के और एक डिम्बेदार इन्सान के, जो सब कुछ समझते हुए भी कुछ नहीं समझते हैं और न समझते हुए भी सब कुछ समझते हैं, डाक्टर साहब का

यह फ़र्क है कि जब मुल्क की मजबूती का ख़वाल है और उसको लगता है कि वह काफ़ी बह रही है, तो वह इस काफ़ी को एक एक क़तरा करके उठा लें, बजाये इसके कि इसमें और कीचड़ डाल दें।

I think I should leave these two gentlemen now to conduct themselves as they like.

Now I shall come to the Budget proposals. It has been said that this Budget is a production-oriented Budget. Mr. Masani says that it is a depression-oriented Budget. Personally, I think that it is a realistic Budget, as other Members also have pointed out. The Finance Minister has given us a picture which may be rather unpleasant for us to be bold. But nevertheless, it is a correct picture, correct in all the details and very factual and, therefore, I say that it is an honest Budget. But in spite of the fact that I appreciate the honesty of the Finance Minister very much and I also know that the difficulties that he had to grapple with in preparing the Budget have been of terrifying dimensions, yet at the same time I hold the view that it is a Budget that definitely lacks a socialistic approach towards problems. I am sorry to say—Mr. Bhagat is here—that this budget does not reflect the basic policies and the basic philosophy to which the party stands committed. I am afraid, our Finance Minister has behaved towards socialism in the manner Voltaire behaved towards God, once. It has been said that once Voltaire happened to cross the path of a religious procession and as he came near the procession, the great philosopher, lifted up his head and then went on. On an enquiry from his friend as to why he had behaved that way, Voltaire said, “Well, when I and God meet, we salute each other. But we do not speak.” It appears to me that our Finance Minister also, when he came face to face with socialism in his Budget, stopped to salute socialism, but he did not bother to

[Shrimati Maimoona Sultan]

cultivate it any further. Therefore, this Budget remains what it is crying for a better treatment towards socialism, and it is here that the finance Minister has faltered and faltered rather badly.

Now, we have been talking about socialism day in and day out, without being abstruse as to the meaning of socialism. I shall read out to you what the Prime Minister had to say about it. On the 26th of January, when she pledged herself to the service of the nation, the Prime Minister said:

"We have promises to keep to our people—of work, food, clothing and shelter, health and education....."

—that is what socialism means to us. Now, I shall be within my right to ask the Finance Minister as to where are the promises of socialism and where are the provisions for the under-privileged and the weaker sections of society about which the Prime Minister had given an assurance in her broadcast to the nation.

Not only that, but our Food Minister also some time back came to the House and said that socialism starts with children, and everyone of us applauded it. But where is that socialism in the Budget which cares for children which makes them the first to receive relief in time of distress and also gives them the best of all? There is nothing of that type here. The malady is that there has always been a wide gap between what we say and what we do. I shall again quote an authority, i.e., the Prime Minister in this regard. This is what she said:

"In economic development, as in other fields of national activity, there is a disconcerting gap between intention and action.

That is the whole trouble with us. The Finance Minister has to give an answer to it; the Government has to give an answer to it: As to how long

shall we have to take to bridge the gap between action and intention? It is true that it takes some time to achieve progress. But it is also true that we have to assess every year how near we have come to the objective of socialism, and not after a period of 15 or 20 years.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member may conclude now.

Shrirati Maimoona Sultan: Just two minutes and I shall conclude.

Str. the common man has the feeling that he is not getting a fair treatment and that the Government is not making an earnest effort to solve their problems. They are groaning under heavy taxation and heavy burdens. They do not get food. Or shall I say they have very little food? They have very inadequate shelters, there is no sanitation and there is no cheap transport easily available to them. Those things are the base of the existence of the common man. Therefore, I am opposed to any tax proposals that may further affect him adversely. In this context, I am particularly, opposed to the levy on khand-sari and sugar. Apart from the fact that it is a growing burden on the common man beyond his means there is another angle to it. In this country, children say upto the age of 15 years consume a larger quantity of sugar and, therefore, to put a levy on sugar and to take it out from the budget of families would be most unforgivable.

Mr. Chairman: She must conclude now.

Shrimati Maimoona Sultan: I have to conclude now. So I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity.

श्री ५० ला० बाइपास (गंगानगर) :
सभापति महोदय, मैं आपका बहुत आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे समय दिया।

वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने जो बजट इस सदन में प्रस्तुत किया है, उस को मैं न तो ज्यादा बढ़ा बताऊंगा और न घट्टा। इसका कारण भी मैं बताता हूँ। एक परिवार

में मां और बाप होते हैं और दोनों का अपने पुत्रों के साथ एक-सा रनेह होता है। लेकिन अंतर यह होता है कि बाप दिमाग से काम करता है और मां हृदय से काम करती है। हृदय से बिया गया काम बच्चों के लिये जितना लाभदायक होता है, दिमाग से बिया गया काम उतना लाभदायक नहीं होता है। हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने बाप के दिमाग से यह बजट प्रस्तुत किया है, मां के हृदय से नहीं। अगर वह मां के हृदय से यह बजट प्रस्तुत करते, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि वह सही मानों में समाजवाद के बहुत नजदीक पहुँच सकते। अपने बच्चों को पालने के लिए मां किसी बात की परवाह नहीं करती है। वह अपने बच्चों का पेशाब और मीला साफ़ करती हुई, हर एक मुसंदत का सामना करती हुई बच्चों का पालन पोषण करती है। ऐसी रिथति हमारे वित्त मंत्री के दिमाग में नहीं थी, क्योंकि उन्होंने इसको दिमाग से तैयार किया था, हृदय से नहीं किया है।

अब मैं कुछ अन्य दिव्यों पर बहना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि समस्यायें देश की बहुत बड़ी हैं। देश भी बड़ा है और समस्यायें भी बड़ी हैं। मैं जिस क्षेत्र से चुन कर आया हूँ, वह पाकिस्तान के बाँडर से मिलता हुआ क्षेत्र है और आज कूबबारों में आपने पढ़ा होगा, मैं यह बात नहीं बहता कि यह वहाँ तक रही है, लेकिन हमारे विधान सभाई सदस्य ने बताया कि पाकिस्तान की सेना अभी राजस्थान की सीमा के पास जमाई हो रही है। मैं नहीं समझता कि हमारे रक्षायि प्रधान मंत्री के ताश्कन्द रुझते के बाद से सेना का यह जमाव होना वहाँ तक न्याय्यचित है। लेकिन मैं सरकार से यह बहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार अभी भी पाकिस्तान के ऊपर भरोसा न करे, विश्वास न करे और हमारे सुरक्षा प्रयत्नों में शिथिलता न आने पावे। हमारे सुरक्षा सम्बन्धी जितने भी कार्यक्रम हैं, वे जारी रहने चाहियें। एक बात तो मैं यह बहना चाहता था।

अब जहाँ तक सवाल है पाकिस्तान की सीमा के पास सड़कें बिछाने का, रेल की लाइनों डालने का, वह हमारे मंत्री और सेक्रेटरी वगैरह सब जानते हैं और वह जारी रहना चाहिये।

मैं जिस क्षेत्र से आता हूँ, हमारे देश के अन्दर अन्न की समस्या को लेकर बहुत सी समस्यायें खड़ी हो रही हैं, कितनी अन्न की कमी है, कितना अन्न चाहिये, इन सब के बारे में आंकड़े दिये जाते हैं। मैं ज्यादा पढ़ा-लिखा आदमी नहीं हूँ, अर्थ-शास्त्री नहीं हूँ, लेकिन मैं सरकारी आंकड़ों पर विश्वास नहीं करता। आंकड़े कुछ और होते हैं और वास्तविकता कुछ और होती है। कितना अन्न देश में पैदा होता है, उसके लिये रोज आंकड़ों में वृद्धि बताई जाती है, लेकिन यहाँ घटोतरी होती जाती है। अगर वास्तव में बढ़ोतरी होती है, तो अन्न की समस्या का क्या कारण है। हमारी सरकार के पास पटवारी जो आंकड़े भेज देते हैं, उसको मान कर वे छाप दिये जाते हैं। इस लिये हमें उस पर भरोसा नहीं करना चाहिये। लेकिन मेरे इलाके में जिसमें आबखड़ा की नहर पड़ती है, गंगा नहर पड़ती है, राजस्थान की नहर का निर्माण हो रहा है, आज भी हजारों एकड़ भूमि फालतू पड़ी है, जब यह जमीन फालतू पड़ी है तो किसानों को क्यों नहीं मिलती है, इसके अन्दर क्या उलझन है। वहाँ पर भी हमारी सरकार है और यहाँ पर भी हमारी सरकार है, मैं किस पर आरोप लगाऊँ, जैसे भागीरथी गंगा आई है और शिव की जटा में घटक गई है, वैसे ही यहाँ भी पता नहीं मामला वहाँ घटक जाता है और इस कार्य में कोई प्रगति नहीं होती है। अगर वह खमीन किसानों को मिल जाये और सिंचाई की व्यवस्था अच्छी तरह से हो जाये, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि काफ़ी मायनों में हमारी अन्न की समस्या का समाधान हो सकता है।

[श्री प० ला० बारूपाल]

आज हमारी जो नहरें हैं, उनमें पाकिस्तान से नहरों-पानी समझौते के बाद से पानी बहुत कम आया है। यह ठीक है कि नहरों के सम्बन्ध में जो समझौता किया गया है, उसका पालन होना चाहिये, लेकिन इस बात को लेकर हमारे यहां पानी की जो कटौती हुई है, उसके कारण पिछले चार साल से भ्रकाल पड़ा हुआ है। किसानों को नहरों से पानी नहीं मिलता है, और वे जहां पहले 20, 25, 30 मन प्रति बोधा भ्रनाज का उत्पादन करते थे, वहां आज पांच से लेकर 10 मन भी उत्पादन नहीं हो रहा है। मैं समझता हूं कि ऐसे किसानों के लिये ट्यूब-वेल की सुविधा दी जाये। हमारे यहां किसान कहते हैं कि आप ट्यूब-वेल हमको दीजिये, बिजली का कनेक्शन दीजिये, हम इसके लिये पंसा सरकार को देने के लिये तैयार हैं, लेकिन न ट्यूब-वेल देते हैं और न कनेक्शन देते हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में भ्रन्न की समस्या का समाधान कैसे हो सकता है। इस कार्य में जितनी देरी हो रही है, उतना ही नुकसान हो रहा है। हमारे यहां किसानों को सस्ते दामों पर बीज देना चाहिये, ट्रेक्टर, इससे सम्बन्ध रखने वाली मशीन और औजार, और खेती से सम्बन्ध रखनेवाली दूसरी चीजें दी जानी चाहिये। मेरा क्षेत्र एक कृषि प्रधान क्षेत्र है, जिसमें गंगा नगर, बीकानेर का इलाका आता है, जहां किसानों को हर प्रकार की सुविधा दी जानी चाहिये।

श्रीमान्, मैं 15 साल से पालियामेंट का मेम्बर हूं, लेकिन आप मुझे सिर्फ 5-10 मिनट देते हैं। समस्यायें हमारे विभाग में इतनी होती हैं कि इतने थोड़े समय में किसको कहूं और किसको न कहूं। लॉहिया भी जिस तरह से कहते हैं, अगर उस तरह से कहना शुरू कर दूं तो एक रामायण की पोथी बन जाये। हमारे लॉहिया जी राजस्थान

के हैं और मैं भी राजस्थान का हूं —

बूल्हा बहे मैं सर्व सोने का,

बेवनी बहे मैं साधे ही साधे।

वह हमारे कर्मों को जानते हैं और हम उनके कर्मों को जानते हैं, लेकिन जिस तरीके से वह बातें करते हैं, मैं यहां नहीं करूंगा। आपको आन्दोलन पसन्द है या शान्ति पसन्द है, यह दूसरी बात है, लेकिन इस तरह से कहना कि सचिवालय पर कब्जा किया जाय, रेडियो स्टेशन पर कब्जा किया जाये, शरत्नागर पर कब्जा किया जाये, इतने जिम्मेदार आदमी डेमोक्रेसी के युग में पालियामेंट के अन्दर बैठ कर माननीय सदस्यों के सामने इस तरह से बातें करते हैं, इसका क्या मतलब होता है? इससे लोगों को प्रोत्साहन मिलता है, और जो छोटा तबका है वह उभर जाता है और फिर लोग मनमानी करते हैं।

श्री काशी राम गुप्त (अलवर) : आप यह सिखाते हैं कि वे लोग ऐसा करें, उन्हें जो पूरी बात कही है उसको समझिये।

श्री प० ला० बारूपाल : मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इस तरह से वह लोगों को भ्रामे कर के भड़काते हैं और खुद पीछे रहते हैं। आज किसानों और श्रमिकों में जो भी गड़बड़ी होती है उसमें राजनीतिक पार्टियों का प्रथम हाथ होता है।

मैं ज्यादा भाषण नहीं बूंगा। सिर्फ यही कहना चाहता हूं कि इन लोगों के मन में यह बात है कि अगर हमारी सरकार और हमारे अफसर अच्छा काम करेंगे तो स्वाभ-दिक बात है कि जनता हमको बोट देगी। ये लोग इस बात को जानते हैं कि जब हम अच्छा काम करेंगे तो इनको बोट कहां से मिलेगा, इनको बोट तभी मिल सकते हैं जब कि ये तोड़ फोड़ की कार्यवाही करें, लोगों में नागरजी पैदा करें, उनके अन्दर परेशानी पैदा करें।

उनके अन्दर ऐसी फितरत करें कि वह हम से नाराज होकर इनको वोट दें, लेकिन मैं बता देना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह से कोई आदमी आपको वोट नहीं देगा।

सभापति महोदय : आपका जो महत्व का प्रश्न है उसको कहिये।

श्री प० ला० बाबूपाल : आज जो हमारे इस मुल्क के अन्दर गरीबी है, जो बेकारी है, हमें उससे छुटकारा पाना है। हम लोगों ने राजनीतिक क्रान्ति के द्वारा सामन्तवाद और ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद से अपनी मुक्ति प्राप्त की है और अब हमें भुखमरी, बेकारी और अशिक्षा से छुटकारा पाना है। श्रीमन्, बातें सब करते हैं, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि जब तक धार्मिक क्रान्ति, आर्थिक क्रान्ति नहीं होगी, तब तक समाजवाद आना बिलकुल बातें करना है। बात करना भलग बात है, लेकिन करनी और कथनी में अन्तर होता है।

ज्ञान करत हैं वाक से,

नह करनी ध्यान लगाय,

वह ज्ञानी वाचक सदा,

तजा न विषय विचार।

यह राजस्थानी भाषा में है। हर आदमी बात मुंह से करता है, लेकिन उसकी करनी और कथनी में अन्तर होता है। इसलिये आज हमारा मुल्क जिस संकटकालीन स्थिति में से गुजर रहा है, हमको अपने नौजवानों को तैयार करना है, हमारी जो बहनें अशिक्षित हैं, अनपढ़ हैं, उनको शिक्षा दिलानी है। आज हमारा मुल्क कम से कम 48 करोड़ का भारत देश है। इसका मतलब यहाँ के पहाड़, नदियाँ, पत्थर या पालियामेंट नहीं है, बल्कि हमारे नेहरू जी के शब्दों में, 48 करोड़ भारतीयों का ही नाम भारत है। अगर आज भारत का कोई भी अंग कमजोर रहता है कोई भी अंग कमजोर रहता है, तो फिर हमारा भारत कमजोर रहता है।

तो मैं आपसे बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि आज लाखों अंग्रे, अफाहज, लूसे, लंगड़े हमारे देश में हैं, जिनको न तो राज्य ही और न समाज ही पूछता है। उनके लिये इस बजट में कोई गुंजाइश नहीं है.....

14.00 hrs.

श्री हुकूम खन्व कछवाय (देवास) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, ऐसे अच्छे भाषण को सुनने के लिये यहाँ सदन में गण-पूति नहीं है।

Mr. Chairman: The bell is being rung....There is no quorum yet. The bell is being rung again....Now there is quorum. Shri Barupal

श्री प० ला० बाबूपाल : मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में अखिलमण्डली की संख्या एक करोड़ के करीब है। कोई उन में से दस रुपये रोज खर्च करता है, कोई पन्द्रह रुपये करता है और कोई पाँच रुपये करता है। प्रति व्यक्ति देखा जाये तो औसतन पाँच रुपये खर्च बैठता है। इतना औसतन रोजाना का एक का खर्च है। एक करोड़ का मतलब यह हुआ कि पाँच करोड़ रुपया औसतन रोज बे खर्च करते हैं। इस हिसाब से आप देख लें कि एक महीने में डेढ़ सौ करोड़ रुपया खर्च करते हैं। आप पाँच साल का और एक साल का खर्च निकाल कर देख सकते हैं कि कितना उनका खर्च बैठता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि पाँच साल में 90-99 अरब रुपये तो वे खर्च करते ही होंगे। मैं चाहता हूँ कि ऐसे लोगों को अनिवार्य शिक्षा दी जाए, अनिवार्य कोई ट्रेनिंग दी जाए, किसी अंग्रे की ट्रेनिंग दी जाए, या महलों में लगाया जाए या मिलिटरी का काम उनको दिया जाए, या सफाई का काम दिया जाए या कोई और काम जो वे कर सकते हों, उनको करने को दिया जाए, उस काम की उनको ट्रेनिंग दी जाए। कोई भी आदमी बिल्कुल निकम्मा नहीं रहना चाहिये। कोई न कोई काम उसको करने के लिये दिया जाना चाहिये। ऐसे आदिमियों को

[श्री प० सा० बास्पाल]

को बेकार रहते हैं, जो भिखमंगे होते हैं इनको खाने का अधिकार नहीं है और न ही मारे मूस्क में उनको खाने का अधिकार होना चाहिये। कोई काम उन से लिया जाए और इन भिखमंगों की समस्या को हल किया जाए।

घब में राजस्थान के सम्बन्ध में कुछ बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। घाप जानते ही हैं कि केरल के अन्दर 45 प्रतिशत लोग एजुकेटिड हैं। नागालैंड और मिजो में 68 परसेंट के करीब लोग एजुकेटिड हैं। उन एजुकेटिड लोगों को प्रादिवासी और जंगली कहा जाता है और सारी सुविधायें दी जाती हैं, सारी चीजें मुहैया की जाती हैं। लेकिन राजस्थान की हालत यह है कि बड़ा पांच परसेंट भी एजुकेटिड लोग नहीं हैं। जंगली तो राजस्थान के लोग हुए जिनमें पांच परसेंट भी एजुकेटिड लोग नहीं हैं। ऐसे लोगों को हम एजुकेशन के मामले में क्या भागे लाने की कोशिश नहीं करेंगे? यदि हमने ऐसा न किया तो वे भ्रान्दोलन नहीं करेंगे तो क्या करेंगे। हमें चाहिये कि हम उनको ईंसान बनायें। वित्त मंत्री को चाहिये कि वह राजस्थान सरकार को ज्यादा से ज्यादा पैसा जहाँ तक शिक्षा का सम्बन्ध है दें।

घब में धार० ए० सी० के जवानों के बारे में कुछ कतना चाहता हूँ। इन्होंने बहुत अच्छा काम किया है। हमारे नीजवानों ने बहुत अच्छा काम पहले भी किया है और आज भी बांडर पर जो पोलिस पोस्ट्स हैं, वहाँ ये कर रहे हैं। लेकिन दुख के साथ मुझे कहना पड़ता है कि वहाँ न तो उनके खाने पीने का प्रबन्ध है, न पानी का प्रबन्ध है और न रहने का ही प्रबन्ध है। क्वार्टर उनके लिये हैं ही नहीं। कुछ भी उनके लिये नहीं है। इतनी हालत उनकी खराब है। मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से कहूँगा कि जहाँ तक राजस्थान की पाकिस्तान से लगने वाली सीमा की सुरक्षा का सम्बन्ध है, वह धार० ए० सी० के जवानों

की समस्याओं को हल करें, उनकी घरेलू समस्याओं का भी कोई हल निकालें।

Shri M. L. Jadhav (Malegaon): The Finance Minister has had to present his budget at a time when there was drought in the country and agricultural and industrial production was affected. Also there has been a strain on our economy because of the war with Pakistan. In these circumstances, it was an uphill task for the Finance Minister to present the present Budget to the House.

In spite of what has been stated by the Minister of State during his intervention yesterday, I am concerned at the rise in non-developmental expenditure. Why should there be an increase of Rs. 95 crores on the administrative expenditure....

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance (Shri B. E. Bhagat): Defence, border police.

Shri M. L. Jadhav: I know defence and border police had to be there and must be there. The nation must be defended. At the same time, I would recall the assurance given last time that there would be a cut of Rs. 150 crores on this account. Now we find that apart from the expenditure on defence and border police, there is an increase in the cost of running the administration. I feel efforts should be made to reduce the cost of administration and make the administration more efficient. Even now, I feel that administrative efficiency has gone down. There have been delays; for which the persons concerned many a time delay defeats the purpose for which the persons concerned come to the administration. Under these circumstances, we should try to be more efficient while reducing the expenditure also.

With regard to the production of cars, the cost of labour in India is less than that in other countries. Yet we find that the cost of Fiat and other types of cars is increasing year by year.

Compared to the cost in other countries, the cost of cars in India is three or four times in a number of cases. It is thus necessary to ensure that the cheap or small car should cost less. Efforts should be made in that direction. Again for buying cars, people have to remain in the waiting list for a number of years. This state of affairs is not happy. This should also be looked into.

Our country now experiences a shortage of food and we have to go begging to other countries for food. This begging bowl condition is not at all happy for us. At the same time, what do we do to increase agricultural production? What are the facilities made available to the farmer? Take the question of credit facilities. The Reserve Bank survey has observed that the small man, small holder, gets only 10 per cent of the credit required for cultivation, and the big ones get the remaining 90 per cent that is available from the co-operative sector. The small man has to borrow money at 25-30 per cent interest from other sources, either from the big cultivator or from the money-lender. I feel efforts should be made to provide adequate credit to the small man. He should not be denied credit only because he has not enough security. He should be given credit, and unless and until you provide enough credit, enough money, for cultivation, you cannot expect the farmer to produce more and increase production.

We are short of fertilisers as compared to other countries where production is more. There, the per acre fertiliser supply is 200 or 300 kilos; here we get on an average 2 to 3 kilos per acre. How can we expect better production in the absence of supply of enough fertilisers?

We should have more fertiliser factories. As has been said by the Deputy Minister for Agriculture, more licences for fertiliser factories, whether in the public sector or the private

sector, should be given, and we should have enough fertilisers, and this fertiliser should be supplied to the cultivators in time and at a reasonable price. I find that the States are making a profit even on these fertilisers. It is most undesirable. This is needed for more production, and on this no profit should be made. It should be sold to the cultivator at the cost of production.

Then, I find that on foreign tractors more taxes are levied, and the cost of tractors produced in the country is very high, and the quantity is very small as compared to the requirements of the country. We should have more tractor factories, and we should see that the cultivator is supplied with small tractors so as to help him to improve his cultivation and increase his production. More efforts are necessary in this direction. There are hundreds of tractors lying idle for want of spares. This is not a happy position for a country which is mainly dependent on agriculture. We should try to find spares, and see that these spares are supplied to the owners whose tractors are lying idle for want of spares.

I find that there is a lot of difference between the procurement price and the consumer price. Why should States make a profit from the grain that they procure? In some cases I find that the margin is 50 per cent. Why should this margin be there? I feel that the consumers should get the goods at the minimum price, at the price at which it is procured, plus minimum charges of handling for taking it to the consumers. This difference should be reduced, otherwise the producers get less and the consumer has to pay more. This state of affairs is not happy and I feel that it should be remedied.

I feel that there should be no tax on light diesel oil. Light diesel oil is a necessity of the farmer. There is shortage of light diesel oil in Maharashtra. A number of complaints

[Shri M. L. Jadhav]

have been received that light diesel oil is not available. The farmer has to run to the mamlatdar or to the petrol pumps for securing this. Many a time it is available in the black market, but the farmer who needs it is not getting it. Enough quantities of diesel should be made available to the farmer at a reasonable rate, and this tax should be removed in order that we may have better production, increased production.

I have enquired of some sugar factories in Maharashtra and I find that sugar worth crores of rupees is lying there. They are pressing the Government that release orders should be given for taking away the sugar, because they have no space, and their money is locked up. The cane growers are not paid because the sugar is not lifted. I feel we have reached the stage when we can decontrol sugar. We sell sugar at a very low price in America and other countries. Why not decontrol it and give it to the people. It can stop the black market and other things also. Therefore, the time has come when we should decontrol sugar as we have decontrolled cement and other commodities.

Even when power is not used by the agriculturist in the rainy season or in summer when the wells are dry, he has to pay Rs. 18 or Rs. 19 as minimum cost. This state of affairs is not happy. When we say that the farmer should grow more, when we spend crores of rupees on PL. 480 and import foodgrains from other countries, it is very necessary that we should not require our farmer to pay for electricity during the idle period when he is not using it. This state of affairs should be remedied, and no charges should be recovered from him for the idle period.

While drought conditions are prevailing in Maharashtra, I find that irrigation in Maharashtra is only five per cent, and it is lagging behind the

other States in the country. I feel that projects like the Upper Godavari Karanjavan project should be taken in hand, and more irrigation should be provided so that more land can be cultivated, and there can be more production.

Lastly, I feel that the Finance Minister is not doing justice to the rural areas. I find that in technical and higher education, rural boys are there only to the extent of five per cent.

Mr. Chairman: Please conclude now. You have exhausted your full quota of time.

Shri M. L. Jadhav: Sir, I feel that the rural boys should be given more scholarships and more facilities for study in technical and higher education. In the services also, I feel that the rural population is not getting its due share or representation.

Mr. Chairman: Shri Mahida. Please try to conclude within 10 minutes, so that more Members can speak. At 3 O'Clock the Finance Minister is to reply.

Shri Mahida.

श्री न० प्र० यादव (सीतामढ़ी) :
जरा धर भी देखिये ।

श्री नरेन्द्र सिंह बहीडा (मानन्द) :
सभापति जी, मेरे बोलने का मौका पहले प्रागे घाता था क्योंकि मैं स्वतन्त्र पार्टी से बोलता था, अब दल बदलने से मेरा मौका लास्ट आया है । लेकिन मैं मानता हूँ कि दल बदलने से फायदा अधिक हुआ है । अब मैं कांग्रेस में आ रहा हूँ । स्टेट लेबिल पर आ गया हूँ । पार्लियामेंट में भी मैं अपने मित्रों के साथ जल्द बैठ जाऊंगा ।

श्री त्यागी (देहरादून) : उधर जाने का इरादा तो नहीं है ।

श्री नरेन्द्र सिंह बहीडा : बजट के सम्बन्ध में हमारे फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर को जो कठिनाइयाँ

हैं उन को हम समझते हैं। कठिनाइयाँ हमेशा हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर को रहेंगी। इस देश में जो भी फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर बनेगा, मेरे ख्याल से पैंतीस चालीस साल तक फाइनेंस मिनिस्ट्री का क्रिटिसिज्म हमेशा बना रहेगा। क्योंकि जिस देश में भ्रनाज की और दूसरी वस्तुओं की कमी होती है, उस देश को उठाने के लिए कई सालों तक परिश्रम करना पड़ेगा। और खासकर के अपने देश की जो भ्रन्न की परिस्थिति है उस भ्रन्न की परिस्थिति को लक्ष्य में रखते हुए हमें यह ख्याल करना पड़ेगा कि उसके लिए हमें कई डैम्स और कई इर्रिगेशन की योजनायें करनी पड़ेंगी। दो-तीन महाने पहले मुझे आन्ध्र प्रदेश के नागार्जुन सागर डैम को देखने का मौका मिला था। उस डैम ने आन्ध्र प्रदेश की परिस्थिति को बदल दिया है। वहाँ पर डेढ़ सौ करोड़ रुपया खर्च करने के बाद दस साल में हम काफी परिवर्तन देखते हैं। जिनकी आँखें देश की प्रगति की तरफ गई हैं वह जरूर स्वीकार करेंगे कि यहाँ लड़ते झगड़ते भिन्न भिन्न भाषायें बोलते हुए भी इस देश को आगे बढ़ाने में हम काफी कामयाब हुए हैं। नागार्जुन सागर डैम की जो बातें मैंने देखी हैं उनसे मैं बड़ा प्रभावित हुआ हूँ और जो लोग हमारी भाज की व्यवस्था को क्रिटिसाइज करते हैं मैं उनसे प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि देश की जो ऐसी-ऐसी बड़ी-बड़ी योजनायें हैं वहाँ कृपा करके पधारें और वहाँ की परिस्थिति को देखें। वहाँ, सभापति जी, 150 करोड़ रुपया खर्च करने के बाद इर्रिगेशन की जो योजनायें नजर में आ रही हैं, वहाँ जो भौगोलिक परिस्थिति बदल गई है उसको भी आप कृपया ख्याल में रखें। वहाँ जो बारिश 35 इंच हो रही थी, अब 41 इंच बढ़ा हो गई है। वहाँ पास पास में जंगल भी बढ़े हो गए हैं। और वहाँ सभापति जी, सबसे अधिक बात तो यह हुई है कि निजाम के राज्य के वक्त जो लोग भूखों मर रहे

थे, उनको भाषा हुई है कि वह अब गुलामी से छूट जायेंगे और जब कृष्णा नदी का पानी उनके खेतों में बहेगा और उनके पेट में भ्रनाज पड़ेगा तो वह अपना सिर उंचा करके चल सकेंगे और यह समझेंगे कि वह गुलामी से बच गये हैं। गांधी जी की कल्पना थी कि इस भारतवर्ष के जो किसान हैं उनके वहाँ एक बड़ी कटोरी हो पीतल की कटोरी या किसी धातु की हो और उसमें इतना दूध होना चाहिए जिससे उसका कांडा डूबे। यह गांधी जी के शब्द थे। गांधी जी हमेशा जो बोलते थे उसका बड़ा महत्व होता था। इसका अर्थ यह था कि दूध किसके वहाँ होगा जिसके वहाँ गाय भैंतें हों, वही दूध पी सकता है। पीतल या धातु का कटोरा किसके पास होगा? जिसकी परिस्थिति कुछ उच्चतर गई हो वही पीतल का कटोरा रख सकता है और हाथ डूब जाय इतना दूध पचाने के लिए भी आप के अन्दर कुछ शक्ति होनी चाहिए। इतनी मेहनत इतना परिश्रम आप करें तभी वह दूध पच सकता है। इसका भावार्थ यह था कि इस देश की जो उठाना चाहते हैं वह सब परिश्रम करने वाले हों। अब परिश्रम करना जरा हम ने कुछ कम कर दिया है और बातें जरा ज्यादा बढ़ रही हैं। हमारे जो लोग भी भाज किसान और मजदूर हैं वह परिश्रम कम करते हैं और चिल्लाते ज्यादा हैं। इसका नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि देश का जो प्रोडक्शन है वह घट गया है और अपने वेजेंड बढ़ गये हैं और इसकी आपत कोई भी फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर इस देश में इस परिस्थिति में उठा नहीं सकेगा। भ्रन्न की परिस्थिति के सम्बन्ध में हम चाहते हैं कि गुजरात में जो नर्मदा योजना हो रही है उसकी तरफ भी आप लक्ष्य करें। इस नर्मदा योजना पर 1 हजार करोड़ रुपया खर्च करने का अन्दाजा न्सानिग कमिशन ने लगाया है और इस नर्मदा योजना से आप सोचें कि अमस्कंटक से सीन नदी द्वारा गंगा तक इर्रिगेशन का मौका मिलेगा तथा कंडला से

[श्री नरेन्द्र सिंह महोडा]

लेकर एक छोटा जहाज मध्य प्रदेश तक भी जा सकेगा। इसलिए हमारा प्रारंभ है कि नर्मदा की योजना को आगे बढ़ायें। हमारे राज्यों के बीच के जो तकरार हैं उनको हम समेट लें और अधिक से अधिक फायदा जिन जिन राज्यों को हो सके, चाहे महाराष्ट्र हो, राजस्थान हो, मध्य प्रदेश हो या गुजरात हो, उसको ध्यान में रखते हुए इस नर्मदा योजना को हम जल्दी से जल्दी प्रमल में लायें।

श्री बड़े (खारगो) : गुजरात वाले मानते नहीं हैं।

श्री नरेन्द्र सिंह महोडा : मैं नहीं मानता हूँ हमारे जो बड़े साहब कह रहे हैं कि गुजरात वाले इसमें विरोध करते हैं। मध्य प्रदेश द्वारा देश को अगर अधिक फायदा हो तो अपना हम फायदा कम करने के लिए तैयार हैं। यह बातें राज्य लेवल पर करने क बाद हम आशा करते हैं कि भारत सरकार इस योजना को आगे बढ़ायेगी।

जब हम सोशलिस्ट पैटर्न की बात करते हैं तो मैं तो बड़े चक्कर में आ जाता हूँ कि कौन सा सोशलिज्म हम लें ? हिटलर भी कहता था कि हमारा नेशनल सोशलिज्म है। हमारे साम्यवादी भाई भी कहते हैं कि हमारा कम्युनिस्ट सोशलिज्म है। हिन्दुस्तानी भाई भी कहते हैं कि हमारा भी सोशलिज्म है। हम तो कहते हैं कि इस चक्कर में न पड़ें और सब से बड़ी बात जो महात्मा गांधी और हमारे श्रद्धिपुत्र मुनि कहते थे, मानवतावाद, उस पर हम धार्यें। मानवतावाद से हम किसी चक्कर में नहीं फँतेंगे।

14.25 hrs.

[SHRI SHAM LAL SARAF in the Chair]

जब हम एल० आई० सी० का मामला देखते हैं जो हमेशा रूल एरिया से भी पैसा लता है और ग्रबन एरिया से भी पैसा लेता है, उस को मैंने देखा बाम्बे बगैरह में उन का पैसा जो खर्च होता है वह बहुरों

में ही खर्च होता है। जब हम मानवतावाद की बात करते हैं या सोशलिज्म की बात करते हैं तो हम चाहते हैं कि एल० आई० सी० का जो पैसा है जो करीब करीब भारत-बर्ष के सभी हिस्सों से कारपोरेशन के पास आता है, 600 करोड़ की उन की ग्रामदनी है और लगभग 900 करोड़ का टर्न ओवर है, मैं चाहता हूँ कि वह पैसा गांवों में भी खर्च हो। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारे किसानों की जो योजनायें हैं इन्वयोरेंस ग्राम क्रॉफ्ट, उसके लिए भी एल० आई० सी० योजना करें। मेरे जिले में खासकर जो कैरा डिस्ट्रिक्ट कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटी है, मैं तो हमेशा मजाक भी करता हूँ कि ईश्वर मुझे जन्म दे तो भगले जन्म में भैस बनाये क्योंकि हमारे जिले में भैस का भी इन्वयोरेंस होता है। वहां भैस के लिए पैसा मिलता है खरीद करने के लिए, उन के पीने के लिए पानी की योजना है, भैस जब बीमार पड़ती है तो भैस के लिए डाक्टर भी आता है। हम सोचते हैं कि जब भैस के लिए इतनी संभाल या केयर ली जाती है तो हमारे लिए भी कुछ इन्तजाम हो जाय तो बहुत एहसानमंद होंगे। हम तो समझते हैं कि भैस के लिए खटिया भी मिल जायेगी, डनलप पिलो भी मिल जायेगा (ध्वजबजान) वहां भैस को इसलिए महत्व है कि वहां भैस जो दूध देती है उसकी कीमत आती है और उस से अपनी तरक्की लोग करते हैं। लेकिन ऐसी बातें गरीब किसानों को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए हों तो मैं मानता हूँ कि सच्चा स्वराज्य अपने पास आ जायेगा।

देश में सभी लोग चिल्लाते हैं कि टैक्स बढ़ रहा है, टैक्स बढ़ रहा है लेकिन यह टैक्स बढ़ाने के लिए कारण क्या है, या उसका नतीजा क्या है उस को भी सोचेंगे तो मैं मानता हूँ कि कोई भी सरकार हो, उसे यह दीवार रखनी पड़ेगी कि अधिकतर जिसके पास धन है उससे लेकर गरीबों के लिए खर्च किया जाये। जब तक यह बैलेंस नहीं होगा तब तक

जो बोलने वाले हैं उन को कुछ राहत मिल जायगी और जो बोलते नहीं हैं उन को राहत मिलती नहीं है ।

सभापति जी, आज भी बस्तर जिले में आप जाइए, मैं जगदलपुर गया था, मुझे शर्म आती है कि आज 1966 में भी वहां के लोग आधे नंगे घूमते हैं और प्राल पहनते हैं । बस्तर की बात तो छोड़िए, छाल पहनते हैं । ऐसे जमाने में जबकि हम परिवर्तन इस में करना चाहते हैं तो परिवर्तन करने के लिये घनिक लोगों से ज्यादा पैसा लेना पड़ेगा, परिश्रम करके ज्यादा धनाज और धन कमाना पड़ेगा और उन गरीब लोगों के लिए, हमें कुछ करना पड़ेगा । वह लोग बोलते नहीं हैं इसलिए उनकी धाराज यहां नहीं पहुंचती है । लेकिन आप को याद रखना चाहिए और हमको भी याद रखना चाहिए, सभापति जी, कि जब तक इन गरीब गिरे हुए लोगों को जिन की संख्या 30 करोड़ है इस देश में उठायेगे नहीं तब तक हम आगे नहीं बढ़ेंगे । इन सब बातों को ध्यान में रखकर मैं आशा करता हूं कि विरोधी दलों के लोग और दूसरे लोग जो हिन्दुस्तान को आगे बढ़ाना चाहते हैं वह हमें सहयोग देंगे और हमारे कार्य में कोई विरोध नहीं डालेंगे ।

Shri P. C. Borooah (Sibsagar): Few finance ministers since the advent of freedom have had so deplorable an economic inheritance, so short a time and so many formidable reverses, external and internal, on the economic plane, as the new Finance Minister, Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri. I congratulate him for the competent manner in which he has been able to address himself to the difficult and delicate task of framing the budget proposals which, cannot but he said to be good under the present abnormal circumstances. Many of my hon. friends have criticised this budget as unrealistic and some say it is anti-socialistic, and some others have painted a gloomy picture, coloured

according to their individual and ideological tastes.

An hon. Member: Nobody has said it is socialistic.

Shri P. C. Borooah: Many have said: it is anti-socialistic. We should not be one-sided and we should not refuse to see the other side also. We have our problems and the problems must be solved. But we should not forget that in a democracy, for solving the problems, the responsibility does not lie with the Government alone it is with the people also. Both the people and the Government must work together and solve the problems. In this context, I am viewing the budget proposals and am making some observations.

But, as it is at the *lag-end* of the day and at the *lag-end* of the general discussion also, though I have a lot of points to mention—points about food scarcity, price-rise, democratic socialism, public sector and private sector, disparity between the rich and the poor—and though I want to speak on all those points, since the time at my disposal is short, I am unable to do so. I therefore come straight to the proposals, I want to make.

I congratulate the Finance Minister on raising the exemption limit from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 3,500 in the case of individuals. In this connection, I would like to say that he should increase this to Rs. 6,000. Why I am saying this is, with an income of Rs. 500 per man:em, in the present day circumstances, one can hardly make both ends meet. So, I suggest that it should be extended to Rs. 6,000. Between Rs. 6,000 and Rs. 10,000—on this slab—let the choice be given to the assessee either to pay the income-tax or to invest an equivalent amount in the national savings certificates. This will enable the Government to mobilise the resources and make the people happier. The question will come as to how to get the loss on this account will be made up. We do want money.

[Shri P. C. Borooah]

I have a proposal through which I think the Government can get money and make good the loss. At present, the hill areas of our country are exempted from tax because of their backwardness and underdeveloped condition. Of late, the Government is spending quite a lot of money on the development of these areas, and in the meantime many of the people there have become very prosperous; not to speak of mere prosperity, many of them have become multimillionaires, as good as those in Bombay, Calcutta and other places. I do not understand why these people should not be brought within the taxation laws and why they should not be taxed. If the tax is applied to them, I think the loss that the Government will suffer from raising the limit to Rs. 6,000 in the individual income as proposed earlier will be made good adequately. That is my second suggestion.

I next pass on to submit another suggestion which is about the excise duty. I refer to the question of the excise duty to be refundable on the export of tea. In this connection, representatives of the tea industry met the Finance Minister. I am glad to say that the Finance Minister has been pleased to accept some of the suggestions, and I am happy and congratulate him on the development allowance while he has granted and that will do a great deal of good to the tea industry. But it is not only for the industry alone that I am speaking. I am speaking in the interest of our country's boosting exports also and to earn more foreign exchange. This was recommended by the Tea Finance Committee, that is, to give a refund of 18 paise per pound in respect of all the tea exported. The tea industry is saving the country in varied ways and it is contributing a grant deal towards our earning of foreign exchange. But this industry is dealt with discriminately namely, the excise duty in respect of the tea ex-

port is not refundable. I would implore the Finance Minister to see that the refund of 18 paise per pound on all the tea exported, is made applicable. It will bring in more foreign exchange and more money for our import of raw material, besides he will be able to keep the tea industry at its high position in the world market. I hope he will give thought to this question of refund.

Next, I turn to administrative cost. Many things have been said in support of the Government side and yesterday also the Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance said similar things, but it is not very convincing. We have not done much to reduce the cost of administration. In 1951, for instance, the number of Government employees at the Centre was 5,90,000. But in 1964, the number has risen to 25,27,000. Taking the total number of government employees at the Centre, in the States and in the local authorities, the figure comes to 50 lakhs in 1956 and stands at 86 lakhs at the end of 1964. Why it is? Why the number is so high?

Taking next the cost of administration, as such, let us see the position. In the first year of the first Plan, at the Centre, we spent Rs. 24.09 crores. In the last year of the third Plan, we spent Rs. 92 crores. Together with the cost of administration incurred in the States, the total comes to Rs. 130.79 crores in 1951-52 and Rs. 339 crores in 1965-66. Can it not be reduced? I think it is very necessary that the administrative cost should be reduced.

I would be failing in my duty if I do not say something about the State I come from. My State of Assam is replete with abundant natural resources. It is the highest foreign exchange earner in the country. Yesterday, one of our hon. Members was saying that his area is paying one crore rupees and so it needs more development. But my State which earns the highest foreign exchange surpasses in this respect the States

like Maharashtra, West Bengal, Madras and so on. My State has a record labour population and it enjoys a reputation of cordial labour relations, free from any serious labour troubles. Its people are simple and accommodating so much so that that State has become a rendezvous for people from all other States of the country. I do not mind this, but what is wanted is, the people there are anxious to utilise the new opportunities of economic development that are available to the people of other States. Practically, there is no industry worth the name; industrial policy of balanced development has not yet found its way into that State, so far. Even after 18 years of our Independence there is not a single jute mill, not a single cotton mill, not a single paper mill. A paper-pulp plant is being thought of but I do not know when it will materialise. For the last 10 years a cement factory is in the offing, but it has not yet started production. The same is the case with fertilisers. Although there is a sugar mill in the co-operative sector, its condition is dwindling. 50 million cubic feet of natural gas is burnt out every day without being used. While oil is produced in Assam, the refinery is established outside Assam, of course giving the consolation, to Assam of a baby refinery.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member will conclude now.

Shri P. C. Borooah: The few smaller industries which have cropped up in the meantime, are owned and manned by people from outside the State. The tea industry which was developed by the British 150 years ago, with the help of the Assamese is now going to be divested of the Assamese with the change from the British to Indian.

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

Shri P. C. Borooah: I want some more time, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: I have got to accommodate others also. So, you should conclude in one minute.

Mr. P. C. Borooah: Let me finish my point. All this has caused a widespread discontent among the people. If this discontent is allowed to continue, I am afraid the situation may go beyond control. With the Naga trouble in the east, the Mizos in the south, with the Pakistan infiltrators all over the country, with the hill State troubles at the centre, and with an unfriendly China and uncertain Pakistan on our borders, I shudder to think what will happen to that part of the country in the event of an aggression and I wish the Government read the writing on the wall and take suitable measures before it is too late.

An hon. Member: When will the Finance Minister reply?

Mr. Chairman: At 3.15.

Shri Maniyangadan (Kottayam): Sir, the budget proposals of the Finance Minister have to be considered in the light of the existing circumstances in the country today. In the life of a nation, 15 or 18 years is not too long a period. After independence, we have worked three five Year Plans and we are on the threshold of the fourth. If we look to any country which has achieved independence from colonial rule or to such countries like Russia also, comparably the developments in India during the last 18 years are much more. In these circumstances, we have to look to the developments that have taken place before the present budget.

During the third plan, we had two major crises—attacks by China and Pakistan. That created such a situation that we could not spend all the money we had allotted for our developmental works. Necessarily defence expenditure had to be increased. There is also unprecedented drought last year. It is in this situation that these budget proposals have been presented. According to me, the Finance Minister has realised the situation and I congratulate him that he has not been bound by dogmas, but has

[Shri Manlyangadan]

taken a realistic stand and a realistic budget has been presented before us.

Regarding the criticisms levelled against the budget, according to one party one thing is good, but according to the other, that is the worst thing in the budget. So, the criticisms cancel each other and the budget remains unattacked. For instance, Prof. Ranga presented his party's election manifesto in the House last day. I would have been happy if he had presented before Parliament some programmes which would have brought some happiness to our starving millions. But unfortunately I was not convinced by his arguments. He could say anything because he is sure he is not coming into power. In his so-called election manifesto, he can say anything and go on repeating it.

Some criticisms were made purely from dogmatic points of view. This approach shows only one side of the picture and we cannot completely depend on it. A realistic approach is needed. Attack was made about the help being given to the States. May be certain States are not following proper discipline in financial affairs, but that does not mean that the Centre should not go to the aid of States which are in need. I request the Finance Minister to go into the question of per capita tax burden in every State. Where taxation has reached such a point that it cannot be borne further, help should be rendered to such States by way of grants or loans.

I do not want to go into my State, but I submit that regional imbalances must be abolished. That is the declared policy in all the Five Year Plans, but still it has not been achieved. This question must be considered by the Finance Minister while allocating funds for various developmental activities and preparing the fourth plan.

Shri Sivamurthi Swamy (Koppal): There is no Minister at all.

Mr. Chairman: The Finance Minister has gone to attend to a telephonic call; he is coming in a minute.

Shri Manlyangadan: The price-level is alarming; it has been increasing disproportionately. I submit that we must view it from a national point of view. There has been a criticism that DA has not been increased. According to me, increasing DA is no solution, because it leads to the spiral of prices going up. It is a vicious circle. Some other remedy must be found to bring down the prices. Government must devote its sole attention to this question.

I admit there is social inequality; there are the rich and the poor. It has been said that we are not going towards the goal of socialism. Here again there are some dogmatic approaches. I feel, if socialism is our goal, we have to increase production and the wealth of the country. It does not mean division of poverty. We are a poor country faced with so many difficulties. During the last 18 years, there was no time when we were faced with so many difficulties. At such a critical time, we should see that the wealth of the country and production are increased and the increased wealth should not be allowed to be concentrated in the hands of a few, but it must be equitably distributed to the people. If that is socialism, we are following the socialist path no doubt.

The Finance Minister himself has stated it is a production oriented budget. For agriculture, a large amount has been allowed. I do not want to go into the figures.

Regarding foreign aid, much has been said. I do not find anything wrong with it. It is not a novel feature in India. In international affairs, this has been going on for the last several years. Every developing country depends on foreign aid from other countries.

I am one who will argue for lifting controls wherever possible. Control over cement, for example, has been

lifted and we find sufficient quantity of cement available at reasonable prices. If that is a pointer, control over sugar and such other things should be lifted. There is no meaning in continuing them at the present stage.

Coming to Kerala wherefrom I come, this morning there was a question about electricity cut there. I plead with the Finance Minister to provide sufficient foreign exchange for establishing a thermal plant in Kerala. Otherwise in every field—small industries, heavy industries and agriculture—there will be failure and that will lead to chaos

श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामी : सभापति महोदय, इस बजट को पूरी तरह से देखने के बाद मेरी भावना को धक्का लगता है और मैं सोचता हूँ कि क्या एक वेलफेयर स्टेट की स्थापना करने और फूड डेफिसिट को दूर करने का दावा करने वाली सरकार के द्वारा कभी इस प्रकार का बजट पेश किया जा सकता है। मैं नहीं जानता कि तमाम माननीय सदस्यों ने इस बजट का पूरा एनालिसिस किया है या नहीं। मैं सिर्फ इस के डेवलपमेंट्स एक्सपेंडिचर की तरफ इस सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। इस में सोशल एण्ड डेवलपमेंटल सर्विसिज के जो आंकड़े दिये गये हैं उन में साइंटिफिक डिपार्टमेंट्स, एजुकेशन, मेडिकल, पब्लिक हेल्थ, एग्रीकल्चर, रूरल डेवलपमेंट, एनिमल हस्वेंड्री कोऑपरेशन, इण्डस्ट्रीज, वाइकार्स्टिंग, कम्प्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट प्राजेक्ट्स, नेशनल एक्सटेन्शन सर्विस एण्ड लोकल डेवलपमेंट वर्क्स लेबर एण्ड एम्प्लायमेंट, मिसर्लैनियस सोशल एण्ड डेवलपमेंट गेट फ्राम रेवेन्यू, कैपिटल घाउटले ग्रान वाइकार्स्टिंग विद्दून दी रेवेन्यू एकाउंट, के अलावा, मैं इस में मल्टी परपज स्कीम्स भी मिलाना चाहता हूँ—जिसमें मल्टी परपज रिवर स्कीम्स, इरिगेशन, नेवीगेशन, एम्बेकमेंट तथा ड्रेनेज वर्क्स (नान-कार्मार्शियल), इलेक्ट्रिसिटी स्कीम्स भी शामिल हैं। इन सब को मिलाने के बाद मैंने जब

हिसाब लगाया तो यह 9.6 परसेंट घात है। पूरे देश के उत्पादन में अगर तमाम स्कीमों को लेकर अन्दाजा किया जाय तो इतना खर्च कर के 9.6 प्रतिशत परिणाम निकलता है जबकि इस में अफसरों की तनज्वाह भी घाती है। इस डिपार्टमेंट का तमाम खर्च भी इस में शरीक है। इस बात को किस तरह से आप स्पष्ट करते हैं यह मैं वित्त मंत्री से दरयास्त करना चाहता हूँ। क्या यह हमारे देश को घोषा देना नहीं है।

हमारी नई प्रधान मंत्री जो चुन कर आई हैं वह हमेशा बारबार कहती हैं कि हम को अन्न और शिक्षा में व्यापक दृष्टि से आत्म निर्भर बनना है किस तरह से बनेगी मैं यह समझ नहीं पाता हूँ। मैंने सिर्फ एग्रीकल्चर का अनुमान किया है—एग्रीकल्चर रूरल डेवलपमेंट, एनिमल हस्वेंड्री कोऑपरेशन, कम्प्युनिटी डेवलपमेंटो इरिगेशन—इनका सिर्फ 6 परसेंट है कुल बजट का। जहाँ पर जिस मुल्क में 80 फीसदी लोग किसान रहते हैं उस मुल्क में अगर .6 परसेंट यानी 100 में अगर साढ़े घाट घाने या 60 पसे खर्च करते हैं एग्रीकल्चर पर और अपने इस मसले के हल करने के तरीके पर प्रयत्न करते हैं तो मैं समझता हूँ कि या तो सरकार के दिमाग में रेडिकल चेंज घाना चाहिये या बजट का जो सिस्टम है उस को पूरे तराके से साचना चाहिये। Neither it is a democratic budget nor it is a socialistic budget, a welfare budget अगर आप को अपने यह वेलफेयर स्टेट बनाना है जोकि आप के कॉन्स्टीट्यूशन का डायरेक्टव है अगर इस को पूरा करना है तो कम से कम यह 50 फीसदी से ज्यादा होना चाहिये। एग्रीकल्चर के लिये 50 फीसदा से ज्यादा घाना चाहिये और आप का जो एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव एक्सपेंडिचर है या भी भा दूसरे खर्च हैं वे किसी भी तरह से 49 फीसदा से ज्यादा नहीं होने चाहियें। अब उक्त एसा नहीं होगा अब तक हम स्वाब-

[श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामी]

कम्पनी नहीं बन सकेंगे और यह देश हमेशा गरीब बना रहेगा। यहां नहीं बल्कि the rulers themselves will exploit the country and they will perpetuate hunger throughout the ages. तो इस को वाजिब तरीके से बदलने के लिये बजट में कम से कम 50 फीसदी से ज्यादा खर्च चाहिये तब ही हम सफल हो सकेंगे।

श्री म० प्र० यादव : चेयरमन साहब, घंटों प्रताप्ता के बाद आप ने समय दिया उसके लिये मैं आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

श्रीमन् यह एक निराशाजनक बात है कि तान योजनाओं के पूरा हो जाने के पश्चात् भी हम अपनी आर्थिक कठिनाइयों को दूर नहीं कर सके हैं। किसानों का जो हमारी जनसंख्या के 90 प्रतिशत हैं प्रायः में वास्तव में कोई वृद्धि नहीं हुई है। शीसत प्रायः में जो वृद्धि हुई है वह भ्रामक है क्योंकि इस का हिसाब लगाते समय लगभग एक सौ ऐसे धनी परिवारों का प्रायः को भी शामिल किया जाता है जिनकी बहुत प्रायः है। किसानों को जो हमारे समाज को रीढ़ हैं प्रायः बढ़ाने के लिये कुछ ठोस उपाय होना चाहिये।

जहां तक कृषि का सम्बन्ध है सरकार की ओर से इस को प्राथमिकता दी जानी चाहिये। संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका से जो उर्वरक मंगाया जा रहा है वह तभी उपयोगी साबित हो सकेगा जब पर्याप्त पानी उपलब्ध होगा। श्रीमन् उत्तरी बिहार के सीतामढ़ी सब डिवीजन में जहां से मैं संसद् में प्रतिनिधित्व करता हूँ वहां पर अभी तक किसी तरह से भी सिंचाई की व्यवस्था नहीं की जा सकी है। प्रतिरक्षा की दृष्टि से भी उत्तरी बिहार के उत्तराखण्ड क्षेत्र का विकास होना भी जरूरी है।

श्रीमन् बजट तैयार करते समय इस बात को ध्यान में रखा जाना चाहिये कि

करो में गरीब लोगों को कठिनाई न हो। चीनी पर जो कर लगाया जा रहा है इस का भार गरीब लोगों पर ही पड़ेगा। डीजल पर कर लगाने तथा बिजली की दरों बढ़ाने से कृषि उत्पादन बढ़ाने कठिनाई होगी।

14.58 hrs.

[Mr. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

स्वाधीनता प्राप्त करने के 18 वर्षों के पश्चात् भी उत्तरी बिहार के पिछड़े हुए क्षेत्रों का विकास करने और उन क्षेत्रों में रहने वाले लोगों की प्रायः में वृद्धि करने के लिये कोई ठोस कदम नहीं उठाया गया है। उत्तरी बिहार में बहुत ही गरीबी है। वहां के लोगों की आर्थिक अवस्था बिल्कुल ही शोचनीय है। वहां पर अभी तक न कोई उद्योग लगाये गये हैं और न वहां पर कृषि उत्पादन में वृद्धि करने के लिये ही कुछ किया जा रहा है। बिहार में कुछ केन्द्रीय उपक्रम हैं परन्तु वहां के स्थानीय लोगों को उस में उच्च पदों पर नहीं रखा जाता है। यह बात तो बिल्कुल ही असहनीय है कि बाहर के लोग बिहार में नौकरी पायें और बिहारी को बेकार रहना पड़े। यद्यपि बिहार में खनिज पदार्थों की भरमार है फिर भी वह भारत के निर्धन राज्यों में से एक है। उत्तरी बिहार में बहुत ही गरीबी है। जहां प्रति व्यक्ति प्रायः न्यूनतम है। उत्तरी बिहार के 85 प्रतिशत लोग कृषि पर निर्भर हैं। वहां कुछ चीनी के मिल को छोड़ कर और कोई उद्योग नहीं है। योजना आयोग और वित्त मन्त्रालय का उस क्षेत्र की जो केरल, गुजरात और बनने वाले पंजाबी सूबे से बड़ा है उपेक्षा करना बहुत ही अनुचित है।

उत्तरी बिहार की भूमि बहुत ही उपजाऊ है परन्तु उत्पादन बढ़ाने के साधन, अर्थात् जल, विद्युत् तथा उर्वरक बहुत अधिक मूल्य पर मिलते हैं, जिस के कारण कृषक अपने को निसहाय पाते हैं। डीजल

तेस पर शुल्क बढ़ाने से कृषकों पर अधिक प्रभाव पड़ेगा ।

केन्द्रीय तथा राज्य सरकारों के कर्म-चारियों के वेतन ऋणों और महंगाई भत्तों में संतुलन होना चाहिये । वर्तमान असमानता बहुत ही अधिक है ।

15 hrs.

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अपव्यय के कई उदाहरण दिये जा सकते हैं । जैसे सामुदायिक विकास खंडों में 5.57 करोड़ रुपये की 4,957 जीपे, पिक-अप तथा स्टेसन वैनन हैं जिन को बनाये रखने के लिए प्रतिवर्ष 1.33 करोड़ रुपये खर्च करने पड़ते हैं ।

हमने इतना ऋण ले लिया है कि उस का तथा उस पर ब्याज भुगतान हमारे लिए चिन्ता का विषय बन गया है । इस से हमारी ध्यात्मनिर्भरता नष्ट हो जायेगी । हमें इस ऋण को कम से कम करना चाहिये नहीं तो भाने दाबी पीढ़ी को इस से बड़ी हानि होषी ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, गरीबों के रहन सहन के स्तर को सुधारने के लिए कोई कोश कार्यवाही नहीं की जा रही है । गरीब लोगों को अब भी उतना ही कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड़ रहा है जितना उन्हें स्वाधीनता आन्दोलन के समय करना पड़ता था । एक सुदृढ़ तथा प्रगतिशील समाजवादी बेल का निर्माण करने के लिए प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था को तेजी से काम करना चाहिये ।

सरकार को यह सुनिश्चित करने के लिए कार्यवाही करनी चाहिये कि चौथी योजना के अन्त तक प्रत्येक भारतीय नागरिक को न्यूनतम आय पांच सौ रुपये हो जाए ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बेरोजगारी का प्रश्न अत्यन्त राष्ट्र भो परेशान कर रहा है ।

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हमारे देश के नवयुवकों में हीन भावना छा गई है क्योंकि उनके लिए नौकरी का कोई मार्ग खुला हुआ नहीं है ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाना चाहिये और तस्कर व्यापार को रोकना चाहिये । काल धन को निकालने का प्रयत्न होना चाहिये ।

केन्द्रीय सरकार, राज्य सरकारें और ग्राम सभायें कर लगाती हैं । संतुलित तरीके से कर लगाने के लिए एक ही व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये । ग्रामों की तुलना नगरों के विकास पर अधिक ध्यान दिया गया है । इस भेदभाव को समाप्त करना चाहिये जब तक ऐसा नहीं किया जाता देश प्रगति नहीं कर सकता ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, देश की रक्षा के लिए अणु बम का निर्माण होना चाहिये । चाहे हम पर कितना ही बोझ क्यों न पड़े फिर भी इस के लिए धन की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, पिछड़े वर्गों के कल्याण के लिए 1965-66 में 9.45 करोड़ रुपये नियत किये गये थे । 1966-67 में उक्त राशि को बढ़ा कर 8.60 करोड़ रुपये कर दिया गया । 1965-66 में सुमारों की सहायता के लिए 28 लाख रुपये नियत किये गये थे । परन्तु 1966-67 में उक्त राशि को बढ़ा कर 24 लाख रुपये कर दिया गया । ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये । न सिर्फ जितनी राशि इन पर खर्च करने की व्यवस्था की जाए उस को खर्च किया जाए बल्कि इस में और भी वृद्धि की जानी चाहिये ।

अब मैं उपाध्यक्ष महोदय वित्तमंत्री का ध्यान उत्तरी बिहार की ओर ले जाना चाहता हूँ । पटना से सीतामढ़ी की दूरी करीब एक सौ मील की है । अभी भी रेल गाड़ी से जाने में करीब चौदह घंटे इन दो स्टेशनों के बीच में लगते हैं । 1928 में इस दरिया का सर्वेक्षण कराया गया था

[श्री न० प्र० यादव]

श्री सिफारिश की गई थी कि उत्तरी बिहार में मुजफ्फरपुर से मुनवरसा तक वाया सीतामढ़ी जिस की दूरी करीब 58 मील है, नई रेलवे लाइन की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये। उसके बाद फिर 1948 में इसके लिए सिफारिश की गई लेकिन अभी तक उस इलाके के लिए मुजफ्फरपुर से सोनवसी तक वाया सीतामढ़ी कोई रेल की व्यवस्था नहीं हो सकी है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि माननीय वित्त मंत्री तथा रेल मंत्री का ध्यान इस ओर जाए।

घ्राप के द्वारा वित्त मंत्री का ध्यान मैं उत्तर बिहार की एक और आवश्यकता की ओर ले जाना चाहता हूँ। वहाँ न तो इंडस्ट्री है और न रेल की व्यवस्था है और न ही सड़क परिवहन की अच्छी व्यवस्था है। सीतामढ़ी सब-डिवीजन के जिस क्षेत्र से मैं आता हूँ उस का उत्तरी भाग साठ मील के करीब नेपाल से उस की सीमाएँ मिलती हैं। जनकपुर से मलंगवागोर तक नेपाल की सरकार की ओर से पीच सड़क, पक्की सड़क बनने जा रही है। सीमा की सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से मैं घ्राप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जैसेबेरेगिनिया से मेजरगंज और मेजरगंज से बेला और बेला से सुरसंड और सुरसंड से जद् दूपटीबाजार होते हुए दरभंगा तक पीच सड़क, पक्की सड़क बनाई जानी चाहिये। इस सड़क की भी व्यवस्था चतुर्थ पंचवर्षीय योजना में हो जानी चाहिये।

घ्रापने जो मुझे समय दिया है, उस के लिए आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Maurya wants to come back to the House. Is it the desire of the House that he should be allowed to come back?

Some hon. Members: Yes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right.

Shri Basappa (Tiptur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, since you have been able to give me only a few minutes, I do not want to deal with the complicated problems of finance in the budget. I would like to confine my attention to only a few projects which are of great interest not only to my State but to the whole of India. The project which is upper-most in the mind of Members of Parliament from Mysore and the Government of Mysore is the Upper Krishna Project, which is a very important one from the point of view of Mysore and also from the national point of view. When the project is completed it is going to yield 4 lakhs or 5 lakhs tons of foodgrains, and that too at a time when we need food most. It is going to benefit 7 lakhs acres of the famine-stricken Gulbarga, 2.7 lakhs acres of Bijapur and 3.3 lakhs acres of Raichur. The total cost of the project will be Rs. 120 crores.

Though Mysore has been the fore-runner in building hydro-electric work in the past, we are sorry to say that it has got only 7 to 8 per cent of irrigation. In no other State is the position so bad. In order to overcome the deficit in food and also to help the famine-stricken areas we want this project to be taken up. You all very well appreciate that a small State like Mysore cannot take up a project like this. So, I would request the House and the Government to pay a little more interest to this State and see to it that the necessary amount is provided by the Centre for the execution of this project.

I can quote examples without number of the projects in the States taken up by the Centre when they are national projects. The Rajasthan Canal Project, the Neyveli Lignite Corporation and the Nagarjunasagar are only a few of such instances. Can anybody deny that special grants or aids are given to the State of my hon. friends, Andhra, for the Nagarjunasagar project? Can anybody deny that they have been given Rs. 50 crores

or 60 crores I am not grudging that. I do not say that they should not get it. I am only saying that when others get it, we should also get it. That is all what I say. I do not want to come in the way of the Centre giving aid to the Nagarjunasagar project. I only say that the Upper Krishna Project, which is also of equal national importance, should be taken up by the Centre.

I am told that the Ministry of Irrigation has recommended about 9 projects to be taken up by the Centre. I understand also that Upper Krishna Project is one of them. If that is so, I feel that the Central Government or the Planning Commission must see to it that this project is taken up as a Central project.

If they cannot take up this project as a Central project, let them give financial assistance to the State so that the State can take it up. When Central aid is given to the various States, including the neighbouring States,—I am not grudging it at all—why should it be denied to Mysore? When other States are given 66 per cent Central aid, why should it be less for Mysore? This is the pertinent question which I want the Finance Minister to answer. Only the other day, the Finance Minister of the State stated on the floor of the House that the overdraft with the Reserve Bank is going up. Because of all this, Mysore cannot take up a big project like this without substantial assistance from the Centre. As it is a project of national importance, I am sure the Centre will come to the help of the State Government.

I understand that about 81 minor irrigation schemes have been sent to the Central Government for approval. I hope the Central Government will give approval to those projects very soon.

Mysore is rich in ores and it is a good foreign-exchange earner. We need foreign exchange very badly. Even now we are despatching a lot of ore to foreign countries to earn

foreign exchange. In order to increase the export of ore we have to develop and improve road and rail communication. The railways have to take up the Kottur-Harihar line. The national highways have to be improved for carrying ore to the railheads. I understand that about Rs. 4 crores have been spent on this account. It seems that the Central Government promised to give Rs. 2 crores for this purpose. The previous Finance Minister, for reasons best known to him, has not agreed to this proposal to sanction Rs. 2 crores even though his colleagues, Shri Manubhai Shah and Shri Raj Bahadur have pressed for it. I wish the present Finance Minister at least would do so. Whether it is one Ministry or another Ministry it is after all the responsibility of the Central Government and when an assurance has been given it must be fulfilled. I hope that it would be done.

Mangalore Port has already been sanctioned but very little work is going on. At this rate what time are you going to take to complete this project? Every attention should be paid to see that it is done.

Regarding the fertiliser plant, there are so many who are coming forward to take it up. The latest one—Duggal's project—has to be examined by the Government. I do not know why they take so much time when fertiliser is such an important thing.

To earn foreign exchange tourism is a very important thing. A five-star hotel has to be started in Bangalore and the Government has to sanction funds to the Corporation. I hope, they will soon give the Corporation sufficient funds to take this up.

Cement factories at Gokak, Sedam and Hosdurg have to be taken up. Sugar factories also—I have to go with a telegraphic speed because you have given me so little time. Their location at Hiriyur and M. Hubli are very, very necessary. Letters of intent have to be issued for these things.

[Shri Basappa]

More than all this is the Bellary steel plant. We have raised this question a number of times. There is first-class iron ore in very large quantities and it has been said that Dastur and Company, the Government committee and even the Anglo-American consortium have approved of this. I think, this must be taken up.

I do not want to take more of your time. The whole House is very eager to listen to the Finance Minister.... (Interruption). In this emergency questions like Goa and Belgaum should not be raised. After all, we are passing through very critical times. Justice alone will give peace to this country and to the whole world. Therefore, I hope that this sovereign Parliament will not give any other consideration except on point of justice and it will act boldly to see that these things are done.

श्री रा० स० तिवारी (खजुराहो) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बजट के प्रश्न पर इन थोड़े से मिनटों में बोलना सहल नहीं है, लेकिन चूंकि आप को मेरे ऊपर दया आ गई इसलिये मैं आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ इस के लिये ।

मैं बराबर कई दिनों से बजट पर भाषणों का सुन रहा हूँ । मुझे ताज्जुब यह हुआ कि आज जो हमारे बहुत से ऊंचे नेता हैं, जैसे आचार्य कृपालानी, प्रोफेसर रंगा, जो कि हमारे साथ हैं, हमारे साथ जब पार्लियामेंट शुरू हुई तब से और जब कांस्टिट्यूशन असेम्बली शुरू हुई तब के साथी हैं, कृपालानी जी हमारे पथ प्रदर्शक थे और कांग्रेस के बड़े भारी उच्च नेता थे, उन्होंने अपनी स्पीच में यह कहा कि जो गवर्नर्स की पोस्ट्स हैं वह बड़ी खराब पोस्ट्स हैं, फजूल हैं और उन को जल्द खत्म हो जाना चाहिये । मैं विवेक करना चाहता हूँ कि जिस समय वह कांग्रेस में थे उस समय हमारा कांस्टिट्यूशन बन रहा था, तब यह सर्वसम्मति से, एक राय से

बना था । उस समय उन को यह कह देना चाहिये था कि यह गवर्नर्स की पोस्ट आगे सफेद हाथी का रूप ले लेगी । उस समय उन्होंने नहीं कहा लेकिन अब चूंकि वह विरोध में चले गये हैं इसलिये उन्हें ऐसा कहने का मौका मिल गया ।

दूसरे हमारे प्रोफेसर रंगा साहब हैं जो कि बहुत विद्वान और योग्य व्यक्ति हैं और हमारे साथ कांग्रेस में रहे, फिर कांग्रेस से किसान परिषद् में चले गये । उस के बाद किसान परिषद् से उन्होंने राजा जी की पार्टी ज्वाइन कर ली है । उस पार्टी में पहुँचने के बाद जरूर अब उन के विचार भिन्न हो गये हैं । जिस समय कांस्टिट्यूशन बनाने की कार्रवाइयाँ चल रही थीं, शिक्षा व्यवस्था को कायम किया जा रहा था तब वह शिक्षा कमेटी के मेम्बर थे, उस समय उन्होंने उसे ठीक माना लेकिन आज वह शिक्षा के बारे में कहते हैं कि गवर्नमेंट ने कुछ नहीं किया, शायद इसलिये कि वह विरोध में चले गये हैं । श्री रंगा ने इतना जरूर किया कि जहाँ फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर ने बजट को पढ़ने में सवा या डेढ़ घंटा लिया वहाँ उन्होंने केवल 35 मिनट में सारे के सारे वित्त मंत्रालय के बजट को पढ़ दिया और उसके विपरीत जवाब भी दे दिया । यह जरूर उन्होंने बहुत जल्दी का काम किया ।

जो हमारे जन संघ के विरोधी सदस्य हैं उन्होंने यह कहा कि यह टैक्स क्यों लगाये गये । उन्होंने कुछ बड़ी बड़ी बातें कह कर फिर कहा कि केन्द्रीय सरकार के कर्मचारियों का महंगाई भत्ता बढ़ाया गया लेकिन प्राविशल गवर्नमेंट के कर्मचारियों की, जो कि करीब 80 लाख लोग हैं उनकी तन्खाह वगैरह नहीं बढ़ाई गई । अगर सरकार उस को 10 रु० के हिसाब से भी बढ़ानी तो करीब 5 अरब रु० सरकार को और देना होता । लेकिन टैक्स के लिये वह लड़ाई करते हैं कि उसे नहीं

बढ़ना चाहिये । अब ध्राप ही बतलाइये कि यह दोनों बातें कैसे चल सकती हैं कि टैक्स का तो विरोध किया जाये और बेतनों में बराबर बढ़ती-रती होती चली जाये । मैं समझता हूँ कि इस प्रकार के भाषण पार्लियामेंट में देना केवल विरोध के लिये विरोध करना है, इस से ज्यादा कुछ नहीं ।

गोकि यहां बहुत सी बातें सही भी बतलाई गई हैं जो कि मानने योग्य हैं लेकिन बहुत सी चीजें ऐसी हैं जिन के बारे में इतने थोड़े से समय में हम कुछ नहीं कर सकते । लेकिन मैं यह निवेदन जरूर करना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले दो तीन महीने में संसार के अन्दर आठ राष्ट्रों में परिवर्तन हुआ । आठ राष्ट्र इधर से उधर तितर बितर कर दिये गये । क्यों तितर बितर कर दिये गये । राष्ट्रों के तितर बितर होने के दो ही कारण हुआ करते हैं । एक तो बाहरी कारण और दूसरे भीतरी कारण । भीतरी कारण हैं : भुखमरी, कानून की कड़ाई और आपस के झगड़े फसाद आदि । भीतरी झगड़ों के अलावा हमें बाहरी झगड़ों के ऊपर भी ध्यान देना चाहिये, लेकिन हम उन पर ध्यान नहीं दे रहे हैं । क्यों नहीं दे रहे हैं । इसलिये कि हमारे यहां के राजदूत अक्सर दिल्ली में मौजूद रहते हैं । जिस समय मिस्र में राज्य परिवर्तन हो रहा था, क्रान्ति हो रही थी, हमारे राजदूत उस समय दिल्ली में थे । उस स्थान की ओर उन का ध्यान नहीं था । घाना में जब अभी क्रान्ति हुई तो हमारे राजदूत यहां मौजूद थे । घाना की क्रान्ति की बात उन्होंने यहां रेडियो पर सुनी । जो हमारे राजदूत मुस्तैदी के लिये बाहर रक्खे जाते हैं उन को वहां पर इन बातों का पता नहीं चलता । रेडियो से सारी बात का पता चसता है । इसलिये धार्थिक स्थिति पर ध्यान देते हुए हम को इन बातों पर भी ध्यान देना है । भविष्य में कोई ऐसी बात नहीं मान्य होती कि यहां पर मिलिटरी की बगावत होगी क्योंकि उस का मार्ग अलाहदा होता है, मगर अगर इस की ओर सतर्कता

न बरती जाये तो इस प्रकार का अन्देश हो सकता है और उस से नुकसान हो सकता है ।

मैं केवल एग्रिकल्चर के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ मोटे तौर पर कि जब भी एग्रिकल्चर मिनिस्टर से एग्रिकल्चर की बात की जाती है तब वह कहते हैं कि खाद की कमी है, खाद का उत्पादन होना चाहिये । जब खाद का उत्पादन होगा तभी खाद्य बढ़ेगा । मैं इसे बिल्कुल गलत मानता हूँ । मेरा कहना यह है कि इस देश के अन्दर जो 80 प्रतिशत किसान हैं ध्राप उन के काम की क्षमता को देखिये । ध्राप अमरीका और इंग्लैंड की उपज की बात कहते हैं । मैं अपने यहां की बात बतलाता हूँ । एक एकड़ में किसान पचास और साठ मन पैदा करते हैं यहां पर बशर्त कि उन को पानी मिले । हमारे यहां गांव में असाढ़ में फसल बो देते हैं और बवार की फसल काटते हैं तो दस बारह मन प्रति एकड़ हो जाता है । दूसरी फसल में भी बीस पच्चीस मन हो जाता है, तीसरी फसल में भी इसी तरह से होता है । बशर्त कि गवर्नमेंट इस ओर ध्यान दे । ध्राप कहते हैं कि ध्राप बहुत सी बातें कर रहे हैं । मैं कहता हूँ कि हमारे पुराने तरह की खेती के बारे में कोई ऐसी चीज नहीं है जिस के बारे में ध्राप को सोचने की जरूरत हो या जिस के लिये ध्राई० सी० एस० अफसरों की जरूरत हो या अमरीका और इंग्लैंड की बात सोचने की जरूरत हो । ध्राप तो सामान इकट्टा कीजिये और किसानों को सहयोग दीजिये । यही सब से बड़ी चीज है । इस तरह से किसान बिल्कुल ठीक काम कर सकते हैं । मैं कहता हूँ :

“खेती पाती वीनती उर घोड़े को तंग,
ध्रापन हाथ सम्हारिये, जो प्रिय चाहो रंग ।”

मैं तो यहां तक कहता हूँ कि :

“हस्तन अरसी, चीतन बना,
स्वाती गोहूँ, बिसातन बना,
करत बने तो कर सेना,
नातर पीछे दुःख सहना ।

[श्री रा० म० निवारी]

नखतन खेती, बखतन राज,
स्यानी बेंटी करिये काज।"

यह मैं अपने कार्य क्षेत्र अथवा निर्वाचन क्षेत्र की बात कहता हूँ। लेकिन जब हम सदन में बैठते हैं तो सरकार कहती है कि फटिलाज़र देंगे लेकिन असाढ़ में देंगे। हमें चाहिये जब वर्षा हो तब। तब होता क्या है कि आप के सरकारी कर्मचारी अनापचारिक रूप से खाद देते हैं यहाँ की और उस से खेती की पैदावार होती है। इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप खाद के ऊपर अपना रुपया खर्च न करें। आप तो खेती के लिये ट्रैक्टर दें, पानी दें। गाँवों तक पानी ला कर खेती को बढ़ाइये। अगर आप इस तरह से करें तो आप अगले साल ही आत्म निर्भर हो जायेंगे। लेकिन आप किसानों को सहयोग दीजिये। आप उन से पूछिये, उन की आवश्यकताओं को समझिये। अगर आप एक साल में आत्म निर्भर नहीं होते तो दो साल में हो जायेंगे। हम ने अभी तक अपनी खेती के बारे में कभी विचार नहीं किया और न अब करना चाहते हैं। दुनिया भर की प्लान बनाते हैं लेकिन जब तक आप खेती की ओर ध्यान नहीं देते हैं तब तक आप उस में सफल नहीं हो सकते हैं। इस समय हमारे यहाँ 6,000 ट्रैक्टर तैयार हो रहे हैं जब कि आप को 50,000 ट्रैक्टरों की हर साल जरूरत है। आप ने रूस के ट्रैक्टरों को रोक दिया है जो सस्ते हैं। अगर यह सारे ट्रैक्टर हमें एक साथ दे दिये जायें तो खाद्य का उत्पादन काफी बढ़ जायेगा। रूस के ट्रैक्टरों की कीमत भारतीय ट्रैक्टरों से आधी है, क्यों नहीं मंगाये जाते हैं।

आप ने डीजल पर टैक्स बढ़ा दिया है, डीजल किसान के काम में आता है। खंडसारी पर टैक्स बढ़ा दिया है। आप शहर पर भले ही बढ़ा लेते लेकिन खंडसारी को इस से अलग रखना चाहिये। यह जो टैक्स आप लगा रहे हैं यह गरीबों पर पड़ता है, बड़े आदमियों पर नहीं पड़ता।

The Minister of Finance (Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, in rising to reply to the Budget debate, I wish first to express my gratitude to this House and specially to those Members who took part in it. Criticism there has been and I am grateful for that criticism. But I have felt, all through, from all sections of the House, a personal warmth towards me for which I am deeply grateful to the House.

I come from a place where the people say: *Tarkeshu Karkashadhiyo Varyatneva Nanye*. We are people who are harsh in our arguments but nothing else. An illustration of that is my good friend opposite, Mr. Mukerjee. I wish it to be understood that I have got no personal feelings against any hon. Member. I have got the greatest regard for all those who spoke on the Budget. In fact, I will try to avoid any reference to any particular Member of this House.

One of the things said is that my Budget is disappointing. Disappointment, logically, means that somebody at sometime raised a hope in some one that something will happen. What is the hope with which this particular Budget was to be framed? Who raised that hope. Certainly, I did not raise that hope. I spoke in public only for a few minutes when pressed by pressmen. I made it quite clear that, as far as I can see, in the present-day conditions of this country, the only one thing I can offer is, blood, sweat and tears. Have I disappointed anybody in that? I was also asked as to how I will be able to make the present-day Budget, and I said, "I can see the conditions of the country and seeing the conditions of the country, I know that I have to put harshness on everyone concerned and that my Budget, I am afraid, will be a harsh one." Have I disappointed the House in that? The other thing I was asked was. "In making the Budget, what will be your objective? Will it be distribution of affluence?" I said, "No, Sir. The utmost I can redistri-

bute is what I have got, namely, the poverty with which I have been left in this country. More than that I cannot do." Have I disappointed my friends in that? But I would certainly see that equitable distribution is done. I would put the burdens where the burdens could be borne to the best and I could even with a little bias relieve the burdens where the burdens have to be relieved. I am trying to justify myself on the last ground. It is in this atmosphere that I would like the House to approach my Budget. I do not apologise for what I have done because I have done it in the best of my conscience. If I have made mistakes, I am prepared to be corrected. If I have done something good, I do not want to be applauded. But at the same time I do want a certain amount of appreciation. As I said, I have felt a personal warmth towards me and I would ask for the same warmth, the same sympathy, to what I have got to say to day.

Sir, there has been a certain play of words on pragmatism, ideology and so on. 'Pragmatism' is a word which has come to me after I came here and not before. I have heard of realism, realistic approach, practical approach. 'Pragmatism' is a nice Latinised word and it, of course, is well to use it sometimes. I have not got the gift of the language as some of my friends opposite have and, therefore, I listened to the common, or ordinary, plain English through which I have been trained and which I use. I have tried to take a realistic approach and to see what is real, that is to consider the conditions in the country and then from that to go on to theories of economics and ideology and so on. In saying that, I do not say for one single moment that I have not considered that socialism, as I understand it and as is generally understood, has to be practised in this country. In other words, there should be more for sharing on an equitable basis. But before there can be a sharing, there has got to be something to share. To that end, I have got to have a Budget which is production-oriented.

Apart from that, I have got no theories, no fads, in so far as economic theories are concerned. The one economic theory that I know is that what gives the most relief and the most encouragement to the people of the country is good. That is the theory and that is the ideology:

“यदेव आराम्याय कल्पते स एव भेषजं”

That which cures is the medicine. I say, I have not been able to cure. But have I not been able to give a few palliatives here and there? My friends say, "You have given a little here and not more than that. "In trying to see what has been happening, I have tried to distribute the burden on the people. It has been said that relief is unequal, that we have made the rich richer and the poor poorer. I do not think anybody would blame me if I make the rich richer and in the process also make the poor less poor, if not rich.

I have heard the comments about the corporate sector and a little relief that I have given there. Yes, I have given a little relief in the sense of, say, the bonus tax. But at the same time I have given relief to the men, for whom so many have wept, who have got a few shares in the various companies and who, when they get the bonus, had to pay some tax. They have been given some relief.

Then, on the question of dividend tax, it has been said, "Why don't you free the entire dividend?" If I could follow a principle whereby I take no taxes for the next year, so long as I am here, I would be happy to do that. But could I do it? Taxes have got to come in order that we might have the wheels of Government, the wheels of economy of this country, going on. At the same time, I have to think in terms of increasing productivity. Could we increase productivity by putting money into their own hands? What I have taken by way of taxes is only Rs. 100 crores. Out of Rs. 100 crores, on different calculations, it is said that I have put taxes to the tune of about Rs. 42 crores more on the industries. I do not take the dim and poor view of things as my friends

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opposite do. I do not feel that the burden is such that this vast complex of industries that has grown up in the last 18 years, since Independence, cannot bear it. I have lived in the world; I have not come here from a cloister. Have the persons who manage the businesses reduced their way of life? I ask that question. Have they got the money to invest or have they not got the money to invest?

I have had the calculations made. Last year, even when import restrictions were there, the imports had gone up. I have got the figures from the Reserve Bank and if my friends want, I can quote them. I may tell you that in the calendar year of 1965, imports have gone up by Rs. 100 crores over what it was in the calendar year 1964. Even with import restrictions, the imports have gone up. That means the money is there and the capital formation is there. Or, it may be that revenue is there and it has been spent for the purpose of getting imports. Anyhow, whether it is the revenue or the capital, it is there.

Then, I find there is an account which is described as the household account in the banks, that is accounts above Rs. 1500 upto a certain limit. There are people, comparatively small people, who are considered to have the household accounts. The household accounts have increased year after year. In the present year which we are considering, they have increased to the tune of Rs. 325 crores as against Rs. 245 crores in the year before. If there had not been any capital, if there had not been any money, where would have that come from? I ask myself that question.

Shri J. B. Kripalani (Amroha): Black market.

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: Black market might be in big hands. But as I pointed out, this much money is saved by small people in the household accounts of Rs. 1500 upto a certain limit. So far as blackmarketing

is concerned, let us get down to blackmarketing if my hon. friend will have it. It is the utmost desire of this Government to try and control black-market to the uttermost we can. Whether it succeeds or not is a matter which has always got to be seen. The forces of God and the forces of the Devil have always fought in this land. God has always been troubled by the Devil and even when He has confined himself to His heaven and shot down the Devil to the other place, the Devil has risen from time to time to walk the face of the earth, and it has been the endeavour of good men, men of honesty, to try and see that that devil is contained. I am perfectly certain that my revered professor Acharya Kripalani will agree with me that he and I have got to join together for the purpose of trying to lay this devil of blackmarketing. And if he will join me in that and he will suggest any means, if any one of my friends opposite or on this side will tell me how I am going to contain that devil, I shall certainly take those steps. But what I was going to tell you and the House through you is this that not one single jot has been taken away from the provisions of law as they were; and heaven alone knows whether those laws, if properly applied, if they could be properly applied, could be called harsh laws. But we have been taking all steps to condemn, convict and punish black-marketing or tax evasion.

I am not saying that blackmarket should be encouraged. If there has been failure in that, that failure has got to be judged by this, namely that just as we are trying our best with the resources at our command to put this down, so are the other people who are the blackmarketeers who are trying to convert other people to their way of life.

There is one suggestion which has been made, and I shall not mention the gentleman who has made this suggestion by name. The suggestion that has been made is that the reason

for blackmarketing, the reason for tax evasion is that the taxes are too high, and that if the taxation is reduced, blackmarketing would go. I have got two answers to that. One answer is that I have worked in the field of taxation in my personal capacity and in my private life for nearly forty years. And when taxation was as low as two annas in the rupee in the old days, there was still tax evasion. I know people who made Rs. 1.50 lakhs and Rs. 2 lakhs, and they prided themselves on the fact that they paid only Rs. 6000 and no more. And during the war, I found this; when I asked the people—and by that time I got to know them a little better—‘Why do you do this?’, they said ‘We must not pay anything to the coffers of the alien government which rules us’. Now, I ask them ‘Why do you do it? Why do you not, now that there is no alien government, pay up your taxes?’. They say ‘Sir, we have got to live also; and we have a principle too, namely the fight of private enterprise against public enterprise’. I do not recognise that there is any fight between these two.

I said that I would give two answers. The other answer is this. However unpalatable it might be, it is said that I should go out with folded hands and on bended knees and say ‘You blackmarketeers, come here, I am going to give you tax relief; be kind of heart and pay up whatever is evaded’; if I feel that that would have produced the money, I would have done so. But it is a strange thing; it may not appeal to some of my friends, but it is a true thing that that would be giving an incentive to blackmarketing. I have heard of many things but I have never heard of giving incentive to dishonesty. The word ‘incentive’ has been used over and over again and as I say if this suggestion is shorn of its furnishings and fabrics, then it is nothing more than a bare rude nude suggestion that I should give an incentive to blackmarket by reducing taxes. Even if now they had come forward with the money and said ‘This is the money for you; you take

it, but do not punish us and others’, I might consider that. But I may tell you that I had better ask this Government of which I am a member to resign and go away than yield to such pressure. If it has got to come to that kind of compromise with the blackmarketeers; I am not going to have it.

Shri Madhu Limaye (Monghyr): Publish their names.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: Government are having it in very many other ways.

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: So far as I am concerned, I have said that I shall not give out the name of any Member of this House or of anybody else. The thing is this that there are countries where there is blackmarket; it is there in other countries as well. But there are people of honesty, decency and good conscience who get together to put that down. Although I dislike these ideas of travelling across the seas for merely the purpose of studying what their fiscal policy or any other policy is. I must say this that in the U.S. with which some of my hon. friends opposite are more familiar than I am, there is a body which has been set up by business people themselves; they have themselves set up a club with a small committee. Every man who belongs to that club—and it is a matter of prestige to belong to that group—sends his tax returns for himself and his corporations and companies to that body. They have a shrewd assessment as to what is happening in the world of business, and who makes how much money. There, what happens is this that the names are seen, the incomes are seen, and if in the judgment of those five or six people, the income which has been returned is something which is lower than what is expected, beyond 10 or 15 per cent, then that person is asked to explain that. If he cannot give a satisfactory explanation, then in that case, he is blacklisted, in other words, excommunicated. And after that, none of these decent people would associate with him and Government keeps an eye on him.

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Would my hon. friends opposite who have been so very staunch in the defence of the private sector be good enough and kind enough to organise some body like this and help me to find out who the blackmarketeers are, and help themselves also to get rid of this onerous burden which according to them is put on them year after year in the form of taxation? I would give this suggestion to them. I am throwing out the suggestion; I am not inviting any suggestion from them. Let them do it.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: You are in as much contact with that world as the people on this side.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): More.

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: I have avoided personalities and I have avoided all personal references. But since the professor says I am, I ask: Who is not? Who is not? If I am, I have never denied it. But having done that, I have been like a duck which tries to swim in the water without having much water on its back. Neither in the sense of capital nor in the sense of, shall I say, degradation have I shared it with any of these gentlemen. I am not talking of the business world generally...

Shri M. R. Masani (Rajkot): If my hon. friend would yield for a minute, I would say this. I think he has made an excellent suggestion. We would like to know more about it. Would he be good enough, later on, to send us some material about this club which he mentioned. Some of us would like very much that something like this should be done in this country, and we would like to go into the matter.

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: I am grateful to my hon. friend opposite; I am grateful to him.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: I had myself suggested it in one of the financial magazines of this country that the merchants or the businessmen should have a club not only for their rights but for their duties also.

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: I am deeply obliged to the venerable professor, and I am so glad to find that ignorant as I am, unread as I am, associating as he says with the other side, I have to confess that I did not read that article of his in the journal, but I am glad to find that I share my small idea with such a great man as he.

Now, I shall go back to what I was saying. What I was saying was this. We have been talking about the distribution of the burden. So far as the distribution of the burden is concerned, as I have said, on the bonus issue and dividend tax a certain relief has been given, and a little relief in surtax also has already been given. I am not thinking in terms of the other marginal reliefs that have been given, nor am I saying that there is no possibility of considering questions such as tax credit certificates and so on to make the situation easier. But where I do disagree with my hon. friends from the other side is on this particular issue that I have done something so vitally wrong by adding on five per cent more to tax by putting up the tax by 10 per cent so that the 50 per cent has generally been put up to 55 per cent. I shall not now go into the question of the smaller companies which have got a little less tax and so on. Let us take this point that we have put up the tax by another five per cent, that is to say, from 50 per cent we have made the burden 55 per cent. With the other burdens of surtax and one thing or another, if my hon. friends would be good enough to calculate it, they will find that the tax burden does not go beyond 58 or 59 per cent. Therefore, if you are thinking in terms of percentages, 41 per cent of the income is left in their hands, and when I say 41 per cent of the income or profit, it is not related to the equity capital. It is related to the size of the business and the capacity to make profits, and that profit might well be very much more than the equity-profit relation. Out of that, the usual, normal practice here is—I think all my friends on the other side will agree with me—to distribute any-

where between a quarter and a third, no more than that. The other two-thirds is ploughed back into the company's business. That is prudent business management. If that is done, taking the totality of profits made by business in this country, the position is this that we would have two-thirds of 42 per cent which according to me—I may be wrong in my arithmetic; I have often been—would be about 28 per cent which can be put back into the business. I may be out by one or $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent—I would not quarrel about that. But that is more or less the quantum which can be ploughed back.

Of course, there is no capital formation. There cannot be any capital formation. Unfortunately, because of that association that Prof. Kripalani was good enough to point out . . .

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri A. M. Thomas): Acharya Kripalani.

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: Acharya Kripalani. But as I am speaking in English, 'Professor' and 'Acharya' do not make any difference to me. If I were speaking in Sanskrit, I would always have referred to him as 'Acharya' Kripalani. But as I am speaking in English, I would refer to him as Professor Kripalani.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: 'Professor' is good enough for me.

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: I am glad. May I also refer to him as 'my Professor'?

He had been kind enough to refer to that association I have had with people, people with whom I have sat, not blackmarketeers—I do not say I have anything to do with them—but honest business people. I know a little about these things.

Supposing we get more money in the hands of these business people, in the shape of these business companies, how would the capital be formed? If the capital is there, that capital would be used for the purpose of expanding that. Would that be done? Would it be used for the purpose of creating

new business and so on? These are questions which we have to think of. After the capital has been obtained, they have to go in for licence etc. But I have not known so far, within the brief two months I have been here, that there is any dearth of capital for the purpose of starting new business. The difficulty comes in so far as the machinery etc. are concerned for starting a new industry. When I say 'business', I mean industry, not trading business with which I am not concerned.

There have been many applications saying that 'we have got money, we have got the collaboration; you kindly release to us the licence'. Of course, if the trouble comes, it is not due to dearth of capital. Capital becomes available, but where the trouble really comes in is that we have not got the foreign exchange to buy capital goods. We do not manufacture capital goods enough in this country; when I say 'this country', I mean that sector of the community which call themselves private enterprise. As I said, I do not see any difference between private and public enterprise; for me they are all machinery for production. But if you must give yourself a label, let that be 'private enterprise'.

As I said, the hunger is for the foreign exchange to buy the capital goods. They have got the rupee equivalent but they have not got the foreign exchange. If they cannot get the business going, it is not because they have not got the capital or money; it is just because the country has not got the foreign exchange to spare for the purpose of importing either raw materials or intermediates or components or bits and pieces of heavy machinery or capital machinery. That is the ill we are suffering from. I am quite conscious of that.

So far as the sharing of the burden is concerned, as I said, the total burden on the community of private enterprise that I have put is, on one calculation, Rs. 42 crores, and on another, Rs. 37 crores. I myself have

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greater faith in private enterprise than those who plead for them here. I believe that this burden they can bear, and bear happily, if they make up their mind. I have asked them in my budget speech, and I ask them now, to be good enough, to be kind enough not to be led or misled into thoughts of doldrums, thousands of unhappiness, thoughts that they are all overborne with taxation, but join in our common endeavour and think ways and means, of seeing that production goes on and using the money and resources they have with them for that purpose, and putting the machinery they have to the best use. If they did that, they would be helping the country and also helping themselves. I have always maintained that they are an essential and useful element in the sense that they cannot be ignored and they have the means of production which the country needs. If I know that they use those means of production well and put them to the best possible use, I will also endeavour to give them help to the extent possible for us to give. But if they do not do that, what is the alternative? I will not give the answer myself. My friends opposite can find the answer themselves, if and when they require it.

Now, so far as the burden in the field of private individual taxation is concerned, I must say that there is a class of people in this country for whom I have got the greatest sympathy, the people who are in the low income bracket, the small income groups, people who live in the country side, people who have got little in the shape of money. For them, I have always felt sad. They are people who are either self-employed or are working in offices, mercantile or government, for a little salary of Rs. 250, Rs. 300. They have got large families to maintain; they have got social obligations to discharge. For them, I am sorry I could not do any more than I have done. I have given them even in this stringent situation, a certain amount of relief, relief in the

sense that I have raised the exemption limit for tax by Rs. 500 and an additional allowance of Rs. 500. If we look at it very carefully, we see that the relief works up to about Rs. 7,400, which, judging the conditions of this country, is, I hope, not a bad relief. Beyond that, for the purpose of enabling those people to try and put a little money aside so that it may be used for the purpose of encouraging development and growth, particularly in the private sector, I have tried to relieve the burden on those having an income upto Rs. 25,000 by taking off what has been complained of as an onerous, cumbersome and clumsy thing, namely, the annuity deposit. I say this even though I know that they have been burdened by me with a further 10 per cent surcharge.

I well remember that certain very learned gentlemen, learned in income tax law, have said, here and outside, that we are the highest taxed people in the world. Sir, I do not subscribe to that view. When you talk of the highest taxed people in the world, you think in terms of what we take from the average person, having regard to the average needs of the country. Now, if you take taxation—fortunately I have had a list made out of how it works out in various countries—I find that so far as the incomes which industrialists dream of are concerned, that is, beyond Rs. 3—5 lakhs, we do not tax them more than in countries like the UK. We tax them more than what they do in the USA.

Taking the income group Rs. 25,000—30,000, I think many countries tax more than we do. But what I did say earlier, I am saying now. I do not wish to compare this taxation taking into account what they do in other countries, what their rate of tax is—may be a good rate, may be a bad rate. Conditions are different, society is different. If I could with the resources that Government has now ensure to everyone in this country

social security, security in old age, provision for taking care of him when he is sick, provision for education of his children, unemployment benefit, if I could do all that with what I have, I would not have the slightest hesitation in cutting down the exemption limit to the scale of Rs. 2,000. If I have not done that, it is because Government is not in a position now to provide these benefits. If these benefits are to be provided, we have got to be a little gentle to those that have little and a little stern with those who have more. Those people who get Rs. 25,000 a year in this country are not to be considered to be people in the poor category. They are people who are comparatively well off. How many persons get Rs. 25,000 a year? Leaving alone any private means I might have, I am not paid Rs. 25,000. Can it be said that the person who is getting less than Rs. 25,000 is a poor man? And if there has been a burden of 10 per cent put on him, can I accuse myself and those who are my colleagues in Government that they have done something which is outrageous. I do not find it in my heart to do that. As you go on in the scale, certainly taxes will rise. Having regard to the income in this country, what do we take? If we take the total national income of the country and the amount which we take as total taxes for the Centre and the States, it comes to about 14 per cent of it.

Again, I have taken figures, my calculations may be wrong, but the figures are that the total national income is somewhere about Rs. 21,000—may be 21 point something. And the total amount of taxation in this country is not more than Rs. 3,000 crores or so. And simple mathematics is that we have got one-seventh. There are many learned men on the other side, learned in Kautilya's *Artha Shastra* and so on, and even in those days it used to be the King's share or portion that he took one-sixth of the product. And if I take one-sixth, I would be able to put up the tax a little higher than Rs. 3,000 crores.

श्री बघु लिये : पर कैपिटा इनकम में कितना फर्क है, यह भी तो जरा बतलाइये । इंग्लैंड में कितनी है और अमरीका में कितनी है ।

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: The per capita income is about Rs. 300 to Rs. 400, and if you take the per capita tax, on an average it will not be more than one-seventh of that.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: And the prices?

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: I am talking of taxes, I am not talking of prices, but so far as prices are concerned, again, they are the same for everyone. By removing the taxation if I can bring down the prices, I would certainly do it. That is where I do not agree with them. That is the fundamental difference between myself and friends opposite, namely reduction of taxes is going to effect a reduction in the prices. On the contrary, what will happen is that those who have money will have more money in their hands, those who do not pay any taxes will not have their condition improved at all. The result will be that in a country, in a market where there is scarcity, those who have money will be able to buy, and those who have not will not be able to buy. Therefore, from that point of view, prices can be controlled not by easing of taxation, but by putting taxation on those who can bear it, and by increasing production, if we can.

Shri Ranga: Those who are poor will continue to be poor, those who are rich will continue to be rich. Everything is all right. We are safe.

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: I do not know on what logic Prof. Ranga comes to this conclusion. If I take away from the rich, I am not making him richer, I am making him poorer. If I leave the poor without taxing him, he does not get poorer, he must be just as poor but not poorer. Should we merely follow these

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shibboleths and phrases? I know that Prof. Ranga has got far greater intelligence than I have, and he can interrupt me every time, but there should be some logic. In that case, my friend will do me to justice of considering what I am saying. That much I can expect from a gentleman like him.

An hon. Member: What are the figures in other countries?

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: Figures in other countries I have worked out. If it will please the House to have them read out, I will read out. So far as I am concerned, I tell you I do not believe in taking a journey across the seas, the oceans or deserts for the purpose of finding out what other people do. I have had enough of that experience, and I have come to the conclusion that have got to live, to die, to work for my own country and no other. Otherwise, I can go to the other countries where conditions are better.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: May I suggest to the Finance Minister that he talks so much of the Opposition, but the criticism that the Opposition has levelled against his budget has also been voiced by many people in the Congress itself?

An hon. Member: That why he is replying now.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: And it will be more profitable if he addresses himself to his fellow members in the Congress.

An hon. Member: He is doing it.

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: What I am doing, with all due respect to Acharya Kripalani, is addressing all my fellow members. I have sometimes referred to the Opposition, because certain statements have come from them.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: The same criticism has come from the Congress Party.

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: If they have, in answer to that criticism, I have said I welcome the criticism from every one, however harsh they may be, and I beg of this House to let me be harsh because, as I said, I come from a part of the country where we believe in harshness in one thing only, in debate, and that is what I am indulging in. Once the debate is finished, I shall make myself a door-mat for Acharya Kripalani or anybody else who wants to walk on me, I would not mind it, but at least for these few minutes you will have to tolerate me.

So far as the burden of taxation by way of personal taxation is concerned, I do not deny the fact that it is a burden, but a burden has been put on which can be borne.

Then we come to the question of indirect taxation. So far as indirect taxes are concerned, again those have been on certain considerations. There had been taxes, heavy taxes, I believe, till last year. I have not touched those commodities which are generally used by the very poor, the very much have-not. They are the people whom I have not touched. I have not touched gur, I may have touched khandsari, I have not touched kerosene, I have not put anything on it, I have not touched matches, I have not put anything on it.

Shri Bade: Sales tax.

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: So far as sales tax is concerned, I will come to that.

So far as the commodities are concerned, I have touched them for excise, three commodities have really been touched, apart from artificial silk and so on, which I understand, the poor in the country wear these days. I do not, I wear cotton when

I get it; if poorer people wear it, I do not know, but I have certainly taxed artificial silk and fine and superfine cloth. What I am told is that fine cloth today is worn by the ordinary man. If I have been able to achieve this, if my party which has been in power for some time has been able to achieve this, that the ordinary common man in this country wear fine cloth, and any imposition on that fine cloth is an imposition on him, I am very glad to hear that; it does not hurt me in that event to put a little tax also on fine cloth.

श्री किशन पटनायक (सम्बलपुर) :

उसका प्रसर क्या हुआ है ?

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: The next thing I shall say is this, so far as sugar is concerned. I have already said that we have got to get foreign exchange, and sugar is one of the commodities which we subsidise, heavily subsidise. Whether we ought to do it or not is another matter, but if we do heavily subsidise it, it has got to come from somewhere, and the excise duty that is levied goes partly to that.

Whether there should be decontrol of sugar or not is a matter about which I and my good colleague Shri Subramaniam are having talks; if we can do it, we shall certainly try and decontrol part of it, not the whole of it perhaps, but certainly part of it. Our endeavour will be to see that there is proper distribution of that.

We have taxed khandsari, but if you take the consumption units of a particular man or family who is buying it, the price will go up, but it will only be a little more. I have been reminded, and I bear that in mind, that there is no use my saying that sugar will cost only 8 paise more per kilo, or it will be only one paisa more on cigarettes, that so far as the shopkeeper is concerned, he passes on very much more. Where does black-marketing start? It starts there. And what are we here for? As we or are we not, as citizens, entitled to say

that we will not buy at that price and bring that man to book? What has been argued against me is this that wherever there is any taxation, it is encouragement to profiteering and Government is to be blamed because people in this country, and that is the allegation—I am not making the accusation, it is the accusation of those who argue this way, and everyone has done this—that people in this country are such that given the slightest excuse, they are prepared to exploit the people of this country. Shall I weep, "Cry, My beloved Country", and say that if this is the condition, we are going to be demoralised? But I do not believe that we are being demoralised. I believe the strength and growth of this country is such that we will survive this as we have survived many other things.

16 hrs.

One of my hon. friends here said that the budget had nothing but gloom and darkness. I wish I could tell him: "Lead kindly light, Lead Thou me on; For the night is dark and I am far from home." Unfortunately, I am afraid that it is a kind of light which goes in conflagration, which burns itself. I would much rather have the little lamp and go on with that; I will much rather use that for this purpose of lighting. Believing in the innate capacity of the country, believing that the country has got one goal and we all work toward that one goal, namely, to get something better, we have got to go on. I have faith and belief in the people of this country. *Interruptions.*) It seems that these remarks have to me made. I know I am here not that I wanted to be here, not in this position, in this House. So far as this position is concerned, it is no more my choice than somebody else's. Now, Sir, these things are things to which I am used to in other spheres; they do not hurt me; they do not excite me. They only make me sad that when a person starts attacking, he is being told things not against his argument, but against his person. I

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have been here long enough to know this is something which has got to be tolerated and I do tolerate it. (*Interruptions.*) You may ask my friends on this side not to bother about protecting me; I can protect myself. Now, Sir, I was on the question of taxation. There has been increase in indirect taxation. I believe the light diesel oil has gone up in price—some hon. friends will correct me if I am wrong by one anna per litre. We have been told that this is something which the cultivator uses in the villages. If I may make a digression, I can say this. I do not know about this. But I come from a rural area. Not only that. I still have connections with the village. I go there. I have seen the changing conditions there. In my own area which is not one of the most progressive ones, there are villages of 200 or 300 families with 50 or 60 bicycles, with torches, transistor sets even and clothes to wear.

Shri Maurya (Aligarh): Take them away.

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: We have to wait for another government to be formed to take them away. Now, what I am saying is this. A person who buys a diesel engine to lift water for irrigation purposes does not do it for irrigating half an acre or a quarter of an acre. He has got much more area. He has to spend money for getting water perhaps by digging a well or constructs a tank or perhaps draws water from some irrigation plan. So, he spends a certain amount of money, I do not know how much, may be it is Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 5,000 for the purpose of acquiring a diesel engine. Having done that he gets oil, mobile oil and diesel oil for running it. He has got a man to start if he himself cannot start it and he pays all that. If the one anna added per litre to this oil is going to make all the difference to him and all the difference to the crop he produces, I am afraid we

will have to think in terms of paying him that one anna per litre more in the price of his food. As I said, if we realise that emotions have got to be kept on one side and we have to think in terms of the burden we are putting, we find that what we are putting on is a little burden. Lastly, I say this. I am not saying that this is not putting some burden on the really poor man. It does. There is no getting away from it. We are a people who are not rich. Many of us are very poor indeed. In that poverty, we also have the pride that this is our country and we are contributing our widow's mite, no more than that but only the widow's mite in the shape of taxes. I had a clear recollection of the day when I was a young child. At that time, the people of my village would say—they asserted their rights—"what are you talking of? Do I not pay my tax in this country?" The tax he had to pay would be just eight annas per half an acre of land. But he was conscious of that fact. He had that right. "I pay a tax and therefore I must have the right to say it." So, I do not want to take away that dignity from the people. I do not want the people to depend on the charity of others.—(*Interruption*)—not from the rich from whom I extract and I spend. They also have the right. They do contribute and I know this is hardship to them, but I ask them to share that hardship for the progress of the country for the next generation which I hope will be built up.

Shri Bade: What about the sales tax?

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: So far as sales-tax is concerned, it is also an indirect burden. The sales tax has been raised from two per cent to three per cent; that is by one per cent. When one pays 100 paise, one has to pay one more paise.

An hon. Member: What about diesel oil?

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: About diesel oil, there are two reasons. I had already mentioned one reason just now, namely, the revenue reason. The other reason is this. Light diesel oil unfortunately can be used for the purposes of propelling automobiles, buses and things of that kind, and because of that this is diverted, and the oil which is really meant for the purposes of helping certain industries and also the cultivators is taken away for the purpose of running the buses and since they use much more of it than would be used by the small lift-pumps, that would add ever to the cost or to the price of the diesel oil. I am informed that—and I believe that is correct—it is only 30 per cent of this oil which is used for agriculture and the rest is not used for agriculture.

So for as sales tax is concerned, I have already mentioned it. These bear comparison, and I have got the figures here. If anyone wants to see them, I would be very happy to show it to them at the end of the day.

The next question that arises is this. "It is all very well for the Finance Minister to say that these taxes are there, but are they necessary?" I have literally turned a hair to find out whether they are necessary; nobody likes such a thing and certainly not myself. And, therefore, I have turned a hair for the purpose of finding out whether it is possible to go without any deficit and to find out what advantage I could get out of that. But I could not do it without leaving a deficit financing. Deficit financing is a matter of high economics about which many of the hon. Members have known. But one thing also arises from this: that when you have deficit financing, let us say, borrow more, you have this difficulty also, namely, that we put up prices to help inflation. What has been suggested in this connection is this: that you need not have even this deficit if you could have borrowed that money, and you could have spared us this taxation, because your revenue income was surplus to revenue requirements.

Well, from the purely narrow business point of view, nobody borrows all that he needs for the purpose of augmenting the power of production or his capacity to produce. It is a well known fact that in business management when you have got revenue, you prouh back so much of the revenue for the capital purposes into business, and distribute only so much and no more than thit. If you are to follow that, in the first place, it would be difficult for the purpose of finding out whether or not this method of borrowing would be useful to go into the examination of the country's resources. Secondary, if I could not raise these Rs. 100 crores or Rs. 102 crores by taxation, where should I get it from? By borrowing? I would have to borrow the same amount, but who would give me the loan.

श्री सच्चि चण्डुरी : खर्चा कम करो ।

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: That is a very good suggestion; I am coming to that. I am grateful to him for pointing that out. So far as expenses are concerned, as I have tried to explain in my budget speech, these expenses have been there by reason of there being monies to be paid to the States, monies which have to be used for the purpose of building up our plans, monies which are meant for the spreading of our social welfare institutions and monies which we spend on administration.

So far as the States are concerned, I have already recognised that the States have been spending more than they should. I informed the House—and I shall do so again—that I have tried to get them to cut down their expenses, at least their borrowing. This year the budgets of all the States have not come back to me, but I have had before me practically the budgets of all the States except one or two. There I find that against a deficit of Rs. 71 crores in the budget for 1965-66 for which in some shape or from the States have come back to the Centre, we have got a deficit

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of Rs. 34 crores only in State budgets for next year. There is greater realism in the States this year. It is hoped by better collection, by more vigorous means of limiting expenditure, they would be able to cover some of this. If a habit has grown up, good or bad, it is not easy to eradicate. If one has got to eradicate it, one has got to take a little time. If what we have started this year bears some fruit, we shall see where pruning is possible next year. That is not the only thing I have done.

I will take the House into confidence, as I always want to do, and tell the House that early after I took office, I tried to get the Reserve Bank to cooperate with me and find out ways and means of stopping the overdrafts being drawn on the Reserve Bank. We are actually at this moment engaged in trying to find out how best we can stop the overdrawings from the Reserve Bank. We are also trying our best to find out ways and means of getting back from the States in the next 3, 4 or 5 years, monies which they have overdrawn or borrowed from the Reserve Bank. That is so far as States are concerned.

So far as monies spent on things like health, education, social welfare, family planning, etc. which do not pay dividends in the shape of money or goods, I do not think hon. members would like to cut down expenditure there.

Shri Ram Sewak Yadav (Barabanki): Super-structure!

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: These are mere words. If my good friends should say something concrete, I can understand. This also is super-structure—am I to bring it down?

Shri A. M. Thomas: The super-structure is empty there!

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: The expenditure on the plan falls into two

parts. One is, we have got to provide for the purpose of carrying on—I will not use words which are becoming odious like growth development—for carrying on those projects which are meant to produce heavier goods, power, irrigation and so on. Those have got to go on. Even there, as I have said in my budget speech, I have cut it down. But there is something built-in. We are to deal with the transitional stage from the third to the fourth plan. What was plan expenditure last year has become non-plan expenditure this year. That non-plan expenditure, I cannot cut down, because that is built-in into the third plan. I cannot take that away. Even then, I have tried to make a certain saving there and in doing that, I have tried to see if there can be any credit taken for anything manufactured here. If we can do without having certain elements from other countries, that is the utmost that I can do.

I have been told, and this has frightened me, that the Planning Commission is like—I am paraphrasing it, this is not the language that has been used and this is my language or the impression which I got from what I heard—an old women's council, that they sit down; in the council, talk among themselves and produce nothing.

Shri Ranga: They are your masters.

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: I am glad my hon. friend says that they are my masters; at least they are not my mistresses. . . . (Interruptions).

Shri Ranga: He says 'mistresses'. He must have got some. I do not know.

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: If I have got some, I would not be ashamed in confessing it. I do not feel ashamed as Professor Ranga: What I have done I have done fairly openly (Interruptions).

Shri Ranga: Your predecessor John Mathai had to resign because of that. I do not think that you are stronger than Mathai (*Interruptions*). I am told there are people who are entitled to have four people.

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: I do not know. Professor Ranga has got greater knowledge than I have in these matters.

Shri Ranga: My friends on the other side are laughing. Do have some sense of humour. I have never been to plead before the courts in order to bring down the tax burdens and then to come here and to justify higher taxes.

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: Sir, when I plead before courts I plead for a fee.

Shri Ranga: What do you plead for there?

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: When I plead before courts I plead for a fee.

Shri Ram Sewak Yadav: You plead here for election funds.

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: I do not plead for election funds. Probably my good friends will not find me here after the next elections. I will be neither here nor there. I plead here for the country and its progress. Sir, there is an old story. I do not in any way compare myself with that. Emperor Akbar one day went out and heard a beautiful song sung by Tansen in the field. He asked Tansen: "How is it that you sing so beautifully when you sing to yourself and when I pay you a thousand rupees"—which meant a lot of money in those days—"you sing only the stereotyped tones?" The answer he gave was: "when I was singing out in that field I was singing to God and to my conviction, and to you I sing only for a thousand rupees." So also, when I plead in the courts I plead for a fee which was

given to me. Today, I plead here for the country, for myself and for the progress of the country. (*Interruptions*).

Shri Ranga: You had your money. Now you are pleading for this gang.

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: Sir, I have tried to avoid personalities, but if my hon. friends must have it I can only tell them that there I pleaded for money and here I plead for my country.

श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद (नानदा) :
माननीय सदस्य, श्री रंगा, ने कहा है कि
फ़िनांस मिनिस्टर गंग के लिए प्लीड कर
रहे हैं। यह सर्वथा अनुचित है। उन को
यह बात विदग्धा करनी चाहिए।

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: Sir, the time of this House is very valuable. I have dealt with two items. The third item is administrative expenses. So far as the Centre is concerned, if my good friends had done me the courtesy, kindness of reading the first part of my speech, they would have found that I have stated there what was the position. If some further clarification is needed, I am prepared to give it here.

Now, Sir, I have examined it for three years; I have not gone beyond it. During the last three years what has happened is this. The cost of public administration has increased in one year, I think from 1963-64 to 1964-65, by nearly Rs. 7 crores. In the next year, the increase was about Rs. 10 crores. In this year, if you take off Rs. 2½ crores, which is estimated to be the cost of elections, we have got Rs. 3½ crores more. It is not unnatural or very large increase. Then in these administrative expenses also a certain quantity goes for the purpose of assisting in an indirect way the development plans of this country.

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I could have gone round with a sword in my hand to each one of the Ministries for whom I provide the expenditure and said "off with this head, I am not going to provide for this". It is said in this House that there are 25 lakhs of people employed by the Central Government and if I cut down the strength by 5 per cent I think it would affect the lives of 1,25,000 people. Assuming that those 1,25,000 people have an average of four family members to feed, it would make it nearly 5 lakhs people. Sir, I am a weak person. I do not have the heart to say that by one stroke I must sacrifice all of them. But it is our goal. We have to take time to reach that. It is a matter under constant observation of Government, whether we can make a saving, how we can bring down the administrative cost. As you are probably aware, the Administrative Reforms Commission has been set up. It is going into it with one of the very very hon. and senior Member of this House as its Chairman. Therefore, we are not unmindful of the task or situation facing us.

Shri Rameshwar Tantia (Sikar): Please say something about the devaluation of the rupee.

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: One of the items of taxation about which there has been debate—some have said it is good; some have said it is bad—is the expenditure tax. I have said it in my budget speech, and I say it again, that in principle the expenditure tax is the only sensible tax we have. But, then, there is again a difference in theory and practice. Not from pragmatic but from practical point of view I would like to introduce or maintain the expenditure tax if I could, at the same time, also reduce the personal income-tax to a level of 40 per cent or so. So long as I could do that, I could maintain that. Otherwise it is a share; nothing else. It hurts very few people in the sense

of having to pay this tax. At the same time, it creates a great deal of work for those who administer this tax. Those citizens who have an income of over Rs. 36,000 have to fill in a large number of forms, apart from the waste of paper and all that. Therefore, I have done away with it. There is no justification beyond that, so far as expenditure tax is concerned.

There are one or two matters on which I think I should say something. The time is running against me and my colleague, Shri Nanda has to make some statement.

On the question of return from public sector enterprises it has been suggested that the public sector enterprises are not paying as much as they should. Here again I will have firstly to put before this House this consideration that there are certain undertakings which are classed as public sector undertakings like education, health, social services and things of that nature which are of necessity and which by their very character are not able to produce any dividend in the shape of money. The dividend that we get from is the betterment of the life of our people and building up the next generation, and those are returns which I value more than money; but they do not augment the coffers of this Government.

So far as industrial projects are concerned, they are complex and heavy ones. I am prepared to grant that we have probably made a little mistake in our calculations, by six months or a year, and the result has been this, that they have not come to full production at the anticipated point of time.

Maybe, there has been also some hold-up somewhere by reason of things beyond our control like strikes in other countries, prices going up in other countries and so on, and because of that we have not come to full pro-

duction. I am not certainly pleading for those particular individual industries in the public sector which have not produced more money, but those who have dealt with the private sector also know that there are cases even in the private sector where the anticipated production or the anticipated build-up is not made by reasons outside the control of those that have planned it. That is the reason why in the immediate future, in the next six months or so, we cannot see any remarkable or spectacular rise in production from these public sector enterprises.

As I said, I fully take the blame for this; but perhaps we might have, had we been perfectionists, been able to see into the future and produce a better phasing in time in these enterprises. But what I do feel is that assisted over a year or two or three years these enterprises will produce more and there is no question whatsoever, if we could wait or tide over our difficulties, that we would have the production which is desired. This is a decision, which is a hard decision, that comes before anybody who is put in charge of the finances either of a private individual or of a corporation, namely, are we to say good-bye to what has already been brought in because we find it rather difficult to produce the money, or are we to continue it by putting greater burdens on ourselves. I am afraid, this Government has chosen the latter course, namely, to put more burdens on ourselves in trying to carry on with it so that in the end we may have better results.

The last item that I have, apart from devaluation about which my hon. friend talked, about which I would like to say something in this House, is the question of foreign aid. I have been sitting in this House for five years now. I did not have any bias one way or the other but I must say that somehow instinctively I felt that there was a resentment against foreign aid. I can understand that. We have emerged from a colonial

state and those foreigners who ruled over us in the past had come in in the guise of merchants. If I may be permitted to say something in Bengali—I will translate it—*Banikar mandanda dekha dilo raj danda rupa puhale sarvari*; at the end of the night we found that the light has dawned and at the same time the measuring rod of the merchant had become the sceptre of the king. That feeling in our hearts we had. We did not have that same faith that we had perhaps before in what was coming by way of foreign assistance. But because there was that feeling in all our minds and because it was a lesson we learnt from history, our late revered Prime Minister, Prime Minister Nehru, had made it practically an article of faith to see that we shall be non-aligned. We have followed that faith in truth, in fact and in spirit. Having followed that we have not scorned or spurned help from foreign countries, the foreign aid that comes from other country, taking care to see that such aid as comes comes from wherever friendly people come. We should not—I beg of this House—entertain in our minds this feeling that the hand of the world is against us. Let us have the feeling rather that as we have done no harm or injury to anybody, as we had not raised our hands against anybody, as we are determined to carry on our way of life with peace and honour, so also those who come to help us recognise that and come to help us because they want to help us.

I am not saying that the commercial feeling is away from it. When a country comes with aid, it does not mean that they are doing it for the benefit of their health. Nobody does it and I certainly do not delude myself into it; but what I do believe is that when they enter into a bargain for the purpose of giving aid or help, they look at it from the point of view that this is a country which is progressive, this is the kind of progress that we have made and that this aid that they are going to give will make for more progress and they will get a return on their money. And we see also

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investing goodwill, that it produces actually for ourselves both in the business sense and the political sense. That is the thought which is in the minds of the people who give aid. We should not spurn it.

I have heard in this House over and over again that we go round the world with a begging bowl. Sir, I hang my head in shame when I think that our endeavour at international cooperation is looked upon as a journey with a begging bowl. I do not feel that this is so. We take it for the purpose of giving it back in good time. We have contracts and agreements under which we take this money. Whatever comes has got to be put on a business basis and it is on that basis that we take it. We have a good bargain or a bad bargain or an advantageous bargain. That has got nothing to do with the psychology of begging at all. If I say so, in all humility, without any pretence of being a knowledgeable person in high economics, that this is something which is recognised everywhere, that is, the aid, in the shape of loans, is necessary for the purpose of building up any business. In private enterprises, people go to banks, people go to relations and people even go and borrow money from hundi brokers. Having borrowed that money, they spend it for the purpose of building up their businesses and when they have made their profits, they return the money. We are not going to any brokers. We are going to international banks and we are going to friendly countries of the world who are our friends and who try to give assistance in difficulties. These difficulties will not always be there. If we have got nothing else, at least we have the goodwill and the determination of the people to go on fighting, not against anybody else but against the real enemies, poverty, dissensions, misunderstandings and things of that sort. If we do that, I am certain we shall come to an end which will be pro-

fitable to us and we shall be really able to take the place in the world which is ours.

Again, in connection with the foreign aid, two questions arise. They have been debated over and over again. Although they do not concern me directly because they do not come within the purview of my duties, these are questions which have got to be considered. One of them is in regard to the Bokaro Steel Plant and that is that when we thought of building up this plant, there was a certain amount, Rs. 600 crores as the estimated cost, and in the time that has gone by that cost has gone up. In accepting the assistance or aid from a very friendly country, the U.S.S.R., with gratitude, we have not lost sight of the difference in price. But the difference in price has been caused by reason of our wishing, to a certain extent, to fabricate some of the component parts in this country. The fabrication of these parts is going to cost us more than what would cost if we imported them from other countries. The question is: Why do you fabricate them? The answer is two-fold. The first answer is that we want to conserve our foreign exchange to the extent we can. Secondly, this will give our local industries, whether in the public sector or in the private sector, something to do and also the experience that is necessary for the purpose of building up similar plants.

The justification for building up that plant is also questioned. Why have the Bokaro Steel Plant? Why have steel at all? These are the questions raised. In regard to steel, so far as this country is concerned, we have got not only deficiency in that but there are certain types of steel, special steels, which we have to import. I admit that certain types of steel are cheaper in the world than what we get here. It is purely because of this that so far as steel in this country is concerned, it does not, in all its aspects, provide what is necessary for the needs of the

country. It is not only that. We have got to think in terms of not today, not tomorrow, not the day after, but the years after. Steel is a basic material and a very necessary material to build up anything, be it bridges, be it machinery, be it houses and what not. In consequence of that, I think, it is a good determination that we produce steel in this country even if it is not justified by the rules of economics which are mentioned in this House sometimes.

And the other reason for the prices going up is that when we import these machinery they bear a large amount by way of import duties or import tax. That is really taking the money out from one pocket of Government and putting it into another. Therefore, when we think in absolute terms the cost of this, while we have got to take this into account, these two things have got to be remembered namely that by and large, the excess of expense is incurred because we want to produce the things here or in other words keep the money in this country and the other reason namely that part of the cost goes only from one Government pocket into another.

The other thing which has been equally criticised in this House is the fertiliser deal. My hon. friend the Food Minister is here. He would in good time be able to give you a more detailed explanation. But not on request, but as a matter of curiosity, when the matter was being examined and the question was being raised and discussed so often. I have given it a look; I have given it a bird's eye view and a third mans look at it, and honestly I cannot condemn this as being an uncommercial adventure.

What has happened is this. In a particular stated case, with a private enterprise abroad, Government have proposed to enter into an agreement whereby the manufacturing rights and distributing rights for a limited period of seven years from production are going to be given to them, and this has been characterised as being some-

thing which is going to allow this particular private enterprise to interfere with the life of the people. One thing is certain that we need more fertiliser here. Either we have got to build all the capacity for producing fertilisers in this country out of our own resources, which in other words means free foreign exchange, or else we have got to get fertilisers year to year by imports. The production of foodgrains in this country has to increase.....

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azag (Bhagalpur): You may give them a reasonable profit. But why give them the distribution rights?

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: I may tell my good friend that I am coming to that.

Shri Vasudevan Nair (Ambalapur): Can you justify a sell-out in the name of need and necessity? How can you justify a sell-out of our interests?

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: I wish that my hon. friends would listen to me; they may agree with me or disagree with me, but they should at least hear me.

What I am saying is this is that so far as this is concerned, we are entering into a great venture not for the entire production of the needs of this country in fertilisers, but for one type or part only. Then the thing which arises is this that we feel that when we shall give them the right to distribute, it is intended and it is hoped that by the time this fertiliser plant comes in and within seven years thereafter, we shall have production ourselves; our intention is to have at least two-thirds to be produced in this country which will be either by the labour of Government or by the labour of private enterprise in this country, situated in this country, with the management in this country. When we have a concern like that, I forgot to mention this earlier, 30 per cent of the production of this company or this enterprise is going to be bought by Govern-

[Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri]

themselves. And only 70 per cent of the distribution is left to these people for seven years with the probability of Government also building in resources and capacity for the purpose of getting the fertiliser. And then, if they try in any way to interfere with the life of the people of this country by raising the prices, those prices can be held on a competitive basis firstly by what is produced in the country and secondly by the imports from abroad. If we were to fix a ceiling on the price or profit—I think I am not wrong in saying that one of the hon. Members here said 'Give them 25 per cent, I do not mind, by way of profits' then in that case, with an inducement to that foreign company (which comes for collaboration) to come and set up the enterprise, which would give them 25 per cent, one may not want to do that; that is why I say that apart from politics, from the commercial point of view, I would have entered into an agreement or bargain like that tomorrow.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: It is not convincing at all.

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: I can only give arguments. I cannot carry conviction. Conviction is in one's own mind. Arguments are with me (*Interruption*). I thought that the fiscal and financial conditions of this country for the time being are such that what we have done is in the best interests of the country. There is no other answer I can give.

Now, coming to another point, I have been asked by several friends here about devaluation. I do not know what more can be said than what has been said. In reply to an unstarred question, I have given a written answer saying no devaluation is contemplated. My colleague, who spoke the voice of not himself only but of the whole Government, said: no devaluation. I can only endorse that and say no more. Therefore, I do not see what discussion or debate

there can be if it is not in the mind of Government, unless it be that I should start a discussion on whether it is good, bad or indifferent . . .

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): That was not the question. Government's intention not to devalue is well known. What was tried to be pointed out was this, that there is a selective devaluation by the impost of import duties, by encouragement of exports; and the actual devaluation unproclaimed, unaccepted in the world market is that our rupee does not compare even with the Pakistani rupee. This is the reality. Government's intention is known to us. We wanted to know what is being done to stop this actual depreciation of the rupee in every market in the world.

Shri Tyagi: It will require a little discussion.

Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri: A very good question and very well put. In as clear a language as I can command, I will give the answer. My hon. friend, Shri Nath Pai, knows so much about the world, so much about the rupee and so on. May I tell him that the only way we can tackle that is by getting more production in the country so that we export more? What we can do is to produce more and carry on a vigorous promotion of exports.

I think the House has heard me with enough patience. I do not wish to incur the displeasure of the House by making the House impatient of me. If in my speech I have given offence to any of the revered friends, Prof. Kripalani, Prof. Ranga and others, I fully and freely apologise. It was farthest from my intention to offend anyone. I have got the great reverence for them, the greatest respect for them. But in my arguments, I do not spare anybody. Thankyou.

Mr. eputy-Speaker: There are two formal items to be disposed of, intro-

duction of the Demands and contingent Bill . . .

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshan-gabad): Only introduction.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There will be no discussion.

श्री बागड़ी (हिसार) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, साढ़े चार बजे चुके हैं। साढ़े चार बजे होम मिनिस्टर साहब को पानीपत के दुःखद कांड के बारे में स्टेटमेंट देना था। अब यह दोनों ड्राइटम्स कल कर लिये जायें।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right. Let us hear the Home Minister.

16.44 hrs.

STATEMENT RE: INCIDENT AT PANIPAT

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Nanda): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, as I stand before you and before the hon. Members of this House, my mind is haunted by the thought of the three martyrs . . .

An hon. Member: Four.

Shri Nanda: brave sons of the soil of India who met their death in circumstances ghastly beyond world. If we could imagine the last moments of their agony, the harrowing experience when their breath was being extinguished by the fumes and smoke in a godown, from which the dead bodies were recovered after the debris had been removed. Death will overtake everyone of us. But such death is a heart-rending tragedy in the extreme. There can be no words to give expression to the poignancy of our feelings and the anguish of our souls.

We, all of us should express our deep sympathy and send our condolences to the bereaved families. And we have to tell them that in their overwhelming grief all of us share.

I have with me a statement from the Government of Punjab regarding the facts about this tragedy.

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Mandsaur): You are not mentioning about the boy.

Shri Nanda: According to a report received from the Government of Punjab, at about 2.30 PM. on 15.3.1966 a procession of about 500 persons including Jan Sangh workers and students was moving towards the Police Station Panipat en route to Purana-kila ground to hold a meeting there. As the procession was in defiance of prohibitory orders under Section 144 Cr. P.C., it was asked to disperse. It refused and started shouting provocative slogans and hurling brick-bats. As the procession was becoming unruly, the Sub Divisional Magistrate ordered the use of tear smoke. As even the use of tear smoke did not have the desired effect, firing was resorted to. The mob thereafter dispersed at about 3.30 P. M. one person was injured as the result of the firing. He was taken to hospital where he died subsequently.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Did he die before that?

Shri Nanda: While this person was being taken to hospital, he was followed by a procession of about 1000 persons. This procession was also shouting provocative slogans. Apprehending danger from the mob, Diwan Chand Kakkar, a prominent Congress worker ran into his shop. Two more persons Kranti Kumar and Sant Ram Lamba who were also congressmen followed him for protection against the mob. The processionists set fire to the shop after sprinkling petrol on it.

Some hon. Members: Shame.

Shri Nanda: When the debris was searched, the bodies of these three persons were found. In this connection, seven persons have been arrested.