

12.22 hrs.

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—Contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up General Discussion on the General Budget. There are 4 hours and 30 minutes that still remain. May I know whether the hon. Minister would be able to reply today or would like to do it tomorrow?

The Minister of Finance (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): I am entirely in your hands. I would require a little over an hour to reply.

Some Hon. Members: He may reply tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker: All right; the hon. Minister will reply tomorrow. Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad might continue his speech.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Bhagalpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the other day I was saying in the few minutes that I had that it was not possible to examine this Budget on the broad provisions which mainly relate to the fiscal policy. This Budget fails under certain fundamental principles on which a majority of the hon. Members in this House would like to test this Budget. Among them I was mentioning the Industrial Policy Resolution which clearly describes the role that public undertakings have to play in our economy. This Budget has definitely tried to pull down the image of the public undertakings. This Budget calls upon the public undertakings to make adequate profits which means that they must contribute resources to the General Revenues and must have their reserves for their future expansion. I was saying that the hon. Finance Minister should at least have differentiated. For whom should such type of public undertakings make profits? For the public good. There are certain things in which it is not expected that the public undertakings should make an adequate

return and if at all they want that there should be an adequate return, it would be advisable for the hon. Finance Minister to see that heavy consumer industry should be taken over by the State where there is very, very big profit to be made. I was saying that it was not possible. This idea is completely wrong that all public undertakings must make adequate profits. There are undertakings, like the Hindustan Antibiotics, about which I quote just one comment of the Public Accounts Committee.

It is said that one megaunit bulk penicillin cost 21 nP. but it was sold to the consumer at 50 nP. In another case the cost was 23 nP. and it was sold at 42 nP. The cost price of 5-lakh unit was 28 nP. and it was sold to the consumer at 61 nP. Here is a drug which is needed by the sickmen, the poor men of this country, and this public undertaking is selling it at just 200 per cent of the cost price. Therefore the Public Accounts Committee says:—

“This Committee are of the view that such a wide margin of profit as indicated by the figures quoted above is not justified in the case of such commonly used and essential drugs as penicillin. The Committee are of the view that in a welfare State the undertakings manufacturing drugs and medicines of common use should not be run on profits motive.”

This is the comment of the Public Accounts Committee of this House.

Similarly, regarding fertilisers, this Committee says:

“In order to attract the agriculturists it is necessary that the final price of fertilisers payable by the consumers should be kept as low as possible....”

What I am trying to make out is this. When the Finance Minister says that the public undertakings must make adequate profit not only to contribute

to the general revenue but also to have their own funds for their future expansion, he means that the big profit that is being made by the private undertakings should be indirectly justified. I would say that there should be a differentiation in that. There are undertakings which are producing raw materials which go to the private undertakings where they make profits. I have no objection if such undertakings are allowed to make sufficient profits not only to contribute to general revenue but to have also their own funds for their future expansion. I feel that Budget is not fair to the public undertakings when it calls upon them, without differentiation at all, to make as much profit as that of private sector. In that case, I think, the Industrial Policy Resolution which I quoted the other day, saying that there should be a proper relationship between the public and the private undertakings, and that means the public good *vis-a-vis* the private good, has been a little pulled down. I would say that this Budget is not seeing that this tender baby of public sector which is surrounded on all sides by the vultures who have tasted human blood, is given proper protection. I wish I could have time to quote a large number of economists of this country. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao in his article to the souvenir of the Bhubaneswar Congress session has very clearly quoted how the private undertakings are trying to undercut the public undertakings and, therefore, he has called upon the Government to give sufficient protection to the public undertakings so that they prosper. But, in my opinion, unfortunately, the Budget does not feel that way.

Coming to my next point, I would say that this Budget which, as a matter of fact, should have been the announcement of the economic policies as well as the fiscal measures, is merely a charter of liberties given to the private undertakings in the form of many concessions and remissions in taxes and still a large number of papers have come down on the Finance

Minister to say that these concessions and remissions are absolutely nothing. They are still crying and calling upon the Finance Minister to make more concessions. The very idea of the Finance Minister to say that it should not be presumed that the development rebate will continue after 1966 has been very much resented and the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry which met the other day in Delhi has very much criticised it. They forget that the Finance Minister has removed the Super Profits Tax and put in a Sur-tax and only such firms which may make more than Rs. 4 lakhs profit can only be asked to pay something.

This Budget has got no relief for the common man. As a matter of fact, the claim of the Finance Minister that there is relief in taxation for lower and middle-class groups is absolutely falsified and it has been worked out for lower and middle-class groups having an income of Rs. 6,000, Rs. 9,000, Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 11,000 that there is no relief for them and they have to pay more. The relief will be to those who get an income of Rs. 15,000 and above. Therefore, this Budget is a charter of liberties to the private enterprise to make merry with as much profit as they can. There is no relief for the common man in this Budget as the calculations point out. No doubt, the Finance Minister has been able to remove the C.D.S. but it was a deposit to be returned on some future date. There also it has been given up with a grudge. They have been asked to deposit the money. I wish they could have returned the money deposited so far.

Coming to the next point—and that is very important—the Finance Minister has announced the setting up of a commission to investigate into the concentration of economic power and wealth. I welcome this, but beyond this I have no heart to appreciate this measure because we feel that the detailed facts have already been given to the effect that the concentration of

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economic power and wealth is increasing day by day in this country.

As far back as 1956, the Industrial Policy Resolution itself had pointed out that the concentration of wealth in a few hands was going on. It says:

"Equally, it is urgent to reduce disparities in income and wealth which exist today, to prevent private monopolies and the concentration of economic power in different fields in the hands of small numbers of individuals."

In spite of this statement in the Industrial Policy Resolution and the different figures that have been given out by the Government papers themselves, the Finance Minister has remained contented with saying that Government would appoint a commission to go into this matter. I would like to ask only one straight question. Can anybody say that since then there has been a decrease in monopolies, can it be said that there has been a decrease in the concentration of wealth either at the level of production or at the other levels? I think that it is very clear that the industrial magnates who are cornering a majority of the licences in this country and who have become notorious for the ill-gotten money are trying to have their grip more and more on our economic policy. I would say that the report on the Asiatic Insurance Co., the report on the Ruby Insurance Co., the report on Bird & Co., and the Serajuddin affairs, and the Vivian Bose Commission Report and the Company Law Administration's report and so many other reports are establishing that the man-eaters to whom the hon. Minister had a reference some time before are much wilder today and are more at large than when he had referred to them first in this House. This budget does not indicate any steps as to whether those man-eaters who are wilder and are more at large today will be brought to bay. It is true that once they were at large and they

were wild, when the hon. Finance Minister had first referred to them. But are they still not so? If they are still so, what measures does this budget indicate to bring them to bay?

To refresh the memory of the House, I would say that you may see any field and you will find that the concentration is increasing. Take, for example, the banking field. It has been reported that the hon. Minister gave an interview to the *London Economist* wherein he had stated that the opinion calling for the nationalisation of banking in this country was very small. To say the least, I would say that the hon. Minister was very unfair to us. At Bhubaneswar and at Jaipur, six Chief Ministers have openly advocated this; further the presidents of the PCC's of seven States which constitute a majority in this country in terms of population have openly said that the only way to cut the wings of these demons who are having their monopolies is to nationalise the banks. The other day, we had a seminar in the Constitution House, where Dr. Raj, the noted economist of the Delhi School of Economics, has also said that the only way is to nationalise the banks. We do not feel that by nationalisation of banks, socialism will come about. It may be that some of those who call themselves socialists and who call themselves persons with progressive views advocate that nationalisation of banks is the only way for ushering socialism in this country, but I would say that we are not under any such illusion. What we say is that this is just one of the important measures which Government should take immediately.

So far as the public opinion is concerned, it is only the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and a few others who oppose the idea of nationalisation of banks. Otherwise, as I have already pointed out, many Chief Ministers are in favour of this, the Congress Working Committee itself is in favour of this,

and even many of the PCC presidents are in favour of this. In fact, a lady by the name of Shrimati Dausethi, who is the wife of a great martyr of 1942 from Sholapur is fasting before the Gates of Parliament House for the last three days demanding *inter alia* that banks should be nationalised. She is not just an ordinary lady but the wife of a martyr who had been hanged for his views in regard to the country's independence. What I am trying to point out is that a large volume of opinion in this country which constitutes by and large the opinion of a majority of the thinking sections, is demanding that banks should be nationalised. We want nationalisation of banks because we know that only half a dozen banks in this country are trying to manipulate with just 1.9 per cent of their paid-up capital the entire depositors' money. For whom are they doing it? Not for the public, but for their own good, in order to perpetuate their industries, in order to expand them and in order to have a firmer hold on the economy.

I feel that this budget does not indicate any measures in the direction of nationalisation of banks. On the other hand we are told that this demand represents only a minority opinion. I think that the public opinion in this country is sufficiently strong enough to contradict that statement of the Finance Minister to the *London Economist*.

Shri Himatsingka: Was the resolution passed?

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: I know his opinion. He is one of the big industrial magnates who would like the banks to be in their hands. There is no difficulty in knowing that. But unfortunately, the 'non-brilliant' in this country are in a majority, not the 'industrial brilliant'.

Apart from banking, where I can quote considerable statistics to prove concentration, there are other fields also where there is concentration of economic power in a few hands. I

need not quote the relevant figures because the Finance Minister is himself an expert in figures.

As regards concentration in the means of production, when the number of newly registered concerns has registered a decrease, but their paid up capital has increased from Rs. 330 crores in 1955-56 to Rs. 945 crores. Only 10 selected group of companies had shares in 876 companies. So far as concentration in production is concerned, the items are known to everybody. In cement, it is only one group which controls 45 per cent production, in chemicals 23—32 per cent is controlled by one group. So far as engineering (machines and fans) is concerned, 88 per cent is controlled by one group. This is the concentration of economic wealth and power in the country.

When I quote these figures, I would remind the House that it has to be borne in mind that the corporate sector owns only 25 per cent of the wealth; 75 per cent is in individual hands, about which we are not in a position to quote figures today. They take their own liberties with it. Viewing it in another way, we find that 83 per cent of the population of this country, the rural population, has got only 73 per cent of the wealth and the 17 per cent urban population holds 30 per cent of the wealth. This is a very much staggering picture not to be dealt with only by the proposed constitution of a Commission. Rather we expected from the Finance Minister information about concrete measures he is taking to rectify this state of affairs. I do not think he denies that ours is a capitalist economy. With his great concern for the socialist ideology, he himself has said that we should transform this capitalist economy into a socialist economy. We had expected from him as an intelligent person some indication of the measures being taken by Government to reduce the concentration of economic power and wealth in a few hands. But I regret we do not find it at least in the budget statement he has made.

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Coupled with the increase in concentration of wealth in a few hands, we find in the Budget a great welcome given to foreign capital—rather a red-carpet welcome. I have never opposed foreign capital coming to this country. We have always supported Government in this matter. But the day we invite equity capital into this country will be a bad day for the country.

It is said that unless incentives are given, there will be flight of capital. Capital will not fly into space. If capital can fly, why does it not fly into South East Asia? Why does it come to India? India is one of the few countries in the whole world where the return on capital is the maximum. Therefore, the theory of flight of capital from here thrown into us by some economist friends is absolutely wrong, because if there is flight of capital, it does not fly into South East Asia, it does not fly into Africa, it goes where it can secure a good return. Why does not American capital go to South America which is very close by? It is not for the charm of our faces or the beauty of the landscape that capital comes here. It is out of economic necessity that it comes. The PL 480 wheat is either to be drowned in the Atlantic, in which we can realise its repercussions on the American farm economy, or it has to be loaned out. And now with the lightning travel of American wheat to Russia, there is no extra gratitude to be expressed that American wheat under PL 480 is given to our country. This is simple economics, there is no flight of capital. It is a question of getting maximum return. There is no question of our showing any kind of gratitude for PL 480 because it is now going to the forbidden land of communism, Soviet Russia. Therefore I say that it is a bad idea that foreign capital should be invited, because there will be an international combination of swadeshi capital and foreign capital, which means calling for economic imperia-

lism from the top, from the back and from the front door. We have to stop that.

On the one side we find that industry is getting so much. On the other, what is there for agriculture? There is not even any mention. The hon. Finance Minister said that the Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 crores that we are giving to State Governments go mostly to agriculture. That may be so, but why cannot there be a development bank for agriculture, as they are going to have for industry? Why is it that the agriculturists at present are getting only Rs. 200 crores or less against their requirements of Rs. 1,000 crores—approximately seven per cent of their needs? Why is it that even today there is this triple alliance of the landlords, traders and money-lenders? One has gone out of the field, but the other two are still there. How far have we been able to remove them?

Therefore, what I find in this Budget is that on the one side we are tilting the balance of economic wealth and power in favour of a few, while on the other, we do not take any measures to strengthen the economic base of the farmers who are still in agony and much trouble. Therefore, we find that the policy of this Government does not give any fillip or support to agriculture in this country.

It is known to us that unless the agricultural sector shows a surplus, there is no hope for us. To quote the example of Bihar, South Bihar has got a large number, if not the largest, of major industries, but still the living standard, the *per capita* income, of the people there has not gone up as compared to Punjab, because it does not have an agricultural surplus. Let there be expansion of industry, let there be unit trusts, development bank, let there be a large number of concessions in the bag of the Finance Minister to private enterprise, it will not allow Indian economy to see the sun-

shine of heyday unless agriculture is brought on a par with industry. We regret that no such thing is there. Therefore, I say that this imbalance that is being brought between industry and agriculture will be the death blow for democratic socialism. He may like to call it industrial socialism. If there is anything like industrial socialism, it will mean the power of a few over the many. Our eyes do not burn at the prosperity of a few friends. Let their prosperity be not at the cost of the misery of the many. In the long run, this Budget will upset the entire balance of power in this country, and the prosperity which should go to the farmers rather than to others. We cherish democracy and democratic institutions, but democracy, to prosper, must be married to socialism, and in the face of the ocean of miseries facing this country, this Budget, to say the least, does not indicate any realisation of this aspect that unless the agricultural sector of the Indian economy is improved, there can be no democracy and no democratic socialism.

Mr. Speaker: I did not stop Shri Azad because he had begun the previous day, but now Congress Members should be careful to see that they do not take more than ten minutes each.

An Hon. Member: Why ten minutes to Congress Members alone?

Mr. Speaker: That was the suggestion made to me by the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs that a large number should be accommodated and ten minutes each might be given.

Shri K. C. Pant (Naini Tal): The Budget before us has many special features, one of which is that it is the first Indian Budget to cross the Rs. 2,000 crores milestone. But its most prominent feature is its harassing complexity. If I may say so, it is a real brain-teaser of a Budget, and it is no great wonder, therefore, that many hon. Members have preferred to follow the dictates of their political instincts to getting involved in the intricacies of the Budget itself.

All in all, extreme opinions have tended to cancel each other, and the Budget has been received in this House and outside with a measure of welcome, though not without criticism. The chief reason for this, I believe, is the fact that the Budget has given relief to the lower income groups, on whom the rising prices were pressing so mercilessly. The Finance Minister has been working on this problem for some time now. In the last few months he took measures to extend social security and to provide a measure of relief to this section. Now, his Budget goes much further to lighten their burden by lowering the incidence of income-tax and by doing away with CDS. It is a matter of mathematics, I do not go into all the details, but the relief given is substantial, and the element of relief extends to practically all levels of income.

Much of the criticism of the Budget proposals that we have heard so far chose to disregard the compulsions that went to shape the Budget. Take, for instance, defence. Is there any one in the House or outside who would have cut a single naya paisa from the Defence Budget in the face of the continuing aggression from China and the growing menace from Pakistan, aided and abetted by China?

In the same way, can anyone minimise the urgency of stepping up the pace of economic development? The unsatisfactory rate of growth of the national income had made it imperative that top priority be given to stimulating the economy to greater productive effort. For this purpose, consumption had to be curbed and the savings of the community mobilised and used for maximising production.

The Budget could not but lay stress on the need to get better returns on past investments, particularly in the public sector, and on a more thorough screening of future projects, so that the public sector might soon be able to generate sufficient resources to finance its own growth. I cannot

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understand anybody being angry at this.

On the other hand, the Budget could not afford to ignore the fact that the private sector had lost much of its resilience and buoyancy in the year gone by, and that unless some fresh confidence was infused into it, it would not be able to fulfil the targets assigned to it in the Plan—a contingency that would not only hurt the private sector, but the economy as a whole.

At the same time, the Finance Minister had to see to it that, in the light of the socialist goal of the Congress, the incentives he gave the corporate sector did not lead either to concentration of wealth or other undesirable consequences like speculation, unearned profits or unproductive spending.

Then, let us take foreign capital. Our economy cannot do without it at this stage of its development. I think that is undisputed. So, the inflow of foreign capital and technical knowhow on a sufficiently large scale had to be encouraged, and indeed, assured, preferably in the form of capital participation, so as not to add to the already heavy burden of external debt, but it had to be done without in any way compromising the fundamentals of our chosen policies.

All these aims are not easily reconcilable, but none can be abandoned, or even ignored. The Budget, therefore, should be judged in the light of these complex motivations, and its proposals should be considered, not singly or in isolation, but as parts of a balanced, integrated, multi-purpose scheme. I for one have no hesitation in wholeheartedly supporting the scheme and the ideas underlying it as propounded in Part A of the Finance Minister's cogent speech.

Some friends have sought to create an impression that the Finance Minis-

ter has been partial to the private corporate sector. The reaction of the stock exchange does not hear this out, and the stock exchange is usually a reliable barometer in such matters. However, let us leave that aside. Let us examine the proposals themselves. Broadly speaking, the main incentives to the private sector are, firstly, withdrawal of the super profits tax and, secondly, 5 per cent rebate on super tax on selected industries. It is perhaps not always realised that these incentives do not affect the bulk of the companies in the country. The textile sector, both cotton and jute, as well as sugar, for instance, are not among the selected industries. As for the super profits tax, the number of companies which attracted it and which, therefore benefit from its withdrawal is rather small and even this benefit has been largely neutralised by the combined effect of the surtax and the dividend tax. As for those companies which do not gain by either of the concessions—and as I said, they constitute the majority—they actually stand to lose under the current proposals. The dividend tax and the capital gains tax on bonus shares are as much applicable to them as to the other companies, and so, the net incidence has actually gone up in their case. Would it surprise the House, Sir, if an analysis of large companies picked at random from any group of industries revealed that the majority of them are subject to a higher incidence of income-tax under the current proposals? Even some of the selected industries are adversely affected. Would it again surprise the House to know—it certainly came as a surprise to me—that the Tata Steel company is adversely affected in spite of the 5 per cent rebate on super-tax? When all is said and done, we should not lose sight of the simple fact that the corporate sector will be paying Rs. 11 crores more to the exchequer as a result of these Budget proposals.

I do not say that the incentives are imaginary. They are there, but they

should be viewed in the proper perspective. There is nothing sinister about them. Their purpose is to stimulate growth in desired directions. What has really been attempted, perhaps for the first time, is to use the fiscal instrument to canalise investments into certain selected industries having a high priority, *viz.*, capital intensive industries. It is difficult to quarrel with this approach or with the selection of industries. After all, a planned economy implies optimum use of scarce resources. It is for the same reason that companies are being encouraged to plough back their profits and disincentives to intercompany investment are being removed. All these steps will accelerate industrial production by releasing new forces of growth. However, these forces will be under strong restraint. I have already mentioned the dividend tax and the capital gains tax. I would only add that India is probably the only country in the world which not only taxes the profits of a company at the time they are earned, but taxes the residue again whether it is distributed or capitalised, in either case. When bonus shares are issued, not only is the company taxed at the rate of 12½ per cent but the shareholder is again taxed in respect of the same bonus shares. This is indeed multiple taxation of the same profits of an unprecedented order.

But that is not all. The Finance Minister has not only stepped up the rates of gift tax and estate duty sharply but has done so with a suddenness that lends a tinge of harshness to the measures. But again it is difficult to quarrel with his broad approach, which is wholly consistent with the Congress programme to narrow down inequalities of wealth. His approach is that a man with entrepreneurial skill and energy should not be denied the opportunity of enjoying the fruits of his labour which, incidentally, also gives strength to the economy. But the advantage of wealth he can pass on to his heirs should be so regulated that each succeeding generation has

to fight for its own place under the sun. This is really the crux of the matter so far as the social undesirability of wealth is concerned. But this does not mean that current wealth has escaped the loving attention of the Finance Minister. He has trained such a formidable battery of taxes on the man of wealth or the bigger entrepreneur that, as the hon. Member from Jhunjhunnu said the other day, he can neither accumulate wealth nor spend it nor speculate with it nor even gift it or leave it for his heirs without surrendering a large portion of it to the exchequer.

I am sorry to find that while the Finance Minister has expressed concern at the rise in prices, he has not thrown any light on how the Government proposes to deal with the problem. It is true that he has taken the necessary fiscal precautions by keeping deficit financing to the minimum and imposing no taxes on items of mass consumption. But more needs to be done. Prices of all commodities are governed by food prices, and unless these are kept under control, the problem will remain intractable. Unfortunately, today, food prices are subject to wide seasonal fluctuations. Basically, the only enduring solution lies in increasing food production, and, in this context, it is surprising that while the budget gives so many incentives to the industrial sector, there is little by way of incentives to the farmer. I would appeal to the Finance Minister that he should at least give some relief in respect of diesel oil used for agricultural purposes. I welcome the fact that the fertiliser and tractor industries are among those selected for preferential fiscal treatment. I would only urge that other industries connected with agriculture, like pesticides, insecticides, agricultural implements, etc. should also find a place in the list. It is common knowledge that sales-tax evasion is a widespread evil. Now that the Finance Minister has taken up this problem of tax evasion in dead earnest,

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it is high time that sales tax was replaced by some other tax, which can be levied on turnover at a controllable point. Perhaps collections would improve with a somewhat reduced incidence. I hope this suggestion will be examined by the Ministry.

Before I end, I must say that I am very disappointed to find that family planning continues to receive scant attention. The need to do something is recognised on all hands but very little is being actually done. Is it that its mere bigness paralyses us? I hope not, Sir. Because, this is one problem which we have got to defeat or it will overwhelm us. Family planning certainly deserves a much bigger allocation and a much higher priority in this budget in the budgets to come—if we are at all serious about making a dent on the problem in the foreseeable future. Is it not ridiculously insufficient that the total amount of money spent on family planning since 1951, including the provision for the current year, comes to a paltry Rs. 13.71 crores which works out to less than 3 naye paise per head per year. Even the modest allocations made are left largely unspent, year after year. The Government really must do something about this.

In the end, I would like to congratulate the Finance Minister for his resourceful budget. In the ultimate analysis, the success of a budget lies in its capacity to build the sinews of the nation, to harness the sum total of its productive forces for creating a better and richer life for all. In the Finance Minister's own words 'the existing taxation policy has to be geared to the paramount task of promoting growth'. The task is indeed paramount, but it is not the responsibility of any single individual or even party. It is a common task and a common challenge for all of us and

on our resoluteness in facing it depends the future of this country, whose children we all are.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta Central): Sir, it is extremely significant that the Congress Members of this House, perhaps a majority of them, in spite of my good friend Mr. Pant who has just concluded, have expressed serious misgivings not only about the points of fiscal detail—since no section of our people wanting relief has got it—but misgivings also about the total trend of the budget. It is patent that there are ominous signs of withdrawal from nationally acclaimed social and economic policies and objectives.

Disregard of our major short term and long-term needs is a characteristic of this Budget. When the Pakistan Government's calculated cruelty drives thousands upon thousands of East Bengal Hindus in a desparate stream towards our country, when Pakistan's western patrons, prodigal of sympathy for Tibetan refugees, enjoy our agony encourage Pakistan in the Security Council and elsewhere, when Talbots come and go with plans for dividing Kashmir and poison our country's atmosphere, the Finance Minister says very spinely towards the end of his budget speech that "we might perhaps have to face a rehabilitation problem of some dimension." For an understatement, it compares with what Louis XVI noted in his diary on the day when the French Revolution broke out: he wrote "Nothing."

13.00 hrs.

It is a pity that the Home Minister said the other day in the other House that "open door" to the displaced persons was not possible and that Government could not, for practical reasons, make the issue of migration certificates too liberal. When refugees come—and they are our own kith and kin, and they do not leave their homes for fun—we cannot and must not res-

strict them. This matter deeply agitates West Bengal and I am sure that all India sympathises. Ways out of a difficult situation have got to be found, and the Finance Minister must reiterate the assurance that necessary funds will, on every relevant occasion, be available.

In regard to this matter, the offer of different State Governments to accommodate refugees from East Bengal is deeply appreciated. It will take time, however, for arrangements to be properly made. Meanwhile, Dandakaranya has to be in such a shape that it does not become, as reputable Congress newspapers in Calcutta have begun to suggest, a bigger Sealdah for refugees. I have in my hand, a copy of the *Jugantar* where there is a special article which talks about Mr. Khanna as a new eclipse threatening Dandakaranya. Something has got to be done about that sort of thing, and in spite of the pressure of population on West Bengal, a sizeable number might perhaps be found a home in the Sunderbans and other areas. In this regard also, a reassurance is called for from the Union Government. Let us expose before the world the unspeakable conduct of the Pakistan Government which the western powers patronise, and let us assure our East Bengal brethren that we shall share with them whatever we have.

The other day, the Home Minister emphasised that the emergency continues; that the danger from China and Pakistan has grown and that Government is alive to the situation. I recall how in November, 1962 the Home Minister had said that the price-line was going to be held. What has happened? The wholesale price index was 137 in September, 1963; 138 in February, 1964. The working class consumer price index rose to 129 in February, 1963 and 140 in December, 1963. The Finance Minister is allergic to controls and there is neither plan nor prospect of holding price line.

In regard to this I was intrigued to find in the *Statesman* a political commentary by a special correspondent

where it was said—on the 28th February—I am quoting:

“Official prevarication has not ended with Mr. S. K. Patil's exit from the Government.”

It goes on to say that “fiscal policies operate unfailingly wherever they are intended to increase the prices and they fail miraculously wherever they are designed to bring down the price level”. He adds that “there is something utterly rotten in our system of foodgrains distribution and the sooner something is done rigorously to regulate it the better it will be for the country and the Government, but all that the Government seems engaged in is a slugging match between the Centre and the States.”

My hon. friend Shri Bhagwat Jha Avad has pointed out—and others also have referred to it—how the Finance Minister proposes to open the door wider than it is at present for foreign private capital. If he is doing it on the sly he must be stopped. But may be his party has given him the line clear. In that case, the Congress party is defying its own principles and policies, and is doing so at its own peril and the peril of the country.

Shrimati Yashoda Reddy (Kurnool): Certainly not on the sly.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Government is, I found ready to allow majority foreign participation in the new enterprises if the cases are special. It is difficult to appreciate this kind of thing when the paramount need is to develop inside our country engineering, designing and construction organisations to replace imported services. The Finance Minister is not content with credits and technical know how from foreigners. He told the *London Economist*—I am quoting his words—“it was preferable to rope in a man's interests by giving him a share in the investment. So what is the position? Already there is an article in the *Indian Foreign Review* by the Secretary of the Indian Investment Centre, who says that in 1948-53, private foreign capital financed about 29 per cent of fixed investment in the private corporate sector,

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

and in 1960, the proportion rose to 32 per cent. The same article explains how the United States investments in our manufacturing industries earned a profit ratio of 19.2 and 20.6 in 1961 and 1962, as against 10.2 and 12.6 in western Europe in the same years. The Finance Minister himself told the *Economist* in an interview which appeared in its issue of 29th February, that in spite of Indianisation efforts, the overall number of foreign personnel working for gain in India is on the increase. The remittance of profit and repatriation of capital is guaranteed. Yet, the foreign capitalists are not content. They want to have a bigger finger in the pie, and they do so because, while the empire of power has largely gone from our world, the empire of money remains. So, my question is can the rate of foreign capital which grows at our dependent economy and spits venom at socialism, be deodorised by the Finance Minister's perfumery? If the experience of modern history in many countries is any guide, the rat will not be deodorised; it will continue to stink and, with our long and bitter colonial experience, we must keep the foul thing away as far as possible.

An Hon. Member: It is a musk rat.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: It is not for nothing that I am saying this so strongly. It ought to be clear from the World Bank's attitude and other comparable things, that the kind of foreign aid both in quantity and quality that would subserve our kind of economy, which has a supposedly socialist objective, is not likely to arrive. Even Shri G. L. Mehta of the Indian Investment Centre has sounded a note of warning against the queer and selfish antics of foreign capital in our country. Who indeed are the man behind this aid? It is the Talbot and their like, who are angry that India is not and cannot be subservient and who are, over Kashmir and other issues, practising international methods of blackmail against us.

In his speech in April, 1963, the late President Kennedy of the United States had said—I am quoting his words—that “the food for peace programme was increasingly utilising the United States farm surpluses to assist in achieving United States foreign policy goals.” Even when money goes in the nature of food assistance, it is to achieve the United States foreign policy goals! We are supposed to be duly grateful to have PL 480 imports to which some reference was made by Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad also. These imports come in expensive American bottoms in order that we might fill our hungry bellies with food. No doubt it gives us some alleviation, but it does not help us to achieve a situation where we do not need to import food any longer. The mammoth rupee fund created by PL 480 is used by the United States to widen and strengthen the position of the United States monopolies in India and to strengthen the collaboration of United States and Indian businessmen. And the US embassy here has uncontrolled rights over a fabulous quantity of rupees. In unstarred question No. 402 on the 20th February, Shri Harish Chandra Mathur—he is not here now—elicited the information that as on the 31st October, 1963, Rs. 175 crores had been reserved for United States embassy uses out of PL 480 funds. This reminds me that the Finance Minister is bent on the Commission or something on monopolies. It is quite superfluous, for the concentration of wealth has just been reported on by the Mahalanobis Committee. But he should appoint a Commission, if he is so minded, with men like Professor Gadgil on it, which can examine the effect on our economy, presently and potentially, of such things as PL 480 transactions. The Commission could also assess the cost to our economy of the hundreds of agreements signed in the last few years with foreign parties for supply of know-how, machinery and equity or loan funds and their financial implications for the future of our balance of pay-

mets. This should be so much more useful than a commission on monopolies, about which much documented analysis is already available.

The Finance Minister is a person with whom we are familiar. We are very appreciative of his many talents. But I feel he is a little too opinionated. How does he pooh-pooh the idea of bank nationalisation, referred to by Mr. Azad also—I read in the papers about Mr. Azad having said somewhere that six Chief Ministers and seven Provincial Congress Committees have demanded it—and when, as a matter of economic fact control and direction of the credit mechanism in the interests not of a few but of the community is impossible without it? How does he forget that perspective planning demands a 7 per cent rate of growth, without which we cannot even at the end of the fifth Plan have a self-generating economy? How are we to change a context of things where we have only a thin upper crust of over affluent people who can afford anything, a very inconsiderable middle layer and the overwhelming majority of our people in perpetual want? How to remedy a situation where for the last three years, the *per capita* income remains almost frozen at the level of Rs. 294, which clearly points out that our failures in agriculture particularly have wiped out whatever gains were made in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy?

For too long, I fear, the Government has permitted many things to happen, the Government has permitted colossal evasion of taxation, administrative laxity and corruption. The resources have been dragged away from plan projects. Smuggling and black-marketing has flourished and there has taken place a stupendous withering of morals in our country. No wonder there has been a tragic failure to rouse the common man,

whom the Government cannot look in their face, and to utilise the tremendous potential dormant in 450 million people? This task has got to be faced. Other wise my friends like Mr. Masani and their ilk would come perhaps one day to replace those. Over there, who in spite of their faults, at any rate are not ready to go the whole hog of reaction. This task is not administrative. The Finance Minister and his civil service minions can perform an administrative job. But he has to do what is an organisational job which only public enthusiasm properly directed can fulfil.

I beseech the Finance Minister not to try to dismiss it as so much idealistic non-sense. It is the only pragmatic solution of our problems in a long-standing colonial context. It has got to be changed by a creative attempt at the advance of our peoples economic progress.

I ask the Finance Minister to discard his perilous casuistries. If he enjoys the spiritual propinquity of my friend Mr. Masani and company, he is very welcome. But since he once spoke of man-eaters, I am reminded of what Prof. Tawney, no foam-at-the-mouth communist, once said: "You can peel an onion leaf by leaf, but you cannot skin a live tiger paw by paw" You cannot break the power of big money by softness towards it.

The Finance Minister, towards the end of his speech says that our social goals are distant and difficult. I fear his budget proposals would make them a great deal more distant and a great deal more difficult. He is jeopardising our national objectives of an independent economy and a socialist society. If we are to survive as an independent and democratic people, we have to have, whether we like it or not, a socialist economy. It is in this perspective that the budget will be judged and the verdict, I am afraid, will go against the Finance Minister and the speech that he has made.

श्री यशपाल सिंह (कैराना) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, थर्डे फाइव इयर प्लान का टारगेट था ११ हजार करोड़ रुपये बसूल करने का, लेकिन सरकार अब तक १६ हजार करोड़ रुपये बसूल कर चुकी है, लेकिन यह पता नहीं है कि द्रोपदी के चीर की तरह यह टैक्सेज बढ़ने हुए कहां तक चले जायेंगे। लियाकत अली खां, का जो बजट इसी हाउस में पेश हुआ था उस से आज आठगुना ज्यादा टैक्स किमान दे रहा है।

श्री शिव नारायण (बांसी) : आपको लियाकत अली खां से बड़ी मोहब्बत है।

श्री यशपाल सिंह : क्यों नहीं मोहब्बत है। आप उन्हें गौर समझते हैं, मैं उनको गौर नहीं समझता हूँ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मेम्बर साहब उन से नाराजगी जाहिर न करें।

श्री यशपाल सिंह : लियाकत अली खां के बजट के मुकाबले में आज आठगुना ज्यादा कस किसान दे रहे हैं। सरकार का टारगेट यह था कि हम दस करोड़ टन अनाज पैदा करेंगे, लेकिन श्री अजित प्रसाद जैन ने जितना अनाज पैदा करके दिखाया था उस से इस वक्त ३८ लाख टन कम पैदा हो रहा है, जैसा कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण से साफ है कि हम पिछले सालों से २२ लाख टन कम पैदा कर रहे हैं। वादा किया गया था १० करोड़ टन पैदा करने का इस लिये होना चाहिये था कि हम ७० लाख टन आये साल बढ़ाते, लेकिन हम लोग आज लूज कर रहे हैं, ३८ लाख टन सालाना लूज कर रहे हैं। फिर भी हम कहते हैं कि किसान की तरक्की कर रहे हैं। इस देश में ८५ फी सदी किसान हैं इस लिये इस बजट में ८५ फी सदी किसानों का हिस्सा होना चाहिये था, लेकिन किसानों का एक छोटा सा पैराग्राफ लिख कर खत्म कर दिया गया कि एग्रिकल्चर के लिये सहूलियत दी गई। मैं इसे एप्रिप्रिएट करता हूँ और एग्रिकल्चर के लिए

जो हमारे माननीय फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर ने कहा है उस से एग्री करता हूँ। उन्होंने कहा है :

"It is now generally agreed, for example, that trying to keep agricultural prices too low for producers may defeat the objective of raising agricultural production."

13.17 hrs.

[Mr. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

बहुत कुछ कहा गया है लेकिन जो ऊपर अमल नहीं हुआ। किसानों से जो गल्ला १४ ६० मन खरीदा गया था वह बाजार में आज २६ ६० मन बेचा जा रहा है, लेकिन सरकार के पास एक लफज भी सारे बजट में इस बात के लिये नहीं है कि किसानों को उसमें से क्या हिस्सा मिलेगा।

जब सरकार किसान को पानी देती है और वह इरिगेशन करता है, अपने गेहूँ को सींचता है, तो उसमें बिजली का १६ नए पैसे यूनिट लिया जाता है। सरकार इरिगेशन टैक्स लेती है किसानों से बिजली के लिये १६ नए पैसे फी यूनिट और बिड़ला साहब को जो बिजली रिहन्द डैम से दी जाती है उसके लिये वह उनसे लेती है ३ नए पैसे यूनिट। बिड़ला साहब से उनके इन्डस्ट्री के लिये दी जाने वाली बिजली के लिये लेती है ३ नए पैसे यूनिट और किसानों से लेती है १६ नए पैसे यूनिट। फिर भी सरकार कहती है कि काश्त में तरक्की हो रही है, पैदावार बढ़ रही है। २६ अरब रुपये का गेहूँ लाकर, गल्ला लाकर सरकार इस देश को विलायती गेहूँ में दबा चुकी है। अगर २ अरब रुपये भी किसानों को दे दिया जाता तो किसान हिमालय पहाड़ जैसा अनाज का ढेर लगा देता और सारा देश उसे खा नहीं सकता था। वह नहीं किया गया। आज हिन्दुस्तान अमरीकी एंड पर मुनहसर है। आज हम परमुखापेक्षी हैं। हमारा पड़ोसी छोटा सा मुल्क बर्मा है, उस मुल्क ने

किसी के सामने हाथ नहीं पसारना, लंका को किसी के सामने हाथ नहीं पसारना पड़ा, पाकिस्तान को खाने के मसले में किसी के सामने कासाय गदाई ले कर खड़े होने की जरूरत नहीं पड़ी, लेकिन हम हैं कि आये साल दूसरे देशों से गल्ला मंगा कर ही इसका इलाज कर सकते हैं। आज जब हम देखते हैं कि इसी हाउस में खाद्य मंत्री जी कहते हैं कि जरूर हमको विलायत से गल्ला मंगाना पड़ेगा तो क्या सरकार कामयाब हुई या फेल हुई। इसी हाउस में खड़े हो कर हमारे इन्डस्ट्रीज मिनिस्टर, हमारे हेवी इंजीनियरिंग मिनिस्टर यह कहते हैं कि जरूर हमारे पास इस्पात की कमी रहेगी। यहीं हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर खड़े हो कर कहते हैं कि जरूर हमारे पाम फारेन एक्सचेंज की कमी रहेगी। इतने कन्वेंशनस हैं, इतने लोग खड़े हो कर ऐडमिट करते हैं, लेकिन फिर भी यह सरकार चल रही है। जब आज सरकार इतनी इन-एफिशिएंट हो चुकी है, सरकार में इतनी इनकांपिटेंस पैदा हो चुकी है तो वह हकूमत को छोड़ क्यों नहीं देती। सरकार किमो ऐस हाथ में उस क्यों नहीं देती जो काम करके दिखनाये।

होम मिनिस्ट्री की हालत यह है कि तीन गवर्नमेंटों ने, मध्य प्रदेश की सरकार ने, उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार और राजस्थान की सरकार ने, एक ज्वॉयंट स्टेटमेंट दिया है कि कुल २८३ डाकू रह गये हैं। भिड, मोरैना और ग्वालियर के अन्दर २८३ डाकू रह गये हैं। उनको क़श करने के लिये २५,००० की बटेलियन है, २५,००० आदमियों की पी० ए० सी० और पुलिस लगा दी गई है लेकिन २८३ डाकूओं को वे २५,००० पुलिस कंट्रोल नहीं कर सकती। इस देश की मर्यादा यह थी कि

चिड़ियों से बाज मरावां तब नाम
गोविन्द धरावां

लेकिन आज उल्टा हिसाब हो रहा है। २८३ डाकू हैं और उनको २५ हजार पुलिस क़श नहीं कर सकती।

श्री बड़े (खारगोन) : इस बीच २८३ लोगों को तो डाकू लोग पकड़ कर ले गए।

श्री यशपाल सिंह : इधर से कहा जा रहा है कि इस बीच २८३ आदमियों को डाकू उठा ले गये। और २५ हजार पुलिस उनको खत्म नहीं कर पायी।

दिल्ली के बाजारों में, चांदनी चौक में और कनाट प्लेस में ८ बजे से अंधेरा हो जाता है। दुनिया के और किसी बड़े मुल्क की राजधानी में ऐसा नहीं होता। इससे पबलिक हिरोसमा है। पबलिक इसलिए हिरोसमा है कि सरकार गुंडों का इन्तिजाम नहीं कर सकती, इसलिए बाजार जल्दी बन्द हो जाते हैं। जो सरकार मुट्ठी भर गुंडों का इन्तिजाम नहीं कर सकती, क्या वह चाइनीज का इन्तिजाम कर देगी, क्या वह पाकिस्तानियों का इन्तिजाम कर देगी? हरगिज नहीं कर सकती।

और फिर यह बहाना है कि आबादी बढ़ती जा रही है। जब देश ने रोजगार मांगा, जब देश ने रोटी मांगी, तो सरकार ने कहा कि हमारी नाक विलायतों में बहुत ऊंची हो गयी है, और इतनी ऊंची हो गयी है कि उसके साथ में हिन्दुस्तान के मसायल नजर नहीं आते। दूसरे देशों में हमारी जो नाक ऊंची हुई थी वह सब ने देख ली। हमारे बड़े से बड़े दोस्त ने कह दिया कि काश्मीर के लिए अलग से आटानमी दी जाए। जो नाक ऊंची हुई थी उसका आज देश की हालत से पता लग रहा है।

अगर देश की रक्षा करनी है तो देश के बाजार २४ घंटे खुले रहने चाहिए, देश की बैंकें २४ घंटे खुली रहनी चाहिए, देश की

[श्री यशपाल सिंह]

कचहरियां २४ घंटे खुली रहनी चाहिए। अगर देश की आबादी बढ़ गयी है तो ये कासेबार बराबर खुले रहने चाहिए। लोग शिपटों में बदलते रहे लेकिन काम बराबर जारी रहे। क्या जो आज हालत है उस तरह से देश की रक्षा हो सकती है? हर्गिज नहीं हो सकती। इसका इलाज यह है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी बाजी को छोड़ कर राजाजी से पूछे, गुरु गोलवलकर से पूछे, जिन भाइयों को मुस्लिम लीगी कह कर अलग डाल दिया गया है उन से पूछे, जिनको हिन्दु महासभाई कह कर अलग डाल दिया गया है उन से पूछे कि इसका इलाज क्या होगा।

अजकल पढ़ लिखे लोग कहते हैं कि आबादी बढ़ रही है। मैं कहता हूँ कि आबादी को बढ़ने दीजिये। हम देखते हैं कि रूस में ज्यादा बच्चे होने पर लोगों को इनाम दिए जाते हैं, चीन में ज्यादा बच्चे होने पर जनता को इनाम दिए जाते हैं। लेकिन भारत की भूमि में भगवान की कुदरत को रोकने के प्रयत्न किए जाते हैं। अगर देश में ज्यादा बच्चे पैदा होंगे तो वे गंगा जमुना को बांध देंगे और नहरें निकालेंगे, वे हिमालय को चूर कर डालेंगे। इस बढ़ती हुई आबादी के दो इलाज हैं, एक इलाज है सैल्फ कंट्रोल या ब्रह्मचर्य, जिसके बारे में गान्धी जी ने लिखा था कि केवल संतान के लिए प्रकृति और पुरुष मिलें। बर्थ कंट्रोल इसका इलाज नहीं है, इसका इलाज है सैल्फ कंट्रोल। और दूसरा इलाज है धर्म युद्ध। यह जो आज चीन हम को दांत दिखा रहा है, इसके लिए जरूरी है कि हमारे करोड़ों आदमी सरहद पर जाय और चाइनीज से उनके अत्याचारों का बदला लें और उनको खत्म करें और पेकिंग में जा कर भारतमाता का झंडा लहरा दें और दिखा दें कि हम को जिन्दा रहने का अधिकार है। तो आबादी को बढ़ने से रोकने के लिए दो इलाज हैं, एक

धर्म युद्ध और दूसरा ब्रह्मचर्य। यह बर्थ कंट्रोल और फैमिली प्लानिंग परिवार नियोजन नहीं है, यह व्यभिचार नियोजन है। इसके बारे में स्वामी दयानन्द, टाल्स्टाय और महात्मा गांधी ने कहा है कि यह प्रत्यक्ष व्यभिचार से ज्यादा खतरनाक है। इसलिए इस काम को बन्द करना चाहिये और जो २५ करोड़ रुपया बर्थ कंट्रोल पर खर्च किया जाने वाला है थर्ड फाइव ड्यूर प्लान में, इसको ब्रह्मचर्य और सैल्फ कंट्रोल के प्रचार में खर्च किया जाय।

देश तब जिन्दा होगा जब सरकार देश को जिन्दा रखना चाहेगी। सरकार पीछे हटती जा रही है, और देश को कहती है कि आगे खड़े हो जाओ। सरकार कोलम्बो प्रस्तावों को ले कर चीन के सामने घटने टेक रही है, और देश को कहती है कि खड़े हो जाओ। गीता में कहा गया है :

आत्मैव ह्यात्मना बन्धुरात्मैव रिपुरात्मनः

देश की आत्मा स्वयं अपनी रक्षा करेगी। आज जरूरत है अपमान और अत्याचार का बदला लेने की। आज जरूरत है कि देश के ४४ करोड़ इंसान एक साथ खड़े हो जाएं।

हमने हिस्ट्री में पढ़ा था कि मुहम्मद शाह रंगीले से जब कहा गया कि अंग्रेजों की फौज दिल्ली पर चढ़ी आ रही है, तो उस वकत लाल फिले में नाच रंग हो रहा था। मुहम्मद शाह रंगीले ने कहा कि आने दो यहाँ शराब के प्याले हैं और शराब की मुराहियाँ हैं हम इन से उन के सिर फोड़ देंगे। अगले दिन उनसे कहा गया कि वे और नजदीक आ गए हैं और अन्दर आने वाले हैं, तो मुहम्मद शाह ने जवाब दिया कि यहाँ जो जगें रखी हैं उन से हम उन के सिर फोड़ देंगे। बाद में जब उन से कहा गया कि फौज अन्दर आ रही है भागो, तो मुहम्मद शाह रंगीले ने कहा भागू कैसे यहाँ कोई जूती पहनाने वाला तो है ही नहीं। लेकिन मुझ तो डर है कि हम

सरकार को तो अगर कोई जूती भी पहना दे तो वह भाग न सकेगी ।

देश की रक्षा अनिवार्य सैनिक शिक्षा से करनी होगी । एक एक बच्चे को बन्दूक और राइफल ले कर चलना सिखाना होगा, हवाई जहाजों की ट्रेनिंग देनी होगी, एटम बम और हाइड्रोजन बम तैयार करने होंगे, तब देश की रक्षा हो सकेगी । कमजोर आदमी देश की रक्षा नहीं कर सकता, देश की रक्षा रफ हैड्स करते हैं ।

Rough hands rule the world.
वारियरम के हाथ देश की रक्षा कर सकते हैं ।

आज आप को देश की विचार धारा को बदलना होगा । आल इंडिया रेंडियो पर यह तालीम दी जाए कि फौजें इस तरह पर तैयार होती हैं, बूट पट्टी इस तरह बांधी जाती है, इस तरह बन्दूक की धांय धांय होती है । आल इंडिया रेडियो में ऐसे प्रोग्राम करने चाहिए, जिन से हमारा कैरेक्टर बने ।

इसी के साथ साथ मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि यहां माइनारिटीज के मामले को हल नहीं किया गया । और यह मनला तेज होता जा रहा है । आज इमका नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि माइनारिटीज दोनों जगह कट रही हैं । पाकिस्तान में हिन्दू इसलिए कत्ल होते हैं कि हमारी सरकार उस पर अपना दबाव नहीं डाल सकती, और हिन्दुस्तान में माइनारिटी इसलिए कटती है कि सरकार ला एंड आर्डर नहीं रख पाती । सरकार को कोई न कोई ऐसा हल निकालना होगा जिस से कि यह मनावृत्ति रुक सके ।

इसके अलावा आज सरकार को हिन्दू मॅटैलिटी का भी इलाज करना होगा, जिससे पाकिस्तान को मदद मिल रही है । Give a bad name and kill the dog. आज पाकिस्तान को चोरी से कपड़ा कौन देता है ? हिन्दू मुनाफाखोर । आज पाकिस्तान को चीनी कौन देता है ? हिन्दू मुनाफाखोर ।

पाकिस्तान को आज बारूद कौन देता है ? हिन्दू मुनाफाखोर । आज वाष्पा के बारडर पर पाकिस्तान को कौन चोरी से माल दे रहा है, राजस्थान की सीमा पर कौन पाकिस्तान को सामान गन्वाई कर रहा है ? हिन्दू मुनाफाखोर । आज जो ये ब्रैक मारकेटियर मुनाफाखोर, मनी लैंडर पाकिस्तान के हाथ मजबूत कर रहे हैं इन का इलाज सरकार को इस तरह करना चाहिये कि उन के जिस्म में गोली मार कर उनकी लाश को चांदनी चौक में लटका दिया जाय ताकि देश के लोगों को पता लगे कि देश के साथ गद्दारी करने वालों को, देश के साथ विश्वास धात करने वालों को, ब्रैक मारकेट करने वालों को क्या सजा दी जाती है और उनकी क्या हालत होती है । अगर ऐसा न किया गया तो हालत और भी ज्यादा खतरनाक हो जायगी ।

नाथूराम गोडसे के लिए किस ने दो दो हजार रुपये रोज के वकील खड़े किए थे ? हिन्दू सरमाएदार ने और हिन्दू मुनाफा खोर ने । इस मॅटैलिटी का आपको कोई न कोई इलाज करना पड़ेगा । तभी देश के अन्दर प्रेम की गंगा बह सकेगी । तभी ४४ करोड़ इन्सान भाई बहिन की तरह रह सकेगे । आप समझते हैं कि यह फिरका परस्ती का मसला अपने आप हल हो जायगा । ऐसा नहीं हो सकता । इसके लिए आपको एक एक कारनर पर मीटिंग करनी होगी, इसके लिए स्कूलों में आपको शिक्षा देनी होगी । मकान में रोशनी करने के लिए कोशिश करनी पड़ती है, उसमें मेहनत लगती है, लेकिन मकान में अंधेरा करने में कोई कोशिश करने की जरूरत नहीं होती ।

मैं खुश किस्मत हूँ कि मैं बादशाह खां के साथ रह चुका हूँ, सरहद के गांधी खान अब्दुल गफ्फार खां के साथ मुझे तीन साल तक जेल में रहने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हो चुका है । मैं कह सकता हूँ कि मैं ने आज तक इतना कैरेक्टर वाला देश भक्त दूसरा

[श्री यशपाल सिंह]

देखा। उन लोगों की भावनाएँ आज हिन्दुस्तान के साथ हैं। लेकिन हम पाकिस्तान का पर्दा फास करने के लिए कोई खास कोशिश नहीं कर रहे। चादना के ६२ रेडियो स्टेशन सरहद पर काम कर रहे हैं लेकिन हमारा एक भी नहीं है। लेकिन हम अभी तक वाइस आफ़ भ्रमरीका के साथ बातचीत कर ही रहे हैं। हम तकदीर का नारा लगाते रहे और जो बहादुर लोग हैं उन्होंने अपना काम कर लिया और हालत यह हुई :

अहले हिम्मत मंजिले मकसूद पर आ भी गए,
बंदए तकदीर किस्मत का गिला करते रहे।

इसी तरह देश खतरे में पड़ता गया। यह जो ३८ हजार मुरब्बा मील जमीन चीन ने ले ली है इसको कोई एक आरगोनाइजेशन नहीं छुड़ा सकता। सब को मिल कर इसके लिए कोशिश करनी होगी। आज हमारे रक्षा मंत्री चव्हाण इस कुरसी पर हैं, अगर आठ साल पहले इनको यह पद दिया गया होता तो देश की रक्षा हो जाती। लेकिन जब सब कुछ बिगड़ गया तब वागडोर इनके हाथ में दी गयी। मुझे आशा है कि यह इम ४४ करोड़ लोगों के देश की रक्षा करेंगे।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि चालीस करोड़ का टैक्स वापस लिया जाय।

Shri Rama Chandra Mallick (Jajpur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to speak on some important matters in this great House. I think the Government, the hon. Finance Minister, the Deputy Minister and their able officers actually deserve congratulations and great appreciation for handling this delicate task.

Before discussing some points of the budget, I want to say something. An hon. Member of the Opposition,

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy, has said something about the Governor of Orissa. I am very sorry for his remark and I can say this much very strongly that we are very fortunate because we have got an able, sincere, experienced and eminent engineer as the Governor of Orissa, Dr. A. N. Khosla. His valuable and fruitful suggestions, advice and guidance are not only of great help to the State of Orissa but also to the whole country. Criticisms should not be made in a wrong way, at least of those who are occupying high offices.

Then I want to make a very important point about the Tikkerpara Dam project in my State of Orissa. It is well known that the construction of some dam or project will mean displacement of some population. Take the case of Hirakud, Bhakra, Nangal and other projects. It is true that the Mahanadi River Valley Project was planned to consist of three dams, one at Hirakud, the second at Tikkerpara and the third at Naraj. This was decided long ago. Here I want to quote one para of the White Paper "On the Economic Conditions and the Development Activities in Orissa, 1964".

"1. *Tikkerpara Project*.—A master plan for the unified development of the river basins in Orissa has been drawn up in May 1963. The development of Mahanadi basin is the first step for the overall integrated development of the river basins in Orissa. A part of this has already been completed by the execution of the Hirakud Project and another part is under execution through a diversion weir at Mundali. The third part of the development of the Mahanadi basin is Tikkerpara dam, investigation of which is nearing completion.

Tikkerpara Dam Project is capable of producing 2,000 M.W. at 30 per cent load factor. The State Government have decided

to implement this Project observing due formalities of law. The Project on full development will afford protection from flood, water for irrigation, industries and domestic use, electric power for factories and navigation facilities. The Dam and Power House at Tikkerpara will roughly cost Rs. 175 crores while the barrage at Ganja, 22 miles (Gania) downstream, which has to be done to minimum essential level with some canal system will cost approximately Rs. 16 crores. The Main Dam whose actual execution will be taken up during the Fourth Plan will be completed in the Fifth Plan."

The next paragraph is very important.

"Government are fully aware that the Project will mean displacement of a large population from their existing houses to new areas and probably new locations. Government will pay special attention to the resettlement of this large mass of people in such a way that ultimately all of them will be settled in an economy higher than at present. Steps are being taken for pushing up agricultural development, industrial development, industrial townships and in establishing technical schools. Even the new agricultural settlements will be based on a suitable irrigation facilities and minimum comforts like electricity and protected water supply will be ensured."

People are prepared to sacrifice but they must be convinced that their sacrifice will produce commensurate results. Full survey and investigation of the project may please be made. I think this project when completed will give new life not only to the State of Orissa but also to the neighbouring States. It will change the whole picture of the State, which will develop considerably. So, Tikkarapara project may please be

taken up in the Five Year Plan and first preference may be given to it after full investigation and survey.

Coming to Gold Control Order, I want to say that those who are honest, true and sincere they are not getting gold for necessary requirements. On the other hand, those who are smugglers and blackmarketeers are getting gold and making money. Because pure gold is not available in the market, students of the universities are not getting their gold medals at the university convocations. I was present myself at the convocation of the Utkal University and the students there did not get their gold medals. So, it is a great disappointment to the students and other players and artistes. They should be encouraged by giving them gold medals. So, I would suggest to the Finance Minister that some immediate steps should be taken and their case should be considered sympathetically.

Some hon. Members have made reference to the Bhubaneswar resolution. I can say that the Bhubaneswar resolution was a national objective and it represented the national will for social advance. That resolution has been passed with full faith and confidence.

It is no doubt true that heavy taxes are levied by each successive budget. But, in my opinion, they are rightly levied to execute our Five Year Plans. The hon. Finance Minister has to find the necessary resources for implementing the Plan. So, from that point of view, I never object to taxation. It is well known that without taxation no country in the world can develop. So, it cannot be avoided. At the same time, we should take particular care to see that the amount we receive from taxes is properly utilised at the proper time. So we have to request the Finance Minister to be more careful in spending the money collected as tax.

[Shri Rama Chandra Mallick]

The whole country expected that the hon. Finance Minister will give a new financial lead to this country at this 'critical moment. Though I am not an economist, still I shall try to say some important things in this great House about the views of the common man of this country. Though we have progressed to some extent, I am very sorry to say that the rate of progress in the area from which I am elected is very poor. It is true that our agricultural and industrial production has increased somewhat. But, what is the condition of the people? One cannot forget or get away from the fact that the prices are shooting up.

Then I come up to the question of employment and social policies. It has been found that there has been a continuous and significant increase in unemployment. Here I may be permitted to give a true, painful and sorrowful picture of a case which I witnessed. This picture will give a rough indication of the economic condition of the people in the rural areas.

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

Shri Rama Chandra Mallick: I should be given fifteen minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Only ten minutes.

Shri Rama Chandra Mallick: I am the only member from Orissa participating in this debate.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No concession, please.

Shri Rama Chandra Mallick: All right, Sir. While I was on tour in my own parliamentary constituency, Jajpur, in the district of Cuttack, Orissa, I went to a cholera affected village. I saw an old woman helplessly crying with her children in an old and dilapidated hut, which you

may call jhompri in Hindi. Her husband was suffering from cholera. I immediately asked the doctor to go there and attend to the patient. I requested that woman to take the normal precautions for herself and her children and to take only pure boiled water for drinking. She explained that their family depended upon their daily wages and that they were having a hard time to exist. She was already half-starved and she had not even a single coin with her to purchase an earthen Surai, which may cost 5 to 8 annas, for keeping drinking water.

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

Shri Rama Chandra Mallick: Sir, I will take two minutes more.

She again said that the old surahi had been broken by her children and they were also crying for food. You see, Sir, this is the condition of the poor people there. I was standing just like a statue.

As you know, Sir, the population of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people in Orissa is more than 75 lakhs. The economic condition of these undeveloped people is miserable when you compare them with the advanced people. The hon. Finance Minister, in his speech, said:

"I have stated often that the growth of the economy has not been commensurate with our expectations. The measures we have taken during the last six months have produced some improvement in the situation; but more has to be done to stimulate the economy."

I want also to quote one paragraph from the speech delivered by Shri Biren Mitra, the Chief Minister of Orissa, during the current budget session of the Legislative Assembly of Orissa at Bhubaneswar.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He should close now.

Shri Rama Chandra Mallick: He said:

"In the four coastal districts of Orissa, i.e., Cuttack, Puri, Ganjam and Balasor, which are endemic zones and four other districts, i.e., Sundargarh, Koraput, Bolangir and Denkanal, which lies in the epidemic zone, it has been found that waterborne diseases like Cholera and Typhoid, etc., are of common occurrence in these areas, therefore, piped water-supply programme has been taken up to provide safe water in the villages. Initially, the programme is confined to bigger villages with a population of 2,000 and above and is being taken up in those villages where people are willing to contribute up to Rs. 5 *per capita* towards capital cost and undertake future maintenance of the projects after completion."

Famines and floods of Orissa are so well known. So, I request the hon Finance Minister to consider the case sympathetically and more funds may please be given to the State of Orissa, for the welfare of these people.

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

Shri Rama Chandra Mallick: Only one minute more, Sir.

The lack of adequate transport and communications has its impact on the daily life of the people, the high cost of living, the scarcity of essential commodities, the rising prices, the great delay in getting things etc. and it should be very seriously considered.

Price control is a very important matter. I want to submit that we should give the people some kind of satisfaction that the Government are

doing their best. Whatever may be our achievement and whatever may be our five-year plans, it is what the people get by way of food, clothing and housing that is more important than anything else. We should, therefore, build the country in that way.

I want to give few suggestions. Firstly, irrigation facilities should be given to the people where they depend upon the monsoon, secondly, where canal irrigation facilities are not possible, lift irrigation schemes may please be implemented; thirdly, land may please be given to the landless people; fourthly, village industries may please be established in every Gram Panchayat; fifthly, agricultural equipments, seeds, fertilisers etc. may please be supplied to the poor peasants....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Shiv Charan Gupta.

Shri Rama Chandra Mallick: ...sixthly, the peasant should get....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. I have called the next speaker.

Shri Shiv Charan Gupta (Delhi Sadar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I welcome the Budget proposals made by the hon. Finance Minister. Some of my hon. friends have characterised the Budget as a savage Budget and some have said that it is a capitalist Budget.

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): What is your epithet?

Shri Shiv Charan Gupta: Some of my hon. friends have said that this Budget is contrary to the resolution of Bhubaneshwar. I do not agree with them because we have accepted the principle of mixed economy and besides that I feel that the proposals in the Budget do not go contrary to the Bhubaneshwar resolution but contains to a large extent what were

[Shri Shiv Charan Gupta]

the basic ideas suggested at Bhubaneswar. As far as appointment of a commission of inquiry into monopolies is concerned, as far as reduction in the floor limit on the Estates Duty, Wealth-tax and Gifts-tax is concerned, all these steps are in the right direction.

The hon. Finance Minister is faced with the two objectives of stimulating savings and investment and, I think, the present situation of our economy warrants that there should be more and more investment and more and more production both in the agricultural and in the industrial sector so that we may make rapid economic progress and also defend our country.

As far as nationalisation of banks or nationalisation of general insurance is concerned, whatever be the view of the Government, it has failed to convince that there is no need to nationalise banks or general insurance. I do not want to elaborate on this point much but I want to say that sooner or later this step has to be taken in order to control the economic power so that there is no concentration of wealth and the fruits of increased wealth in the country go to the people in general.

As far as more and more investment is concerned, it is being said that the dividend tax on equity capital and Capital Gains Tax on bonus shares might dampen the climate for more investment. I would suggest to the hon. Finance Minister that this question may be looked into and if it is a fact, he should find remedies so that in the years to come there is no dampening or inhibiting factor for investment.

As regards prices, I am sorry to say that prices continue to rise and are adversely affecting the low income group, the Government servants, the fixed income group and the labourers. The Government has not taken all

possible steps to control the rise in prices and this is causing a lot of discontent.

It was suggested by the Government to all the State Governments that some co-operative stores should be opened in all the States and the organised sectors in the rural and urban areas should be helped by opening more fair price shops so that essential commodities are available at reasonable prices. But I am sorry to say that even in a city, like Delhi and New Delhi these steps have not been implemented with the result that prices continue to rise and the difficulties of the people increase. I would suggest that there should be some sort of a price control on the essential commodities so that commodities of everyday life are not sold at a higher price and people do not suffer.

I am sorry to note that the Government has not taken any steps to implement its decision that sales tax should be converted into excise duty. Government has come to this conclusion that if sales tax is converted into excise duty there will be a simplification of the taxation structure, it will plug loopholes and there will be no difficulty in collecting the tax. In 1957 this decision was taken in respect of a few commodities, like sugar, cloth and tobacco, and the revenue of the Government has increased from Rs. 32.5 crores in 1956-57 to Rs. 48.33 crores in 1964-65. So, when the Government is convinced that this will help in increasing the revenues of Government and will mitigate the hardship of the traders and the public will also be benefited by that, I fail to understand why the Government of India is unable to convince the State Governments regarding the usefulness of this proposition and why this should not be given effect to immediately.

As regards defence, I am sorry to note that the revised estimates for

1963-64 are short by Rs. 43 crores. The Government has not been able to utilise all the provisions made therein. The danger to NEFA border and to Punjab border is there. It has been proved that this border is vulnerable for attacks. It was stated the other day by the Minister without portfolio, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, that the danger both from China and Pakistan continues. Under the circumstances, I feel that more and more steps should be taken to defend our territory so that we are not caught unawares at any time.

Now, I come to the economic progress of the country. It has come to light that as against 5 per cent annual growth in the national economy, we are getting only 2.5 per cent. The growth of population is 2 per cent per annum and the rise in prices has, in fact, offset the fruits of nation during the last two years for its economic betterment. Under the circumstances, it is necessary to take more and more steps to increase the wealth of the country. Two steps have got to be taken if we want that the economic prosperity should go both to rural area and the urban area. These are the two steps. One is regarding family planning, that is, the control of population and the other is that there should be dispersal of industries in the rural sector. Therefore, it is necessary that the provision of Rs. 27 crores which is provided in the Third Five Year Plan for family planning should be utilised in full and the steps should be taken to make this programme more effective, to take this programme to the villages and make it understood to the people. There should be a programme of health education. All these steps should be taken so that the present growth of 40 per thousand is reduced to 25 per thousand and thereby there is some economic betterment. If the population increases at the present rate, I am afraid the problems will increase. Whatever national growth is there will be counter-balanced by the growth in population.

As far as industrialisation is concerned, not much attention has been paid to the rural sector. In the rural area, 69.5 per cent working force contributes 46 per cent to the national production or the national income. It should be very well understood that unless the population is shifted from the agricultural economy to the industrial economy and the industrialisation of the rural sector takes place, there is not going to be the desired result. If you see the provisions made in the Second Five Year Plan or the Third Five Year Plan, as far as the village industries are concerned, it has gone perhaps from Rs. 82 crores to Rs. 94 crores only in the Third Plan. I think, you will appreciate that this is hardly sufficient to industrialise the rural sector and bring the desired results. When we discuss this point, it is noteworthy that in 1956 per capita income of 20 crores people was less than 50 nP. per day and in 1963 this number has increased to about 26 crores of people. Therefore, it is necessary that we should take positive steps to encourage village industries in the rural area so that more and more population takes to industries and make a living and thereby the rural sector gets the benefit of national effort in economic advancement.

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

Shri Shiv Charan Gupta: Sir, one minute only.

If we wish to establish a self-reliant and self-contained village community, it is necessary to ensure a balanced relationship between the organised private sector of non-agriculture industries and the villages, between the mechanised and the labour intensive industries and between the town-oriented industrial economy in general and the village-oriented decentralised economy in particular.

श्री चन्द्रिकी (रायचूर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बजट पर मेरी चर्चा चल रही है, उस

[श्री चन्द्रिकी]

में भाग लेते हुए मैं भी अपने विचार-सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। इस पर विचार करते समय दो स्थितियों को हमें दृष्टि में रखना होगा। एक दृष्टि तो यह है कि इस देश में इस वक्त वस्तुस्थिति क्या है, किस हालत में से हो कर हमारा देश गुजर रहा है, उस में हमें क्या करना है और दूसरी दृष्टि यह है कि भविष्य में हम देश को किस दिशा में ले जाना चाहते हैं। जब तक इन दोनों दृष्टिकोणों को सामने रखते हुए हम इस बजट को नहीं जाँचेंगे तब तक हम यह निर्णय नहीं कर पायेंगे कि आया जो हमारे सामने बजट रखा गया है वह देश की दृष्टि से उचित बजट है या नहीं।

जब मैं वस्तुस्थिति को देखता हूँ तो देश के सामने संकटकालीन स्थिति है, वह मेरे सामने आ जाती है। किस तरह से चीन और पाकिस्तान की तरफ से हम को खतरा है, और किस तरह से देश में जो विद्रोही शक्तियाँ हैं वे हमारे प्रजासत्तात्मक राज्य का नाश करना चाहती हैं और हम को आपस में लड़ाकर देश में बगावत फैलाना चाहती हैं, और इसके लिए प्रयत्नशील हैं, यह चीज मेरे सामने आ जाती है। इसके साथ ही साथ जो पिछला बजट था जब मैं उसको सामने रखता हूँ तो मुझे यह कहना पड़ता है कि आज जो बजट पेश हुआ है और जिस हालत में भी रखा गया है, वह एक ईमानदाराना बजट है और एक ईमानदाराना कोशिश हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने इसको प्रस्तुत करते समय की है। यहाँ तक और इस हद तक तो कहने में मुझे कोई शिश्क नहीं है। लेकिन एक पार्लिटीशियन की दृष्टि से जब हम देश के भविष्य को देखते हैं, देश के भविष्य की ओर हमारे विचार जाते हैं तो मुझे यह कहने में कोई संकोच नहीं होता है और मुझे कहना पड़ता है कि कोई खास समाधानकारक स्थिति हम इस बजट में नहीं पाते हैं।

भविष्य की ओर जब हम देखते हैं तो मैं जिस पार्टी से सम्बन्ध रखता हूँ और उसका जो उद्देश्य है, उसको सामने रखते हुए मैं कह सकता हूँ कि जो हमारे सामने मैशरिंग राड है या आदर्श है वह भुवनेश्वर रेजोल्यूशन के, वे सब आज ही पूरे नहीं हो सकते, हमारे वित्त मंत्री या हमारी सरकार आज ही सब कुछ नहीं कर सकती, स्वर्ग ला कर हमारे सामने खड़ा नहीं कर सकती लेकिन मैं यह जरूर देखना चाहता हूँ कि उस दिशा में हम आगे बढ़ रहे हैं या नहीं बढ़ रहे हैं। अगर हम उस दिशा में आगे नहीं बढ़ रहे हैं तो उसको देखा कर मुझे निराशा होती है। भुवनेश्वर का जो प्रस्ताव है, उसके जो मूलभूत विचार हैं, उसको मैं इस वक्त सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। वहाँ हम ने यह निश्चय किया था कि पांचवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना खत्म होने तक देश की जनता की जो एलीमेंट्री नीड्स हैं, जो नित्य जीवन की आवश्यकताएँ हैं, उन को हम पूरा कर देंगे। उसमें हमने साफ साफ कहा था कि लॉस्ट स्ट्रेटा जो सोमाइटी का है, जिस की ग़रबत, जिस की दरिद्रता सभी को मानव है, उस को कम से कम नेशनल इनकम का जो एग्रेज है, वह मिल जाएगा और इस दिशा में हमारे प्रयत्न जारी रहेंगे। हमारा जो बजट है, हमारे जो प्रयत्न हैं, हमारा जो आर्थिक अवस्था है या हमारे जो विचार हैं या रूपरेखा है, उसको जब तक हम उस दृष्टि से नहीं आँकेंगे, तब तक उस ध्येय की पूर्ति हो सकती है, ऐसी आशा हम नहीं कर सकते हैं। जब हम इस दृष्टिकोण से इस बजट को देखते हैं, तो मुझे कहना पड़ता है कि आज न प्लस और न ही माइनस मार्क मिल सकते हैं। हम जिस स्थान पर थे, उसी स्थान पर हैं। इस दृष्टि से मैं कहूँगा कि अगर वास्तव में हमारे रेजोल्यूशन में कुछ कुण्वत है और वास्तव में हम चाहते हैं कि पांचवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना खत्म होने तक हम ने जो निर्णय लिया है

एलीमेंटी नीड्ज के बारे में, एम्प्लायमेंट के बारे में, देश की वर्तमान हालत को देखते हुए, उस ओर हम को आगे बढ़ना चाहिये था। जो हमारा उद्देश्य है, उसकी पूर्ति करने की ओर हम को पग बढ़ाना चाहिए था। यह जो साल हम खी रहे हैं इस बजट के लिहाज से, इसका मुझे दुख है। हमें जो एक महत्व का समय मिला था, वह हमने खोया है। इस दिशा में एक कदम, दो कदम या चार कदम, कुछ तो हमें आगे रखने चाहियें थे। जब मैं यह चीज कह रहा हूँ तो सब से पहले मुझे यह कहना पड़ेगा कि आज का जो बजट है उस में जो रिलीफ्स दिये गये हैं, इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोग्रस के लिए है और टैक्समेंट में जो भी रिलैक्सेशन दिये गये हैं वे समाधानकारक जरूर हैं, लेकिन भुवनेश्वर रेजोल्यूशन में पंचवर्षीय योजना के पूरे होने तक हम जो चीज चाहते हैं उस का पाने के लिए एग्रिकल्चर को प्रायोरिटी दी गई है। एग्रिकल्चर को यह प्रायोरिटी क्यों दी गई। इसलिए दी गई कि जैसा श्री हमारे एक मित्र ने कहा, आज लगभग देश की ७० परसेंट पापुलेशन एग्रिकल्चर पर जन्दा रहती है और हमारी नेशनल इनकम जो है उस का ५० परसेंट उन्हीं एग्रिकल्चरिस्ट्स से आती है। मिनिमम इनकम और लाण्ट रूट्टा के जो लोग हैं, जो विलेजर्स दरिद्रता की हालत में हैं उन की ऐवरेज रोजाना आमदनी १ रु० होनी चाहिए जब तक उस एग्रिकल्चर सैक्टर की उन्नति के लिए हम प्रयत्न नहीं करेंगे तब तक हमारे जो आर्थिक विकास के लिए प्रयत्न होंगे, कोशिश होंगी, वह असफल रहेगी।

14.00 hrs.

इसके लिए क्या प्रयत्न होना चाहिये था उस को भी हम ने अपने भुवनेश्वर रेजोल्यूशन में बतलाया है। हम ने कहा है कि गांवों से ले कर बड़े से बड़े शहर में भी एग्रिकल्चर के लिए क्रेडिट फसिलिटी दी जानी चाहिये। नेशनलाइजेशन आफ बैंक्स को हम इम्पार्टेंस दें या न दें, हमें अपने बैंक्स का नेशनलाइजेशन करना चाहिये या न करना

चाहिये, मैं इस समय इस में नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन मैं सरकार से यह प्रश्न चाहता हूँ कि क्या उस ने विलेजर्स को, एग्रिकल्चरिस्ट्स को, क्रेडिट फसिलिटी देने के लिए कोई आयोजन किया है। अगर यह आयोजन नहीं किया जाता, अगर क्रेडिट फसिलिटी नहीं मिलती हैं तो एग्रिकल्चर, जिस से कि ५० परसेंट नेशनल इनकम आती है, कैसे बढ़ेगी। दरिद्रता और एम्प्लायमेंट की जो बुनियादी प्रब्लेम है वह कैसे हल होगी, मैं इस चीज को समझ नहीं पाया।

इसी तरह से जब मैं एग्रिकल्चर की दृष्टि से सोचता हूँ तो कहना पड़ता है कि जिस दृष्टि से बजट की रूप रेखा रक्खी गई है, जिस तरह से हम सोच रहे हैं कि इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन के लिये, इंडस्ट्रीज के लिये फाइनेन्शियल फंड्स रक्खे जायें, उसी तरह से एग्रिकल्चर के लिये किन फंड की बात सोची जाती है, किम तरह से उसे आगे बढ़ाने का प्रयत्न किया जाता है। यह कहा जा सकता है कि एग्रिकल्चर तो स्टेट सक्जेक्ट है। लेकिन इसी बजट स्पीच में फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर ने कहा है कि स्टेट्स को लगभग ३,००० करोड़ रुपया कर्जा सेंटर को देना है। दूसरी तरफ उन स्टेट्स ने जो कर्जा दूसरों से लिया है वह करीब ६५० करोड़ है। जब उन की हालत यह है तो कैसे कहते हैं कि स्टेट करे, स्टेट करे, इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह स्टेट से होने वाली बात नहीं है। सेंटर को इस के लिए सोचना है। जब मेरो स्टेट का प्रश्न आता है तो मैं आप से कहुँगा कि हमारी मैसूर सरकार ने सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट से कहा है कि उन को ४२ करोड़ रुपया दिया जाये। ४२ करोड़ रु० की उन की माइनर इरिगेशन की स्कीम है जिस के तहत हम ज्यादा फुड प्रोड्यूस कर सकते हैं। ऐसी बातें हैं जिन को देखना चाहिये। इस सम्बन्ध में इस बजट में कोई खास कदम नहीं उठाया गया है। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि मुझे बहुत निराशा हुई है।

[श्री चन्द्रकी]

इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी के सम्बन्ध में जो इतना ज्यादा महत्व दिया गया है, इतने ज्यादा कन्सेशन दिये गये हैं, उन के लिए मुझे एक इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट या एक स्पेशलिस्ट की हैसियत में कुछ नहीं कहना है, लेकिन मुझे एक पोलिटिकल वर्कर, एक सोशल वर्कर को जो दिखाई देता है वह मैं इस सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ कि आज क्या दशा है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आज हमारी सरकार के सामने जो इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी है उस की क्या दशा है। आज अगर एक शुगर फॅक्ट्री खड़ी करनी हो, टैक्सटाइल फॅक्ट्री खड़ी करनी हो, कोई फॅक्ट्री खड़ी करनी हो तो उस के लिये जिन मशीनों की जरूरत है वे हम को बाहर से मंगानी पड़ती हैं। इस बजट में हम ने उन के स्वयं उत्पादन के लिए क्या किया है।

इसी बजट से पता चलता है कि डिफेन्स के लिये गुजिश्ता साल में जो बजट रुपया दिया गया था उसमें लगभग ४३ करोड़ रुपया कैपिटल इन्वेस्टमेंट का इस्तीमाल नहीं किया गया है। यह इस चीज को बतलाता है कि हमारा डिफेन्स आगे नहीं बढ़ा है या जिस तरह से इन्वेस्टमेंट होना चाहिये वह नहीं हो रहा है। इसका कारण क्या है ?

तीसरी चीज मैं आपके सामने जो रखूंगा वह फारेन एक्सचेंज के बारे में है। आज फारेन एक्सचेंज को बड़ा महत्व दिया जाता है। लेकिन फारेन एक्सचेंज हमारे एक्सपोर्ट और इम्पोर्ट नीति से सम्बन्ध रखता है। जब हम इम्पोर्ट के आइटम को देखते हैं तो खास चीज हमारी समझ में यह आती है कि ६२ करोड़ ६० खर्च करके सुपर फाइन काटन इस देश में लाते हैं। वह हम किस के लिये लाते हैं। क्या इससे बने कपड़े की जरूरत गरीबों के लिये है। एक तरफ हम इस देश के लिये फारेन एक्सचेंज लाना चाहते हैं दूसरी तरफ उसका इस बरे तरीके से इस्तेमाल करते हैं।

इसी बजट स्पीच में फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर ने कहा है कि सुपरफाइन या फाइन यार्न पर ज्यादा टैक्स इस लिये लगाते हैं कि उसका काटन वह वाहर से आता है। इसकी जरूरत क्या है। इसका कोई कपड़ा एक्सपोर्ट नहीं होता है। जो एक्सपोर्ट हमारे यहां मैनफैक्चर्ड क्लॉथ का होता है वह हमारे देशी काटन का होता है। जब तक हम इस सम्बन्ध में नहीं सोचेंगे, जब तक इस नीति को हम नहीं समझेंगे तब तक कुछ नहीं होगा।

हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर ने एक दृष्टि यहां और रखी है कि सेविंग्स कैपेसिटी बढ़ाने के लिए देश में खास कंसेशन देना चाहिये। मैं फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने यह भ्रन्दाजा कैसे लगाया कि आज देश में सेविंग कैपेसिटी नहीं है। आज मैं यह सवाल देश के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। स्माल सेविंग्स स्कीम को २५ करोड़ रुपये से प्रारम्भ किया गया गुजिश्ता साल यानी सन् १९६२-६३ में ७३ करोड़ रुपया हमको मिला, सन् १९६३-६४ में ११७ करोड़ रुपया मिला और अब सन् १९६४-६५ में १२५ करोड़ रुपये का भ्रन्दाजा लगाया जा रहा है। अगर सेविंग कैपेसिटी लोगों में नहीं है तो यह पैसा कहां से आता है। आप इस बात को भी देखिये कि स्माल सेविंग्स में छोटे लोग रुपये दे रहे हैं, बड़े लोग नहीं दे रहे हैं। बड़े लोगों का रुपया ब्लैक मार्केट में जाता है या दूसरे मार्गों पर चला जाता है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सेविंग्स के लिये हमारे देश में कैपेसिटी है। आपका यह सोचना और यह कल्पना करना कि हमारे पास सेविंग कैपेसिटी नहीं है इसलिये इण्डस्ट्री का डेवलपमेंट सही तौर पर नहीं हो रहा है, यह गलत बात है। सेविंग कैपेसिटी है लेकिन समझने की जरूरत है कि किस तरह से उसको आगे बढ़ाना चाहिये।

यह कुछ चीजें हैं जो मैंने कहीं। मेरे पास और भी चीजें कहने के लिये हैं लेकिन समय

न होने की वजह से मैं अधिक समय नहीं लेना चाहता और इतना कह कर मैं अपनी बात को समाप्त करता हूँ।

श्री श्रीकार लाल बेरवा : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वित्त मन्त्री ने जो बजट पेश किया है उसमें मुझे समाजवाद की झलक बिल्कुल नजर नहीं आती और गरीबों के लिये राहत का तो इसमें नाम निशान नहीं है। जितना जोर दिया गया है, जितनी बचत दिखाई गई है वह सब लखपतियों और करोड़पतियों के लिये है। सारा बजट इस तरह से बना है कि ऐसे ही लोगों को राहत मिले, गरीबों को राहत बिल्कुल न मिले। हमने सोचा था कि लड़ाई की वजह से जितने टैक्स लगाये गये थे वे शायद इस बजट में हटा दिये जायेंगे। १७१० करोड़ रुपये का अनुमान था और २४०० करोड़ वसूल हुए फिर भी एक टैक्स नहीं हटाया गया। गरीब लोग इस बजट में जो आशा लगाये हुए बैठे थे उन आशाओं पर पानी फिर गया और वह देखते ही रह गये कि इस बजट में क्या हो गया। हमारे यहाँ टैक्स इस लिये लगाने पड़े कि हमें लड़ाई के लिये सामान इकट्ठा करना था, दूसरे मुल्कों में उनको लाना था और इसके लिये हमारी जनता ने दिन खोल कर पैसा दिया और देती रही। लेकिन आज वैसे कोई बात नजर नहीं आती। जितनी भूमि चीन ने ली है, जितनी पाकिस्तान ने ली है, उस भूमि के बारे में इस बजट के अन्दर कहीं कुछ नहीं है। जितना रुपया डिफेन्स के लिये मंजूर किया गया था उससे भी ज्यादा खर्च कर दिया जाता तो भी कोई हर्ज नहीं था, लेकिन हमारी जनता का ध्यान आज इस तरफ है कि पाकिस्तान ने जो भूमि हड़प कर रक्खी है, आज आये दिन घटनायें हुआ करती हैं, चीन ने जो भूमि हड़प कर रक्खी है, उसके लिये इस बजट में लेश मात्र नाम निशान नहीं है कि हम क्या करेंगे। यह खिबर क्यों। क्या हमारी सरकार उनसे अब रही है, क्या लड़ने के लिये नहीं बल्कि दलामी लेने के लिये ही मिलिटरी तैयार की

गई है, क्या मिनिस्टर की आबभगत करने के लिये या उद्घाटन प्रादि के समय उनकी रक्षा के लिये यह मिलिटरी इकट्ठी की गई है। आज हम लोग डिफेन्स के लिये इससे भी ज्यादा रुपया मंजूर करने के लिये तैयार हैं लेकिन जो हमारी गई हुई भूमि है उसको वापस लाया जाये।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि किसानों के लिये जितनी राहत मिलनी चाहिये थी वह इसमें बिल्कुल नहीं दी गई है। जिस मिट्टी के तेल के ऊपर दो तीन दिन तक इस हाउस में चर्चा रही कि उसके ऊपर बिल्कुल टैक्स हटा दिया जाये उसके बारे में भी कोई बातचीत नहीं हुई और साग पैसा इस जब निकाल कर उस जब में रख दिया गया। यहाँ पर टैक्स घटाने की बात की गई लेकिन उससे ४ करोड़ रुपये ज्यादा का टैक्स लगाया गया। कहते हैं कि इससे जनता के ऊपर असर नहीं पड़ेगा, लेकिन इससे जनता पर जो असर पड़ेगा उससे वह दब जायेगी।

जिन मुनारों को आपने स्वर्ण नियन्त्रण के द्वारा बेकार किया उनके लिये कुछ करने का कहीं नाम निशान नहीं है। उनके लिये कोई योजना बनाई जानी चाहिये थी, उनको लाखों करोड़ों रुपये देकर लघु उद्योगों में कोई धंधा दिया जाना चाहिये या उनकी रक्षा की जानी चाहिये थी। आज वे भूखों मर रहे हैं। आज पाकिस्तान से करीब डेढ़ लाख हिन्दू आ चुके हैं उनके लिये कहां से कोई योजना होगी जब कि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर २७ करोड़ आदमी ऐसे हैं जो बेकारों, बेरोजगारी और भुखमरी के शिकार हो रहे हैं। उनके लिये आखिर क्या होगा। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि हमारी सरकार की तरफ से किसानों और

[श्री ओंकार लाल बेरवा]

अनाज की बढ़ोतरी की तरफ ध्यान न देकर ऐसे उद्योगों पर ध्यान क्यों दिया जाता है जो कि रूस और अमरीका से मुकाबला करने के लिये सामान तैयार करते हैं। रूस और अमरीका का मुकाबला करने चले हैं। आज हलों की जगह ट्रैक्टर लगा दिए गए हैं। जबकि प्रयत्न करना चाहिए था गांवों में अच्छे बैलों की उत्पात्ति के लिए, इसके लिए जगह जगह गौशालाएं खोली जाती, और अच्छे सांड छोड़े जाएं तो यह समस्या हल हो सकती है। जब देश में ट्रैक्टर नहीं थे तो सारी खेती हलों और बैलों के द्वारा होती थी। लेकिन आज हमारी सरकार विदेशों की ओर देख रही है, इसी लिए ट्रैक्टर चलाए जा रहे हैं। लेकिन अगर ट्रैक्टर का एक पुरजा खराब हो जाता है तो सैकड़ों बीघा जमीन पड़ी रह जाती है। जब तक पुरजा बाहर से नहीं आता तब तक ट्रैक्टर काम नहीं दे सकता। लेकिन सरकार तो विदेशों के चक्कर में फंसी हुई है। हर साल हम देखते हैं कि कर्जा बढ़ता चला जाता है। २६ अरब का गूह बाहर से मंगाया जाता है और इस तरह कर्जा बढ़ता जाता है। हम अधिकाधिक कर्जों में दबे जा रहे हैं। उसका ब्याज देने के लिए २०० करोड़ रुपया भी उधार लेकर देना पड़ता है। ७५ अरब का हमारे ऊपर कर्जा हो गया है। हम इस तरह कब तक विदेशों का मुंह देखते रहेंगे। क्या हम स्वयं अपना रक्षा नहीं कर सकते। विदेशों पर निर्भर रहने के कारण ही हम अपने देश में हिन्दी को अंग्रेजी की जगह नहीं ला पा रहे हैं। आज हम अंग्रेजी मूर्तियों को इसलिए नहीं हटा सकते क्योंकि हमारे ऊपर कर्ज है। अगर हम हिन्दी लाने का प्रयत्न करेंगे तो हमें डर है कि विदेशी लोग हमको विरोध पत्र भेजें और कहें कि अगर तुमने ऐसा किया तो हम तुम को कर्ज देना बन्द कर देंगे। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि जब तक हम स्वयं अपने पैरों पर खड़े नहीं होंगे और विदेशों पर निर्भर रहेंगे तब तक देश का आर्थिक ढांचा नहीं सुधर सकता।

सरकार ने जो मृत सम्पत्ति कर, धन कर आदि कर लगाए हैं मैं उनका स्वागत करता हूँ। लेकिन इनसे साल में पांच या ६ करोड़ की आमदनी होगी। अगर आमदनी में साल में केवल इतनी ही बढ़ोतरी हो तो पचास साल में भी हम समाजवाद नहीं ला सकेंगे।

हम देखते हैं कि सरकार में फिजूलखर्ची बढ़ती जा रही है। आज हम विदेशों की खुशामद में लगे हैं। विदेशियों पर पहले जहा ४ करोड़ खर्च होता था आज १८ करोड़ खर्च होता है। इतने खर्च की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। हम गरीब जनता पर टैक्स लगा कर विदेशियों की खुशामद में रुपया खर्च करते हैं इसलिए कि वे कहीं हमको कर्ज देना बन्द न कर दें। इतना रुपया सरकार खर्च करती है, लेकिन फिर भी हमने देखा है कि २६ जनवरी को हमारे सैनिकों की प्रगंसा पढी गयी तो चीनी प्रतिनिधि उठ कर चले गए। तो हमारा इन लोगों पर खर्चा करना कहा तक ठीक है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस खर्च को खत्म कर दिया जाए या बहुत कम कर दिया जाए। हमारी गरीब जनता जिस प्रकार गुजर बसर करती है उसी आधार पर इनके लिए खर्चा किया जाए। ऐसा किया जाए तब तो यहां समाजवाद हो सकता है। खुशामद से समाजवाद नहीं आएगा। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक आप खुशामद करते रहोगे तब तक दूसरे देश हमारे ऊपर अपना दबाव डालते रहेंगे। हमें अपने पैरों पर खड़े होकर अपने आर्थिक ढांचे को आगे बढ़ाना होगा।

धन की जांच करने के लिए एक आयोग नियुक्त किया गया था। लेकिन उसमें इतनी शिथिलता आ गयी कि उसने अभी तक कोई रिपोर्ट नहीं दी कि किसके पास कितना पैसा जमा है। यह हमारी सरकार की ढिलाई के कारण हो रहा है। यह पैसा पूंजीपतियों के पास है जो कांग्रेस को चन्दा देते हैं। ये लोग साठ साठ लाख, तीस तीस लाख, पांच पांच लाख रुपया चन्दा देते हैं। हर एक मिल

मालिक चन्दा देता है। अगर इनकी जांच की जाए तो ये सरकार को हरी झंडी दिखा दें और सरकार का इलेक्शन समाप्त हो जाए।

श्री त्यागी (देहरादून) : आपका इलेक्शन तो बगैर चन्दे के चलता होगा ?

श्री श्रींकार लाल बेरवा : हम तो अपने पैरों के बल इलेक्शन लड़ते हैं। और चने खा खाकर जहाँ आपकी बीम बीस जीपें चलती हैं वहाँ हम साइकिल से काम करते हैं। हम तो अपने हाथ पैरों से काम लेते हैं।

इसीलिये इन बड़े लोगों पर उचित टैक्स नहीं लगाया जाता। आज टाटा बाटा और बिड़ला पर चालीस करोड़ का टैक्स नहीं लगा है। देश में पांच परिवार ऐसे हैं जो कि देश की सम्पत्ति पर कब्जा किये बैठे हैं। उन से टैक्स क्यों नहीं वसूल किया जाता। गरीब जनता को दुधारू गाय की तरह जब चाहा दुह लिया जाता है। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि इन बड़े लोगों से पूरा टैक्स वसूल किया जाए और जो पैसा उस से आवे उस से गरीब आर्दमियों को कर मुक्त किया जाए।

आप ने इस बजट के अन्दर पाकिस्तान से आने वाले शरणार्थियों के लिये कोई बात नहीं बतलायी है, न यह बतलाया है कि उन को स्थायी रूप से कहाँ बसाया जाएगा या उन को जमीन आदि क्या दिया जाएगा। यह बजट में बतलाना चाहिए था कि उन पर कितना खर्च किया जाएगा।

अब मैं आप से राजस्थान के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। राजस्थान में हर साल अकाल पड़ता है। उस की व्यवस्था के लिए बजट में कुछ नहीं कहा गया है। जब आग लगती है तभी सरकार चेतती है उस के पहले नहीं। उस समय कहा जाता है कि कुँवे खुदवाये जायेंगे, नहरें निकलवायी जायेंगी और अन्य स्कीमें बनायी जायेंगी। राजस्थान में

हर साल अकाल पड़ता है, उस को रोकने के लिए सरकार ने कोई कदम नहीं उठाया है। मैं सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यदि राजस्थान में पानी का इन्तिजाम कर दिया जाए तो राजस्थान सारे हिन्दुस्तान के लिए अनाज दे सकता है।

आप ने महंगाई को रोकने के लिये ५५ हजार दुकानें खोली हैं। लेकिन मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या ये दुकानें देश की आवश्यकता को पूरा कर सकती हैं। देहात के अन्दर बहुत कम दुकानें खोली गयी हैं। सारे दुकानें अधिकतर शहरों में खोली गयी हैं, जैसे बम्बई, कलकत्ता और दिल्ली आदि में, वहाँ के लोगों को खुश करने के लिए। अगर सरकार शहरों में ऐसा न करे तो उस का परदा फाश हो जाए। आज गांव वाले तो महंगाई के मारे पिसे जा रहे हैं। इस महंगाई को खत्म करने के लिये ये ५५ हजार दुकानें काफी नहीं हैं। मैं सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि किसानों का आर्थिक विकास उस समय तक नहीं होगा जब तक कि यह महंगाई कम नहीं होगी।

आज एक क्लर्क जिस को सवा सौ रुपये महीना मिलता है वह कितनी मुश्किल से गुजर करता है। अगर उस को चार पांच भी बाल बच्चे हों तो उस को साठ रुपये का तो सूखा अनाज ही चाहिये, बंस रुपये उस के कमरे के किराये में चले जाते हैं, बाकी तीस चालीस रुपये में वह क्या क्या करे, लकड़ी कोयला लावे, कपड़े बनावे या दूसरे खर्च करे। इस ओर सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिए।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि पहले जब हमारा हिन्दुस्तान आजाद नहीं था तो गांवों के लोग दस गज का साफा पहनते थे। लेकिन आज उन के सिर पर पाव गज को टोपी होती है, कुछ के पास वह भी नहीं है और वे खुले सिर फिरते हैं। उस समय गांव के भाई तीन गज का अचकन पहनते थे। आज सवा गज का कब्जा लगाए फिरते हैं। उन को कपड़ा नहीं मिलता।

[श्री श्रीकार लाल बरवा]

उस समग्र गांव के लोग पांच गज की धोती पहनते थे। लेकिन आज सवा गज की चूड़ी पहने मां बांहनों के सामने फिरते हैं। उस समय किसानों की आरतें १६ गज का घाघरा पहनती थीं लेकिन आज ढाई गज की घाघरी पहने बाजारों में फिरती हैं। अपनी इज्जत भी नहीं बचा पातीं। मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि किसानों ने तो अपने और पहनाव खर्च में बड़ी कटौती कर ली है। जितने में शहर वाले फैशन करते हैं, उतने में तो गांव वाला रोटी खा लेता है। इसलिए मैं कहती हूँ कि गांव वालों की जितनी ज्यादा हो सके इमदाद की जाए। आज उन पर चारों ओर टैक्सों का बोझ है। सहकारी समिति का टैक्स है, पंचायत का टैक्स है, ताहूकार का टैक्स है, और लगान है। सरकार कहती है कि किसान आजाद हो गया लेकिन आज किसान की हालत खराब हो रही है। हमारे राजस्थान के मुख्य मंत्री कहते हैं कि राजस्थान हरा भरा हो गया है। लेकिन आप दिल्ली से जयपुर तक रेन में चले तो आप को पता चलेगा कि क्या अवस्था है। कहीं किर्सा पोखरे में पानी भर गया है और उस के पाम दूब उग आया है तो उस को भले ही हरियाली कह लिया जाए, नहीं तो चारों ओर धूल उड़नी है। लेकिन मुख्य मंत्री कहते हैं कि किसानों को बड़ी राहत मिल गयी है। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि राजस्थान को ज्यादा से ज्यादा सहायता मिलनी चाहिये ताकि जो बंजर जमीन है उस को भी उपजाऊ बनाया जा सके। किसान को बहुत सहायता की जरूरत है। आज हालत यह है कि जो रुपया किसान के लिए बैंक से दो रुपया प्रति सैंकड़ा के हिसाब से दिया जाता है वह किसान तक पहुंचते पहुंचते दस रुपया सैंकड़ा का हो जाता है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह रकम किसान को बैंक से सीधी मिलनी चाहिये।

आज किसान अगर खेत के लिए पट्टा खेना चाहता है या पेड़ काटने या उगाने के लिए आर्डर लेना चाहता है तो उस

को तीन तीन महीने तक दफ्तरों के चक्कर काटने पड़ते हैं। एक किसान की जमीन के ६ या ७ महकमे मालिक हैं। फारेस्ट वाले कहते हैं कि जमीन हमारा है, पाइनिंग वाले कहते हैं कि हमारी जमीन है, पंचायत वाले कहते हैं कि जमीन हमारी है, सरकार कहती है कि जमीन हमारा है, हम को लगान दो। सरकार की ओर से तहसीलदार साहब किसान से लगान मांगते हैं। मेरा निवेदन है कि ऐसी व्यवस्था की जाये कि किसान को अपना काम एक जगह कराने की सुविधा हो जाए जिस से उस को एक एक काम के लिये तीन तीन महीने चक्कर काटने न पड़ें। आज तो अवस्था यह है कि अगर पांच दस रुपये देकर उस का काम हो जाता है तो वह इम को बहुत अच्छा समझता है।

इसलिए मैं आप के द्वारा यह निवेदन करूंगा कि उन का आवश्यक प्रबंध हो जाय ताकि जितनी भी सहूलियत मिल सके, उतनी सहूलियत उन किसानों को हमें देनी चाहिये। बस मैं इतना ही कह कर आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

Shri Himatsingka (Godda): The Finance Minister put forward in Part A of his Budget speech very salient points and principles which should govern taxation policy, and in one of the paragraphs he has indicated that public undertakings also should be in a position to contribute to the revenues of the State by making profits according to their capacity and according to the kind of materials that they have been producing. I do not know why exception has been taken to this most important and salient point indicated in his speech.

Some of the friends have taken exception, and they have said that public undertakings should not be asked to make any profits. Do they want things to continue as pointed out in one of the reports that I came across, the Twentieth Report of the Public Accounts Committee of the Third Lok Sabha? That report, which

I cursorily went through, shows at page 44 that in the three years 1960-61 to 1962-63, the loss in State trading in foodgrains has been of the order of Rs. 64 crores. It was Rs. 18.68 crores in 1960-61, Rs. 19.25 crores in 1961-62 and Rs. 26.56 in 1962-63. Similarly, the Public Accounts Committee have pointed out that transit loss in 1960-61 was Rs. 28,48,000 which rose to Rs. 2,07,74,000 in 1962-63. Storage loss also increased from Rs. 6 lakhs to Rs. 23 lakhs. Do our friends here want that this state of things should continue, or that it should change for the better and that the public undertakings should contribute to the revenues of the State?

As a matter of fact, I feel that the public undertakings that we have, have no well-defined principles. There is wide diversity in the administrative set-up and also in Government control in the matter of accounting and audit, as well as in parliamentary control. Some of them are in the form of companies, others are departments of the Government. There is also overlapping, the same kind of work being given to two companies. Therefore, there must be some well-defined principles that should be followed by public undertakings, so that they may be controlled by Parliament, so that they may be able to contribute to the revenues of the State. I simply wonder how and why our friends should take exception to such a salutary principle that has been indicated by the Finance Minister.

Another criticism that has been levelled against the Budget is that it lacks the spirit of Bhubaneshwar. I feel that not only does it not lack the spirit of Bhubaneshwar, but that it contains very much of the contents of the Bhubaneshwar resolution. In fact, because of the proximity of the session, which was held at Bhubaneshwar in January, and the Budget, which came in February, I feel that the contents of the resolution have gone so far as to take away some of

the intentions of the Finance Minister as indicated in Part A of his Budget speech.

You will find that one of the objects that he had in view was economic growth, development, more production and so on, and for that purpose, he has taken some steps in the matter of adjustment of certain kinds of taxes. The Super Profits Tax has been replaced by surtax, and some selected industries are going to get some concessions. Certain taxes have been rationalised and no Super Tax is going to be imposed on inter-corporate dividends. There is also an attempt to give some more concessions to foreign capital. One of the friends objected to encouraging foreign capital coming into the country. Does he know that foreign capital that is being invested in this country, compared to that invested in other countries, is 0.3 per cent—not 3 per cent? For every one hundred rupees being invested by foreigners in developing countries, 0.3 is coming to India. Does that indicate that our concessions are attractive? Does it not indicate that foreigners find it more profitable to go to other countries because they get better advantages, better concessions and better opportunities there?

Our country cannot advance, cannot make any progress, unless there is more investment, unless more industries are set up and there is more production. After all, socialism does not mean that we distribute poverty. You can distribute only when our income increases, when there is more production, more opportunities, when more houses are built, more cloth is produced, more food is grown. Agricultural production, must increase, and other needs must be met similarly by more production.

How is that going to be done unless you encourage more investment?

[Shri Himatsingka]

And you cannot have investment unless there is saving, and ultimately it is the individual who saves. Therefore, every possible step must be taken to encourage savings and investment.

The speeches delivered by Members like Shri K. D. Malaviya and Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad are governed by ideologies; they do not look at the facts or the realities of the Budget, or the effect that it is going to produce on the economics of the country.

As I said, not only the spirit of the Bhubaneshwar resolution, but its contents have very much permeated the proposals of the Budget.

Shri Sheo Narain (Bansi): How?

Shri Himatsingka: I will show how. Not only has there been no reduction ultimately in tax liability; on the contrary, the corporate sector will have to give Rs. 11 crores more than what was given last year. The taxes last year under Morarjibhai's Budget were excessive, still this year another Rs. 11 crores have been added to these taxes on the corporate sector. In Super Tax there was 6 per cent after allowing 10 per cent from profits. Now, the rate has been reduced to only 10 percent on the capital base. In a number of cases, this will work against the companies, though a large number of companies will get marginal benefit.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He has two minutes more.

Shri Himatsingka: I have just begun. I have waited for five days. I have not even touched the important points.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Ten minutes are over.

Shri Himatsingka: The clock will not stop for me, but if I am repeating anything, you may stop me.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He can take two or three minutes more.

Shri Himatsingka: Two minutes will not do.

As a matter of fact, we realise that the market is the best indicator of what the effect of the Budget is going to be, and one of the previous speakers mentioned that the market has reacted rather unfavourably. And that ought to be the test to find out whether more taxes have been imposed and whether large concessions have been given either to the private sector or to anybody. As a matter of fact some friends have been very critical of the private sector. But do they realise that in the last five years over one hundred eighty eight new major products have come into production or manufacture in the country? Some of the businessmen have set up certain factories which are unique in the whole of the world, for instance, production of rayon yarn from bamboo without any collaboration from anybody. Our engineers and our young men are in no way inferior to the foreigners. But they must be encouraged and they must get opportunities. How are they going to get the opportunities unless those industries are set up? Therefore, nothing should be done which stands in the way of new industries coming up and in the way of our young men having opportunities.

Sir, before you ring the bell again, I will just make certain suggestions for the consideration of the Finance Minister about the tax proposals that he has made. I suggest for his consideration and acceptance that, as was the case with regard to Super-profits Tax, that deficiency was allowed to be carried forward, similarly that provision should be made with regard to Sur-tax also. The capital base has been limited to loans which are taken from banks for more than ten years. I do

not see the rationale of ten years. If the capital that is borrowed goes into production of capital assets, that also should be regarded and counted as capital base.

Similarly, the proposal of a tax of 7½ per cent that is going to be imposed on dividend, that does not appear to be very fair. After all, no one will invest any money unless he gets a return. Therefore, if you are going to impose a tax on dividend, let there be some floor over which you tax the dividend. That is to say, you say 5 or 6 per cent return on the capital, all equity capital, and then you tax the excess, so that the excess may be ploughed back in the industry.

Similarly, as you know, the Super Profits-tax Act last year removed certain categories of shares from the exempted list under the Wealth Tax Act. If certain shares enjoy the benefit of not being counted as assets under the Wealth Tax Act, people will be prompted to invest money in new companies, in new undertakings, which require a lot of capital. And people will not be tempted to do so unless they get some benefit. There is no justification for this. As you know, new companies will take at least five, six or seven years to be in a position to give dividend. They take two to three years to come up and another two to three years to give dividend. Therefore, I suggest that this should also be taken into consideration.

Another point is that the development rebate position should be clarified. I do not know what is in the mind of the Finance Minister.

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

Shri Himatsingka: Please let me have five minutes more. The development rebate position also should be clarified, because he said that after 1946 April, I think, people should not

expect it. But I think development rebate is one of the biggest encouragements for new industry to be set up. Therefore, that should not be lost sight of.

So far as agricultural economy is concerned, there is a lot of provision, and perhaps hon. Members have not been able to catch the same. There is provision for agriculture also; about Rs. 350 crores more are going to be spent on it. About Rs. 914 crores are to be spent on Plan schemes, and half of that goes into agriculture. But unfortunately that money is not being properly utilised. Money is spent on community development. That is a very good scheme. But most of the money is spent on salaries. Therefore, some steps should be taken to see that that money is properly utilised. And I think one of the steps proposed by the Finance Minister, that he proposes to have about eighty districts for what is called package programme, that perhaps will be of much help.

I know in my constituency there are certain areas where there are a number of small rivers which, if properly dammed and if proper steps are taken, the schemes can be completed within twelve months. Because, on some schemes if you spend Rs. 2 lakhs or Rs. 5 lakhs they will give a return within twelve months. The schemes can be completed within a year and they will give a return immediately. But unfortunately, if you go to the States they say "we have no money". The money is being utilised for other purposes. Something should be done by the Finance Minister and the Centre to earmark those moneys for schemes which will give an immediate return.

These are some of my suggestions. I had a lot to say. But I do not want you again to ring the bell. I hope whatever suggestions I have made will be carefully considered.

There is just a small matter which I do not want to miss mentioning. Certain concessions have been given

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to the section 23A companies that if they engage themselves in certain industries they will get some concession. And it has been said, "if they wholly do so". But if a company does 95 per cent work of that industry and does not do 5 per cent, should that company be deprived of that concession? It may be given proportionately.

These are some of the suggestions which I wish to make and I hope the Finance Minister will take them into consideration.

✓ **Dr. Sarojini Mahishi** (Dharwar North): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the budget of any country would indicate its social and economic development, and the trends towards such development also. It is quite natural that the budget of our country would also indicate the social and economic development of the country and also its capacity to defend itself. The budget placed before this august House by the Finance Minister, along with an introductory speech, is quite extensive; at the same time, it has been very carefully worded also.

It is true that the budget cannot be chalked out on a clean slate. The assets and liabilities of the previous year, and not only of the previous year but of a number of previous years, shall have to be carried over; and in the light of our policy the budget shall have to be chalked out and then the new proposals shall have to be placed before the House.

The country, and especially the common man, during all these years has been toiling very hard trying to keep the wolf away from his door. By successive doses of under-estimated budgets he has been put to greater sufferings—on account of under-assessment and also on account of the want of efficiency on the part of the Government in many of our industries and many of our concerns.

Now, Sir, the country had to prepare a budget last year and this year also, taking into consideration a number of problems. In the wake of the new problems that came up before it, the country had to set up a new fiscal policy, and that was to be readjusted accordingly. In mathematics if two adjacent factors act on a third one, the resultant can easily be calculated. But, Sir, in politics where two adjacent countries are reacting upon a third country, it is very difficult to calculate and judge as to where we stand. Under these circumstances the budget of the country also had to be reoriented, and accordingly it has been reoriented.

But today we find that some of these things, as many hon. Members have said, have not been attended to properly. Here I may quote the words of the Finance Minister himself. He said that the arrears of assessment could not be collected on account of shortage of staff also. And he said that now the measures shall have to be tightened, and the collecting machinery is also going to be tightened. I do not know what is exactly being indicated by that—as if the collecting machinery had not been tightened during all these days and Government had not made the necessary efforts. Some of these taxes amounted to Rs. 86 crores, and it is said that this gap of Rs. 86 crores which remains uncovered shall have to be covered now by these measures, and they are effecting some changes in the provisions of the Income-tax Act also. It creates a very wrong impression in the country; because the man who contributes even a single pie to the exchequer feels that it should be properly directed and spent for the purpose for which it was meant and that the benefit should accrue to the country if the pie is spent. Does it mean that during all these years this effort was not made and that this year only it is going to be made? We give all

credit to the Finance Minister for his idea to tighten up the machinery. The Finance Minister has pointed out that this time a liberal view of the credit has been taken and a stringent view of the expenditure side has been taken. Under-estimation during this year would be much less. In fact the audit report says that Government has not even cared to inform the Auditor-General about the measures taken to reduce the under-estimation. Want of efficiency and under-estimation resulted in heavy doses of taxation on the country. Some changes in the gradation of income-tax and the removal of the CDS had given some relief; they appear to be like some concessions in the present background. The common man will not be required to pay compulsory deposit: Voluntarily, they can make deposits; in fact the small savings are increasing. For persons with an income of Rs. 15,000 and above, there is the annuity scheme; he also will not pay income tax on the amount deducted under the annuity scheme. So, CDS scheme had been withdrawn and income-tax had been modified to a certain extent.

The common man is put to suffering not because of a single incidence but a series of incidences. The Finance Minister made speech on the economic situation in December last saying that if we want to increase our defence fund or our development fund, we must naturally depend upon the production and productivity. That is the only alternative. I do not wish to enter into the details. Proper and due attention must be paid to agriculture which is the main occupation in India; agriculture credit and fertilisers must be supplied at the proper time: they should be helped to utilise the irrigation potential: major and minor irrigation works should be undertaken. All these things have not been carried into practice. 44 per cent of the catchment area of upper Krishna project is in Mysore State; 27 per cent, in Andhra and 26 per cent, in

Maharashtra. 55 per cent of the scarcity affected area is, in Mysore. There is a little difference of opinion among the technicians as regards the Malaprabha Project whether it should be an arc dam or gravity dam: that has been there for years now. Scarcity-affected people have not got any alternative but to stick to these irrigation facilities which they are not having now. They are not able to utilise profitably the taccavi loans; the loans are pending for years and could not be recovered. The execution of these programmes should be taken up immediately and some relief should be given to the cultivators.

I now come to the indirect taxes. Excise duties on certain articles had been reduced. The criteria according to the Finance Minister was that the revenue from these was not sizable and the incidence was not identifiable; so he reduced them. I do not now whether it has been reduced to give some relief to the common man. I think the criteria should be to give the common man some relief. Taxation, as the Finance Minister himself says, is a very sensitive instrument, multi-purpose instrument to increase production and augment investment and ensure that every man gets a proper return on his investment and curtail wasteful consumption and prevent evils which beset a scarcity economy.

Expenditure tax has been revived. But people should not have the impression that taxes are going to be introduced and removed according to the whim of the Finance Minister. The policy remains the same. Only the approach is different. Our aim is a socialist pattern of society. Expenditure tax was removed earlier because the revenue earned from that was not sizable. It has been imposed again. So, the ultimate goal is towards socialist pattern of society. It is not ignorance and poverty that is going to be distributed but the means of production and income. We are not sticking to any doctrinaire socialism; we want the proper utilisation

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and distribution of the means of production. National income is the main thing. Capital gains tax, estate duty, gift tax—all these have been revised with a view to get better income to the exchequer. Gift tax acts as a compliment to the estate duty.

I offer my compliments to the Finance Minister; the whole outlook towards Hindu law is being changed. No father will in future think of giving his daughter in marriage to a big rich man the son of a big rich man... (*Interruptions.*) Estate duty and other taxes are there. The outlook towards adoption also changes because no father will give his daughter or son in adoption to a big man only for the sake of property. The whole outlook of Hindu law is being changed by the measures adopted by the Finance Minister. He is moving in the right direction. But many of our Members feel that we should expedite our speed or the rate of movement towards socialism. I hope the measures now adopted by the Finance Minister will pay him and will pay the country well.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya (Rai-ganj): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, Wordsworth, the well-known English poet, while pondering over the youth and oldage in life, has a line: "We are a prodigal's favourite and a miser's pensioner; behold our lot." As I see the regulation of time in the debate between the speakers who come first and the speakers who come last, that particular line often come to my mind; we are a prodigal's favourite, those who speak in the beginning, and the miser's pensioners at the end!

The Finance Minister's wise budget has created an atmosphere of optimism, of hopefulness. Whatever complaints may be there, the general picture is one of optimism, of hopefulness. I wish to make only certain suggestions to remove certain drawbacks which mar that spirit of hopefulness. Firstly, my suggestion is about the CDS. The CDS with regard to the employees has been withdrawn al-

ready, and their money is refunded. It has been withdrawn with retrospective effect from the beginning of the year. But the CDS with reference to the income-tax payers is being given a different treatment. That is being retained for the year though it is abolished for the next year. Their money is also being kept by the Finance Minister for at least five years, as announced. May I suggest and submit that both the employees and the income-tax payers should have the same treatment from the Finance Minister in the matter of the CDS? Why should there be discrimination between them? The relief given to the one is being denied to the other. He may think of it, and I believe the money concerned will not be much.

Shri Tyagi: It is a small matter.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: I am going to mention only small matters, since my predecessors have spoken on more important matters into which I am not going to enter. My second point is in regard to income-tax relief. The Finance Minister has said that he has given income-tax relief in all grades. But a friend from Calcutta writes to me that it is not so. Firstly, as regards unmarried persons, their income-tax has gone up in all grades. On the one hand, the Government is pushing on the scheme of family planning, and on the other hand it is increasing the income-tax on unmarried persons. I wonder whether this is not working at cross purposes.

Shri Tyagi: What about widowers? Are widowers deemed to be unmarried?

The Minister of Finance (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): No; married! (*Interruption.*)

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: I leave Shri Tyagi in the safe care of the Finance Minister himself. Then, what that friend writes is this. A person getting a salary of Rs. 400 a month with no child was paying in 1963-64 only Rs. 102-80, but now he will have

to pay Rs. 108. So, in his case the tax goes up. A person getting a salary of Rs. 450 a month, with no child, was paying Rs. 137.30; now he will have to pay Rs. 160. In his case also, the tax goes up. A person getting Rs. 500 a month, with no child, was paying Rs. 191.12; in his case, it goes up to Rs. 222 now.

In the same way, a person with one child, on a pay of Rs. 450 a month, was paying Rs. 131.14; now it goes up to Rs. 142. A person with a pay of Rs. 500, with one child, has been paying Rs. 182.76; in his case, it goes up to Rs. 202. So, even in the small income groups, the scale that the Finance Minister has fixed leads to a rise in the tax, and this is so, because, as my friend points out, the increase on the first slab is from three per cent to six per cent, and on the second slab from seven per cent to 10 per cent. I leave it to the hon. Finance Minister to consider whether these people should not be relieved from the increase that is being imposed on them.

Then, I come to the powers now given to the income-tax officers. The income-tax officers are now given the powers to prosecute. Of course they may have that power, but what I am afraid of is that the persons who dodge the tax will have the means to dodge the tax all the same. The power of the income-tax officers will act like an engine of oppression on persons with lower incomes. The innocent and honest persons, who are trying to discharge their duties as best as they can, when they become subject to suspicion, will become the victims of persecution at the hands of the income-tax officers.

The Finance Minister has introduced affirmation in the place of declaration. Previously, the income-tax statements should be filed on declaration. Now, there could be affirmation. Affirmation involves responsibility and one making a false statement is liable to prosecution and being put in jail. As I have said, however, the persons who have been practising dodging will continue to dodge, but the persons who

do not know the techniques will be put to difficulty. Regarding our election expenses there was an affirmation, in the beginning. We have now abolished it and brought in a declaration. For income-tax, there was a declaration in the beginning, and we are now abolishing the declaration and are bringing in an affirmation. There also, my submission to the Finance Minister is that he may think of keeping the present system as it has been so long.

There has been talk about the public sector. The public sector spends a lot of money. Some years back, I had a talk with the World Bank representative. He told me that they lend money both to India and Japan. What happens in India is that three-fourths of the money are spent on establishment and only one-fourth is spent on actual work, while in Japan, they spend only one-fourth on establishment and spend three-fourth on actual work. That is the difference between Japan and India. That is why Japan has progressed so quickly and India has not. He gave me examples, but owing to lack of time I am not going into them.

In this connection, I have to make a request in respect of the West Bengal Government in the matter of Central assistance. In 1961-62, the Central assistance promised to the West Bengal Government was Rs. 23 crores, but only Rs. 19.1 crores were given, and Rs. 3.9 crores still remain outstanding. At the end of 1962-63; Rs. 26.4 crores were promised, but only Rs. 23.7 crores were given and a sum of Rs. 2.7 crores remained outstanding. Thus, a total of Rs. 6.6 crores on the whole remains outstanding. This should be kindly attended to and the distressed State of West Bengal should be given whatever help it can be given for its uplift.

There has been much talk about the increase of production, but increase of production will be of no help unless we can arrange that the increase in production will be made without any increase in the cost of production. It is not an imaginary something. In fact, foreign countries did actually the

[Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya]

same thing. England had to do it at a particular critical time. Production had to be increased and, at the same time, the cost of production was not increased. I ask whether we could adopt a similar policy or method which helps us to do this; if we can do that, then alone, any increase in production will be of help to us. Otherwise, if the cost of production goes on rising with the increase in production, inflation and all its corollaries will continue to trouble us.

Regarding indigenous and foreign investment, there is usually not much to object about the investment of foreign capital. Professor Benoy Kumar Sirkar was a leading economist as well as a patriot. He used to tell us about foreign capital. The Congress itself was opposed to it and if a reference is made to the Bahadurji Committee's report—I tried to get it but I could not—it will be found how the Congress formulated its opinion in opposing investment of foreign capital. He said, "why do you oppose it? Rather you should invite foreign capital." That is the usual thing in a country. But in the particular circumstances of India, foreign capital does harm. That is what I am going to say. We became independent in 1947. Today at times I feel whether we are really independent at all. We are politically out of the grip of Britain, but diplomatically we are under the grip of Britain and America together. Here in Delhi, Gandhiji in an after-prayer speech stated, "You will have independence, but if you do not know how to behave, you will again become victims of joint Anglo-American exploitation." At times, I feel that those days are in a way coming upon us. Only day before yesterday, there was a statement from Mr. Dean Rusk that "whatever India might say, our attitude towards Kashmir is not going to change". This means that this diplomatic grip on India will continue, whatever attempt we may make to shake it off.

15.00 hrs.

Pakistan actually is not a Muslim League creation. This is not Mr. Jinnah's creation. Pakistan is the creation of England and America conspiring together. It is an Anglo-American creation. If I may refer to the "Bunches of Letters" published by the Prime Minister, it would be found that there is a letter in that book showing that the proposals for partitioning India first came to the Prime Minister from President Roosevelt through Madam Chiang Kai-shek. That gives an indication of the reason for this particular weakness and affection of America for maintaining Pakistan's improper claim on Kashmir. Judged in that respect, foreign capital is some kind of a menace.

When the Britishers were here, one cartoon was published—"March of civilisation". The merchants came first, the clergy came next and the military came afterwards. That was the cartoon published in 1922 or 1923. At times, I feel whether that march of civilisation will not again be attempted to be re-enacted over India.

In conclusion, I shall request the Finance Minister to make some arrangement for the refugees who will be coming from East Bengal, who are driven out of Pakistan and the persons who will be coming from Indian enclaves in Pakistan, because they require all help and assistance.

श्री तन सिंह (वाड़मेर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अर्थ तन्त्र का राजनीति दर्शन से घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध है इसलिए मैं यह निवेदन करूंगा कि राजनीति दर्शन के दृष्टिकोण से केवल दो मुख्य दर्शन हैं, एक तो है रामराज्य का भारतीय दर्शन और दूसरा है साम्यवादियों का मार्क्स दर्शन। एक अत्यन्त आध्यात्मिक तथा नैतिक है तो दूसरा आर्थिक, भौतिक और जड़वादी। उन दोनों दर्शनों के मूल्य और दृष्टिकोण में भारी अन्तर है। एक का मूल्य आध्यात्मिक प्रधान है और दूसरे का मूल्य अर्थ प्रधान है। दूसरी विचारधारायें जितनी भी हैं जिस में स्वयं कांग्रेस भी शामिल है

इन दोनों के बीच का मध्य मार्ग अपनाती है। अब देखने का बात यह है कि इन दोनों की विशेषताओं में कौन सी विशेषताएँ ऐसी हैं जो कि वर्तमान शासन प्रणाली ने अपनाई हैं। मुझे खेद के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जहाँ तक मैं समझ पाया हूँ इन दोनों के अन्दर गतिरोध उत्पन्न हो कर कांग्रेस संस्था अपना कार्य चला रही है। यदि हम यह कहें कि कोई भी अर्थ, कोई भी रुपया, पैसा जो नैतिक दृष्टिकोण से उचित नहीं है, वह नहीं लिया जाना चाहिये तो यह हमारा अध्यात्मवाद का राजनीति दर्शन है। लेकिन कांग्रेस सरकार नशाबंदी की नीति के विरुद्ध केवल एक बात कह सकती है कि उस से रुपया पैसा इकट्ठा होता है, सरकार को पैसा प्राप्त होता है। इस के सिवाय आज आप जानते ही होंगे कि इन पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं द्वारा करोड़ों रुपया हमारे विकास कार्यों पर खर्च किया जा रहा है लेकिन हमारे देश का चरित्र और उस का नैतिक जीवन जिस स्तर तक पहुँच गया है वह आप से छिपा नहीं है। लेकिन मुझे खेद है कि जहाँ सरकार मुँगियों के अंडों को बड़ा बनाने के लिये यत्न कर रहा है, जहाँ वह भेड़ों, ऊँट और घोड़ों तक की नसल को सुधारने का जो जान से प्रयत्न कर रही है वहाँ मनुष्य की नसल किस कदर बिगड़ रही है उस की ओर उस का ध्यान नहीं है। नतीजा यह है कि नैतिक चरित्र, जीवन का ह्रास होता जा रहा है। इस से हम एक ही नतीजे पर पहुँचते हैं कि यह सरकार गांधीवाद के उस रामराज्य की कल्पना से बहुत दूर जा चुकी है और अब केवल एक मार्क्स दर्शन ही रहता है जिस की ओर वह जाना चाहती है। यह माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी पूँजीपतियों को नरभक्षी की संज्ञा दिया करते थे मुझे आश्चर्य होता है कि आज वही वित्त मंत्री पूँजीनिवेश के लिए देश को ही नहीं अपितु विदेशी पूँजीपतियों को भी इस के लिये आमंत्रित करना चाहते हैं। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि वह किस तरह से इस देश में समाजवाद की स्थापना करेंगे ? जब विदेशों से आने वाली पूँजी जिस का

कि लाभ भी विदेशी उठायेंगे, उम के आधार पर हम अपने देश का अर्थ-व्यवस्था को किस तरह मुदूढ़ बनायेंगे ? सम्भवतः माननीय वित्त मंत्री कहें कि यह उन का सामूहिक चिन्तन है जैसा कि मैं ने आज अखबार में पढ़ा है। यदि वह यह सिद्ध करना चाहते हों कि इस सामूहिक चिन्तन में उन का कहीं स्थान नहीं है तो नैतिकता की माँग है उन्हें उस स्थान में नहीं रहना चाहिये। यदि वह यह सिद्ध करना चाहें कि आज से पहले जो कुछ हुआ हो वह सामूहिक चिन्तन नहीं था तो मुझे खेद के साथ कहना पड़ेगा कि उस के लिये भी कोई औचित्य नहीं है। मैं मोटे रूप में मूल रूप में जो-जो बातें इस बजट के प्रस्तावों द्वारा पेश की गयी हैं उन के सम्बन्ध में थोड़ा सा निवेदन करूँगा।

पहली बात तो व्यय कर लगाने की है। श्री कृष्णमाचारी जब कुछ वर्ष पहले फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर होते थे तो उन्होंने व्यय कर लगाया था। उन के बाद जब श्री मुरार जी भाई ने वित्त मंत्री का पद उन से सम्हाला तो उन्होंने उस कर को हटा दिया। भूतपूर्व वित्त मंत्री का कहना था कि इसे संग्रह करने में बहुत अधिक खर्च लगता है और बहुत सा रुपया लोग खर्च का छिपा देते हैं और यह स्वाभाविक भी है। एक वित्त मंत्री के जाने के बाद हमारी वित्तीय नाति में यह परिवर्तन होता है लेकिन दूसरी बार वित्त मंत्री वापिस आ कर उसे फिर लगाना चाहता है जिस से कि लगभग ६ करोड़ रुपये की आमदनी होती थी। मैं इस में नहीं जाना चाहता कि वह दलौलें और युक्तियाँ जो पहले वित्त मंत्री ने दी थी उन को आज किस प्रकार हटा दिया गया।

दूसरी बात सम्पत्ति कर की है जो कि बढ़ाया गया है। जहाँ तक मैं समझता हूँ इन विरोधी बजट प्रस्तावों में वित्त मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान इस ओर है कि वे चाहते हैं कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा पूँजी की बचत हो ताकि वह पूँजी औद्योगिक उत्पादन में लगाई जा सके। इस का एक पहलू और है कि कुछ

[श्री तन सिंह]

लोगों के हाथ में जो यह सम्पत्ति इकट्ठी हो रही है उस को हटाया जाय। अब श्रीमन्, कोई आदमी को मार डाले, या खत्म कर डाले इसलिये कोई महापुरुष नहीं बन जायेगा। यदि राजाओं, जागीरदारों और पूंजीपतियों को कोई खत्म करता है तो इस से वह बड़ा आदमी नहीं होता है। चूंकि सांप सिर्फ काट कर मार ही सकता है लेकिन उस के अन्दर संजीवनी शक्ति नहीं है, जीवन देने की शक्ति नहीं होती है इस लिए सांप को हम पूज्य नहीं मानते। कांग्रेस को सांप के समान केवल राजाओं, जागीरदारों और पूंजीपतियों को खत्म करना और मार कर ही संतोष नहीं कर लेना चाहिये। खाली इससे देश में समाजवाद कायम होने वाला नहीं है। कांग्रेस को देखना होगा कि देश में अभी भी लाखों लोग झोंपड़ियों में बसते हैं, बहुत गरीब लोग हैं उनकी उन्नति और उन को भरपेट भोजन और कपड़ा आदि देने के लिये उसने अभी तक क्या किया है? इन पिछले १७ वर्षों में उस ने देश की गरीब जनता के लिये क्या किया है? आज भी देश में निपट दरिद्रता का साम्राज्य है और आखिर कब तक आप जनता को समाजवाद के नारे में और उनका यह कह कर कि हम तुम्हारे लिये यह करेंगे और वह करेंगे, आखिर कब तक आप उन को भुलावे में रख सकेंगे? मेरा तो कहना है कि अगर आज की स्थिति को बदला नहीं गया और वह वैसी ही बनी रही तो लोगों का समाजवाद और प्रजातन्त्रवाद में से विश्वास उठ जायगा और कांग्रेस की घोषणाओं और नीतियों को लोग महज भुलावा समझने लगेंगे।

मैं यह निवेदन करूंगा कि जनता की मूल आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति हुए बिना कोई अधिकार नहीं है कि हम उस पर कर भार बढ़ाएं। मेरे पास इतना समय नहीं है कि मैं विस्तार से बतलाऊं कि जनता की मूल आवश्यकताओं की अभी तक किस तरह

से उपेक्षा की गई है। अवस की समस्या कितनी गम्भीर है यह किसी से छिपा नहीं है। मकानों की अत्यधिक तंगी है। आज इस बात की बहुत जरूरत है कि पक्के मकान बनें ताकि लोग पक्के मकानों में रह सकें। लेकिन अधिकांश जनता अब भी झोंपड़ियों में रहती है। गरीबी उनकी घटी नहीं है जब कि मंहगाई बढ़ी है और दूसरी तरफ कर का भार बढ़ता ही जा रहा है।

मैं अपने निर्वाचन क्षेत्र की बाबत बतलाऊं कि वहां अभी भी वही पिछड़ी अवस्था है, वसी ही आशिक्षा और अविद्या का साम्राज्य है जैसे कि सत्तरह साल पहले था। वहां अब भी किसी भाषा के पत्र को पढ़वाने के लिये ६, ७ मील चल कर जाना पड़ता है। पानी की अब भी वहां पर भारी कमी है और वह इस हद तक है कि गांव वालों को दूध पिलाने में उतना दुःख नहीं होता जितना कि किसी को पानी पिलाने में उनका होता है। जब ऐसी दरिद्रता और पिछड़ापन देश में मौजूद हो तो मैं नहीं जानता कि अभी कितने असें तक यह नारा और लगाया जाता रहेगा कि हम ने तुम्हें आजादी दी है। मैं नहीं जानता कि उस आजादी का कोई मूल्य है जो आजादी कि हमारी मूल आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति नहीं कर सकती। और यदि यही साम्यवाद होगा तो बाज आये हम इस साम्यवाद से। हम नहीं चाहते कि हमारे देश में इस प्रकार का कोई साम्यवाद आये, जिस में यह नारा हो कि हम बड़े बड़े लोगों को खत्म कर देंगे। नारा दरअस्त यह होना चाहिये—वास्तव में हमारा उद्देश्य यह होना चाहिये—कि लोग सम्पत्तिशाली कितने बनें हैं, कितने मृत संजीवित हो उठे हैं, कितने ऐसे लोग हैं, जो कि पहले दरिद्र और दुःख में थे जिन को आज सुख-सुविधाओं मिली हैं। किन्तु इन सुख-सुविधाओं के नाम से उन को चिढ़ लगती है।

दरअस्त देखा जाय, तो शासक दल की नीतियों में एक प्रकार का गतिरोध उत्पन्न हो गया है। वह जाना चाहता है भुवनेश्वर, पीकिंग या मास्को, पता नहीं कहां, किन्तु वह यहां से वहां, इधर से उधर, पेंडुलम की तरह घूम रहा है। उस की स्वयं की नीतियों में स्पष्टता नहीं है और इसी कारण उस ने पुरानी चीजों को फिर लगाया है।

जहां तक दान-कर का सम्बन्ध है, वह तो आवश्यक है, क्योंकि जब सम्पत्ति-कर लगाया जाएगा, तो दान-कर का लगाया जाना अनिवार्य है, वना लोग दान के द्वारा अपनी सम्पत्ति को बेच देंगे। इस लिये सम्पत्ति-कर के साथ इस की आवश्यकता है।

ऐसा लग रहा है जैसे हम बचत को और बचत करने वालों को दंडित करना चाहते हैं। वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने अनिवार्य बचत योजना को हटाया है और उस की जगह पर वार्षिक बचत योजना शुरू की है। ऐसा लगता कि जैसे पुराने वित्त मंत्री महोदय के सभी नामों से उन को चिढ़ थी। एक चीज को हटा कर एक दूसरे नाम से उस को फिर लगा दिया गया है। जहां तक वार्षिक बचत योजना का सम्बन्ध है, उस में यह व्यवस्था की है कि पन्द्रह हजार रुपये की सीमा-रे निर्धारित की गई है। लेकिन मूल रूप में बात सिद्धांत की है। यदि हम चाहते हैं कि बचत होनी चाहिये, वह अनिवार्यतः होनी चाहिये, तो फिर ऐच्छिक बचत का प्रश्न ही नहीं रहना चाहिये। फिर तो स्माल-सेविंग्स स्कीम, इन्शोरेंस और प्राविडेंट फंड आदि सब योजनाओं को अनिवार्य रूप से जारी करना चाहिये।

किन्तु यदि हम चाहते हैं कि बचत अनिवार्य हो, तो वह बात बचत के सिद्धांत के बिल्कुल विपरीत पड़ती है। बचत होगी तब, हम स्वेच्छा से अपने जीवन-यापन के साधनों को संकुचित करेंगे और जितनी हमारी आम-दानी है, उस के अनसार खर्च करेंगे। कोई

सम्बा भ्रसा नहीं हुआ है कि जब पानी और बिजली पर मंत्रियों द्वारा इतना ज्यादा खर्च होता था।

श्री कपूर सिंह (लुधियाना) : अब भी होता है।

श्री तन सिंह : उस की बात मैं नहीं करूंगा। आज के मंत्री गांधी जी की बात करते हैं, गांधी जी का नारा लगाते हैं, किन्तु यदि हम गांधी जी के जीवन और आज के मंत्रियों के जीवन की तुलना करेंगे, तो हमें लगेगा कि गांधी जी कहां और ये लोग कहां। यह कहा जायेगा कि वह तो साधू आदमी थे, किन्तु मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश की दरिद्रता, दुखः और कठिनाइयों का यह तकाजा है कि हम अपने जीवन-यापन के साधनों को और अपने खर्च को कम करें। और बचत तभी हो सकेगी, जब हम स्वेच्छा से खर्च को कम करें।

हमारा रहन-सहन का ढंग हमारी नीतियां हमारे विचार साग जीवन-यापन पश्चिम के सिद्धान्तों पर आधारित है और उसके कारण भारतीयता के प्रति निपट उपेक्षा करनी शुरू कर दी है, जिसका नतीजा यह हुआ है कि आज बचत की हमको आवश्यकता है, लेकिन हम समझ नहीं पा रहे हैं कि बचत अनिवार्य होनी चाहिए या ऐच्छिक होनी चाहिए।

जैसा कि मेरे कई पूर्ववक्ताओं ने बताया है, स्माल सेविंग्स में लगातार रुपया बढ़ता जा रहा है। लोग बचाते हैं, उनमें बचाने की इच्छा है। किन्तु ज्यों ही हम लोग उन्हें इस बात के लिए बाध्य करेंगे कि वे अनिवार्य रूप से बचाना शुरू करें, तो कोई भी आदमी इस प्रकार नाक में नुकेल डलवा कर चलना पसन्द नहीं करेगा।

थोड़ी देर के लिए मान लीजिए कि पंद्रह हजार रुपये की सीमा-रेखा के ऊपर हम ने

[श्री तन सिंह]

वार्षिक बचत का जो क्रम शुरू किया है, वह ठीक है। किन्तु इसका औचित्य तो तभी हो सकता है। यदि इस बचत के रुपये को हम कहीं पूंजी में लगा सकें और उस से कहीं उद्योग-धंधे शुरू कर सकें। इसके स्थान पर यदि नेगो-शिएवल सर्विफिकेट्स इश्यू हो जाते, जिनके द्वारा लोग रुपया उधार ले सकते तो अधिक अच्छा होता। उस रुपये को उस पूंजी को, ब्लाक करने के बजाये उस को चलाए रखना ही हमारा सब से बड़ा उद्देश्य होना चाहिए, खास तौर पर इस समय जब कि हमारा औद्योगिक उत्पादन क्षीणता की ओर जा रहा है।

हमारी सरकार कहती है कि हम समाजवाद चाहते हैं, परन्तु प्रजातांत्रिक समाजवाद—हम समाजवाद को किसी पर थोपना नहीं चाहते, बल्कि स्वेच्छा से सारा कार्य करना चाहते हैं। लेकिन इस सम्बन्ध में कहने और करने में बड़ा अन्तर है। वह कहती है कि हम समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं, किन्तु बलपूर्वक नहीं लाना चाहते। मैं तो नहीं समझ सकता कि डंडा चलाने में और कानून बनाने में क्या अन्तर है। एक ओर डंडे का प्रयोग कर के पाशविक बल के द्वारा मनुष्य को उसकी इच्छा के विरुद्ध वशीभूत किया जा रहा है और दूसरी ओर कानून के द्वारा दूसरी मजबूरियों से मनुष्य को वशीभूत किया जा रहा है। लेकिन इन दोनों में मुझे कोई अन्तर नहीं दिखाई देता है।

लोगों को स्वेच्छा से समाजवाद का निर्माण करने का जो राजनीतिक शिक्षण दिया जाना चाहिए उसके सम्बन्ध में कांग्रेस को ही नहीं, सभी पार्टियाँ असफल रही हैं। हम चुनाव में जीतते हैं, लेकिन शासक दल पर जिसके पास शासन है, इस बात का सब से बड़ा उत्तरदायित्व है कि वह जनता को राजनीतिक शिक्षण दे। उस राजनीतिक शिक्षण से संबंध पर रह कर यदि शासक दल चाहता है कि वह

केवल नारों और कानूनों से समाजवाद लाना चाहें तो वह एक असम्भव बात है।

जहाँ तक टैक्सों का सम्बन्ध है, आपको जान कर आश्चर्य होगा कि १९४८ से लेकर, जब कि हमारा देश आजाद हुआ १९६३ तक हमारे टैक्स १२५ प्रतिशत बढ़े हैं। १९४८ में हम जो टैक्स देते थे आज हम उस से १२५ प्रतिशत यादा टैक्स दे रहे हैं। किन्तु इस की तुलना में हमारी राष्ट्रीय आय की क्या स्थिति है? इस अवधि में हमारी राष्ट्रीय आय केवल ४२ प्रतिशत बढ़ी है। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी आमदनी और करों में ताल-मेल होना चाहिए। एक ओर हमारी राष्ट्रीय आमदनी तो ४२ प्रतिशत ही बढ़ी है लेकिन दूसरी ओर हम ने टैक्स १२५ प्रतिशत तक बढ़ा रखे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि टैक्स लगाने का या अपनी अर्थ-व्यवस्था चलाते का यह यह कोई ढंग नहीं है।

हम ने तीसरी पंच-वर्षीय योजना के काल में ११०० करोड़ रुपये के टैक्स वसूल करने का प्रावधान रखा था, जब कि तीसरी पंच-वर्षीय योजना के तीसरे वर्ष को समाप्त तक १९०० करोड़ रुपये के करीब टैक्स वसूल हो चुके हैं। इस का अभिप्राय यह है कि जितना हम ने अनुमान लगाया था, समय से पहले ही उस से भी अधिक टैक्स वसूल कर लिये हैं। हमारी राष्ट्रीय आय हमारे टैक्सिज कं मुताबिक नहीं बढ़ रही है। इसलिए और टैक्स बढ़ाने का कोई औचित्य नहीं है। जब तर्कों के द्वारा इस बात का कोई उत्तर न दिया जा सकता हो, तो हमें यही निवेदन करना पड़ेगा कि यह मनमानी है और ऐसी बात नहीं है कि सरकार किसी वैज्ञानिक ढंग से या वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण से काम कर रही है।

अभी अभी मेरे कुछ पूर्ववक्ताओं ने बैंकों के राष्ट्रीयकरण के बारे में कहा है। यदि इस राष्ट्रीयकरण के परिणामस्वरूप गांवों के लोगों को कुछ क्रेडिट फैसिलिटीज दी जायें,

तो मुझे इस पर कोई एतराज नहीं है। किन्तु यदि यह कहा जाये कि हम इस रुपये को पब्लिक सैक्टर में, राजकीय क्षेत्र में, खर्च करेंगे और उस से हमारे उद्योगों को लाभ होगा, तो मुझे खेद के साथ निवेदन करना पड़ता है कि जितनी दयनीय अवस्था हमारे पब्लिक सैक्टर की है, उतनी शायद ही किसी कहीं और हो।

हम ने तीसरी पंच-वर्षीय योजना के अन्त तक पब्लिक सैक्टर में ३०० करोड़ रुपये की बचत का अनुमान लकाया था, जब कि १९६२-६३ में हमें १.३६ करोड़ रुपये का लाभ हुआ, १९६३-६४ में २.१६ करोड़ रुपये का लाभ हुआ और १९६४-६५ में २.३० करोड़ रुपये के लाभ की आशा है, जो कि सब मिला कर ८०६ करोड़ रुपये की पूंजी का २५ प्रतिशत है। आज हमारे पब्लिक सैक्टर की यह हालत है। मैं नहीं जानना कि कोई व्यापारी अपनी पूंजी का इतना बुरा हाल करेगा। यदि शासन चलाने वाले पब्लिक सैक्टर के उद्योगों को अच्छे ढंग से चला कर दिखा सकते कि राष्ट्रीयकरण के द्वारा यह औद्योगिक उत्पादन बढ़ा है, यह लाभान्वित मिला है, तो हम राष्ट्रीयकरण के अर्थचित्य को समझ सकते। केवल यह नारा लगाना ही पर्याप्त नहीं है कि राष्ट्रीयकरण हमारे हित में है। अगर राष्ट्रीयकरण वास्तव में हमारे हित में है, तो प्रत्यक्ष रूप में उस के द्वारा गुड़ज डिलिवर होने चाहिए, लोगों को प्रत्यक्ष रूप से यह मालूम होना चाहिए। जब आंकड़े हमारे सामने आते हैं, तो हमें शर्मिन्दा होना पड़ता है। अगर पब्लिक सैक्टर की यही हालत रही, तो लोगों का विश्वास उस पर से उठ जायेगा।

हमारी सरकार औद्योगिक क्रान्ति की हिमायती है, किन्तु स्वयं अपने औद्योगिक उत्पादन में वह कितनी पराजित और असफल रही है, यह इस का नमूना है। सब से बड़े दुःख की बात यह है कि इस देश में कृषक और

कृषि की तरफ़ उपेक्षा लगातार बढ़ती जा रही है। समय के अभाव के कारण मैं इस का केवल एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ।

१९५४ में जैसलमेर में नलकूप योजना के अन्तर्गत हजारों लाखों रुपये खर्च कर के कुछ कुए खोदे गये थे, जिस का बहुत प्रचार किया गया था। लेकिन आप को जान कर आश्चर्य होगा कि १९५४ से ले कर लगातार नौ वर्षों तक वहाँ पर ज़मीन का एलाटमेंट नहीं हुआ और किसानों को काश्त करने का मौका नहीं दिया गया और वे नलकूप यंत्र के यंत्र बने हुए रह गये हैं। यदि अपने भाई-भतीजों को ही देना है, तो आखिर उन्हीं को दे देना चाहिए। हम कितना ही फ्रिटिसाइज़ करें, कितना ही कहें, कोई सुनता थोड़े ही है। जब देना है तो जिस जिस को देना था उन उन को दे देना चाहिये था ताकि उनका लाभ तो हो सकता, उनसे फायदा तो उठाया जा सकता, कुछ उत्पादन तो उनके जरिये होने लग जाता। हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार कहती है कि यह राज्य सरकार का उत्तरदायित्व है। यदि उत्तरदायित्व को फुटबाल की भांति एक दूसरे पर फेंकना ही हमारा उद्देश्य है तब तो मैं कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता लेकिन यदि आप सीरियसली चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश में अन्न का उत्पादन बढ़े, हमारी भूमि को उत्पादन शक्ति बढ़े तो बहुत से कार्य ऐसे हैं जिन को शीघ्रता-पूर्वक किया जाना चाहिये।

सरकार से संयम, चरित्र और नैतिकता की क्या आशा की जा सकती है? जब यह इन से बहुत दूर जा चुकी है। लेकिन फिर भी यदि इन्होंने यह सोच रखा है कि इस बढ़ती हुई देश की आबादी को रोकने का एकमात्र उपाय परिवार नियोजन है तो मैं मज़बूर हूँ और इनकी इस आर्गुमेंट को इनकी ही करनी से काटना चाहना हूँ। इनकी इस आर्गुमेंट को अगर थोड़ी देर के लिए मान भी लिया जाये तो कुछ सरकार ने पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में इस देश की आबादी को रोकने के लिए खर्च किया है, वह मैं आपके

[श्री तन सिंह]

सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। पहली योजना में सरकार ने ७० लाख रुपये रखे थे इस काम के लिए, दूसरी में ३ करोड़ रुपये रखे थे और तीसरी योजना में रखे २७ करोड़ रुपये। अगर इस सब रुपये को जोड़ा जाये तो कुल पंद्रह वर्ष में एक व्यक्ति पर ६३ नये पैसे का एवरेज होता है, जिसका मतलब हुआ कि एक साल में एक व्यक्ति पर चार नये पैसे के करीब खर्चा। नपुंसक बनाने के लिए यदि कोई योजना बनाई भी जाती है तो उस पर महत्वपूर्ण खर्चा तो होना चाहिये। यदि आप यह सोचते हैं कि इस आबादी को रोकने के लिए संयम नहीं है, चरित्र नहीं है, जीवन नहीं है, ब्रह्मचर्य की शिक्षा नहीं है और पैसा ही इस तरह से खर्च करना है, तो क्यों इतना सा रख करके इसको बेकार खर्च किया जा रहा है? यही मुझे निवेदन करना है।

Shri Rameshwar Tantia (Sikar):
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, one can understand what the Communists say about the budget but one cannot appreciate or follow Shri N. C. Chatterjee when he says that this budget is not socialistic. I think Shri N. C. Chatterjee is earning five times more than any Minister or ten times more than most of the Members of Parliament. If a person like him says like that, I think it is only to please the Communists, with whose support he has come to this House after so many earlier defeats.

In one way, of course, I agree with him that this is not a socialistic budget, because it is super-socialistic. If you will permit me to say so, Sir, that would be a better description of the budget—super-socialistic or extra-socialistic. There is no incentive to earn and the Finance Minister wants to take away everything that one earns. If a person worth Rs. 30 lakhs

dies, his successors will not get even Rs. 15 lakhs, half of his property, because according to the present budget the death duty will come to Rs. 17 lakhs on cash and property of Rs. 30 lakhs. So, his successors will be forced to sell some house or property to pay the tax before they acquire his wealth. In addition, the Finance Minister has imposed a gift-tax. Nobody is permitted to give a gift to his children without paying a heavy gift tax of 50 per cent on Rs. 3,45,000 and above. Even in England, which has got a high estate taxation rate, it is not so high or so steep. There the tax is 80 per cent. There is no gift tax in England. Under these circumstances, I can understand the criticism of the Communist members because their object is only to criticise, whether a scheme is good or bad but I cannot understand the criticism of other non-Communist members who say that this budget is not socialistic.

I will say Sir, that even the Bhubaneswar Resolution did not warrant such a heavy burden. Everybody wants to leave some property or cash to his own children and that is understandable. But if the present rate of taxation is concerned, over a period of ten to twenty years, I doubt whether it would be possible at all for anyone to leave behind something for his children. The Finance Minister has put a stop to it by his present budget. Gandhiji used to say that people should keep the money they earn in public trust instead of keeping it with themselves for their own use. But what Gandhiji could not implement by preaching, the Finance Minister has succeeded in implementing by one stroke of the pen.

How did the Finance Minister deal with the companies? He has put a 7½ per cent dividend tax, which is a new tax. In the place of the super-profits tax he has put a surcharge. Previously, the rebate was after 16 per cent, 10 plus 6. Now he has allowed only upto 10 per cent. Then, he is imposing a bonus tax. Also, on the capital

gains tax for new companies there is a development rebate but it may not be renewed after three years. All these taxes are in addition to the expenditure tax, gift tax and estate duty and yet some people say that this is not a socialistic budget.

The Finance Minister has made some reference in his budget speech to the existence of monopolies. Of course, to some extent there is monopoly in the country. Before criticising the existence of monopoly, we have to see the reasons or causes which contribute for the growth of monopolies. Here I may say that Government officers are themselves responsible for the creation or growth of monopolies. There is so much of red tape and delay in getting licences, loans from IFC and other permits that an ordinary man with a small capital, cannot hope to establish new industries. So, if the Government is sincere and serious in seeing to it that there is no undue growth of monopolies, it should ask its officers to attend to their work more efficiently so that the applicants may get their licences, permits and other necessities within a reasonable period of time so that ordinary common people with small or limited means can also establish some industries. That will be one way of checking growth of monopolies.

Coming to the taxes in general, although they are heavy, yet we will pay them because we have to face trouble on two of our borders from Pakistan and China. Defence preparedness also means spending more money which we can get only from additional taxation.

Now I come to the powers given to officers for search. When we give any document to Government we presume that Government will keep it as secret. Under the present budget, anybody can take anybody else's

paper, according to the Finance Minister. That is wrong in principle. It will result in blackmailing by some blackmailers. Any one can go to the officer of the income tax office and say "I want the papers of Dr. Raju" and then create trouble for Dr. Raju. So, some safeguards should be provided in this matter. Perhaps, it can be provided that prior permission of the Commissioner of Income-tax should be taken for searching papers. Without that permission, no one should have the power to take the papers in any income-tax case.

Coming to public sector industries, Shri Malaviya said that they are not supposed to make any profits. That is wrong. After all, the capital of the public sector industries is that of the people, tax-payer, common man. So, why should those industries not earn some profits? After all, they are enjoying so many facilities which are not available to the industries in the private sector. So, why should they not earn similar profits, if not more in the private sector. I think last year all the public sector industries put together earned a profit of Rs. 10.91 crores. If we take into account the capital invested and the facilities enjoyed by those industries, the percentage of return is very small indeed. So, something should be done in that direction to see that the profits increase. I think the Finance Minister should have the final say in the matter of establishment of industries in the public sector, be it steel or something very important. If he feels that the industry will give at least a reasonable return, then only should he permit the establishment of such an industry in the public sector. He should also have the power to change the Managing Director or Chairman or other officials, if he feels it is necessary in the interest of better performance because, after all, it is his responsibility as Finance Minister to see that every single pie that he takes from the common man by way of tax is utilised in the best way possible.

[Shri Rameshwar Tantia]

Though the members of the opposition have made many points with which I am not in agreement, they are right in one point and that is about the rise in prices. The prices of goods in the country are much higher today. Sugar is sold at Rs. 3 a seer in my constituency. Maybe, the distribution system is at fault, but something should be done in that direction. Maybe, it is the responsibility of the State, yet, we cannot shirk our responsibility by saying that centre is not directly responsible. We have to see that people get their necessities of life at reasonable prices.

An Hon. Member: What are your suggestions?

Shri Rameshwar Tantia: I feel that the Finance Minister should give a second thought to taxes on the corporate sector. He has imposed various types of taxes, and that too at a steep rate on the companies. I do not think it will help the Government because the growth of industries, which the Finance Minister and the country so badly want, will be retarded if there is no relief from these taxes. Whatever relief he has given by one hand, he has taken away by the other. Relief from super-profits tax for certain companies was given in the last budget but it has been taken away this year. Instead of super-profits tax he is putting 10 per cent on section 23A companies. In the same way, he has re-introduced other taxes also. I would again urge that some reduction to corporate taxes should be made so that the corporate sector can put in more industries. After the Liaquat Ali's budget there was lull and no new industries were established because of the severe taxation. Then came the Deshmukh's budget with some incentives and there was some growth of industries.

After all, which is the harm in growth of the private sector companies? They would be making some

profit, but it will be government's money by some form of taxation or another. When a man dies, his successors cannot get his property without paying a lion's share as estate duty. If the Government tries to take away 85 per cent of the income by various means of taxation, there is absolutely no scope for industrial growth.

So, I will request the hon. Finance Minister to give a second thought to it. Please do not listen to the Opposition Members who only oppose the Budget for opposition's sake; they have to blame something. Please take a bold step and see that some reasonable replies are there. The entire country was thinking that you will give some relief now from the heavy taxes which were put on the corporate sector last year; but this time there is no relief. The share market is an indication of that.

There is so much talk about bank nationalisation. The resolution that was moved by some friends at Bhubaneswar was withdrawn after a debate. Now, again they say that there should be bank nationalisation. The total amount of Rs. 1,400 crores which is with the private banks will not come to the Government; they have to invest again in industry. Last year the profit of banks was Rs. 28 crores, taxes paid to Government were Rs. 14 crores, and bonus to staff was Rs. 4 crores. Then, you have to put something in the reserve fund, about Rs. 4 crores. The total nett earning was Rs. 7 crores on Rs. 76 crores of capital and reserve. That comes to about 8 or 9 per cent on which Government gets 20 per cent tax in dividend. So, where is the profit? What is the motive for taking over banks? Government has got other big projects and big Plan works with them. This talk of bank nationalisation or some other nationalisation is just for making a

public speech so that they will be counted among socialists. So many times the Government has said that there is no need for bank nationalisation. Even economists, like Shri Asoka Mehta, Shri Lokanathan and Shri Shriman Narayan have said that bank nationalisation is not necessary.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: Shri Asoka Mehta has said in this House that banks should be nationalised.

Shri Rameshwar Tantia: But afterwards he gave it a second thought and said that bank nationalisation is not necessary. Then, Shri Shriman Narayan who is more revolutionary and more forward than many of our hon. friends here, has said after visiting Burma and other countries recently that bank nationalisation is not good for the country.

15.32 hrs.

[SHRI KHADILKAR *in the Chair*]

We have more or less got bank nationalisation now. The Reserve Bank has got so many powers that they can change the Director, the Manager or the Secretary. What is this, after all? It is more or less nationalisation. With all these powers with the Reserve Bank there is no need just now to nationalise banks. Let the people make reasonable profits and put up more industries with the help of that money. And, as I said, the money is with the Government because when the man dies, 70 or 85 per cent of it comes to the Government.

There is no question of a principle or no principle. When men like Shri N. C. Chatterjee who believe in making tons and tons of money advocate for socialism or commun'ism, one cannot understand as to what is socialism or what is communism. But, as he has come here with the help of the Communists—Shri Hiren Mukerjee is is here—just to please them he says

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that this Budget is not fully socialistic.

Anyhow, these Opposition hon. Members and some of our own friends also want to say anything and condemn the Budget by various means, like, saying that this is a capitalist Budget. If this is a capitalist Budget, I do not know what is the meaning of capitalism. As I have said before, I also agree that this is not a socialist Budget; it is an ultra-socialist or extra-socialist Budget. I think the hon. Finance Minister will give a thought to it and will give some reasonable relief to the country so that more industry can be put up.

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza (Warrangal): Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have been discussing this Budget for the last four days. Shri Gopalān, I think, characterised it as a capitalist Budget; Shri Masani as a Marxist Budget and Shri Morarka took a position in between. As far as I can see this Budget is neither leftist, nor rightist, nor centrist; at the same time, it gives room to take the direction. It does not act as a roadblock to socialism; at the same time, it does not go forward and proclaim today and now that this is the socialist path. So, the path of socialism will depend upon the Budgets that will follow; but there is enough material in this Budget that can be used as a handle by the future Finance Ministers.

As far as I can read the mind of Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, if such a thing is possible, I think, his whole approach can be understood if we accept the economics of take-off. This economics of take-off does not depend on any "ism". You have to make a certain amount of production; you have to increase the rate of growth and when this reaches a certain point it becomes self-generating. Whether one is a Socialist, a Communist or a Fascist, the economic fact remains that such a state has to come to exist.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): Question.

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza: Therefore what he has done is to streamline the tax structure, at the same time, giving incentives for production, whether it is from public sector or private sector or foreign sector. After activating production he has striven to give a direction to production by having a preferential list. But when he has included cement, steel and tea, why exclude contraceptives? I think this will satisfy even Shri Masani's demand of consumers' preference. As another hon. Member has already pointed out, family planning has not found a proper place. That being so, what is the object that we are aiming at?

We are a developing country and we are depending upon foreign aid. Shri Hiren Mukerjee a little while ago said "PL 480 is grappling you; foreign capital will strangle you" and all that. Shri Malaviya said that the capital in this country will simply strangle you. Can Shri Hiren Mukerjee say positively that he can do without PL 480? Will he agree to stop all the imports of food? Will he agree to tell the country and the people that we have not got sufficient food and we must not import and be prepared for the sake of the country to have one meal a day? He will not do that. He wants to have food but at the same time he does not want to have PL 480.

I understand that there is a genuine fear that foreign capital or Indian capital might strangle us. That has to be taken account of. A lot has been said about monopoly. Things have changed a great deal. Take, for example, jute. Jute was a world monopoly. Out of 80 mills only two—Hukam Chand and Birlas—were Indian managed. Now where is that stranglehold of that monopoly? Take oil; it is on a much larger scale, the world scale. Oil kings of England and America were controlling the oil of the world.

Small countries, weak countries have defied those combines and now where is the stranglehold?

About local capital, when you have got the public sector and when all the key and basic industries are in the hands of the State, what room is left? The room is consumer goods. The real danger is of getting hold of this august House. That is really the danger. For that it is not the accumulation of wealth that is important but it is our need for money that is more important. Election expenses have gone so high and are mounting up every day that it is not possible to conduct your election without money. When you have no money yourself, you have to get it from elsewhere. Even today there is a certain amount of hold of Indian capital over our election machinery. So, if you want to destroy that hold, you must bring into being electoral reforms so that hold does not exist.

The Indian Princes had a lot of wealth. But what happened? They did not act as an effective force. There is another thing, that is the press will be controlled. They are controlling today. In England, Lord Northcliff and Beaverbrook were holding the press in the palms of their hands; still the Labour Government came into power. Already the danger is there. But you have to take a calculated risk and for that you must take certain positive steps. What are the positive steps? Surely, we cannot increase taxes plan by plan, say, more taxes in the Second Plan and still more taxes in the Third Plan and so on. You cannot run on parallel lines. You must create and generate capital. The House and the country has the right to expect when so much of public money is thrown into public undertakings that it also produces capital. The step which Mr. Krishnamachari has taken is quite correct.

Now, I would like to say a few words about agriculture. Every year, we find, a great deal is said. It is like yearly birthday greetings, to agriculture but no figs. Mr. Krishnamachari recognises that you cannot really progress until you develop agriculture. The prosperity of the country is not possible till you do something for agriculture. How can a poor peasant produce more? The only incentive for higher production in agriculture is higher prices. You have to recognise that fact. The worker gets production bonus, the businessman gets higher profit and the foreign investor is induced to come and invest. But why should a poor peasant produce more if you do not give him anything, a higher return? When the question of high prices comes up, the friends of the peasants opposite say: hold the price-line. Why should you hold the price-line? Here and now I say, if you want agriculture to prosper, you have to accept the high prices for agricultural produce. There is another reason also. What is your position in the world trade? The whole of Asia and Africa are simply exporting agricultural produce. In the world today, the volume of trade has been rising. A larger proportion of that volume is taken up by the advanced countries. Really, our share in that trade is shrinking. At the same time, the prices of agricultural products including our precious tea are going down in the international market. You cannot produce machine goods and export them. You do not give incentive so that you can produce more and export more. If you want your economic stability, you have to reorient your financial outlook. How is that to be done? You have to create an internal market. The peasant is a person who has to produce food and it is he who consumes your industrial products and this peasant has to be helped by giving him higher prices for his agricultural produce.

The Finance Minister has said something about the package Plan. Here is a Report of the Intensive Agricultural District Programme and it is an Expert Committee's Report. I have no time to quote all this. They have selected certain centres where they are giving intensive aid. What is the result? Take the case of Thanjavur centre which is in Madras State. It is well-administered and has the largest consumption of electricity. It is a State which is thoroughly "Kamaraified." What do you find there? You find that in this particular centre the production varies from 10 quintal to 24 quintal per hectare. That is the rate of production. Why should there be such a difference when this is a selected centre and there are a number of committees helping in this programme which extend from Delhi to that centre just like a constellation of stars in the milky way. In spite of that, this is the result. Nobody has tried to correlate production with the size of holdings. 46 per cent of people in this selected centre own less than 1 hectare and 27 per cent own less than 2 hectares. On the whole, 73 per cent own less than 2 hectares and they own 36 per cent of the cultivated land. What amount of inducement, what amount of fertilisers and all that can make this sustenance economy into a market economy?

15.45 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

No amount of sinking money there is going to produce results. You cannot change sustenance economy into a market economy unless you bring about a vital change in the whole agrarian structure.

As regards the tenure system, 37 per cent of the cultivated lands are wholly owned. Tenancy conditions have been characterised by high rental and insecurity of tenure. We have crop-sharing system which still prevails and it is the worst form of the

[Shri Bakar Ali Mirza]

agricultural pattern and where fixed rent system prevails, rent have a tendency to rise. Oral tenancy is quite common. Change of tenancy is frequent. The Madras Land Reforms Act of 1961 on fixation of ceiling does not seem to have made much impact on the position of tenants. This is the view of the experts. If you want agriculture to deliver goods, you must change the agrarian system. I have not much time at my disposal. I will just give one quotation from Prof. Mojen Boserup. It says:

“Increased production of fodder depends on elimination of common grazing rights. Consolidation of plots is a pre-condition for the rational utilisation of irrigation facilities which in turn is a pre-condition for the effective use of fertilisers and improved seeds. For all these technical improvements, a market-oriented economy is necessary, and to say this is to raise the whole question of tenure and size of cultivators’ holdings.”

If this is the view, I think, any amount of money this Finance Minister is giving for the package programme is throwing the money into the drain unless the agrarian reforms are effected. The necessity today is for higher prices of agricultural goods to the peasant and it is the peasant who consumes the industrial output. Unless the agrarian reforms are effected, all this will not lead to economic prosperity of the country.

Shri R. Barua (Jorhat): **Mr. Speaker**, Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak on the Budget which comes immediately after the Bhubaneswar session and it is likely to raise an ideological debate. Under the present economic context, it is very important for us to search for a socialistic content in the Budget and its projections into different facets of our life. So far as Shri Morarji Desai’s Budget was concerned, it came

immediately after the Chinese attack and there was an awareness in which the people did not discuss so much about the ideological aspect of it. In order to raise the enormous amount for defence requirements he had to tap all possible sources and at that time there was neither the time nor the mood of the people to discuss very much about the ideological approach of the Budget. But all the same people were oppressed by the back-breaking taxation measures as a result of which we found impact on the production field and also on the high price-line. During this year, naturally people wanted that the budget should be framed on some rational basis, and taxation measures linked to a policy so that stabilisation of prices can be achieved and there could also be a curb on the rise in prices. It was also expected that a climate would be created in order to mobilise capital for the purpose of achieving higher production. It must be remembered that all these approaches should conform to a particular pattern of the national objectives, and that is why it cannot be said that because we want a production-oriented approach, therefore, we should give a go-by to the national objectives that we have set before ourselves.

Keeping all these matters in view, let us now see how far we have been able to get along in the way we have put before the country. Firstly, so far as tax reduction is concerned, I should say that the lower income group is not getting a proper incentive. In the income-tax field, up to the limit of Rs. 15,000, the relief given is not much; not only is it not much, but as many Members have pointed out, the reduction is at times illusory. It is only in the case of people earning about Rs. 7000 that the same amount of tax has to be paid as before, but in other cases we find that the surcharge which was different from the income-tax before has now been incorporated in the income-tax itself,

because from the rate itself it appears to be so. Therefore, the sum total of the relief comes to nothing. If we take into account the compulsory deposit which is refundable with 4 per cent interest, we find that up to the extent of about Rs. 15,000, there is an increase from 3 to 6 per cent, and then from 7 to 10 per cent, and from 10 to 15 per cent. I would not go into the details of it, but I would only point out that if a person earns beyond Rs. 15,000, that is, if he earns Rs. 15,001, then he will now have to pay a much higher income-tax than before; whereas his income is higher only by 300 per cent, he will have to pay a higher tax to the extent of about 1900 per cent. I do not know if the hon. Minister thinks that the marginal utility of the rupee is so much higher at that figure.

Therefore, I would submit that the income-tax rates now proposed are not rational and they need a thorough check-up. I hope that before the Finance Minister comes forward with his final proposals, the entire income-tax rate structure should be further scrutinised so as to bring it on some sort of rational base.

As against that, if we come to the private sector, we find that sufficient relief has been given to the private enterprises so far as the tax proposals are concerned. Super profit tax has been removed and in its place surtax has been imposed in a most liberal or lenient way. I do not grudge it, because in this mixed pattern of economy it is necessary that some sort of incentive should be given to the private enterprises so that they may play their part in increasing production. Therefore, I do not have much to quarrel with on this point. But what I am apprehensive of is the invitation of foreign equity capital in our public sector. It may be said that such participation may be only minority participation. But I understand that equity capital will be brought in to the entire public sector in oil. This is a very dangerous thing. I have got

some dangerous premonition about it, not because I do not like foreign capital to come to our public sector, but because the operation of foreign equity capital in the Middle East countries has done a lot of havoc, and it is still creating trouble there today. The political troubles in the Middle East countries, particularly in areas where oil is produced, emanate from these special interests. Therefore, I do not know how far Government will be in a position to check the political impact of such participation on our policy in the years to come. Once the political hands of the foreign investors combine with those of the private investors within the country, I am afraid all our picture of a political philosophy which we call as socialistic will one day disappear. It may not be so today, but what may be a few years hence must also be taken into account, because we must look before we leap. That is what I would like to say so far as the production side is concerned.

With regard to soaring prices, I would submit that admittedly, the price-level has gone up like anything. There has been an increase of 8.2 per cent in the general price index as against 2 per cent increase in 1962. The supply of money has also increased much faster than before. During the current busy season, money supply increased 7 per cent faster, and bank credit is also more than what it was before. But neither the money supply nor the bank credit are keeping pace with the rise in prices, nor is the supply properly made. Added to all this is the already upward revision in the prices of steel, cement and other articles. We also find that some raw materials and non-ferrous metals which we are to import for the purpose of production are having a higher world price. If we import these things, then, naturally, they will add to the cost of production. I do not see any indication in the budget about how these elements tending towards increasing the price-level further can be checked.

[Shri R. Burua]

With regard to black money which is still being hoarded, no positive step has been suggested. I do not think that this black money can be brought to book merely by taxation. Here, one suggestion that I would like to make is the demonetisation of the currency, that is, at suitable intervals, it would be necessary for Government to demonetise not only the higher denomination notes but even the smaller denomination notes. There is already a rumour, and some people are saying that the hundred rupee notes may be demonetised at any time, and, therefore, a shortage is already to be seen in the case of the smaller denomination notes. Therefore, I submit that this question of demonetisation of currency notes at suitable intervals with proper provision for taxation may be examined by the Ministry of Finance.

Coming to the agricultural front, I would submit that the Finance Minister himself admits that the rise in prices is mainly due to the shortage of production in the agricultural sector. In our national economy, agriculture contributes round about 45 per cent, and it is also admitted that about 70 to 80 per cent of our people depend on agriculture. If that be the complex of our national and social economy, how is it that no revolutionary step has been taken to vitalise and activate the agricultural sector? The perennial question of the vagaries of nature has been disturbing us very much. The question of crop insurance was taken up some time back, and it was also examined by Government, I remember aright, in 1949. But we do not find any policy statement in this budget to indicate that Government are going to do something radical to insure against the vagaries of nature by making provision for crop insurance. In the absence of such insurance, what happens is that our agriculturist not only loses his income or profit but loses also his investment when his crops are subjected to the vagaries of nature. As against that,

what is our provision? We are now going to have an Industrial Development Bank for financing the industrial sector. We do not contemplate a similar institution for the agricultural sector. I submit some such institution should be established for financing the agricultural sector also.

16.00 hrs.

With regard to credit facilities, their requirement is met to the extent of 7 per cent or so. As some non-Members rightly pointed out, the Reserve Bank charges 2 per cent on its credit but by the time it percolates to the actual cultivator he has to pay between 8 and 10 per cent interest. This sort of thing can in no way help the cultivator.

The third thing that should be provided to the cultivator is cheap electrification and irrigation facilities. Bihar has probably the largest concentration of big industries in the public sector, whereas in Punjab big scale industrial activities are much less. All the same, the economic condition of the cultivator in the Punjab is much better than that of his counterpart in Bihar. To what is this due? Let us examine it. The basic thing is that unless you develop the agricultural sector in a more revolutionary way, we cannot achieve the desired objective.

These are matters to be seriously thought about. If we really mean to have better production, we should go to the agriculturist as quickly as possible and assist him. Because of insufficient production, we have to pay more by way of raw materials. We lose much because we cannot export and earn foreign exchange. So in both ways, the agricultural sector is important.

Coming to the problem of monopolies, I feel the hon. Finance Minister is not going far enough and fast enough. It is known that 5 banks control one-third of the total paid up

capital and more than half the total deposits in private banks. It is also known that 14 business houses really control two thirds of the total share capital in the private sector and more than half the share in the private sector belongs to half per cent of the country's shareholders. There are other reports also which indicate to what extent the monopolies have advanced into our economy. The mere establishment of a Monopoly Commission—I welcome it no doubt—is not enough. Some agency should be immediately established to remove monopolies. Therefore, my suggestion is that instead of a fact-finding Commission, there should be constituted an agency to break these monopolies.

Coming to the appointment of a Finance Commission, previously it used to be that finances were allotted to different States on the population basis and some other considerations. The criterion of backwardness was never taken into account. The time has now come when this, and strategic importance, should be taken note of. There is also the question of regional disparity. That is causing some difficulty for overall improvement. In order to tackle all these matters, regional disparity and backwardness, the new Finance Commission has to evolve a new formula for the allotment of the States' share of the revenues. Otherwise, the same disparity will continue and it will create more discontent.

Then, so far as the importance of the petro-chemical complex in the economy is concerned, the Finance Minister should give more attention to it. So far, nothing substantial has been done to develop this petro-chemical complex in our economy. Petro-chemical industries have great potentiality for export to the foreign market and also saving foreign exchange.

Lastly, I would submit that development, in the end, means improving the people, not feeding statistics.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Jammu and Kashmir): I thank you for giving me a few minutes to speak on the General Budget.

I have heard speeches from different sides all these four days, and almost all the angles have been covered. To my mind, there are a few aspects which remain and which I would like to place before the House.

Now, our basic approach to the economy will be socialistic or is socialistic. At the same time, according to the resolutions that this very House has adopted, we have given a place to mixed economy. Still, after hearing so many speeches here, I feel some confusion lies somewhere and that needs to be cleared once and for all. Then it might be possible for us, rather those who think like me, to have a clearcut idea, and the ideal, with regard to a socialist economy.

When it is accepted that in a mixed economy, the private sector has to play a role, it has to be defined in very clearcut terms as to what will be its scope and how it will function. For instances, voices have been raised here for nationalisation of banks. Last year, a Resolution for that came before this House. I opposed it and in doing so, gave my reasons for it. When we say that ours will be a socialist economy and the State has to control all the means of production, the question will naturally arise as to what is the role of the private banks in that economy. But when we have resolved to have a mixed economy, it presupposes that the private sector will exist. When this private sector has to exist, it has to be defined. If it has to exist, I do not see wherefrom it can get its finances except through private banks. I personally feel that if the private sector has to play its role to the extent it will be permissible under policy decisions announced from time to time, some arrangement has to be made for the financing of that sector. If the private sector is to

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exist, private banks are equally necessary—unless of course, we lay down something very definite and clearcut in terms of an economic policy in line completely with the concept of a socialist society in future. Unless we do that, this little confusion will remain in certain minds.

Some of the hon. friends from my side as well as my hon. friends of the Communist Group have absolutely clearcut ideas about it. They want an entirely socialist economy as it is being practised in some other countries of the world. I personally feel that in my country, in the context of our conditions, we are evolving a new type of socialism, a socialism in which we feel that we give a place to the private sector or private economy to play its part. But I feel that this aspect has not been sufficiently clearly laid down.

Therefore, the time has come when we should make a clear-cut declaration with respect to this matter. The Finance Minister should, on behalf of Government, and once for all, announce a clear-cut policy as to what will be our future economic approach, our economic policy, because on that alone we can understand what may be the economic trends and economic conditions that will follow. Unless this is done, it will be difficult to say which way we might think or which way one might go.

Shri Masani spoke on behalf of the party he represents. He spoke in a way which felt convinced in so far as the viewpoint he represents is concerned. On the contrary, when Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad and Shri K. D. Malaviya spoke in favour of a clear-cut socialist approach, I felt equally convinced about their approach to this matter. Therefore, the time has come when the Government of India, along with the State Governments, have to define in a clearcut manner what will be our future economic set up, whether the private sector has a place in

it or not, if it has a place, in what conditions it will function. Unless this is done, the confusion that prevails not only among some friends in other parties but among some friends in my own party, the Congress Party, in regard to the concept of socialism, will remain and will become increasingly greater. Therefore, the time has come when on this issue the Government of India must make its position very clear.

We are paying a lot of attention to defence and development. The same was projected in last year's Budget also, and the entire Budget was defence and development-oriented. I do not feel that the present Finance Minister has made any deviation from the stand of the previous Finance Minister. He has given some marginal relief to the lower income group, and at the same time, he has a little over-taxed the richer classes. That is also clear from his Budget speech. My submission is that our country, taken as a whole, is backward in many respects; our economy is backward, socially we are backward, our industrial system is backward. So, unless the States and the Centre join together and take concerted action in improving this position no results can be achieved.

For instance, so much has been said about agriculture. As I have pointedly put it to the Finance Minister and other Ministers many times, the Central Government has got no direct hand in agricultural production in the country. The Central Government and the Finance Minister act as financial pivots, no doubt, but they do not get the States to prepare agriculture-oriented Budgets. Today, what is the position? The States prepare their own schemes from their own angles, the Centre provides the funds, and then the States do whatever they like.

We have got the Planning Commission here. I ask in all humility whether the Planning Commission has

ever taken up an integrated plan for any State, and seen that it is fully integrated in all aspects of development? The departmental heads in the States make out schemes and pass them on to the Planning Commission. The Planning Commission sometimes cuts down something, and sometimes adds something. I submit to our shrewd Finance Minister that it is because of this that though we have spent hundreds of crores on planning all over the country, we have not achieved the results that would have been achieved in the Central or State projects. Therefore, the time has come when this aspect should also be looked into.

My friends were eloquent on this very important point of agricultural production in the country. Of course, agricultural production is not making much headway. Unless the entire question of agriculture is looked into thoroughly and integrated schemes are prepared in the States with the Centre providing the funds and other necessary materials, agriculture will not be able to give us results.

The Budget of last year had inflationary trends. The same will happen as a result of this Budget also. Friends on all sides have been crying for the holding of the price line. I think it is not possible. While there are inflationary trends on one side, may I ask the Finance Minister what deflationary measures have been taken on the other side, what steps have been taken in that direction? Unless that is done, we cannot hold the price line. Therefore, the time has come when this aspect also should be looked into as early as possible. Otherwise, we will be only retarding our industrial and agricultural growth.

For developing our country, we need capital. I ask: is capital available within the country? Our Central and State Finance Ministers try their best to get as much from public savings as possible. But domestic savings are not enough; some funds

have to come from foreign countries. Friendly countries have been giving us funds by way of aids and loans. My friends do not want foreign equity capital but loans. First of all, you should decide whether you want foreign capital or not. If you conclude that foreign capital is necessary, then the lender may not agree to all our terms; we have to see the best thing in the circumstances.

I am concluding in a minute, Sir. There are three cuttings of some writings in Wall Street Journal by a person who belongs to the Party of Shri Ranga—I will not mention his name—and who is very well known; they are headed: 'anti-progress planning in India'; 'India is putting up heavy industries—that was the contention of his article. If any one reads them, he will have a bad impression about our economy and our planning and our growth. They could have taken up these matters here in Parliament and elsewhere within the country and Government may reply to them suitably. But if these things are propagated in America you can imagine the result. Such things should not be allowed to happen. People of our country should not be allowed to write such things in foreign Press as that will go against the honour of our country, against the very basis of the developing economy of our country.

Shri Ranga: Mr. Speaker, we have had a prolonged discussion on the Budget and we have seen how our friends, the Communist Benches have found many friends on the Congress Benches who echo and re-echo their own sentiments and feelings, and their own schemes of socialisation of as many of our industrial sector as possible. We have made our position clear through the eloquent speech made by the Deputy Leader of our Group, Mr. Masani. Our attitude in regard to the positive aspects of the proposals made by the Finance Minister has been made clear by him. There are certain other aspects and it is in regard to them that I wish to

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devote a few minutes of my time. My hon. friend Shri A. P. Jain has done a service to the agriculturist by drawing pointed attention to the failure of the Finance Minister to try to do anything positive to help the agricultural sector of our economy.

Hon. Members from all sides of the House have laid stress on this very important agricultural sector and deplored the failure of the Budget to do anything in order to promote agriculture and ensure higher production and larger incomes to the agriculturist, and in that way promote national well-being in our country. It is a common ground that we all deplore the failure of the Finance Ministry in regard to this particular matter.

16.19 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

There are several other points also on which there is more or less unanimity in the views expressed by our friends in this House. Everybody has agreed on it, and the Finance Minister could not disagree: that the national income is not rising, the standard of living of the masses is on the decrease, the per capita availability of food and clothing is not rising and is going down; the national indebtedness is going up by leaps and bounds and it ranges nearly at Rs. 200 per head of our population; unemployment in both the areas—rural as well as urban areas—and among the educated people is also growing; the tax burden has already gone up three times after the planned economy has begun, and about the prices, the Finance Minister himself says it is a spiral and it is going on; that it is a devil and it has got to be tackled. Regarding administrative in efficiency, all the departments now cry aloud that they are trying their best to improve it and they are taking special steps but they only en in greater expenditure. Then there is the bureaucratic approach; the issue of controls, permits and licences and the promo-

tion of various new industrial enterprises are still there. But the Government promises, as it has been promising for all these years, in vain, to do something about these things. Then, corruption is in evidence everywhere, almost in every rank, at every sphere of activity of the Government, from the Cabinet rank right down to the village level. But what is the worst feature of all this? That is the neglect of agriculture. My hon. friend has devoted so little attention to this aspect of the matter.

The total production had been going up but then in the last two years it has been tending to go down, because they themselves said—and rightly so—that this was largely dependent upon the monsoon. Agreed; but then what is it that the Government is trying to do in order to help all these peasants,—millions and crores of them—who are dependent on the mercies of the monsoon? If we calculate the total loss they might have sustained due to the fall of production during the last year, it would come to not less than Rs. 200 crores. All this loss has been sustained by all these crores of poor peasants. What is it that the Government propose to do in order to protect them from such losses, at least in regard to their working capital? Nothing. You may ask, what is to be done. I would like to suggest to Government that they should, in order to minimise this loss and ensure them against loss of working capital,—not to speak of their earnings or profits—and that is exactly where the Government has been failing for all these years—accept the demand that has been placed before them on behalf of the kisan sammelans, and later on behalf of all of us, that there should be an all-India famine insurance fund against natural calamities. They said they were starting it, but they made it optional; they left it to the States to agree or not to agree and to join or not to join. But they were not offering to make a big enough contribution. Now, I think the time has come when my hon. friend should take courage

in both hands and then appeal to the State Governments as well as to those in the rest of the world among the prosperous nation to come to our rescue and make their contributions in whichever quota it may be negotiated with in order to build up this fund, from which it would be possible for us to sustain our peasants during the times of drought, flood and also loss of crops due to pests and epidemics and so on.

The Government has not given any encouragement or provided incentives or additional strength to our peasants. The infra-structure needed for development and intensification of agriculture is not being provided in a determined and planned manner. They have themselves stated a number of things which they said they were going to attend to; that is in regard to the supply of fertilisers, improved seeds, supply of pesticides and insecticides, cement, iron and steel, etc. But what about the bullocks? They are dying by the thousands in Rajasthan, Gujarat and Kutch. Cattle-feed—we are negotiating with America in order to import some; agricultural implements—we are supposed to be making researches; we have not made them and we are not able to offer or place improved implements at the disposal of the peasants. What about pumps? How can there be any pumps when the State Governments are charging exorbitant charges on power? When it comes to diesel oil, my hon. friend is not prepared to reduce the excise duty on diesel oil.

Look at the rising tax burdens on our kisans. There are these excise duties. For estate duty, the minimum has been reduced to Rs. 50,000, so much so that the agriculturists themselves will come to be very much affected, even though there may be only a few people—two or three in any village—who will come near the ceilings they have fixed. At the State level, land revenue has been enhanced. In Andhra, it has been enhanced to the tune of 200 to 300 per cent. In

every State, it has been enhanced by not less than 50 per cent. There are betterment levies which are charged for new irrigated areas. Then, there are stamp duties and sales tax, which are going up.

So, something has got to be done. My hon. friend might say, "What can I do? Most of these are State levies". Just as Government has agreed in regard to education, to share the cost with the State Governments in providing additional salaries to elementary school teachers and other teaching staff. So, also, I would like the Central Government to offer to the State Governments to bear a part of the losses they would be incurring, if they were good enough to reduce or abolish the land revenue burdens, to drop these betterment levies and to reduce the stamp duties and sales tax. He would say, "Where is the money to come from?" My hon. friend Dr. Aney, the other day had argued very succinctly how he thought it would be possible for the Government to be faced with a surplus of not less than Rs. 90 to Rs. 100 crores. I think that things are moving in such a manner at such higher plane of income from various sectors to the State exchequer that Government are likely to get more than Rs. 150 crores by the end of this year, as had happened in the past. I hope the Finance Minister would not be a party to what his predecessor said, namely, that there is no harm in under-estimating revenues, because all the money will be utilised only for development purposes. That is a harmful way of looking at it and I hope he would not subscribe to that.

In addition to that, there is also the PL 480 assistance we get from America. We fund here the rupee value for it. Half of it can be placed at the disposal of the agriculturists. Actually, this thing is being utilised in order to keep down the agricultural prices. They call it stabilising the agricultural prices. Contrary to what any friends from towns may say they have kept down the agricultural prices. There is no doubt about it. They

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have got the wheat imports and they were selling them here in this country at the same price at which they were also procuring in the villages. The charges that they are collecting from the fair-price shops are about the same as the procurement charges that they are paying to our Kisans. It would only mean that the Government is not losing anything at all over these 60,000 fair-price shops. They are getting it all at such a low price.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: (Hosangabad): On a point of order, Sir. This intimidation by the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs is objectionable. We resent it.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: Does he know what I was talking about?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Your expression and mine betrayed you.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. He may leave it to me.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): Sir, I think the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs bears a special responsibility in this matter. We watch whatever he does....

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: Why should you watch?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshingabad): You are not at home; you are in the House.

Shri Nath Pai: May I assure him, Sir, that his privacy at Hastings Road is never intruded by us. He is absolutely free to do what he likes there. But when he came agitated towards you, we were worried. When he approached you in that gesticulating manner, it is our duty to see that the Chair's honour is maintained. He cannot be violent. It was quite legitimate for Shri Kamath and myself to raise it.

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): Mr. Kamath can look after himself. Why do you come to his rescue?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: We raised it together. He is not coming to

my rescue. You are being rescued there.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Shri Ranga may continue.

Shri Ranga: I do not know. Sir, how far this disturbance helps me in this discussion. I would like to suggest that with the aid of that Rs. 150 crores which, I think, the Government are likely to get as surplus and also with the help of at least half of this American fund that would be accruing here as a result of our imports of five million tons of foodgrains, the Government of India should try and consider the possibility of reducing the excise duties on tobacco, sugar, kerosene oil, diesel oil, biris and betel-nut and also subsidise the States in order to help them to reduce the charges on electricity. Diesel oil and electricity supply are of very great importance to agriculturists today because more and more agriculturists are trying to ensure themselves against famine and the vicissitudes of seasons by pumping out underground water and thus irrigating their lands. It is most unfortunate that the Finance Ministers, the present Finance Minister and the previous Finance Ministers have not seen it fit till now to take special steps to reduce, if not abolish, these duties on diesel oil and electricity. They say that they are charging less for agriculturists so far as electricity consumption is concerned, but the rates have been raised in various States in the recent past and it is high time that they gave attention to these things.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: Now the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs to these things.

Shri Ranga: Then, Sir, I would like them also to go into shares with the States in bearing the burden of reducing by 25 per cent to 50 per cent of the earlier land revenue and abolishing the recent enhancements and the betterment levies. I want them also to

share with the States in helping them to make available to the peasants free supplies of seeds and also increase in the subsidies on manures and implements.

The most important thing is credit. The Finance Ministers, one after the other have been taking pride in the fact that they were using their influence over the Reserve Bank and through it on the State Scheduled Banks to control the supply of credit used in the financing of trade in agricultural commodities. The most important consequence has been to prevent the rice millers, the flour mills and the grain dealers from purchasing as freely as they had been doing and from advancing credit to the agriculturists with the result that the agriculturists were starved for credit. Just now they have offered to lessen this awful restrictions of credit. But special care and attention has got to be given to prevent this mischief and more and more credit has got to be placed at the disposal of the agriculturists.

How much credit have they been able to place at the disposal of agriculturists by way of short-term credit? So little, if we are to judge the facts given by the Ministry of Agriculture. For instance we find that in Andhra Pradesh they have advanced only Rs. 40 crores for 4 crores of people which comes to Rs. 10 per head whereas what they need is Rs. 100 per head. At that rate so much more capital has got to be ploughed into agriculture. How is it ever possible to develop intensive cultivation with so little credit. Without intensive cultivation, how will it be possible for them to increase agricultural production? Without greater agricultural production, how can the national income of our country be raised. Some 13 per cent to 15 per cent of the national income is appropriated by the Government by way of taxes? At the same time they are not prepared to place at the disposal of the peasants the amount of credit that is needed.

Now they may say that all these peasants and tenants are very small people, cultivating only 5 or 6 acres of land, they are not so credit-worthy and, therefore, money that is advanced to them is likely to be lost. Surely, there would be a higher percentage of risk there. Therefore, I would request the Finance Minister to avert apart not less than Rs. 100 crores to cover these losses, and in that way enable the State Governments to supply this credit at 3 per cent at the village level to the agriculturist. He might say that the Reserve Bank of India is advancing credit at the rate of 2 per cent but, there, the new money-lenders of my hon. friend, State, district and village co-operative banks are queering the pitch for Kisans. The village cooperative bank does not swallow as much, but the State and district co-operative banks swallow so much that by the time the credit reaches the villager it costs him 9 to 10 per cent, as has been admitted already by so many friends here and also by the Government. The lack of capital and its high cost is the real bottleneck which is preventing intensive cultivation, increased agricultural production, and which is standing in the way of raising the national income of our country. So, if my hon. friend is not able to find sufficient funds from tax resources then, let him take advantage of PL 480 funds. Let him also appeal to the rest of the world; just as he has been borrowing money with the help of the Aid India Club and other agencies in order to help our industries, so also let him raise sufficient funds, free of interest, from the international sources and place them at the disposal of our agricultural department of the State Governments at the cheapest possible rate of interest so that the agriculturists may get adequate agricultural credit at not more than three per cent and less agricultural production will go up.

Then, there is the inability of the peasant to stand the incidence of

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floods, drought, frost, cattle epidemics and pests. Is the Government trying to do anything? He may very well say: oh, it is the responsibility of the State Governments. What are the incentives that the Government of India are providing? There are two ways of providing incentives—one by fiscal measures and another by financial measures like grant in aid to the State Governments. The State Governments are not in a position to help themselves. Further, they have already indebted to the Central Government to the tune of Rs. 5,000 crores. So should not the Central Government be willing to place at the disposal of the State Governments at least another Rs. 500 crores in order to help the advancement of agriculture?

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

Shri Ranga: I will take only a few minutes.

Then we want the irrigation potential to be fully exploited. The Minister of Irrigation has himself been saying that there is one million acres of land for which water is available from all the irrigation projects and yet the peasants are not able to utilise the water just because they do not have sufficient capital, the State Governments are not providing the wherewithal in technical as well as financial matter and the Union Government is sitting over it quietly. If only that million acres of land can be irrigated immediately, within one year they would be able to have one million tons of foodgrains, provided of course they intensively cultivate the irrigated land. Yet there is no provision for that here.

Then, there is the failure of Government to utilise the earlier doses of deficit financing to develop agricultural credit etc., even though it was a productive purpose. In conclusion, I want my hon. friend to try his best to go a little farther than

what he proposes to do to see that the Planning Commission is placed in its proper place. I am glad that for once the budget has become a real budget and not merely a kind of paper that is sent here by the Planning Commission. That is one good thing. At the same time, there are a number of difficulties, which have been set in train by the Planning Commission. One of them is their pressure to enhance land revenue and to levy betterment levies. Secondly, there is the Constitution (Seventeenth) Amendment Bill. So, it is good that my hon. friend, the Finance Minister, has made quite a desirable break, not of his own but on behalf of the Government, from that dead approach, fatal approach that had destroyed our budgeting during the last three or four years. I wish him success in going in the right direction and getting over these negative aspects of their budgeting.

Shri J. B. S. Bist (Almora): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir the hon. Finance Minister deserves congratulations for presenting a Budget which is bold and which will promote economic growth. While yields from existing taxation have been largely preserved, and with the promise of better enforcement may even improve the hon. Finance Minister has taken a number of steps to promote investments.

The boldest of his decisions is the one relating to the abolition of the Compulsory Deposits Scheme for income-tax payers and reduction of income-tax at lower and middle levels. The middle classes in our country, particularly those with fixed incomes, were facing great hardships as a result of increasing burden of taxes and rise in cost of living. It is to the credit of the hon. Finance Minister that he realised the importance of this section and gave them some concessions in taxes.

The hon. Finance Minister has reorganised the taxation pattern for the

corporate sector in such a way as would enable expansion of industries. The new surtax on companies providing concessions to priority industries is a definite improvement on the super-profit-tax which it replaces. Despite increases in estate duties, Gift Tax and expenditure tax, along with extension of Capital Gains Tax to bonus shares, increase in super tax in respect of private companies and threat of discontinuance of development rebate after 1966, the Budget proposals on the whole meet out a generous treatment to the corporate sector. It is now up to the private sector to demonstrate that it plays an important role in the mixed economy of the country.

The hon. Finance Minister's announcement about the appointment of a monopolies commission is welcome. This will enable the country to find out that as a result of the concessions given there is no undue concentration of economic power or wealth in private hands.

The hon. Finance Minister has kept the expenditure on defence at almost the same level as last year. This is as it should be for the danger from China is not only ever present but has now become greater with Pakistan joining hands with China. There is an intensive concentration of Chinese forces all along the borders and no reliance whatsoever should be or could be placed on the so-called desire for direct talks voiced by the Chinese Premier during his visit to the African countries and Ceylon. The aggressive posture assumed by Pakistan and atrocities on Hindu and Christian minorities has created a serious problem and situation and it would be dangerous to have a complacent attitude.

From the revised estimate of the net expenditure on defence to be met out of revenues there is a decrease of Rs 15.96 crores compared with the Budget estimate for the year due to

reduction in the rate of recruitment for the Army, and a reduction of the net defence capital expenditure by Rs. 43.09 crores due to less expenditure on new factories. In view of the keen desire among our people to join the Defence Services, the House owes an explanation for this reduction in the rate of recruitment. Is it due to our having reached the target of recruitment or lack of training facilities for recruits? If it is due to lack of training facilities, it is high time that something ought to be done about it. Similarly, delay in establishment of ordnance factories is depressing. Is it because of friendly countries who had earlier promised us assistance in the establishment of these factories now backing out? There has been a decrease in expenditure under air force, of Rs. 10 crores in the new estimates. The reason given is that a major portion of adjustments in the purchase of aircraft and stores would have been carried out in the preceding year. It would have been well if the Government had maintained the high level of expenditure on air force and I hope this point will be considered and appropriate action taken.

The Government has promised substantial sums for the development of border areas in the new year's budget. This is welcome. Steps should, however, be taken at the Central level to ensure that allocations made for border areas are actually spent by the State Governments there and that schemes framed for these areas are scrutinised in consultation with the representatives of these areas. While special allocations have been made for the border areas of U.P., Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir, similar assistance should be provided for the border district of Darjeeling in West Bengal.

Apart from taking steps for the economic development of these border areas, it is equally necessary to create among the people a sense of participation in the affairs of the

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State. In this context, the Government's announcement relating to grant of autonomy to Assam Hill areas within the framework of the State is commendable. I feel the Government ought to seriously consider whether a similar pattern could not be evolved for the hill areas of West Bengal, U.P. and Punjab. Such a set-up will strengthen the bonds between the hill people and the plains and the result in their greater identification with the main political stream.

The Finance Minister has emphasized the need of stepping up the present inadequate rate of growth in agriculture which is the king pin of economic development of the country but he has not elaborated the measures which require to be taken to raise agricultural production. The package programmes which he proposes to extend to 1500 development blocks will be like a drop in a bucket. What the farmer needs, more than anything else, is cheap credit and a remunerative price. Agricultural credit is not easily available and the price of agricultural produce does not bear a rational relationship with the cost of production. While the Finance Minister has announced numerous incentives for industries he has not done so for agriculture, I hope he will apply his mind on this matter and make some decisions and provide some more incentives.

The Finance Minister's stress on the need for making adequate profits by public sector undertakings is in refreshing contrast with the past thinking on the subject. His statement that the future growth of the public sector should be from returns on investment already made on them may not be to the liking of dogmatists but it is a pragmatic approach which should commend itself to the House.

Shri Karuthruman (Gobichettipalayam): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I commend the budget proposals of the Finance Minister not because that my

friend is coming from my State but because of its own merits. His proposals—I am not an economist to comment on it, but as a layman I do it—have sown seeds for socialism. With these budget proposals, as far as I can understand, after a decade there will be no question of even a single individual left who will be able to live on earned wealth passed on to him. After ten or fifteen years it will be the pattern that everybody will earn and live by what he earns, and there will be no question of any earned wealth being left in his possession, as a result of these taxation proposals. Hence, I welcome those proposals.

Many hon. Members have referred in this House to the agricultural sector. I welcome that. The industrial sector and the agricultural sector are like the two eyes of a nation. So far as our country, is concerned, while more attention has been given and more concessions have been given to the industrial sector, so much attention has not been given to the agricultural sector as it needs. Of course, our Finance Minister has succeeded in framing a budget of the order of about Rs. 2000 crores or so, but, unfortunately, he has not succeeded in getting 100 million tons of foodgrains. What is that due to? We should analyse the reasons for it.

Every hon. Member says that agriculture should be given proper concessions and proper incentives. So far as I am concerned, as I have already stressed ever so many times in this House unless and until a proper price is given for agricultural produce, it will be quite impossible to reach our targets. What is the price which has been fixed now? It is a confusing thing. But I would submit that Shri T. T. Krishnamachari will be able to deliver the goods, because he knows the case very well. It is high time that at least when moving the Finance Bill for consideration, he will assure a fair price to the producer. Many hon. Members are afraid of indicating

exactly what the fair price should be, because if they do so, then there may be a cry among the public that the prices are rising. But we should take into account the cost of cultivation while fixing the price and decide what incentives should be given to the agricultural sector.

So far as electric power is concerned, only about 30 per cent of the generating capacity is earmarked for agriculture, whereas 60 per cent goes to the industrial sector, and only 10 per cent is offered for household purposes etc. While the agriculturist has to pay at the rate of 8 nP per unit, the industrial sector has to pay only 4 nP per unit. So, we find that the industries are consuming nearly 60 per cent of the power generated while they are being charged only half of what the agriculturist has to pay. Is it not high time that we should realise that the industries should pay twice what they are paying for the agriculturists the tariff should be reduced by half? If we want to reach the target of 100 million tons we should see that not more than 3 or 4 nP per unit only is charged so far as the agriculturist is concerned. But we are not doing that, because unfortunately there is no agricultural lobby here. If that lobby had been there in the Lok Sabha and in the State legislatures, things would have been different; if we demand certain rates saying 'If you do not give these rates, hereafter, hands off, we would not produce more', then they would come to terms and they will give all the incentives to the agriculturist.

Once Gandhiji said that when the mercy of the heavens fail, open the bowels of the earth to find water. We have constructed so many big dams wherever possible, and where we expect rains, but we should also see that deep bore wells are provided for the poor agriculturist. I have read in the papers that the oil and natural gas commission are having some deep wells. But I would say that deep bore wells should be provided for the agriculturists so that 2000 to 3000 acres

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may be irrigated in the dry areas. If these bore wells could be dug, then not only could they find some water for drinking purposes, but they can utilise it for irrigation purposes.

So far as the prices of agricultural produce are concerned, as I have already pointed out, there is a confusion between support price and procurement price. It is said that the support price is for paddy and rice. I am sorry to say that the Planning Commission members do not seem to differentiate between rice and paddy, with the result that whatever price is due for paddy is fixed for rice. If only they realised what paddy was and what rice was, they would be able to fix a reasonable price for paddy. They say that the price would be Rs. 16 per maund of rice. As a practical farmer of this country who is producing 50 maunds per acre for the past twenty-five years, I would say that unless you give Rs. 16 per maund of paddy it is practically impossible to do this agricultural work. The plight of the peasants today is one of misery, strife, sorrow and suffering. Unfortunately, there is nobody to represent their case properly. At least now, we find some hon. Members referring to this, but I would submit that hon. member should not stop with mere lip sympathy, but we should have a practical way of doing things. There is a great saying by Thiruvalluvar:

"Ilam Ennum Isolyari Kanpin.
Nilam Ennum Nallal Nahum".

"Mother earth will laugh at those peasants who say 'no' to her". That means, if a peasant is not able to attend to his land and do intensive cultivation, mother earth will laugh at him.

But what are the incentives given to the peasants? The prosperity of a nation lies in the productivity of the corn fields. The productivity of corn fields depends on the incentives that are given to the poor peasants.

When we say there is a rise in prices, it only means that the peasant

[Shri Karuthiruman]

does not have any decent standard of living, that he finds even a hand-to-mouth existence difficult. Our economists say that a rise in foodgrain prices will lead to a rise in the prices of other commodities. This theory might have been true before the second world war. But it is inversely proportional now. If foodgrain prices are controlled, the other commodities essential for the agriculturist are not at all controlled; their prices do not come down.

This is a vicious circle. We are giving increased dearness allowance to government servants and others. But what is the amount they spend on wheat or rice? Not even 25 nP. They want to go to the cinema. They want to buy Rs. 2-50 tickets. They want to wear nylon-shirts. Even poor labourers who save some money indulge in such extravagant expenditure. But for no fault of his, the poor peasant finds that the prices are rising. Actually when prices are rising, the fault is laid at his door.

What is the solution? Of course, there is one. Our TTK is able to do that. We want to ensure a reasonable price to be paid by the consumer. What is that reasonable price? 1½ kilos of rice per rupee from Cape Comerin to Kashmir. That would come to one Madras measure of rice per rupee. That would work out to Rs. 24-50 per maund of rice. Let them give 10 per cent less to the farmer. We will see that within two years, we hit the target. If the Finance Minister makes an announcement assuring this price, I will see that within a year we increase production by 10 million tons. We will make that sacrifice for the country.

Lastly, with regard to promoting national integration, there should be a linking of the Ganges and Cauvery, and there should be a railway line from Cape Comerin to Kashmir at least in the Fourth Plan period, so that north and south is connected and

there will be closer integration, which will be a real integration, and our country will progress.

To sum up, if there is a proper price ensured for the agriculturist for rice and wheat and if there is a linking of the north and south, by rail as well as by canal, as I have suggested, we can solve our food problem as well as the problem of national integration. Our Finance Minister who is capable of delivering the goods will, I hope, do it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Before I call upon the hon. Minister, I want to give chance to two or three more Members. If the House is willing to sit 20—25 minutes extra, we can accommodate them.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: There is a calling attention notice.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That we will take up now. After that we will sit. Is that agreeable?

Some Hon. Members: Yes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will sit till 5-25 P.M.

17.00 hrs.

CALLING ATTENTION TO MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

INTRUSION OF A PAKISTAN HELICOPTER INTO INDIA

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri R. Barua. Does he want to ask any question?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Does the Minister want to add anything to his earlier statement? Has any further information been obtained during the interregnum, 5 hours or so?

Shri Y. B. Chavan: No more specific information is available.