

payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the service of the financial year 1958-59 for the purpose of Railways.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the service of the financial year 1958-59 for the purpose of Railways".

*The motion was adopted*

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** I introduce\* the Bill

INDIAN LIGHTHOUSE (AMENDMENT) BILL†

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Transport and Communications (Shri Raj Bahadur):** On behalf of the Minister of Transport and Communications, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Lighthouse Act, 1927

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Lighthouse Act, 1927"

*The motion was adopted*

**Shri Raj Bahadur:** I introduce the Bill.

APPROPRIATION (RAILWAYS) BILL, 1959

**The Minister of Railways (Shri Jagjivan Ram):** I beg to move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain

sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the service of the financial year 1959-60 for the purpose of Railways, be taken into consideration".

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the service of the financial year 1959-60 for the purpose of Railways, be taken into consideration".

*The motion was adopted.*

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The question is:

"That clauses 2, 3, the Schedule, clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Long Title stand part of the Bill"

*The motion was adopted.*

Clauses 2, 3, the Schedule, Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Long Title were added to the Bill.

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** I beg to move:

"That the Bill be passed".

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The question is:

"That the Bill be passed"

*The motion was adopted*

12.03 hrs.

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The House will now proceed with general discussion of the General Budget for which 20 hours have been allotted excluding the time for Government's reply I would like to draw the attention of hon Members to Rule 207(1) which lays down the scope of the discussion of the budget as distinguished from the discussion of the Finance

\*Introduced with the recommendation of the President.

†Published in the Gazette of India Extraordinary Part II—Section dated the 9th March, 1959.

‡Moved with the recommendation of the President.

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Bill. Under Rule 207(3), I fix that 15 minutes will be the time ordinarily allowed for every hon. Member except for leaders of Groups who would be allowed up to 30 minutes, if necessary.

**Shri S. A. Dange** (Bombay City—Central): At the very beginning I wish to make it clear that I would not like to go into the details of all the figure work that is presented in the Budget for the simple reason that, as you might remember, when the Budget was presented, unlike last time—or I mean before that—there were not many sighs and groans in this House. It was received in a sort of stolid calm way and, perhaps, in a way which would lull the country and the House into a sort of expectation of a smooth-sailing economy. Therefore, instead of going into the figures as such, I would like to analyse some of the policies that find a place in the Budget.

Paragraph 3 of the Budget speech gives you, according to the Finance Minister, the characteristics of the economy. The characteristics are presented in a way which should do credit to the Finance Minister if they were really true. I do not say they are altogether untrue; but I do not think the picture is realistic and correct.

What are the characteristics? He says, first we were confronted with a drop in agricultural production. There was slowing down of industrial production; then, there was a rise in prices and a very serious rise and there was pressure of payments; four characteristics which are quite serious for any economy—let alone an underdeveloped economy like ours. If agricultural production goes down, prices shoot up, industrial production slows down and there is a crisis in foreign exchange, certainly, it is a very serious affair.

Later on, the Finance Minister tells us that he was quick enough or that the Government was quick enough to

take corrective steps. And, as soon as the corrective measures were taken, the picture changed. The kharif crops were good. I do not know whether that was due to the corrective measures taken by the Finance Minister or by the Government. It may be a corrective measure by natural agency or somebody. But, in any case, he puts it as his corrective measure. Perhaps so. He says, the kharif crops were good and so the prices started coming down slowly. There was a slight fall in prices. The pressure on foreign exchange was also reduced. There was, of course, a corrective measure: the Bankers' meeting in Delhi and the Minister's visit to New York. Certainly, these could be taken as corrective measures and the pressure on foreign exchange was reduced. So, he says, now the situation is not serious.

He wants, perhaps, to give us a picture of calmness and smugness, though he warns against complacency in his speech at the latter end of his speech. Yet, more or less, what he says is, now you can think calmly and go ahead. It is a picture more or less of complacency.

Now, is it really true when actually we are today finding that whatever little fall there is in prices here and there, people are still running short of food? What the kharif crops are doing is to stimulate the activities of the speculative markets. And, even as late as December or January the Reserve Bank Director was asking the banks: Gentlemen, speculative activity is on the increase; advances for speculation are going on too many and, therefore, once again, we would ask you to exercise caution and limit the advances.

It is not an o'd picture. This picture given by the Reserve Bank was given, perhaps, at a time when the Finance Minister himself was writing his speech and telling us that things are under control and the situation is

improving. So, in the matter of food, if we look into these things, we will find that he is relying too much, perhaps, on the wheat imports from America. He mentions that as a sort of achievement or a corrective measure or a matter of pride, that the situation is brought in hand by wheat under PL 480. I think about Rs. 140 crores of imports are going to be brought in. The PL 480 of Rs. 140 crores is supposed to correct the food situation and stabilise prices; but pumping of credit from the Reserve Bank into the hands of speculators is disturbing that picture again. And that very increase in production of rice and wheat and other commodities about which we hear is being utilised again for hoarding and for stocking for speculative purposes. The hoarders are finding a new policy. They do not now hold in their own godowns. They now ask the peasants to hold the stocks for themselves as they did in the old war days. So, I do not know whether on food policy as well as on the policy on prices, his picture is such a one as would allow us to congratulate him on controlling the disasters in the economy.

Then, about foreign exchange Yes, dollars have come in. But, as I once mentioned, while we welcome the dollars, we should be cautious about them.

An Hon. Member: As of Dulles.

Shri S. A. Dange: For example, we get on the one side wheat for about Rs. 140 crores and those contributions to investments—I do not know how many crores—Rs. 500 crores or so. And, from the other side, as I once mentioned in this House, we get the U.S.-Pakistan Agreement. In the net effect, once again I will repeat that phrase in this House and request the hon. Members to pay serious attention to this; this policy is of wheat and dollars for the stomach and bullets for the back. That is the double-faced policy of American aid. Therefore, I won't mind taking that aid if it comes in a straightforward way in order to build industries here. But, they are not coming in a straightforward way.

It is to allure us in order to divert our policy towards dollar aid and to be shot in the back by aid given to Pakistan for military purposes. And, what is the reaction of our Government and our legislators and others in this country?

The reaction is satisfaction for the wheat and dissatisfaction for the bullets that might follow. And, that was typically summed up by the Prime Minister when he was asked: Are you satisfied with the American explanation and he said—Yes and No. This is exactly the characteristic of their approach to this question. Yes and No. That is not policy; that is vacillation. That pact ought to be condemned and denounced as one aimed against our freedom. There is no question of Yes and No. They say, 'Yes' and 'No' because if you say it is unsatisfactory, then PL 480 might vanish and dollars and foreign exchange might vanish. Therefore, they say, 'Yes' and 'No'.

Therefore, if the Budget picture that is given leads us to complacency about this serious situation in economy, then, in that case, our Finance Minister would be doing no good to our country. I am quite sure, according to his own principles he wants to do good to the country. We are not challenging his motives; but the method is wrong and that is why I first drew your attention to the question of the characteristics. When it comes to a question of policy, I might make a reference to the speech of a friend of mine, our Leader in the Rajya Sabha. He has said in his speech on the Budget that it is surprising that the word socialism is nowhere to be found in the Budget. I do not know whether it was a complaint and if it was a complaint, I do not agree with my friend in the Upper House . . .

Shri Raghubar Singh (Varanasi): That is in our heart.

Shri S. A. Dange: For once at least, the Finance Minister and the

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Budget had told us the truth that there was no socialism in the Budget. We must congratulate the Finance Minister for not bandying words about socialism when really it does not exist in the Budget. I should say that it is a very clear cut statement and nowhere does it create an illusion that this Budget is going forward with socialism. (Interruptions)

**Shri Feroze Gandhi (Rai Bareilly):**  
The socialist pattern is there

**Shri S. A. Dange:** About the pattern, we should ask the textile industry what it is. What is the policy in the Budget? The Industrial Policy and the objectives of the Plan are to direct the economy towards socialism and everybody knows that unless the State sector increases its field and strength, socialism is impossible. Therefore, for the last two years and especially in the last year, there was quite a keen controversy about the relations between the State Sector and the private sector. Unless the State sector succeeds in taking hold of the major fields of industrial production, there could not be any planning, development or rise in the standard of the people because private industry is not interested either in planning or development or in raising the standard of living of the people but only in private profit, true to its nature. If private profit making indirectly coincides with social good, there is no difficulty but if it conflicts with social good, then private industry will rather go after the profits than after social good. That is the experience of history. There is no question here of Indian capitalist or any other capitalist. That is the very law of capitalism. Therefore, if we are striving towards socialism through the Plan, it is axiomatic that the State sector must overwhelm the private sector; it must become the major factor in industrial production to begin with

and later on in agricultural production a so after a certain stage.

There is a very good summing up of figures in the Budget and the accompanying documents are also there. I want to pose a question to our Finance Minister and he may answer it later on. It may not be done in the speech here. In the last ten years, how has it developed—the relation between the State sector and the private sector, in the matter of investments, production capacity, etc? What is the relation between these two? We can then analyse how the economy is developing. What is the volume of production, how many thousands of crores, controlled by the State sector whose profits go to the treasury? How much is controlled by the private sector? Which one is increasing and which one, decreasing? Or, are they advancing on equal levels? According to our policy towards socialism, the State sector ought to increase absolutely. But if you go into the figures as they are given, I think the race is still being won by the private sector, as even a superficial reading of the figures would show. Nowhere in the Government records do I find an answer to such a question perhaps because they have not yet posed such a question seriously for the economists in the Government circles.

For instance, this question was posed in the First Plan. An attempt was made to assess the result—the relation between the State sector and the private sector at the end of the First Plan. But as far as I know, we have not given a digest of the thing at the end of the third year of the Second Plan, which has been a crucial year. Therefore, I would like to know from the Finance Minister the policy. Is it the State sector overwhelming the private sector? We want the private sector to continue. True, for sometime, I do want that the private sector should continue because it has to continue. So, while it continues, what is the ratio? That is the essential point that is going to decide the

fate of our country, the development of our economy. If you see the import figures for several years as given in the *Economic Survey* for a single item, import of "capital goods," for the private importers and the Government, you will find that the race is still being won by the private sector. Only in the first half of 1958-59, the private capital goods import amounted to Rs. 74 crores while the figure for the Government was Rs. 123 crores. Only here it seems the ratio is changing. But I do not know what has happened in the next six months or what is going to happen in the next year. Therefore, the question is very relevant from the point of view of the development of our economy and I hope the position will be cleared by the Finance Minister while he answers us.

I want to mention one more point about the State sector. I say that there is yet a terrific bundle of contradictions in Government policies. There is the question of capital in the fixed section and then again in the circulation section. Who holds the key to circulating Capital in our country or, to put it in simple terms, trading capital? What is the policy in the trading section with the volume of liquid capital which is held by these private traders? What is happening in that sphere? Then, you will find that the question of nationalisation of wholesale trade is being avoided? Nothing is being done in order to clinch the issue. Only a slogan is let loose but letting it loose without a proper plan of action is to warn the fellow who is going to suffer from that wholesale trade nationalisation to enable him to hide himself and to go underground and foil Governmental policies. Now, that is exactly what is happening. In the matter of the policy of our relationship to private capital, we have not yet come to definite conclusions in important fields: development of the State sector, the question of trading policy etc.

Only yesterday, we had certain expression of sentiments from the

trading world that met in Delhi. Now, they have come to realise that some compromise must be made and they have suggested a very happy compromise. I wonder if it was the wise tactics of the Finance Minister himself suggesting to them not to go with a frontal attack on the State sector and the Governmental policy but to go in a sort of a guerilla way in order to defeat those forces which want to take hold of private capital . . .

**The Minister of Finance (Shri Morarji Desai):** I thought that it was your speciality--guerilla activity.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** There is a little mispronunciation I follow guerilla tactics and you follow gorilla tactics; there is difference between the two.

So, they are now saying this. If you want to do State trading with socialist countries, let the State do it but if you want to trade with the private capitalist countries then let that be left to the private sector—a very fine division of labour so that nobody knows what trade is done and what profits are made. If controls are established, they can be defeated; that is the experience with regard to private trade with United Kingdom, America and other capitalist countries. The major volume of trade is still with them. So, now they say: "Gentlemen, traders of the State sector, you trade with the State sector in the socialist countries, and we of the private sector trade with the private capitalists of the capitalist countries". If this division is accepted by the Government, what we will have is an escape of the real cream of trade from the control of State and from the control of the State over investment in State sector of capital. Therefore, what I would suggest to the hon. Finance Minister is to make clear his policies with regard to the next year, with regard to the import-export trade, with regard to the wholesale trade in grains and so on, and the development of State sector, because it is a continuous pressure that foreign private capital should be allowed to be invested

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in private industry. They do not say, only import foreign capital. They say, import and allow us to capture it and invest it in private industry. If that line were to succeed in governmental policies, then there is an end of development of real industry in our country. So for the sake of development of industries I would suggest that State sector be emphasised. Take foreign capital, but on our own conditions. Take it in the State Sector, and if the State sector wants a part of it to be given to the private sector, then let it go there on certain conditions. But let not the private sector have the anarchic liberty of dealing with foreign countries on import, export and investment as they like.

Now, coming to the second point of policy, what is the policy on land? He speaks about agriculture, about prices being brought down, production going up and so on. I would like to know from the Government what is the land policy now, because continuously we are hearing that ceilings on land have to be imposed and co-operatives have to be encouraged if we are to solve the food problem. According to the Finance Minister, for the present at least, the solution of the food problem is PL 480 wheat; that is, they will grow wheat for us in America and we shall import it here, then, later on see what can be done. Our proposal is that the ceiling on land be imposed and that question of policy be vigorously pursued and carried. If it is not carried out vigorously but left to the sweet will of State legislatures without a forceful directive, then the policy would be foiled. It is already being foiled, and if land ceiling do not come in and land is not being properly utilised, in that case we are not going to solve the food problem. Everybody knows that. The Congress benches admit it. What I would plead with them is not to allow certain ministerial circles to play with the policy. Certainly the policy is accepted, but mere acceptance without execution has no meaning. Therefore, on land policy I

would like to press upon the attention of the House that they should demand that it be carried out in practice very quickly.

Then, this question of banks advancing loans for speculation is a perpetual question, and I do not think as long as our Finance Minister holds to his fundamental morality of support to stock market and private capital this question of banks advancing loans to speculation will ever be resolved. The only solution would be the nationalisation of big banks and no other solution, and perpetually you will have this question of bank directors being asked not to advance loans and expressing pious wishes about speculation not being encouraged.

Then there is the question of betterment levy. Even before betterment has taken place levy is coming in. It is a strange policy. Just because a canal has been built or a dam has gone up, the peasant is supposed to feel better. In Punjab we are having that picture. Canals are built. In some places more land is getting water-logged than land is getting bettered, and yet the policy is being followed of imposing a levy which does not even take into consideration the fact that some of the costs ought to go over to industry. Even about that there has been a lot of controversy and a solution is not being found out, because they have not yet decided how much the peasant is bettered. An imaginary figure is accepted and it is imposed on the peasant. With the existing taxes it becomes a heavy burden. They have to protest and they are protesting.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** May I know how betterment levy is relevant to the Budget. It is not a part of the Budget at all.

**Shri Bimal Ghose (Barrackpore):** Everything is relevant to the Budget.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** It is not part of it.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** If he had not spoken about food situation, I would not have brought in betterment levy. He may check it up. If food is not a problem of the Budget, then whose is it? If betterment is not the problem of finance and of the loans given by the Central Government to State Governments and to companies, whose is it? I wonder why he should raise that.

Then, on the fourth question of co-operatives, there has been a lot of controversy. I should make my position clear on this. I first want priority for ceilings. Once the peasant has got lands then, slowly, along side, let us raise the question of co-operatives. But if you raise the question of co-operatives, as the single main question today, then ceilings will be defeated, the landlords will mobilise the peasants against the Government and both co-operatives and land ceilings will be defeated. So I would propose taking a cautious step in this direction, though there can be no objection in principle to co-operatives. But if the Government starts something like State farms, demonstrative good State farms, where landless labourers collectively can work it out and produce in a better way, get a better wage and better income, that would be an example to the peasants to draw them into co-operatives by the sheer economic example and sheer economic law. But, unless that is done, if it is forced in the way in which we are just doing by mere propaganda—of course, it is still in the stage of propaganda—what we will have is a defeat of good policy. Sometimes good policies can be adopted, but they can be defeated by wrong moves in the execution. So, in this question also, I would say that there should be land ceilings first. Speculative trading in foodgrains should be stopped altogether. Wholesale trading in foodgrains must be taken over. After ceilings and the question of distribution of land is decided, we can take up the question of co-operatives. If in that way a land policy is evolved, through budgetary methods also—taxation and

so on—I think we will have a better future.

I now come to the next question of taxation. Well, as usual the taxation in this Budget has increased, and the policy is the same as before. What is that? Tax people's consumer goods and let the monopolies scot-free. This is the key-note of all the budgets for the last ten years, and this Budget does not change that policy at all. Now, the Finance Minister might say, look into the budget, there are so many taxes like wealth tax, expenditure tax, death duty and so on. But I am talking of the major taxation.

What should be the taxation policy of a Welfare State? If that question is posed, I would say, profits of State sector industries and taxes on monopolies, these two should be the prime sources of revenue for a State which calls itself a welfare State. But here the welfare State is going in such a way that the people's consumer goods are taxed, and taxed in such a way that it leads to irritation and starvation, and, ultimately, fall in the real income of the mass of people. If that sort of taxation policy is followed, in that case our finances are bound to go wrong. Even in the Budget the main question that should have been posed is not how to impose more taxation. The dominant question today in the country is, or one of the dominant questions in the matter of taxation is to realise what is taxed. Evasion of taxation is the main question in our finances today. Rs. 300 crores of evasion of taxes is the computation of certain people—it may be Rs. 200 crores even. What is the total additional amount of taxes put in here? About Rs. 20 crores to Rs. 30 crores. Here there is taxation already imposed but avoided by the monopolists to the extent of Rs. 200 crores to Rs. 300 crores. Why is that not being realised? Is it only the fault of the administrative machinery? It is not only

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the fault of the administrative machinery, it is the fault of the policy itself. Prosecuting one millionaire for sample is not enough. As against the prosecution of one, hundred go scot-free. In one case the officials of a trade union with which I am connected got hold of papers where n taxes were being evaded by manufacture of false accounts. I do not want to name the firm but that is one of the most pious, religious firms which makes pious donations to trusts, which trusts are very doubtful

Here, what happens? When my trade union workers put in those papers, orders were passed that those papers were stolen and the trade union officials be arrested. Those trade union officials instead of arguing the case in a tribunal, have had to appear before a criminal prosecution for stealing papers. When people complain about corrupt on in the administration,—not that the whole administration is corrupt nor do we want to suggest that all officials are bad—you cannot find out those people, whenever they are bad. The approach is "nothing doing with them." We are not going to encourage any such thing. The question of evasion of taxation is raised even from the Congress benches. I know there are protests about evasion but they dare not touch some of their own patrons because the patrons in monopoly capital are too powerful even for some of the Ministers. Therefore, the strength of the monopolists ought to be broken by mass action and the Government should be compelled to realize the taxes in the proper way from these monopolists. It is not a question of additional taxation. Additional taxation can be avoided if the evaded taxes can be obtained from the big monopolists. And who are they? Well they are so much friendly with the Ministers' circles, that they should know them. If they cannot use force let them use their spiritual force at least to get those evaded taxes. Unfortunately spiritual force does not get any money. What it gets is blessings for them and

taxes on the people. So, I hope that on the question of taxation, the policy will be changed.

Coming next to the fifth point on policy, what is the policy in regard to the funds foreign exchange and the difficulties of foreign exchange?

**Mr Deputy-Speaker.** Has the hon. Member many other points to mention?

**Shri S A. Dange.** I shall finish soon. There is also the question of exports. One of the Ministers has made a dangerous statement, and I read it in the press. He said that we must increase internal prices in order to finance the export at lower prices. If this is the economic policy that is going to govern the financial policy of the Government next year, please do not blame us, if there are protests, demonstrations and strikes against the high prices in the future. They are already there but they will be more. This idea of subsidising exports at the cost of the internal consumer is dangerous. Subsidising them at the cost of the internal consumer instead of subsidising them at the cost of the profit of the big monopolists is a dangerous attack on the people of this country. If certain ministers have not understood the implications of it it is high time that they did.

For example the sugar magnates want to export sugar. They have been asked to. They say they will suffer about Rs 2 crores of loss. So let the Government bear it let the treasury bear it, or let the internal prices bear it. I said no let the profits bear it. If the workers are to sacrifice for the country let the monopolists also sacrifice and send out the exports and cut out the rate of profit. But they would not do it. I do not know whether the excise duty on khandasari is imposed in order to make up the losses in the sugar mills in the matter of exports. I would like to know

about it, because this khandari excise duty is not a very happy thing. It is going to lead to a lot of corruption and less of realization of the duty itself.

On the question of exports, I would like the Government to be very cautious, because it is going to lead to certain evils. In the name of exports, the internal prices are being raised, and exports are of course encouraging the speculative markets. Therefore, on the basis of the law of unequal exchange with markets abroad, we will lose more than we can gain. So, in the name of exports, people are being attacked, automation is being introduced, automation is leading to unemployment. On the one side, that is the case, and on the other side, the Government says, "we are trying to control unemployment", when the introduction of automatic looms is already leading to unemployment. When it comes to that we are told that unemployment can be cured by family planning. When those people are thirty years old who were already employed and when they become unemployed how can their unemployment be cured by family planning? I do not know. I do not know how a man who is already 30 years old can take up to his own planned parenthood in such circumstances. I cannot understand the Government when they say so. All sorts of irrelevant statements and policies are laid down that unemployment can be cured by family planning. If you do not want a person or an employed worker to be unemployed do not introduce rationalisation. But they would not do it. They would not accept that policy. They will bring in automation, they will bring in unemployment and then say family planning is the cure. I think the Finance Minister might be an expert in that. So, let us have some knowledge about it from him.

With regard to the question of exports of iron ore, coal, etc., all these questions are getting linked up with costs, and this question of costs is

making difficulties for the working classes. For example, safety in mines is neglected. The mining question is neglected. Accidents like the Chnukur disaster are neglected. A feverish heat is shown in order to produce profits and somehow or other exports are pushed up with care. Therefore, I would plead with the Government, and say that on the question of exports, let there be a proper rational level of principles. I am afraid of one thing. I do not want to be impudent, but I am afraid that some of the Ministers do not understand the relation between the internal prices and exports, and their proposal of raising internal prices would be a very disastrous proposal.

I shall now come to one or two points which are remaining. In this budget, what is the provision for public welfare? I do not know what it is. Nothing much is visible. On the question of housing, there is still the same stalemate. I am told that the LIC is going to allot funds as loans to State Governments for housing. But I am still doubtful about the efficacy of that method, unless the LIC funds are strictly earmarked, first, for the State sector and secondly, for investment in such activities like housing and so on. But my hon. friend the Finance Minister, has a quarrel with me. He insists on the LIC funds being made available for speculation in the stock exchange, and that is a perpetual quarrel between him and me. I do not know when it will be resolved. I am sure however, that it will be resolved in our favour some time.

Then there is the question of the wage boards, and of the question of administrative costs and economy in that. That is perhaps going to spite our demands before the Pay Commission and the question of wages revision through the wage boards which affect several industries. Is Government going to move in this matter very quickly and properly in favour

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of the workers or not? If they do not, efficiency in the administration will suffer. The administration is already geared to governmental one-party policy. They blame the Kerala Government for it. But now the Law Commission is on record as showing how even judges are being appointed in the interest of the ruling party. But I do not want to go into that charge which is sought to be made against our Kerala Government. Even the policies of the Central Government here are enough proof as to how the administration is geared to Congress party interests.

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

Shri S. A. Dange: Lastly, I come to the question of co-operation. At present, lot of words are bandied about co-operation, and I want to make a few points clear about it. We want certainly co-operation. We want to co-operate with all the forces including the Congressmen and the Congress organization even, but on certain policies.

Acharya Kripalani (Sitamarhi):  
Village level

Shri S. A. Dange: But on certain policies we are not out for co-operation. The first demand to be made in that behalf, for co-operation, was in the form of national government. At present, who is going to co-operate in all the grabbery and all these peculiar financial policies and the police policies that are being followed? I should not like to be on that Bench carrying these policies out, and then call myself a part of the national government. If anybody wants that happy situation of sitting alongside the police ministers and financial ministers following policies like that, they can do so. But so far as we are concerned, no. At the same time, we do want to co-operate and we will co-operate, whether they like it or not. But then they say, "Yes; we also want co-operation," but "co-operation at the

village level, and non-co-operation at the other levels".

Shrimati Benu Chakravartty (Basirhat): At village level, they do not want it.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): What about betterment levy? (Interruptions).

Shri S. A. Dange: Purpose? Motive?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Here we get co-operation from all sides just at present!

Shri S. A. Dange: At the village level co-operation will be given for imposition of land ceiling, carrying out the policy of land ceiling, the masses and the peasantry will be moved and land will be taken in order to carry out the resolution. I hope my friends on the other side who have adopted that resolution at that time will not stand on the side of landlords and against the peasants. We will give co-operation at the village level in order to impose land ceilings and to defend the peasantry, irrespective of party affiliation, irrespective of leadership or anything. I want to give co-operation at factory level in order to have good production in exchange for good wages and defence of the State sector and defence of the workers against the monopolists. In carrying out these policies, we are going to give and we are giving co-operation.

You may ask what we are doing in the State-sector factories. It is in fact some gentlemen on the other side who are obstructing the establishment of State-sector plants for manufacture of trucks and engines in the defence industry. You could see the other day how many protests there were against the Defence Minister for the decision to manufacture trucks in the State sector.

At Governmental level, is there co-operation? Yes, Sir; there is co-operation at the Government level and that will be for the State sector.

against corruption, for the development of the State sector against private monopolists. If they go on that line, we will give co-operation to Government policies. We will give co-operation for protecting democratic rights and for spiking dictators who would like to kill democracy.

You have been indulgent and given me more time.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I expect your co-operation now.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** I am already giving my co-operation at the Governmental level and at your level also, if you like. What I want to suggest is that certainly some of the policies are good. But I want to say that mere talk of co-operation will not help. *Padayatras* by leaders for land ceiling will not help; it should be a *yatra* of mass movement of the peasantry; along with that, *padayatras* may be good. But mere *padayatras* are not going to solve the problem.

The last sentence of the Finance Minister's speech contains a small word which is jarring to me. He says "with confidence in our high destiny." I do not know much of English, but I think that destiny is always pre-ordained and depends on dictators and astrologers, because our destiny cannot be found out except by astrologers. I believe in goals; I can believe in human goals being fixed by the masses of the people to be attained through a financial policy, through successful implementation of the Plan. I hope the Finance Minister would alter this word 'destiny'; it generally comes from dictators. Napoleon and Hitler talked of destiny; Ayub Khan talks of destiny. Small people, good democratic people, should talk about goals: This is the ideal we have laid down and we shall fulfil it; and not a pre-ordained destiny in the hands of some unnatural or natural forces somehow or other dumping itself on the nation and on the Finance Minister. So, I hope we will change that word—destiny.

**Shri M. R. Masani (Ranchi—East):** Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir, having the

highest esteem for the hon. Finance Minister and having watched as a citizen of Bombay the able administration which he provided to our State for many years as our Chief Minister, I would be very hesitant to be critical of a budget introduced by him. If, however, I sound a note of criticism today, it is because I feel that it is a duty from which one cannot escape.

In order to evaluate the taxation proposals in this budget, which I shall briefly do, it is necessary to look at the background of this budget, against what background this budget is introduced. The background I refer to is that of the taxation proposals for the last few years. When the second Plan was framed, the Planning Commission made an estimate that Rs. 800 crores of additional taxation could be levied during the period of five years of the Plan. Of this, Rs. 450 crores was to come from new taxation. Of this Rs. 450 crores, half was to be raised by the Union Government and half by the State Governments, thus giving the Union Government an average of new taxation of Rs. 45 crores per year. Mr. C. D. Deshmukh in his budget levied new taxation to the extent of Rs. 30 crores; Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari added another Rs. 90 crores. Thus in two years, Rs. 120 crores were levied as against Rs. 90 crores which the Planning Commission themselves had felt was a safe ceiling to further taxation. The Economic Survey attached to this budget now gives us the figure that the additional taxation at the Centre and the States for the five-year period at the present level will aggregate to Rs. 900 crores. So, as against the safe limit of Rs. 800 crores which the Planning Commission estimated the Explanatory Memorandum tells us that even at the present level, the tax-payer will be burdened with Rs. 900 crores of additional taxation. It is against this background viz. that the targets of the Plan have been exceeded by Rs. 100 crores, that this budget needs to be judged.

[Shri M. R. Masani]

I had hoped that the Finance Minister would come before us this year with a reduction both in indirect and direct taxes, may not be a major or a very sensational one, but certainly some reduction which would have given a filip to the flagging production of foodgrains and the flagging rate of expansion of our industrial sector. It is, therefore, that I feel a measure of disappointment that he has not come before us with some measure of relief to give an incentive which was lacking for the last two or three years, whereas the Law Minister said in the Economic Journal of the AICC in November 1957 that the law of diminishing returns had already set in and disincentives were in operation.

We are now faced with additional taxation to the extent of Rs. 23 crores. Of this, not less than Rs. 18.08 crores falls on the shoulders of the common people of this country. Rs. 18 crores is the burden of additional new excise duties. When two years ago, a series of new excise duties were sought to be imposed, I remember I took the opportunity to divide the House to show our strength of feeling what some of us felt about this imposition of further burdens on the poor people of our country and on their daily needs. I regret that these present proposals further aggravate the situation. Whether it is tea, sugar or cigarettes the common man is sought to be further burdened beyond the limit which he is able to bear.

The excise duty on diesel oil will again fall on the poorest people. The farmer who uses diesel oil for his pump and the common man who is a passenger on road transport and who sends his goods to the market by road will equally be penalised by this further imposition on road transport. To this I will not refer in detail.

The other reason why the new excise duties need to be combated is that they will aggravate the inflation

that is already prevalent. The figures given in the budget are that wholesale prices rose from 105 to 114.5 during the past year and the working class cost of living index went up from 118 to 119.

Other changes which I deplore are the changes in the wealth tax and the Expenditure tax. These Bills went to a Select Committee on which many of us served. It was after a great deal of discussion and rather in the nature of an agreement between different groups and points of view, which actually were ratified at Cabinet level, that certain compromises were arrived at, for instance, the compromise that the expenditure tax should not apply to any man whose net income after paying tax did not exceed Rs. 36,000 in a year. A very unfortunate amendment is sought to be made in the Expenditure tax, by which the income of a man, his wife and his dependent children are all to be grossed and if that income exceeds Rs. 36,000 the whole family becomes liable to expenditure tax. I cannot help feeling that this change if it is desired to be made, should have been made by an Expenditure Tax (Amendment) Bill, which could be referred again to Select Committee where the whole pros and cons could be argued out again. I think it is not proper that these fundamental changes in measures which were considered in Select Committee and accepted as compromise measures should be sought to be made by an odd clause in the Finance Bill, and even now I would request the Finance Minister to consider whether the Finance Bill in this case cannot be referred to the Select Committee. Some of us will press at the proper time, for reference to the Select Committee for these reasons. This combination of man, his wife and dependants also comes as a thorn end of a wedge for income-tax purposes. So far we have been saved from this suggestion that the entire income of

the family should be grossed for the purposes of taxation. I rather suspect and fear that, if the House allows this particular provision in the Expenditure Tax Act to be passed this year, it will not be long before some Finance Minister, either the present incumbent or another, will come before us and seek to introduce this unfortunate principle in the income-tax law where it has so far found no place.

13 hrs.

**Shri Nanshir Bharucha (East Khandedh):** You are putting ideas into his head.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** I need not put anything into their heads. They are full of ideas.

Now I come to taxation of companies and income-tax. I was very amused when, on the publication of the hon. Finance Minister's speech on the budget, the stock exchanges went up and lots of our big industrialists who should have known better, rushed to express their jubilation at this very good budget. I was reminded then of the saying of a great British statesman "They are the ringing bells now; they will be wringing their hands soon". That stage did not take long to arrive and within three days second and better thoughts prevailed and now those who had rejoiced are beginning to wonder whether they were wise in doing so.

It is difficult, in the few days that have passed, to examine the implications of the so-called simplification of direct taxation thoroughly. We are all trying to understand this rather complicated simplification and even now the experts themselves are of various minds. As far as I can make out, the better opinion seems to be, and I say this on the basis of the best expert advice that was available in these days, that the changes are of a negative nature, that under the cloak of this simplification there is an increase in income tax and direct taxation. Now, the hon. Finance Minister made

a statement in his budget speech where he said:

"coming to income-tax, I propose to make no change in the present rates and structure of personal income-tax."

I am sure that when he said it he meant it. He could not have meant to mislead the whole country and the House. That is the last thing one would expect of him. I do not agree with the view that he said that with his tongue in his cheek. He meant it, though he was probably not aware of the real position. In the process of simplification, additional burdens of indirect taxation, of income-tax are being imposed. I hope that when the evidence will be placed both in this House and outside, at the time of the Finance Bill, he will try and carry out the spirit of his assurance. I am sure that if he is convinced that there is an indirect increase in income-tax and super-tax in the hands of shareholders, on the capital that they hold in their hands, he will rectify it. And I would appeal to him to give an assurance to the House that, if that is so, he will see to it that there is neither a gain nor a loss in income-tax and super-tax.

The point is broadly this. As against relief that is given to the companies, the capital in the hands of shareholders will suffer additional taxation in the nature of income-tax, exceeding the relief given to the companies, so that apart from being a simplification there is a round-about addition to the direct taxation, unintended evidently by the Finance Minister. I would, therefore, appeal to him for a re-examination of this point. I reserve detailed comment when we shall be able to give examples and financial statements in the House at the time of the Finance Bill when we move our amendments to these proposals.

Now the question arises: why should the Finance Minister, who is not

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unfamiliar with the implications of these proposals whether on business or on agriculture, who is not ignorant of the ways and operations of business, come before us with a budget that will inflict further disincentives both to agricultural and industrial production, when they are so badly in need of new incentives? I think the Finance Minister answers the question himself. On page 26 of his speech he says:

"In a sense, therefore, the stage that has been reached in the implementation of the Plan conditions this budget. So far as the Plan is concerned, I think it is accepted by everyone that subject to such minor adjustments as may be necessary and were made at the time of the recent reappraisal by the National Development Council, we have to go forward with the Plan. For me, as for my predecessors in this place, this has been the major factor round which the budget has to be built."

Sir, I entirely agree with the fact to which the Finance Minister draws attention, that the budget is in a way the very reflection, the very shadow, the very echo of the Plan. Two years ago I referred to the then Finance Minister as Sinbad the Sailor and the Plan as the Old Man of the Sea who would not get off his back. Sir, Sinbad has changed, but the Old Man of the Sea still dominates and rides on his shoulders.

But I have to disagree with two ideas in this quotation I gave from the Finance Minister's speech. It is not necessary that the Finance Minister should have budgeted for no less than Rs. 1121 crores on Plan expenditure during this year. Since the Second Plan is framed now for Rs. 4,500 crores, of which Rs. 2,450 crores have been spent already during the first three years, Rs. 2,050 crores remains. Why, Sir, was it necessary for

the Finance Minister to impose a burden of Rs. 1,121 crores this year, leaving only Rs. 929 crores next year? According to the Plan itself, every year the burden was to accelerate in a certain progression. Why has this progression been disturbed? Why have we gone out of turn trying to get this year more than we hope to get next year? In other words, there was no necessity even under the Plan for this particular burden to be accepted in the current year.

The other point where I must respectfully disagree with the Finance Minister is when he says that everyone in the country agrees that, subject to minor modifications in the National Development Council, the Plan must be carried out.

**Shri Dasappa (Bangalore):** May we know from where he got these figures?

**Shri M. R. Masani:** I am sure the Finance Minister would not question the figures—I see him nodding—that out of Rs. 4,500 crores, Rs. 2,450 crores have already been incurred and out of the remaining Rs. 2,050 crores, Rs. 1,121 crores are expected this year.

I was about to say that a remark which I cannot agree with is that everyone in the country agrees that the Plan, at any cost, must be carried out. I know that thousands of thinking and learned people emphatically disagree with it. They do not agree that the country's finances and its budget must be made a hand-maiden of the Plan. They believe that the Plan must be shaped and re-shaped in such a way as to conform to the requirements of sound finance.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** May I say that a few thousands is a very small number when compared to many crores?

**Shri M. R. Masani:** I said thousands and thousands of thinking people, and the number of thinking people in this country unfortunately, owing to illiteracy and retarded education, is

limited; a few lakhs I believe. But I do not want to say that thousands and thousands of unthinking people also, who are not literate and who do not possess education, are not unaware increasingly of the dangers of this pattern of planning.

It may be argued by the Finance Minister that all Opposition parties, rather the two main Opposition parties in this House, accept the Plan. But with all respect to them, I may say that those Opposition parties are not fundamentally in opposition to the government of the day. The balance of our party system is such that we have three or four socialist parties and not a single non-Socialist, Liberal or Conservative party. The Socialist and Communist parties are by their nature more in the nature of satellites of the ruling party than a real Opposition. But there is real opposition in the country. Unfortunately, that opposition is as yet weak in this House. But all those who can judge the signs of the times are aware that there is a growing opposition to the State Capitalist pattern of planning, in which we are indulging and the collectivist pattern of agriculture not only from those who are in business and industry—even though they are most vocal on this subject, they are a small class—but also from masses of our peasantry. And it is because of this that Mr. Rajagopalachari, one of our finest elder statesmen has said that not only is there a great need for a Conservative Party in this country but also that such a party would find wide response when it is formed. Now, I am not a Conservative. I happen to be a Liberal.

You may notice, Sir, how much time is being lost through interruptions.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** But he would appreciate that that is a part of the game.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Yes, Sir. I am mentioning it for future use in case you ring the bell after a few minutes.

I was saying that I am not a conservative, but I do agree with Shri Rajagopalachari on this question that there is need for a Liberal party or a middle-of-the-road party in this country which would be opposed to the pattern of planning as preached by the Government and supported by the Socialist and Communist parties. In no sector of our life is this gulf between governmental policies and public opinion wider than in the field of our agricultural life. Agriculture is the basis of our financial life and our budget. The policies that the Government are now thinking of carrying out will hit the financial stability of this country more than anything else one knows.

We know that the Nagpur Resolution has three prongs to which the hon. leader of the Communist Party has referred: ceilings, State-trading and co-operatives. Time does not permit of a detailed discussion of all three but I would like to say something on the subject of co-operative farming on which this House had the opportunity of listening to a long speech by the Prime Minister, a speech, if I may say so, which was a masterpiece of evasion.

**An Hon. Member:** What about ceiling?

**Shri M. R. Masani:** There are three real issues about joint co-operative farming: one is whether it is productive, whether it will raise food production. I gave a mass of statistics from every part of the world I could get to show that, wherever collective or co-operative farming has been tried it has been a failure in so far as foodgrains and agricultural yield were concerned. The Prime Minister referring to that said: "I can give Mr. Masani instances where it has been known to be a success. But leave that out." Having made this profound remark, he went on to say something else. Why leave it out? This is exactly what the country wants to know: will it help our production?

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Evidently the Prime Minister did not have any facts or figures with which to contradict those which I had supplied. Two days ago, somebody told him that there was collective or co-operative farming in Canada, and so in a public speech, he said: After all, Canada practises collective farming. Are they communist? I took the trouble in the forty-eight hours that remained to find out what kind of collective or co-operative farming goes on in Canada. As it happens, that kind of co-operative farming—there is no collective farming, but it is the same thing—goes on in Saskatchewan, only one State of the Canadian Federation. As it happened, in 1937 a Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life reported on this subject in the State of Saskatchewan, and having read the report what I find is this. The Prime Minister's words were "was practised on a fair scale in Canada", from which I gathered that about three-fourths of the farms must be co-operative or collective farms. The facts are that even in this one State where co-operation is practised, there are only 27 co-operating farms out of 103,000 farms in that one State which has gone in for any kind of co-operative farming! That shows the kind of information with which solid statistics and facts are sought to be met.

The second issue is: is joint co-operative farming any different from collective farming? The Prime Minister says the two are completely different; he is against collective farming, he is for joint co-operative farming; the identification arises out of a confusion in my mind. The Prime Minister took one hour to deny my statement. He did not spend one minute to say: well, all right, this is collective farming in Soviet Russia, this will be my joint co-operative farming.

In order to clarify the issue, let me share with the House a few facts about Soviet Collective farming, so that the Prime Minister and those who agree with him may point out where their joint farms will disagree with it.

In the Soviet Union, there are two kinds of farms, the Sovkhoz, which is a State farm, and the Kolkhoz, which is a collective farm. The Sovkhoz is very abnormal, it is an experimental or demonstration farming, but the Kolkhoz is a normal collective farm. It is the Kolkhoz which prevails over the larger portion or the bulk of the Soviet Union. The Kolkhoz by Soviet law is an *artel*. *Artel* is the word for a co-operative. In other words, Soviet collective farming also masquerades as co-operation. The members of the collective farm hold the land in perpetuity from the State. The farm cannot be taken away from the collective farmers. It is their joint property leased to them in perpetuity by the community. The members do not have to pay the State anything for this farm because they have pooled their land in this farm. Half the capital of the farm that is thus contributed by the contribution of land and animals is indivisible till the collective farm is dissolved. The other half can be taken away by a man; his own share can be taken away when he wants to leave the collective farm. The farmer thus has the right to opt out of the Soviet collective farm. He may recover his share in cash or he may ask for another farm somewhere else. His own farm is naturally not given to him because boundaries have been removed and it cannot be found any more. Therefore, some farm, probably in Siberia, will be given to him as compensation. This is the essence of joint co-operative farming of the Soviet Union which the Prime Minister says he does not like, and which I agree with him he should not like.

Another feature of the Kolkhoz is that there is complete self-government. The code or charter of 1935 which prescribes the way in which the co-operative or collective farm will be run lays down that there will be no interference from the Government, that the co-operative farms will elect their own president, manager and executive committee which will

run the farm. We know from practice, of course, that a coach and four have been run through this charter right from the time it was promulgated, and that the Soviet collective farms enjoy no self-government. This is admitted in the Soviet papers, that there is complete control and domination from day to day by the Soviet dictatorship. I say so far as the statute on collective farming in the Soviet Union is concerned, the Nagpur resolution is a carbon copy of Soviet collective farming. But there are two differences. One difference is that the Soviet collective farmer....

**Shri S. A. Dange:** Will the hon. Member yield for a minute?

**Shri M. E. Masani:** No, I would like to continue the argument. The hon. Member may answer later.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** My point is that in a sense in Soviet farming, the independent peasant has no property right; in joint farming his property in the land remains. That is what he is missing.

**Shri M. E. Masani:** I do not agree with the hon. Member. I pointed out that the statutes of the Soviet Union on collective farming lay down that the Soviet collective farm is the joint lease given in perpetuity and cannot be taken away by the State without compensation.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** Land was nationalised in 1917.

**Shri M. E. Masani:** Therefore, the land is given in perpetuity and as one farm, it is the property of the farmers jointly and, therefore, when a man goes away, he can take out half of his capital. That is not Government property, it is his property for all practical purposes.

**Shri Merarji Desai:** Surely Shri Dange knows more than you about Russia.

**Shri M. E. Masani:** No, Sir. There are two differences, however, between Soviet collective farming and the joint farming of the Nagpur pattern.

**The Minister of Mines and Oil (Shri K. D. Malaviya):** Is there any difference?

**Shri M. E. Masani:** There are two differences: one, which is in favour of Soviet collective farming, and that is that when the peasants refused to co-operate, when food production went down, when Russia had famine which I hope our country will not share as a result of this kind of misguided policy, even Stalin retreated and he allowed the collective farmers to own family kitchen plots, family kitchen plots that range from half an acre to as much as 2½ acres per collective farmer. On that private kitchen plot, the Soviet collective farmer today grows vegetables and fruits. He owns his own livestock and he takes his dairy and vegetables and fruits to the markets in the big cities where he sells it to the richer people, the new capitalist class in the Soviet Union, in the black market which is there called "the free market". These are facts. This is one difference between our farming and Soviet farming which is in favour of Soviet collective farming, because it has given a concession against joint farming to the peasant.

The other difference is that we have a democracy and they do not possess one. That will be the answer of those who argue: why should you think that we will do the same? I am sure the Prime Minister certainly means that he will not distort this internal autonomy and other provisions of the Soviet collective system, as those in Russia have done, but there, if I may say so, he is being thoroughly unrealistic. I suggest that when you herd millions of peasants into big co-operative farms, the same conditions will recur here as happened in Russia. You will have chaos, you will have a catastrophic drop in food production, and you cannot let the country starve. Therefore, you will have to impose on

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these joint co-operative farms, may not be the same brutal regimented measures, but you will have to destroy their autonomy; you will have to reduce them to collective farms as in Russia; you will have to reduce the collective farmer or the co-operative farmer to a landless labourer, deprived for ever of his farm.

In the light of this, we can understand Shri Dange's suggested tactics to Government. Those tactics were tried by Rakosi in Hungary. They are called "Salami tactics". He said: why are you fighting so many people at the same time? First, you should carry out ceilings, thereby putting the small landowner against the big landowner. Having got the big landowner out, you should then have turned the landless people against the small landed peasant. Why are you trying to fight too many people? They will join hands and your ceilings would not go through. We understand in the light of the nature of this essential identity of Soviet collective farming and the Nagpur pattern why there is this welcome, with his very much superior strategy, from Shri S. A. Dange.

**Shri Vasudevan Nair (Thiruvella):** Why does the hon. Member not say anything about ceiling?

**Shri M. R. Masani:** I shall talk on it on another occasion, because time does not permit me to do so now. I shall move a cut motion on ceilings, and give satisfaction to the hon. Member. I promise.

There are people who say "Why are you worried?" Nothing is going to happen. The Nagpur resolution, you are quite right, cannot be carried out without bloodshed, and, therefore, it will remain on paper. You do not have to take it so seriously.

**An Hon. Member:** Bloodshed.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Yes, bloodshed; said bloodshed; you cannot carry out

the Nagpur resolution by putting all the farmers into co-operative farms without resistance, which will come to bloodshed, whether you like it or not.

**Shri Punnoose (Ambalapuzha):** Unfortunate

**Shri Morarji Desai:** May I say that this is a wrong representation of what is sought to be done. There is no question of putting people into co-operatives. The people will be taking to co-operatives as they understand it. There is no question of putting them into it.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** The Nagpur resolution says 'hereafter three years, the goal will be joint co-operative farming'.

**An Hon. Member:** It is not compulsory.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** What about ceilings?

**Shri M. R. Masani:** I do not say compulsory, but there will be pooling of land.

People say "Why are you worried? This will remain on paper." I do not think that is a wise attitude. There are three very precise reasons why one should deprecate even the talk of joint co-operative farming at a time when the country wants more food production. There are three disadvantages which will happen through mere talk and not through implementation. The first is that the primary obligation of Government to supply water and irrigation to supply fertilisers to give better advice and tools, and to give credit is sought to be overlooked; attention is diverted from these primary tasks of Government to help the cultivator by this talk about joint co-operative farming three years from now. It is a disincentive to Government to do the right thing.

**Shri K. D. Malaviya:** I am sorry the hon. Member does not understand it.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** The second disadvantage is that by creating insecurity in the minds of thousands of small and middle peasants, you are going to give a disincentive to increased food production. May I know whether, since in three years his farm is going to be taken away from him, he can now be expected to cultivate it with that zest in his heart which he would do if he thought that his enthusiastic work on his land will come back to him in fruits five or ten years from now?

The third harm that is done by this kind of talk is that it gives aid and comfort and prepares the ground for the communist propaganda to take advantage of later on. In this way, it acts as a kind of Sappers and Miners of the Communist Party of India.

It is, therefore, that people like Mr. Rajagopalachari and others have warned that you are destroying the agricultural stability of this country, which is based over a thousand years on peasant proprietorship.

I happened to be in Belgaum in the State of Mysore only a few days back, and I asked the peasants there how far back in their history the system of ryotwari, the ownership of the land by the actual tiller went. They said that they could not remember, some people said five hundred years, and others said a thousand years. In the end it was established that never in their memory had there been a time when there was anything like a zamindari or the absence of peasant proprietorship.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** Bogus.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Therefore, the difference is this. In Bihar and in Uttar Pradesh, from which the advocates of co-operative farming have been coming—though there are also stout champions against it—the kisan, the peasant proprietor is a new phenomenon. He has been there only for three or four or five or ten years. But, in the South, by and large, and in the

West of India, in my State of Bombay, and in the South as a whole, peasant proprietorship is part of our way of life. It is part of our civilisation. And to try to uproot it in three years or even in five years is playing with fire. I do beseech the Government not to pursue this dangerous path.

I am glad there is a very good discussion going on in this country on the subject. I am only sorry that the Prime Minister seeks to import an element of passion into this debate. He said that there was no passion like the passion of a vested interest. I cannot help feeling that the passion with which the Prime Minister spoke in this House a few days back and elsewhere shows that there is nothing like the passion of a doctrinaire who is thwarted in the pursuit of his dogma. And when the people of India do not go along with that dogma, an attempt is made to create a climate of intimidation, to say "How dare you get up and speak against us?" I can assure the Prime Minister that he may have succeeded in thrusting these measures down the throat of his own party at Nagpur, but that he will not be able to do it in this House, and that the people of India will stop these measures from going through.

**Shri Bimal Ghose:** Although we have listened to an interesting and impassioned discourse on co-operatives, I think it is time that I brought the House back to the budget and the Plan. I would agree with the Finance Minister that the budget is not a mere simple account of Government's house-keeping but a study in the unfolding and fulfilment of the Plan. In this sense, the point that was sought to be made by Shri S. A. Dange that the Budget contains no reference to socialism is not quite relevant.

We have to examine the Budget to the extent to which it succeeds in fulfilling the Plan, because the Plan has been accepted—not that we have accepted it *in toto* but the House has accepted the Plan; and our task is to find out to what extent that Plan has

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succeeded, and at what stage we are now.

If one examines the position, I think one has to examine it from two points of view, namely, assessment of the present economic situation, and the future prospects. I feel that the situation is not very good. Try as much as one may, it is difficult to feel enthusiastic about the stage in which the Plan is and as to what is going to happen in the future. If that should be considered to be unfair, let us take some economic indicators and find out what the position is.

Now, let us take production. It is stated, and it has been agreed, that production during the last two years has fallen off. At the beginning of the Plan period, it has to be stated, that production had increased at the rate of six or seven per cent; but during the last two years, it has fallen off to about 3.5 to 4 per cent. It is also surprising that in the budget estimates, figures have been given as to what production is in the different industries, not as to how far we have progressed towards the targets that we have set for ourselves. We should like to have an indication as to what has been happening in regard to the Plan, how far we have succeeded in achieving the targets that we had set for ourselves, not as to whether in relation to 1957-58 production in regard to particular commodities has increased by three or four per cent or five per cent.

Then again, take prices. Prices are still inflationary. Last December, it was 105; now it is 112 or 113. Take also the cost of living index. It was 100 previously, and now it is 113.

Take our balance of payments position. Imports have been restricted, and exports are falling. In 1956-57, it was about 635; in 1957-58 it was less than 600, and in 1958-59 probably it will be even less.

So, the position, as far as the economic indicators go, does not show that the economy has been progressing. On the contrary, there seems to be a sluggishness in the economy. The first indication of that is the fall in production. The second is that indebtedness of the private sector to the banking system has been decreasing. Why are our industrialists not taking so much loan? Why have bank credits been falling off? Surely, it is because the industry has not been progressing.

Take, again, the question of revenue. Income from customs has fallen, naturally because imports have been restricted. Take even excises. If you take the basic excises, you will find that they have been varying over the last three or four years between Rs. 260 and Rs. 270 crores. It does not show any resilience. If the economy had been expanding, then the excises would also have been expanding, even though there might have been some decreases in certain excises. If you take the additional excises, the revenues are the same. These are not indications that the economy is expanding.

Then, take small savings. Why are small savings declining? Even though industry has not been progressing, yet market borrowings have increased, but small savings have not expanded. So, that also is an indication that the progress is not being maintained.

If that is the condition, is there any justification for this conclusion in the Economic Survey that on the whole the picture that emerges from the foregoing paragraphs is "one of an economy that has moved over the last twelve months or more towards but not yet sufficiently near the goal of achieving a balance both internally and externally"? Let us examine how the economy has moved to a position of balance internally or externally. Let us take the external position first. The economy has not moved to a position of balance. What

has happened is that by import restrictions, we have obtained a position of a better balance in our foreign exchange position. But so far as the economy is concerned, it is still in a bad way because our exports are not expanding. We have curtailed our imports because our exports are not improving. The economy has not improved, but the balance of payments position might have improved. But that is different from saying that the economy has moved towards balance.

Then, take the internal position. Prices have been rising and production is falling—production is not increasing at the same rate at which it was increasing formerly. Is that an indication of balance? Are we going forward? It is said that in a developing economy, inflation is a necessary concomitant. Agreed. But are we having the symptoms of a developing economy? A developing economy should expand and there should not be any falling off in the rate of expansion. But that is not what is happening. So, it is not quite true to say that internally or externally, the economy is such as is moving towards balance. The economy as such has not moved towards balance, but it has receded from the position which it had attained three or four years ago.

Now, let us come to the Plan. What is happening to the Plan? If we take the resources, we will see that the position is very serious. If we take the position that when the Plan will be finished, it will be of the order of the Rs 4,500 crores, deficit financing would account for, let us say, Rs. 1,400 crores; it cannot be limited to Rs 1,200 crores because we will have reached almost Rs. 1,200 crores by the end of the fourth year. That means, deficit financing will amount to 31 per cent. Foreign assistance and scaling down of sterling balances will account for about 44 per cent. So deficit financing, foreign assistance and scaling down of sterling balances will account for 75 per cent. So that it will mean that only 25 per cent. will have been

covered by internal savings—which is a very serious matter.

Now, as regards foreign assistance, we are taking a very large measure of it. There is no harm in taking foreign assistance, but one has to consider whether 33 per cent. or even more of foreign assistance in the financing of the Plan is good for the country or not. Do we not by accepting such a large portion of foreign assistance, to a certain extent, mortgage our policies in other matters? It is not quite true to say that one may take loans and maintain one's independence. One can maintain one's independence to a certain extent. But if we become debtors to a very large extent to certain countries, naturally our policies must also move in a direction which will not court the displeasure of those countries. That is not a happy position.

So whether you take the Plan or the present state of the economy, the position does not look to be very satisfactory. One should take note of this fact, and not say that we have turned the corner. As a matter of fact, it is very sad that so far as the Economic Survey is concerned, this year it has tried to gloss over the difficulties, to slur over our difficulties, to touch up the shades, so to say. As a matter of fact, the position is very much worse than it was two years ago. We have to realise that. There is no reference in the budget statement or in the Economic Survey to deficit financing, to the extent to which we have resorted to it. What is our target for deficit financing? Why should we be afraid to say plainly that this is what we intend to do?

If this is the position, one might ask, what has to be done. Could it be our intention that the Plan should be scaled down? Nobody would suggest such a course. Whatever Shri M. R. Masani might say, nobody would like the Plan to be scaled down. But the question arises: how can we finance a Plan of this magnitude?

[Shri Bimal Ghose]

Then comes the question of resources, and what has to be done. In that connection, two or three suggestions can be offered. The first is that we must solve our food problem. Not that the remedies are not known. I am sure that these have been so much discussed that people outside as well as inside Government know what has to be done. So the first is that the food problem must be solved. That is necessary both for our internal and external position. It is not merely good enough to say that we have had a good crop this year and prices are falling. We seem to depend upon nature in respect of everything. We must get rid of this habit. We must set for ourselves a target of 100 millions of foodgrains and see how we can achieve that. If we cannot achieve it, we must say that we shall fail to implement the Plan.

The second question is about resources and their utilisation. As Shri Masani was saying, we have raised a lot of resources by way of taxation. But where have those resources gone? They have not gone to finance the Plan. Therefore, a check has to be kept upon the implementation of the Plan and how the resources are used. In the Economic Survey, it is stated that investment now is about 10-11 per cent of our national income. That is a very good figure. If we can achieve 10-11 per cent of the national income for investment, we have achieved a lot. But then the Economic Survey does not go on to say as to how 10-11 per cent investment has been achieved. That has been achieved primarily by way of foreign assistance and, to a certain extent, by deficit financing. Therefore, the savings are not matching investment. That is the main problem. We have to find out as to how we can match investment with savings. When the Plans were elaborated, a certain projection was given in the Plans, namely, that savings should increase from 5 to 7 per cent, during the First Plan, then they will reach 11 per cent at the end of the Second Plan. To what extent

have we achieved that projection? I do not think that savings have increased by more than 8 per cent of the national income now. We have to examine as to why is it that savings have not increased more than 8 per cent of the national income, whereas they should be by now 9-10 per cent of the national income.

The main factor—and that is the last point I want to make out—is that when we think of savings, we are thinking of them as a percentage of the national income. We have to realise that 45 per cent of the national income is contributed by agriculture. Now how far is the agricultural sector contributing to our national savings and to the implementation of the Plan? That is the most important thing. If we feel that agriculture cannot contribute to the implementation of the Plan or to the raising of resources, how are we going to get 11 per cent of national income in savings from out of the other sector which is only responsible for 55 per cent of the national income? Therefore it comes to this that unless we can devise ways and means of raising resources from the agricultural sector, not just a little bit more than we are doing—but rather substantially—we shall not be able to raise the resources necessary for the Plan. That is a factor which, I am afraid, no political party is willing to face, because nobody wants to place any burdens upon the agricultural sector because the agriculturists form the largest portion of voters. Therefore, the position is that the agriculturists are left out. Hence the resources will be all the time less than what would be needed for financing our Plan. Therefore, we shall have to depend on foreign assistance always.

If the position is like this in the Second Plan, and we say that the Third Plan should be of the magnitude of Rs 9,900 crores—and if we take into account the inflation that is taking place, it should be now over Rs 11,000 crores, we are to maintain

the momentum that the economy should have in order to achieve a doubling of the national income by 1971.

Now, are we in a position to do that? If we cannot do that, let us face the facts and say what we can achieve because then we shall be forced to come to the decision to which Mr. Masani has come that we are not in a position to raise resources, that we are not in a position to tax the agricultural sector, and therefore, unless we get continued foreign assistance, this Plan will not be a success.

Other countries have shown that there can be a larger savings, a larger investment in European countries and in China there have been large savings and large investments but it so happens that we have not been able to extract that amount of savings from our economy. Unless we are in a position to do that, unless we devise ways and measures or have a policy which will enable us to obtain that amount of savings from the economy, I do not think that we shall be able to implement the Plan of this magnitude although in the interests of the country it is essential that the Plan should be bigger and bigger. Merely by saying that we must have a bigger Plan will not help anybody or will not take us any nearer the the Plan. And merely by saying that the economy is better and that we must exert ourselves to the utmost will not also take us any nearer the goal. Therefore, I think, the Budget statement this year has not given a correct picture of the economy nor as to at what stage we are with regard to the plans.

If the Finance Minister were honest, he should have put the picture in a more correct perspective. I am not saying anything with regard to . . .

**Shri C. D. Pande (Naini Tal):** He is transparently honest.

**Shri Bimal Ghose:** There is no doubt that he has tried to make out a

picture which is not a true representation of the economy at the moment. And if he feels that is so, I am sure he is labouring under a delusion, because the facts are speaking out and the economic indicators are against what he has stated. Therefore, unless he takes note of that and corrects the policy, merely by saying that we must exert ourselves and the Plan must be fulfilled will not take us any nearer the goal.

**Shrimati Benuka Ray (Malda):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, with due regard to the difficulties of our transitional times, the assessment of our achievements will not be based on the policies that we enunciate, however good they may be, or the objectives we hold dear to our hearts, or the finances that we expected but on the actual achievement of physical targets, their soundness in bringing about the required changes in the living standards of the people.

I am glad that the Finance Minister has made one great change in the presentation of the Budget this year in giving us separate booklets regarding the Demands for Grants and expenditure on the different Ministries as well as Plan and non-Plan expenditure Separately, however, I hope that next year the performance type of Budget will be placed for our consideration for the annual stock-taking

I have spoken, the enunciation of objectives, however good. I want to speak about some particular matters in this context. We talk a great deal about State trading in food. It is a good idea. We want the cooperative system for our agrarian reforms which any reasonable person will naturally support and should support. We want family planning in this country. True. All these things we enunciate. But, I would like to ask the Finance Minister and his Government why is it that when we enunciate their objectives we are not ready with our details of work as to what is to be

[Shrimati Renuka Ray]

done The criticism in regard to trading in foodgrains that detail plans are not ready is quite true. We allow a lot of fruitless speculation and controversy because we are not ready with detailed plans It is not, as I said, that by our objectives, however good they may be, or by our intentions that we shall be judged, but by how we carry out our work in detail

Take the question of cooperative farming Mr Minoo Masani said that the Prime Minister was trying to draw a red herring but he has actually tried to draw the red herring himself. It is quite true that so far as the Nagpur Resolution of the Congress stands, it should be quite clear to people what it stands for It is said clearly that in 3 years' time we want service co-operatives both for farming and for cottage industries And, naturally, this should have some productive work and then cooperative farming will follow

Now, we who have any experience of cooperatives in the past—and I claim no experience of farming cooperatives but I do claim some experience in the setting up of cottage industry cooperatives for women at least—feel that our work, if it is to be worthwhile, should be concentrated on the focussing of the talent in this country on the building up of these service cooperatives without any delay We should not allow ourselves to be detracted by these worthless controversies which cloud the issues and which are trying to set before the country that cooperative farming is the same as collectivisation or so to say, as Mr. Masani said just now, and his attitude was, that cooperatives were to be introduced by compulsion That is contradictory to the word 'cooperation' if he ever understood it I am placing all these things before the House because I feel that we are allowing ourselves to be diverted by arguments which are not necessary I am quite sure that once we are successful with ser-

vice cooperatives on a nation-wide basis it would be impossible for Mr. Masani or any other person to draw red herrings, for the cultivator, the farmer will come forward themselves to cultivate in common through co-operative endeavour For this we will have to organise from now a very large number of service cooperatives with productive capacity ten co-operatives per day, if so, our energies and our talents should not be swept away by useless debate because, we have to do this in 3 years' time Once the results of these service co-operatives are perceptible the farmers will take to cultivation in common through cooperatives

Then, I come to family planning Whatever prejudices there may be in some places, the country as a whole has accepted the fact that family planning is essential

**Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati) Family Planning must come**

**Shrimati Renuka Ray:** It must come, it is essential Our development is, in fact retarded because we do not know what the numbers are to be What is it that we are doing to bring this about? We have conferences, we have committees, we have boards, we have resolutions and all that We have 400 family planning centres of new setup In this country there is prejudice and people will not come easily to separate family planning centres Instead of integrating things, we talk about it We have not yet integrated the system of family planning into our health services, into our hospitals, health clinics and all types of medical clinics but it is the only way to go ahead with this work more rapidly It would be a good thing if we desist from talking of things but put a little more force into action, in the realisation of the physical targets There is much room for improvement in this matter though we have gone ahead on many matters and have no desire to belittle what has been done

Coming to the Budget, I feel that the Finance Minister's speech is a realistic one. It has not tried to hide anything from any one. It is not also a counsel of despair or frustration. It shows that he has been cautious about matters which needs caution; although we must go in for deficit financing, it has to be done with caution. It cannot be avoided in a country like ours where development has to go on. As a consequence of the deficit financing we are faced with the inflationary spiral of prices. He has been cautious because he has made some attempt to reduce the gap. It may be very little but at least it is a move in the right direction and let us hope there should be some check on this alarming rise in prices that goes on still.

To come to the actual taxation measures, I do not want to reiterate what other people have said. But is there any justification to increase the context of indirect taxation and excise duties to such an extent as has been done this year, on the plea that we have introduced an integral system of direct taxation last year? I would ask him this question. The incidence falls on those who have the least ability to shoulder it. It is true so far as the taxes on vegetable oils, khandasari, biri and diesel oils are concerned, in regard to the first three, it must also be remembered that in many places, these are carried on as a cottage industry and so it will have a bad effect on the small producer. I have myself received wires from Murshidabad and other places where the power-driven *ghanis* are being utilized on a cottage industry basis. The exemption of merely hand-worked ones does not apply to these cottage industries. I hope he will consider this matter.

I am disappointed, in regard to this wonderful idea of a broad-based tax structure that came in last year, that he has not made any change. The lowest slab starts from Rs 3,000 a year. We cannot avoid inflation in prices but surely we can avoid putting this further burden on this man whom

I would not like to call 'common' man. We are all in favour of common man. But he is a very "uncommon man"—he belongs to the poorer middle class and is trying to keep up without the assistance of the State that very standard of living which we are trying to bring about through our development plans. Surely, unaided by the State he is giving his child education. Whatever we have done, in the post-primary stages, no education is given free to the children. I know the cases of these "uncommon man" struggling against the greatest odds. Their daughters have been prevented from going to school because the amount of money, may be very small, for the school fee is denied to them when you put the tax upon that man earning Rs 3,000 a year, not to speak of those who are earning much less. We have a Central Pay Commission to increase the pay of these people but we must also think simultaneously of those who are paid less in the State Sector and in the local boards. Yet, we are putting indirect tax after indirect tax upon him. How is he to bear the burden of this tax? He is struggling hard so that he may not succumb to sub human conditions; he is doing so on his own without our aid through the development plans.

The Finance Minister has withdrawn the tax on companies and placed it on the shareholders. I know that he has said that the small shareholders are to be exempted. I must confess that I am not quite clear on this point. I want to know whether this exemption includes that lowest income slab group....

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

Shrimati Renuka Ray: Please give some more time. I have not got much time at my disposal and before I go on to the other subject, I will again plead with him that when he brings the Finance Bill he may withdraw these three excise duties and also consider the question of withdrawing the

[Shrimati Renuka Ray]

broad-based tax at so far as the lowest slab of Rs 3,000 is concerned

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Why not withdraw all the taxes?

**Shrimati Renuka Ray:** I say that the loss involved can be met if we stop the loop-holes of evasion and if we can apply the direct taxes on the higher, wealthier groups in a prompt manner. I know there are complications involved. I would suggest that he might have a citizens' committee to help the income-tax collectors in this matter. Perhaps some citizens may be able to know more than the collector of the income-tax.

**Shri Hem Barua:** That will make matters worse.

**Shrimati Renuka Ray:** I do not know if it would, I am asking him to examine this matter or there may be some new method. Possibly they can get help from the citizens who naturally come to know quickly matters which are sometimes kept secret from the income-tax collectors.

**Mr Deputy-Speaker:** They would surely come to know very easily, but would they be prepared to tell so easily?

**Shri Hem Barua:** That would bring in corruption again.

**Shrimati Renuka Ray:** It is a matter to be considered what type of citizens there should be and so on.

**Shri C. D. Pande:** That would lead to blackmail.

**Shrimati Renuka Ray:** Then there is the question of the best utilisation of the resources of our country. I know that Government is making some attempts towards this and the Finance Minister in particular is keen on avoiding wastage. But there is a tremendous lack of co-ordination whether in rural areas or in the cities like Delhi. Let me give one example.

In Delhi there is this new medical research institution. It is to build a hospital for its practice work. There is the Irwin hospital. Two agencies of Government using the tax-payers' money cannot come together and so there is a proposal to start a new hospital. If this is the example of Delhi, what can you expect of the State Governments? (Interruptions) I would request him to look into this. I know he is trying to do his best to avoid wastage but there are many things got to be done in this direction and lack of time prevents me from going into further details.

Now, Sir, there are two points that I would like to bring up very briefly, and I hope you will give me some time. One is in regard to the Farrakha Barrage. Year after year we have been asking for this. I will not go into the reasons as to why it is of importance to the port of Calcutta, which is a part of national importance. It is of even more importance to the people who live in the hinterland. Crores and crores of rupees have to be spent on relief to save people from starvation year after year because of flood, drought, famine etc. I am sorry to find that in the Plan there is no special provision allocated for starting this work. But I do hope that it is going to be taken up, and the Minister in charge of irrigation will make an announcement to the effect that it will be expedited.

14 hrs.

Lastly, Sir, there is one point which I would like to mention. I feel that General Budget is something under which one can speak on any subject—at least that is the convention. I want to make an appeal to the Prime Minister, who is not at present in the House. It is in regard to our relations and our pacts with Pakistan. Sir, historical instances of pacts have shown that we have unilaterally implemented the pacts which Pakistan has flouted every time. Recently we

have had a large number of border violations, and even today in the eastern border, particularly in Assam, conditions have been very bad. Only today I saw in one of the newspapers that there is an attempt at negotiations again. Every time negotiations take place, but what happens in the end? We keep our side of the pact and they do not keep it. It is not on the question of legal points alone. I know that the proposed legislation for transfer of territories is not coming now because it is being examined. I would request the Prime Minister and his Government to withdraw this legislation, because I think the time is not yet appropriate for it. I do feel that until such time as there is some indication on the side of Pakistan that she too intends to honour such pacts we should not go headlong into those things.

Sir, I support this Budget, but I would like the Finance Minister to please give consideration to the needs of that "uncommon man" who is struggling against the greatest odds to keep that marginal level of living which we are endeavouring to establish for all citizens.

**Shri C. D. Pande:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, at the outset I extend my heartiest congratulations to the Finance Minister for the very fine Budget that he has prepared....

**An Hon. Member:** Why?

**Shri C. D. Pande:** I will say what I feel, I won't say what you feel. He has presented the Budget in the circumstances as we are (Interruption).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. Bouquets should not be unwholesome.

**Shri C. D. Pande:** This does not imply that I am fully satisfied with the working, not only of the Finance Department but all other departments. After all, when we criticise the Finance Ministry, when we say something, it applies to the Government as a whole. I would request the Finance Minister to consider in that light whatever I say. There are many instances where things are not as they ought

to be. Whatever I am going to say here today is based on the feelings of the common man, what questions the common public put to us and how we reply to them.

Let us examine the background in which this Budget has been presented, and what are the implications of the financial policy or the economic policy that we have followed for the last seven years. The question is, how has the public reacted? Again, what is the situation prevailing in the country? There are four fundamental necessities of public or the masses. The people ask us, what have you done with regard to food? We expected that there should be at least 65 million tons of foodgrains in the country, and today we are getting less than 58 million tons. In fact, even 70 million tons are not enough, because we are importing almost 4 million tons of foodgrains from outside, and even that makes us stint in our consumption of food. Therefore, the primary necessity of the masses has not been met. For the last 17 years since war began they have been hoping year after year that things will improve. In one year there was a slight improvement and there was a sigh of relief. But again things are going worse and the most gloomy situation was reached last year when the price level reached as high as Rs 30 a maund for wheat—in certain places perhaps it was even more. Now it has come down a little. Let us hope that it will still go further down.

But we must consider what is the reason for this. After working hard and after doing everything that is possible to increase production, what is the reason for this? Of course, the population is increasing. But population is not increasing at the rate at which food production is going down. Had we kept the level of production we would have said that even though the population is rising we have kept the level of production and we are trying to raise it. But we have failed to keep up even that level of production.

[Shri C. D. Pande]

Next to food comes cloth. In respect of cloth the hon. Finance Minister and the Treasury Benches are as much interested as the common man who wears it and the millowners who produce it. For every yard of cloth produced in the mills of India you are a shareholder. The year 1957 was not a particularly good year, but that year we produced 5,300 million yards of cloth. In the preceding year the figure went down to 4,900 million yards. We do not seem to be concerned about it. We only think of the funeral of the rich man. It is not only he who makes huge profits, but the treasury also receives a good amount. I have got here figures with me. On the superfine cloth we get as much as 40 nP or 6 annas per yard. In fact, we have lost that production in the higher counts. Therefore, if we calculate on an average 5 annas per yard as loss to the treasury, out of these 500 million yards we have lost Rs 150 million. We have lost this much due to reduction in production. Therefore, apart from fulfilling the targets laid down in the Plan, we have been losing money in excise apart from all round loss to the national economy.

There are other things. Take the case of sugar. We were expecting that sugar will go at least up to 22 lakh tons. It was 25,50,000 tons in the year 1957, and it is not going to be even 18 lakh tons this year. Had we kept up the level of 20,50,000 tons at the rate of Rs 400 per ton we would not have lost Rs 8 crores in two lakh tons which is the fall in production.

Then, we have slowed down the production of cement. There are many fields of industries where production has been slowed down. That means even the installed capacity in all these industries like textile, cement—except paper—power, alcohol and other things is not being utilised. What could have been produced without any additional investment of foreign

exchange is not being achieved. What is the reason? Why is it that people are putting on less cloth today? Why is it that there is less demand for cloth today than it was two years back? Are we going ahead or backward? Sir, these are some of the questions which people ask us, these are some of the questions which our constituents ask us. I would once again appeal to the Finance Minister not to consider this as any criticism against his Ministry alone. Of course, he is not responsible for what happened in the last seven or eight years. Somehow or other, though the leadership is good and the plan is also excellent, the people are not satisfied. If food is not there, if there is not sufficient cloth and people have not got the purchasing capacity, how will they feel satisfied?

Again, take the question of housing. One of the greatest problems in this country is housing. Whether you go to Lucknow, Haldwani or Naini Tal, allotment is the most important problem. So, if within the last seven years of planning we have not fulfilled our targets or have not even reduced the difficulties in getting houses to live in, then we cannot be satisfied by saying that our Plan has succeeded. Of course, I am also coming to the tributes, where the Plan has succeeded.

Then there is the question of employment. After all you may have all the planning in this country but if there is no employment, then where is the purchasing capacity? In point of employment I think we have lagged far behind. These are the problems which we should consider and find out the solution. After all, an appeal is made by our leaders to tighten the belts. Whenever I go to my constituency, the same appeal is repeated, "tighten your belts." Everybody appeals for sacrifices so that the country may become great in the future. The example of Russia is quoted, saying how it had tightened its belt since forty years past and how it is now a powerful State. But there must be

some sort of co-ordination and adjustment between today's sacrifice and the future satisfaction. If our people do not get food, if they do not get a house to live in, if there is no sufficient cloth and if there is no employment for our young men, whatever you might do may not be of avail. The Sindri fertilizer factory may produce more. The steel plants are there and they will progress, but all these things are not items of consumption as such. So, I want to tell you there must be co-ordination between such items as consumption which will give you revenue and which will give you the satisfaction and satisfaction to the public as well. Therefore, do not have the satisfaction of saying that after all we are engaged in big things. There are the steel plants; they should continue; There are four or five big multi-purpose projects which are nearing completion. They should be enough. They are a matter of great satisfaction and to that extent our planning has succeeded. We hope and we do make better efforts and there will still be greater and greater need for bigger and a larger number of these plants and projects. At the same time, we cannot ignore the most absolute necessity, the lack of which hits the man from day to day and which cannot be neglected for long.

Then there is the question as to what we are doing. Of course we do not have many taxes this year. In fact, the Finance Minister has been kind enough not to have taxes further. The taxes now imposed are Rs. 23 crores, compared to the taxes levied by his predecessor, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, to the extent of Rs. 105 crores are negligible. Compared to that, this is almost nothing. You have let us rather free this year. But the question is, whether we are utilizing whatever resources we possess and are utilizing them properly or not. I have a certain amount of figures with me. Of course I have not made any profound study of the whole thing. But I find that within the last two years our civil expenditure has gone up by Rs. 55 crores. We were

spending in 1957 Rs. 168 crores on civil administration. This year you have provided for Rs. 222 crores in the place of estimated amount of Rs. 197 crores in the current year. According to the actual estimates for the current year, we have increased it by Rs. 25 crores. So, from what it was two years back, it is almost increased now by Rs. 55 crores. I do not understand how civil expenditure should have swelled up? Where is the effort to reduce civil expenditure? What is the result of making an economy? Last year, this House from all sides made an appeal for making economy in the administration. The appeal seemed to be so effective that the Finance Minister replied that he would try to do his best. I understand that they have done something and have reduced the expenditure by Rs. 22 crores. But what they mean by economy is, cutting out the item of construction or some scheme. This is not what is meant by economy at least according to me. What I mean by economy is, the same amount of work should be done under strict supervision and control so that the expenditure may be reduced. If you do not make or build a certain building and save Rs. 2 lakhs, that is not economy. What I say is, construct that building and if you have provided Rs. 2 lakhs for that, my contention is that it should be possible for doing that within Rs. 1,80,000. I may be mistaken, but I feel there is room for at least a ten per cent reduction in civil expenses. Even taking one item of administrative expenditure, namely, civil administration, while exactly two years ago, you were spending Rs. 168 crores, this year the demand is for Rs. 222 crores. There is no imprint of any economy anywhere. It is likely that you may have scrapped some item of construction or programme here and there. But that is not economy. Strictly, economy means, what you aim at must be achieved with a lesser amount of money than you provide. That is economy and that is what we ask for. If that is not effected, then our purpose is not served.

[Shri C. D. Pande]

There as one demand made by Shrimati Renuka Ray. The Finance Minister did not seem to be pleased with that plea. But, at the risk of incurring his displeasure, I again plead—

**Shri Morarji Desai:** There is no displeasure.

**Shri C. D. Pande:** I plead that the middle-class people deserve our greatest consideration. I do not mean that our labourers are leading a better life. But I can say that when comparing a cousin of mine who belongs to the middle-classes and my own *mali* in my house. At times I feel that my *mali* is slightly better off than my cousin who is living in the same house

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Why not exchange places?

**Shri C. D. Pande:** If things go on like that a time will come for that. But that will not be a right or fitting answer. The fitting answer would be by way of an increase in the exemption limit for income-tax purposes. Not that you are not aiming at doing something for him. You have appointed a Pay Commission, and last year you gave an interim relief of Rs 5, to an employee who earns Rs 250 or less, in the expectation that the report will be submitted this year. If a man deserves an interim relief of Rs 5 a month—a man who is getting Rs 250 or less per mensem—do you think that you can also ask him to pay Rs 3 by way of tax because he has to be made to realize that the Plan is going on and that his contribution must also go to the coffers of the nation? His contribution to the coffers of the nation is immense because everything that he purchases bears some sort of excise duty. So, he need not be reminded of it—that big things are going ahead. He is contributing to the coffers of the nation almost Rs. 15 a month out of his pay of Rs 250 a month. So, if

he is spared of income-tax it would make things easier. That is to say, if the exemption limit of Rs. 3,000 is extended to Rs. 4,200, it would be some relief to the middle-class man. In other words, only those persons who would be getting Rs. 350 a month or more, should be taxed.

Three years ago, the prices were reasonable. Now, they are higher. Therefore, my suggestion will be much more in consonance with the present situation. It would be a relief to the people who absolutely need it. As far as the financial implications are concerned, you are maintaining 400,000 dossiers or books for assessment and the income from this slab is almost Rs. 4 crores. It is likely that the expenditure on this item may be almost 25 or 30 per cent. So, the actual loss will be about Rs 2½ crores. If you leave a gap ultimately of Rs. 48 crores or so, and provide for such an exemption, it will be better and you will earn the gratitude of thousands of these people.

Further, there is another point involved in this. There may be four lakhs of people in respect of whom probably there may be an income-tax probe. The income-tax probe goes further down, and it is difficult to say whether a man is making Rs 2,900 or Rs 3,000, when he is engaged in business. Therefore, the field of exploration for the income-tax department becomes immensely wide and when its orbit gets larger, naturally, there may be greater work, and at the same time, there is a possibility—I only say possibility—of greater corruption, for, though the income-tax officer as a rule is all right the income-tax inspector cannot be expected to be the same because of his association his salary, etc., which cannot enable him to have that much honesty as is expected of him. Therefore, I again strongly plead that the Finance Minister may be pleased to see that this exemption limit is raised from Rs. 3,000 to Rs 4,200. I plead in the same way as I did last year also. Then, the Prime

Minister intervened. Had he not intervened, perhaps the Finance Minister would have agreed to it even last year or the year before last. The Minister intervened and he had probably an idea that the Prime Minister feels that every citizen in this country should contribute to the nation's coffers. I think we can persuade the Prime Minister to realize that enough contribution is made by the common man or at least the man belonging to these middle-classes. Therefore, if you exclude him from the payment of income-tax, you will be doing him and to that sector of society of the greatest service and earnest gratitude.

**Shri F. R. Samakrishnan (Poliachi):** At the outset, permit me, Sir, to congratulate the hon. Finance Minister for the robust common sense and the economic realism he has brought to the economic scene. We are living in a very significant time, an eventful time and shall I say, we are living in an interesting time in the economic history of India. It is given to any Finance Minister at this period not only to accelerate the economic development of this country, but also quicken the "take-off period" in the economic development of the country. The task is by no means an easy one; it presents a challenge to which our present Finance Minister has risen. I congratulate him again on the bold and positive step he has taken in the abolition of the wealth tax on companies and the excess dividends tax.

I have said it is a bold step, because it is a tax on which there was so much of controversy and especially the private sector was unnerved; there was so much criticism and also a sort of uneasiness in the whole economic climate. The Finance Minister has been bold enough to take away the excess dividends tax and also the wealth tax on companies and instead he has introduced a novel feature by the abolition of grossing in the company taxation. There are arguments whether this has benefited the shareholder or the company. Even though as someone has said, it has more or

less complicated company taxation which was already complicated. Even though the shareholder may not be benefited to the extent as in the previous company taxation, I certainly feel that ultimately he will stand to gain. I say this because as a result of the removal of the wealth tax on companies, more dividends would be possible. Thus a psychological climate has been created for the investor to invest more money in companies. This psychological effect, I am sure will result in not only more money flowing into companies and easy capital formation, but it would also strengthen the economic position of the companies. So far the companies were not ready to spend money on modernisation; they were afraid that if they raise the capital structure of the company, the burden by way of wealth tax would be much more. Now because of the removal of the wealth tax on companies, they will not hesitate to modernise the industry to make it competitive. So, I feel that ultimately the shareholder will stand to gain.

There is another question as to how the removal of wealth tax would benefit the bigger companies in relation to smaller companies. The share market is a barometer; it is an indicator of the trend of the shareholders' view. When the budget proposals were announced, at first thought the share market became bullish. Immediately, after a few days, on second thinking, it became bearish. Then, after sometime, it again became bullish in certain selective scrips. The reason is that companies with accumulated reserves, which are now on a sound footing, will stand to gain. What would happen to companies that are now being formed, the companies that are to come and companies which have been functioning for the last few years only? I feel that as a result of the removal of the wealth tax on companies, the flow of capital would be more to the large companies than to the smaller companies. In this context, I would request the hon. Finance Minister to see that some concessions are given to newer companies

[Shri P. R. Ramakrishnan]

whose capitalisation is rather on the increase because of the increase in the prices of capital goods. I request him to see some way by which the smaller companies would be able to build up a competitive position, so that no company can become a monopolistic company, exercising sole control over a particular trade.

There are companies which have accumulated large reserves. It is not very clear that if the company declares dividend from these reserves, 30 per cent. of it would be deducted at source as a result of the present tax proposal. According to the old system, they have already paid tax on reserves. I would request the hon. Minister to clarify this position in his reply.

We have been told and it is stated in the economic survey also that production has gone down in the country, even though the over-all production this year has registered an increase of 2.3 per cent, compared to 3.5 per cent of last year and 8.5 per cent of the previous year. It is stated that the textiles have contributed as much as 26 per cent to the decline in production. This is so because we have lost the competitive nature of the textile industry. Our textile industry is the oldest industry in the country. It has become obsolete. Because of the unwillingness on the part of Government to allow rationalisation in the industry, modernisation has no net effect. So, it has lost its competitive nature in relation to the industries existing in other parts of the world. So, I would urge upon the hon. Finance Minister to see that this competitive nature is restored not only to the textile industry, but to all other industries that have to compete with similar industries that exist in other parts of the world. We should not feel that we are throwing some people out of employment as a result of rationalisation and modernisation. It is only a temporary phase and with the quickening of the economic development of the country, I feel sure these people would be easily

absorbed in the developing economy, so as not to precipitate any crisis in the country. So, this question of people being thrown out of employment because of modernisation is something very distressing. I would very much like some thought to be given to this problem.

Regarding the commodity taxes that have been levied, I have no specific complaint, but I would request the hon. Finance Minister to show some concession for the agriculturists who are using diesel oil. Especially in the southern part of the country where I come from, even people owning 3 or 5 acres resort to lift irrigation using diesel pumps. We have very little water and we have to lift water from 150 or 160 feet. So, if the agriculturists are not given any concession, they will be put to very great hardship. So, I request the Minister to show some concession to small and medium agriculturists, who have resorted to mechanisation, because of the increased labour cost, groups of them have joined together and purchased tractors for co-operative use. Of course, I do not doubt that by giving concessions, there may be some leakage, but, some way should be found for giving some kind of concession to the agriculturists, so that we may raise the production in the agricultural sector.

Then there is this talk of inflation in the country. Certainly, the prices have shown a tendency to rise. What I feel is that because ours is a developing economy, this is inevitable because we are now pumping money into the economy. But we are pumping it only to produce more goods and stimulate more consumption in the country. The rising tendency in price structure is only in regard to food stuffs. But, I for one, still feel that there is no shortage in food in the country. Because the channel of distribution of foodgrains is not proper, there is a tendency for the food prices to rise. If the channels of distribution are properly controlled and adjusted, I feel certain that the food prices will

is stabilised and so we need not feel perturbed over the tendency of food prices to rise.

Now, some of the industries have registered a decline in production e.g. cement. That has affected the production in some sector. But I feel that with the coming of our steel industry more uses will be found for cement so, there need not be any hesitancy or despair in this regard.

Also, there has been some slowing down of certain mechanical industries because our imports have been drastically cut. Of course, the cutting of our imports has affected our production to a certain extent. But, at the same time, it has done some good also. Because, people are now thinking of producing things which, if imports had been allowed, they would not have thought of producing. So, even though for a temporary period this has lessened production, in another sense, I think it has enabled people to venture production of such things locally, which otherwise they would not have even dreamt of producing. So, I feel that this temporary feature of decline in production is only a step towards further production in the country.

The hon. Finance Minister has given us the assurance that we are trying to turn the corner in our economy and our Second Five Year Plan will come to a fruitful completion. I wish him all success.

**Shri Raghbir Sahai (Budaun):** There are certain very welcome features in this budget for which I wish to offer my congratulations to the hon. Finance Minister. For instance, there is a reduction in defence expenditure of Rs. 24.19 crores. I hope this trend will continue and we shall hear of more reduction under this head in subsequent years. Another welcome feature is an increased grant of Rs. 6.17 crores to the Community Development Department. Now everybody knows that this is a department whose activities are expanding gradually. For instance, panchayats and

co-operatives have recently come within its fold and it was fitting that a further grant was placed at the disposal of this Ministry.

Another notable feature of the budget is that a sum of Rs. 5½ crores more has been placed at the disposal of the States for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. Another saving of Rs. 23.8 crores has been effected in the Air Force expenditure. I think this is also a very welcome feature of the budget. Then, lastly, a payment of Rs. 6 crores has been made to the State Governments to assist them to meet the additional expenditure for the raising of emoluments of low-paid employees.

On the one hand, I have enumerated all those aspects of the budget which are very welcome and for which we offer our congratulations to the hon. Finance Minister. But there is the other side of the picture also. There are certain very distressing aspects of the economic situation in the country as revealed by the economic survey and the budget speech of the hon. Finance Minister.

For instance, the national income has fallen down by two per cent as a result of short-falls in agricultural production and slowing down of industrial production in the year 1957-58. Then, according to the economic survey, it has been admitted that there is less money in the hands of the public during the year, as would be evident from the fact that over twelve months of 1958 the increase in money supply with the public was Rs. 74.9 crores as compared to an increase of Rs. 96.3 crores in 1957 and Rs. 131.5 crores in 1956. We should take note of this very distressing aspect of the budget and the economic situation.

Then we find that the index of wholesale prices during this year has gone up very high, especially of the food articles. I find from the figures that have been given by the hon.

[Shri Raghubr Sahai]

Finance Minister that the price of everything has gone up. The figures are as follows:

Commodity	May 1955	January 1959
Rice	74	92
Wheat	58	125
Pulses	48	117
Gram	38	121

So, in the case of wheat the increase is by about 100 per cent. In the case of gram by more than 300 per cent. Every tongawala is blaming us for this.

An Hon. Member: Tongawala?

Shri Raghubr Sahai: Yes, we represent them. In the case of sugar and gur it was 82 in May 1955 and in January, 1959 it was 127. With regard to fuel it was 96 in May 1955 and it had gone up to 115 in January, 1959. Lastly, as has been pointed out in the economic survey, the employment situation has deteriorated.

Now, if we look at all these distressing aspects that have been revealed by the budget, they would provide an answer to the mounting dissatisfaction in the country to which attention had been drawn by my hon. friend, Shri C. D. Pande. It is true that we are conscious of the great achievements that have been made during the First Plan and also during the three years of the Second Plan. We are proud of them, but we are not unmindful of the other aspects of the economic situation as well. And unless and until we make it possible for the ordinary man to have the essential commodities at reasonable prices. It would not be possible for us to entice them or to mobilise them for implementing the Plan. The budget has also to be judged from that point of view. It is said that the khariff crop has been good and the prospects of the rabi crops are fair. It is also

said that all over the country, especially in the South, there was a bumper crop of rice. We should congratulate the Government and the country for this bumper crop of rice. But I wonder if by this bumper crop the price of rice has fallen appreciably because I feel that still the prices are very high. We hear and we are glad to know that there is going to be a bumper wheat crop all over the country, but are we sure that after this bumper wheat crop, there is going to be reduction in the prices of wheat and we are going to get wheat at reasonable and moderate prices.

As was pointed out by another hon friend, there is plenty of grain in the country, but the system of distribution is rather faulty. We hear of hoarding, we hear of profiteering. I would very respectfully draw the attention of the Finance Minister to this and request that he should see that in subsequent years, especially this year when there is a bumper rice crop, when there is going to be a bumper wheat crop, there is no hoarding or profiteering at any level and on any account. Holding of stocks should only be at the instance of Government and by no other authority.

In this connection, we hear a lot about co-operative farming, about State trading, about ceilings on land. I am not one of those who would like to raise a scare in regard to this matter as my hon friend Shri Masani has done. He has got some allergy towards co-operative farming, and towards ceilings, I do not know for what reasons, but if the Government is going to launch a programme of co-operative farming, a programme of State trading, a programme of ceilings on lands, well, it will have to be very cautious in all these steps that it is going to take. It is very necessary that to make these programmes a success we require strict vigilance, a missionary spirit on the part of those who

are going to carry out these programmes and sound knowledge by those people. Unless, and until all these three requisites are there, it seems doubtful whether we can make these experiments a success in our country

We are told that in previous years we had imported huge quantities of foodgrains from outside countries. I think the Finance Minister will not be proud of that, nor can anybody be proud of importing foodgrains from other countries. On the other hand, it should be a blot on the self-respect of this country that we should be compelled to import such huge quantities of foodgrains from other countries. The earlier we stop these foodgrain imports, the better. All this money should be retained in our country and we should take every possible step to disseminate knowledge in the cultivating class, the farmers. We should distribute good seeds to them, fertilisers, manure, water for irrigation, and we should make technical skill available to them at their very door. It is sad that in China foodgrain production had gone up by leaps and bounds because of the steps that I have just enumerated. They took all those necessary steps and the result was that food production went up very high.

There was an appeal by the Finance Minister for greater saving and more restraint in consumption,—in other words, greater effort and more sacrifices by the community, for ensuring a better future for the country. He has also said that in framing the Budget he has continuously kept in mind the major consideration that is the successful implementation of the Plan. While one would agree with all the steps that he has taken in order to see that the Plan is implemented, I fail to see how he is

going to mobilise public opinion for the implementation of the Plan. Our country is after all a democratic country, not a country governed by a dictator, or in an authoritarian manner. How is he going to mobilise public opinion? In my humble opinion the public ought to be made to feel that it is their Plan, that the taxes are levied on them for their benefit, that it is not under a sense of compulsion or coercion that they are made to pay the taxes. But at the present moment the ordinary man has got no enthusiasm for the Plan, and until and unless public opinion is mobilised, I say there is very little chance for making our Plans a great success.

I feel that although the Finance Minister has used very cautious words, very moderate words, he has not taken note of the great disparities in the incomes that are prevailing in our country. We find people getting Rs 4,000 per mensem, and on the other hand we find people of the lowest strata are getting Rs 50 or Rs. 60 per mensem. How can these disparities be explained?

An Hon Member: Even less than that.

Shri Raghunath Sahai: I wish the Finance Minister takes note of it. Ordinary government servants nurse a grievance as to why their bosses should be paid so high. The Finance Minister preaches austerity to everybody. Well, let him preach austerity to these highly paid officers also, let them make some sacrifice in their incomes.

An Hon Member: Why some?

Shri Raghunath Sahai: It may not be by way of compulsion, but it must be by moral persuasion. Until and unless that atmosphere is created, I fail to see how public opinion can be mobilised.

[Shri Raghbir Sahai]

I am not going to take much more of the time of the House. While congratulating the hon. Finance Minister on his very able Budget speech, I would appeal to him to take this aspect of the Budget into consideration, and to assure the people that their grievances, their difficulties, are borne in mind by him and will be removed as early as possible.

श्री म० सा० द्विवेदी (हमीरपुर): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने जो इस सत्र बजट पेश किया है—से मैं परम्परा अनुसार भी बजट बघा हूँ। परम्परा अनुसार इस मने में जब पिछा जान माराई तो उन्होंने जो बजट बनाया वह हमारे जनसंचरण के विरोध में बनाया। जनसंचरण का उसमें कोई फायदा नहीं था और बड़े लोगों को उसमें लाभ था। उनके परिवार में ३० बी० देशमुख ने जो बजट उपस्था किया वह माराई सह का अनुकरण था और उन्होंने कुछ नये टैक्स बढ़ाये क्योंकि उन को पंचवर्षीय योजना को चलाना था। आज हम देखते हैं कि हमारे जो वर्तमान वित्त मंत्र हैं वे गांधी विचारधारा में अनुसंधी हैं नहो बड़े पक्षधारी हैं और उस में प्रवर्तक हैं लेकिन हम बजट में न देना हूँ कि जिन बाजों पर उन का ध्यान जाना चाहिये था शायद इस लिये नही गया कि उन को अभी केवल एक वर्ष मिला है और वह भी पूरा नहीं और हाँ मकता है कि वह पूरे मुलक की वित्तीय स्थिति को ठीक से न समझ पाये हों, और ऐसी बात भी है कि अगर पंचवर्षीय योजना को चलाया है तब हम किस तरह से खर्च को घटाएँ और अपनी बचत बढ़ाये, इस बात के ऊपर कुछ अध्ययन की आवश्यकता है और वह अध्ययन हो नहीं सका होगा।

16.45 hrs.

[Shri C. R. Pattabhi Raman in the Chair]

भेरा कहना यह है कि बम्बई के प्रयोग ने बतलाया है कि सराबबंदी का आम्बोखण बड़ा कामयाब हुआ है लेकिन मैं देखता हूँ कि हमारे इस बजट में प्राहिम्बान को बढ़ाने के सम्बन्ध में और सराब बंदी को वहाँ पर लागू करने के सम्बन्ध में कोई निश्चित कदम नहीं उठाया गया।

दुसरी बात मुझे यह कहनी है कि ध्यान इस बात का रक्खा जाता है कि जहाँ विकास का काम हो चुका होता है वही पर और विकास कार्य किया जाता है। अब हमारे देश में करोड़ों लाख गांव हैं। ७ लाख गांवों से जो आमदनी आती है वह गांवों पर उस तरा से वे वितरित नहीं होती जिन तरह में कि सम्पन्न इलाकों में होती है। इसलिये मैं तो कहूँगा कि यह सम्पत्तों का बजट है, गरीबों का बजट नहीं है। यह शहरों का बजट है देहातों का बजट नहीं है। इस के लिये हमें यह दवाव दी जाता है कि साहब शहरों का आमदनी गांवों की आमदनी से ज्यादा हाता है इसलिये गांव वालों को उम पर रकम नहीं करना चाहिये। मैं कहना हूँ कि दिल शरीर भर में भोजन पाना है लेकिन क्या आप ने यह भी सोचा है कि अगर दिल तक पहुँचने वालों जो कमनिया हैं अगर उन में रक्त नहीं जायेगा तो क्या हाल होगा और उस हाल में शरीर कैसे टिक सगा। इसलिये यह बहुत जरूरी है कि कमनियों में रक्त का संचार हो। जो हम गांव बाजों के लून में इनने सम्पन्न हुए है उन को यह नहीं भूल जाना चाहिये कि अगर उन गांव वालों के पास लून ही नहीं छोड़ा जायेगा तो फिर वह कैसे सम्पन्न बन सके। मुझे खेद के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि आज हमारे देहातों की भारी उपेक्षा की जा रही है और बड़े बड़े शहरों इलाकों की अपेक्षा जो देहातों के अर्ध विकसित इलाके हैं या कम विकसित इलाके हैं वहाँ विकास की धारा कम है। हमारा पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में भी मुझे यह कहने के लिये समा किया जाय कि विकास

और कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट ब्लाक्स भी उन इलाकों में बनाने जाते हैं जो कि पहले से विकसित हैं लेकिन उन पिछड़े और अ विकसित इलाकों में जहाँ कि विकास कार्य की बहुत जरूरत है, उन की ओर अपना ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है जितना कि दिया जाना चाहिये था।

अब मैं थोड़ा सिविल एम्प्लॉयमेंट के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। अभी हमारे मंत्रीय मंत्री ने कहा कि तनखाहों में बड़ी डिस्ट्रिक्टि है कोई तो मुश्किल से ४०, ५० रुपये मासिक तनखाह पाता है तो कोई ४,००० रुपये मासिक पाता है। मैं तो कहना कि सरकार की बीबी यह सिविल सर्विस है जिनकी कि लिस्टिक और ल-बी हील की सूची में और जॉर्ज की साई में हय राष्ट्र का इतन धन खर्च कर डालते हैं और दूसरी ओर बहुत अधिक संख्या हमारे बहा पर ऐसे लोगों की है जिनके कि बच्चों को भरपेट खाना भयस्तर नहीं होता और जो पैसे के अभाव में अपने बच्चों को दवादारू नहीं दे पाने और उन का इलाज नहीं कर पाते। आज हम देख रहे हैं कि हमारा सिविल एम्प्लॉयमेंट बढ़ना चला जा रहा है और वह बढ़ कर इस बजट में २२२ करोड़ के करीब हो गया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि आज सरकार के दफतरो और अन्य कार्यालयों में काफी तादाद में ऐसे लोग बैठे हुए हैं जो कि बेकार बैठे मुफ्त की तनखाह ले रहे हैं। मैंने खुद अनुभव किया कि ऐसे स्टेनोग्राफर मौजूद हैं जिन्हें कि एक एक महीने तक कोई डिक्टेशन नहीं मिलता। मैं अपने बिस मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान इस ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ और पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर सरकार की नीकरियों में इस तरह के बेकार आदमी क्यों बैठे हुए हैं। दफतरों में आदमियों के पास काम नहीं है और उन की जाच पड़ताल नहीं हो पाती है कि यह राष्ट्रीय धन का अप-व्यय क्यों हो रहा है। मैं यह इसलिये नहीं कहता कि मुझे बिस मंत्री से कोई विरोध है। बिस मंत्री तो मेरे मित्र हैं और वे चाहते हैं

कि सरकार में सुधार हो लेकिन उनके पास बार्ने पडुंच नहीं पती है इस कारण यह कठिन इयां हो रही है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि हमारे बिस मंत्री महोदय इस लिपिस्टक बासी सिविल सर्विस की बीबी पर होने वाले भारी खर्च में कमी करें।

एक माननीय सदस्य : डाईरीस कर रहे हैं।

श्री ज० बा० द्विवेदी : डिफेंस एक्स-पेंड्स के सम्बन्ध में मेरा यह कहना है कि आज अब दो शक्तिशाली राष्ट्रों, अमरीका और रूस द्वारा बड़े-बड़े आणविक अस्त्रों का निर्माण-कार्य चल रहा है वहा हम अपने देश के डिफेंस बजट में कमी कर रहे हैं। मेरे कहने का यह तात्पर्य नहीं कि वह बड़े ही जाना चाहिये अगर साथ ही मैं यह जरूर कहूंगा कि हमें समय की आवश्यकताओं के अनुकूल इस सम्बन्ध में चलना चाहिये और अपने डिफेंस बजट को भी उसी तरीके से बढ़ाना चाहिये। हमें अपने देश को किमी पर हमला करने की नीयत में नहीं लेकिन अपनी आजादी को सुरक्षा के लानिर इनना बलशाली बनाना चाहिये जिस में कि हमारी सुरक्षा पर आच न प्रा सके। हम किमी भी राष्ट्र पर हमला नहीं करना चाहते लेकिन साथ ही सब हमें अपनी रक्षा के लिये पूरी तैयारी करनी है। और इसलिये हम में जो प्राय ने २४ करोड़ की कमी क है वह समझ में नहीं आती।

ठकर बापा ने कहा था कमजसरी एजुकेशन शुड हैव प्रोमोड्ड एडल्ट क्रीबाइज यानी अनिवार्य शिक्षा यस्क मताधिकार के पहले लागू हो जानी चाहिये थी लेकिन कास्टीट्यूशन में इस बात का दावा किये जाने पर कि १४ वर्ष के अन्दर १९६० तक हमिहरे एक १४ वर्ष के बच्चे को नि.शुल्क शिक्षा दे देंगे, आज हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना में या बजट में इस दिशा में कोई सफन प्रयत्न नहीं हो रहा है और जो हो रहा है, वह ग़ोफ है और हल्का है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि देश भर में

[श्री म० सा० द्विवेदी]

घाप अनि शायं शिक्षा चालू करें और अगर घाप में इस को चालू नहीं किया तो घाप का यह बालिंग मताधिकार का दावा फेल हो सकता है। आज की अवस्था में इस अधिकार से केवल साहू बालों को बड़े-बड़े पदों पर जाने का भौका मिलता है और देहातों के नागरिकों और उन के बच्चों को घागे बढ़ने की इस से कोई सुविधा नहीं मिलती है और शिक्षा के अभाव के कारण वे घागे नहीं बढ़ पाते हैं। इसलिये तमाम योजनाओं को रोक कर पढ़ाई की योजना को पहले प्रागे चलाना चाहिये और अगर यह नहीं किया जाता है तो हम कब तक में पढ़ सकते हैं. . . .

श्री बजराम सिंह (फिरोजाबाद) :  
अगर गांव वालों के बच्चों को पढ़ायेंगे तो यह कहा जायेंगे ?

श्री म० सा० द्विवेदी : यह भी आयेंगे।  
वह तो हमारे नेता हैं और यह तो हमेशा रहेंगे।

अब जहां तक भूमि की सीलिंग फिक्स करने का सवाल है मुझे बड़ा हर्ष है कि नागपुर सेशन में जमीन के ऊपर सीलिंग फिक्स करने की जो बात कही गई है वह एक बड़ी अच्छी चीज है और उस का हम सब लोग मिल कर स्वागत करने हैं। लेकिन एक दूसरा पहलू भी है और वह यह है कि एक जमींदार के दो लड़के थे। एक लड़के ने बाप के मरने के बाद अपनी जमींदारी बेच दी पर दिल्ली में आ कर दस मकान बना लिये। दूसरे लड़के ने अपनी जमींदारी कायम रखी। जमींदारी विनाश के साथ-साथ उस की जमींदारी चली गयी केवल सीर के कुछ बीघे और एकड़ उस के पास बच रहे और अब सीलिंग होने के वह एकड़ भी उस के पास से चले जायेंगे तो वह तो बिल्कुल गरीब हो जायेगा लेकिन उस के भाई जिस ने दिल्ली में १० मकान खरीद लिये वह तो दिन पर दिन मालदार होकर चला रहा है। इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि

घाप को घाब जो इस कवर डिस्पैरिटी और आर्थिक असमानता है कि एक आदमी के पास तो १०, १० और १५, १५ मिलें हैं और दूसरे के पास जिस के कि खाने के लिये छोटी सी भूमि है उस की भूमि की घाप सीलिंग मुकर्रर करने जा रहे हैं। यह ठीक है कि सब को रोजगार मिलना चाहिये और सब को भूमि मिलनी चाहिये लेकिन साथ ही साथ हमें इस बात की और भी ब्याल करने की जरूरत है कि आज एक एक व्यक्ति के पास जो बस-दस मकान हैं तो उन के मकानों में भी कमी की जाये। इसी तरह जिस व्यक्ति के पास पचास फीस है उस को सरकार मजदूरों में बांट दे या उन की हिस्सेदारी मजदूरों के पास आ जाय या कोई इस तरह का नेशनलाइजेशन किया जाय जिस से आमदनी का समुचित और बराबर बंटवारा हो सके और आज जो आर्थिक असमानता है वह दूर हो सके।

जहां तक कॅपिटल एक्सपोर्टिचर का सवाल है उस को बराबरी से नहीं बाटा जाता। उद्योग और घंघे घाप देखेंगे कि या तो कलकत्ते में, बम्बई में या कानपुर में अर्थात् बड़े-बड़े शहरों के पास यह उद्योग घंघे स्थापित किये जायेंगे। देहाती इलाकों में कोई उद्योग घंघा नहीं खोला जायेगा। कहा यह जाता है कि वहां पर बिजली नहीं है। अब बिजली के लिये मैं घाप को बतलाऊं कि मेरे बुदेलखंड के छोटे से पिछड़े इलाके में माताटीले की विद्युत् योजना चलाई गई लेकिन अब माताटीला विद्युत् योजना बन्द कर दी गई और वह इस बिना पर बन्द कर दी गई कि उस के लिये विदेशी विनिमय नहीं है।

"The Central Water and Power Commission recommended acceptance of an offer of Czechoslovakian firm of repute which offered to supply the plant and equipment against rupee payment on a barter basis. The matter was taken up with the Government of India

at the Ministers' level. The Minister for Irrigation and Power, Government of India, wrote back saying that on account of the non-availability of foreign exchange, it could not be done. He did not favour the better or deferred terms of payment..... The State Government had, therefore, to defer construction of the hydel station till such time as foreign exchange position improved."

मेरा कहना है कि बुंदेलखंड सब से पिछड़ा हुआ इलाका है वह चारों ओर नदियों से घिरा हुआ है और वहां पर उद्योग घरे खोले जाने चाहिये और जाहिर है कि उस के लिये बिजली चाहिये। अब बहुत बड़े-बड़े टैम्स और प्रोजेक्ट्स बन रहे हैं, नाना प्रकार के एक्सचेंज दुनिया से मिल रहे हैं केवल माता-टीला के लिये विद्युत् एक्सचेंज नहीं मिल रहा है और वह भी रुपये के पैमेंट पर नहीं मिलता, मैं कहता हू कि वह केवल बहाना है और जो पिछड़े हुए लोग हैं उन को और पीछे रखने का एक बहाना है। मैं सरकार को चेतावनी देना चाता हू कि अगर उन की वर्तमान उपेक्षा की नीति जारी रहेगी तो देहाती भाई उन से नराज हो जायेंगे और इसलिये यह बहुत जरूरी हो जाता है कि सरकार पिछड़े हुए इलाकों को ऊपर उठाने के लिये ज्यादा से ज्यादा कोशिश करे।

मैं कहता हू कि बजट में बुराई ही बुराई नहीं है। कुछ तारीफ की भी बातें हैं। उदाहरण के लिये हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने इस वर्ष साधारण मनुष्य के ऊपर कोई नये टैक्स नहीं लगाये हैं क्योंकि जितने पहले वित्त मंत्री हुए उन सब ने कौमेन मैन पर टैक्स लगाये। हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने इस वर्ष साधारण मनुष्य पर कोई नवीन टैक्स नहीं लगाया और नये टैक्स जो लगाये भी हैं वह साधारण व्यक्ति पर नहीं लगाये हैं। केवल खंडसारी शकर है, उस पर टैक्स लगाया गया है। इस पर टैक्स नहीं लगाना चाहिये वा क्योंकि उस

का प्रभाव जनसाधारण पर पड़ता है। खंडसारी का उद्योग एक गृह उद्योग है। उस में एक लाख घादमियों को काम मिलता है। मैं कहूंगा कि अगर उस पर टैक्स लगाया गया तो वह लोग मिल वालों का मुकाबला नहीं कर सकते। जब वे मिल का मुकाबला नहीं कर पायेंगे तो वे बन्द हो जायेंगे और एक लाख घादमी बेकार हो जायेंगे। एक तरफ तो धाप कहते हैं कि धाप गृह-उद्योगों को बढ़ाना चाहते हैं और दूसरी ओर यह काम करते हैं। मेरी हाथ जोड़ कर प्रार्थना है कि अगर धाप को खंडसारी शकर पर टैक्स लगाना है तो उसे इस प्रकार का कर दीजिये कि जिस से यह रोजगार बन्द न होने पाये और पनपता रहे।

मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि नाना प्रकार के संकट देश में धायें, साध सकट भी देश में धायी और इस से होना यह चाहिये कि जो हमारी प्लेन है वह कुछ घट जाती, लेकिन हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय की यह योग्यता है कि उन्होंने केवल स धन ही उपलब्ध नहीं कर दिने बल्कि कुछ टैक्स लगाये और बर्गर ही एक ऐसी व्यवस्था बना दी कि दूसरो पंच वर्षीय योजना में भी कमी नहीं धायेंगी और उस का जो कोर है, ढांचा है उस की भी पुति हो सकेगी।

मुझे एक चीज की शिकायत जरूर है। वह यह कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने कहा था कि हम सारा बजट इस साल हिन्दी में दे देंगे। पिछले मंत्री ने कहा था। और धाप ने कुछ दिया भी है। लेकिन जहां हम को २१ बाल्यम धरोजी में मिले है वहां केवल २ हिन्दी में मिले हैं और हमें सब लाभ कर अपने साथ ले जा पड़ता है। दूसरी बात यह है कि हम को फायनेंस बिल का कोई अनुवाद नहीं मिला।

श्री ७० व० शोडे : सुपीर हिन्दी में मिली है।

श्री ए० ए० द्विवेदी : आप को क्या पता चांजे जी महाराज, इस सदन में कोई बंड सी जावनी ऐसे हैं जो धंधेजी नहीं समझते और आप उन को धंधेजी में समझाना चाहते हैं। चांजे जी तो पढ़ लेते हैं, लेकिन वह सड़े हो कर कहें कि कितने लोग उसे पढ़ते हैं। आप तो उत्तर प्रदेश से आते हुए भी यहां पर धंधेजी में बोलना चाहते हैं लेकिन आप का कर्तव्य यह है कि उन पिछड़े हुए भाइयों का जो कि धंधेजी बिल्कुल नहीं जानते, समझाने की कोशिश करें। मैं आशा करता हूं कि हमारे माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी अगले वर्ष इस धनुषि-बा को दूर कर देंगे।

अब मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं। हमारे दूसरे सूबों के कुछ लोग नाराज भी जरूर हो जायेंगे क्योंकि उत्तर प्रदेश के लिये कुछ बात करने पर उन को बुरा मानम पड़ता है, उत्तर प्रदेश का दुर्भाग्य यह है कि यहां पर उत्तर प्रदेश के ही प्राइम मिनिस्टर हैं, उत्तर प्रदेश के ही गृह-मंत्री हैं और उत्तर प्रदेश के ही इंडस्ट्रीज मिनिस्टर हैं; अगर कोई बात उत्तर प्रदेश के बारे में कही जाय तो वे मुह नीचा कर लेते हैं। मेरे पास एक किताब रखी है। अगर आप उसको देखें तो आपको मालूम होगा कि उत्तर प्रदेश की पर कैपिटल इनकम सब से कम है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : कम ही होती जा रही है।

श्री ए० ए० द्विवेदी : जो सड़कों का निर्माण हुआ है उस में उत्तर प्रदेश में सब से कम निर्माण हुआ है पंचवर्षीय योजना के अनुसार। सड़कों के अलावा भी आप देखें। बिजली भी भारत में सब से कम अगर कहीं बनी है तो वह उत्तर प्रदेश में बनी है। उद्योगों में भी अगर कहीं सब से कम उन्नति हुई है तो वह उत्तर प्रदेश में हुई है।

Shri Dasappa: May we know wherefrom he is giving that information? I have not got it in the budget papers.

Shri M. L. Dwivedi: This is from a paper circulated by the Government of Uttar Pradesh in which facts and figures have been given. (Interruptions).

इसे उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार ने दिया है जिस में एक-एक भांकाबा दे कर बनाया गया है कि किस प्रकार से उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार को सब से कम रकम किस मद में दी गई है। नतीजा यह हुआ है कि जो उत्तर प्रदेश सारे दूसरे प्रदेशों से किसी समझ भागे था। वह आज सब से पिछड़ा हुआ है। चाहे आप सड़कों के निर्माण के सट २३ में देख लीजिये चाहे बिजली के सम्बन्ध में देख लीजिये, चाहे यातायात में देखिये, चाहे शिक्षा में देख लीजिये चाहे आमदनी को देखिये चाहे उद्योगों को देखिये। मैं यह नहीं चाहता हूं कि उत्तर प्रदेश के साथ . . .

15 hrs.

Shri Dasappa: On a point of order. What has the Centre got to do with it? I want to know the relevancy of his criticising the U.P. Government here. If the hon. Member begins to criticise the activities of a State, I am afraid he is not fair.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Pall). He is only criticising the Centre, that they are not giving anything to Uttar Pradesh.

Mr. Chairman: I do not pretend to know Hindi very well, but I understand from what he says that he is really pointing to some Government booklets and saying that U.P. has been neglected.

Some Hon. Members: Yes, yes.

Mr. Chairman: He is not taking sides in this affair. He is only pointing out that U.P. has been neglected.

**Shri Brij Raj Singh:** Those are the failures of the Government of Uttar Pradesh.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member is entitled to say that the Centre's subvention to U.P. is lessening. He is perfectly entitled to say that.

**Shri Jaipal Singh (Ranchi West-Reserved-Sch. Tribes):** It is also admitted that this lacuna has been more than adequately compensated by the Central Cabinet.

**Mr. Chairman.** The hon. Member can say that in his turn.

**Shri M. P. Mishra (Begusarai):** India, that is, Bharat; Bharat, that is, U.P.!

श्री ए० ए० द्विवेदी : मैं कहता हूँ कि सदस्य महोदय मेरी इस निम्न प्रार्थना पर गौर करें। अगर हमारे माननीय मंत्री उत्तर प्रदेश के हैं तो आप को उन को कम करने का अधिकार है। आप को यह अधिकार दिया गया है कि आप अपने लीडर को बनायें। आपने लीडर को बनाया है और उसे अधिकार दिया है कि वह जिसे चाहे मिनिस्टर बनाये। मैं इसके विरुद्ध नहीं हूँ, लेकिन इस के कारण किसी प्रदेश को नैग्लैक्ट किया जाय, यह उचित नहीं है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश के साथ कोई फेवॉरिज्म न किया जाय, उसे ज्यादा ध्यान न दिया जाय, जितना ध्यान दे कर उसका माम चले ससानी से, उस से भी कुछ कम दिया जाय, लेकिन इस के माने यह नहीं है कि उस प्रदेश को सब से पिछड़ा हुआ बनाये रखा जाय।

श्री नीरार जी वेसाई : उसे ज्यादा मिला और मोर्चा से।

384 LSD—7.

श्री ए० ए० द्विवेदी : मेरे पास कैबिनेट एंड फीर्स हैं जो कि साबित कर देंगे कि उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार का केन्द्रीय सरकार से सब से कम मिला है। जब आप कैबिनेट में होंगे तो मैं आप को बतलाऊंगा।

मैं सदन का समय अधिक नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ, एक बार फिर मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय को इस बात के लिये धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने ने इस साल के बजट में नई नई कृषियां और अच्छी बातें रखी हैं तथा इस बजट को जनसाधारण पर बोझा नहीं बनाया है। लेकिन उन को इस बात का ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि वे गांधीवादी हैं और गांधी जी चाहते थे कि यहाँ के हर एक भ्रातृ की तन्त्राह कम से कम १०० रु० हो जाय और ज्यादा से ज्यादा ५०० रुपये से धाने न जाय। यह ठीक है कि रुपये की कीमत बढ़ गई है। इस लिये ऐसा कर दें कि हर एक ५० रु० पाने वाले भ्रातृ की तन्त्राह १०० रु० से कम न हो या १५० से कम न हो। इसी तरह से आप ५०० के बजाय उसको दुगुनी या त्रिगुनी अर्थात् १००० या १५०० रु० कर सकते हैं।

एक बात और कह देना चाहता हूँ। बजट में जो भी टेक्स पिछले पाच या सात साला में लगाये गये, वे सब साधारण भ्रातृमियों पर लगाये गये थे। अब ठाका इस तरह बनना चाहिये कि साधारण भ्रातृ पर अधिक बोझा न बढ़े। अगर उस के ऊपर बोझा बढ़ता है तो उस की भ्रातृ की जरिये भी बढ़ाये जायें, उद्योगों की सुविधायें भी बढ़ें और हर एक क्षेत्र में काम चलाये जायें ताकि अधिक से अधिक लोग सुधी से धन पायें और टेक्स दे सकें।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं एक बार फिर माननीय मंत्री महोदय को बधाई देता हूँ और अपनी भासन प्रहण करता हूँ।

**Shri Khadiikar (Ahmednagar):** Let me at the outset congratulate the Finance Minister for adopting certain recommendations on budgetary reforms made by the Estimates Committee in their last report. By the adoption of these recommendations, the budget that he has presented before us has some sort of a perspective. Of course, it is hazy; it is not in that sense a purely perspective budget, as it ought to be. But some effort has been made in that direction and therefore he deserves congratulations.

Now let us see the reactions this budget has produced in different sections. You will find that it has been hailed as an 'incentive' budget; then it has been said that it is free from ideological considerations; that the overall psychological effect it has produced in the share market is certainly giving a sort of fillip to the market which was in doldrums; therefore, it has been observed that it has restored health to the share market. Then it is said that it has stopped trends towards socialistic taxation. For all these reasons, the Finance Minister has been complimented for economic statesmanship. Of course, only last year my hon. friend, Shri M. R. Masani, had said that our policies were leading to economic brinkmanship; but it seems the whole trend has turned. I do not know what is the feeling of the Finance Minister after reading these compliments from different sections of people and opinion. Even in this House, Shri Masani, though he half-heartedly criticised some portions of his speech, complimented the Finance Minister. I am sure the Finance Minister must have felt a bit embarrassed.

Why I say this is because it has been observed by economic and political thinkers in the west that budgeting for a developing economy cannot be completely freed from social or political considerations. If anybody feels that the budget in this country can be an economic document, just an

arithmetic or calculus of revenue and expenditure, he is perfectly mistaken.

Before I come to certain proposals made in the budget, I would like to refer to the main issue that he has raised in the concluding portions of his speech by quoting a previous statement of the Prime Minister that the issue is that we are in a crisis of development and essentially it means a crisis of resources in this country. I felt while going through the budget papers that the whole thing should have been put in its proper perspective. But unfortunately this central issue has not been put in its proper perspective. Why has it happened so? We have got to consider that. People like Shri Masani feel that the planning effort in this country is not only going in the wrong way, but it should be further curtailed. On a prior occasion, I quoted a statement of Trotsky that the 'peasant is the packhorse of civilisation'.

**Shri M. P. Mishra:** Is Trotsky considered respectable now?

**Shri Khadiikar:** I am not worried about his respectability in a particular country. I consider him a great thinker.

Therefore, if we look at our planning from an objective point of view, we have to paraphrase the same observation of Trotsky's and say that the common man has become the packhorse of our development. This is the main position. Why has it so happened and why are there the present difficulties of resources in the Plan that we have got to face? Who has created them? Could Government have effectively checked them? These are the issues which, unfortunately, the Finance Minister has not answered in his Budget. I hope in his reply he will effectively answer these.

Let us try to see the picture of what has happened in this country. Recently, only two days back, the Indian industrialists met in a conference in Delhi and, as leaders of the private sector, after completely fulfilling their portion of the Plan, the targets that were allocated for the private sector, they have come round saying, let us have a sort of co-existence policy with public sector. I am using that word which was used by my hon. friend, a good industrialist in this House from the opposition side this morning.

But, when they say all this, we cannot ignore what has happened in the past. Why I say this is because the Planning effort, if it is to be, as is claimed, a national effort, and the private sector and the public sector are to pull together, then the private sector ought not to have been allowed to arrogate to itself a certain position diverting all the available resources into channels to their advantage. How have they done it? I will quote an authority—not a private but an institutional authority—Shri H. V. R. Iengar, our Reserve Bank Governor. What has he got to say? To quote the Governor of the Reserve Bank, Shri H. V. R. Iengar :

"All available information suggests that the organised private sector in industry, mining, plantation, electricity undertakings and transport other than railways, has invested in the first half of the Second Plan itself almost as much as it was expected to invest over the whole Plan period. Even if one were to allow for the higher cost of the imported equipment and capital goods now as compared with the time when the Plan estimates were framed, this performance would indicate that at least by the third year of the Second Plan period it will have achieved the investment targets set out in the beginning of the Plan."

This is the assessment of the investment in the private sector and how it was made. We had occasion to hear on the floor of this House certain difficulties that are being faced by the private sector and voiced by their spokesmen in this House. But, if we take the profits they have earned from 1947 to 1956, yearwise, you will find—I have no time at my disposal and so I will not quote all the figures—that they earned a great deal. I will read the figures during the peak period of the Korean war, the profits they earned industry-wise, that is for the year 1951 only. The All India index was 310·5, in cotton it was 551·1, in tea, 303·9, in sugar, 420·8, in iron and steel, 157·7 and cement 419·7. This was a period when the markets went up in this country as well as outside and people made huge profits as if the war was coming on. But, in 1956, if we take that figure also, we will find that the All India index was 326·5, cotton 568·4, tea 346·6, sugar 454·5, iron and steel 293·3 and cement 430·2. I have quoted these figures with one intention.

From this it will be observed that the private sector invested almost its full quota during the first 3 years of the Plan while the vital public sector was all the time running into difficulties. This is the position. Today the private sector is not in a difficulty. Difficulties are faced by the public sector and the crisis of resources as we say has got to be met by the public sector. This is the position of national planning with a Central Planning Commission to direct it. We have come to a sorry plight because of this misdirection, if I may say so. How to correct it? This is a question because of the talk of a certain amount of hostility that we find from the private sector people towards effort in the public sector. Unfortunately, they do not realise that it has been observed time and again by those who have given thought to it that in this backward country unless Government, that

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means the public sector, invests larger amounts and builds up our economy and creates an industrial base in this country, the private sector cannot flourish. When they know all this, still they grumble. Men like Shri Ramaswamy Mudaliar and others of his way of thinking are developing certain allergies towards academic economic thinking. I could gather that from his speech yesterday. Because honest economic thinkers do not support the contention of the private sector. Therefore, the question today in this country is this. Even after this squandering away for their personal gains and profits the funds, the resources of the country which were meant for the total national development, even now are they prepared to say that they consider the two as component parts of one economy and that they will cooperate? Do they say, they will help us and will not make further draft on the national resources? Is it their position that they will help us to mobilise the resources to meet the crisis of resources? No. The only thing they are worried about is the next Plan. Therefore, they are offering the olive branch to our Prime Minister saying, 'while you chalk out the Third Plan please have a sort of consultation with us also'. And our Prime Minister has already agreed.

An Hon. Member: Oh!

Shri Khadiikar: This is the position. In such a situation I would like to know from the Finance Minister how he is going to meet the crisis of internal resources. Is he going to burden further the common man who is already burdened enough?

In this year's Budget, the total deficit financing comes to about Rs. 245 crores. Of course, he is going to raise Rs. 23 crores by way of taxation. But, how will the rest of the Rs. 222 crores be borne in an uncontrolled economy like ours, unevenly affected by the common people? Our Planning Commission ought to have laid

down very firmly that in a developing economy like this, the common man's life will be protected by controlling the repressive inflation in such a manner that the prices for ordinary necessities of life will not fluctuate as they are fluctuating today.

Take for instance, the small savings. Where do they come from? They come from that class of people who used to save in the postal banks or in the small savings drives. They have nothing to save because in this planning, no rationing is there but only rationing by purse as they call it, the capacity of the man to buy in the market. As the previous speaker has pointed out, our economy in order to fulfil the Plan has become much more dependent on foreign aids. Unfortunately those countries who are offering aid, though they have no political strings, have certain policies and more aid will come provided a bigger proportion of it goes to the private sector. International institutions like the World Bank and the I.M.F. are more or less committed to a policy that it is not the total national economy that should develop but the private sector and to strengthen that they can have monetary help. The other day replying to the debate on the President's Address, the Prime Minister has said that the objective of the ruling party was that they would not allow anyone in this land or any section of the people to exercise monopoly control or monopoly position in the key sectors of our economy. Has it been done? So far, it has not been done. All the advantages are on that side and all the disadvantages are on our side and therefore, if at all you want to mobilise the people the only thing that you can do is to take measures which can create enthusiasm and faith that the Plan will bring better days for them. How can we do it? The food prices are going up. We are depending on the foreign country for our food. If we have avoided that, not two but three steel plants would have been constructed here.

In a backward country like ours, food consumption goes up along with development and so you have got to meet the demand and to that extent our production has not gone up because the whole rural economy has been more or less kept intact in the old set-up. Men, like Mr. Masani, attack the co-operative effort in a small way. There is nothing revolutionary in the Nagpur resolution. Unless we change the rural sector, there is no possibility of further growth in food production. Is the Finance Minister prepared to say that with that aim in view he will implement that policy as it is laid down whatever impression Mr. Masani might create? He has not used that word 'civil war' today. The other day, when the Prime Minister talked about Mr. Masani, he was made a sort of a scapegoat. There were many Masanis in your party. They have no faith in that resolution. Instead of directly attacking them, he attacked Masani. Masani, as a shrewd politician, to-day took advantage of the same position and another attempt has been made to create a political division in the ranks of those who want to go ahead and reconstruct the society with a particular object in view. That is his gain. Formerly, communists used to talk of civil war and they said that they would bring the change by civil war. They have given up that talk. But their talk was high-lighted in all the Press. But to-day, from the statesmen on the right side comes the threat that in this sovereign democracy there shall be civil war, or bloodshed....

**Shri Morarji Desai:** He is to your left.

**Shri Khadilkar:** Right from the point of ideology and approach. It is not a question where one sits. He is threatening now. If you touch the rock bottom of society, something will happen, he says. On the last occasion, I quoted Lord Acton who has said that class bonds are much more stronger than nationality. I

say the class bond of these people are much more stronger than the national interests or the social interests or the interests of development. These things are put down for the sake of food production and regeneration of village life. This attempt of the recent Congress resolution must be welcome. But there are people like Masani to divide the country and take advantage of elder statesmen like Rajaji. Sometimes even men like Jayaprakash Narayan are cited in support of their contention. That is the tragedy of our situation. We must create a situation where we must say that we will not depend upon an ounce of imported food. Unless that is done, the crisis of internal resources will never be met. That is my first plea.

The question of trading is there. Industrialists who gathered here in Delhi have expressed grave doubts about the utility of State trading. In this country today we are facing a peculiar situation. In order to keep up our trade in the world market, we are indirectly taxing the Indian consumer but we are not making any effort to have the better terms of trade. I will give an instance of a small pharmaceutical concern from my constituency which applied for an import licence worth about Rs. 70,000. But that request was turned down. He went to the open market because, as the Commerce Minister who was then in Bombay had said that the channels would be kept open—that is, those private importers. They quoted more than double the price. Are you going to penalise the Indian industry and the Indian small manufacturer who supply a little employment and meet the needs of the people at a much cheaper rate by asking them to go to the open market and traditional importers' channel? If these assurances are to be given, where is that objective? I speak from this side. When I look at the people and the team that is chosen to implement the socialist pattern, socialist objective, as I said earlier, I cannot put them

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into one focus. I must admit that it is very difficult to put them into one focus.....

Shri Morarji Desai:.....Because something is wrong with your eyes.

Shri Khadilkar: No, not at all; because something is wrong with the people who are sitting on the other side. Putting in focus is something which you must judge from the objectives. How are you going to do it? If you want to meet the crisis of internal resources, we must insulate our country from the foreign trends and international recessions, we must protect our market in the international trade and keep it up and we have got to gear production and the trade must be controlled by the State. I would go a step further. (Interruptions.) He is Gandhian; I know that. He is orthodox and conservative and these are sometimes virtues.

What is the necessity of keeping a free gold market in this country? Where is the necessity? Why not make gold sale and purchase through the banks and the central banking institutions? Immediately it will have a very salutary effect not only on the internal economy, I would like that to be considered from the point of view of resources also.

If these two measures are taken in a limited way, our economy is insulated from the international recession and the terms of trade are improved. Through the State trading in the international market, a lot of money will be saved.

Regarding taxation and other matters, sometimes, after reading his Budget, I felt that whatever the taxation effort was made in the past it is likely to be frozen in the near future and we have come to an end; but when I read the Budget Speech a second time I felt that there is a genuine attempt to simplify certain provisions. And, while making a

little simplification in the provision of direct taxes, I would appeal to him to take some lesson from our neighbour State. The main burden of the report of Kaldor was not so much regarding the imposition of direct taxation, but the equal or more emphasis was on plugging the loopholes. Unfortunately, it is evident that loopholes are there and our administrative machinery has completely failed to plug them. The Finance Minister is known for his discipline because he was administering law and order. I expect he would have a little more economic discipline in the country from top to bottom, and he will realise it much better and all the arguments of Kaldor would be met by introducing that discipline. Our neighbouring State the other day did it in a dictatorial way, and all the hidden incomes came to light in about a fortnight. Here it is not a question of dictatorship. Are you going to tolerate fraud in this country in the name of democracy? I cannot tolerate fraud whether it is in the economic field or in the political field. I do not think the Prime Minister will tolerate it. It is not a question of dictatorship, the question is whether the measure is right or wrong. Therefore, I would appeal to him to give six months, time—of course, it involves regularisation of certain former frauds, but let them come to light—and realise the amount that was realised in Pakistan within a fortnight. That is other way to meet the crisis.

Shri M. P. Mishra: What was the amount realised in Pakistan?

Shri Khadilkar: It came to Rs. 100 crores or a little more, but by way of taxation actually they realised about Rs. 40 crores—if I am not mistaken, because I have not got the figures here.

Lastly, the other day I had occasion to discuss certain developmental matters with an economist of international fame. He had advised our

Planning Commission formerly. When I asked him how he looks at our economy now, he was hesitating to give some reply, which is certainly indicative of his mind or opinion. He asked: "After three years do you find any qualitative change in your economy?" If the Finance Minister or the Planning Commission fails to answer that question this year, the position will be worse. That qualitative change comes when the ordinary man in the street feels not only the impact of taxation, the impact of burden, the impact of higher prices, the impact of other dues from States at different levels, but he must feel that he is one with the State, he has got the sense of oneness with our objective. That qualitative change has not come about after three years, and I am afraid that with this Budget it is not likely to come about this year. All the gains that we have made are likely to taper off, and we are going to face, perhaps a bigger crisis.

There is one point about the civil expenditure. Of course, it is going up. At the same time, I would not like to have bureaucratized administration. State administration should be simplified and the expenses should be curtailed. There should be rigid economy. As Khrushchev did, let the Finance Minister do here. As soon as he took over charge, he disbanded 20 ministries which had overgrown in Moscow. Overnight he dispersed them. I do not know how far he will be ruthless in these matters, but this is a lesson to be taken.

Apart from it, we must look at it from another angle. Hon. Member said something derogatory to the services. Unfortunately, I do not share that viewpoint. In this country the public sector will have to depend on services. They have no independent leadership like the private sector where there are big people with lot of experience at their command. We have no men of experience at their command. We have no men of experience and our best people are sometimes enticed

away with greater rewards. You know, Sir, many able men in the services are on the other side after leaving their services. Therefore, we must look to our services in the new context of things, that they are not only discharging their administrative duties but they are discharging this main task of development. Therefore, if we, just because expenses are going up, say certain things against the services that would not help the national effort at re-construction.

In the end, I would like to appeal to the Finance Minister that though he has tried to put up a brave face in a situation to realise the magnitude of the crisis, he is very lucky because since he assumed charge the stock market has gone up by 37 points—that is a good indicator because in this mixed economy the stock market also serves its own purpose as, I think, it should. That is one good indicator. Then, he has reassured and allayed the fears of the private sector people. To a point they feel that he is orthodox, conservative, cautious, perhaps, to a fault, I should say, but still he has allayed their fears. Therefore, it is now his duty to look to that sector to solve this crisis of resources that we are facing by making further efforts to bring in line the States. The States budgets are there. No State has made any appreciable effort to raise its revenue. The States are expected, according to the Planning Commission, in the coming two years to raise Rs. 40 crores to Rs. 60 crores—I do not remember exactly the figure. That has not been done.

If all these measures are taken, I am sure the crisis will be over, and as he has received from one side bouquets on the presentation of this Budget, the next Budget will be such that from all sides, particularly the side that would like to see that the public sector goes ahead with all the schemes, he will be most heartily congratulated.

Shri Damani (Jalore): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I appreciate and support the broad policy of the Finance Minis-

[Shri Damani] ter that he has adopted in this Budget. According to me, Sir, the hon. Finance Minister has tried to consolidate the financial resources of the country. He has also tried to plug the loopholes in the new taxations which were enforced during the last two years. I want to congratulate the Finance Minister for making a reduction in the defence expenditure by Rs 24.19 crores in the next year. I would like to suggest that this policy should be followed in future years so that the expenditure on defence can be brought to a maximum of Rs 200 crores.

The biggest achievement during the current year is in overcoming the difficulty in our foreign exchange position. Due to the combined efforts of the Finance Ministry and the Commerce and Industry Ministry the crisis which was being expected has been solved. Last year, Sir, in these days, every intelligent man was anxious, alarmed and worried about our foreign exchange resources and our foreign exchange payments. Due to continuous efforts, due to incentives granted for more exports, the position has sufficiently been improved. Our balance of foreign assets with the Reserve Bank last year was Rs 279 crores and this year it is Rs 208 crores. Comparatively the position has improved, and I want to congratulate the Finance Minister as well as the Minister of Commerce and Industry for this improvement. Also, Sir according to me, the monetary position of the country has been well looked after. Throughout the whole year the flow of money in the market had remained constant and due to the able handling of the Government. The Government have been successful in raising loans. The Centre, and the State Governments have raised loans to the tune of Rs 227 this year. Last year, our loans raised were about Rs. 71 crores and in 1956-57 Rs. 141 crores. This year, the success is appreciable, and besides this, the prices of securities have also improved, and there is more confidence among the public to invest money in government

securities. Therefore, I think that our Government and the Finance Minister have been successful in handling this important question.

The tempo of industrial expansion has also remained constant. According to me, the development in industries is continuing, and though there is an increase of 2.9 per cent only this year in comparison to 3.5 per cent last year and 8.4 per cent in 1956-57. This year, due to a fall in the production of the textile industry, the figure is lower. But we must realise that the general production of the industries is going up and there are so many new industries coming up. I presume that next year, with the steel plants in full swing and the other industries producing goods, our production will be much higher and that we would be fulfilling our targets. That would also be very helpful in the saving of foreign exchange.

Small-scale industries also have developed during this year. In many parts of the country the small-scale industries are developing and they are showing quite substantial improvements and giving substantial employment to the public, and are producing so many desired goods to meet the requirements of the public. Industrial goods and consumer goods have also helped the country in saving foreign exchange which is spent on importing goods.

This year, the change in the taxation pattern of the corporate sector has been great. Looking at this it may be simple at first sight but it is difficult to say anything about its implication at this juncture. But one thing may be pointed out. There has been withdrawal of credit from the reserves made by the companies in the last so many years. The distribution of dividends out of these reserves is going to be abolished from next year. In this connection, I want to submit that this practice has been followed by the industries from the very beginning. In such a short time, whether it is good to discontinue this practice has to be reconsidered. I think that

the hon. Finance Minister will consider this aspect of the question, and I wish that he allows more time for these dividends being distributed out of these reserves. That should be allowed for some more time so that adjustments can be made in the course of the next few years.

Just now, Shri Khadilkar was speaking about the private sector and other things. I want to say that the private sector has also done a great service by developing so many industries in the country. In our second Five Year Plan, there was a portion to be looked after by the private sector and another portion to be looked after by the public sector. With their enthusiasm they have tried to do their best to build so many industries in the country and that also has given quite a substantial amount of employment to the people and also raised the wealth of the country. I think all are doing well, whether it is the private sector or the public sector, and are doing good for the country. The private sector is not separate and the public sector is not separate. All are combined and we have also tried to improve and develop and expand the economy and production of the country. Just to take them separately and criticize them is of no use. I think we must have a broader view in this connection and they should feel that whatever they are doing is to the good of the country. They are also paying well and in fact the higher slabs are levied on them. This aspect also should be taken into consideration. We must not criticize them. At present the development in the industries is mainly due to their hard and efficient work. Therefore this aspect should be taken into consideration.

As the hon. Finance Minister has abolished the tax on excess dividend and the wealth tax on companies, I want to request him to consider the bonus shares and the tax thereon. Bonus tax was introduced in 1956 and it was 12½ per cent at that time. I do not know, and I do not have the figures,—what are the collections by way of bonus tax during the year

1957. But it was increased to 30 per cent in 1957. I have reason to believe that from that time the revenue by way of this tax is considerably lower than what accrued in the beginning of 1956. This tax was being imposed just to have a revenue from dividend tax. Now we have no dividend tax, and therefore, the rate of bonus tax should also be reduced to the original limit of 12½ per cent. The advantage would be that the Government will also get revenue and the shareholders will have an incentive to invest more money in equities. Therefore, I request the hon. Finance Minister to consider this suggestion of mine on this aspect of the question.

Regarding the abolition of *grossing*, I want to request the hon. Minister to consider that charitable institutions are also holding a major part of the funds in shares and other things. That question has to be looked into. It must be seen that their interests are not harmed, because the money they get is spent towards the uplift of the country and goods causes in society. Therefore, I plead that their income should not be disturbed and that the tax should be refunded to them so that they can maintain their expenses and their good work.

Regarding the investment companies I would like to submit that the note in the Explanatory Memorandum is not clear. I would say that they are one of the biggest investors in equities. Therefore there should not be double taxation, on the other hand an incentive should be given to them so that the limited companies can invest money in equities.

This year we have discontinued extra depreciation on securities and allowance on third shift depreciation. The industries have developed and they have also helped a lot to develop our country. Still, in the third Plan, we have to develop many more industries. Therefore, I would like to request the hon. Finance Minister to re-examine this position. Especially, I would request him to continue third

[Shri Damani]

shift depreciation allowance for the time being.

Many of my hon. friends have spoken about the middleclass and the exemption from the income-tax limits on them. I also want to join them and I request that in view of the rise in prices and in view of the general index rise, it is essential that the limit of Rs. 3,000 should be increased to Rs. 4,200. I understand that if this is going to be implemented, it will cost the Government a sum of Rs. 2 crores to Rs. 3 crores, but it is worth doing, because they need a relief. Only two years ago, we were giving them this relief. From that time onwards, the prices of foodgrains and other commodities have gone up. Therefore, they deserve this concession, and I think the hon. Finance Minister will consider this suggestion sympathetically.

Regarding housing for middle income-group, the Life Insurance Corporation of India has made a scheme to grant a certain sum annually by way of loans for building houses for the middleclass people. In this connections, I may submit that there is ample cement in the country and with our own steel plants, there will be no shortage of steel also. So, more amount should be allotted for this purpose. In every city, there is this problem of housing and people want to build their own houses. So, a substantial amount by way of loan should be given so that the difficulty may be overcome. In this way, there will be also further employment.

So far as the expenditure tax is concerned, we have combined the income of the husband, wife and dependent children and we have fixed a limit. I agree with the policy, but I submit that some allowances which were given, like Rs. 5,000 for medicine, should be increased.

Regarding deficit financing, this year we are going to have deficit financing up to Rs. 200 crores. From the begin-

ning of the Second Plan, the total is Rs. 950 crores and adding this Rs. 200 crores, it would be Rs. 1150 crores. Our target for the plan period is Rs. 12000 crores. So, I think we will be exceeding that target. This is going to increase the cost of production of materials. Because of our increased cost of production, in our exports we are not able to compete with other countries. There is inflation due to deficit financing and so the cost of production increases. So, this also should be considered.

There is another important question. Every week I find in the Reserve Bank return that there is export of currency. I presume this is due to the smuggling of gold into the country and smuggling of currency out of the country. In this year, this has come to Rs. 30 crores or Rs. 35 crores. So, proper action should be taken to stop this leakage of currency. We should try our best to overcome the difficulties by avoiding wasteful expenditure and other things I have suggested. I congratulate the Finance Minister on his success in the matter of foreign exchange.

Shri Heda (Nizamabad): In the beginning, I would like to refer to a portion of Mr. Khadilkar's speech. I am sorry he is not here in the House. While he was replying to Mr. Masani, he said that there are many more Masanis in the Congress Party. There may be many more Masanis and many more Khadilkars in the Congress Party, but my primary assertion is that it is the headache of the Congress Party. I think it is not good for Mr. Khadilkar or the Members of the Opposition to refer to this kind of things time and again. Due to considerations of politeness, we do not challenge such things, but it has been again and again stated that Congress resolutions are something, but Congress members believe in something else and so on. I think for political parties, there should be some minimum code of conduct, so that they may not unnecessarily go into the internal matters of other parties. So,

unless we believe that everything is fair in the game of politics, I hope my friends on my right will take note of this factor and not refer to the internal matters of other parties; otherwise, there will be no end to it.

It has been stated by quite a few Members, of the opposition that this budget gives relief to the capitalists and puts a very heavy burden on the common man. The burden on the common man is there; it has been increased and there is no doubt about it. At least no relief has been given to the common man; that goes without saying. So far as giving relief to the big business is concerned, let us analyse it. The first thing that has been brought out generally is the abolition of wealth tax on companies. It is stated that this is a big relief to big business. As the Finance Minister stated in his speech, he has given relief to the companies and not to the individual members of the big business. The other day, one of the big business men came to me and said, "I would not have minded if there was added wealth tax on the companies, rather than on my personal or private property." His reason was that the investment in the company is quite sound and is expected to earn 6, 8 or 10 per cent. So, it can bear a little more tax, but personal property does not fetch such a good interest generally and so, it will not be able to bear additional burden. Whatever it is, one thing is clear. In the taxation system that we have developed in our country, it is not possible for anybody to earn even to the tune of Rs. 5 lakhs to Rs. 10 lakhs in life, unless he adopts some methods which escape the vigilance of the law. That is quite different; there is always room for that. But observing genuine and honest practices, it is not possible for anybody to earn more. This fact is very clear that the Government and our party are quite sincere in the profession of socialism. The word 'socialism' does not appear in the speech which is generally meant to be a

review of the economic developments and in the indication of the new taxation measures, but it is very clear that the net result of this budget will be towards socialism and not the other way. Not only new properties will not be acquired but it will be very difficult even for the present properties to bear the burden. Therefore, as it was stated by the former Finance Minister that the wealth-tax is not necessarily to be paid out of the wealth. If it comes to that the tax has to be paid by the wealth itself. I think after this budget such cases would increase in number and with intensity that there will be many cases of taxing more than the total income. There is nothing wrong in it and that will take us towards socialist pattern.

16 hrs.

Again, the other relief that has been given to the companies is in the national interest. For example, the total taxation was 51.5 per cent. Now it has been brought down to 45 per cent without any loss to the Government. That is the ingenuity of this budget. Looking very simple, not only will there be no loss of revenue but there will be a gain. So, if there is any relief given, it is to the companies. Here we have to make a difference between the companies and the individuals. In the socialist pattern we would not like the individuals to take up the size of big business, acquiring properties worth lakhs and crores of rupees. While we believe in the mixed economy and in the private incentives, we have to allow the companies to develop in the national interest. They have to produce more and bring the cost less and less so that the country, the company and everybody is benefited.

Then I would like to refer to high dividends. The previous speaker, Shri Damani, has already referred to it. When the tax on high dividend is taken out, it is a little difficult to

[Shri Heda]

find cogent reasoning for the continuance of tax on bonus shares. Rather, another aspect has been brought out and complexity has been created on the tax on bonus shares. What is the difference between high dividends and bonus shares? Bonus share is a profit that accrues to the shareholder, not immediately but from the next year for every subsequent year. But high dividend is the hard cash which he realises immediately and *in toto*. While the bonus share is only a paper, what he gets year after year is the income on it. Therefore, there is marked difference between the two. As Shri Damani has stated, when the tax was introduced, it was clearly stated that it was done to plug the loopholes in the tax on high dividends. Since the tax on high dividends has been taken away, I am not able to appreciate the continuance of the tax on bonus shares. My own feeling is that by converting the extra profits into bonus shares, though actually and immediately no profits are gained by the shareholder, the borrowing capacity and the overall position of the company improves. Its outlook brightens up, it can get better credit and it can expand. The scope for expansion that we have allowed in the Second Plan would do justice only if we consider this aspect also.

So far as indirect taxation is concerned, I would only take one item, and that is khandhari sugar, probably because I represent a sugar-cane area in this House or may be because this is a little misunderstood in all quarters. So, I would like to deal with this measure in a little detail. Khandhari which is a small or village industrial product like *gur*, if it is done without any use of machines, it is not taxed. It remains exempted. So, the smallest unit or the unit which would come under the category of village industries has not been affected at all. So, no hue and cry need be made on this score. Relief is given to the big mills in the sense that they were getting a tough competition from the power-

operated khandhari units, units worth Rs. 1 lakh or Rs. 2 lakhs, which were crushing 50 to 100 tons of sugar-cane a day and which were using some machines. There are two aspects to this problem. In the competition with the mills this type of khandhari units were in an advantageous position. The margin between the sugar produced by the mill and the sugar that this khandhari produced was fairly large, about Rs. 19, since there was no excise duty on it. Therefore, it was not only able to make good the loss in the recovery of juice from the sugarcane and also in the recovery of sugar from cane but it was making a better profit. In certain cases these units had started paying a little more to the sugarcane growers than even the mills. From the national point of view this was not desirable. Firstly, because these units are not getting the fullest benefit of the sugarcane. The recovery was, on paper and theory, about 80 per cent; but in reality and in the account books it was never more than 60 or 65 per cent. So, the loss of recovery was there; particularly this is so when the crop is not good. I think we will be producing between 18 and 19 lakhs tons of sugar this year and so we will be deficit by about 2-3 lakh tons of sugar. Therefore, a curb had to be put on khandhari manufacture of sugar, and it has been done by this measure.

So, it will have a good effect on those units which are placed within the orbit of big mills or sugar factory areas. But the khandhari units which were not within the sugar factory area but outside it, the competition was between khandhari and *gur*. Now, *gur* was not paying such a good price, because *gur* is after all much cheaper and khandhari sugar was almost as good as the other sugar. Though it was being quoted Re. 1 or Rs. 2 or less, it was getting the same price and when it was mixed it was difficult to detect it. So, it was competing with *gur*-making units very successfully.

One aspect of this competition is a little complicated, and that is paying a better price to the sugarcane growers than the gur-making units could afford to pay. That benefit was going to the sugar-cane grower. I am quite clear in my mind that by this measure that advantage to the sugarcane grower will vanish. At the same time, it will have a salutary effect on gur manufacture. I am not dealing here with the health point of view, whether gur is superior to sugar or what are its advantages. As a result of this taxation measure the gur-making units would benefit.

Lastly, I would like to point out that new limited companies are not coming into the arena for the development of the future of our economy. The expansion of the present companies is quite satisfactory at least from the point of view of the goal that we have set before ourselves in the Second Plan, but the advent of new companies is not as it should have been. This will have two bad effects. Firstly, the present industries or limited companies would expand, and thereby the power and the influence of the present business would increase, and there would be concentration in fewer and fewer hands. On the other hand, small and medium size businessmen and industrialists will have less chance to come forward and go ahead. The Government have quite a few schemes to finance and help the small-scale industries and even medium-size industries. Government helps those entrepreneurs who can obtain some advantages in foreign exchange in the share of deferred payment and other things. I would refer to only one development in this regard.

So far it was the financier who was coming forward in such matters. Sometimes an expert, a man who knows the job, an engineer or a scientist, would come forward and give an idea to a financier and start an industry. Now, a new development is tak-

ing place. A man who is neither an expert nor has got money is coming forward and trying to put up new plants. He has, it would be difficult to say, a political influence, but at least he has contacts between the one and the other. He goes to the scientist and says there is a certain financier behind him or that he himself has got good finance, and thereby gets the co-operation of the scientist, and then he goes to the financier and in the same way he goes to the foreign industrialist and gets the deferred payment. I think if we allow this in an unrestrained manner, this will not have a salutary effect on the future development or growth of our economy, and therefore we should devise measures so that this category of adventurists would be curbed.

16.10 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair.]

श्री राधे लाल व्यास : (उज्जैन)  
 उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो बजट माननीय वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने पेश किया है उस के लिये मैं उनको हार्दिक बधाई देता हूँ। यह हमारे योजना काल का चतुर्थ वर्ष है और इस वर्ष, जो महत्वपूर्ण घटनायें हुई हैं जोकि हम को अपने उद्देश्य की ओर ले जाती हैं। उन में से एक तो शासन का यह निश्चय है कि भूमि की अधिकतम सीमा निर्धारित कर दी जाय और दूसरी यह कि राज्य के द्वारा व्यापार का व्यापार अपने हाथ में लिया जाय। भ्रष्ट की समस्या इस वर्ष बड़ी गम्भीर रही। हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में व्यापार के भाव कभी इतने ऊँचे नहीं गये जितने कि इस साल से और लोगों में बड़ी बेचैनी थी। इस का एक कारण तो यह था कि शासन की जो नीति थी व्यापार कंट्रोल की या जोन्स बनाने की, उस से कुछ गड़बड़ी हुई और राजस्थान और मध्य प्रदेश में भाव काफी ऊँचे गये। पंजाब में भी गये। पिछली दफा काफी लम्बे भ्रसों से यह भाग की जाती रही थी कि इन जोन्स में कुछ सुधार ही तथा एक राज्य से दूसरे राज्य को पहुँचने वाले

[श्री राधे लाल व्यास]

साधारण के नियति पर रोक लगाई जाय । परन्तु वह नहीं हुआ । नतीजा यह हुआ कि कीमतें बढ़ी और जो तजवीज पहले की गई थी शासन को उस पर भ्राना पडा । आप को पता है कि हमारे मध्य प्रदेश में या पड़ोसी राज्य राजस्थान में जो गहू ३५ रु० तक बढ़ गया था वह आज १० रु० आ गया है । पहले यह कदम उठा लिया गया होता तो शायद आज यह स्थिति न होती । लेकिन मैं शासन से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हू कि नई फसल भानी शुरू हो गई है बाजार में और अगर अभी से उस की ठीक कीमत किसान से खरीदने के लिये न मुकरें की गई तो मुझे भय है कि किसानों को बड़ा नुकसान होने वाला है । शासन को अपनी नीति यह झरू थार करनी चाहिये कि नई फसल बोन के बतत कीमत मुकरें कर दी जाय लेकिन अब तो नई फसल बाजार में भानी शुरू हो गई है । आज उज्जैन की मंडी में और इंदौर की मंडी में नये गेहूं की गाड़िया धारी है और उसका भाज २० रु० तक आ गया है । मुझे भय है कि अगर शासन ने जल्दी कोई कीमत मुकरें न की और काफी व्यवस्था न की तो वही गेहूं १० और १२ रु० मन में बिक जायेगा और वह हमारे देश का दुर्भाग्य होगा कि किसानों को आशवासन देते हुए भी कि कीमतें ज्यादा नहीं गिरने पायेंगी, हथ छस के सम्बन्ध में उचित व्यवस्था न कर पायें ।

दूसरी बात जो मैं साधारण के सम्बन्ध में निवेदन करना चाहता हू वह यह है कि इस बकल जो कीमतें हैं उन से नीचे भानी चाहियें और जो व्यापारी किसानों से अनाज खरीदते हैं उन्हें अपने मुनाफे का कम से कम कुछ परसेन्टेज उद्योग धंधों के लिये देना चाहिये । लेकिन इस की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की जाती है । आज जब अनाज पैदा होता है तो व्यापारी उस को कम कीमत पर किसानों से खरीदते हैं और सस्ते भाव पर खरीदे हुए अनाज को महंगा बेच कर मुनाफाखोरी करके अपना बल बढ़ाते हैं ।

साधारण के बाद मकानों की समस्या है । लोगों को मकान चाहिये । शासन ने काफी कुछ किया है लेकिन वह काफी नहीं है । मैं देखता हू कि मध्य प्रदेश की राजधानी भोपाल में मकानों की कमी है, बड़े-बड़े शहरो में मकानों की कमी है और किराया काफी लगता है । इस का कोई हल निकालना चाहिये । भारत की आबादी बढ़ती जा रही है और लोग काफी तकलीफ में हैं । अभी मैं ट्रेन में आ रहा था, मुझे एक मिलिटरी के आफिसर मिले । उन्होंने बताया कि इस वर्ष डिफेन्स फोर्स ने अम्बाला वगैरह में हजारों मकान खुद बनाये हैं और बड़े सस्ते बने हैं । हमारे देश में लाखों सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं, रेलवे का महकमा है उन के कर्मचारी कहने हैं कि अगर रेलवे डिपार्टमेंट हम को कुछ मैटीरियल दे दे, छोटे छोटे कर्मचारी हैं, चपरासी हैं, वे कहते हैं कि अगर रेलवे हम को मैटीरियल दे दे तो हम अपने मकान खुद बना सकते हैं, अध्यापक कहते हैं कि हम बना सकते हैं । लेकिन आज केवल मैटीरियल देकर, लोगों के श्रम के आधार पर मकानों का निर्माण कर के मकानों की कमी दूर नहीं की जानी । मैं समझता हू कि शासन इस पर विचार करे तो लोगों की यह प्रसुविधा बहुत कम खर्च में दूर हो सकती है ।

तीसरा सवाल स्वास्थ्य का है । काफी पैसा शासन का खर्च हो रहा है । बड़े-बड़े अस्पताल बनते जा रहे हैं, लेकिन उस के साथ ही रोग भी बढ़ते जा रहे हैं । लोगों को उन बड़े-बड़े अस्पतालों से जो राहत मिलनी चाहिये वह नहीं मिल रही है । हमारी पद्धति में कहीं दोष है, हमें लोगों को स्वस्थ रहने की आदत सिखानी होगी स्कूलों से ही, जिस से बीमारी न बढ़े ।

प्राकृतिक चिकित्सा की ओर राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी ने इतना ध्यान आकर्षित किया था । आज शासन का ध्यान प्राकृतिक चिकित्सा की ओर बिल्कुल नहीं है । आयुर्वेद जो एक सस्ती पद्धति है उसको बढ़ाने के लिए, उसका प्रचार अधिक हो, सुलभ हो, एक उपाय वह है

जिससे कि जल्दी लोगों को थोड़े पैसे में दवाई मिल सकती है ? उसमें तो बहुत कम खर्च होता है जब कि फ्लोपैथिक पर और दूसरी जो पद्धतियाँ हैं उन पर करोड़ों रुपये खर्च होते हैं तो इस पर भी विचार करने की जरूरत है कि जो सुलभ रास्ता है कम खर्चीला है सस्ता है उस पर अधिक पैसा खर्च करना चाहिये ।

बड़े बड़े शहरों में बीमारी का एक कारण तो यह होता है कि वाटर वर्क्स की व्यवस्था नहीं होती है, झंढरघाउन्ड डैनेज नहीं है, गन्दगी रहती है, सलम्स है, उनकी धोर भी ध्यान देने की जरूरत है । गवर्नमेंट को कम से कम यह तो व्यवस्था कर ही देनी चाहिये कि जो एक लाख से ज्यादा आबादी के शहर हैं, उनमें वाटर वर्क्स लाजिमी तौर पर होना चाहिये और झंढरघाउन्ड डैनेज भी होना चाहिये जिससे कि मफ़ाई हो सके और बीमारी की रोकथाम हो सके ।

उज्जैन शहर जिसकी कि आबादी कोई डेढ़ लाख की है और जहा पर काफ़ी यात्री आते रहते हैं, वहा पर झंढरघाउन्ड डैनेज की व्यवस्था नहीं है । प्लानिंग कमिशन के मामले बर्षों से यह मामला पड़ा हुआ है । डैनेज की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं हो सकती और उसके लिये कोई पैसा नहीं मिल सकता है । मेरा निवेदन है कि शासन का ध्यान ऐसी चीजों की धोर भी जाना चाहिये ।

दूसरी चीज पंचायत और कोआपरेटिव्स की है और यह ठीक है कि हमारे देश की तरफकी बग़ैर उसके नहीं होगी । काफ़ी इस पर चर्चायें हुई और शासन ने अभी निर्णय भी किया है कि इनकी संख्या हमें बढ़ानी है और उनको धाने ले जाना है जिससे कि सही रूप में लोगों के हाथ में कुछ अधिकार प्राप्त हो और कुछ काम हों लेकिन जिस गति से कार्य चल रहा है वह संतोषजनक नहीं कहा जा सकता । अभी जिस तरीके से कि बम्बई राज्य ने पंचायतों के लिये एक परसेंटेज मुक़रर

कर दी कि लैड रेवेन्यू का प्रमूक अंश पंचायतों को मिलेगा । इस सम्बन्ध में मेहुता कमेटी ने भी कुछ सुझाव दिये हैं लेकिन अभी कुछ दूसरे राज्यों में इसकी कोई व्यवस्था नहीं हो सकी है । मैं समझता हूँ कि केन्द्रीय सरकार को फ़ौरन जल्दी में जल्दी राज्य सरकारों को यह आदेश देना चाहिये कि वे पंचायतों को मजबूत बनायें और कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीज का संगठन जल्दी से जल्दी अपने देश में करें ।

कन जब मैं ट्रेन में आ रहा था तो मुझे गाडी में यहा के एक व्यापारी भाई मिले जो कि बरतनो और धातुओं का व्यापार करते हैं । मैंने उनसे बैसे ही पूछा कि आजकल स्टेनलैस स्टील का क्या भाव है तो उन्होंने मुझे बतलाया कि आजकल उसका रेट नौ रुपये पाँच है । उन्होंने मुझे बतलाया कि यह बाहर से ३ रुपये पाँच के हिसाब में आता है लेकिन उपभोक्ता को यह जाकर महंगा पड़ता है ।

करोड़ों रुपया बाहर से माल मंगाने के लिए फारेन एक्सचेंज हम देश का खर्च करते हैं । मैंने उनसे पूछा कि वह जो स्टेनलैस स्टील की चादर ३ रुपये पाँच में आती है उस पर ड्यूटी लगती होगी तो उन्होंने कहा कि ड्यूटी देने के बाद वह ३ रुपये पाँच आनर यहा पड़ती है और वही स्टेनलैस स्टील जाकर उपभोक्ताओं को तीनगुनी और दुगुनी कीमत पर मिले, तो यह कोई देश के लिए हितकर और सुखद बात नहीं कही जा सकती । क्या इसकी व्यवस्था नहीं होनी चाहिये कि जो विदेशो से हम चीज मंगायें उस पर एक माजिन आफ प्राफ़िट को छलग रख कर और बाजिब मुनाफ़ा लेकर वह उपभोक्ताओं को मिले ? शासन को इस धोर भी देखना चाहिये कि बाहर से कौन कौन सी चीजें किस किस भाव पर आती हैं और उनके द्वारा बनाई गई वस्तुएं इस देश में उपभोक्ताओं को किस भाव से मिलती हैं । इसकी भी जांच पड़ताल करनी चाहिये । शासन को यह देखते रहना, चाहिये कि जिस पर करोड़ों रुपया फ़ारेन एक्सचेंज का धासन ने दिया है और जिसकी व्यवस्था की है उस पर

## [श्री राधे लाल व्यास]

मुनाफ़ालोरी अधिक न हो और जो अनुचित रूप से मुनाफ़ालोरी करें उनके लिये बंड की उचित व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये ।

अब मैं इसके लिये एक छोटी सी मिसाल देता हूँ कि यह लोहे की चादरें जो कि मकानों पर चढ़ायी जाती हैं, उनके ठीक वितरण की व्यवस्था नहीं है और मैं देखता हूँ कि हमारे मध्यप्रदेश में वही चादर जो कि कंट्रोल रेट से व्यापारियों के यहाँ बिकनी चाहिये, नहीं बिकती है । वह कानपुर वगैरह से काफी तादाद में सैकड़ों टन की तादाद में हमारे राज्य में मध्यप्रदेश में आकर उज्जैन, इंदौर वगैरह में बिकती है । कानपुर में उसकी इतनी खपत नहीं रहती । व्यापारियों ने मुझे खुद कहा कि वे बिल तो हमें कंट्रोल रेट का ही देते हैं लेकिन वास्तव में वे हमें कंट्रोल रेट पर देने को तैयार नहीं हैं और हमें उसको बहुत ऊंची कीमत देकर खरीदना पड़ता है और मनमाना मुनाफ़ा लेकर बेचते हैं । मेरा कहना यह है कि हमारी वितरण व्यवस्था में जो दोष है उनको दूर करने की जरूरत है ताकि उपभोक्ताओं को चीखें वाजिब भाव पर मिलें और मुनाफ़ालोरी जल्द खत्म हो ।

अल्प बचत योजनाएं देश में लागू हैं और काफ़ी उनका प्रचार भी है फिर भी कुछ ऐसी योजनाएं हैं जिनको कि आगे बढ़ाया जा सकता है । भारत के स्वतंत्र होने के पहले कुछ देशी राज्यों ने एक परीक्षण किया था । उन्होंने सरकारी कर्मचारियों के लिये एक बीमा योजना बनाई थी और उसमें यह धनिवार्य रखा था कि हर सरकारी कर्मचारी को कांफ़िमी तीर पर अपने जीवन का बीमा कराना पड़ेगा । मैसूर ने सबसे पहले इस योजना को लागू किया । ट्रावनकोर ने भी लागू किया, बड़ोदा, इंदौर और स्वालियर ने भी इसे लागू किया था । क्या मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय को यह सुझाव दे सकता हूँ कि हमारे देश में जितने भी सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं, इस अल्प बचत योजना के रूप में सरकार उनके लिये बीमा योजना क्यों

न कम्पलसरी और धनिवार्य कर दे । हाँ उनके लिए एक लाभ यह जरूर दिया जा सकता है कि उनके लिए प्रीमियम की दर सस्ती हो और जो एग्जेंट्स को कमिशन दिया जाता है उस हद तक उसके बीमे के प्रीमियम में कमी कर दी जाय और यह योजना हर एक के लिए धनिवार्य कर दी जाय तो करोड़ों रुपया उससे प्राप्त हो सकता है और जो कि देश के निर्माण कार्य में काम आ सकता है । और जब वे रिटायर हों या उनको कमी मोन की आवश्यकता हो तो वह पालिसी के ऊपर रकम भी कर्ज ले सकते हैं और बुझापे में आवश्यकता पड़ने पर उनको एक निश्चित रकम मिल सकती है और ईश्वर न करे अगर उस कर्मचारी की मृत्यु हो जाय तो उसके आश्रित परिवार वालों को उसका लाभ मिल सकता है । मुझे आशा है कि इस ओर भी ध्यान जायेगा ।

जहां तक शासन व्यवस्था का सम्बन्ध है, शासन ने उसके सुधारने में काफी प्रयत्न किया है लेकिन तो भी आ । आप देहातों में और अपने निर्वाचन क्षेत्रों में जाइय तो आपको अभी भ्रष्टाचार, निपौटिज्म और करपान वगैरह की आम चर्चा और शिकायतें जनता से सुनने को मिलेगी । शासन में इस दिशा में काफी काम किये हैं । उसने बिजिलेंस डिपार्टमेंट कायम किया एटी कर-प्यशन डिपार्टमेंट कायम किया सब कुछ किया लेकिन मैं यह नम्रतापूर्वक पूछना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश के आजाद होने के बाद और देशभक्त लोगों के हाथों में शासन व्यवस्था आने के बाद से क्या इन चीजों में कोई कमी नजर आती है और क्या लोगों की शिकायतें भन्त हैं ? तो मैं नम्रतापूर्वक कहूंगा कि इस ओर भी गम्भीरतापूर्वक देखने की जरूरत है और हमारी दोनों पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में भी इस बात पर बहुत जोर दिया गया है कि शासन के कर्मचारियों की ईमानदारी, पवित्रता और निष्पक्षता के बिना कोई भी योजना सफल नहीं हो सकती । लेकिन आज हम देखते

हैं कि छोटे से गांव के एक पटवारी में लेकर बड़े अफसरों तक में यह बुराईयां हैं और शासन व्यवस्था में भ्रष्टाचार है और वह धमी भी फैला हुआ है। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि जितने भी हमारे सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं सब के सब भ्रष्ट हैं। कुछ सरकारी कर्मचारी बड़े योग्य और ईमानदार हैं और पबलिक उनकी प्रशंसा भी करती है। धमी मुझ से लोग एक धानेदार के बारे में कह रहे थे कि वह कभी किसी के यहां जाकर एक कप चाय तक नहीं पीता है और वह कभी भी बस में बगैर टिकट मफर नहीं करेगा और जब वह अपनी साइकिल किसी स्टैंड पर रक्वेगा तो उसका किराया भी देगा। ऐसे लोग भी हमें शासन व्यवस्था में देखने को मिलते हैं जिनकी कि सब लोग तारीफ करने हैं। मैं उनका नाम नहीं बतलाना चाहता। लेकिन हम के साथ ही अनता में यह धाम चर्चा और शिकायत का विषय है कि आज हमारे बड़े बड़े कर्मचारियों में जो एक मेवा और कर्मचारी की भावना होनी चाहिये, वह आज देखने को नहीं मिलती है। मैं चाहता हू कि हमारे वे ऊंचे ऊंचे अधिकारीगण जोकि ५०००, ५००० और ३००० रुपये तनस्वाह ले रहे हैं वे हमारे मंत्रियों का देवे जोकि २० घट मेहनत करते हैं और जिन का कि कोई टाइम भी अपना नहीं है केवल ११ बजे से ५ बजे तक ही काम करते हो, ऐसा नहीं है और वे हमारे मंत्री लोग २००० रुपये से ज्यादा तनस्वाह नहीं लेते हैं और इतनी मेहनत करते हुए भी जिन की कि कोई सिक्युरिटी नहीं होती है कि कब तक वे इस पद पर कायम रहेंगे और कभी भी वह उम से अलग हो मकने हैं और हटने के बाद कोई पेंशन की व्यवस्था नहीं है। हमारे उच्च सरकारी कर्मचारियों को मंत्रियों के जीवन को देखना चाहिये। वे लोग सादगी से नहीं रह सकते हैं। आज देश के सुधार के काम में उन का सक्रिय सहयोग नहीं है। आज धाम उद्योग धंधे और खादी प्रचार की बात चलती है। मैं पूछना चाहता हू कि खादी और सामोद्योग पर जो

करोड़ों रुपया खर्च होता है तो कितने सरकारी कर्मचारी खादी बुनते और पहनते हैं। इनलिये हमें आज सरकारी कर्मचारियों की मनोवृत्ति की बदलने की आवश्यकता है और उन में सेवा, सादगी और कर्मव्यपगयणता की भावना पैदा करनी है। मुझे आशा है कि इस दिशा में भी सुधार होगा। अन्त में मैं केवल दो मिनट में अपनी बात समाप्त कर देना चाहता हू। मैं अपने राज्य मध्यप्रदेश के बारे में दो शब्द कहना चाहता हू। हमारा राज्य एक बहुत बड़ा राज्य बना और हमारे अर्थ मंत्री महोदय ने खास तौर से इस को बड़ा बनाने में दिनचरमी ली है और जबकि हमारे दूसरे नेता यह सोचने में कि यह बड़ा प्रान्त ठीक नहीं बनेगा, उन्होंने दिनचरमी ली थी और उन की यह मान्यता थी कि यह राज्य बहुत अच्छी हद तक एक बड़ा राज्य बनना चाहिये। आज उम की राजधानी के बारे में मैं कहना चाहता हू, मैं कल्पना भी नहीं कर सकता था कि भोपाल हमारी राजधानी होगी और पंचवर्षीय योजना की राशि में से उस पर रुपया खर्च करना होगा। आज मध्यप्रदेश की पंचवर्षीय योजना के जो माधन है उन में से इस कैपीटल योजना के लिये पैसा दिया जाता है। उस के लिये कोई अलग से व्यवस्था नहीं की जाती है। हमारे राज्य ने उतने पैसे का प्रबन्ध योजना के लिये कर लिया है जितने का प्रबन्ध उसे करना चाहिये था। लेकिन मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि हम पिछड़े हुए राज्य को जो केन्द्र द्वारा पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिये सहायता देने का वायदा था वह सहायता नहीं दी जा रही है। जिस प्रदेश में अधिक से अधिक आदिवासी हो, जहां अधिक से अधिक हरिजन हो, जो अधिक से अधिक पिछड़ा हुआ हो, उस को तो विशेष रियायत दी जानी चाहिये थी। लेकिन अगर उस को आप विशेष रियायत न दे तो कम से कम कैपीटल प्रोजेक्ट के लिये तो अलग से व्यवस्था कर दे ताकि राज्य की दूसरी योजनाओं में कटौती न करनी पड़े।

इन शब्दों के साथ धन्यवाद देता हुआ मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ ।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बजट को देखन के पश्चात् मैं इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचा हूँ कि जहाँ तक सुरक्षा का प्रश्न है उसकी उपेक्षा की गयी है । आप देखें कि हिन्दुस्तान की पूर्वी तथा पश्चिमी सीमाओं पर युद्ध के बादल उमड़ रहे हैं । जहाँ तक पूर्वी सीमा का सम्बन्ध है मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ पर ७५० घंटे इंटरमिटेड कार्रियर हुआ है और आठ बार मोज फायर हो चुका है । बार्डर गेड बढत जा रहे हैं । नागा लोगों के पास माडर्न हथियार पहुँच गये हैं चाहे उनकी पाकिस्तान सन्नाई करता हो या कोई दूसरा फारिन कट्टी सन्नाई कर रहा हो ।

जहाँ तक पश्चिमी सीमा का मवाल है आप देखें कि सन् १९५७ में बाघमर में ३१ एक्सप्लोजन हुए, पर सन् १९५८ में ६० एक्सप्लोजन हुए । और इन एक्सप्लोजन में २५ आदमी मारे गये ।

दूसरे आप सीमालवधन को ल । हमारी पश्चिमी सीमा पर सन् १९५७ में १६ बार सीमा का उल्लंघन किया गया, लेकिन सन् १९५८ में यह १७७ बार हुआ । इन सब में क्या प्रकट होता है ?

अर्थात् मडे टाइम्स ने छापा है कि पाकिस्तान में अमरीका के मिसाइल के बेमेज बन रहे हैं । अलबारी में मानून होता है कि दा प्रकार के बेमेज बन रहे हैं । एक तो एम है जिनका बेम लंड पर है और दूसरे एमे जिनका सम्बन्ध एअर में है । मैं पहले आपको लंड बेमेज की तरफ ले चलना चाहता हूँ । यू० एम० ए० के जो लंड बेम स्थापित हुए हैं वे मैडोटेरेनियन में, नार्थ अफ्रीका में, वेस्ट एशिया में और पाकिस्तान में । पाकिस्तान में कहाँ कराची के पास । दूसरे नार्थवेस्ट फ्रांटियर प्राविंस में और तीसरे हिन्दुस्तान की पंजाब की सीमा पर । नार्थवेस्ट फ्रांटियर प्राविंस में बेम इसलिय बनाये गये हैं कि अगर कार्गोर पर

हमला करने की आवश्यकता हो तो उस बेम में कार्गोर पर हमला किया जा सकता है । ईस्टर्न पंजाब के बार्डर पर बेस इमलिय बनाये गये हैं कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान पर हमला हुआ तो वह वहाँ से किया जा सकता है । वहाँ में बहुत जन्दी हिन्दुस्तान पर हमला किया जा सकता है । इससे जो खतरा पैदा हो रहा है उसकी विभीषिका आप पर प्रकट हो जायगी ।

एक बेस मिसाइल होते हैं आई० सी० बी० एम० अर्थात् इटर कानटीनटल बैलिस्टिक मिसाइल । इनका रेंज होता है ५००० मील । दूसरे प्रकार के मिसाइल होते हैं आई० आर० बी० एम० अर्थात् इटरमीजिएट रेंज बैलिस्टिक मिसाइल । ये लेंड बेस्ड होते हैं । इनकी रेंज २००० मील होती है । इनके द्वारा घाज लाहौर में कलकत्ता बाम किया जा सकता है । घाज कराची से इलाहाबाद को बाम किया जा सकता है । लेकिन घाज हम अंधकार में हैं । पाकिस्तान में जितने हवाई अड्डे हैं उनको यू० ए० ने इक्विप किया है । कहने के लिए ये बेसेज पाकिस्तान के हाथ में हैं लेकिन वास्तविकता यह है कि वे पाकिस्तान के हाथ में नहीं हैं बल्कि वहाँ पर यू० एम० ए० की फौज है ।

इसके अलावा मैं आपको यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि मडे टाइम्स के अनुसार पाकिस्तान के एअर बेसेज का माडर्नाइजेशन इस तरह किया जा रहा है कि उन पर सेटेस्ट किस्म के हवाई जहाज उतर सकते हैं । वहाँ पर उनकी रक्षा हो सकती है और वहाँ उनकी पयुअन मिल सकता है ।

घाज हमारे मामले में चार प्रकार के वेपन हैं । मैं नहीं खनसना कि उनसे हिन्दुस्तान ने अपने को कहाँ तक इक्विप किया है । लेकिन हम यह देखते हैं कि हमारा मिनिटरी बजट ऊपर जाने के बजाये कम होता जा रहा है । पाकिस्तान जितना ही अपने को आर्म करना जा रहा है उतना ही हिन्दुस्तान का सुरक्षा बजट कम होता जा रहा है । मैं आपको कुछ आकड़े देना चाहता हूँ । सन् १९५३-५४ में पूरे

बजट का ५० पर सेंट मिलिटरी पर खर्च किया गया, सन् १९५६-५७ में कुल बजट का ४३ पर सेंट सुरक्षा पर खर्च किया गया, सन् १९५७-५८ में यह ४० पर सेंट रह गया और सन् १९५९-६० के लिये वह कुल बजट का ३५ पर सेंट होगा। फिर भी अपोजीशन के साहिवान कहते हैं कि डिफेंस पर हमारा बहुत ज्यादा खर्चा हो रहा है। आज आप देखें कि रेड बढ़ते जा रहे हैं, हिन्दुस्तान की दोनों सीमाओं पर बेसेज बनते जा रहे हैं, और हमारा डिफेंस बजट नीचे की तरफ चलता जा रहा है। अगर हिन्दुस्तान की सुरक्षा नहीं होगी तो आखरा नगल डैम और दामोदर घाटी योजना, तथा अन्य बड़ी बड़ी योजनाओं की रक्षा कौन करेगा। उनकी रक्षा के लिये यह आवश्यक है कि हमारा सुरक्षा बजट ज्यादा होना चाहिये, वह कुल बजट का कम से कम ५० प्रतिशत होना चाहिये।

अब मैं आपका ध्यान नेवी की तरफ आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। सन् १९५७-५८ में नेवी के लिये १४ करोड़ रुपया दिया गया, सन् १९५८ में १६ करोड़ दिया गया और सन् १९५९-६० में १८ करोड़ दिया गया है अर्थात् नेवी के लिये एक करोड़ ७४ लाख रुपया अधिक दिया गया है। आप जानते हैं कि आज के जमाने में नेवल वाफ्फेयर चेंज हो गया है। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान अभी ५० वर्ष पीछे है। जो सब से बड़ा परिवर्तन नेवल वाफ्फेयर में हुआ है वह यह है कि अब सब-मैरिन्स का ज्यादा उपयोग होने लगा है। रूस के पास इस वकत ४७५ सबमैरिन हैं। मैं अमरीका को छोड़ देना हूँ। एक सबमैरिन के ऊपर करीब ३,७०,००० पाउण्ड खर्च होता है अर्थात् करीब ६० या ४५ लाख रुपया। हमारे देसाई माहब ने जो रुपया नेवी को दिया है उससे तेल से चलने वाले सबमैरिन अगर हम बनायें तो तीन बार से ज्यादा सबमैरिन नहीं बना सकते। आज हिन्दुस्तान के पास एक भी सबमैरिन नहीं है। जबकि रूस के पास

४७५ हैं जिनमें से कितने ही एटम से चलते हैं। करीब आधे एटम से चलने वाले हैं। अब मैं आपके सामने यह रखना चाहता हूँ कि अमरीका में नेवी के वास्ते माई दम करोड़ डालर रक्ब गये हैं केवल सबमैरिन के वास्ते, दूसरी चीज आप छोड़िये। अमरीका के सुरक्षा बजट का ३० प्रतिशत केवल नेवी पर खर्च होता है। इसके मुकाबले में हिन्दुस्तान की अबस्था देखिये। हिन्दुस्तान में नेवी के ऊपर १९५३-५४ में ५ परसेंट, १९५५-५६ में माई पाच परसेंट, १९५७-५८ में ६ परसेंट और १९५८-५९ में माई छ परसेंट खर्च किया गया और अब १९५९-६० में ७ परसेंट खर्च किया जायगा। इस से आप हमारी स्थिति समझ सकते हैं। दूसरी तरफ आप माइन्स वाफ्फेयर के सब में बड़े रेबोल्यूशन को देखिये। वह यह है कि एक सबमैरिन ८०० घंटे तक जल में रह सकती है और १५०० मील का उम का रेंज है। अमरीका ने यह रिकार्ड स्थापित किया है। अगर मिस्सिल गिराने के लिए सबमैरिन्स को यूज किया गया, तो फिर एयरक्राफ्ट कैरियर की जरूरत नहीं है। सरकार की ओर से कहा गया है कि हम एक एयरक्राफ्ट-कैरियर खरीदने वाले हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह बिल्कुल बेकार है। आज हम को सबमैरिन्स की जरूरत है, क्योंकि अमरीका ने बार के नये टैकिंगम निकाल कर साबिन कर दिया है कि एयर-क्राफ्ट-कैरियर बिल्कुल यूजनेम हैं।

अमरीका ने दो नए काम किए हैं, जिनका रूस ने भी अनुकरण किया है। एक तो उसने पोसारेस सबमैरिन बनाई है, जोकि पानी के ऊपर भी चलती है और नीचे भी चलती है। इसके अलावा उसमें सबसेबड़ी तारीख की बात यह है कि उसको २,००० मील तक आपरेट किया जा सकता है। उसने दूसरी सबमैरिन नाटिलस बनाई है, जो कि एटमिक पावर से चलती है और बराबर पांच हजार मील तक चल सकती है। इन सब के मुकाबले

[श्री रघुनाथ सिंह]

मे हमारे बजट में नेवी के लिए बड़ी मुश्किल से एक करोड़ रुपया रखा गया है। आज दुनिया के करीब ३५ मुल्कों में युनाइटेड स्टेट्स की वस लाल फोर्सिज है। युनाइटेड स्टेट्स का डिफेन्स का बजट दो बिलियन डालर का है—दू बिलियन, नाट ८ मिलियन।

**Shri Naushir Bharucha:** It is very much more.

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** It may be, we should hope so.

इसके काठ में यह भी कहना चाहना है कि वैंस्ट्रन कन्ट्रीज की एनसर्कलमेंट की पालिसी कित्कुल पूरी हो चुकी है। युनाइटेड स्टेट्स और यू० के० दोनों ने एनसर्कलमेंट किया है, इस वक्त अमरीका के बेसिज—एडमिडिड बेसिज—कोरिया, जापान, ताइवान, फिलिपाइन्स, मियाम, ईस्ट पाकिस्तान, वैंस्ट पाकिस्तान इरान, एशिया माइनर और टर्की में हैं। आखिर ये बेस किस के खिलाफ हैं? जहाँ तक अंग्रेजों का ताल्लक है, जब सिलोन में ट्रिकोमाली से अंग्रेजों का नेवल बेस हटा दिया गया, तो उन्होंने मोचा कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान हमारे खिलाफ हो जाये, तो उसको किम तरह पिन डाउन किया जाय और इस लिये उन्होंने इण्डियन मोशन में अपरेट करत के लिये मलद्वीप में अपना बेस बनाने के लिए पिछले छ महीने से कोशिश की हुई है। वहाँ की जनता इस का रेसिस्ट कर रही है और उनका कहना है कि हम न तो हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ और न किसी और देश के खिलाफ अपने देश में बेस बनने देना चाहते हैं। इसके लिये हम उनको धन्यवाद देना चाहते हैं। अंग्रेजों ने हांगकांग, सिंगापुर, मलाया, ईस्ट अफ्रीका, अदन, माल्टा और जिब्राल्टर में अपने बेस बना रखे हैं। जहाँ तक एशिया का सम्बन्ध है, उनकी एनसर्कलमेंट की पालिसी करीब करीब पूरी हो चुकी है, जिसका मखनब यह है कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान लीबे से वैंस्ट्रन ब्लाक में न आए, तो टेढ़े

से भायगा। कैसे? अगर आज दुनिया में युद्ध छिड़ गया, और हिन्दुस्तान किसी का साथ नहीं देता है, तो उसका ब्लाकैड घाटोमेटिक है। मैंने अभी बताया है कि युनाइटेड स्टेट्स और यू० के० ने हिन्दुस्तान के तीनों तरफ अपना जाल फैला दिया है, जिसका अर्थ यह है कि बार के समय में किसी भी दूसरे देश के हमारा सम्बन्ध न हो, क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान का अगर किसी दूसरे देश से सम्बन्ध हो सकता है, तो केवल शिपिंग के जरिये से हो सकता है—नेवी के जरिये से हो सकता है। हमारे पास नेवी नहीं है, शिपिंग नहीं है। आज अगर पाकिस्तान हिन्दुस्तान पर आक्रमण कर दे, तो अगर कम अमरीक सहायता करेगा भी चाहे, तो वह कैसे कर सकता है? कोई भी मुल्क, जो बार के समय हमारी सहायता करना चाहेगा, कैसे कर सकेगा? उस वक्त हमारी हागत पोलैण्ड की तरह होगी। पोलैण्ड पर रूस ने और हिटलर ने भी हमला किया। लेकिन वह लैण्ड-लाकड कन्ट्री था। उसके पास नेवी नहीं थी। इसलिए वह कलेम्स हो गया। यह ठीक है कि उसके पक्ष में बार डिफ्लेयर कर दी गई और कहा कि हम पोलैण्ड की रक्षा करेंगे। लेकिन कोई भी उसकी रक्षा नहीं कर सका। यह ठीक है कि हम न्यूट्रल है, लेकिन न्यूट्रल वह होता है, जो कि ताकतवर होना है जिसके पैरों में और कमर में ताकत होती है। वही न्यूट्रल रह सकता है और सिर ऊचा करके रह सकता है। जिसके पैरों में ताकत नहीं है, उसका सिर कैसे ऊचा होगा?

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय . ताकत तो है।

**श्री रघुनाथ सिंह :** लेकिन बजट में ताकत नहीं है। हमारा डिफेन्स का बजट मिर्फ ३५ परसेंट है।

**श्री मोरारजी देसाई :** मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या सम्माननीय सभासद चाहते हैं कि हम डिफेन्स पर २०० करोड़ रुपया और लगा दें।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : निश्चय ही। आज हालत यह है कि बांडर पर पाकिस्तान के लोगों द्वारा हमारे बच्चे मारे जाते हैं। हमारे बांडर के गांवों को आग लगाई जाती है। आप बांडर के घंटबस को रोकने में असफल हो गए हैं। हमारी सीमा के उल्लंघन की १७१ घटनाएँ हुई हैं और आठ सीज-क्रायर हुए हैं। काश्मीर में ६१ एक्सलोजन हुए हैं। इन घटनाओं में कितने ही आदमी मारे गए हैं।

श्री श्रीरामजी देसाई क्या माननीय सदस्य को यह मान्य नहीं है कि उनके कितने आदमी मरे हैं ?

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह आप पाकिस्तान टाइम्स पढ़िए। मैंने आकड़े देखे हैं। जितने हिन्दुस्तानी मरे हैं, उनके दम परमेट भी पाकिस्तानी नहीं मरे हैं। आज हम देखते हैं कि नागाओं को बाहर से हथियार मिल रहे हैं, लेकिन आप के पास ताकत नहीं है कि आप रोक सके। अगर आप आर्डर होते तो पाकिस्तान की इनकी हिम्मत न होती।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय माननीय सदस्य मुझे मुत्सतित्त करते रहे। उधर जा न गवाये और फ़िनाम मिनिस्टर साहब की तरफ़ इनकी नबज़ज़ह न दे।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह हमलिये, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बड़ी विनम्रता के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ...

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय मुझे यकीन है कि मेरी तरफ़ ग़ुँम करने, तो दनना जोर नहीं रहेगा।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : कि हमारा बजट, जहाँ तक सुरक्षा का सम्बन्ध है, बहुत नाकाफ़ी है। हमलिये हम हिन्दुस्तान की सुरक्षा करने में असफल रहे हैं। हमारे देश की स्थिति को देखते हुए हमारा बजट ऊपर जाना चाहिए था, लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि उसकी टेन्डेंसी नीचे जाने की तरफ़ है। जो

रुपया डिफेंस के लिए एलाट हुआ है, वह बहुत कम है और खास कर नेवी के लिए बहुत कम रुपया रखा गया है। उसके लिये कम से कम दस करोड़ रुपया इम्पीरियेटली इसलिये लगाना चाहिए कि एक सबमैरिन की कीमत ४५ लाख रुपया होती है। आप के पास एक भी सबमैरिन नहीं है। कम से कम बीस सबमैरिन हिन्दुस्तान के पास होनी चाहिए ताकि अगर पाकिस्तान आचानक हमला करता है, तो हम हिन्दुस्तान की रक्षा कर सके।

Shri Naushir Bharncha: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the outstanding impression one gathers from a perusal of the Budget proposals is that outwardly there seems to be an overall shrinkage of national economy. If we examine the revenue side, it does appear that the law of diminishing returns has set in. Customs have gone down from Rs. 170 crores to Rs. 136 crores, largely due to our policy of slashing imposts. Union excise duties have also gone down by Rs. 3½ crores, as also the Wealth Tax, the Expenditure Tax and the Gifts Tax. They have fallen below our estimates by Rs. 5½ crores. Even the Railway contributions have gone down while income-tax and corporation tax have shown only slight increases. After pumping into the Plan hundreds of crores of rupees, it is a sad reflection to note that the revenue you derive shows diminishing returns.

But, I wish to submit that this is not so much a matter of diminishing returns as an under-estimate by the Finance Minister for reasons best known to him. He has estimated a deficit of Rs. 82 crores. But, I am convinced that if the revenues had been properly estimated, this so-called deficit of Rs. 82 crores would be less by at least Rs. 55 crores. The actual deficit should not be more than Rs. 27 crores and that deficit need not have been covered. There was no case made out for additional taxation and the fact that Rs. 82 crores of deficit has been shown is, to my mind, a deliberate act to find an excuse for imposing fresh taxation.

[Shri Naushir Bharucha]

The revenues which have been under-estimated are as follows: Customs revenue has been shown as Rs. 136 crores; but it does not take into account the fact that the hon. Minister for Commerce has said that there will be a more liberalising import policy to get raw material for industries. It does not take into account the natural growth of imports that must come. It also does not take into account the governmental imports, the heavy imports on account of the Plan projects. To my mind, the revenue from customs has been under-estimated by at least Re. 20 crores.

Similarly, Sir, if we examine Union excise it is very sad to think that the Union excise is also under-estimated in that it has been estimated only at Rs. 307 crores as against Rs. 304 crores. May I ask the hon. Minister whether industrial production is at all going to rise in the Budget year or not? On what basis has he made this calculation? Even taking a rise of 5 per cent.—it is not an over-optimistic expectation—the excise duties have been under-estimated by Rs. 15 crores.

Similarly, income-tax has been under-estimated. I ask this House, if you are going to pump in Rs. 1121 crores more in one year will the income-tax paying capacity of the people be increased or not? But, there is no corresponding increase shown in the income-tax estimates.

As to the Wealth Tax and the Expenditure Tax, the hon. Finance Minister has very shrewdly shown us that the revised estimates have fallen below our expectations. But, may I ask this? When the machinery for Wealth Tax and Expenditure Tax or Gift Tax has gone into full swing, do we not expect that in two or three years' time this revenue will be considerably up. I am inclined to estimate at least Rs. 6 crores more from these sources. Civil administration receipts have been shown at Rs. 10 crores less. Why this under-estimate? Taking everything into consideration,

I say that the revenues have been under-estimated by a total of Rs. 35 crores. The deficit, if at all, would have been of Rs. 27 crores which need not have been covered at all. On the other hand, expenditure has been over-estimated without our being given adequate reasons. Civil administration has been shown as having risen from Rs. 198 crores to Rs. 223 crores. The other miscellaneous expenditure has been shown to rise from Rs. 58 to Rs. 71 crores. Extraordinary receipts show an extraordinary rise from Rs. 15 to Rs. 35 crores. Crores and crores are shown as additional expenditure without adequate reasons or explanation. I quite appreciate that the Finance Minister may want to show the estimated expenditure rather on the high side because the Pay Commission report may come and that might take away over Rs. 10 crores or so during the year. I can understand that.

But then the hon. Finance Minister does not show certain hidden reserves and I shall point them out. The first hidden reserve is the accumulated profit on small coins circulation which comes to nearly Rs. 50 crores. Just because Rs. 50 crores is held in suspense account, it does not become less valuable. He takes credit only for Rs. 10 crores and still keeps Rs. 40 crores in reserves. What type of budget making is this which keeps the reserves hidden from public view but keeps on imposing taxation? If the accumulated reserves of Rs. 40 crores are available, what was the need for putting additional taxation to the extent of Rs. 23 crores? Why was that amount not utilised but saved? Then, there is Rs. 15 crores representing the custodial charges on Defence Surplus Stores but only Rs. 5 crores are taken up in revenue. Why is Rs. 10 crores allowed to remain there while you are imposing additional taxation? I do not know what exactly the amount will be in the Steel Equalisation Fund. Then again there will be profit from the State-trading in foodgrains but does the hon. Minister want to tell us that the Government will take up wholesale

trading in foodgrains without making any profit on that. What is the estimated profit? Surely, if the Government takes this up, there is bound to be considerable increase in the profits from that source. Surely that source has not been taken into consideration.

On the other hand, there are not sufficient economies in the administration. We welcome a drop in the defence estimates but even Rs. 242 crores is far too much and if I have occasion to speak on the defence estimates, I shall go into details and shall point out how the public do not get value for the money that it spends. There are so many other items in which economy could be exercised and if I get an occasion to speak on the Demands for Grants, I shall certainly point them out.

Coming to the taxation proposals, it will be seen that diesel oil comes up for a hundred per cent increase which will affect adversely not only the road transport but the electric supply undertakings as well. Probably the House is not aware that several electrical undertakings in India operate diesel oil machinery as a result of which there is bound to be a change in operations cost and the electricity consumer may be mulcted in a heavier tariff. Similarly, nearly Rs. 2 crores will be taken from road transport as a result of the increase of duty on tyres. I am afraid that there was absolutely no need for imposing these taxes and that they are being imposed is only due to the fact that the Finance Minister wants to keep up his sleeve several reserves which he does not want to disclose to the House.

Coming to the question of 'grossing up' of dividends I am afraid that the new practice proposed is likely to create more confusion and it is likely to hit the equity structure of industries in a permanent and damaging manner. I wish that this new practice had not been introduced. There is no doubt, notwithstanding anything that the Government may say, that as

a result of the new proposed practice of 'grossing up', the shareholders and particularly the small man, middle-class man, will receive a dividend upto ten per cent. less than what he was getting before.

I now come to the plan expenditure. In the course of the year a plan expenditure of Rs. 1157 crores is proposed to be incurred. Capital expenditure is to the extent of Rs. 420 crores; loans to the States Rs. 525 crores; debt repayment Rs. 130 crores. The deficit is Rs. 82 crores. As against that the resources are: repayment of loans to the Government Rs. 111 crores; public borrowing Rs. 240 crores which is obviously too high a figure; small savings Rs. 85 crores which might probably be realised. The hon. Minister has presumed very generously that foreign aid will come to the extent of Rs. 337 crores. Perhaps he has got better sources of information on this point. I am inclined to believe that in estimating the receipts from foreign sources at Rs. 337 crores, the hon. Minister is straining the generosity of these countries. Anyway, we all agree with the hon. Finance Minister, this country agrees with the Finance Minister in expressing gratitude for the foreign aid from the various countries—U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Britain, France, Germany, Japan and others who have assisted our country at times of emergency and in times of grave need. Let it be appreciated that but for the generous assistance we have received from these foreign countries, our Plan would have collapsed. We are grateful to the countries which have given us such timely assistance. But it will be appreciated that the internal resources for the Plan for this year leave uncovered a deficit of Rs. 245 crores and it is proposed to be met by the issue of Treasury Bills. Now, I must tell this House what these Treasury Bills are. This is a device by which the Government takes from the Reserve Bank certain sums of money to be repaid within three or six months' time because the revenue is lagging behind. Our revenues come in in seasonal fluctuations; after the

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financial year is over or after Diwali it comes in bulk but the expenditure has to be kept incurring regularly. To meet a contingency like that the Treasury Bill was devised or invented. Now, what is it used for today? We borrow saying that we are prepared to repay Rs 245 crores within three months or six months and keep on renewing these treasury bills and finally we say, as the hon Prime Minister did last year when he presented the Budget, that Rs 1 400 crores worth treasury bills should be converted into debts of appropriate maturity. In other words, the debtor tells the creditor "I cannot pay you within three months, I will pay you after 15 or 20 years." That is the position. This is nothing short of deficit financing by the back-door. It is wrong to presume that deficit financing is going to be confined to Rs 1 000 crores. We have already had Rs 1 400 crores of deficit financing. Why does this method tantamount to deficit financing? Because behind the amounts of these treasury bills, there is no fiduciary backing as there is behind our paper currency. Therefore what actually happens is that we borrow from the Reserve Bank by promising re-payment within three months but we say later that we will pay them 15 or 20 years later. Rs 1,400 crores had already been converted like that and this year the amount is Rs 245 crores. With similar sum next year, probably it would nearly be Rs 2 000 crores. Now, the question arises what are you going to do about it? It will be appreciated that in the four years of the Second Plan, taking the Budget year, we shall have spent about Rs 3,571 crores. Out of that, nearly Rs 2 000 crores is deficit financing. Therefore, we are opening the Third Five Year Plan with a big handicap of loans awaiting repayment, deferred payments awaiting to be liquidated, lesser scope for deficit financing and inflation as a result of extraordinary deficit financing. Yet, how recklessly we spend the money so far as this year of the Plan is concerned? I shall give an illustration

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The steel projects will take up Rs 122 crores, that inexhaustible sink which goes by the name of Hindustan Steel (P) Ltd. The Estimates Committee has made a very scathing denunciation from the start to the finish, how the plants have been mis-managed, how the contracts have been entered into etc. Yet, in this current year we have paid Rs 52 crores and a loan of Rs 122 crores is to be given for the steel plants in 1959-60. Nobody is asking what is going to be the return on this. I think this House must put its firm foot down and say that no further money is to be given to the steel projects unless this debacle has been met.

Apart from this I must point out that there are stresses and strains inherent in this Budget. One such thing is that the food prices are going up. If there is a temporary fall in the food prices let us not be deluded that we have been able to hold the line of defence. It is not so. The effects of inflation are being inevitably felt. It is immaterial if the hon Minister conceals deficit financing under the pompous name of Treasury Bills, still, in fact it is deficit financing and it has its results in fluctuation.

Therefore when we are talking of the Third Plan let us understand that the future of the Third Plan is three-quarters mortgaged in the execution of the Second Plan and it is with this handicap that we have to proceed further.

Sir, I shall speak of other matters on the Demands for Grants, but I think that with all the efforts that we have been making in finding resources for the Second Plan today we are not in a position of strength. That one thing is certain. Foreign exchange continues to be so precarious that if there is a sizeable difference between the estimates of Rs. 337 crores which the hon Finance Minister expects from foreign countries, there will be

a serious crisis. Inflation has set in. Unemployment continues to grow. I am not saying that the Plan must be abandoned or anything like that. I say that our effort, notwithstanding the determination of the hon. Finance Minister, has fallen so short that unless during the Third Five Year Plan we are in a position to create anything between 16 to 17 million new jobs we will be nowhere, and looking to the fact that our commitments during the Second Plan have been so heavy, the scale of deficit financing has been so heavy, I really doubt whether we shall be able to make a serious effort, an effort of the magnitude that we are expecting for the Third Plan

I am convinced that this Planning Commission has not delivered the goods. It is necessary in the interests of the country that a panel of thinkers must be appointed who will really look into these things objectively without being tied to political ideologies, without being tied to political parties. Unless that is done, I am afraid, though we may scrape through this year and the next one does not know what is more in store for this country

**श्री लालीबाला (इन्दौर)** - उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने जो बजट रक्खा है और उसमें मूँझ बूँझ के साथ जो नये टैक्सज लगाये हैं, मैं उनको उसके लिए धन्यवाद देता हूँ। खास तौर से डीजेल प्रायल और मोटर टायर पर जो उन्होंने टैक्स लगाया है वह उचित ही है क्योंकि हम देखते हैं कि बमो और ट्रको की घामव रफ्त हमारे देश में दिन प्रतिदिन बढ़ती जा रही है और ट्रको और बमो का घषा हमारे देश में उत्तरोत्तर बढ़ना और तरक्की करना जा रहा है।

खडसारी शूगर जिस पर कि उन्होंने टैक्स लगाया है वह भी उचित ही कहा जायगा। हम देखते हैं कि गाँवों के धबिकाश लोग जहा गाज से १५, २० वर्ष पहले शक्कर का उपयोग बिन्कुस नहीं करते थे, उनमें आज शक्कर

का प्रयोग दिन प्रतिदिन बढ़ता जा रहा है। गाव के लोग गुड बनाना कम करते चले जा रहे हैं और इसलिये गावों के हित के लिए शूगर को ज्यादा प्रोत्साहन नहीं मिले इसके लिए यह जो टैक्स लगाया है वह भी ठीक है।

आज हमारे देश के सामने जो सबसे बड़ा मवाल है वह गल्ले का और फूड का है। मध्यप्रदेश जहा में कि मैं आता हूँ वह ज्यादा में ज्यादा तादाद में अनाज पैदा करता है लेकिन पिछले वकन हमने देखा कि जो प्रदेश इतना अधिक अनाज पैदा करता है वहा अनाज की उस माल इनकी बमी हुई कि ५, ५ मेर अनाज के लिये लोग रात के २, ३ बजे से दिन भर लम्बी लम्बी कनारें बाधे अनाज के लिये खडे रहते देखे गये। अनाज की कमी होने का खास कारण यह है कि मध्य प्रदेश को बम्बई में जोड़ दिया गया। बम्बई के लोगो की खरीदने की शक्ति इनकी ज्यादा है कि वह मध्य प्रदेश का अच्छे से अच्छा गेहूँ खरीद ले सकने है। दूसरी तरफ मध्य प्रदेश के लोग गरीब है और वे महगा अनाज नहीं खरीद सकने। सरकार ने केवल ७० टुकाने मस्ते अनाज की इन्दौर में खोली जिनमे ३० मन अनाज प्रतिदिन दिया जाता था माडे १४ रुपये के हिसाब से। लेकिन उसका कोई नतीजा नहीं हुआ और अनाज के भाव दिन प्रतिदिन बढ़ते चले गये। क्यों ? क्योंकि अनाज की कमी है। जिस तरह से पिछले दिनों में उत्तर प्रदेश में गन्ने की खेती ज्यादा होने लगी है, उसी तरह मध्य प्रदेश में भी मैं देखता हूँ कि गन्ने की व तिलहन की खेती ज्यादा होने लगी जिसके कारण अनाज का बोना कम हुआ है। अगर किसान को किसी फसल से ज्यादा रुपया मिनता है तो वह अनाज के बजाये उस फसल को बोने लगता है। तो अनाज के कम होने का एक कारण यह भी है। अनाज की कमी होने का एक कारण यह भी था कि पिछले दस पन्द्रह वर्षों में लोगो की क्रय शक्ति बढ़ी है और हर एक घर पेट खाना

### [श्री लादीबाल]

चाहता है। भनाज की कमी का एक कारण और भी है। वह यह कि हमारे देश में जो पहले उपवास की परम्परा थी वह अब कम होनी चली जा रही है। जब भनाज की कमी होती थी तो महात्मा गांधी गाजर, सब्जी आदि अधिक खाने का प्रयोग शुरू कर देते थे और लोगों से भी बीसा करने को कहते तो लोग बीसा करते थे। आज इस तरह का भी कोई प्रचार नहीं हो रहा है, जिसके कारण भी भनाज की कमी है।

जो बजट हमारे सामने है उसमें हम देखते हैं कि बिदेसी से ज्यादा से ज्यादा खपत लेकर भनाज मगाने की व्यवस्था है। हमें यह सोचना चाहिये कि हमारे देश में किस तरह से ज्यादा से ज्यादा भनाज पैदा हो। इसके लिए हमारा प्रयत्न होना चाहिये। सरकार ने अभी भनाज खरीदने की पालिसी अपनायी है जिसमें किसान भी जमा न रख सके और व्यापारी भी जमा न कर सके। हमारे यहाँ छत्तीसगढ़ में जहाँ चावल सस्ता हुआ है सरकार ने खरीदी शुरू की है। साठे ९ रुपये मन धान का भाव बाधा और माठे १४ से १५ रुपए मन चावल का भाव बाधा। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि वहाँ पर जो सरकार के कार्यकर्ता और अधिकारी हैं उनको व्यापार का अनुभव नहीं है। वे अच्छे माल को बरा और बुरे को अच्छा समझते हैं। इसमें किसानों को बहुत तकलीफ होती है। इसके अलावा उनको समय पर स्पया नहीं मिलता। जा भनाज खरीदा जाता है उसके स्टाफ करने के लिये जगह नहीं होती। डारदानी समय पर नहीं मिलता इसलिये किसान को मजबूर हाकर व्यापारी के पास जाना पड़ता है, व्यापारी उस भनाज को खरीद कर फिर सरकार को दे देता है। यह अबस्था केवल मध्य प्रदेश में ही नहीं है, और जगह भी है। अब मध्य प्रदेश में गेहूँ की फसल अच्छी हुई है लेकिन अभी तक वहाँ गेहूँ की खरीदी सरकार द्वारा शुरू नहीं हुई है। अगर यही अबस्था रही तो जो दोष हमने

छत्तीसगढ़ में चावल के मामले में देखे थे वे ही गेहूँ के मामले में भी दिखायी देंगे।

मैं मध्य प्रदेश में आता हूँ। पहले कई स्टेटो को मिलाकर मध्य भारत बना। फिर मध्य भारत, भोपाल, विन्ध्य प्रदेश और पुराने मध्य प्रदेश को मिला कर अब नया मध्य प्रदेश बना है। यह नया मध्य प्रदेश बनने के बाद वहाँ कचहरियों का काम अग्रेजी में होने लगा जो कि पहले हिन्दी में होता था। यहाँ पार्लियामेंट में भी हम देखते हैं कि बहुत सी कार्रवाई अग्रेजी में होती है। इस कारण, जो कि केवल हिन्दी जानने वाले हैं, उनको वह कार्रवाई समझ में नहीं आती। मवालो के समय हम देखते हैं कि जो सबाल हिन्दी में आते हैं उनका तो तरजुमा अग्रेजी में कर दिया जाता है लेकिन जो अग्रेजी में सबाल आते हैं उनका तरजुमा हिन्दी में नहीं किया जाता। इसलिये हिन्दी वालों को पना नहीं चलता कि क्या मवाल है। मैं यह नहीं कहना कि अग्रेजी में तरजुमा न हो। लेकिन जो मुविधा अग्रेजी जानने वालों को दी जाती है वह हिन्दी जानने वालों को भी मिलनी चाहिए।

पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिये केन्द्र द्वारा मध्य प्रदेश के लिये १८४ करोड़ रुपया बजट में रखा गया। और हर साल २८ करोड़ रुपया देने का नियम बनाया गया। मध्य प्रदेश को पांच वर्ष में अपने कोटे का ४७ करोड़ रुपया खर्च के लिये जुटाना है। वह अपने कोटे का दस करोड़ रुपया देता है लेकिन इस साल केन्द्र से मध्य प्रदेश को २२ करोड़ रुपया ही दिया गया है और जो भोपाल राजधानी है उनको भी इसी में जोड़ दिया गया है।

जब मध्य प्रदेश बना था उस वक्त यह कहा गया था कि मध्य प्रदेश बहुत अच्छा बनेगा और मध्य प्रदेश के अन्दर सर्वोच्च और

रेलवे लाइन बना कर उसको बहुत सुविधाजनक बनाया जायेगा लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि इस दिशा में उचितता प्रयत्न होना चाहिये उतना नहीं होता है ।

मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि मध्य प्रदेश में जो पहले हवाई सरबिस चलती थी उसको भी बन्द कर दिया गया क्योंकि उसमें घाटा होता था । लेकिन घाटा तो किस जगह नहीं होता है । मध्य प्रदेश में इन्दौर, खालियर और जबलपुर बड़े बड़े ध्यापारिक केन्द्र हैं, और यह इतना लम्बा चौड़ा प्रदेश है लेकिन बड़ा ग्रामद रफ्त के साधन बहुत कम हैं । वहाँ जरूरत है कि यातायात की सुविधा बढ़ायी जाती है । लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि जो पहले हवाई सरबिस चलती थी उसको भी बन्द कर दिया गया है । जब मध्य भारत था तो उस वक्त बम्बई से इन्दौर इन्दौर में भोपाल और भोपाल में खालियर को हवाई सरबिस चलती थी । अब उसे बिल्कुल बन्द कर दिया गया है ।

इसके अलावा जो पहले स्टेटो में नौकरों के पेशानों का सवाल प्राज बहुत समय से हल नहीं हो रहा है । अभी तक कई सालों से यह खोज हो रही है कि यह प्रादमी किम स्टेट में था किनने बरग से था प्रादि । कुछ लोग तो पेशान मिलने से पहले मर जाते हैं और देरी होने के कारण पेशान नहीं ले पाते । तो यह बहुत बड़ा सवाल हमारे यहाँ है । इस तरह सरकार का ध्यान जाना चाहिए।

लैण्ड सीनिंग और कोऑपरेटिव की बात बहुत कही जा रही है । जहाँ तक लैंड सीनिंग का सम्बन्ध है लोगों ने जब से देखा कि राजा-शाही गयी, जागीरदारी गयी, जमींदारी गयी तब से जिनके पास अधिक जमीन है वे उसको अपने सम्बन्धियों को, अपने भाई बेटों को बांट रहे हैं, और जो बेच सकते हैं वे बेच रहे हैं । इसलिये अपने आप लोगों के पास जमीन कम होती जा रही है । यही अक्सर सरकार का सीनिंग लाने का श्रेय है । अगर इसके भी सम्बन्ध

उपाय कोई हो तो किया जाये, पर मेरे कृतज्ञ से तो खुद कुदरती तौर से सीनिंग होती चली जा रही है । हम देखते हैं कि गाँवों में काम करने के लिये जो श्रम-सेवक रसे जाते हैं, वे शहरो में आते हैं । शहरो के लोग गाँवों की समस्याओं को नहीं जानते हैं । किसान की परेशानी, उसकी तकलीफ कैसे दूर होगी, उसकी खेती में कैसे वृद्धि होगी, इसका उन लोगों को बिल्कुल अनुभव नहीं होता है । जब गाँव के लोग श्रम करते हैं, तो वे लोग पेट के लीसे में हाथ डाल कर खड़े रहते हैं । इसलिये यह आवश्यक है कि ऐसे लोगों को ग्राम-सेवक रखा जाये, जो कि गाँवों के हों । प्राज हम गाँवों में देखते हैं कि हर एक नौजवान लड़का कहता है कि मैंने मैट्रिक, एफ० ए० या बी० ए० पास कर लिया है, मुझे नौकरी दो । इस अवस्था में ग्रामाज का, खेती में वृद्धि का सवाल कैसे हल होगा, जब कि हर एक किसान का नौजवान लड़का पढ़-लिख कर निकलता है और नौकरी ढूँढता है । एक मास्टर की जरूरत होती है और तीन-चार, पाँच हजार तक श्रमिया आती है । अगर हम अपनी शिखा को उद्योग-वृत्तों की तरफ नहीं ले जायेंगे तो पड़े निखे लोगों को बेकारी दिन-प्रतिदिन बढ़नी जायगी ।

मझे इन्दौर और मध्य प्रदेश का अनुभव है कि डेढ़ सौ एकड़ जमीन में रेसम की खेती होती है, लेकिन मैं देखता हूँ कि किसानों को कोई कामयाबी नहीं मिली है । सब पैसा बेकार खर्च होता है । यह ठीक है कि द्वितीय पञ्चवर्षीय योजना के द्वारा गाँवों में कुछ न कुछ काम हुआ है, काफी जगृति हुई है । लोगों को शिकायतें हैं कि मेरे यहाँ सड़क नहीं बनी है, कुआँ नहीं बना है, तालाब नहीं बना है । यह भी तथ्य है कि वे श्रम करते हैं और भीलों लम्बी सड़कें, कुएँ और तालाब बनाते हैं । लेकिन इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार की ओर से उन को मदद देने में कुछ कमी होती है जिसके कारण से श्रम करने के लिये वे किसान दूसरी अंतर्बा प्रागे नहीं आते हैं ।

[श्री खादीवाला]

सोग बेकारी की बात करते हैं। लेकिन काम बहुत है। हम इन्दौर में देखते हैं और अपने प्रदेश की राजधानी भोपाल में देखते हैं कि जब मकान बनाने के लिए राज या पेंटर की जरूरत होती है, तो वे कहते हैं कि छात रुपए लेगे। अगर उनसे कहा जाता है कि छः रुपए ले लो, तो वे कहते हैं कि पढ़े-लिखे बी० ए० को ले लो, हम नहीं आयेगे। आम मजदूर को तीन चार रुपए और कारीगर को छः सात रुपए मजदूरी मिल जाती है। अगर हमारी शिक्षा व्यवस्था का नहीं बदला गया, तो पढ़े-लिखे बेकार नौजवानों की इतनी बड़ी फौज हो जायेगी कि वह रोज़ इधर उधर ऊधम मचाया करेंगे। ग्राजकल की शिक्षा का जो ढांचा है, उसमें रटने पर बड़ा जोर दिया जाता है। जो हिन्दी पढ़ता है, उसके साथ वह अंग्रेजी भी पढ़ता है और दूसरे कई विषय भी पढ़ता है। मैं अपने घर में लड़कियों का देखता हूँ। परीक्षा से पहले महीनों तक रात-दिन हर एक विषय को घोंटा जाता है लेकिन परीक्षा में क्या रिजल्ट निकलता है? इसलिये मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर बेकारी की तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया गया और उद्योग-धंधों के कालिज नहीं खोलें गये तो हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना में आगे जाकर काफी वठिनाइयाँ उपस्थित हो सकती हैं।

**श्री नरदेवस्नातक (अग्नीगढ़—रक्षित—अनुसूचित जातियाँ) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने १९५६-६० का बजट प्रस्तुत कर दिया है। उसके प्रस्तुत करने पर देश में दो प्रकार की प्रतिक्रियाएँ हुई हैं कुछ पक्ष में कुछ विपक्ष में। बहुत से अर्थशास्त्र के विशेषज्ञों और व्यापारी वर्ग ने वित्त मंत्री को बहुत धन्यवाद दिया है। यदि वास्तव में देखा जाय, तो मौजूदा बजट प्रशासता के योग्य है भी। वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने, जो कि कांग्रेसी हैं और गांधीवादी विचारधारा के व्यक्ति हैं, एक व्यावहारिक दृष्टिकोण से बजट प्रस्तुत

किया है। आप जानते हैं कि प्रायः और व्यय को संतुलित करने के लिये, जिससे कि प्रायः और व्यय में कोई बहुत अन्तर न पड़े और अपने देश का बजट संतुलित रहे, उन्होंने यह बजट बनाया है। बजट में ७५७ ५१ करोड़ का राजस्व और ८३६ १८ करोड़ का व्यय रखा गया है जिसका अर्थ यह है कि लगभग ८२ करोड़ का घाटा दिखाया गया है। नए कर-प्रस्तावों में २२ २३ करोड़ रुपए की आमदनी का अनुमान लगाया गया है। इस प्रकार में हमारे बजट में घाटा करीब ५८ ५६ करोड़ का है। वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने प्रत्यक्ष और अप्रत्यक्ष करों के द्वारा यह कोशिश की है—और माल भर कोशिश करेंगे कि प्रायः और व्यय के बँसेस को ठीक रखा जा सके। प्रत्यक्ष और अप्रत्यक्ष का प्रकार के कर लगते हैं। प्रत्यक्ष कर सम्पत्ति और धनिक वर्ग पर लगता है, जिसमें आयकर उत्तराधिकार कर, व्यय कर और इन्हीं प्रकार के दूसरे कर हैं। यद्यपि धनिक वर्ग की थोड़ी मरका होती है, और उस में पैसा राशि में जरूर ज्यादा मिल जाता है परन्तु ना काफी होता है। परन्तु हमारे देश में रहने वाले करोड़ों लोगों की जेब से रेल और बस के भाड़े, डाक-तांग की दरों आदि के रूप में जो एक एक नया पैसा निकलना है उसमें करोड़ों की तादाद में रुपए सरकार को मिल जाते हैं। इस तरह में वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने प्रत्यक्ष और अप्रत्यक्ष करों का लगा कर काशिश की है कि बजट की मनुनित किया जाय। परन्तु मैं एक बात वित्त मंत्री महोदय में कहना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि उन्होंने बीड़ी, तम्बाकू, वनस्पति, शीजल आयल नकली रेशम और लड्डमारी पर कर लगाए हैं, उसकी प्रतिक्रिया हमारे देश में बहुत हुई है—खाम कर लड्डसारी के विषय में। तम्बाकू, बीड़ी, सिगरेट और वनस्पति पर कर लगाना अनुचित नहीं है, यद्यपि ये निम्न वर्ग और मध्यम वर्ग के लोगों के साथ ही और उनके ऊपर इसका असर होगा और वे असर

इससे परेशान होंगे, परन्तु यदि इन नवीनी की चीजों पर कर लगाया जाय, तो आपत्ति की कोई बात नहीं है। परन्तु खंडसारी पर कर लगाने से हमारे देश के इस कुटीर उद्योग पर बड़ा आघात हुआ है। उत्तर प्रदेश में तीस लाख व्यक्ति इस रोजगार को कर रहे हैं। वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने जो ५६० रुपए की बेसिक इयूटी और ७० नए पैसे की जो एडीशनल इयूटी उम पर लगाई है, वह वास्तव में अनुचित है। यह ग्रामोद्योग लाखों व्यक्तियों की जीविका का साधन है। यह प्रकट है कि खंडसारी पर कर लगाने से चीनी मिलों को प्रोत्साहन मिला है। इसी तरह पहले नौ कर्षाओं की पैदावार पर छूट दी गई थी, उसको घटा कर चार कर्षाओं की पैदावार पर छूट दी गई है। इससे मिलों के बन्नों को प्रोत्साहन मिलेगा। भाननीय वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने कहा है—और यह ठीक भी है— कि जहां हम मिनो और कल-कारखानों को प्रोत्साहन देना चाहते हैं, वहां हम कुटीर उद्योगों और ग्रामोद्योगों और खादी उद्योग को भी प्रोत्साहन देना चाहते हैं। परन्तु वित्त मंत्री महोदय के मामले बड़ी दुविधा है। वह प्रयत्नशील है। और मैं आशा करता हूं कि वह खंडसारी और कर्षा आदि उद्योग का कुछ राहत देगा।

देवा जय, नो डीजल प्रायल और मोटर टायरो पर जो टैक्स लगाया गया है, उसका सीधा असर सर्व-साधारण निम्नवर्ग की जनता, जो कि ग्रामो में रहती है, पर पड़ेगा। रेलवे मंत्री ने अपने भाषण में यह कहा कि सबक परिवहन के कारण रेलों की ग्रामदक्षी में काफ़ी कमी हो गई है। यदि डीजल प्रायल और मोटर टायरो पर टैक्स बढ़ा दिया जाय तो रेलों के भाड़े में काफ़ी वृद्धि होगी। इसका अर्थ यह है कि एक विभाग को सुधा करने के लिए दूसरे विभाग पर बोझ डाला गया है और यह बोझ भी केवल बड़े लोगों पर ही नहीं, बल्कि निम्नवर्ग की जनता पर पड़ता है, और वह बोझ भी कुछ ज्यादा ही है।

फिर भी वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने यह कोषिक की है कि जो भी कर लगाये गये हैं वे ऐसे नहीं हैं जोकि नाजायज हों। यद्यपि इन करों का जनता ने सीधा सम्बन्ध तो नहीं है फिर भी किसी न किसी रूप में ये कर ग्राम जनता पर पड़ते ही हैं। ग्राम के इस संकट के समय में जबकि हम अपनी विकास योजनाओं को पूरा करना चाहते हैं और हम चाहते हैं कि हमारी योजनाएँ सफल हों और हमारा देश तरक्की करे, इस तरह के टैक्स लगाया जाना जरूरी दिखाई देने हैं। यद्यपि पिछले वित्त मंत्रियों ने अपने बजट भाषणों में यह भी कहा था, दो सत्र पहले हमारे भूतपूर्व वित्त मंत्री श्री टी० टी० कृष्णमाचारी थे, उन्होने यह सुझाव रखा था कि द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना पर जो खर्च हो उसे हम यह कोषिका कर रहे हैं हम उम को अपने बजटों द्वारा जो टैक्स लगाना चाहते हैं देश के अन्दर उन से ही पूरा कर लें। हालांकि बहुत गुंजाइश तो नहीं थी कि किसी प्रकार के नये कर लगाये जायें देश के ऊपर, जैसे कि प्रांतीय सरकारों ने भी जो अपने बजट प्रस्तुत किये हैं उनमें उन्होने बहुत से टैक्सेज नहीं लगाये हैं, परन्तु फिर भी जो टैक्स लगाये गये हैं वे कुछ ज्यादा जरूर है। मेरा शर्मने वित्त मंत्री से निवेदन यह है कि वे इस पर कुछ ध्यान दें।

कुछ लोगों ने कहा कि वित्त मंत्री ने जो बजट प्रस्तुत किया है वह पूंजीपतियों का बजट है क्योंकि इसमें कम्पनियों के ऊपर जो उत्पादन कर या प्रतिरिक्त लाभांश कर लगता था उसमें कुछ छूट दी है। मेरा उन लोगों से निवेदन है कि इस प्रकार के कम्पनियों पर जो उत्पन्न कर या प्रतिरिक्त लाभांश कर में छूट दी गई है वह इसलिये है कि जो विदेशी लोग हैं जोकि व्यापार करना चाहते हैं या उद्योग खंभे करना चाहते हैं उनको भी कुछ मनांन हो, इस प्रकार से वे किसी तरह की धानाकानी नहीं करेंगे और

[श्री नरदेव स्नातक]

अपना पैसा यहां लगायेंगे जिस से हमारे देश का कुछ न कुछ लाभ ही होगा। इसलिये वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने कम्पनियों के सम्बन्ध में जो छुट दी है वह उचित ही है।

एक बात के लिये हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी बर्बाद के पात्र हैं और वह है सैनिक व्यय पर कम खर्च करने के सम्बन्ध में। हमारे मंत्री जी और हमारी सरकार पञ्चशील को मानने वाली है, महात्मा गांधी के अहिंसा के सिद्धान्त को मानते हुए लड़ाई झगड़ों से दूर रहना चाहते हैं। यद्यपि हमारे कुछ मालनीय सदस्यों का विचार है कि जो भी हमारा बजट बनता है उस का धांचे से ज्यादा डिफेन्स पर खर्च किया जाना चाहिये, मैं समझता हूँ कि माननीय मंत्री महोदय ने जो कुछ किया है वह उचित ही किया है और प्रतिगन्ता व्यय में करोड़ों रुपयों की बचत कर ली है। परन्तु इस के साथ ही एक बात मुझे यह कहनी है कि धर्मनिरपेक्ष व्यय के लिये जो रकमा रक्खा गया है वह कुछ ज्यादा है और एक तरह से अनुचित ही है। ऐसे समय में जबकि हमारे देश के अन्दर साक्षात् के सम्बन्ध में अन्त-निर्मरता नहीं है—राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है कि पिछले ११ महीनों में हमने २७ लाख, ४० हजार टन अनाज बाहर से मगवाया जिस पर हमें अरबों रुपये खर्च करने पड़े—मेरी यह राय है कि जो धर्मनिरपेक्ष व्यय का बोझ हमारी सरकार ने जम्मा पर डाला है, जिस में कि हमारा भागे का संतुलन नहीं बन रहा है, उस पर वित्त मंत्री जी ध्यान देंगे और धर्मनिरपेक्ष व्यय को कुछ कम करने का प्रयत्न करेंगे जिस से कि करोड़ों रुपये की बचत हो सकेगी।

इस वक्त हमारे देश के अन्दर कोषाप-रेटिबं कामिंग अर्थात् संयुक्त खेती के सम्बन्ध

में बहुत जोर से तैयारी चल रही है। नार्थवुर सेवान में इस के सम्बन्ध में एक प्रस्ताव भी पास किया गया और हमारे देश की जितनी भी राज्य सरकारें हैं वे भी इस विधा में प्रयत्नशील हैं कि संयुक्त खेती प्रणाली से अधिक से अधिक अन्न उत्पन्न किया जाय जिस से कि हमारा देश अनाज के मामले में आत्मनिर्भर हो सके। प्राचीन समय में भी हमारे देश के अन्दर संयुक्त खेती की स्कीम थी। एक गांव के अन्दर जहां बीसों, पच्चीसों व्यक्ति रहते थे, एक परिवार के समान खेती में जुट जाते थे, वे सब पहले एक खेत में मिल कर काम करते थे, जैसे जोताई, बोवाई, गोडाई, सिंचाई आदि। जहां उस का काम पूरा हो गया वे सब के सब दूसरे खेत में पहुंच जाते थे और इस तरह से महयोग कर के खेती की उन्नति करते थे जिस में कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा अन्न उत्पन्न होता था। लेकिन मेरा निवेदन है कि इस सम्बन्ध में जो आज सरकार की योजना है इस की सफलता में कठिनाई हो जायगी। वह यह है कि आज गांवों के अन्दर रहने वाले लोगों में एकता नहीं है, मगठन नहीं, ई. प्रेम नहीं है। जब उन में एकता, मगठन और प्रेम नहीं है तो आप जिस काम को मिल कर करना चाहेंगे उस में जरूर कठिनाई पैदा होगी। अगर सरकार इस के लिये कुछ करना चाहती है तो उन किसानों को जो अधिक अन्न उत्पन्न करना चाहते हैं, सम्ना और अन्धका बीज दे, उन को सिंचाई के लिये समय पर पानी दे। साथ ही साथ खाद भी दे जो अन्धका हो और पर्याप्त मात्रा में हो। जानवरों का भी प्रबन्ध करे, जिस से अन्न का उत्पादन अधिक हो सके। आज जो अन्न उत्पादन करने का ढंग है, उस के साथ अनेकों कठिनाइयां पैदा होने लगी हैं। जैसे जंगली जानवर, बन्दर, नीम गाँवें, बूढ़े आदि हैं जोकि हमारे अन्न को नष्ट कर देते हैं। सरकार का ध्यान इन जंगली जानवरों को निबंध्य

में करने और समाप्त करने की धोर नी जाना चाहिये। जिस से हम अधिक से अधिक अन्न पैदा कर सकें और हम अपने देश को इस सम्बन्ध में आत्म निर्भर बना सकें। साथ ही आज जो करोड़ों क्या घरबो रुपये विदेशों को जाते हैं उन से भी हम कुछ राहत पा सकें और जो हमारे घाटे के बजट चलते रहते हैं वह बैलेंस में आ जायें। इस तरह से यदि किया जायेगा तो मेरा अनुमान है कि वित्त मंत्री जी को कोई कठिनाई नहीं होगी और हमारा देश अन्न के सम्बन्ध में आत्मनिर्भर बन जायगा।

एक और बात कह कर मैं अपने भाषण को समाप्त कर देना चाहता हूँ, और वह यह है कि वित्त मंत्री ने सिनेमा सम्बन्धी रा मंत्रीयल पर जो टैक्स लगाया है यह बहुत ही अच्छा कार्य किया है। वित्त मंत्री जी ने मेरा निवेदन है कि आज सिनेमा के द्वारा हमारे बच्चों में और विद्यार्थियों में एक अनुशासनहीनता आती जा रही है जोकि सरकार के लिये और देश के लिये एक सिर-दर्द बन गई है। उस सिर-दर्द को भी दूर किया जा सकता है और वह इस तरह है कि आज जो सिनेमाघरों के तीन तीन घंटे चार-चार घंटे हुआ करने है उन को बन्द कर दिया जाय, कम से कम पढाई के समय में यानी १० बजे प्रातः से लेकर ४ बजे सायंकाल तक कोई धो न हो। चौबीस घंटों में केवल एक घंटा हुआ करे। इस तरह से मा बाप की गाड़ी कमाई का पैसा भी बचेगा और बच्चों में जो अनुशासनहीनता बढ़ती जा रही है उस के ऊपर भी नियंत्रण होगा। उन पर अधिक से अधिक टैक्स लगाया जायगा ना कोई हानि नहीं होगी।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं वित्त मंत्री जी का हृदय से धन्यवाद करता हूँ क्योंकि वे एक गांधीवादी व्यक्ति हैं। उन्होंने इस बजट को बड़े व्यावहारिक रूप में रक्खा है जिस से देश के सभी वर्गों के लोग प्रसन्न हैं और यह

भाषा करते हैं कि भविष्य में भी हमारी सरकार इसी तरह के बजट प्रस्तुत करेगी जिस से सीधे आम जनता के ऊपर करों का बोझ न पड़े।

श्री राम कृष्ण गुप्त (महेन्द्रगढ़) :  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप का सक्रिय भाषा करता हूँ कि आप ने मुझे जनरल बजट पर बोलने का मौका दिया। मौजूदा साल का बजट घाटे का बजट है और उस के अन्दर तकरीबन ८१ करोड़, ६७ लाख ८० का घाटा दिखलाया गया है, जबकि मिफं रेवेन्यू अकाउंट पर है इस घाटे को टैक्सेज के जरिये कुछ कम करने की कोशिश की है। लेकिन इस के बावजूद भी ५८ करोड़, ३२ लाख ८० का घाटा रह जाता है। मन्तीय मंत्री जी ने अपनी स्पीच में उन करणों का जिक्र किया है जिस से यह घाटा हुआ। मुख्य कारण यह है कि पिछले साल की आमदनी का जो अन्दाजा था वह उस अन्दाजे के मुताबिक नहीं हुई। वह आमदनी तकरीबन ३१ करोड़, ६३ लाख ८० कम हुई। उन्होने यह भी बताया कि जो टैक्सेज लगाये गये थे, गिफ्ट टैक्स एकम्पॉडिचर टैक्स, एस्टेट ड्यूटी टैक्स या दूसरे टैक्स, उन में जो आमदनी होनी चाहिये थी वह नहीं हुई, इसलिये घाटा हुआ। इन बातों को तमलीम करते हुए भी मेरी अपनी यह राय है कि इस घाटे के और भी कई कारण हैं। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि महकमों के अन्दर काफी से ज्यादा बेंस्टेज हो रहा है। अगर उस को ही अच्छी तरह से रोक दिया जाता तो इतना नुकसान न होता। इस के साथ ही जो टैकेदारों में कट्टर बगैरह होते हैं उन के अन्दर भी इस बात का खयाल नहीं रक्खा जाता है कि गवर्नमेंट को ज्यादा फायदा हो। बल्कि बहुत सी ऐसी मिसालें मिलेंगी जिन के अन्दर गवर्नमेंट को बहुत ज्यादा नुकसान हुआ। इस के लिये मैं दो, चार मिसालें भी हाउस के सामने पेश करना चाहता हूँ। मेरा मकसद इन बातों को हाउस के सामने रखने से

[श्री राम कृष्ण गुप्त]

यह है ताकि वेस्टेज न हो और धायन्दा हमारे जो ठेकेदारों के साथ ठेके हों उन में इस बात का खयाल रखें कि गवर्नमेंट का फायदा हो ।

पिछले साल एक रिपोर्ट पेश की गई थी । उस के अन्दर बहुत सी बातों का जिक्र है । धानरेबुल मेम्बरान ने भी इस रिपोर्ट को गौर से पढ़ा होगा । सेट्रल गवर्नमेंट की एप्रोप्रियेशन एकाउन्ट एंड ब्राडिट रिपोर्ट सन् १९५८ के अन्दर एक जगह इस बात का जिक्र किया गया है कि चार फर्मों को चीनी खरीदने का ठेका दिया गया । उन से २ करोड़ की श्रुगर खरीदनी थी और यह तय हुआ था कि अगर वह टाइम के अन्दर श्रुगर सप्लाई नहीं करेगे तो उन से जितने रुपये की श्रुगर खरीदनी है, उस का ३ फी-सदी बतौर डैमेज के वसूल किया जायगा और उस डैमेज को तादाद तकरीबन साढे १७ लाख के करीब होती थी । हालांकि उन फर्मों ने वक्त के अन्दर चीनी सप्लाई नहीं की लेकिन उन के खिलाफ कोई ऐक्शन नहीं लिया गया । बल्कि डैमेज जो उन से वसूल किया जाना था उस को तादाद १ लाख के करीब कर दी गई और उस १ लाख को भी पूरी तरह वसूल करने की कोई कोशिश नहीं की गई । यही नहीं इम के बाद जब दुबारा चीनी खरीदी गई तो उन ४ फर्मों में के दो फर्मों को चीनी का ठेका दे दिया गया और जबकि उन में से एक फर्म का पेड अप कैपिटल केवल १० हजार रुपया था । अब आप ही बतलाइये कि एक ठेकेदार जिस का कि, पेड अप कैपिटल १०,००० हो और उस से आप २ करोड़ रुपये की चीनी का फैसला करते हैं तो आप इस बात से खुद अन्दाजा लगा सकते हैं कि उसमे गवर्नमेंट को कितना नुकसान हुआ होगा । अगर इस तमाम रिपोर्ट को गौर से पढ़ा जाय तो मेरी तरह आप भी इस नतीजे पर जरूर पहुँचेंगे कि मामली भी मामली बात के अन्दर

भी इस बात का बिलकुल भी खयाल नहीं रक्खा गया कि गवर्नमेंट को फायदा किस बात में है और मामली सी भी अकल का जो इस के लिये इस्तेमाल नहीं किया गया ।

इस रिपोर्ट में एक जगह यह भी जिक्र है कि कोई एक इंस्पेक्टर था उस को रक्खा गया । वह तकरीबन २२ महीने ४ रोज तक काम करता रहा और उस २२ महीने ४ रोज के अन्दर २० महीने लगातार छुट्टी ली लेकिन तनखाह उस ने २२ महीने ४ रोज की वसूल की और यही नहीं कि वह २२ महीने ४ रोज के बाद रिटायर हो गया । इसलिये मैं जरूर अपील करूंगा कि हमें इन बातों का खास तौर पर खयाल रखना चाहिये जिस से कि हमारा कम से कम नुकसान हो और मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि अगर हम ने ऐसा किया होता तो आज हमें यह डेफिसिट बजट पेश न करना पड़ता और आज हमें नये टैक्सेज न लगाने पड़ते ।

जहा तक नये टैक्सेज का मवाल है यह तो ठीक है कि देश में योजनाओं को पूरा करने के लिये टैक्स जरूर लगने चाहिये लेकिन टैक्स लगाने में हमारी पालिसी यह होनी चाहिये जिस से कि धामवनी और वेल्य का जो डिफेंस है वह कम हो और जो इनकम और वेल्य के अन्दर डिस्पैरिटीज हैं उन को कम किया जाय । लेकिन एक दो टैक्स जो लगाये गये हैं वह इम उसूल के मुताबिक नहीं लगाये गये हैं । इसलिये मैं अपील करूंगा कि वह इस बात पर जरूर गौर करे और उन को कम करने की कोशिश करे ।

इस के अलावा मैं इम बात पर भी जोर दूंगा कि बजाय इस के कि हम इस बात पर ज्यादा जोर दे कि नये टैक्सेज लगाने, हमारी सब से बड़ी कोशिश यह होनी चाहिये कि जो एरियर्स हैं उन को हम वसूल करें । आप को यह जान कर हैरानी होगी कि पिछले

वह काम से एरियर्स की तादाद बढ़ती जा रही है। यह जो रिपोर्टें वेदा की गई हैं उस में भी इस बात का जिक्र है। उसमें १९४८-४९ में कुल एरियर्स ६ करोड़ ९४ लाख थे लेकिन ग्राम उस की तादाद २८७ करोड़ ३२ लाख है। मैं ने इस सिलसिले में एक क्वेश्चन भी किया था और मैं ने उस के बारे में यह मासूम करने की कोशिश की कि यह जो २८७ करोड़ के करीब एरियर है तो क्या यह इनकमटैक्स का रुपया छोटे छोटे तरीब लोगों की तरफ बकाया है या उन लोगों की तरफ बकाया है जोकि बड़े बड़े पूजीपति हैं और जिन के कि बड़े बड़े कारखाने चलते हैं और जिन के कि बारे में हम यह भी नहीं मासूम कर सकते कि वे कौन हैं क्योंकि आजकल का कलम भी ऐसा है। संवधान ५४ के तहत इस क्रिस्म की इनफारमेशन भी हमें नहीं मिल सकती। मेरा क्वेश्चन यह था कि यह जो टैक्स हमें लेना है इस के अन्दर ऐसे आदमियों की तादाद कितनी है जिन्हें कि एक लाख से ज्यादा रुपया देना है और उस के साथ साथ उन की तरफ कुल कितना रुपया है तो आप को यह जान कर हैरानी होगी कि जिन एरिरीयर्स से यह एरियर्स बसूल करने हैं उन में २७७६ ऐसे हैं जिन से कि एक लाख से ज्यादा रुपया बसूल करना है और उस तमाम रुपये की तादाद १५४ करोड़ से भी ज्यादा है। इसलिये मैं इस बात पर खास तौर पर जोर दूंगा कि हमें इस रुपये को बसूल करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये और कानून में जो भी कमी हो उस को भी हमें दूर करना चाहिये ताकि यह रुपया आसानी से और जल्दी से बसूल हो सके।

मैं ने एक क्वेश्चन और भी किया था कि यह जो रुपया आप इंस्टालमेंट के बारे में लेते हैं तो आप इस पर सूद बरीरह बसूल करते हैं या नहीं तो जबाब मिला कि सूद का कोई तरीका नहीं है। मुझे यह जान कर बड़ी हैरानी हुई। मैं एक छोटी सी बात आप के सामने रखता हूँ। नाम भीकिये कि एक एरिरी की करक १ लाख रुपया है। आप

उस से २० साल के लिये इंस्टालमेंट कर लेते हैं। ५००० रुपया वह आप को देगा। अगर वह १ लाख रुपया आप सूद पर दे दें तो २० साल के अन्दर आप को १ लाख २० हजार रुपया बसूल हो जाता और असली रकम आप की उसी तरीके से कायम रहती। इसलिये मेरी अभील है कि हमें इस कानून को इस ढंग पर तबदील करना चाहिये ताकि एरियर्स के साथ साथ हम सूद बरीरह भी बसूल कर सकें और उन से सख्ती से जिस तरीके से भी हो उस रुपये को बसूल कर सकें। इस के लिये मैं दो साधन भी हाउस के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। सब के पहिले तो हमें यह मासूम करना पड़ेगा कि इस तरीके से जो टैक्स चोरी किया जाता है और आमदनी सही नहीं बतलाई जाती वह आमदनी कहा रखी जाती है। अब इस सम्बन्ध में मैंने इनकम टैक्स कमीशन की रिपोर्ट को भी गौर से पढ़ा और उस कमीशन की भी यही राय है कि पूजीपतियों के पास इसके लिये दो तरीके हैं। एक तो वह रुपया बड़े बड़े बैंको में रखते हैं क्योंकि वही लोग जिनसे कि इनकम टैक्स का रुपया लेना होता है बढ-किम्मती हमारी यह है कि वही बैंको के डाइरेक्टर्स बरीरह भी होने हैं। दूसरे वह यह करते हैं कि बड़े बड़े ट्रस्ट बना देते हैं। अभी ट्रस्ट्स का जिक्र इस हाउस में भी आया था। मेरा यह सवाल है कि जितने बड़े बड़े सेठ और पूजीपति लोग हैं सब एक एक बड़ा ट्रस्ट बनाये हुए हैं और मैं यह कहने के लिये तैयार हूँ कि इसकी जाच की जाय तो यह बात सही साबित होगी कि यह जो ट्रस्ट उन्हें की आड नेकर बनाये जाते हैं उनके पीछे सबसे बड़ा मकसद यह है कि आमदनी जो होती है उसको छुपा कर बचा लिया जाय बल्कि वह कारखाने को ट्रस्ट के लिफुई कर देते हैं और उससे होने वाली आमदनी को बचा कर इस तरीके से ब मोलनास करते हैं। तो मैं अभील करूंगा कि हमें सबसे पहले इन लोगों पीछों पर कंट्रोल करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये।

[श्री राम कृष्ण गुप्त]

बैंक के बारे में मेरी ही राय नहीं बल्कि जो आपने इनर्वेस्टिगेशन कमीशन मुकर्रर किया था उसने जो एक रिपोर्ट पेश की थी उसकी भी यह राय है

"The prospects of obtaining any useful aid of this character from the banks are however doubtful as unfortunately some of the banks appear to be under the control of the very persons whose financial activities seem to require scrutiny Government may therefore have to take measures to ensure such co-operation from the banks "

मैं यह भी कहने के लिये तैयार हू कि आपको यह कोआपरेशन मिल नहीं सकता जब तक कि आप बैंक को नेशनलाइज नहीं करेंगे। उस में आप को दो फायदे होंगे। एक तो जो इनकम छिपी हुई है उस पर आप को पूरा अधिकार हो जायगा और उस के साथ ही साथ उस आमदनी को आप देश की तरक्की के लिये इस्तेमाल भी कर सकेंगे। तीसरे यह बात इसलिए भी जरूरी है कि आज हम को अपनी मैकिंग फाइव इयर प्लान को कामयाब बनाना है, उस के बाद छठे फाइव इयर प्लान बनानी है। आज बार बार यह कहा जाता है कि लोगों का प्लान माइडेड बनाना चाहिये। लोग प्लान माइडेड नहीं बन सकते जब तक कि उन के दिलों में यह अहसास पैदा न हो जाये कि प्लान से जो भी फायदा होगा वह नमाम लोगों की भलाई के लिये हागा। आज आम भावना यह महसूस करना है कि जो फायदा होता है, स्वाह वह कारखाने में हो, क्वाह वह बड़ी कम्पनी में हो, वह बड़े बड़े बिजनेसमैनो की जेबों में जाता है। इसलिये वह दिल से काम नहीं करना चाहता। लेकिन जब आप इन बड़े बड़े साधनों पर कंट्रोल करेंगे और जी लोग टैक्स भवाइड करते हैं उन को सजायें देंगे तो लोगों के अन्दर विश्वास पैदा होगा।

आज बहुत सी एम्बवायरीज होती हैं। आप के सामने मूबडा की मिसाल है। दो साल के करीब धरसा हो गया, पर हमारा कानून कुछ ऐसा कमजोर है कि जिन अफसरों ने उन के साथ मिल कर एल० आई० सी० के फंड को एबेजिल करने की कोशिश की थी उन को आज तक सजा नहीं मिली। इस मामले में मैं सिर्फ इतनी ही अपील करूंगा कि हमें अपने कानून को बदलना चाहिये। मैं यह नहीं चाहता कि किसी बुरोनाह अक्स को सजा मिले लेकिन मैं यह जरूर चाहता हू कि उस का फ़ैसला हो तीज ग़रीबों के अन्दर होना चाहिये। पहले जस्टिस छायाला ने एम्बवायरी की फिर बोस कमीशन बैठाया गया अब वह मामला पब्लिक मरबिस कमीशन के पास गया है, फिर कैबिनेट के पास जायगा, और इतन लम्बे अरसे के बाद एम्बवायरी का जो मकमद था वह भी खत्म हो जायगा। इस का क्या असर पड़ेगा? हम में बड़े बड़े लोगों के हीसले बढेंगे। उन को आप काबू में नहीं कर सकेंगे। गौर इसलिये जो छोटे लोग हैं वह आप को पूरा सहयोग नहीं देंगे। छोटे लोग समझते हैं कि जो लोग गुनाह करते हैं उन को सजा नहीं मिलती और हमारे लिये कुछ नहीं हो रहा है।

हम के साथ साथ मैं यह भी अपील करूंगा कि हमें ट्रस्टो के रुपये पर भी काबू करना चाहिये। मेरा यह खयाल है कि करीब ४०० करोड़ या इस से भी ज्यादा रुपया बड बडे बिजनेस मैन ने ट्रस्ट क्रियेट कर के रखा हुआ है। हम उस रुपये को नेशनल डेवलपमेंट के लिये काम में ला सकते हैं। उस के लिये हमें अपने कानून को काफी बदलना होगा। इस किस्म का सवाल इस हाउस में भी उठा था उस वकत भी माननीय बिधि मंत्री जी ने कहा था कि हम इस किस्म का कानून बनाने वाले हैं। इस मामले में मैं यह अपील करूंगा कि आज इस किस्म के कानून की सब से ज्यादा जरूरत है। अगर हम

रुपय ५०० करोड़ या इस से ज्यादा रुपये पर काबू पा सकें तो उस को हम सैकिंग फाइव इयर प्लान को कामयाब बनाने में खर्च कर सकते हैं और घड़े फाइव इयर प्लान को कामयाब बनाने के लिये भी इस्तेमाल कर सकते हैं ।

मैं खास तौर पर वे बातें इसलिए बत रहा हूँ कि आज हम यह कोशिश नहीं करने कि हम अपने इटरनल रिसेसॉज को मजबूत करें । आज देश के अन्दर जो हमारे इटरनल रिसेसॉज हैं उन के ऊपर बड़ा जबरदस्त काइसिस आया हुआ है । हम दूसरे मुल्को से मदद लेने की भी कोशिश करते हैं । मैं दूसरे मुल्कों से मदद लेने के खिलाफ नहीं हूँ, लेकिन हमारी ज्यादा से ज्यादा कोशिश यह होनी चाहिये कि हम अपने इटरनल रिसेसॉज में काम निकाष सकें क्योंकि आप जानते हैं कि जो मुल्क मदद करना है उस का कोई न कोई नियामी मकमद भी जरूर होता है । इस के लिये दूर जाने की जरूरत नहीं । आप पाकिस्तान को ले लीजिये । मुझे यह पूरा विश्वास है कि पाकिस्तान के अन्दर जो मौजूदा इनकलाब आया उस का सब से बड़ा कारण यह था कि वहाँ जो अमरीकी फोर्मैज थी उन्होंने यह महसूस किया कि अगर वहाँ इलेक्शन हुआ तो वह ताकत पावर में आयेगी जो एटी अमरीकन होगी, जो मजदूरो और किसानों के हक में होगी । इसलिये वह चाहते थे कि अपनी ताकत की मदद से बड़े बड़े लोगों को उभार कर ऐसे हालात पैदा कर दिये जायें ताकि चुनाव बगैरह का मसला ही हमेशा के लिये खल्व हो जाये । उन को यह मौका क्यों मिला ? इस का बजह यह थी कि पाकिस्तान अपनी तरक्की के लिये अमरीका पर बहुत ज्यादा दारोमदार रखता था । इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमें आज सब से ज्यादा अपने पाँवों पर खड़ा होना चाहिये । हमें बैकनी रिसेसॉज पर ज्यादा दारोमदार नहीं रखना चाहिये । यह बात इसलिये भी जरूरी है कि आज हिन्दुस्तान ही एक ऐसा

देश है जहाँ डिमाक्रेसी कायम है और हम तमाम दुनिया के अन्दर डिमाक्रेसी का संडा बुलन्द किये हुए हैं । इसलिये भी जरूरी है कि हम अपने पाँवों पर खड़े हो और अपने रिसेसॉज को मजबूत करें ताकि हमें दूसरे मुल्कों में मदद कम लेनी पड़े । और मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि अगर हम वे बैक्स को नेशनलाइज किया और ट्रस्टो पर काबू किया तो हमारे रिसेसॉज काफी हो जायेंगे और हमारी सैकिंग फाइव इयर प्लान ही नहीं बल्कि घड़े फाइव इयर प्लान भी कामयाब हो जायगी ।

*Shri D. C. Sharma: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the Budget is a peg on which one can hang many tales. One can look at it from the point of view of one's constituency. While doing so, I can say that my constituency of Gurdaspur is a border district and it requires special treatment. I can look at it from the point of view of my State and I can say that since my State is a surplus area so far as agricultural production is concerned, we should try to give it greater subsidy so that it can grow greater quantity of foodgrains than before. I can look at it from the angle of my pet aversions. Everyone has his own pet aversions. For instance, there is somebody who wants the banks to be nationalised, and there are other persons who want that the cinema industry should be nationalised, because all human beings are victims of one aversion or another.*

Also, Sir, we can look at it from the point of view of those things on which we have set our heart. For instance, there are some persons who have been saying that it is a very good thing that the Defence budget has been reduced, and that since our country stands by Panch Sheel we have taken the right step. Now, Sir, to tell you the plain truth, I think that this Panch Sheel without any resources of defence is like a stool without any legs. It cannot stand. It is something without any foundation. But I do not

[Shri D. C. Sharma]

want to go into those details. As I have said already, this budget is provocative of all kinds of ideas, sentiments, theories and notions. But I can say one thing without fear of any contradiction: this budget is in conformity with the high destinies of our nation and I use the word 'destiny' with as much responsibility as an hon. Member who repudiated the use of the word 'destiny'. Destiny is not the prerogative of those countries which are ruled by dictatorships, whether they are veiled or open. Destiny is not the prerogative of those countries which are ruled by despots whether they are called as such or are called by some other name. Destiny is the prerogative of every country and much more so of a great and ancient country like ours.

Shakespeare was not a despot or the mouthpiece of any authoritarian regime, but as Shakespeare said, "there is a destiny that shapes our ends; rough-hew them how we will". He was talking of the individual destiny and if Shakespeare could talk about the individual destiny, surely the leaders of countries, the Finance Minister of a country, the Prime Minister of a country, can talk about the high destiny of the 40 crores of people who inhabit this land. I would consider that this budget is a kind of pact which the Finance Minister of our country has made with the nation. It is a kind of report which he has given to this nation.

I shall look at this budget only from one angle, and I do not want to go into the by-lanes of thought and the by-lanes of argument. I want to look at it from this angle (*Interruptions*). If those gentlemen were not to talk, I would be very happy.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order

Shri D. C. Sharma: I was submitting very respectfully that I look at the budget only from this angle, and the

angle is, our plans—the first Five Year Plan, the second Five Year Plan, our third Five Year Plan and also the plans that are to come. In 1951, we embarked on a Plan and that Plan was a kind of agreement which we arrived at, an agreement to raise the living standards of the teeming millions of India. Have we succeeded in that or not? Is our budget in conformity with the social needs and urges, with the economic needs and urges of our country or not?

Moreover, I do not look upon this budget as an isolated phenomenon. I think it is a link in the chain; so many links have gone behind and so many links are to come. Therefore, it is a budget which looks before and looks after. Hence, one cannot look upon it only as something which is independent, which stands by itself and which has got to be looked at only from the narrow angle limited to 12 months or a year.

When I look at the budget from the angle of the five year plans, I should say one thing to begin with. It is this: I think the year 1958

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): He might look at it tomorrow.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Would he like to continue tomorrow or has he finished?

Shri D. C. Sharma: I should like to finish that sentence. The year 1958 has been a year of crisis.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

18 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, the 10th March, 1958 (Phalguna 12, 1958 (Saka)).