

passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 14th March, 1961, and transmitted to the Rajya Sabha for its recommendations and to state that this House had no recommendations to make to the Lok Sabha in regard to the said Bill."

CORRECTION OF ANSWER TO  
 STARRED QUESTION NO. 45

**The Minister of Health (Shri Kar-markar):** In the reply to the Starred Question No. 45 answered by me on the 16th February, 1961, I had stated that "we have circularised the State Governments offering six in the first instance and that we were awaiting their reaction." The correct position is that the question is still under consideration.

In reply to a further question by Shri Chandra Shankar as to whether the Ayurveda students of Indian University get admission in foreign universities I had replied that there is a reciprocal arrangement for recognising degrees. The position is that some students of Ayurveda get admission in foreign universities. The reciprocal arrangement does not, however, include degrees in Ayurveda.

I apologise for the inconvenience caused to the House.

GOVERNMENT BUSINESS FOR  
 FOLLOWING WEEK

**The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha):** With your permission, Sir, I rise to announce that in accordance with the order of discussion and voting of Demands for Grants announced by me on the 15th March, 1961, Government Business for the week commencing 20th March will consist of discussion and voting of Demands for Grants in respect of the—

- (1) Ministry of Education.
- (2) Ministry of Health.

- (3) Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.
- (4) Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.
- (5) Ministry of Law.
- (6) Ministry of Home Affairs.
- (7) Ministry of Works, Housing & Supply.

12:22 hrs.

CENTRAL BUDGET—GENERAL  
 DISCUSSION—contd.

**Mr. Speaker:** The House will now proceed with the general discussion of the General Budget. Shri R. S. Tiwari was in possession of the House. He took three minutes.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh (Firozabad):** May we know at what time the Finance Minister will reply?

**Mr. Speaker:** We must conclude this debate by 3-30. After that for two and a half hours we will have Private Members' business. The House will go on till six o'clock today.

**The Minister of Finance (Shri Morarji Desai):** Sir, it will have to end before 3-30 because the Vote on Account and the Appropriation Bill have also to be disposed of. Therefore, if it ends at 3-15 it would be better, and I may be allowed to reply at 1-45.

**Mr. Speaker:** Very well, a small margin will be provided. Yes, Shri R. S. Tiwari. Hon. Members will take ten minutes each. It was agreed yesterday.

श्री रा० स० तिवारी (खुजुराहो) :  
 अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं कल यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि प्रजातंत्री राज्य में प्रजा के हित के लिए, प्रजा की उन्नति के लिए, यदि कुछ टैक्स लगाये जाते हैं, तो उस पर कोई एत-राज नहीं हो सकता है। वित्त मंत्री ने ये टैक्स

[श्री रा० स० तिवारी]

सलिये लगाये हैं ताकि जो घाटा था उसको पूरा किया जा सके। आय का जो अनुमान लगाया गया था वह ६६२.६२ करोड़ था और जो खर्च का अनुमान लगाया गया था वह १०२३.५२ करोड़ था और इस प्रकार से घाटा ६०.६० करोड़ रह जाता था। वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने ६० करोड़ ८७ लाख के नये टैक्स लगाये हैं और इसके फलस्वरूप २७ लाख रुपये की बचत का अनुमान किया गया है।

इन टैक्सों में कुछ ऐसे टैक्स हैं जो लगने ही चाहिये थे। उदाहरणार्थ एक लाख के ऊपर पांच प्रतिशत के हिसाब से जो टैक्स लगता था उसको बढ़ा कर दस रुपया प्रतिशत कर दिया गया है। इसका असर केवल उन्हीं लोगों पर पड़ेगा जिनकी आमदनी एक लाख में अधिक है। मैं इस टैक्स को उचित मानता हूँ।

हमारे कुछ साथियों ने राजा महाराजाओं का, उनके प्रिवी पर्सों का जिक्र किया है कि उसको जप्त कर लिया जाना चाहिये। मैं इसको नहीं मानता हूँ। राजाओं ने अपने शासन को जो छोड़ा है, अपनी गद्दी को जो छोड़ा है, उसमें बहुत त्याग का परिचय दिया है। उनके साथ इसी कांग्रेस सरकार ने एक समझौता किया था और उस समझौते के आधार पर ही उनको प्रिवी पर्स दिया जाता है। अब यह जरूरी नहीं है कि उनसे मजदूरी कराई जाए या उनका प्रिवी पर्स छीना जाए। इसको मैं अनुचित समझता हूँ।

हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने कुछ टैक्स लगाये हैं जिनका असर आम जनता पर पड़ता है जैसे सुपारी है, तेल है, दियासलाई

है, कपड़ा है, ताबा है, पीतल है। इनमें कुछ चीजें ऐसी हैं जिन का बोझ छोटे से छोटे आमदमी पर भी पड़ता है। मैंने पहली तारीख को एक बोतल तेल मंगाया। इस के लिये पहले मुझे साढ़े चार आने देने होते थे लेकिन अब पांच आने देने पड़े। एक दिन में ही भाव बढ़ गया। हमारी शिकायत यह नहीं है कि टैक्स न लगे, लेकिन टैक्सों को वसूल करने का जो ढंग है वह बिल्कुल ही गलत है। इस गलत ढंग का नतीजा यह होता है कि सरकार को तो आमदनी हो नहीं पाती है, बीच वाले जो होते हैं, जो दलाल लोग होते हैं वे आमदनी कर जाते हैं और जनता को परेशानी का भोगना करना पड़ता है। इस लिए आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि टैक्स लगाने की जो प्रणाली है, उसको बदला जाए और जिन चीजों पर टैक्स लगाये जायें वे वहाँ लगाये जायें जहाँ उन चीजों का उत्पादन होता है। उनके बाद वह चीज सारे देश में जाए, बिकने के लिए, तो कोई भी टैक्सों का विरोध नहीं करेगा।

साथ ही साथ मैं यहाँ भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि टैक्सों की वसूली करने के लिए जो इन्स्पेक्टर जाते हैं या दूसरे लोग जाते हैं, वे लोगों को बहुत परेशान करते हैं छोटे-छोटे व्यापारियों को, छोटे-छोटे दूकानदारों को परेशान करते हैं। यह भी देखने में आया है कि परेशानी के साथ-साथ टैक्स का रुपया भी सरकार को पूरा नहीं मिलता है। इस लिए मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ, कि टैक्स वसूल करने का जो ढंग है जो तरीका है, इसको आप बदलें। जिस तरह से आपने कपड़े पर टैक्स लगाया है और वह टैक्स जहाँ कपड़े का उत्पादन होता है, वहाँ लग जाता है और फिर बाजार में टैक्स लगाने की जरूरत नहीं रह जाती है, उसी तरह से आप

दूसरी चीजों के बारे में भी कर सकते हैं। अगर टैक्सों की गतिविधि को ठीक कर दिया जाए, तो जो टैक्स आपने लगाये हैं, उनका इतना अधिक विरोध नहीं हो सकेगा।

दियासलाई आदि के बारे में हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने राज्य-सभा में बहस का उत्तर देते हुए कहा है कि दियासलाई पर इसलिए टैक्स नहीं लगाया गया है कि गरीब आदमी पर बोझ पड़े बल्कि इसलिए लगाया गया है ताकि इस उद्योग की उन्नति हो सके। लेकिन मुझे आपके सामने तीन, चार बातें कहनी हैं और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि उनकी ओर भी ध्यान दिया जाएगा।

पहली बात मुझे कृषि के बारे में कहनी है। अगर आप कृषि की उन्नति चाहते हैं तो आपको कोई ऐसा नियम बनाना होगा जिससे कि का दत्तकार को, किसान को, जो नक़ाबी दी जाती है, या जो बीज दिया जाता है, या अन्य दूसरी चीज दी जाती है, वे बिना किसी रुकावट के और समय पर उन्हें मिल जाया करें। आज ऐसा नहीं होता है। आज इस काम के लिये किसानों को तहसीलों में, सरकारी अफसरों के पास तथा दूसरी जगहों पर कई चक्कर लगाने पड़ते हैं और अपना समय बर्बाद करना पड़ता है। यह सब समय उनका बेकार जाता है। अगर उनकी समय पर और बिना दिक्कत के ये सब सुविधायें प्राप्त हो जायें तो उनका यह समय बच सकता है। दर-दर उनको भटकना पड़ता है, तब यहाँ जा कर सुनवाई होती है। ऐसी हालत में खेती की कैसे तरक्की हो सकती है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस ओर आप ध्यान दें।

इसके साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी चाहता हूँ कि आप एक ऐसा कायदा कानून बनायें ताकि उनके काम-काज में कोई रुकावट न

पड़े, बाधा न पड़े। मैं समझता हूँ कि खेती की उन्नति में ये जो सोसाइटी है, ये जो ग्राम पंचायतें हैं, ये ज्यादा सहायक साबित हो सकती हैं। इसलिये जब तक ग्राम पंचायतों और सोसाइटीज को आप नहीं बनाते हैं तब तक कृषि का उत्पादन यथेष्ट मात्रा में नहीं बढ़ सकता है और न ही कृषक का भला हो सकता है।

उद्योगों के बारे में मुझे अधिक नहीं कहना है। उद्योगों को आपने इतना बढ़ावा दिया है कि पिछले दस सालों में ६६ फीसदी उत्पादन बढ़ गया है। एग्रीकल्चर का भी पिछले दस सालों में ३३ फीसदी बढ़ा है लेकिन उसमें फसलें बेकार हो जाने की वजह से घटा-बढ़ी हो जाती है।

अब मुझे सीमा के बारे में कुछ कहना है। सीमा के बारे में अभी-अभी आपके सामने एक कामरोको प्रस्ताव आया था। देखा जाता है कि हफ्तों में, या दो हफ्तों में सीमा पर कुछ न कुछ दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण घटनायें घट जाती हैं। इन हफ्तों के कारण एक मील दो मील, दस गज, पचास गज हमारी भूमि दबती चली जा रही है। अगर हम शान्ति और अहिंसा के सिद्धान्तों पर ही जमे रहे तो और भी भूमि हमारी दबती चली जायेगी। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इस ओर ध्यान दें और उचित कदम उठावें। मैं आपका ध्यान अंग्रेजों की जो पालिसी थी, उस ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ, जब अंग्रेजों ने भारत पर शासन जमा लिया था तो पांच छः सौ ज़ोरियासर्ने थीं उनको दबाये रखने के लिये उन्होंने सौ, सौ मील के एरिया में फौज और पॉलिटिकल एजेंट नियुक्त कर दिये थे। इस प्रकार से मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप देश की सीमा को एक सीमा प्रान्त बना दें और उस सीमा में अपनी फौजें रख दें। दस, दस या पन्द्रह, पन्द्रह मील के फासले पर अपने एजेंटों को मुकर्रर कर दें। जिस तरह से ब्रिटिश सरकार के जमाने में पॉलिटिकल एजेंट्स हुआ करते थे और उनके ऊपर ए० जी० जी० हुआ करते थे उसी प्रकार से

[श्री रा० स० तिवारी]

आप अपनी फौज के अंग बना कर एजेन्ट्स के रूप में वहां पर बिठला दें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि दूसरों के आगे बढ़ने की कोशिश को हम रोक सकेंगे। मेरा निवेदन यह है कि सीमा की रक्षा का अविश्वस्य प्रयत्न किया जाये। आपने सीमा के बारे में १६.२० करोड़ रुपये रखा है जो कि फौज के अधिक खर्च में काम आयेगा। अगर यह नाकाफी है तो मैं समझता हूँ ज्यादा रुपया रखने पर भी किसी को कोई ऐतराज नहीं होगा। आप हाईवेज के लिये रुपया रख रहे हैं। मैं कहता हूँ कि वह सब आप बन्द कर दें केवल एक सीधी रोड आसाम से काश्मीर तक बनाये। इसके लिये आप ने ७ करोड़ रु० रक्खा है। मैं तो समझता हूँ कि अगर आप और भी ज्यादा रुपया रखें जिसमें एक सीधी सड़क आसाम से काश्मीर तक बन जाये ताकि लोग आसानी से बें राकटोंक आ जा सकें और और सीमा की रक्षा कर सकें, तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा।

चौथी बात जो मुझे कहनी है वह यह है कि आप यहां के पिछड़े हुए इलाकों की ओर ध्यान दें। आप को मालूम है कि वास्तव में पिछड़े इलाके वे हैं जो कि पहले छोटी-छोटी रियासतें थीं और अब वे प्रदेशों में मिलकर उनके हिस्से बन गये हैं। लेकिन वे प्रदेश के साथ तरक्की नहीं कर रहे हैं। इसलिये उनको प्रदेश के दूसरे हिस्सों की बनिस्बत कुछ ज्यादा फँसिलिटीज मिलनी चाहियें। अगर इसके लिये आप यहां से रुपया दें तो पिछड़े हुए प्रदेश पूरी तरह से उन्नति कर सकते हैं। मैंने आपके सामने इन्हीं चार बातों की ओर विशेष कर ध्यान आकर्षित किया है और मैं समझता हूँ कि आप इनकी ओर ध्यान देंगे।

१ बं० ना० कुरील (रायबरेली—  
रक्षित—अनुसूचित जातियां) : उपाध्यक्ष  
महोदय, वित्त मंत्री जी का बजट जो सदन के  
सम्मुख विचारार्थ प्रस्तुत है उसके ऊपर

काफी चर्चा हो चुकी है। यह बजट हमारी द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना और तृतीय पंच वर्षीय योजना इस बात की पुष्टि करता है कि हमारी सरकार इन योजनाओं को सफलता पूर्वक कार्यान्वित करती चली जा रही है देश के निर्माण के लिये, देश के उत्थान के लिये। यह बजट इस बात की भी पुष्टि करता है कि देश का जो आर्थिक ढांचा है उसका निर्माण सुनिश्चित योजनाओं के आधार पर स्थायी रूप से किया जा रहा है। देश के उत्थान के लिये, उसके आर्थिक, शैक्षिक और सामाजिक विकास के लिये सरकार ने प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना में लगभग २३ अरब रु० खर्च किया, दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में उसका लगभग दूना अर्थात् ४८ अरब रुपया खर्च किया और तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में लगभग ८० अरब रु० खर्च करने की बात है। देश के विकास के लिए इतनी धन राशि का जुटाना, देश के अन्दर से और बाहर से, एक सराहनीय और बड़ा काम है। वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो बजट रक्खा है उसमें इसकी काफी चर्चा हो चुकी है, लेकिन मैं कुछ बातों की ओर ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

आज विकास के युग में, निर्माण के युग में जो अरबों रुपया खर्च हो रहा है देश का स्तर ऊंचा उठाने के लिये, उसके सम्बन्ध में इस देश की गरीब जनता महसूस करती है कि उन योजनाओं को लागू करने में, जिनका लाभ सभी गरीब जनता को होने वाला है, पिछड़े वर्ग के लोगों को बढ़ने का मौका मिलने वाला है, हरिजनों का उत्थान होने वाला है, देरी कर रही है और ढिलाई हो रही है। यह कहना भी कि टालमटोल हो रही है अनुपयुक्त नहीं होगा। आज भूमि नियंत्रण योजना या सीलिंग लगाने की योजना है। आप इस प्रश्न को ही



लीजिये । सरकार ने कई बार निश्चय किया कि जिन लोगों के पास गांवों में अधिक जमीनें हैं, जो स्वयम् खेती नहीं करते और न उनके परिवारों में कोई खेती करता है, लेकिन जो भूमिहीनों, हरिजनों और गरीबों का शोषण करते हैं, उनकी जमीनें नियंत्रित करेगी क्योंकि इस तरह से पैदावार नहीं बढ़ पाती जो कि आज हिन्दुस्तान की सबसे बड़ी समस्या है और उममें कठिनाई पड़ती है । ऐसे लोगों की जमीनों पर नियंत्रण लगाने का निश्चय सरकार ने किया, सीलिंग लगाने का निश्चय किया, परन्तु इस दिशा में कोई ठोस कदम नहीं उठाया गया और उसमें देरी हो रही है । देरी होने से जो उद्देश्य था कि इन प्रकार की फालतू जमीनों को ले कर हरिजनों और भूमिहीनों को दिया जायेगा, वह उद्देश्य धीरे-धीरे खत्म हो रहा है क्योंकि जिन लोगों के पास अधिक जमीनें हैं वे उनको बेच डाल रहे हैं या अपने सगे-सम्बन्धियों के नाम दर्ज करा रहे हैं । इस तरह से जो इन लोगों में ढाढस बंधा था, सन्तोष हुआ था, जिन हरिजनों को अभी तक कोई लाभ नहीं पहुंचा था उन में भी असन्तोष फैलने लगा है ।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जो आपकी मद्यनिषेध योजना है वह भी इसी प्रकार की योजना है जिसका सीधा सम्बन्ध गरीब जनता से है और जिसका लाभ करोड़ों मजदूरों और हरिजनों के बाल-बच्चों को मिलने वाला है, उस योजना के लागू होने के बाद उस में बहुत ठिलाई हो रही है । कभी कभी कहा जाता है कि उससे कुछ लाभ नहीं हुआ । आज जहां-जहां मद्यनिषेध योजना लागू है भी वहां ऐसा वातावरण पैदा किया जा रहा है कि वह फेल हो गई है । मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि यह गलत बात है । योजना सफल है, मगर कुछ लोग इस प्रकार के हैं जो इस तरह का वातावरण पैदा करना चाहते हैं । उनमें से, मुझे यह कहने के लिये क्षमा किया जाये, कुछ तो हमारे बड़े-बड़े अफसर हैं जिनको अकरत से ज्यादा तन्व्वाह मिलती है और वे

नशे का शौक करते हैं और कुछ व्यापारी लोग हैं जो नशे की चीजों का व्यापार करते हैं और उससे अन्धाधुन्ध नफा उठाते हैं । वे लोग हिन्दुस्तान में इस तरह का वातावरण पैदा कर रहे हैं कि इन योजनाओं से कोई लाभ नहीं हो रहा है । मेरे जिले रायबरेली में यह मद्य-निषेध योजना लागू है और मैं जानता हूं कि वहां के लोगों को फायदा हुआ है । वहां की म्यूनिसिपैलिटी में जो मेहतर भाई नौकरी करते थे, वे वहां की दूकानों से उधार ताड़ी पिया करते थे और जिस दिन तन्व्वाह मिलती थी, उम दिन सारी की सारी तन्व्वाह गेट पर दूकानदार ले लिया करते थे । लेकिन आज वह हालत नहीं है । जो हमारे हरिजन लोग हैं, पिछड़ी जाति के लोग हैं, वे शादी विवाहों में होड़ लगाया करते थे कि कौन अधिक शराब देता है । जो अधिक शराब खर्च करता था वह बड़ा समझा जाता था । अब इन सब चीजों से फुसंत मिली, उनके बाल-बच्चों को राहत मिली । इसलिये यह योजना ऐसी है जिसका सीधा सम्बन्ध जनता से है । मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूं कि वह ऐसे लोगों से जो इसके खिलाफ वातावरण पैदा कर रहे हैं सतर्क रहे और इस योजना को तुरन्त सब जगह लागू करे ।

इसी प्रकार से आज हमारी अनिवार्य और निःशुल्क शिक्षा का प्रश्न है । हमने अपने संविधान के द्वारा देश के सामने वादा किया है कि हम गरीब जनता के, साधारण जनता के और उनके बाल-बच्चों के पढ़ने का इन्तजाम करेंगे, निःशुल्क शिक्षा का इन्तजाम करेंगे । परन्तु इस देश में अनिवार्य शिक्षा तो दूर रही, निःशुल्क शिक्षा का भी प्रबन्ध अच्छी तरह से नहीं हुआ है । यह जो योजना है उसकी तरफ भी ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये । आज देश के लोग सोच रहे हैं कि जहां से हम अरबों रुपये योजना के ऊपर खर्च कर रहे हैं उसमें से ही क्या शिक्षा की दिशा में राहत नहीं दे सकते देश की साधारण जनता को । अगर आज ऐसा नहीं होता तो फिर कब समय आयेगा जब हम शिक्षा

[श्री बै० ना० कुरील]

की और कदम बढ़ायेंगे और साधारणजनता के बच्चों को निशुल्क शिक्षा देंगे, और उनको ऊंचे उठने का मौका देंगे? आज हमारा उद्देश्य है कि हम सब को समानता का अधिकार देंगे, सब को समान अवसर देने और उन्नति करने का मौका देंगे। यह योजना भी ऐसी है जिसके बारे में हमारी मांग है कि उसके ऊपर ध्यान दिया जाये और विचार किया जाये।

इसी तरह से आप की बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएं चल रही हैं। हमारी शुभकामनाएं हैं कि वे सफल हों। लेकिन गांवों में कहीं-कहीं अभी भी जो हमारी मूल आवश्यकता की चीजें हैं वे उपलब्ध नहीं हो रही हैं, जैसे पीने का पानी। किसी-किसी गांव में अभी तक पीने का पानी नहीं मिल पाया है और रहने का स्थान नहीं है। लोग घर बनाना चाहते हैं, लेकिन उनको घर बनाने के लिए जगह नहीं है। इन चीजों की तरफ भी ध्यान दिया जाये। सरकार के पास मशिनरी तो है ब्लाक डेवलपमेंट की। उनमें सर्व कशया जाये कि कितने गांवों में अभी तक कुएँ नहीं हो पाये हैं और कहां पानी की आवश्यकता है और कितने गांवों में ऐसे लोग हैं जो घर बनाना चाहते हैं। उनको घर बनाने का स्थान देना चाहिए।

मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से एक सीधा प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूँ। हाउस में भी और बाहर भी इस प्रकार की धारणा बन चुकी है कि गरीब गरीब होता जा रहा है और धनी अधिक धनी होता जा रहा है। मैं इसका उत्तर चाहता हूँ। या तो यह गलत है तो इसका तर्क वह बतावें। और यदि यह सही है तो यह बतावें कि सरकार ने इस दिशा में क्या कदम उठाये हैं कि धनी अधिक धनी न हो और जो गरीब हैं वे अधिक गरीब न होने पायें बल्कि धनी हों।

एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ। कल या परसों श्री रामेश्वर टांटिया ने कहा था कि राजस्थान और उत्तर प्रदेश में गोबध

होता है। राजस्थान की तो मैं नहीं जानता लेकिन उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार ने तो इसके विरुद्ध कानून बनाया है जिसका नाम है ऐंटी काऊ स्लाटर ऐक्ट। इसके अन्तर्गत इस काम को जुर्म करार दिया गया है और उसके लिए सजा दी जाती है।

यही कुछ बातें हैं जिनको मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता था। गांवों में जो आपके टैक्स का सीधा असर पड़ा है वह मैं समझता हूँ कि मिट्टी के तेल का पड़ा है। और लोगों ने भी इसके बारे में कहा है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी इस पर पुनर्विचार करें।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बजट का समर्थन करता हूँ।

**Shri Kodiyan (Quilon—Reserved—Sch. Castes):** I have many points to deal with, but since the time at my disposal is short, I shall only touch upon two points. The first point that I wish to refer to is the question of foreign collaboration. Since I have no time to go into the details, I wish to point out only the new shift of policy that have come into being with regard to this particular question.

I want to draw the attention of this House to an article written by Mr. Josseleyn Henessy, who was formerly the Director of Public Information in the former British Government of India. Writing under the caption 'Indo-British financial co-operation' in the *Calcutta Statesman's Supplement on the Royal Visit*, he says:

"In the 77 new collaborative ventures, licensed since 1956-57 requiring new capital issues in India, three of the foreign firms were allowed to establish wholly foreign-owned subsidiaries and 25 were allowed to take between 50 to 99 per cent of the total capital in the new enterprises."

Mr. Hennessy has particular cause for satisfaction because

"out of these 77 collaborative ventures mentioned above, the UK led with no fewer than 31 (more than 40 per cent)."

Then, I wish to refer to certain new developments which indicate a further liberalisation of Government's policy with regard to private foreign capital. It is reported that:

"The West Bengal Government has decided to set up a Rs. 25 crores fertiliser factory in Durgapur, which will be erected and operated in collaboration with a consortium of a number of US firms. This consortium will hold the controlling shares of 51 per cent of the paid-up capital. The State Government is stated to have been given the option to purchase 2 per cent of the shares held by the consortium after about ten years of operation so that it can become the major partner. This is perhaps for the first time in free India that the State has entered into collaboration as the junior partner with foreign firms."

I want to know whether it is the policy of the Government of India to permit the State Governments to enter into collaboration with foreign companies for starting industries here. I also want to know whether the West Bengal Government have got the permission of the Central Government to enter into such an agreement with these US firms.

Another new development that we can see is in the oil industry. It was declared by Government that exploration of oil in India would be reserved exclusively for the public sector. But, now, we see that Government have invited foreign oil monopolies to participate in the exploration of oil in this country. The pressure is so great that even our Minister for Mines and Oil who has so long effec-

tively rebuffed every attempt on the part of the foreign oil companies to penetrate into our prospective oil industry has partly succumbed to the great pressure in support of a policy of entering into collaboration with foreign oil companies in this particular sphere.

Then recently, a centre has been set up in Delhi, namely the Indian Investment Centre, which was even inaugurated by our Finance Minister himself. All these new developments show a further liberalisation of the policy pursued by Government in relation to participation of private foreign capital in the Indian economy. We in this House have already pointed out on several occasions earlier the dangerous implications of the increasing inflow of private foreign capital into India.

The next point that I wish to refer to is the food problem. The hon. Deputy Minister of Finance yesterday gave a rosy picture of the Indian economy. I do not deny the fact that in the First Plan and the Second Plan, and more especially in the Second Plan, there has been an increase in the total production, in both the industrial and the agricultural sectors. Yesterday, the hon. Deputy Minister of Finance stated that agricultural production had increased to the extent of 40 per cent, and he has based his figures on those of 1950-51; in other words, he has taken the year 1950-51 as the base year, which was, in fact, a worse year, so far as agricultural production was concerned. In the previous year, that is, the year 1949-50, the agricultural production was greater than in the year 1950-51; the production in the base year 1950-51 was of the order of 52 million tons, but from the figures supplied by Government themselves, we find that in the year 1949-50, the actual agricultural production was to the tune of 57 million tons. If we calculate on the basis of 57 million tons of agricultural production in the

year 1949-50, we can see that the actual increase in agricultural production is far less than 40 per cent which has been claimed by the Deputy Minister. This is a very vital problem. The hon. Finance Minister has rightly stated in his speech that a substantial increase in food production will be the actual foundation on which the Plan will have to rest, and he has appealed to farmers, and to official and non-official agencies engaged in the development of agriculture to concentrate their efforts on achieving the targets set in the Third Plan. But moving at the present rate. I do not think that the target of 100 million tons of foodgrains set out in the Third Plan will be reached. We have spent crores of rupees on agriculture. I have got with me here the figures, but since I have no time, I do not want to quote all the figures. Since Independence, we might have spent about Rs. 1500 crores for increasing our agricultural production, more especially our food production. The Second Five Year Plan target was fixed at 80.5 million tons of foodgrains. But actually we expect to produce at the end of the Second Plan only 75 million tons. So we are short so far as the target is concerned. We are behind schedule. This question which has been engaging the attention of Government for so long a time and on which we have spent crores of rupees still remains one of the vital problems that may perhaps even adversely affect the progress of our Plans.

Look at the staggering figures of import of foodgrains into our country. We might have imported about 35 million tons of foodgrains since independence. I have got figures with regard to the value of imports. Upto November 1960, the total value of foodgrains imported is Rs. 1,169 crores. So just imagine how much of our valuable foreign exchange is being drained in this way. There are various factors which are involved in this particular problem which we must take into account if we want to solve this problem. The hon. Minister has

appealed to farmers to concentrate their effort on achieving this target. But so far as the farmers and cultivators are concerned, what is their position? Reference to has been made to the Second Report of the Agricultural Labour Inquiry. Yesterday the hon. Deputy Minister refuted some of the figures mentioned by Acharya Kripalani. He said that the method of inquiry was different; so it could not be compared with the report of the First Inquiry. He has further stated that the wages of agricultural labour have not gone down. But how has he come to this conclusion? The Report says with regards to agricultural labour that the wage earned by agricultural labour at the time of the First Inquiry was comparatively higher than non-agricultural wages, but it was observed that in this period it was on the reverse. Also the benefit of whatever additional production we have been able to achieve in the agricultural sector has not gone to the actual tillers of the soil. The value of additional agricultural production in this period is calculated to be Rs. 1,700 crores. Out of it, Rs. 600 crores have gone to just 3 per cent of the agriculturists, and this 3 per cent of the agriculturists are the big producers. Now the condition of the rural poor has not only not improved, but in actual experience we find that it has deteriorated. 69 per cent of the rural population belong to the category agricultural labour and small peasants. Out of this, we find that the percentage of agricultural labour households with land in 1950-51 was 49.93; in 1955-56, it was 42.80. The percentage of those without land in 1950-51 was 50.07 and in 1956-57, it increased to 57.13. That means the number of agricultural labourers and small peasants without land has increased while that of those with land has decreased.

Now, a rural agricultural household has on the average 5.21 persons, out of which 28.1 per cent are earners, 16.6 per cent are earning dependents and

55.3 per cent. are non-earning members. All this clearly shows that whatever benefit has accrued due to the increase in agricultural production, has not gone to the real peasants but has gone only to those sections which exploit the poorer sections of the rural population.

Now, I want to impress one thing upon Government: unless we take effective steps to increase our food production, the success of our Third Plan would also be adversely affected. Since we are spending a large amount of money and since we are not getting the return that we expected out of this huge expenditure, I would request the hon. Speaker to appoint a Standing Parliamentary Committee to go into this question, particularly to scrutinise the heavy expenditure that is involved in this agricultural sector, so that these various programmes that have been taken in hand may be expedited and necessary advice may be given to the Food and Agriculture Ministry. I know that Government are considering the appointment of an Agricultural Commission to go into the various aspects of this question. I would request Government to come to a speedy decision on that. I am in favour of appointing such a high-power Commission. We have got reports of various programme evaluation teams, but nobody gives any attention to them. So a high-power probe is necessary. I hope Government would come to a speedy conclusion with regard to the appointment of the proposed Agricultural Commission. I would also request that my suggestion for the appointment of a Standing Parliamentary Committee may also be considered.

**Shri Palaniyandy** (Perambalur): At the outset, I would congratulate the Finance Minister and Government on the strength of mind with which they have planned for the industrial development of our country. It is a heroic attempt on the part of Government to plan for Rs. 12,000 crores in the Third Five Year Plan of industrial development.

In the past three days, I have been hearing Opposition Members going on criticising Government quoting some statistics and also criticising statisticians about wrong figures. I am not an economics pundit, but as a layman, I can relate what I am seeing in our country after independence, how development is taking place. Especially in the State of Madras, under the leadership of our Chief Minister, Shri Kamaraj, and also under the guidance of our leaders, we are having very good advancement in the fields of education, irrigation, electricity and industrialisation. I am not saying that all work is over. But this is a humble attempt on the part of Government in our march towards development.

As far as education is concerned, I can boldly say that in our State, we are having middle schools as well as elementary schools in all villages where there is a population of more than 300. For every three miles we are having a middle school and for every five a high school. If you take technical education, we are having a polytechnic for each and every district. In some districts, we are having more.

13 hrs.

So far as irrigation is concerned, in Madras State we have tapped all the sources. Now we are trying to get more water from the States of Kerala and Andhra for our irrigation. The Kerala Government have agreed to have the Parambikulam project, and we are expecting the Andhra Government to agree to give us water from the Krishna and the Godavari. Here I wish to impress on the Government the necessity of having thorough investigations into the question of connecting the Ganga in the north and the Cauvery in the south, the two sacred rivers, not only for purposes of irrigation, but also to provide inland navigational transport facilities.

Yesterday Shri Sampath stated that in Madras Assembly, in order to save

[Shri Palniyandy]

the skin of the Minister, they were giving some false assurance about the steel plant etc. He is not here, but I want to say that my hon. friend first has to save his skin from his party members. He and other leaders or nobody else in the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam have no traditions of the national movement, because, even though I may have some difference of opinion about his uncle, Shri E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker, he and people like him are people who had some traditional in the national movement. But all the block of the people in the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in the south have no tradition at all in the national movement. I know they passed a resolution in their conferences in 1944, 1945 and 1948 not to give free education more than high school stage, and also not to give free technical education to the poor people. That is the party now talking about south, north and all these things about development.

Here I want to say a word about the steel plant. The Madras Government has already sent iron ore as well as lignite samples for testing. After getting it tested, anyhow Government have to take immediate action to implement the steel plant at Salem.

About heavy electricals, when I was in the Madras Assembly, I was told that a heavy electrical plant was going to be installed in Madras State in the Second Plan itself. It has gone to Bhopal, and I am not sorry, but at least in the Third Plan I hope they will install a heavy electricals plant in Madras State, especially as the Czechoslovak experts have been to Trichy and located a suitable site there.

In our secular State, I wish to point out one discriminatory policy about scholarships. We are giving scholarships to the backward classes as well as the Harijans. I am not saying anything against this, but the converted backward class Christians as well as the Harijan Christians are not given

this facility because they are converts, but it is not their fault. Their parents or their forefathers might have been converted because of so many reasons. Why is our Government not giving scholarship to these people? Their lot has not improved in any way. From the cultural, economic or any other point of view, their lot has not in any way improved. So, Government has to make some allocation to these people, to give free education at least to these down trodden people. I am not talking of jobs or any such thing.

Coming to the Budget, the Minister has aptly pointed out that from Rs. 370 crores, our revenue has gone up to Rs. 1,000 crores or so. I fully agree with the Finance Minister that we should find the maximum resources within the country to finance our Five Year Plan which is a blueprint of our national development. The attempt is it necessary to antagonise the people who are the backbone of our society, the middle and poor class people? In the conviction is the foundations of the Plan but this is opposite if you take the tax proposals. I appeal to the Minister to consider the taxation measures.

For instance, only a few months back our Government recognised the growing cost of living by giving the salaried classes a very modest increase in emoluments, which was admittedly not quite sufficient to compensate the increase in costs. Now, even the slight increase in emoluments is taken away from the middle class people by this taxation.

The Finance Minister has rightly argued that the levy on betel nuts is not going to affect the common man, that he is only going to mop up the profit of the trade. I had a discussion yesterday with a betel nut importer. He said there was a profit of two to three hundred per cent. But what is the machinery of Government to check a rise in the price of these things?

Coming to kerosene oil, I told the Finance Minister yesterday that especially in the South, we do not have this classification of superior or inferior kerosene oil. I have enquired from the kerosene dealers in Madras State also. They say there is no kerosene classified as inferior kerosene oil in Madras State and also in other States. Therefore, the Minister has to consider deeply about taxing this kerosene oil.

In regard to tea and coffee, the argument of our Prime Minister is that home consumption should be brought down, so that more can be sold abroad, but in the same breath he has said that the added cost is negligible and that the consumer is not really affected. I do not understand the logic of it. The Minister is known for his austere ways which have won for him esteem and regard, but it is not always better to mould the others also in his own image. Tea, coffee and cigarettes are not luxuries nowadays. I am not a man who smokes a cigarette, but the common man, the poor man has taken this habit. This tax should not unnecessarily burden them.

When we think of more employment in our Plan, we have to think of a particular sector, the self-employed people in our country, the handloom weavers. Handloom weavers are going to be affected by these measures. I only want to say that if the handloom weavers are going to be affected, and if the tax is going to raise the price of handloom yarn, automatically the price of handloom cloth is going to be increased. Thereby, it is a very great disadvantage to the handloom weavers. While thanking the hon. Minister for the exemption on cotton yarn of counts 11 to 40 being issued in hanks, I would like to bring it to his notice that the mills producing yarn never supply it to the handloom weavers in hanks. They supply it only in bundles of 200 to 400 lbs. So, the Minister should see that the benefit really goes to the handloom weavers. This lacuna should be filled.

**Shri D. A. Katti** (Chikodi): The Finance Minister, by presenting his Budget proposals, proposes to collect this time about Rs. 61 crores more, mostly by means of indirect taxation. Indirect taxation has been the general feature of several years' Budgets. Now, the taxation proposals have been severely criticised here, and even the Members from that side have expressed their grave concern over these proposals. There is a general feeling that these taxes would hit very badly the poor people. Already, because of these taxes, the people are very hard hit. They are overburdened with taxes. Their paying capacity has been fully exhausted, and now there is this addition which they cannot bear at all.

In spite of all this, while replying to the debate in the Rajya Sabha, our Finance Minister said that in the year 1948-49 the Government raised a revenue of Rs. 370 crores, but today they were getting more than Rs. 1,000 crores without any martial law and without any police methods, and he came to the conclusion that the paying capacity of the people was increasing, that incomes were increasing, and the country would be in a position to pay more revenue to the Government. This is very strange logic. It shows that he has not got a real idea of the people. When taxes are imposed on essential commodities, the prices go up immediately and the people are forced to purchase by begging, borrowing or stealing, and sometimes people go without these commodities also. They are living a miserable life. But the hon. Finance Minister says that the people have got the capacity to pay and that their incomes are increasing. 14-15 crores of people live in the countryside and depend upon agriculture and they earn 10-12 annas per day. They toil on other people's lands for this daily wage. That was so before ten years and that is so even today. Where is the increase? People are paying more and buying these things not because their incomes have increased but because they are exploit-

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ed. I do not know whether he has got any desire that the people should revolt to make the Government resort to police methods and martial law. It seems the hon. Finance Minister is very much fond of martial law and police methods. It was exhibited in Bombay when he was the Chief Minister and he wants to exhibit it here. People pay these prices because they want to survive, not because their incomes are increasing.

It was appreciated by somebody that even though this was pre-election year, the Finance Minister had come forward boldly with these taxes. But the Finance Minister know very well that so long as communalism is there in this country, so long as power is kept with them and so long as ignorance is there in the country and so long as they have the money, winning an election is very simple. It should not be a matter of pride. There is an argument that there is a Plan. The Plan is for plenty and prosperity. The objective is to make everybody happy and to raise the standard of living. It is very good. Government must have money. Let the people pay more. They will not mind. But my question is this: how is the money spent? Is it ill-spent or well-spent? Past experience has been very bad. During the last ten years thousands of crores of rupees were spent. What is the result? People were clothed before; they are half-naked now and living under starvation conditions. There is some development but the development is negligible. If the money is spent wisely, the advance would have been doubled or redoubled. Earning money is not very important; spending money wisely is more important. The Government is earning money like a beggar but spending money like a Moghul. They are bad managers of the finances. They are guided by the interests of certain sections of the people.

Very attractive figures are given to show that there is increase in national

wealth. But sometime back the Prime Minister said, while speaking on the Draft Outline of the Third Plan, that he did not know where that income had gone. It has gone into a few hands. There is concentration of wealth everybody knows it and everybody has said it. I would like to ask him how he would explain the term 'socialist pattern of society'. They collect money in the name of all people but spend it for a few people only. If that is your socialism, damn it: we will go without that socialism.

The Draft Outline of the Third Plan says that the benefits of the spending had not been derived by the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and other backward classes in the country. That comes to about 50 per cent of the people. Even then the Finance Minister says in the Rajya Sabha that there is something wrong with the people who say that there is no improvement in the rural India; they are prejudiced and they are not honest. Instead of reading bulletins and pamphlets describing rural India, I request the hon. Finance Minister to go to a village and see. You cannot satisfy me by showing some roads and bridges which are constructed. You must raise the standard of living of the people and you must enable people to lead a good life. What is good life? They should not be in starvation line. When our Communist friends say that there is no development and more ought to have been done, they say: go and ask your master, Mr. Khrushchev. To somebody else they say: go and ask the Queen of England. Why is this sort of certificate or advice given? You may go and ask the people whether there is any change in their life? It is no use to point out these big dignitaries. They see some steel plants and some dams; they have not seen real India and the Finance Minister also is not having any real idea about real India.



The taxes on kerosene, diesel oil and lower grade tobacco should be re-considered. Tea and tobacco, as my hon. friends have said before, are no more luxuries. Suppose they are small luxuries. People use it for hooka. We are hitting these people. It is the common people who make use of the kerosene for lighting purposes. The hon. Finance Minister said that they should not smoke because he wanted to take care of their health. The students in the rural areas read in the light of kerosene. Inferior quality kerosene will give very dim light and it will certainly affect their eye sight. He is not bothered about the health of these students.

He said also that people criticised but they did not come forward with suggestions. When we make suggestions, they are not considered. We suggested that prohibition should be left; it is very bad. He introduced it in Bombay first. It has proved an utter failure there. It is a fad or sentiment with him. Because of prohibition there is so much of illicit distillation. He expressed his worry about the health of the people. Because of mixing some sulphate and producing liquor illicitly, so many people are getting leprosy. I have seen so many people suffering from leprosy because of this country liquor. If you care for the health of the people, why not prevent people from resorting to such methods?

**Shri N. N. Patel** (Bulsar—Reserv-  
ed—Sch. Tribes): Why do you not  
advise them to leave drinking?

**Shri D. A. Katti**: When there are  
more important things to do, why are  
you so much for prohibition? It has  
not stopped people from drinking. In  
my village, in every house there is  
that Hakbathi—which is called by the  
name 'Morarji' because our Finance  
Minister introduced it there. He  
would be interested to know this  
thing. Prohibition should go so that  
you can get money. Those who want  
to drink will pay; why unnecessarily  
tax the others?

Secondly, he said that nobody had  
made any suggestion as regards tax  
on salt. A suggestion was made  
earlier. It was not made this time  
perhaps. But there is some sentiment.  
He says that people make use of salt  
and if salt is taxed poor people will  
be hit very hard. But poor people  
are also hit if cloth is taxed. That is  
no argument. I suggest that it would  
be the best thing to levy a tax on salt  
also because it is so cheap.

Thirdly, there is a great deal of  
waste and extravagance. The people  
are starving. The people are half  
naked. Is it not a waste to construct  
palatial buildings to house your offices  
when the people are starving, when  
the people are half naked? Such  
wastes should be avoided.

I understand that in the Indian  
Embassy at America there is a free  
primary school for the children of the  
staff. In spite of that, Sir, I am told  
that our staff get an education allow-  
ance for primary education. A good  
deal of money is wasted like that for  
nothing.

There are welfare centres in many  
places. There is a welfare centre in  
my place over which a sum of  
Rs. 8,000 to 10,000 is spent every year.  
I see nobody there. The rooms are  
always locked. Two ladies have  
been appointed at that centre over  
whom a sum of Rs. 2,000 is spent.  
The balance of Rs. 6,000 is a waste.  
There are many such schemes which  
are useless, which are unrealistic.  
You must do away with those things  
and you will get a good deal of money.

Then I come to the question of tax  
evasion. Nobody can escape indirect  
taxation. But people can escape pay-  
ing direct taxes. Some businessmen  
who are my friends say that if a  
businessman does not know how to  
evade a tax he is not a businessman  
at all. They say that a businessman  
must be first trained how to evade a  
tax. Some suggestion was made that  
those who collect the tax must be kept  
satisfied. Sir, those who are getting

[Shri D. A. Katti]

Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 as pay are also corrupt. There is a temptation to become corrupt. So you must adopt some drastic remedies to collect the taxes. You are allowing the rich people to evade payment of the direct taxes whereas you are not willing to allow the poor people to escape payment of taxes. This is the state of affairs. That is why, Sir, I feel, as Shri Dange has said, this is an "anti-people" budget—I agree with him.

**श्री रा० श० मिश्र (फँजावाद) :**

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका आभारी हूँ कि आप ने मुझे भी बजट के सामान्य वाद विवाद में भाग लेने का अवसर दिया।

सन् १९६१-६२ का बजट तृतीय पंच वर्षीय योजना के प्रथम वर्ष का बजट है और इस में कुल मिना कर १४३ करोड़ रु० की व्यवस्था तृतीय योजना के लिये की गई है। अतः यह स्वाभाविक प्रश्न उठता है कि हम ने पहली और दूसरी योजनाओं में इतना भारी रकम व्यय की और उस के द्वारा लगभग ७००० करोड़ रु० पब्लिक से कर में लगाया उस से हम योजना में निर्धारित लक्ष्यों को प्राप्त करने में कहां तक सफल हुए हैं। इस दृष्टि में विचार करने पर हमें पता चलता है कि कई एक विषयों में रुखा लगाने के बावजूद हम अपना लक्ष्य प्राप्त नहीं कर सके हैं। उदाहरण के लिये अन्नोत्पादन को लेंजिये, जिस पर कि हमारे देश का भविष्य निर्भर करता है। अन्नोत्पादन के सम्बन्ध में दूसरी योजना में ८० मिलियन टन का लक्ष्य रखा गया था, परन्तु उस में हम मुश्किल से ७५ मिलियन टन के लगभग उत्पादन कर सके हैं। बीच बीच में एक आठ वर्ष अन्नोत्पादन की मात्रा में उत्तरोत्तर वृद्धि होने के बजाय कमी भी हुई है। इस से सारे देश में काफी परेशानी हुई और खाद्यान्नों के दाम बढ़ गये। खाद्य मंत्री महोदय ने हमारी अन्न की कमी को समस्या को हल करने के लिये अमरीका से अन्न मंगा कर इस कमी की

पूर्ति करने का प्रबन्ध किया है। परन्तु यह मोचने का विषय है कि हम बाहर से अन्न मंगा कर कब तक अपने देश की अन्न की कमी की पूर्ति करते रहेंगे। तीसरी योजना में अन्नोत्पादन के सम्बन्ध में १०० मिलियन टन का लक्ष्य रखा गया है। जिस प्रकार से प्रथम और दूसरी पंच वर्षीय योजनाओं में हमें इस क्षेत्र में सफलता नहीं मिली उस को देखते हुए हमें इस बात को काफी आशंका है कि तीसरी योजना में भी हम यह १०० मिलियन टन अन्नोत्पादन करने में समर्थ होंगे या नहीं।

अन्नोत्पादन के पश्चात् उर्वरक का प्रश्न आता है जो कि हमारे अन्नोत्पादन के लिये अत्यन्त आवश्यक वस्तु है। दूसरी योजना में उर्वरक के लिये ३७०,००० टन नाइट्रोजन के निर्माण का लक्ष्य रखा गया था, परन्तु अभी तक हम मुश्किल से २१०,००० टन उर्वरक का उत्पादन करने में समर्थ हुए हैं। इस योजना के अन्तर्गत गंगल और करकेला में भी फर्टिलाइजर्स के कारखाने खोलने का लक्ष्य था परन्तु अभी तक यह नहीं मान्य कि उन स्थानों पर कब तक फर्टिलाइजर का उत्पादन होने लगेगा। तीसरी योजना में फर्टिलाइजर का १ मिलियन टन का लक्ष्य रखा गया है। जिस प्रकार से अभी तक इस विषय में दिलाई हुई है उसे देखते हुए इस बात की पूरी आशंका है कि अगली योजना में हम यह लक्ष्य प्राप्त कर सकेंगे अथवा नहीं।

कोला और लोहा हमारे देश के औद्योगीकरण के लिये अत्यन्त आवश्यक है और इस विषय में पिछली योजनाओं में काफी जोर दिया गया था। इस्पात के लिये दूसरी योजना में ४.३ मिलियन टन का लक्ष्य था परन्तु अभी तक हम केवल २.६ मिलियन टन इस्पात का उत्पादन करने में ही हम समर्थ हुए हैं। कोयले के सम्बन्ध में भी हमारा निर्धारित लक्ष्य ६० मिलियन टन था, लेकिन हम मुश्किल से ५४ मिलियन टन तक पहुंच सके हैं।

जहां तक हमारी राष्ट्रीय आय का सम्बन्ध है, दूसरी योजना में राष्ट्रीय आय में २५ प्रतिशत वृद्धि करने का लक्ष्य रखा गया था। परन्तु दूसरी योजना के प्रथम चार वर्षों में हम केवल १२.२ प्रतिशत वृद्धि कर सके हैं और इस वर्ष लगभग ६ प्रतिशत वृद्धि होने का अनुमान है। इस प्रकार कुल मिला कर हम केवल १८.२ प्रतिशत की वृद्धि कर सके हैं। पूरा लक्ष्य प्राप्त करना अभी क़ी दूर है।

बेकारी की समस्या के सम्बन्ध में दूसरी योजना में ८० लाख व्यक्तियों को रोजगार दिलाने का लक्ष्य रखा गया था, परन्तु इस में भी हम लक्ष्य प्राप्त नहीं कर सके और केवल ६५ लाख व्यक्तियों को काम दिला पाने में समर्थ हुए हैं। वास्तविकता तो यह है कि दूसरी योजना में बेकारी की संख्या में जितनी वृद्धि हुई है उस से कम व्यक्तियों को हम रोजगार दिला पाये हैं। एक कल्याणकारी राज्य के लिये यह परम आवश्यक है कि उस के अन्दर सभी नागरिकों के लिये काम की व्यवस्था हो। अतः मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि वे देश की बेकारी की समस्या को हल करने के लिये विशेष तरीके पर ध्यान दें।

बेकारी की समस्या के साथ साथ हमारे देश के अन्दर खेतिहर मजदूरों की समस्या भी काफी शोचनीय है। सन् १९५६-५७ की ऐथिकल्चर लेबर एन्क्वायरी कमेटी की रिपोर्ट के अनुसार खेतिहर मजदूरों की दशा सन् १९५०-५१ के मुकाबले में भी खराब हो गई है। उन के कुल १६.३ मिलियन परिवारों में से ६३.९ प्रतिशत परिवार ऋणग्रस्त पाये गये जब कि सन् १९५०-५१ में केवल ४५ प्रतिशत परिवार ऋणी थे।

इस प्रकार से पहली और दूसरी योजनाओं के काल में जो कार्य किये गये उन का लेखा जोखा देखने पर प्रतीत होता है कि हमारे

देश की अधिकांश जनता को इन योजनाओं का पूरा लाभ नहीं हुआ। देश के अन्दर वस्तुओं के मूल्यों में जो वृद्धि हुई है उस के कारण सारी जनता को परेशानी है। पिछले पांच वर्षों के अन्दर हमारे देश में होलसेल प्राइस में लगभग २५ प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई और अकेले इस वर्ष लगभग ६ प्रतिशत वृद्धि हुई। मैं मानता हूँ कि डबलपिंग एकानमी में कुछ न कुछ मूल्यों की वृद्धि होनी आवश्यक है और थोड़ी वृद्धि आपत्तिजनक नहीं होगी, लेकिन जिस रफ्तार से यह वृद्धि हो रही है उस को देखते हुए काफी निचता होती है।

तीसरी योजना के सम्पादन के लिए यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि दामों में वृद्धि न हो और यथासम्भव मूल्यों में स्थिरता कायम रखी जाय। कम से कम खाद्यान्न के मामले में तो निश्चित रूप से अधिकतम और न्यूनतम मूल्य निर्धारित कर देना चाहिए जिससे कि उत्पादकों को अशोत्पादन की प्रेरणा मिले और उपभोक्ताओं को भी उचित मूल्य पर खाद्यान्न मिल सके।

जहां तक सन् १९६०-६१ के बजट के आंकड़ों का सम्बन्ध है अगले वर्ष के लिए ९६२-९२ करोड़ रुपये की आय का अनुमान किया गया है और १०२३.५२ करोड़ के व्यय का अनुमान लगाया गया है। इस प्रकार ६०-६० करोड़ का घाटा रहेगा। गत वर्ष भी ६०-७० करोड़ के घाटे का बजट था लेकिन अन्त में वह घाटा कम हो कर केवल ३३.६६ करोड़ रह गया था। ऐसा लगता है कि बजट बनाने के सम्बन्ध में जो तरीका अपनाया जाता है वह काफी डिफेक्टिव है और अनुमान के आंकड़े बनाते समय इस बात पर ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता कि किस प्रकार सही आंकड़े तैयार किये जायें।

[श्री रा० रा० मिश्र]

पब्लिक एकाउंट्स कमेटी ने इस सम्बन्ध में इस महीने की रिपोर्ट में पैरा ५ में कुछ खास बातें कही हैं। वे इस प्रकार हैं :

"Obviously, these large savings occurring over a large number of grants indicate defective budgeting. In a planned economy, preparing the budget is more an administrative task with a view to translate into action the planning decisions previously reached. In other words, the financial system has only to ensure that the right amount of money is available in the right place in accordance with the plan. The Committee are, therefore, concerned to see such wide fluctuations between the budget provisions and the accomplishments at the close of the year. The Committee would once again like to impress upon the Ministries the necessity for correctly estimating their requirements and working up to them with the closest degree of approximation, making a periodical review of the progress of expenditure during the year."

तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि फाइनेन्स विभाग के कर्मचारियों को बजट के आंकड़े तैयार करने में अधिक सावधानी से काम लेना चाहिए।

जहाँ तक इस वर्ष लगाये गये टैक्सों का सम्बन्ध है, मैं समझता हूँ कि ६० करोड़ के टैक्सों में से केवल ३ करोड़ रुपया डाइरेक्ट टैक्स से प्राप्त करने का अनुमान है और ५७ करोड़ इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सों से प्राप्त किया जायेगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि डाइरेक्ट टैक्स से बहुत कम टैक्स वसूल करने का अनुमान किया गया है। डाइरेक्ट टैक्सों में वृद्धि करने की गुंजाइश है और मेरा सुझाव है कि सरकार डाइरेक्ट कर और बढ़ाने के सम्बन्ध में सोच विचार करे और जो व्यापारी वर्ग को अधिक मुनाफा हो रहा है उसको देश के कामों के लिए प्राप्त करे।

जहाँ तक इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सों का सम्बन्ध है, यह निश्चित है कि सरकार को दियासलाई

पर टैक्स लगाने से कोई ज्यादा लाभ नहीं होगा जैसा कि वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपने भाषण में भी बतलाया है। अगर इससे लाभ होने का अनुमान नहीं था तो फिर दियासलाई पर क्यों टैक्स लगाया गया और मंच बाक्स को स्टैंडर्ड साइज का बनाने के लिए उतावली क्यों की गयी ?

मिट्टी के तेल के सम्बन्ध में भी यही बात कही जा सकती है। गांवों में इस टैक्स से लोगों को बहुत तकलीफ हो रही है और यद्यपि केवल ऊंचे किस्म के तेल पर कर लगाया गया है लेकिन घटिया किस्म के तेल के दाम भी बढ़ गये हैं और एक टिन पर १० आना दाम बढ़ गया है। ऐसी दशा में मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि वह इस टैक्स पर पुनः विचार करें और थोड़ी छूट दें।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** अब तो माननीय सदस्य को बस करना चाहिए।

**श्री रा० रा० मिश्र :** भाषा मिनट और। अन्त में मैं देश की शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में भी दो शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ . . .

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** शिक्षा के ऊपर माननीय सदस्य तब आये हैं जब वक्त पूरा हो गया। अब आप खत्म करें। श्री ब्रजेश।

मैं माननीय सदस्य से कहूंगा कि वह बहुत लेट आये हैं और उनका वक्त मैं बांट चुका हूँ। अब अब उनको बहुत कम वक्त लेना चाहिए।

**पंडित ब्रजनारायण ब्रजेश (शिवपुरी) :**  
कृष्णम् बन्दे जगद्गुरुम्।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय,** बजट के सम्बन्ध में सम्माननीय सदस्यों ने गम्भीरता पूर्वक अध्ययन करने के पश्चात् जो त्रुटियाँ दिखायी हैं उन पर प्रकाश डाला है।

मैं समझता हूँ कि जो बातें यहां कही गयी हैं उनके सम्बन्ध में वित्त मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान बिल्कुल गया ही न हो अथवा वह जानते न हों ऐसा मैं नहीं मानता। देश की स्थिति कुछ ऐसी बन गयी है। देश में प्रजातंत्र आया बड़ी बरबादी के बाद, दासता के बाद और देश में अशिक्षा है और दासता की भावना अभी तक गयी नहीं है। इसलिए प्रजातंत्र को जिस प्रकार फलीभूत होना चाहिए था वह पृष्ठभूमि उसे प्राप्त नहीं हुई है। प्रजातंत्र को सफल करने के लिए जिन आदर्शों और उद्देश्यों को लेकर किसी शासन को चलना चाहिए उस प्रकार से शासन चल नहीं पाता, और येनकेन प्रकारेण अपना कार्य सिद्ध करने के लिए उसे रूप रेखा बनानी पड़ती है। टैक्सेशन का भी यही कारण है। जहां हमारे प्रजातंत्र में कहीं प्राप्तीयता, कहीं भाषावाद, कहीं जातिवाद, कहीं वर्गवाद का झगड़ा खड़ा है, वैसे ही पालिसीवाद भी हमारे सिर पर सवार है। हर एक को येनकेन प्रकारेण अपना काम चलाना है।

पार्टियों के लिए पैसा चाहिए, शासन को चलाने के लिए भी चाहिए, और अब चुनाव आ रहा है तो जैसे ग्रहण के पूर्व सूतक लगता है वैसे ही यह चुनाव का सूतक आरम्भ हो गया है। प्रत्येक के मस्तिष्क में चुनाव धूमता है। पार्लियामेंट में बैठ कर डिबेट में भाग लेना और सुनना उतना आवश्यक नहीं है जितना चुनाव के लिए योजना बनाना। तो पैसा कहां से आये? पैसा मिलता है पूंजीपतियों से। उनको यदि नाराज करेंगे तो पैसा कहां से आयेगा। गरीब पर अगर टैक्स लगेगा तो थोड़ी हाय हाय करेगा लेकिन अगर उसको समय पर घेर लिया तो बोट लिया जा सकता है। यह जो स्थिति देश के अन्दर है इसके कारण गरीब अधिक गरीब हो रहा है और मालदार अधिक मालदार हो रहा है। मालदार अपना पैसा बचाने के लिये प्रयत्न करता है। बड़ा कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का प्रभाव था कारण कि अपोजीशन का शासन पर दबाव पड़ता है

और उसको देख कर चलना पड़ता है। लेकिन चीन के आक्रमण ने कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को दुबल कर दिया। इसलिए अब शासन को कम्युनिस्टों का उतना डर नहीं रह गया है जितना डर राजा जी का लगने लगा है। राजाजी पूंजीपतियों के लिए बोलते हैं, कम्युनिस्ट गरीबों के लिए बोलते हैं लेकिन दोनों को ध्यान में रख कर भी तो किसी को बोलना है। न हम कोई पूंजीपतियों के शत्रु हैं और न हम गरीबों के हैं। हमने किसी को नाराज नहीं करना है।

इस संसार में मालदार होना कोई अपराध नहीं है और निर्धन होना कोई बरदान नहीं है। देश में निर्धन भी नहीं रहने चाहिए, पर ऐसे धनवान भी नहीं रहने चाहिए कि जिनके कारण दूसरों को निर्धन होने के लिए बाध्य होना पड़े। पर आज होता क्या है। डाइरेक्ट कर जो लगना चाहिए वह तो लगता नहीं इनडाइरेक्ट कर लगता है और स्थिति ऐसी है कि जैसे सरकार ने कर लगाये वैसे ही पूंजीपति अपना घर भरने की सोचने लगे और दाम बढ़ना आरम्भ हो जाता है। पैसे वालों के लिए सबसे बड़ी छूट सरकार की तरफ से क्या मिली हुई है कि सरकार टैक्स तो लगा देती है लेकिन उसके कारण पदावर्षों का मूल्य किस सीमा तक बढ़ना चाहिए इसको निर्धारित करने के लिए कुछ नहीं किया जाता। पूंजीपतियों की जो मर्जी में आता है उसना दाम निर्धारित कर देते हैं। अगर उनको एक रुपये गज कपड़ा पड़ता है तो उस पर डेढ़ रुपये गज की मोहर लगा देते हैं और वह बाजार में डेढ़ रुपये गज बिकता है। तो इस तरह वह मुनाफा कमाते हैं और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री कहते हैं कि हम एक कमेटी बिठायेंगे यह पता लगाने के लिये कि यह मुनाफा कहां जाता है। जहां जाता है यह तो सीधा सामने है।

इसी तरह से आप कच्चे माल को लीजिये। रा मॅटीरियल से हम को आमदनी होती है।

[पंडित ब्रज नारायण "ब्रजेश"]

गन्ना भी एक रा मँटीरियल है। गन्ने का हाल यह है कि आज से आठ इस वर्ष पूर्व जब गन्ने का भाव २ रुपये मन था तो हम को शकर १२ आने सेर मिलती थी। अब इस समय हाल यह है कि गन्ने का भाव जैन साहब के समय में १ रुपया ६ आने मन था, अब पाटिल साहब के समय में १ रुपया १० आना मन है, लेकिन शकर हमको मिलती है १ रुपया सेर। जब दो रुपया मन गन्ना था तो १२ आना सेर शकर मिलती थी अब जब गन्ने का भाव कम हो गया है तो १ रुपया सेर मिलती है। तो यह मुनाफा कहाँ जाता है? मिल वालों के पास। अब इसके बाद चुनाव में पार्टी के प्रोपेगंडे के लिए पैसा चाहिये तो उनसे मिलेगा। तो उन्होंने ख़ाया और आप ने ले लेना है। और बीच वाले ने मरजाना है। उन को तो कोई लाभ मिलता नहीं है।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** आपने यह दरमियान वाला रास्ता क्यों पकड़ लिया ?

**पंडित ब्रज नारायण "ब्रजेश" :** दरमियान का रास्ता लेकर बैलेंस जो बराबर करना है क्योंकि बैलेंस बराबर नहीं होगा तो पलड़ा ऊंचे नीचे जायगा।

मेरा कहना यह है कि जहाँ हमें सम्पत्ति वालों को देखना है वहाँ निर्धनों को भी हमें देखना चाहिए। कर लगाने में ख़ास तौर से जो उपभोक्ता हैं उनको ध्यान में नहीं रखा जाता है और परिणामतः साधारण जनता उनके कारण कष्ट पाती है। स्टैन्डर्ड आफ लिविंग जहाँ जरा ऊंचा हुआ तो कर्मचारी वर्ग में हाहाकार मच जाता है और सरकार उनके १०, ५ रुपये बढ़ा देती है। जहाँ वस्तुओं के दाम बढ़े और कर्मचारियों ने शोर किया और एजिटेशन किया तो सरकार १०, ५ रुपये बढ़ा देती है और उनका एजिटेशन शांत हो जाता है। अब आप बतते हैं केवल १० रुपये लेकिन स्टैन्डर्ड आफ लिविंग ऊंचा होने के कारण उनका अतिरिक्त खर्च २५ रुपये पड़ता है। अब यह सिलसिला स्टैन्डर्ड आफ लिविंग ऊंचा होने का और

उनके एजिटेशन को शांत करने के लिए हर मर्तबा उनकी तनख्वाहों में ५, १० रुपये की बढ़ोतरी करना, आखिर कब तक चलेगा? वस्तुओं के दाम बढ़ने की कोई सीमा निर्धारित हो जानी चाहिए कि इससे अधिक वस्तुओं के दाम नहीं बढ़ेंगे वरना कर्मचारियों में असन्तोष बना ही रहेगा और आपको उनके एजिटेशनों को शांत करने के लिए उनकी तनख्वाहों में कुछ न कुछ बढ़ोतरी करनी ही पड़ेगी। मेरी समझ में यह देश के हित में न होगा और राष्ट्र निर्माण का कार्य सुचारू रूप से न चलेगा क्योंकि वे कर्मचारी लोग रात दिन इसी स्टैन्डर्ड आफ लिविंग ऊंचा होने और उसके फलस्वरूप एजिटेशन करने और अपनी तनख्वाहों में बढ़ोतरी कराने के लिए झगड़ते रहेंगे और वे मन लगा कर काम न कर पायेंगे और देश के निर्माण कार्य को इससे काफ़ी धक्का लगेगा। यह एक स्थिति सामने आती है। इसलिए सब से पहले हमारे सामने समस्या यह है कि वस्तुओं के मूल्यों की सीमा निर्धारित होनी चाहिए और यह निश्चित हो जाना चाहिए कि इससे अधिक दाम न बढ़ सकेंगे।

अब ख़ाद्यान्न के गेहूँ के भाव में इसलिए न्यूनता नहीं लाई जा रही है कि अगर उसके दाम घटा दिये गये तो अन्य वस्तुओं के दाम भी कम हो जायेंगे, घट जायेंगे। अनाज को गेहूँ को इसलिए मंहगा रखना चाहते हैं ताकि दूसरी वस्तुओं के दाम भी मंहगे बने रहें। तर्क इसके लिए यह दिया जाता है कि किसान को पैसा चाहिए और अगर हमने गेहूँ के दाम घटा दिये तो उसको कम पैसा मिलेगा लेकिन मेरा कहना है कि असल में किसान को इसका लाभ मिलता नहीं है क्योंकि किसान अगर गेहूँ मंहगा बेचता है तो अन्य वस्तुएँ जो कि उसके उपयोग में आने वाली हैं उनको वह मंहगा खरीदता है। अब ४/८ के बजाय आपने ८/१६ कर दिया तो यह केवल १६ के अंक की ही तो वृद्धि हुई है क्योंकि है तो बड़ी

की वही परिणाम में तो कोई अन्तर नहीं हुआ । ऐसी अवस्था में केवल संख्या बढ़ाने मात्र से काम नहीं चलेगा । हमें गम्भीरतापूर्वक यह देखना होगा कि वास्तविक परिणाम जनता के ऊपर क्या पड़ता है लेकिन परिणाम को वे नहीं देखते हैं ।

इसी के साथ मुझे यह निवेदन करना है कि जो अपव्यय की चीजें हैं, विलासिता की वस्तुएं हैं, अधिक उपयोग में आने वाली नहीं हैं और जोकि आवश्यक पदार्थ नहीं हैं उन पर यदि सरकार टैक्स लगाये तो उसका प्रभाव साधारण जनता पर पड़ने वाला नहीं है और उनमें हाहाकार नहीं मचेगा । मेरा कहना है कि सरकार आवश्यकतानुसार विलासिता की वस्तुओं पर कर लगा सकती है । लेकिन अगर सरकार नित्यप्रति उपयोग में आने वाली आवश्यक वस्तुओं पर कर लगाती है और जोकि पहले से ही मंहगी है तो जनता जोकि पहले ही मंहगाई से पीड़ित है वह निश्चित रूप से कराह उठेगी और उस जनता से जोकि पहले से ही दुखी है उससे यदि आप टैक्स वसूल करेंगे तो वह और अधिक हाहाकार करने वाली है । अब इस तरह से हाहाकार करने से जब पैसा राज्य में आयेगा उस पैसे से राज्य सफल नहीं हो सकता क्योंकि उसके पीछे जनता के हाहाकार और चीत्कार का अभिशाप लगा हुआ है । हम यदि धनी आदमियों से चार पैसे ले लेंगे तो उसका विशेष प्रभाव पड़ने वाला नहीं है लेकिन वे लोग जोकि पहले से ही कष्ट के मारे सिसक रहे हैं उन पर कर रूपी एक लात और लगा दी जाय तो यह कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है । टैक्सेशन में यह बात खास तौर से ध्यान में रखनी चाहिए जोकि रखी नहीं गई है ।

मैं समझता हूँ कि जो तेल के उपर, टैक्स लगाया गया है यह जनता का तेल निकालने के बराबर है । यह कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है ।

इसी के साथ साथ मैं यह निवेदन करूँगा कि जनता का तेल निकालने के

बाद यह जो दूसरे शत्रु हमारा तेल निकालने के लिए बैठे हैं मेरा तात्पर्य पाकिस्तान और चीन से है तो उन के खेल की भी कोई चिन्ता हमें नहीं जान पड़ती । हम अपने देश में बड़ी बड़ी योजनाएं बना रहे हैं परन्तु शत्रु अगर हम पर चढ़ कर आ गये तो उन योजनाओं का क्या बनेगा और उनका लाभ कौन उठायेगा ।

देश के डिफेंस के लिए सुरक्षा के लिए जितनी धनराशि दी जानी चाहिए उतनी नहीं दी गई है । उस ओर पूरा ध्यान और धन नहीं दिया जा रहा है । हम आज संसार के सामने यह उद्घोष उठा रहे हैं कि यह सारे जितने भी शस्त्र हैं उनको समाप्त कर देना चाहिए, पूर्णरूप से सारे राष्ट्रों को निशस्त्रीकरण कर देना चाहिए । अब आप यह जो चला रहे हैं एक ऐसा वातावरण पैदा कर रहे हैं वह अगर हो जाता है और संसार में निशस्त्रीकरण हो जाता है तब तो अच्छा है परन्तु यदि निशस्त्रीकरण न हुआ तो हम क्या करेंगे । निशस्त्रीकरण के भरोसे पर अपने को दुर्बल रखना यह कोई बुद्धिमता की बात नहीं है । इस लिए हमें अपनी सेना को सशस्त्र और सशक्त बनाना होगा । हमें निशस्त्रीकरण की भास में निष्क्रिय हो कर नहीं बैठना है अपितु हमें कमर बांध कर देश की सुरक्षा के लिये पूर्णरूप से तैयार हो जाना चाहिए । दो दो शत्रु हमारे निकट घात लगाये बैठे हैं उधर पाकिस्तान बैठा है तो इधर चीन बैठा है और फिर हमारे देश के अंदर फिफथ कौलमनिस्ट्स बठे हैं जिन से कि हमें सावधान रहना है ।

लोक सभा में हम देखते हैं कि ट्रेजरी बेंच की कौन कहे अपोजीशन ही यहां से

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लेकर वहां तक खाली पड़ा हुआ है और ऐसी हालत में शासन पर क्या अंकुश रहेगा। हाउस उधर भी खाली है और इधर भी खाली है। खाली बातें ही बातें होती हैं तो क्या केवल बातों से ही कहीं संसार का काम चलता है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : अब माननीय सदस्य अपना भाषण समाप्त करें।

पंडित ब्रज नारायण "ब्रजेश" : मैं तो आखिर में बोल रहा हूँ और मैं अपने दिल का एक मात्र प्रवक्ता हूँ इसलिए समाप्ति अच्छी प्रकार से होनी चाहिए।

एक सब से बड़ी खराबी की बात जिसको कि प्रत्येक देशवासी अनुभव कर रहा है वह है हमारे निवासियों के आचार का गिरना। हमारा आचार निरन्तर गिरता चला जा रहा है। हमारा आचार जो देश के प्रति होना चाहिए वह भ्रष्टाचार में बदल रहा है।

"आचार हीनम् न पुनन्ति वेदाः" जिन का आचार गिर गया उनको आप क्या बना सकते हैं? इस लिए हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय को देशवासियों के चरित्र निर्माण के लिए सोचना चाहिए। पूंजी लगाने वालों को यह ध्यान में रखना चाहिए कि पूंजी हम लगा किस के लिए रहे हैं। हम जिस कार्य के लिए अपनी पूंजी लगा रहे हैं वह कार्य सिद्ध होगा कि नहीं होगा। जो भ्रष्टाचारी हैं यदि उन पर हम दृष्ट व्यय करेंगे तो भ्रष्टाचार ही अधिक बढ़ेगा। इस कारण पहले उन्हें आचारवान और चरित्रवान बनाना है उसके बाद फिर उनको समृद्धिशाली बनाने की ओर ध्यान देना चाहिए।

अपोजीशन को मेरा कहना यह है कि उन में राष्ट्र के प्रति द्वेष नहीं होना चाहिए और शासन को यह भावना नहीं रखनी चाहिए कि जितने भी लोग विरोधी दल में हैं वे हमारे शत्रु हैं। अपोजीशन को हम

बिल्कुल क्रश कर के रख देंगे यह भावना शासन में नहीं होनी चाहिये। दोनों को मैत्री भाव से अपने अपने कर्तव्य का पालन करना चाहिए। दोनों में परस्पर प्रीति होनी चाहिए। और दोनों को देश को सम्पन्न बनाने के लिए परस्पर प्रयत्न करना चाहिए। इसलिये चरित्र निर्माण पर विशेष रूप से ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए।

सब से बड़ी चिन्ता की बात यह है कि हम अपव्यय को रोक नहीं पा रहे हैं। बाहर से काफी पैसा खर्च कर के अंग्रेजी औषधियां मंगाई जाती हैं और हम अपनी घर की औषधियों के प्रति उपेक्षा भाव रखते आ रहे हैं। ऐलोपैथी सिस्टम इस देश में अंग्रेजों द्वारा लाया गया है और मैं इस से इंकार नहीं करता कि वह सिस्टम इधर काफी बलवत् हुआ है, उस में काफी कुछ रिसर्च हुई है अनुसंधान हुए हैं लेकिन मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा आयुर्वेदिक शास्त्र भी कोई निकम्मा शास्त्र नहीं है। वह हमारे अपने देश का है और औषधियां भी हमारी अपनी हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार उसके प्रति अपनी उपेक्षावृत्ति त्यागे और उस में और अधिक अनुसंधान हो। उसकी तरफ वित्त मंत्री महोदय को अधिक ध्यान देना चाहिए ताकि लोग यहां पर आयुर्वेदिक इलाज अपना सकें। इस के लिए जो धनराशि दी जानी चाहिए थी वह नहीं दी गई है।

अब प्रत्येक गांव में आप एलोपैथिक डिस्पेंसरीज खोल नहीं रहे हैं और चूँकि आयुर्वेदिक उपचार उस को प्राप्त नहीं है तो वह बेचारा ग्रामीण शहर में आता है और होता यह है कि वह बेचारा किसी भी औषधियों के नाम तो जानता नहीं और किसी भी मेडिकल हाल में उसको पेंसिलीन के बजाय उबले हुए पानी का इंजेक्शन दे दिया जाता है। इसलिए यह बहुत



आवश्यक है कि प्रायुर्वेदिक पद्धति को भी प्रोत्साहन दिया जाय और उस पर अधिक अनुराशि व्यय की जाय । . . . .

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** अब तो माननीय सदस्य समाप्त ही करें ।

**पंडित ब्रज नारायण "ब्रजेश" :** जैसी आपकी आज्ञा किन्तु मुझे दुःख है कि समय मुझे बहुत ही कम मिला ।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** मुझे भी इस का दुःख है परन्तु क्या किया जाय मजबूरी है ।

श्री पद्मदेव । माननीय सदस्य केवल ७,८ मिनट ही लेंगे ।

**श्री पद्म देव (चम्बा) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने जो बजट के सुझाव और बजट की व्यवस्था की है उस के लिए वह प्रशंसा के पात्र हैं । मैं श्री कट्टी से सहमत नहीं हूँ । मालूम ऐसा देता है कि उनका मंत्री जी के साथ कोई पर्सनल झगड़ा है जिस के कारण केवल उनकी ही बातें कहीं हैं । उन के बजट में खराबियां क्या हैं इस के बारे में कोई बात नहीं कही है । वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने बजट के अन्दर सारी बातें रखते हुए कर लगाने की जो व्यवस्था की है उस के बारे में यहाँ पर बहुत जोर शोर से बातें की गई हैं लेकिन यह किसी ने नहीं बतलाया कि कितना किस के ऊपर प्रभाव पड़ा है । जैसे अब २० चाय के प्यालों पर एक पैसा बढ़ा तो इस से कितनी वृद्धि हो गयी । इसी तरह काफी के ऊपर अगर दस काफी के प्यालों पर एक पैसे की वृद्धि होती है तो कितनी वृद्धि हो गयी । मिट्टी के तेल के ऊपर बहुत शोर मचाया गया कि इस पर टैक्स लगने का विद्यार्थियों पर बड़ा प्रभाव पड़ेगा, गांव वालों पर

बड़ा असर पड़ेगा लेकिन मेरी समझ में यह नहीं आता कि वह आंकड़े क्यों नहीं बतलाये गये कि कितना उस पर प्रभाव पड़ा है । ४१ मदों पर कर लगाये गये हैं और उस से सब के ऊपर थोड़ा थोड़ा प्रभाव पड़ा है लेकिन इस के साथ ही साथ आपको यह भी नहीं भूल जाना चाहिये कि हमारी आमदनी भी बढ़ती जा रही है । जो लोग यहाँ खाली बैठ कर के सिर्फ विरोध करने के नाते यह बातें करते हैं मैं नहीं समझता कि वह इलाके में जाते भी हैं । मैं अपने हिमाचल प्रदेश के बारे में कह सकता हूँ कि वहाँ पर ११ लाख की आबादी है और १८ करोड़ की इस साल की बजट व्यवस्था है । दूर दूर जा कर के लोगों के लिये स्कूल, कालिज, सड़कें, और यह सारी चीजें बनाई गई हैं । लेकिन इस पर भी हमारे विरोधी दलों के भाई यहाँ बैठ कर सरकार की आलोचना करते हुए कहें कि सरकार ने कुछ भी विकास और सुधार कार्य नहीं किया और सब अंधेरा ही अंधेरा है तो मैं कह सकता हूँ कि उन भाइयों पर यह कहावत भली भांति चरितार्थ होती है :—

"उल्लूको यदि न पश्यति दिनकरे  
सूर्यस्य कि दूषणम्" . . . .

**श्री राजेन्द्र सिंह (छपरा) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय सदस्य ने जिन शब्दों से हम लोगों को सम्बोधन किया है मैं समझता हूँ कि वह उचित नहीं है और आपत्तिजनक हैं

**पंडित ब्रज नारायण "ब्रजेश" :** माननीय सदस्य ने ठीक ही तो कहा है कि देश की दुर्दशा जो कि सूर्य के प्रकाश के समान साफ दिख रही है उसको वह देख नहीं सकते जिस तरह से कि एक उल्लू सूर्य को नहीं देख पाता ।

श्री पद्म बेब : मेरा निवेदन है कि हमारे देश को इस समय ऐसी गिरी हुई दशा नहीं है जैसी कि हमारे वह डिंडोरची और स्वार्थी लोग पेश कर रहे हैं। चाहे आप बाजारों में लगे इश्तहारों को देखें, अखबारों में देखें और बड़े बड़े भाषणों को सुनें, सब और इस प्रकार का बंदोरा पीटा जा रहा है। हालांकि ये सभी कर-प्रस्ताव ही हैं, लेकिन इस बात की परवाह किये बिना भ्रामक प्रचार किया जा रहा है। इस परिस्थिति का लाभ उठा कर लोगों ने वस्तुओं के दाम बढ़ा दिये हैं। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि इस विषय में सरकार की कोई जिम्मेदारी नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि उसकी बड़ी भारी जिम्मेदारी है। अगर सरकार और बातों की व्यवस्था कर सकती है, तो उस को ऐसे डिंडोरचियों के बारे में भी कोई पग उठाना होगा, जो देश को चूसते हैं और लोगों को गलतफ़हमी में डालते हैं। अगर उन को व्यवस्थित नहीं किया गया, तो आपत्ति के समय वे देश को पहले ही किसी के हवाले कर देंगे और जो योजनाएँ चल रही हैं, जो विकास हो रहा है, यह सब का सब समाप्त हो जायगा। इस लिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार को इस और सतर्क और जागरूक होना चाहिए।

मैं समझता हूँ कि केवल कर लगाना ही सरकार का कर्तव्य नहीं है। जहाँ तक खर्च का प्रश्न है, वह तो करना ही है और वह बढ़ा जरूरी है। वह सरकारी मशीनरी के ऊपर किया जाने वाला खर्च नहीं है। योजनाओं को कार्यान्वित करने के लिये उस पैसे का उपयोग किया जायगा। इसलिये यह जरूरी है कि सरकार की ओर से जो कर लगाया जाये, उस का संग्रह ठीक हो और उस की मशीनरी ठीक ढंग की हो। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया जायगा, तो परिणाम यह होगा कि एक ओर राजस्व

में कमी पड़ेगी और दूसरी ओर देश में भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ेगा। कल एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा था कि दो तीन बहियाँ रखी जाती हैं। बात यह है कि इस प्रकार के कार्य करने वाले आदमी को इस बात की चिन्ता नहीं है कि अपनी कार्यवाहियों के द्वारा वह देश में क्या खराबी पैदा कर रहा है, देश का क्या अहित कर रहा है। उस को तो केवल यह चिन्ता है कि किसी न किसी तरह से पैसा इकट्ठा किया जाये। मैं कई दफ़ा सोचा करता हूँ कि दुनिया में सात बंडर बताए जाते हैं, लेकिन आठवाँ बंडर यह दिखाई देता है कि कुछ लोग बिना योजना के, बिना मतलब के, देश और समाज के हितों की उपेक्षा कर के, राष्ट्र-द्रोह कर के और केवल अपनी स्वार्थ-सिद्धि के लिये अपना बैंक बैलेंस बढ़ा रहे हैं और पैसा इकट्ठा कर रहे हैं।

टका: धर्म: टका: कम :

टका: हि परमं पद :

यस्य पार्श्व टका: नास्ति  
हा टका: टकटकायते ।

इस स्वार्थ की लड़ाई में, पैसे की लड़ाई में चाहे कोई अपने आप को त्यागी कहे, सोशल-लिस्ट कहे, लेकिन सब के सामने इस वक्त पैसा है। इस लिये देश के हितों की रक्षा के लिये हमें इस सम्बन्ध में सतर्क होना जरूरी है।

पहली और दूसरी पंच-वर्षीय योजनाओं में उद्योग-धंधों में ६६ प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है और खाद्यान्नों में ३३ प्रतिशत की। उद्योग धंधों के सम्बन्ध में मैं कहूँगा कि सरकार की तरफ से पानी की तरह रुपया बहाया जा रहा है, लेकिन जहाँ तक कोटे की चीजों, जैसे लोहा, ताम्बा वगैरह हैं, का सम्बन्ध है, उन की इतनी

सामग्री नहीं बन रही है, बल्कि लोग एक दूसरे को बेच देते हैं और इस प्रकार मुनाफा कमाने का धन्धा हो रहा है। इस विषय में भी पूरी निगरानी होनी चाहिए। अन्यथा बाद में यह कहने में कोई विशेष अर्थ नहीं होगा कि हम ने इतने प्रतिशत तरफ़की की है—उस में वास्तविकता बिल्कुल नहीं होगी। तृतीय पंच-वर्षीय योजना में हम ने पांच ध्येय अपने सामने रखे हैं—राष्ट्रीय आय में पांच प्रतिशत की वृद्धि, खाद्यान्नों में आत्म-निर्भरता, मौलिक उद्योगों का विकास, जन-शक्ति का उपयोग और विषमता को घटाना। इस में कोई शक नहीं कि सरकार इस दिशा में प्रयत्नशील है। इस विषय में जो बातें कहीं गई हैं, उन को बिल्कुल निराधार नहीं कहा जा सकता। प्रथम और द्वितीय पंच-वर्षीय योजनाओं में जितना रुपया खर्च किया गया है, अगर वह ईमानदारी से खर्च होता, अगर सरकारी मशीनरी ठीक ढंग की होती, तो विकास दुगुना दीखता यह ठीक है कि काम हुआ है, लेकिन उतना नहीं, जितना कि सरकार ने उस पर पैसा खर्च किया है।

स्टेट्स से इस सम्बन्ध में जो प्रस्ताव आयेंगे, वित्त मंत्री महोदय उन की छान-बीन कर के रुपया देंगे, लेकिन मेरा सुझाव है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार के पास ऐसी मशीनरी जरूर होनी चाहिए, जो कभी कभी स्टेट्स में जाकर स्वतंत्र रूप से देख लिया करे कि स्टेट्स में उस रुपये का भी सदुपयोग हो रहा है। मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि जब मैं मिनिस्टर था, तो मेरी मिनिस्ट्री हर बात में सतर्क रहती थी कि कहीं भी उल्टे तरीके से रुपये का प्रयोग न हो। हमें उस समय कहा गया कि यह मिनिस्ट्री की नालायकी है कि वह रुपया खर्च करने में कंजूस है, किसी न किसी तरह रुपया खर्च करो, अगर नहीं करोगे, तो

अयोग्य कहलाओगे। मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसी मशीनरी जरूर होनी चाहिए, जो स्टेट्स में जा कर देखे कि किस तरह काम हो रहा है।

सामान्य ध्येय में खर्च बढ़ रहा है, ऐसा कहा गया है। इस में शक नहीं कि कुछ बढ़ा है और इस और मंत्री महोदय सतर्क होंगे। लेकिन एक बात मैं कहना चाहता कि १९५२ के बाद से अब पुलिस का खर्च छः गुना हो गया है, लेकिन इस वक्त अन्दरूनी व्यवस्था अव्यवस्था सी है, सरकारी कर्मचारी असन्तुष्ट हैं, काम करने वाले असन्तुष्ट हैं। इस लिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिन्होंने हमारी तृतीय पंच-वर्षीय योजना को चलाना है, क्षेत्र में जा कर इस कार्य को करना है, उन सरकारी कर्मचारियों की जीविका का देश और काल के मुताबिक प्रबन्ध होना चाहिए। इस के प्रतिरिक्त जो व्यक्ति जिस पद के योग्य है, उस को वह पद देना चाहिए। इस में किसी और ढंग का इस्तेमाल न होना चाहिए। यह नहीं होना चाहिए कि अयोग्य को ऊपर चढ़ाया जाये और योग्य को नीचे गिराया जाये। इस से मूल्य की व्यवस्था नीचे ही गिरेगी। सरकारी मशीनरी में जो हस्तक्षेप होता है, वह दूर होना चाहिए। सरकारी कर्मचारियों के सिर पर जिम्मेदारी डालनी चाहिए और जो अपनी जिम्मेदारी पूरी न करे, उस को कड़ा डंड देना चाहिए। इस तरीके से यदि ठीक ढंग से काम किया गया, तो हमारा देश काफ़ी प्रगति कर सकेगा।

इन गब्दों के साथ मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने ठीक ढंग से कर-प्रस्ताव रखे हैं।

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, 56 hon. Members have spoken on this budget and have given their criticisms and appreciations of the proposals in the budget which I

[Shri Morarji Desai]

had the honour to present to this hon. House. It is essential that a budget should be looked into with a microscope and should be criticised very properly so that the finances of the State are looked after very safely and properly.

I listened with great respect and attention to almost all the speeches and benefited by them. I would, therefore, like to deal with this subject in an overall manner so that we may come to some conclusions about the attitude that we should have in considering such matters which are considered by the hon. House.

Sir, we were told that we are passing through a dangerous decade—I agree with that—and that political leadership should be more intelligent and more perspective. I agree with that too. But is it expected that the leadership only on this side should be more intelligent and more perspective, or that on all sides it should be more intelligent and more perspective? And even if the political leadership on this side is to be more intelligent and more perspective, it is necessary that others understand that intelligence and perspective. Therefore, it is necessary that on all sides it should be so, if we are to advance.

I do not look at the advance of the country from a party point of view at all. I do believe that all sections of the House believe in the country's welfare and want the country to go ahead. All want it to be happy. But we have different ideologies and we have different methods. Yet, if all of us have the good of the country at heart, it should not be difficult for our intelligence and good sense to combine in achieving the welfare of the country and in seeing that we progress properly and as quickly as possible.

14 hrs.

**Acharya Kripalani (Sitamarhi):** I hope the hon. Finance Minister is not

referring to my speech. If he is referring to my speech, I will remind him that I said 'We'—I did not say 'You', but I said 'We',—the leaders of the people are failing.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I am very sorry that my hon. friend an elder, whom I have always considered as an elder, should have considered that I should refer to him in this strain... (*Interruption*). That suspicion does injustice to me. It only means that my regard and respect for him are not reciprocated or appreciated. That is all that I can say.

I know that we all want the same thing. But whether we actually behave in the same manner is a question which we ought to examine and, if any of us fail in that, we ought to help each other in overcoming the failing. That is all that I want to plead. It is not my business to find fault with any hon. Member because I am not short of faults. Why should I try to blame other people more than myself?—I do not know. I do not want to do that. I am obliged to all my hon. friends in this House and outside if they point out my faults to me so that I can be of better service to the country. Therefore in whatever I may say in my reply I would beg of my hon. friends to excuse me if inadvertently there is anything which pains them because that has not been my intention. That will not be my intention to do. I shall be careful enough to avoid such references to the best of my capacity. That is all that I can say.

**Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun):** You are capable.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** The Budget today or in future has got to be considered only in the light of our aspirations and all the actions that we take to translate our aspirations in actual practice. This Budget also must be looked at from that point of view. It has been said that the Budget proposals are such as put a great strain on the poor, as help the rich to become

richer and as go counter to the professions of this Government about achieving the welfare of the people. In order to arrive at a proper and a correct conclusion in this matter one must look at facts as they are and not as we imagine them to be or as we misread them or as we get them wrongly from others. In order to do this it is necessary to know where we were when we became free. We also ought to know or fix in our minds where we want to go or what we want to become. Then, we also ought to assess how far we have progressed towards what we want to become. If we consider this matter from these three angles, we will be able to come to some conclusions.

Let me say at the very outset.....

**Acharya Kripalani:** Then we can have one factor more.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** That is always there. We all know where we will be. Where each of us individually will be we all know. Therefore that need not be said.

It has never been the claim of this Government or any of its members at any time that we are infallible and that we may not have committed any faults, but it has been our claim certainly that we have not intentionally made any faults by being indifferent or by not trying to be as prudent as we have to be. It is also our claim that if there are faults which are brought to our notice and which we see, we accept them and try to improve them. That is all the claim that we make and we will continue to do so. I hope my hon. friends on all sides will help us in doing that in future.

When we became free, we were a very poor country, divided internally. We were not even one government throughout the country. First, there was the partition of the country in two parts. Then, even in the India that we got, we had several governments. Divisions of castes, creeds and all that were there more than they are today—not less at any time. They have not increased today.

**Acharya Kripalani:** Question.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** That is what I am coming to. If my hon. friends have some patience as I had with them, I have no doubt that I will be able to finish my work in good time because I am running against time.

We had very few industries. Our agriculture was at a low ebb. Conditions in the villages were as bad as they could be. The unity about which we are talking today was entirely absent. If it had not been absent, the country would not have been divided. The last war at the end of which we became free had demoralised the country and corrupted it in an unprecedented measure. This is the place from which we started.

When we became free, soon after, we saw millions of refugees coming into the country. We had about 9 million people whom we had to rehabilitate. We have spent nearly Rs. 400 crores on their relief and rehabilitation. We have spent another Rs. 270 crores in giving compensation to the displaced persons, either in land or in cash. No country in the world has been faced with such a gigantic task in this matter. We can claim with a little pride that we have been able to manage this problem with our own resources without going to anybody for help in this particular matter. Even in respect of such a problem which has not been equalled in the world outside, we have managed this problem better than anywhere else. This is no small achievement. I cannot say that the problem is completely solved yet. We are trying to solve it and with God's grace we will solve it completely very soon. That is our hope.

What is our aspiration—the aspiration of all of us? We want to see that there is complete unity in the country. We want to see that there is dignity of the human personality. We want to see that there is equality of opportunity. We want to see that there are not great gradations between people and people. We want to see that the disparity in income is brought down.

[Shri Morarji Desai]

There can never be equality of incomes anywhere in the world. But there must not be the disparity which is there today. The disparity must come down, as it has been achieved in the Scandinavian countries where the difference is one to five. That is not so in the communist countries at all. But in the democratic countries of Scandinavia the disparity has gone down from one to five. In Sweden that is what I saw. That does not mean that there are not a few incomes which are much higher. But they are a few and they are also taken care of by means of taxation.

There also it is a mixed economy. It is not an economy where it is only the State managing everything or with only private effort taking place. It is a mixed economy. And that mixed economy has done this in that country.

But in Sweden I talked to the leaders of the country, who are carrying on the Government very successfully for the last twenty years, and they told me that it took them eighty years to achieve that result. Therefore we have got to keep that also in mind, the time factor. We do not want to wait for eighty years. We want to achieve such results—even if we do not achieve that prosperity, we do want to achieve human happiness not only of that degree but even of a higher degree. Because, human happiness does not depend merely on material happiness; human happiness depends to a great deal, as my hon. friend and elder, Acharya Kripalani, said, on a moral attitude. I agree there entirely.

But a moral attitude cannot be brought in by scoffing; it cannot be brought in by damning other people; it cannot be brought in by self-condemnation or by condemnation of other people. We have to take note of what we are, where we are and patiently try to get up. That is the only way we can get up; we cannot get up by damning each other.

That is why I want my friends opposite also to consider that we ought

to be one in this task, because it is a common task we all have, and we should not do anything to run down each other. If we run down each other, it is very easy. We can make allegations against each other, which is often done. Let policies be assailed, let actions be condemned, but let not the integrity of people be assailed without any proof. Let not allegations be thrown in the air, which is very common and this could very easily be done.

It has been rumoured round by my friends in the Communist Party that Shri H. N. Mukerjee says that his proximity is not liked by me and he says he reciprocates it. He said, 'I do not like his proximity because he does not like me'. I do not dislike him. I do not dislike any Indian. I consider every Indian my brother, provided he considers himself an Indian. That is the only condition I have. The views do not matter to me at all. Therefore, my quarrel with him is not about what state of condition he wants to achieve. My quarrel is about the methods that he employs. That is all. And I hope that if I and my colleagues and all those with whom I am associated in work do our work properly, he will also see the error of his ways and improve his methods. It is in that hope I work.

**Shri Tyagi:** God help him!

**Shri Morarji Desai:** And with the blessings of my friend Shri Tyagi I think that God will certainly help me. I have no doubt about it.

As I said, we want to achieve those things. We do not want to achieve merely material prosperity. We want to achieve the fulfilment of the human personality in every way in this country. That is what we want to do. We want to put a stop to exploitation of all kinds, not merely physical exploitation, but mental exploitation, and social exploitation too. We want to do that.

Now, it has been said by some of my friends that I am a rightist or something like that. I am certainly a rightist in the sense that I believe in doing the right thing! Those who do not believe in doing the right thing, let them call themselves leftists, I have no objection. Some of those leftists in our philosophy are called *vama margis*. I have no objection if anybody wants to call himself that.

14.15 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

But I yield to none in holding that I do not want disparities in this country between incomes which are extraordinary. I do not want exploitation in this country of anybody, not even of my friends opposite, and I do not want that human personality should ever be assailed by anybody, be he the highest in the land. That is what I would like to have. I do not know if my hon. friends profess anything better than that. I do not think they do, because they want to be dictators. And dictators have not cared for any people. And therefore they do not want to have this kind of a thing at all.

We want to achieve the cessation of all exploitation by making the ordinary person strong enough to see that nobody is able to exploit him. That is what we want to do. But this can be done only by a gradual process and not by the chopping off of the heads of some people or by simply crushing some people and pampering some others or taking advantage of some others. That is not the way it can be done.

It is therefore that we believe in the democratic process. It is therefore we believe in freedom. It is therefore also that we allow our friends opposite to grow in freedom and take advantage of it as much as they can. But it is the essence of freedom that such attempts can never succeed. They defeat themselves, and freedom only will be the master of all these tactics. I have no doubt about it in my mind.

Therefore, I am not worried about them. But they are worried about

me, because they know they are not safe in their tactics with me. That is why they have all this quarrel with me. But my books are open; theirs may not be. I do not want to read their books. Let them read their own books. But I should certainly want them to read my books completely, so that they are properly educated.

**Shri Tangamani (Madurai):** We want to be in ignorance!

**Shri Morarji Desai:** If we see this we will then realise that if we want to build up this country from the level where we were when we achieved freedom, we could never have achieved it without planning. Our actual resources have been poor, though our potential resources are the richest in the world; I do not think they are potentially less than those anywhere else in the world. But the potential resources we cannot utilize; we have to make them actual resources. Therefore we have got to utilise our actual resources in men and material in such a way that we develop quickly.

We cannot wait for a hundred years to develop, as other countries have developed, and become prosperous. That is not possible. There is the state of poverty in the land. We have to remove it as soon as possible, and therefore we have to do it quickly. But if we try to do it more quickly than is possible for us today, then also we will destroy ourselves and we will not be able to go ahead at all. We have to have a sense of proportion. All this is contained in planning.

My hon. friend Shri M. R. Masani, who has suddenly now become a convert to non-planning—because he himself had taken part in planning with Shri Jawaharlal Nehru when he was in the Congress, and he was one of its greatest advocates at that time—he now says that this planning is bunkum. Well, Sir.....

**Shri M. R. Masani (Ranchi—East):** I have not said so. I said only 'un-realistic plan'.

**Shri M. L. Dwivedi (Hamirpur):** You said "Utopian projects".

**Shri Morarji Desai:** If he thought that planning is not bunkum, then he will never talk of *laissez-faire*....

**Shri M. R. Masani:** I have not said *laissez-faire*.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** That is what he said, free market. There is no free market existing anywhere in the world at present. What is the free market that he is talking of?

Therefore, he does not believe in planning. But he wants to hide everything that he believes in. He is completely *swatantra*. He is *swatantra* in everything. He does not want any standard. There also he wants to be *swatantra*. I say this deliberately because I find in the rules that they have made that in the party it is not necessary for any Member to vote together; they can vote as they like. Therefore, *swatantra* is also there. They are *swatantra* in everything. Well, he is free to do so. This is a free country. We have a place for everybody in this country. Therefore, there is full place for him also.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Thank you.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** He made a speech which was good for a platform, for election. He has started his election propaganda from now. He has warned me that he is going to be here and I am going to be there. Well, if God will help, I do not think that will happen. Because Gods are not with those who are wrong. Gods are only with those who are on the right. Therefore, I have no doubt about what will happen then. At any rate, whatever happens, he is not going to be here; I have no doubt. Whether I am here or not does not matter. That is not a question which matters at all. I know for certain, at any rate, in the next elections, he is not going

to be here at all. Therefore, let him have a little more patience. That is all that I have got to say.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** Where will he be?

**Shri Morarji Desai:** When he again changes and comes to right sense....

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** He will do so.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** There is hope for everybody as there is hope for us. We also do wrong. We also hope that we should do the right. There is hope for us. There is hope for them too.

Therefore, we must have planning in this country, and planning has been resorted to. It can be said in criticism legitimately—I won't say that it is not legitimate criticism—that the planning that we are making is not 100 per cent efficient or that it is not 100 per cent ideally correct. I agree. Nothing which human agency does is ideally correct. Nothing which human agency does is ideally perfect. There are bound to be faults. There are bound to be shortcomings. That is what is there in the Planning Commission or in the work of the planning that we are doing. Then, again, this planning in a democratic country has been a pioneer work in the world's history. It has taken place for the first time in a democracy in this country. We did not have the experience of anybody before us. Therefore, if we have faltered somewhere, if there are some shortcomings somewhere, it ought to be understood from that point of view, and if patience is applied, it will be possible for us to improve our planning to the satisfaction of everybody and to see that we do not make any faults anywhere and that we progress even faster than we have progressed. But, if we pull the legs of each other, we will only do one thing. We will all stumble on the ground. None of us will stand. That should not be our aim. I do not think that is the aim



of anybody. I do not believe that it is the aim of anybody to see that we go down. But, mere aims do not do anything. It is only action which can interpret intentions. Who knows the intentions? It is therefore that I am pleading for this sort of appreciation. If it is granted even by Shri M. R. Masani that planning is necessary, we have granted one thing about which there is no difficulty.

My hon. friend and elder, as I always say, Acharya Kripalani does not believe in the sort of planning that we do. He does not say that there should be no planning. But, he says that the planning that we are doing, that is, the goals which we have, are not proper goals.

**Acharya Kripalani:** I have never said that the goals are not proper. I have said that your execution is not proper, your plans are not properly made, that you do not calculate properly. That is all that I have said. If you want me, I can read it to you for your information.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I will just interpret it a little better than him.

**Acharya Kripalani:** Oh yes. I have not appointed him as my advocate.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I am not your advocate. But, if I have a little better interpretation than yourself, I do not think it can be denied. I shall do it.

**Acharya Kripalani:** You cannot interpret me.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I am not interpreting my hon. friend to himself. I am interpreting him to the House which I am entitled to do as he does me. Why should he not have a little patience? He has interpreted me all the while when he spoke. If I interpret him why should he have any objection?

**Acharya Kripalani:** How can you interpret when the man himself says that your interpretation is incorrect.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Why not have a little patience and hear me when I interpret?

**Acharya Kripalani:** Because yours is the last word and mine is not the last word.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** That is your destiny; that is my destiny.

**Acharya Kripalani:** My destiny is much better.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Why are you sorry?

**Acharya Kripalani:** I am not sorry.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** That is what you are saying that yours is not the last word.

**Acharya Kripalani:** I am sorry for you.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I am very happy that he commiserates with me. I am very happy that there is some affection. That is all I can say. I am glad about it. He is unnecessarily worried when I spoke about his interpretation. When I said that he does not accept these goals, I want to prove that he does not accept these goals. He says that all these big industries are wrong.

**Acharya Kripalani:** When did I say?

**Shri Morarji Desai:** You said so...

**Acharya Kripalani:** I have not said that. I have only said that small industries should get a place in this Plan more than it gets today. I have criticised the Plan according to your ideas, not according to my ideas.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Well, Sir, I wish my hon. friend has some *samata*. Why does he want to get angry with me?

**Acharya Kripalani:** It is not a question of my getting angry. I have a right to say that I must not be misrepresented. I have made a

[Acharya Kripalani]

speech on the Third Plan also. I have examined the Third Plan on their assumptions, not on my assumptions.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member is entitled to read not only what he says, but what he does and what according to him is his opinion.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** My hon. friend may say that I am wrong. He is entitled to say that. But, I do not think he can prevent me from saying what I have to say. That is all I want to say.

**Acharya Kripalani:** I can correct. I have a right to correct if I am misrepresented.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I have accepted that he does not believe what I say. He thinks that I am wrong. Still I am entitled to say what I want to say. I do not know why he wants to prevent me from saying.

**Acharya Kripalani:** He has a right to say this. I have a right to correct him—have I not?—if what he says does not represent my view. (*Interruption*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I only request that there should be no interruption. A word of personal explanation is always allowed. I have allowed that to Acharya Kripalani. But, if the other hon. Member is not convinced, there, he must stop. Let him have his own say. He must be patient to allow the hon. Member to differ from him even in the interpretation of himself. We have each one of us, an interpretation of ourselves. But others also, because we move in company, have their own interpretation of us. What is the good of quarrelling with them?

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Well, Sir, I do not want to pursue this further, that would annoy him more and more. I have no intention to annoy him.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** He is pleased; he is not annoyed.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is all right. That is his interpretation.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** At any rate, when he says that this Plan has gone wrong because we have not paid more attention to small industries as we should, and we are paying more attention to the bigger industries as we should not, the result will come to the same thing. If he wants that we ought to have more prosperity, that is, more wealth in this country, more material riches, then, it is necessary that we must create that wealth. Wealth cannot be created without investment and more and more investment. Wealth cannot be created by small industries or by mere agriculture though agriculture is the foundation of our country and of our prosperity. It is not possible to create that wealth which will see everybody free of want in this country and which will give everybody in this country a standard which we want to give. In that case, we must have big industries. We must have also small industries. I do not say that we should not have them. If we want to have big industries, we are bound to have more investment, more capital. That we have got to provide. It is that which we want to provide and that is what the Budget is doing.

**Acharya Kripalani:** I did not say . . .

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order; please allow him to proceed.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** He said, sixty crores are not one-fifth of Rs. 1100 crores. Well, sixty crores for one year means 300 crores for five years. Three hundred crores and eleven hundred crores, if they are compared, it is more than one-fourth. It is not only one-fifth; it is more than one-fifth. Then he says it is all the worse. That is what he said yesterday when he was speaking. It may be worse, but it has to be found. The money that we want for our investment has got to be found and that is what we are trying to do.

Before I come to the question of taxation and resources I should like to speak about where we are today and how much we have progressed, because it has been admitted that we have progressed. That is one thing gained. It has been said that we have made industrial progress; it has been said that we have made progress in agriculture; it has been said that we have advanced in national income. But then it was said, when we said that we have advanced in national income, that looking at the prices we have not advanced at all. Now, Sir, I am giving figures which take into account the advancement of prices also.

Taking 1950-51 as hundred, the real national income in 1960 would be 140—that is, it has advanced by 40. The real income *per capita* would be about 119. Agricultural production would be 133, and it would be more if we take this year's larger production into account. Industrial production would be 171; electricity generation would be 270; railway goods traffic ton miles 186; railway passenger miles 112; mileage of surface roads 138; shipping 189; value of imports 140; value of exports 107; working class consumer prices 121; money supplies 136; *per capita* availability of foodgrains 118; cloth 136; sugar 178; bicycles 338; number of doctors 132; number of hospital beds 147; rural post offices 188 and urban post offices 135.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** The population is 125.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** If the consumption figures of foodgrains, cloth, sugar and bicycles are taken, it means that this increased consumption represents a higher population today than the population of 1950-51. Our population has increased by 2 per cent a year and therefore the increase in foodgrains, in cloth and in all these other matters, has not only taken into account the increased consumption by an individual but also increased consumption at the higher  
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rate by the increased population. That shows how much more we have produced in the country. But if that is consumed it cannot be said that it has not been produced. That shows where we have gone; that shows how much we have advanced. And if we have advanced like that we should certainly advance more. We have got to go much further ahead; there is no doubt about it. But the initial years certainly are always difficult. It is difficult to make faster progress in the initial years. But when you make proper progress, when you lay down a sound foundation, then the progress becomes double, triple, four times, five times afterwards. In the next twenty years I have no doubt that there will not be these complaints which we are hearing today. It is on this basis that we are going today.

Sir, I would also want to give now in terms of other figures how we have advanced more. Foodgrain consumption has gone from 13.9 ounces to 16.4 ounces in 1959; cloth consumption has gone from 12.9 yards to 16 yards; sugar consumption has gone up by 78 per cent *per capita*; the availability of bicycles is 3½ times as much in 1959-60; consumption of vanaspati has doubled over the last ten years; production of radio sets is six times; consumption of soap has gone up by 80 per cent. In 1951-52 118 crores of passenger tickets were sold; in 1959-60 146 crores of railway tickets were sold. In 1950 1.1 lakh hospital beds were available; by 1958 the figure has gone up to 1.6 lakhs. Over the same period the indoor patients treated has gone up from 3.2 million to 6.9 million. In 1950-51 43 per cent of the children in the age-group of 6 to 11 were going to school; the corresponding figure today is 61 per cent. The total irrigated area rose from 51 million acres to 70 million acres; nitrogen fertiliser production rose from 55,000 to 3,60,000; steel from 1.3 million tons to 4.5 million tons at the end of this year. Cement has gone from 2.7 million tons to 8.8 million tons; cloth production has increased from 3,720 million

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yards to 5000 million yards; electricity generation from 2.3 million kilowatts to 6 million kilowatts. The number of towns and villages electrified has risen from 3,687 to 19,000. This is not a mean achievement. It could have been more.

**Acharya Kripalani:** Can these figures be considered reliable? Yesterday the Deputy Minister said that these figures were not reliable.

**The Deputy Minister of Finance (Shri B. R. Bhagat):** I am also being misrepresented.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** If my hon. friend does not rely on the figures, he may not.

**Acharya Kripalani:** I do not.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I do not know what he relies on then?

I am only giving him some comparable figures; even then he quarrels. If he wants to quarrel, he can quarrel; but I do not want to quarrel with him. I only want to present the picture as I see it.

**Mr. Speaker:** One thing is clear. If these figures are correct, as they are claimed to be, he does not dispute.

**Shri Tyagi:** Then he must come over to this side.

**Acharya Kripalani:** I am more on that side than you are.

**Shri Tangamani:** The Agricultural Labour Report has been published, and the figures are not comparable.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** That is said in the report itself. Why not read the report? It has been quoted here; Acharya Kripalani quoted it. That is what the report says; it is not I who say it. That is what my colleague said, but even that is being doubted. When the figures go against them, they say that the figures are

wrong; when the figures are for them, they say they are right.

**Acharya Kripalani:** It is not I who doubted them. It is the Deputy Minister himself who doubted his own figures.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. Let there be no interruption from either side. I personally lose the trend. I want to have a connected picture of what the hon. Minister says. If such interruptions are made, it leaves no impression and if other hon. Members are able to have an impression, they must be much better than myself.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** That may be the purpose—I do not know. This is all allowed in parliamentary practice. Therefore, I won't quarrel with my hon. friend. I only do not behave as they behave—that is all.

**Mr. Speaker:** Let us have a connected picture.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Then it is said that the distribution is not all right, that the benefits have not gone to the villages and to all sections of the people. That is what some friends on this side of the House also have said. I was even challenged to go to the villages. My hon. friends forget that I was born in a village; I belong to a village and I have been seeing as many villages as I can—not that I have not been seeing villages at all. I have many relatives and many friends in villages more than in cities.

**An Hon. Member:** But do not go now.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I am talking of going now. It is not the privilege only of my hon. friends to go to the villages and create trouble.

**Acharya Kripalani:** He also creates trouble? It is his privilege also.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** It is my privilege not to do things in a wrong

way. It is my privilege to do correctly according to my Master. Even at that time, my hon. friend acted differently. We believe differently. So, what could be done? Interpretation also can become different, as he himself says. Therefore, why should he quarrel with that?

**Acharya Kripalani:** I am not quarrelling with you.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** You are looking like that.

**Acharya Kripalani:** He sees my face, and I see his face.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** We could not follow what Acharya Kripalani said.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** If the number of passengers in the railways has increased, and so considerably, they are not all from the upper classes. The upper classes were travelling as much as they could; it is all the other people who are doing so. Who are taking to the cycles now? They are also all the other people. Then, who is eating all the sugar that is produced? Who is consuming more cloth now? The cloth that was to be consumed by the richer classes is there; they did consume it; it is the other people who are consuming it now. And if it is the thesis that the rich have remained richer, that is, their number is not increasing at all, then, where is the question of their consuming more? They were consuming as much as they could, and if they tried to consume more, they would be dead, and they would not be remaining alive. Therefore, it is no good saying that they are consuming more. It is the other people who are consuming more. But I am prepared to say very frankly that the benefits have not reached every person. If that is said, I admit. And it cannot reach within ten years by any human ingenuity. It only can happen as it happens elsewhere. My hon. friend opposite quoted some figures and said that in the socialist countries, especially in Russia, prices never increased. The prices were

skyhigh from the very beginning. So, how were they to increase? These are the figures given.....

**Shri S. A. Dange (Bombay City—Central):** I said that since planning started, the prices never went up like this. In the Soviet Union, planning started in 1928. Shri Asoka Mehta quoted figures prior to 1928.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** But the prices were so high that they could not go high afterwards. That is my thesis. Even I went there last time, at the end of June or the beginning of July, a tomato was sold at four roubles, and mind you, one tomato; and one cucumber of the size which I am showing was selling at three roubles.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** The sweeper's salary is 600 roubles.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** But with 600 roubles, he does not get as much as the man getting Rs. 100 here gets. That is the position. That was what I saw.

And when he talks of profiteering, let him remember that the shoes which are purchased here for Rs. 25 are sold there for Rs. 100. So, what is the use of taxes? Why have any taxes? It is not necessary to have any taxes? These are all added on to the prices. Therefore, there is no necessity for any tax. Where is the question of tax?

The difference in income there is fifty times. The lowest income is 400 or 500 roubles, and the highest is 25,000 roubles per month. Therefore, the difference is fifty times, and it is not less than fifty times. That is not the case here. So, what is the use of saying all that? And there is no income-tax; even the income-tax which is there is sought to be removed, so that those who have 25,000 roubles as income will have nothing to pay from their income at all that is all that can be done, and that is all that my hon. friend can go and tell the people. That is the great line that my hon. friends take. Let them go to the people and

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tell them, and I shall also tell them what I can say, and let the people judge. I have no quarrel with that.

Therefore, when it is said that this benefit has not reached the poorer people, it is all wrong; it is blinking one's eyes at facts. That is all that I have got to say. It has reached, and it is reaching, but I am prepared to say that it has not reached as much as it should reach; it has not reached in the proportion in which it ought to reach. I want them to be still better and better and better. The consumption which is there should go higher and higher and higher, and I want every person, even the lowest person to reach this level. Till then, we have not become a welfare State, that is, until that happens, but we are trying to become a welfare State.

When a child is born, you do not expect that child to behave like an adult, and yet, anybody who tries to make the child behave as an adult only kills the child. Well, that is perhaps the purpose of my hon. friends opposite. But I do not want to be in that category and get killed. I do not want to be like that. I want to progress in a proper manner, so that one could become a healthy adult. And that is what this country is out to do. And I have no doubt that this country will do that and will achieve that in course of time, and that time also is not going to be as much as it took elsewhere. After forty years, even in that country, the standard has not been reached, which is comparable with the standard that is obtaining in Europe today. And the position from which Russia started in 1918 was higher than the position in which we started in this country. They were producing five million tons of steel even in 1915-16 or 1916-17. Therefore, they had far more industrial material at that time than we have had, and if that has to be compared now, here, we have made faster progress than they have made even in those countries. Let it not be said that we have not done so.

In regard to the question of prices and of inflation, prices have moved to some extent, which I have not denied; but, as I said, prices do move. They are bound to move to a certain extent. It is a healthy sign. If we keep the prices at what they were in 1800, then we may think that we shall go ahead, but that will not happen; that cannot happen. That is not a natural law at all. But the prices must not increase beyond a stage which will hit the people. That is all that one has to see, and that is what we are trying to do.

Here, what happens is this. My hon. friends say that the prices must not increase. But, when it comes to agricultural prices, they say, increase the prices. That is what they say when they go to the villages, but when they come here, they say that the prices are high and they should be brought down. How are these two things to be achieved? I do not know. When they go there, they say, ask for more. Now, take sugar. When it is said that the sugar prices are not comparable with the world prices, and we are not able to export, why do you not look at the prices? But, immediately, my hon. friend there will make a *satyagraha* in order to increase the sugarcane prices. That is what he wants.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** On a point of personal explanation. It has never been said on our side or by my party that the sugarcane prices should be increased in a manner in which they will inflate the price of the sugar. But the profits of the millowners are so high that the prices become so high for the consumer.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** If my hon. friend agrees, we shall bring down the price of sugar, and let him agree to bringing down the price of sugarcane. Has he the courage to do so? He does not have the courage to do so.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** Why do you not do so? But then, there would be the necessity for sugar control also.

## Discussion

**Shri Morarji Desai:** The sugarcane producers should have better money by producing more per acre than what they are doing. But there is no incentive today for producing more, because more and more prices are to be paid for the same amount of sugarcane. That is how they want to please the agriculturists. That way, the agriculturist cannot be pleased. If that is how they are going to be pleased, then, one must bid good-bye to all progress. That is not the way that things should be done.

The agriculturists' conditions have got to be bettered. They are better today, and those who have proper holdings of land are in a very good condition today. There is no doubt about it. As for the others also, we want to see that they also improve; by giving them side-industries, such as cottage industries and things like that, we want to do that. That is why we also try to have land reforms. But if land reforms also, in a country like this, are achieved within ten years, I think it is no mean achievement; we shall be finishing our land reforms in a year or two at the most. I do not think it can be called a light achievement at all. Zamindari was removed with a stroke of the pen, and I do not think it has been done anywhere else without bloodshed; here, it has been done without bloodshed by means of the democratic process. That is how we try to achieve things. That is how we want to do things. But, what do my hon. friends say? They say, the prices are increasing, therefore, the cost of living increases, therefore, go and increase the salaries of all people. When the salaries of all the people are increased, then, they say that the prices are increasing, and, therefore, again increase the salaries of people. How is there going to be any saving? Then, again, they say that there is no saving. How is that to be done?

Again, when I say about some tax that if there is some increase in some of the articles which are not bare necessities they can do with less, that

is also being criticised here. Well, there is not even a sense of humour shown. I did not mean it in that sense that they must do without all those things, but when they say certain things lightly, certainly, I can also reply lightly. But I did not know that the standards were different for judging the two things. Now I know. Therefore, I will not speak very lightly about these things. That is all I can say.

But the intention is not that the people must not use these things at all. We do not want people not to use these things. We want people to use these things. We want people to use them and also to pay for them and also to contribute to the production of more and more things so that they enjoy them better. That is why we are trying also to tax some of the articles that we are taxing. I will come to that later.

Then it was said that as regards the companies that are being formed in the private sector, there are only a few companies who are getting more and more and, therefore, there is monopoly capital. We ought to consider the conditions in which we are living. We want to increase our industries as fast as we can. The Government has taken upon itself the development of major industries, basic industries, which require large capital, which Government is investing. But there are various other industries which also must be developed, which are being developed by the private sector. There too there are industries which require a crore of capital or two crores of rupees capital, without which it cannot be done. How can anybody and everybody do it? If there are some people who can do it, they are certainly enabled to do it. But we try to see that others also get the advantage. We are, therefore, bringing in more entrepreneurs in this field by the method of giving licences to those who are new in the field in preference to those who are older in the field, if new men are available. But if new men are not

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available, what has one to do? Then one has to see that the other man gets in. But there too we are trying to see that it is broad-based. We are not allowing one company now to take in the manufacture of an article which is not related to the one it is already manufacturing. We ask them to form another company where other people become shareholders and there is a broad-based ownership. That is how we are trying to disperse it. We are removing the managing agency system. Therefore, the shareholding also is getting more and more distributed. Even if one person manages several companies, it does not mean that he owns them. When managing agency goes—it has gone in several respects—and new companies are not given managing agencies as far as possible, we are able to see that it is dispersed. It is not a pyramid but it is a plateau that we are building. It is a plateau which is coming into existence today. Therefore, it is wrong to argue in this manner when it is said that this is what is happening. If we do not want to advance fast enough, we can certainly say, 'choke up everybody'. There we will remain. It will be a static condition that we will achieve. That will not be socialism at all.

Then it was said that we are building up and going ahead, but are not fully utilising all that we are building up, whether it be in industry or machines or irrigation or power. So far as power is concerned, we are utilising it fully. Power is getting shorter and shorter and it will continue to remain so in the future too. In the matter of irrigation, it is true that all the irrigation that has been provided is not fully utilised. But there too we have got to provide means to people to see that that is done. If efficiency is not there throughout, if amongst the villagers also there is inertia, which inertia has to be removed, it is not their fault. I am not one of those who will find fault with them. The fault will be with them if they do not now get up and do things.

But they are coming up, not that they are not coming up.

In this context, I should like to mention the community development projects. They are also being criticised severely. The community development projects have done a great deal of good. They have enthused the villages; they have awakened the villagers and they are now trying to do things. The Community Project Administration also is now striking a new line there with more production. The first base was made and that base is now strengthened, and people are now coming and have more and more agricultural production and more and more industry too. Therefore, from that point of view also, this is doing some good.

There was perhaps a little static time in that Administration, but it was unavoidable in the conditions in which we were.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** Leave it alone.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Why should anything be left alone? Let it be thrashed out. I do not mind. I do not want anything which does not bear scrutiny. If there is any fault disclosed, we are out to correct it. We do not want to hide it. We do not want to do that. We do not want to be ostriches.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** All right.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** As regards industries, we are building up industries and providing more and more capacities in order that they can expand. But everything cannot be utilised immediately.

Then there is some allergy in labour not to go into third shift. That is what they say. If they do not go into third shift, we cannot force them to do it immediately; we try to persuade them. But that is also something which comes in the way of utilising full capacity. There are various things like that. We have got shortage of raw materials, we have got shortage of foreign exchange. They also come in the way of utilising the full capacity everywhere. But there too we



are making progress, and I am quite sure that in course of time, we will be utilising it very fully.

**Shri T. B. Vittal Rao (Khammam):** Could he name the industries where labour has refused to work third shift?

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Let him ask me afterwards; I will tell him.

**Shri Tangamani:** It is such a sweeping statement.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** It was also said that the expenditure on buildings was much more than on industries—or something like that. That was what was said by my hon. friend, Shri S. A. Dange. But he has not properly scrutinised things as he should have done. I thought that he was a very thorough person, but I find that I am disillusioned in that. The figures shown in Account No. 3 under 'Building and Construction' include construction of roads, high-ways, construction jobs for railways, housing, construction of ports, harbours, schools, hospitals, residential and administrative buildings etc. It is not merely houses that are included in that. In fact, administrative buildings absorb only a small proportion of the total. The figures of machinery and equipment in Account No. 3 pertain mainly to railways and P. and T. Investments in machinery and equipment by non-departmental government undertakings like Hindustan Steel etc. do not figure here. Such investments are made out of budgetary resources transferred by the Central Government to these undertakings by way of investment in shares, loans and grants for capital formation shown in Accounts 3 and 4. The total provision for assistance to non-departmental commercial undertakings for this purpose amounts to Rs. 209 crores for 1961-62, the bulk of which would go to finance investment in machinery and equipment. Part of the financial assistance given to State Governments and local authorities is also for financing their investment in machinery

and equipment. If these are added to the provision for machinery and equipment shown in Account 3, the total provision will be much more than for building and construction. This is how the figures ought to be read.

Even in this, we are effecting as much economy as possible. A special committee was set up and that committee has shown certain improvements in the matter of buildings which are being carried out. Costs are saved and that is being done from time to time. If there are any suggestions in this matter from any hon. Member or their friends, they are welcome, and they will be accepted with gratefulness, but merely saying that the costs are increasing will not do.

It is asked: why have big buildings? Take, for example, Delhi where we are sitting. There are hutments in several places which are 20 years old—more than that. The amount required for repairs every year is more than any permanent building will require. We pay far more in repairs than if we make *pucca* buildings. Lands here are very costly. If we build vertically and not horizontally and if we have permanent *pucca* buildings, that means some saving in cost. It does not mean more cost at all. That is how we are trying to do it. Therefore, it is not a luxury to have these big buildings which we are trying to have.

Even in these big buildings that are being put up, we are trying to remove ornamentation as far as possible. But we must not make them drab. We have got to see that they look well. At any rate anybody seeing them should not get a shock, but should have a pleasant reaction. That has got to be done. These things have got to be seen to.

15 hrs.

Then a question was raised about defence expenditure, and some policy

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also relating to defence. In the matter of defence expenditure, it was said that it was short. Well, let it not be thought that we are not trying to spend on defence as much as we have. We are very vigilant in this matter. We are spending from time to time as much as is necessary for our defence on our borders, and at any time when more expenditure is necessary, we will make it. What is shown in the Budget today is just what is required just now, but we are constantly trying to revise our estimates, and for whatever is required later on, we will be coming to this House with a supplementary Budget. That is how we want to do it, and that is how we are showing it. It is also prudent not to show everything that you want to do immediately, so that the other people are not put wise. But here we seem to think that it is better to put everybody wise except ourselves.

In the matter of defence, it was said that demoralisation had come in because of some promotions or, as it is called, some supersessions. It is this sort of attack which is more responsible for demoralisation than anything else. The army is a very sensitive organisation, and if that sensitive organisation is to be treated in the manner in which it is treated, it will be a calamity for us. There are bound to be promotions, there are bound to be supersessions. If it is argued that every senior person should be promoted to the higher post, we will come to grief. Either in the army or anywhere, people who are strong enough, people who are capable enough ought to go ahead. Nobody has given me a brief. This is what this Government believes in, and because there is some prejudice somewhere, we should not try to do something which will hurt the army. That is my concern.

**Shri Rajendra Singh:** Not even telling the truth?

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I do not know whether my hon. friend will bear to hear the truth which I would like to tell him, but I am wiser in this matter, therefore I will not. Let him also take a lesson from it, and not say the truth every time. One's father is one's mother's husband. That is truth, but one does not tell the mother: here is your husband coming; nor do you tell your father: you are my mother's husband. Nobody says like that. This is also truth, but we do not talk like that. All truth does not require to be told. Truth also means intelligence, truth does not mean stupidity, and truth also has to be given at times. Taking the name of truth is what my hon. friend always sticks to, that is what he wants to fling at me. Therefore, let there be a greater consideration in the interests of the country in this matter.

There is the consultative committee. One can get information from there, from the Defence Minister, from the Prime Minister if you do not want to ask the Defence Minister. All these things are open. They can be talked about. If otherwise we go on creating a sense in the army officers that Members of Parliament will take up the causes of individuals and will go on making an atmosphere, we will be creating more fissiparous tendencies in the army than otherwise.

**Some Hon. Members:** Hear, hear.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** This is what I have to say with great humility. It is not that I am trying to defend my colleague. It is my duty to defend my colleague, but that is not the idea with which I am saying this. I do not mind if either my colleague goes, or I go; if individual members go, that will not be a calamity to the country, but if the army is bandied about in the manner in which it is done, it will be a great calamity for the country. It is therefore that I am pleading with great humility that this question ought to be treated with more care and caution.

The last point that I should refer would be the question of national integration and unity. It was referred to by Acharya Kripalani and by some other hon. Members too. He said that moral standards were going down. I do not know whether they are going down, I do know that they were very low. I do not know that unity is broken, I know that there was no unity in this country. We are building up unity. Mahatma Gandhi built up unity to some extent by appeal to people's souls and by a great appeal, the appeal of freedom, which is an obvious appeal, and which certainly binds people. We become free, the appeal disappeared. Mahatma Gandhi also disappeared, and he disappeared also for our own faults. We have now to build up unity. Will we build up unity by always beating our breasts and running down each other? We will build up unity only if we do not cast stones at each other. We will build up unity only if we are going to have more sympathy with each other, and if we do not publicly expose our country to criticism from abroad that we are quarrelling among ourselves. We have got to consider these things more quietly, with greater wisdom and with greater caution. There have been castes, but the castes are crumbling. I see good signs in what is coming ahead. There are bad signs too. I do not say there are no bad signs, but there are ample good signs.

Take the question of the reorganisation of this country, the reorganisation of States. It did create a lot of trouble for us—not that it did not create—but even after the trouble that was created, the country has been reorganised into States and we are living peacefully. In the world, no other country has been able to do this. That is again the vitality which this country has shown. Why do we not take account of these facts? We are also slowly breaking down the barriers of caste and creed. There is more and more cohesion coming. Caste is disappearing. My Harijan

friends are complaining that sufficient has not been done. I do not want to argue with them that sufficient is being done, but we are trying to do as much as we can, and in this country, as in no other country, a 2,000-year-old evil has been fought, and fought more successfully than anywhere else. There are some things remaining which we want to remove, and I have no doubt that we will remove them in a much shorter period than people imagine, because it is only the last bastion which takes the longer time, it is the last purification that takes the longer time. Therefore, we are trying to do that. But if we do not try to do that, and if we only try to find fault with each other, we will take a longer time, we will be hurting ourselves. It is therefore I am saying that if national integration has to be made, it can be made only by our trying to have sympathy with each other, by taking note of our faults which have come to us as a legacy, but not by manufacturing more and more terms of difference amongst ourselves, or by widening these rifts.

I read in the *Panchatantra* a story of a monkey and other monkeys and it was called, कोलोत्पाटीव वानरः .

There was another story in which monkey had a wound and the other monkeys came and began to see the wound and open it up, and the monkey was dead. That is all that happened. If that is what we do, then we will be nowhere. Nobody does it deliberately.

**Acharya Kripalani:** Mr. Speaker, I quoted from the Prime Minister himself. Was it exposing us to foreign ridicule when he said that if we went on like this, all our plans would be destroyed?

**Shri Morarji Desai:** And that is what I am saying too.

**Acharya Kripalani:** Then, what are you talking about? I wanted you to have some self-analysis and see where the country was going. If you are not going to heed, I am very sorry.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I am not saying that I am not heeding. I am saying I am heeding.

**Acharya Kripalani:** This is not the way to treat a serious subject, in this light manner.

**Shri Tyagi:** Why light?

**Shri Morarji Desai:** It is not I who am treating it lightly. It is my hon. friend who has no patience with me. That is all that I would say.

**Mr. Speaker:** One can always say to some extent it is proper criticism, beyond that it is accusation. Therefore, the hon. Finance Minister is entitled to say that up to a particular point, with a view to rectifying, criticism is welcome; beyond that, it is only exposure and destruction. There can be differences of opinion.

**Acharya Kripalani:** I have accused nobody. I only pointed out what the Prime Minister has himself pointed out.

**Mr. Speaker:** Why does he take it personally in the Opposition there?

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I have not criticised my hon. friend in what I have said. I have not criticised him. I do not know why he has taken it upon himself. That has been farthest from my imagination.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have called as many as sixteen Leaders of the Opposition Groups and others. Acharya Kripalani is only one. The hon. Finance Minister is answering all of them collectively. Why should he think that this reply is only to him.

**Acharya Kripalani:** This point was raised by me.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I am not making a counter-reply to my hon. friend.

**Acharya Kripalani:** That is all right.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I am only trying to plead with this House. I went

a little further than him. I said we are disunited in this country and we want to be united. I am only trying to say that there is no other way of doing it. I am submitting these for his consideration. I am not trying to counter him at all. Why does he think that I am countering him? I am also trying to point out that the method by which we are trying to achieve it is not going to achieve it, if we are not taking heed of certain things. That is all that I am doing. Am I not entitled to bring them to his consideration? But then he thinks that I am trying to say something against him. How can I say? He has spent far more years in public service than I have done. I am not a person to challenge his motives. I am not a person to challenge his wisdom. I do not do that. But even when I do not challenge his wisdom, I may claim more wisdom in some matters than he. He can claim far more wisdom than I in many things but in one matter I may claim a little more wisdom. If a disciple is cleverer than the Guru, I think it is a tribute to the guru rather than annoyance to him. I do not know why he should be in doubt about it. That is all that I have got to plead with him.

**Mr. Speaker:** I am looking at the clock.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** That is what I am also doing, Sir. But what can I do? I want to refer to what the hon. Member from Madras who belongs to the Dravida Kazhagam Party....

**An Hon. Member:** Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Minister may say DMK Party.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I am sorry, Sir; if I am not able to pronounce it, it is my stupidity; that is all that I would say.

**Shri Tangamani:** You must know the correct name of the Party....  
(Interruptions.)

**Shri Morarji Desai:** He said that I had a bias against the South. I do not know from whence he brought it. But he has a bias completely against everybody else, except himself and his party. Therefore, he sees bias everywhere. He and his Party condemn everybody; it says that they want to get out. Are they pleading for unity? They want to break up the country.... (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Sampath (Namakkal):** It is you who are imposing Hindi to break it soon.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** When there was the Independence movement, they were up against it; they were with the British Government; they welcomed the Simon Commission and they even pleaded with it.

**Shri Sampath:** On a point of personal explanation, Sir. Our Party was started only in 1949, that is, after independence.

**Shri Palaniandy:** That is their tradition. They invited the Simon Commission when we were opposed to it.... (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Sampath:** That was the Justice Party; its leaders are in the Congress now.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I have absolutely no bias against the South. I do not belong to any particular part; I belong to the whole of India but he wants to belong to Tamil Nad only.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Minister also comes from the South of Vindhya.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I do not come from the north at all. I do have great respect for the south, as I have great respect for the east and as I have great respect for the west. We are trying to have equal development everywhere. We can develop all regions if we work together and do not try to run down each other. Therefore, let it not be said that I have any bias against the south or against anybody. Let him forget his

bias against all the others. That is all the appeal that I can make to him at the end.

**Shri Tyagi:** What about the taxes?

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I thought of speaking on them at the time of the Finance Bill.

**Shri Rajendra Singh:** What about the Budget being discussed in this House first?

**Shri Morarji Desai:** That is not my function.

The taxes on the items such as *supari*, kerosene, tobacco etc. were discussed. I explained them in the other House and that was also there before the hon. Members here. As regards *supari*, there is no question of doing anything as I said, because it is only the imported material that is taxed. The local material is not taxed at all. We are trying now to see that those people who import do not raise the price by telling them that they will not get the import licence in future. We will do that. In future we will see that only those people get import licences who do not increase the prices but keep the prices properly. We are also trying to find out ways and methods whereby we may in future see that the prices do not increase, after the Budget, in the manner they do now. But it is a very difficult proposition. There is one remedy as was pointed out—the Preventive Detention Act—if the hon. Members empower the Government to apply it. Let them provide the Government with such powers. But even then, it may become a difficult matter. Some of the traders will see that they will have no material. It is not such a simple matter as it appears to be. I am seriously trying to find out what we can do to see that after the Budget is announced, things do not take a spurt in prices as it happens, though I have always found that after a month or so things come down again and stabilise. That is what happens.

I have considered the difficulties of the different classes of people pointed

[Shri Morarji Desai]

out in the debates in the two Houses and have also met a large number of deputations who had any difficulties to explain. After taking all these into account, I propose to reduce the effective incidence of the increase in the excise on kerosene by 50 per cent. Steps are also being taken to see that all kerosene which falls in the category of inferior kerosene is quickly released from bond, so that it can be made available in different parts of the country. As there is no increase in the duty on this type of kerosene there will be no increase in its price. Some of the kerosene produced by the Assam Oil Company also falls in this category and has been moving freely. Steps are also being taken to increase the import of inferior kerosene, so that it may be available in adequate quantities throughout the country. Import of inferior kerosene in the place of superior kerosene will reduce the expenditure on foreign exchange. Kerosene which is now-a-days classed as inferior has not a very high carbon content and in actual use it will not make any marked difference.

I am also taking steps to reduce by 50 per cent the incidence of compounded levy on units of 3 or 4 power looms, which will be paying the excise on cotton cloth for the first time. Similarly, steps are being taken to introduce tax on the slab basis for small units of power-looms so as to avoid a sharp increase in the burden of duty at the stage of transition.

There have been several suggestions to exempt yarns of counts 1 to 10 so as to benefit coarse cloth as well as cotton carpets woven on hand-loom which I propose to accept. I have also considered the case of woollen carpets. A very large part of such carpets is exported and steps will be taken to see that they get full drawback of the duty on wool. On the other hand, it is not possible to give complete exemption to wool purchased by manufacturers of such carpets in order to

avoid diversion of such wool for manufacture of cloth.

In order to ensure that when a small family works on its own without any use of power or assistance of hired labour, it is not put to hardship, steps have been taken to exempt their production from duty and this policy will be continued. Similarly, in order to reduce administrative inconvenience for small manufacturers, I am considering what steps can be taken to recover excise duty from them on the basis of their own accounts open to periodical inspection instead of by posting excise officers at their place of manufacture. In this connection, it will, however, be necessary to ensure that proper and correct accounts are regularly kept and there is no evasion.

I have also considered the case of producers of inferior coffee which has no export market. If suitable measures can be devised to distinguish such coffee and to avoid evasion, I will be prepared to consider partial exemption of such coffee from the present increase of duty.

In the course of my discussions with the trade I have clarified that in the case of plastics and glass and glassware, the duty will be at one stage only, that is, at the stage of powder, granule or flake in the case of plastics and at the first stage such as sheet and tubes in the case of glass. Other items made out of duty paid plastic powder or glass sheet or glass tube will not be liable to duty. It is, however, necessary to retain other categories in the tax schedule so as to ensure that imported goods falling in those categories bear the countervailing duty.

There have been a number of complaints—that is what I said about betelnuts.

As I have said often in this House, Sir, it is always the attempt of this Government to see that cottage industries are properly protected, and wherever we find that they are hurt we will try to take steps throughout

the year to see that they are protected. That is all, Sir, that I can say in the matter of taxes.

**Shri Tyagi:** What about hooka tobacco?

**Shri Morarji Desai:** In the matter of hooka tobacco it does not mean much expenditure at all, and there is no question of reducing the duty. (*Interruption*).

**Some Hon. Members rose—**

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. The rest of the Finance Bill. Will the hon. Minister say for how long he wants this Vote on Account?

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Only for one month.

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

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the third column of the order paper, be granted to the President, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1962, in respect of the heads of demands entered in the second column thereof against Demands Nos. 1 to 141."

*The motion was adopted.*

[*The motions for Demands for Grants on Account which were adopted by the Lok Sabha are reproduced below—Ed.*]

15.22 hrs.

#### DEMANDS FOR GRANTS ON ACCOUNT 1961-62

##### DEMAND No. 1—MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,44,000 be granted to the President, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1962 in respect of Ministry of Commerce and Industry."

##### DEMAND No. 2—INDUSTRIES

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,64,55,000 be granted to the President, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1962 in respect of Industries."

##### DEMAND No. 3—SALT

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,47,000 be granted to the President, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1962 in respect of Salt."

##### DEMAND No. 4—COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE AND STATISTICS

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,77,000 be granted to the President, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1962 in respect of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics."

##### DEMAND No. 5—MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENT AND EXPENDITURE UNDER THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 19,66,000 be granted to the President, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1962 in respect of Miscellaneous Department and Expenditure under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry."

##### DEMAND No. 6—MINISTRY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND CO-OPERATION

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,55,000 be granted to the President, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1962 in respect of Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation."