

THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1971-72—General Discussion—contd.

SHRI M. K. MOHTA (Rajasthan) :
 Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the budget of any Government is not simply an ordinary account of the receipts and disbursements of the Government for a particular period of time and the ways and means of covering any deficits that might arise. It is well established and accepted by all leading economists that the economic policy pursued by a Government is the single most important factor in the economic development of a nation. It has been said, Sir, that the budget of our country—the fiscal and monetary policies followed by our Government—should be so formulated that they would result in growth with stability. The people of the country have given a massive mandate to the present ruling party. That is a fact which cannot be denied. But I wonder whether members of the ruling party are in sufficient touch with the people to know that their economic and fiscal policies now are a matter of great joke among the people and the people are asking themselves whether growth means only the growth of the bureaucratic sector and whether stability means only the stability of the ruling party because the budget that has been presented by the hon. Finance Minister does not promise either growth or stability. I may submit, Sir, that the budget that has been presented will sap the nation's strength, blight confidence and strangle enterprise. By constricting growth and aggravating inflation, the budget will definitely increase poverty. The slogan of the ruling party, *gcuihi hatao*, notwithstanding the real effect in economic terms of this budget along with the Fiscal and monetary policies followed by the Government would be to distribute poverty, not to banish poverty. Sir, on this question I would submit that one should have a very clear picture of the task ahead—a very clear picture of the position of India in the comity of nations, the comparative economic strength and weaknesses of our country as compared both to developing nations and developed nations. This requires a great deal

of imagination, much more imagination than the Government has shown up till now.

Sir, if by the turn of the century, namely, the year 2,000 which is hardly 30 years from now the people of India have to achieve the same living standard as the people of the developed nations of today. I am not yet ambitious enough to say that we should catch up with those people, because the people of the developed nations would have developed so much in the next thirty years that it would perhaps be astronomical and quite unreal on our part to hope to catch up. But I set to myself the more modest and, to my mind, achievable task of reaching the same standard that the developed nations of the world have today. By the year 2,000 the population of this country would have increased to 100 crores. This huge population of 100 crores would need something like 759 million tonnes of steel. It staggers my imagination because we are producing 7 million tonnes today and we would need 750 million tonnes of steel. We would need 50 million motor cars against not even 50,000 cars we are producing to-day. We will need 10 million trucks, 50,000 million yards of cloth. Our people, according to me, should aim at a *per capita* income of Rs. 25,000 by the end of 2,000 as against Rs. 500 today. I am mentioning these to illustrate the enormity of the task before us. If we are to achieve the *per capita* income of Rs. 25,000 as against Rs. 500 today, all this talk of achieving a growth rate of 5 per cent per year will not stand us in good stead. This 5 per cent per year would not be able to give us the living standard of the developed nation of the world as of to-day. I submit that even if we were to achieve a growth rate of 300 per cent per decade, or 5 per cent per year—I have tried to do some arithmetic and I find that—Rs. 500 would become Rs. 1,500 in 10 years, Rs. 4,500 in 1990 and 13,500 in 2,000 which will still be short of the target of Rs. 25,000, which to my mind, should be set before us. Other developed countries of the world have demonstrated that it is possible to achieve a much higher rate of growth than we have been able to

[SHRI ML K. MOHTA] achieve it] now. During the last decade, a study has revealed, that India's per capita income rose by 4 per cent whereas Japan's rose by 213 per cent, Australia's by 87 per cent and Singapore's in only 5 years by 50 per cent. If Japan can increase its per capita income by 213 per cent in a decade, starting from a much higher base, India, with a much lower base, can definitely plan for an increase in real per capita income of 3 times in every decade. That is the minimum we should achieve, I make bold to suggest that the present fiscal and monetary policies of the Government are not calculated to achieve this growth rate. As matters stand to-day, Singapore's per capita income is 10 times that of India, Japan's 20 times, Australia's 33 times. I am not quoting West Germany and USA. They are much higher. The point I am making is, that the policies of the Government which are reflected in the budget of any Government to-day such that they stress on the public sector which means that the Government does not leave any money in the hands of the public to save and invest. I would submit that in many countries, thousands and perhaps lakhs of enterprisers—big, medium and small—are enabled to do their bit in this great task that is before us. We will not be able to make any achievement at all. Mr. Lester Pearson was appointed by the World Bank to study the developing countries, and the Commission headed by Mr. Lest. Pearson came to the conclusion that of the 60 countries which scored an annual growth of 6 per cent during the first seven years, 13 achieved 5 per cent and India achieved only 3.2 per cent. For the decade as a whole India would come to no more than 3.6 per cent as against the rise of 2.5 per cent which I meant an insignificant increase in the real per capita income over the decade as a whole.

Sir, it has been argued on more than one occasion that taxes are nothing but conversion of private savings into public

I have heard this argument many times and I have pondered over it and I have come to the conclusion that this is completely unfounded and a false thesis. I would have conceded that it is only a transfer of private savings into public savings had the money that was so taken through taxes from the pockets of the public to the coffers of the exchequer had been wisely and profitably spent by the Government. As matters stand today we see that the non-developmental expenditure of the Government rises year by year. The taxes that the poor, the middle class and the rich, every one from all sections of the society pay to the Government do not yield any commensurate benefit to the society as a whole. The only effect that takes place is that less money is in the hands of the public to invest in really productive enterprises and the money is squandered away in non-productive schemes of the Government: the only achievement we get is inflation. Sir, it is a well known principle of economics that if money is spent on non-productive enterprises, it will be inflation and not investment. Sir, it is a well known principle of economics that if money is spent on non-productive enterprises, it will be inflation and not investment. Sir, it is a well known principle of economics that if money is spent on non-productive enterprises, it will be inflation and not investment.

Sir, apart from the fact that there is a very real unemployment problem at the moment we face today and that is unemployment. According to the Commission on Unemployment in the country is 23 million and it has increased rather than decreased. It is not a matter of getting diminished unemployment that is the nature of unemployment made by the Government, not employment-oriented. To start with, not productive at all and then it is not employment-oriented. Sir, all the schemes and plans of the Government would come to naught if it is not provided to this huge army of the unemployed and the unemployed.

Public sector concerns is such that a sizeable dent in this problem cannot be made by an expansion of the public sector only. The Government has stated on more than one occasion that it does not favour monopoly, that it does not favour concentration of economic power in the country. I make bold to suggest that the only power, whether economic or political, is concentrated in the hands of the State. A private individual, however highly placed, has no power at all and the fiscal policies of the Government have been framed in such a way that there is no encouragement or incentive to the newcomer in trade and industry. Very few industrial concerns that exist in the country can have some savings and expand. What about the new entrepreneur? The taxation system has been designed in such a way that neither an individual nor a small private company which alone can form companies can do so. It is difficult to think of small-scale industrialists and business-men forming public limited companies. The taxation on individuals and private limited companies is such that they do not leave any savings and in the absence of such savings these small businessmen and small entrepreneurs find it extremely difficult to grow. Real growth in the country can come about only if lakhs of entrepreneurs can take upon their shoulders this task and for this purpose it is necessary that the rates of personal taxes and the rates of taxes on private limited companies also are kept at such a level that they would encourage initiative and enterprise.

Much has been said about the effects of deficit financing on the economy as a whole and on the price structure. A scrutiny of the Budget of the Government would reveal that on the revenue account there was not any substantial deficit a matter of feet, last year also on the revenue account the Government had a sizeable surplus. This year almost the entire deficit arose out of the capital budget of the Government. I venture to suggest that whereas recourse to deficit financing for the purpose of financing the administrative expenditure of the Government is inflationary—there can be two opinions about

it—the creation of credit for productive purposes on capital account is not in the same class. That cannot be termed inflationary for the very simple reason that when money is invested in productive enterprises, whether out of taxes or out of loans or even out of created credit, it has the effect of increasing production and production is the only way to fight inflation. Therefore* this money, if it is spent on productive enterprises, cannot have an inflationary effect. It was not necessary for the Government to have imposed such a heavy dose of taxation only for the purpose of financing their capital projects. The same amount of money could have been made available by loan operations which would have had the effect of leaving some savings in the hands of the public for reinvestment in productive enterprises and the growth of our economy on a much bigger scale. May I submit, Sir, that one does not need the very expensive outfit of a vast Finance Ministry to manage the task of impoverishing talent and enterprise, which has become a political gimmick. A very simple expedient would be perhaps to make somebody like my friend Mr. >h Gupta, the Finance Minister, and one of his actions would be to put a 10 per cent tax on all incomes. It does not matter whether the organisation or great it is, it will take away money from the people. Or perhaps if you put a Naxalite in that sea, you go a step further and say, put a tax >pk against the wall and eliminate it: that would eliminate inflation from the country, and inflation before us is not of levelling down. It is very difficult to create something, it is very difficult to create something. The process of levelling up requires great imagination and effort, and I am sorry to say that the Finance Minister has not shown any initiative towards that. Not only that, the time and effort and organisation, limited as they are, are being squandered away in unimportant schemes which do not promise any social benefits. I refer to the inflation in the country. It is well known that the public enterprises are in a bad way and a lot of effort is needed, a lot of

[SHRI M. K. MOHTA]

time, a lot of organisational skill, is needed | to pull them out of the sorry state of affairs | that they are in. The same effort if applied | to improving the working of the public sector | concerns would have yielded much greater | dividends in a social sense than the nation- | alisation of general insurance or the put- | ting up of several bakeries or the putting up | of rice mills with which the Government | seems obsessed today.

The hon. Finance Minister also mentioned something about State overdrafts which have become all but uncontrollable. It appears, Sir, that State overdrafts today stand at the staggering figure of Rs. 260 crores, and in spite of the fact that it is the Government of India that does out a lot of grants and aids to the States and is in a position to put some pressure on the States to have some financial discipline before coming to the Government of India for further aids and further grants in spite of this fact the Government has not been able to persuade the State to make all the efforts that are possible by them to raise their own resources within the four corners of the Constitution.

I do not understand why the rural rich, the new rich class among the agriculturists, have been spared and what is the social philosophy that compels the Government to tax an urban salary earner even if he earns Rs. 6000 a year, whereas a rich farmer earning Rs. 50,000 a year or Rs. 1 lakh a year goes scotfree. People have been uncharitable enough to impute motives. I do not want to go into that question but the fact remains that neither any social compulsion nor any economic justification exists for exempting this class of people from paying at least a small share to the developmental effort of the country. Coming to the taxation proposals of the 3 p.m. Government, I find, notwithstanding the comment of some people, journalists or businessmen or politicians that the corporate sector has been left out completely, that a very terrible blow has been struck at industrial development— at industrial

development by the three measures introduced by the Finance Minister, namely, the development rebate will no longer be available to industries after May, 1974; the tax holiday has been watered down to such an extent that Rs. 14 crores would be lost every year by the industries and the list of priority industries has been shortened quite substantially. On a study of the taxation proposals on the corporate sector, it would seem that the Government has come to the conclusion that the country has developed to such an extent that further development is not necessary or perhaps not desirable, the economy has become over-heated as they say in America. But the fact remains that the industries which have been taken out of the list of priority industries are the very industries which the country is in great need of today. Take for instance aluminium which has developed only during the last few years and which has still a long way to go before the country becomes self-sufficient in aluminium and is able to replace copper which we are short of. Another industry is motor trucks and buses. I wonder whether motor trucks are not considered an essential item for the economy of the nation; road transport is not considered essential and important for the economy of the nation and buses are not considered essential for the man in the street, the common man, as you call him. Refractories—I understand that we are going to import refractories to the tune of Rs. 20 crores and yet this industry is not considered essential enough to be retained under the heading of priority industries. Petro-chemicals is another new field that we have entered into a few years ago and we have a long way to go, and yet this is another industry which has been taken away from the list of priority industries.

In the case of development rebate also, this was one single catalytic factor which encouraged the establishment of industries in this country. But somehow it has been made out by the Government that this was either an unintended gift to the industrialists or something very anti-social, which should be stopped immediately. I was extremely surprised to read in the papers

the comment of no less a person than the Senior Economic Adviser to the Government of India saying that the development rebate worked to the detriment of the Central Exchequer to such an extent that a company with an investment of Rs. 30 crores made a profit of Rs. 40 crores due to the working of the development rebate. It is a fantastic statement coming from such a senior officer because out of Rs. 30 crores some assets would be such that do not attract any development rebate at all, like land and so many other things, and there must be some other assets which are in the nature of working capital only, and if the assets which attract the development rebate amount to perhaps Rs. 20 crores, they would be able to give development rebate of Rs. 5 crores only to the company, out of which the tax saving would be only Rs. 2 1/2 crores. I do not understand how does the Government come to the conclusion that Rs. 40 crores of profit could be made on this one head alone. This is the kind of muddled thinking that goes on in the Finance Ministry, and proposals are put forward which have the effect of slowing down our developmental tempo, slowing down the development of industries instead of encouraging the industries.

Sir, wealth tax on initial issues was exempted over a period of time because it was considered desirable to do so keeping in view the long gestation period of some industries. Now that also has been withdrawn.

Higher income tax on individuals will naturally eat into the capacity of individuals to save and re-invest. There would be disinvestment year after year from certain classes of people. I wonder whether it would be in the best interest of the economy as a whole.

Another tax proposal that the Government has is regarding a ceiling on salaries paid to company executives. I wonder, Sir, whether the Government has taken into account the fact that more and more highly qualified, highly experienced officers,

executives are needed by trade, business and industry, so to look after the dynamic value of business and industry in the country. Business is no longer a *X concern but has come to such an extent that special knowledge is needed. The Government has perhaps not applied the same kind of discipline that this kind of discipline may result in brain drain. Our best scientists, doctors and our best technicians in many other fields are already leaving.

Sir, the mandate that the people have given to the ruling party also included I mandate that no tax burden should be added to the burden of the poorer sections of the society. Unfortunately, we find that articles of mass consumption like coarse medium cloth, maida, soap and a host of other articles have been made the object of additional taxation by the Government. I do not know under what ideology.

Another intriguing tax that has come from the Finance Minister is the tax on air fares. It is a curious arithmetic of the Government of India that whereas they hope to raise Rs. 7 crores from this tax, Air India which is a wholly owned concern of the Government would stand to lose as much as Rs. 8 crores a year due to the operation of this tax. I do not know whether the Government's budgeting for surplus or deficit as far as this particular tax is concerned.

Another very intriguing tax that has come is regarding import duty on viscose staple fibre. The viscose staple fibre is a substitute for cotton which is in extreme short supply in the country. This is not a commodity which the country imports as normal import but has agreed to import this year only because the cotton crop in the country has failed.

Coming on the heels of the Government to import staple fibre is this increase in the import duty from 25 to 100 per cent which has had the effect of paralysing the trade and industry and some 40,000 bales of

[SHRI M. K. MOHTA]

staple fibre are lying uncleared in the docks or unclaimed on the high seas because no cotton mill or spinning mill is in a position to pay this high rate of 100 per cent, on viscose staple fibre. The net result of all these taxes that the Government levied or proposes to levy in the Budget would to slow down further the industrial and economic development of the country which is already in a very low ebb.

If we are to achieve a higher rate of growth, the development of industry is a must. And while we talk about the development of industry, the time factor must be taken into consideration. It is one thing to say that we will develop to this extent within three years' time and it is quite another to say that the same development would be achieved in 20 years or 30 years. The time factor is something which the Government has been missing all along. I could have development of the country in a very short period of time. The public is not going to be patient enough to allow the Government to follow whatever policies they like if immediate relief is not provided to it in a very short period of time. So, if the time factor is given the due importance that it deserves, the policies of the Government would have to be framed in such a way that they encourage savings, they encourage investment and they encourage growth. Unfortunately, the Budget fails to do all these.

SHRI VITHAL NARHAR GADGIL (Maharashtra) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am happy that my maiden speech in this august House should begin with congratulations for the Finance Minister. He has brought a Budget which is socialist in outlook and radical in content. I know that friends of mine in the Opposition have been very critical of him. I am not surprised. Those on the extreme left are dissatisfied because he is not doctrinaire. And those on the extreme right are unhappy because he is progressive. The very fact, Sir, that both sides have criticised him lends assurance to my conviction that he is on the right lines.

Sir, I will judge the Budget in the context of the mandate given to my great party by the great people of this country. The manifesto and the Budget must be read together. The text and the context must go together. What was that mandate for? That mandate was for socialism. Sir, I shall not define socialism. I have been a practising barrister for the last 15 years and a professor for nearly 12 years. And you know what happens to people belonging to these professions when they start defining terms. I remember, some years ago in the Bombay High Court where I practise a sugarcane grower filed a petition under the Sales-tax Act. And the question was: what is a vegetable? Learned arguments were advanced by lawyers for several days; various dictionaries were cited; rulings of several High Courts were produced. And then two distinguished judges of the Bombay High Court solemnly declared that sugarcane is a vegetable! Therefore, I will not define. And shall I say what happens to professors? Perhaps Mr. Bhupesh Gupta will be interested.

AN HON. MEMBER : He is not present.

SHRI VITHAL NARHAR GADGIL : I remember a story about Hegel, the guru of Karl Marx. He was once approached by a young man in love. He asked "What is love?" Hegel was, after all, a professor. He said, "Young man, love is the ideality of the reality of the infinitesimal portion of the absolute totality of the Being." What it means, I do not know. I read it 20 years ago. I still do not know what it means.

Sir, it is said that there are 52 definitions of "Socialism". I do not propose to add one more. Broadly speaking, I would say that in any theory of socialism, there are three basic concepts; (1) To bring about such structural readjustments as would result in change of property relationships. (2) whether there is more and more social ownership of important means of production; and (3) whether there is reduction in economic inequalities and disparities. Now,

apply these three tests to the present Budget brought by the Finance Minister. The nationalisation of banks and the taking over of general insurance have already assured us social ownership of important centres of economic power. The drastic increase in the wealth-tax read along with the income-tax proposals will surely result in changing the basic property relationships. It is in the field of economic inequalities that I may have to make some observations on the Budget. I say that the Finance Minister must be congratulated on a particularly radical proposal which has completely endeared him to me and that is in respect of his proposal to arm the Government with the power to acquire property at the prices mentioned in the sale deed. But I say that it is not enough. I am not congratulating him for what he has done. But I may have to make some observation for which he has yet not done. I am not satisfied enough. There are other dishonest men in the society who give false returns, false values, in their income-tax and wealth tax returns. That is a national theft. It is really a fraud on the people, a grand larceny on a grand scale. Therefore, I would urge on the Finance Minister that the Government should also arm the Government with further power that the Government led to acquire property at mentioned not only in the sale deed, but also at the values and prices mentioned in the wealth-tax and income-tax returns. Then only can he justly claim that he has taken, and ail dishonest men at their word. Therefore, as far as these areas are concerned, I congratulate him.

Then I have to make some observations firstly with regard to rural sector, and perhaps Mr. Mohta will find me in his company in that respect. I agree that the rural sector is not properly taxed. What

happened to the rural economy in the last hundred years? What has happened is that three forces have completely changed the rural economy. Industries have been urbanised, agriculture has been commercialised and political power is centralised. And what is the result? The result is that three new forces have come to dominate

the rural life: the local village officer—whether he is called patel or patwari makes no difference—represents the political power, the administration; the big, the really big farmer who represents the traditionally economic and political leadership in the village; and the local trader who links the district place with the big business in the metropolitan. These three dominate. Any organisation by the weak, by the landless and the neglected, is resisted by these three forces. They infiltrate into their organisations, set up fictitious organisations and see that any organised effort is destroyed. They are really, if I may say so, Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh, the Trimurti of the rural areas; one creates, the other sustains and the third destroys any organisation by the weak. And to this Trimurti is now [added a fourth character and that is the businessman from the urban areas, the film actors and actresses, who purchase agricultural lands. I do not know what ensues. Perhaps one consultation with the income-tax expert convinces them that they have love for the rural life. They are suddenly so much attracted by the charm of rustic existence that several of them have purchased lands. We know the reason. The reason is obvious. They want to change their money from black into white. I come from Poona and I learnt that actor Mehmood has recently purchased agricultural land there.

I do not know when he became an agriculturist except perhaps in some film or another where he had to act as an agriculturist. This is what is happening in the rural sector, it is not as if agricultural income was never taxed. You know Sir, till 1873 the British had imposed agricultural income tax. For political reasons later on they gave it up. But since then in one Finance Commission, three Taxation Inquiry Committees and a number of experts have pointed out that there is no justification for not introducing agricultural income-tax. The inequity of it is obvious. I do not want to go into all the figures. A study on this was carried out by no less a person than Shri Asoka Mitra and his report says that the incidence of direct

[SHRI VITHAL NARHER GADGIL] taxes, as far as the agricultural sector is concerned, is 3-7 per cent whereas the tax burden in non-agricultural sector is as high as 128 per cent. I will be immediately told that there are difficulties and the matter is pending in the Supreme Court and political problems of Centre-State relations will be involved. But may I say this since 1938 when Bihar first imposed agricultural income-tax, at least ten States including the States of Tamil Nadu and Bengal have already imposed agricultural income-tax. So, there will be no political difficulty on the basis of Centre-State relationship. What is required is uniformity which is lacking. In the State I come from we have introduced agricultural income-tax. But the position is that net income up to Rs. 36,000 is exempted from income-tax. The result is that a man earning Rs. 3,000 a month is not taxed whereas a high-school teacher in Bombay or Poona earning Rs. 500 a month has to pay tax. I ask : Is this social justice ? Is this economic equality that a particular section in the community is favoured to that extent ? I do not want to be critical.- I only want to make certain suggestions. I would suggest to the Finance Minister that he should circulate a model Bill on agricultural income-tax as he has done in the case of ceiling on urban property. Circulate it among all the States and tell them that unless this Bill is passed, the Centre will be reluctant to give any kind of assistance to them. It is only then that uniformity will be brought about and social justice will be done.

Why am I insisting on this and agitating this point ? It is because I feel that this budget has hurt the middle class very much. Cr.ly the other day I was in Bombay. I asked a high-school lady teacher what her reaction to the budget was. Her reply consisted of a description of a day in her life. She said : "I got up in the morning. When I went to the bath-room, I realised that soap is expensive. I took a wash and started applying perfume oil. Then I realised that it is expensive. Then I sat

at the breakfast table. The bread was staring at me to tell me that it is more expensive. Then in my hurry to go to the school, I broke a glass only to realise that it will be more expensive now. Then I missed my train and had to hire a taxi to go to the school. The taxi-wallah would not accept the fare recorded on the metre. When I went to the bazaar to buy a ready-made shirt for my son, I realised that that was also more expensive. I came home and put on the pressure cooker again to realise that it was more expensive. In the end, after the dinner was over and before retiring to bed, I wanted to amuse my children. So I sent for the playing cards. They are also more expensive." On the top of this, she told me that she will be exempted from income-tax only on the condition that she saved Rs. 400/- a year. I say, realise the political implications if this.

Sir, the middle class which is the backbone of the society any which provides intellectual leadership to any country, if that middle class starts equating socialism or radicalism with this kind of taxation then it will be alienated from socialism. These political implications must be realised. Therefore, I would request the Finance Minister to increase the limit as suggested by the Bhoothalingam Committee up to Rs. 7,500. I will immediately be asked : The; what are the alternative resources ? I do not think the corporate sector is taxed enough. I do not propose to go into all those statistics. But I find that the effective rate of taxes on the corporate sector is now 44 per cent and I will rely on a publication by no less an institution than the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry which shows that it is much less than in France, West Germany and many other western countries. There are a number of other avenues through which more revenue can be collected and therefore, I would suggest that the middle class should be given the relief in various ways, including withdrawing the levy on maida so that social justice would be done. This is because, Sir, we are in a stage where you cannot have a taxless society. My friends in the Jana Sangh would probably

recall that the best definition of kingdom given was by Banabhata in his Kadambari. He said that that kingdom is the best which...

यस्मिन् राज्ये करग्रहणम् विवाह समये एव ।

'Karagrahanam' is only at the time of marriage. But, in socialism 'karagrahamm' is not only at the time of marriage, but it is always an annual affair. Therefore, Sir, taxes are inevitable, but I am only complaining that they should fall on the proper persons.

Lastly, Sir, I would say this that I have tried to analyse the budget with reference to the mendate and with reference to the theory of socialism. I have not brought in personal elements here. I hope you will accept this except perhaps regarding the levy on j perfumed oil, because one look at me will convince the House that I am probably joining the ranks of Dr. Triguna Sen and Dr. Mahavir and my friend, Shri Mohan Dharia. I have a suspicion that my Jana 'Sangh' friends will probably welcome it, J because they are fond of 'Bharatiyatva' and the "Bharatiya' tradition as expressed in the Sanskrit saying is :—

A bald man is rarely poor and I find my j experience is that it is the rich bald men who usually flock to Jana Sangh. But I do not wish to bring in any personal matter.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : All right. Please conclude.

SHRI VITHAL NARHAR GADGIL : Only five minutes more, Sir.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA (Nominated) : He is a fine speaker. He should be given more time. He is the son of a most illustrious patriot and farmer Central Minister Kaka Gadgil.

AN HON. MEMBER: Sir, it is his maiden speech. Hi should be given some more time.

SHRI VITHAL NARHAR GADGIL : Therefore, Sir, I said that a radical look was necessary which has been brought about

by the Finance Minister. Sir, every budget reflects, it is said, the personality of the Finance Minister. Mr. Chavan, as we know, is rarely spectacular. But he is always very sound. He is radical, he has been radical...

SRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat) : It is the other way about.

SHRI VITHAL NARHAR GADGIL : .. and I am sure that in the next year's budget he will be more radical, because, Sir, I find that a radical approach is the felt necessity of the times. The poor and the unemployed are no longer going to wait and history will not spare us. Sir, History will not spare us if we hesitate and halt ; history will not spare us if we postpone and procrastinate. That is the need of the hour, because if we fail now, we will be done with. It is said in the history of France that 1848 was a turning-point in history where history failed to turn. Now we have reached the turning-point and I believe, most of us will agree that we have reached the turning-point.

Let it not be said by the future generations, by the generations yet unborn, that 1970's were the turning-point in our history where history failed to turn.

I once again congratulate the Finance Minister and I request him to consider the suggestions that I have made. Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Prithwi Nath.

SHRI PRITHWI NATH (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I was glad to note the Finance Minister making a reference to the election promises that his party had made, in the following words :

"The massive mandate which the Government has received from the people was a mandate for Socialism, a mandate for rapid economic growth and increased social justice..." But, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I was really sorry to note that in th.se budget proposals I could not find anything which could lead me to this view, that it would [help rapid economic growth or increased social justice, as the Finance Minister was glad to say.

[SHRI PRITHWI NATH]

For increased social justice, the most important step that the Finance Minister has proposed is an *ad hoc* grant of Rs. 50 crores for rural unemployment at the rate of one thousand persons per district. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I fail to understand this type of *ad hoc* grant. No statistics have been provided as to what is the number of rural unemployment existing in India. We do not know what is the number of rural unemployed, what is the demand, what is the requirement. And now an *ad hoc* grant of Rs. 50 crores has been given. No scheme has been put before the Parliament as to how this will be utilized. I do not understand how this Rs. 50 crores has been granted. We do not know what is the scheme and how this money will be sanctioned.

The second thing is this. In Uttar Pradesh there are 52 districts. Suppose 52,000 persons are given employment, I fail to understand how this could touch the problem of unemployment at all. At best you can say that it is a political announcement, based on political convictions and it is not touching the economic problem at all. In my opinion, Mr. Deputy Chairman, in this country for all economic ills we try to find political solutions. I would have been very glad if the Finance Minister could have given us some figures as to what is the extent of the rural unemployment in the country and what is the requirement and in how many years it is proposed to solve that problem by proposing this thing.

The only thing that we have been told is that some labour intensive programmes would be started in the rural sector so as to give employment to these people. Sir, it was this very morning that it was admitted by the Minister concerned that out of the total allotment of Rs. 420 crores for road construction, only Rs. 66 crores have been utilized and Rs. 360 crores are lying unutilized. When this is the condition, when this is the state of affairs in respect of road construction, how can we expect that road construction will give employ-

Similarly, another allotment of Rs. 25 crores has been made for the educated unemployed. Again, my grievance is that no study has been made. It would have been better if the Government could have made a study of the unemployment conditions in this country, both rural and urban, both educated and uneducated. But we have been faced with an *ad hoc* grant as if Rs. 50 crores will be given to certain few favourite individuals.

The second thing that has been done by the Finance Minister for increased social justice is that income-tax rates have been increased. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I agree with the Finance Minister about the surcharge that he has proposed. I commend this for the acceptance of Parliament. I also think that the capital gains tax and the corporation tax that he has proposed are fair and correct in the sense that they are trying to touch the taxes of big persons, higher persons; and it is proper. But my grievance here is that corporations have been left scot-free; they have not been taxed. My friend on my right was just trying to suggest that the corporations have already been heavily taxed. But the position is this that it is the real income; real income is evaded by those persons. It is not a question of percentage. The fact is that they are in a better position to pay than the others.

The Finance Minister has also proposed 8% tax on wealth assesses of over Rs. 15 lakhs. I congratulate the Finance Minister for this idea. But I must tell you Sir, that it was in 1969, first of all, and then in 1970, that the party, to which I have the privilege to belong, was the first to pass a resolution to this effect.

But the rate that he has proposed is insufficient. Also, I may say that in 1967-68, of the total number of wealth assesses, the number of those with a wealth of over Rs. 10 lakhs, was 1,514. In 1968-69 their number was 1,492. And in 1969-70 their number went up to 1,531. These are the figures of assesses with over Rs. 10 lakhs as wealth. Even though I could not get

any figures for those possessing a wealth of over Rs. 15 crores, still their number is bound to be much less than the number, I have given of those with a wealth of over Rs. 10 lakhs. We may suppose that their number is about 500 or 600 or 700. So, anything that is coming out of it would not be substantial and we shall not be able to touch the pockets of so many people. So my suggestion to the Finance Minister would be that in the definition of 'Wealth tax', the definition of an assessee here should include his or her spouse, his minor sons and unmarried daughters. That would mean that according to the present system of Indian society a family is taken to consist of five persons. Now such families would not be affected by this increased Wealth tax unless their assets go up to the extent of Rs. 75 lakhs. So, if the Finance Minister does seriously mean to tax the rich people of this country by proposing, in a way, a ceiling on the wealth of the society, the best thing for him would be that he may include the minor sons and unmarried daughters as well as the spouse in the definition of an assessee.

Without this, the purpose for which this tax is being levied would be lost.

Now, Sir, the next point that I would like to submit before you and through you to the House, is that there is a deficit of Rs. 397 crores and Rs. 177 crores have been proposed to be recouped by taxation and a gap of Rs. 220 crores has been left unchecked, unprovided for. I am only afraid, Sir, of this one thing that it may increase in deficit financing. If you increase the currency, it is bound to affect the society. In the last three years, the total circulation in money has increased by 8 per cent, then by 10.8 per cent and again by 9.2 per cent. I would not be surprised if this gap may result again in deficit financing.

Another thing that I would like to point out is that the provision of Rs. 60 crores, that has been made by the Finance Minister for the Bangla Desh refugees is most insufficient. We have been told that at least 40 to 50 lakh of people have now entered Indian territory and the figure may

still go up. This amount will not be sufficient even for six months for them and that will also result in deficit financing and that deficit financing is bound to result in the increase in prices and in case it results in increase in prices, it will again affect the poorer section of the society, of which I am very much afraid. I would like the Finance Minister to examine this aspect of the question carefully.

If you see the price level, you will be surprised that it was 5.6 per cent higher in 1970-71 than in 1969-70 and the price level in 1969-70 was 3.7 per cent higher than in 1968-69. This all shows that there is a regular increase in prices and the value of the money that the poorer section gets is reduced and he is put to agony. So, I would suggest that we must take precautions and see that it does not result in deficit financing.

Another point that I would like to impress upon the House, Mr. Chairman through you, is that the public debts that our Government is incurring, have increased a lot. In 1971-72, the total public debts have gone up to about Rs. 15,000 crores and if we care to see, this is a very high figure for a poor country like India and especially' so when the public sector performance is not paying any dividends. I am not one of those who will like to say anything or who will condemn the public enterprise but what my suggestion is that in case you are taking loans and investing money in public sector and the public sector does not profit, it is going to react on the general revenues of the Government. If you see the service charges that this Government has to pay on account of this, you will be surprised that it is as big as Rs. 600 crores and I shall not be surprised that in the course of time, if this policy continues, about 30 per cent of the foreign exchange that you earn will be spent on our service charges and it is bound to effect the economy of the country very greatly.

All this has been so on account of the fact that too much emphasis has been laid on the development of industry and that too at the cost of agriculture. Mr. Deputy Chairman, if you look at the figures of the

[SHRI PRITHWI NATH]

national income, you will find that the contribution of agricultural sector is 50 per cent of the total national income and still you see that all the money invested is in industrial sector and nothing is invested in agricultural sector. My friends on the right and on the left have just now told this House that the agricultural sector must be taxed because it is going scot free. Mr. Deputy Chairman, I will try to raise one point that if we can have a study as to what is the ratio of the income *per capita* in the rural sector and in the urban sector, then you will realise whether the urban sector or the rural sector should be taxed. Just now, my friend was interested in telling a story of a school teacher. What is the income of that school teacher living in Bombay? Can he imagine the condition of a poor villager whose income in Uttar Pradesh would not be more than Rs. 200 per year? When the 'Plan period' began, the income *per capita* in Uttar Pradesh was Rs. 12 higher than the income of the nation. At that time, the difference between the rural sector and the urban sector was Rs. 100 to Rs. 275. Now after these 20 years of planning, the Uttar Pradesh figures show, that the difference of Rs. 100 to Rs. 275 has increased to Rs. 100 to Rs. 375 and still our friends here think that it is the agricultural sector that has to be taxed, as if the agricultural sector is the most prosperous one. There is a regular propaganda that the green revolution is going on. I would like you to see that we have not increased irrigation. We must provide more irrigation to the agricultural sector. We must provide more facilities to them. We have not provided them anything of the sort. We do not spend anything if you see the national income contribution from the agricultural sector. It is about 50 per cent and, therefore, the Centre and the States should have allotted to agricultural sector at least 50 per cent in the Budget but only Rs. 347 crores have been advanced by the bank to the agriculture while Rs. 3,400 crores have been advanced to the industrial sector. If you see, most of the money that has been invested by the Government

of India has been invested by the industrial sector and you do not see anything whatsoever of the agricultural sector.

After all what is an industry. Industry is nothing else than the application of machinery to factors of production and the more intensive, the more highly mechanised machinery we use, it is bound to result in a capital-intensive industry. India lacks capital. India has got human labour. We must have things which are labour intensive and not capital intensive and the whole plan is deficient to that extent. We have always been using capital-intensive and not labour intensive industries. May I suggest to the Government that the whole consumption market of this country should be reserved for the small and cottage industries and the large-scale industries should be allowed to operate in a sector only where production cannot be done in the small-scale sector. If anything can be produced in the small-scale sector, it should not be allowed to be produced by the large-scale industry. All the articles produced by the large-scale industry must be produced in the public sector and if anything is to be in the private sector, then it must be highly controlled. Without this, you may invest any amount but you cannot solve the problem of unemployment. Unemployment is being created by sophisticated industries.

Lastly there was talk about cloth. I fail to understand this Government taxing, this Government importing raw materials which are used for luxury articles. I cannot imagine this Government allowing industries to be established for producing luxurious articles, just like man-made staple. Are we using it for the poor people? Is it a substitute for cotton? We are trying to import machinery from outside. We are trying to import capital from outside. We are trying to import know-how from outside. Then we are trying to import even raw materials and you feel that you make the country prosperous. If you import everything from outside, where will you get the market? If your agricultural sector, which is 82% of the population does not

provide you market, who will provide it ? That market they can provide only when they have the purchasing capacity and that purchasing capacity you can have only when the economic conditions improve. The Finance Minister may note these suggestions and do the needful.

श्री गोड़े मुराहरि (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदय, मैं बजट के बारे में इतना ही कहूँगा कि जहाँ पर वित्त मंत्री साहब ने यह कौशिल्य की है कि जो डेफिसिट उनके सामने था उसकी किसी तरह से पूति करे मगर वह पूरी तरह पूति कर नहीं पाये, आधी पूति कर पाये और आधा यों ही छोड़ दिया लेकिन जिस ढंग से उन्होंने पूति करने की कौशिल्य की उसमें देश में क्या परिस्थिति पैदा होगी उसका कोई तक्का उनके सामने नहीं था । मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ । क्योंकि अगर उन्होंने इसको कुछ और अध्ययन किया होता तो इस तरह का टैक्सेशन प्रोपोजल हमारे सामने नहीं आता, क्योंकि एक तरफ जो हमारा प्राइम स्ट्रक्चर है वह अब इनफ्लेशन की ओर बढ़ेगा, प्राइमरी बढ़ेगी और दूसरी तरफ माथ माथ जब प्राइमरी बढ़ेगी तो यह लाजमी है कि जो नेबर है, जो सरकारी कर्मचारी है, जो फिक्सेड इंकम वाले हैं, वह सब अपनी तनखाह में बढ़ोतरी मांगेंगे और फिर हिन्दुस्तान में इनफ्लेशन का एक ऐसा चक्र चलेगा कि हम कोई उस पर रुकावट नहीं कर पायेंगे और जिस ढंग से उन्होंने डेफिसिट रख छोड़ा है, जैसी डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग करने की योजना उनके सामने है, उससे तो अंततोगत्वा, चल कर के, एक ऐसी स्थिति हमारे देश में आने वाली है जैसे कि इंडोनीशिया में लोगों को नोटों का बंडल दबा कर के चलना पड़ता था, कहीं पर कोई चीज खरीदना होता था तो कई हजार नोटों को दबा कर ले जाना पड़ता था, उस तरह की स्थिति हिन्दुस्तान में आयेगी अगर इस तरह का बजट चला । एक तरफ तो उन्होंने कहा कि जो साधारण आदमी है, उनकी जरूरियात हैं उनके ऊपर टैक्स नहीं डालना लेकिन दूसरी तरफ अमानियत क्या है ! अमानियत यह है कि जो ट्रांसपोर्ट है, जो साधारण आदमी का ट्रांसपोर्ट है, उसमें भी बढ़ोतरी होगी, उसमें भी ज्यादा दाम उसको लगेगा और खाने पीने के मामले में भी जहाँ ब्रेड का सवाल है ज्यादा दाम

लगेगा । ब्रेड कोई ऐसी चीज नहीं है कि साधारण लोग नहीं खाते ।

यह कहना कि ब्रेड बड़े लोग खाते हैं, यह आजकल की दुनिया में एक बेवकूफी की बात होगी क्योंकि अगर किसी चाय की दुकान में चले जाइएगा तो वहाँ पर ब्रेड या बंद लेकर कोई मजदूर बैठा होगा अपने चाय के कप के साथ । तो आज ब्रेड के ऊपर दाम बढ़ जाए, ट्रांसपोर्ट के ऊपर दाम बढ़ जाए, साबुन के ऊपर दाम बढ़ जाए, क्योंकि सालवेन्ट के ऊपर उन लोगों ने टैक्स लगाया तो उसका नतीजा यह होगा कि हर तरह के साबुन और डेटरजेंट के दाम बढ़ेंगे, तो वे सब चीजें इनडाइरेक्टली साधारण आदमी के ऊपर असर डालेंगी । जहाँ सोप के ऊपर एक्साइज भी लगा है वहाँ जो यह सालवेन्ट के ऊपर टैक्स लगा है उसका भी कांट्रिब्यूशन होगा दाम बढ़ जाने में । तो इस तरह का जो टैक्सेशन हुआ है इससे मैं समझता हूँ हिन्दुस्तान में इनफ्लेशन का जमाना आने वाला है और उस इनफ्लेशन के चक्कर में जो साधारण आदमी की कमाई है उसकी कोई कीमत नहीं रह जाएगी । आज भी अगर वह बाजार में जाता है तो कोई चेन्ज नहीं मिलती । क्यों नहीं मिलती, क्योंकि जो कीडन्स हैं उनकी जो असली कीमत है वह ज्यादा है । तो आजकल का आदमी सोचता है कि नोट दे दो और कीडन्स को जमा करो । तो यह एक ऐसा जमाना आ गया है, जो नोट का चक्कर चला है वह चक्कर चलते चलते ऐसा बक्त आ जाएगा जब लोगों को नोटों की थैली लेकर रास्ते में चलना पड़ेगा इसलिए मैं सरकार को चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह का टैक्सेशन छोड़कर जो बड़े बड़े लोग हैं उनके ऊपर टैक्सेशन करने की बात सोचें । अगर पैसे की बात है, पैसा डेवलपमेन्ट के लिए चाहिए और उसके लिए मैं नहीं कहना टैक्स नहीं करना चाहिए, क्योंकि बिना टैक्स के डेवलपमेन्ट होगा नहीं । मगर टैक्स किस पर करें ? जो कारपोरेट सेक्टर मुनाफा करता आ रहा है उसको छोड़ रखा है सरकार ने क्योंकि उनसे भी लेनदेन करने की बात हो रही है, होगी, और यह सरकार अभी भी उनको पैम्पर करके उनको मोटा बनाना चाहती है । तो मैं इस चीज के सबल खिलाफ हूँ और मैं सोचता हूँ बक्त आ

[श्री गोड़े मुराहरि]

क्या है जब कारपोरेट सेक्टर पर काफी जोरों से टैकम लग सकता है।

प्लान के बारे में भी अगर हम सोचेंगे, तो फिर जैसा कि अभी एक साहब ने कहा, जो हमारे प्लान अभी अभी शुरू हुए हैं उनके बारे में सोचना होगा। तो यह माफ़ जाहिर है कि जो भी प्लानिंग हमने अभी अभी बनाई वह कैपिटल इन्वेस्टिन्ट्स और कैपिटल युटिलाइजिंग प्लान रहा है, लेबर इन्वेन्सिन्ट नहीं है। और हमारे देश के लिए कैपिटल कहाँ है? हमारे पास तो कैपिटल नहीं है। हमारी कैपिटल तो सिर्फ़ लेबर फोर्स है। देश में अनइम्प्लायमेंट बढ़े जोर में है, तो जो जनता बेकार है, उसके श्रम को इस्तेमाल करके कोई चीज प्रोड्यूस करें तभी अकलमंदी की बात ही सकती थी। तो इसलिए हम लोग यह चाहते थे कि कोई ऐसी योजना हम बनाएँ जिसके चलने सेबर का इस्तेमाल होता लेकिन हम नकल कर लिए। जो और देश थे, जो बड़े बड़े देश थे, जिनके पास कैपिटल थी, रकम थी, उनको नकल करके हमने कैपिटल इन्वेस्टिन्ट्स प्लान बनाया। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि एक तरफ़ वेकारी बढ़ रही है और एक तरफ़ कैपिटल इतनी लगे यह बात हो रही है।

मैं जानना चाहूँगा कि पब्लिक सेक्टर ग्रैंड-रेकिंग जो हमने शुरू किए, आज तक उनका क्या नतीजा रहा। जिन पब्लिक सेक्टर ग्रैंडरेकिंग ने हम लोगों को असली में रकम देना चाहिए था, जिनको हमारे प्लान्स की फीड करना चाहिए था वे हमारे लिए एक भूत बन कर तैयार हो गए हैं, वे हमारी रकम को खा रहे हैं। जो हमारा पैसा है उसको हम पब्लिक सेक्टर ग्रैंडरेकिंग में जाया कर रहे हैं। तो इस तरह का एक चक्कर हम लोगों ने चलाया है जो श्रम चलना असम्भव है। हम एक तरफ़ सोशलिज्म का तारा देते हैं लेकिन हम सोशलिज्म के तारे को शकल करते हैं जब हम पब्लिक सेक्टर ग्रैंडरेकिंग के साथ नेशनलाइजेशन को जोड़ते हैं। पब्लिक सेक्टर ग्रैंडरेकिंग को नेशनलाइजेशन के साथ जोड़ना यह एक गलत बात होगी। हाँ, पब्लिक सेक्टर ग्रैंडरेकिंग सही ढंग से चले तो सोशलिज्म भी ठीक ढंग से चल सकता है। अगर नेशनलाइजेशन

ठीक ढंग से चले तो सोशलिज्म की बूझ सकती है। लेकिन अगर पब्लिक सेक्टर खाली ब्यूरोक्रेसी को बढ़ाने का और ब्यूरोक्रेसी को खाली तनख्वाह देकर बैठाने का तरीका हो जाता है तो पब्लिक सेक्टर ग्रैंडरेकिंग में कोई प्रोडक्शन नहीं होता है तो यह हमारे लिए एक घातक चीज होगी। इसीलिए मैं कहूँगा, सरकार इसके बारे में पूरी तरह से, बुनियादी तौर से पुनर्विचार करे कि पब्लिक सेक्टर ग्रैंडरेकिंग को किस तरह से फायदेमंद बनाया जा सकता है। इसके बारे में योजना बननी चाहिए।

नहीं तो चलते चलते इसी तरह से चलेगा तो पब्लिक सेक्टर के ऊपर एक बहुत भारी ड्रेन पड़ जायेगा, हमारे ऊपर पड़ेगा और प्रागे चलकर फिर सोशलिज्म की बात नहीं हो सकेगी क्यों कि मारा कंसन्ट्रेशन पब्लिक सेक्टर पर ही लग जायेगा। जहाँ नई नई कम्पनियाँ खोलनी होती हैं, जहाँ सरकार को पैसा लभाना पड़ता है, वे पब्लिक सेक्टर में लगता है और इस तरह से प्रांवर कैपिटलाइजेशन हो जाता है क्योंकि अन-प्रोड्यूसिबल चीजों के ऊपर पैसा लभाना पड़ता है जिसका परिणाम यह होता है कि जो पैसा हमारा इसमें लभाना है उसका कोई रिटर्न नहीं मिलता है। इस चीज की वजह से ज्यादा खर्चा हो जाता है, इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह चीज खत्म होनी चाहिये।

अब मैं ट्रेड के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। जिनका भी हमारा ट्रेड है, किंवदंती व्यापार है, वह ५० के० से होता है और उसके साथ हमने अपने को बांध लिया है। चाहे इतिहास के कारण हो या कोई दूसरा कारण हो, ५० के० को जो ट्रेड पालिसी है उसके साथ बांध लिया है। उसका नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि—ब्रिटेन योरोपियन कामन मार्केट में जाता है, हमारे ट्रेडमार्केट व्यापार के खिलाफ़ काम करता है और हमारी चीजों के साथ भेदभाव करता है और इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि हमको फिर कुछ करने की गुंजायश नहीं रह जाती है और इस तरह से हमारा मारा ट्रेड हमारे ही खिलाफ़ जाता है। इसलिए मैं चाहूँगा कि जो हमारे सारे ट्रेड का पैटर्न है उस पर पुनर्विचार होना चाहिये और सरकार को ५० के० के साथ इस मामले में अपने को बांध

कर रखना मुनासिब नहीं होगा। हमें इसके बाहर निकल जाना चाहिये और दुनिया की मार्केट में अपना भी ट्रेड करना चाहिये।

साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहूंगा कि अगर प्लानिंग के लिए, योजना के लिए पैसे की जरूरत है तो जो बेसिक इन्डस्ट्रीज है उनका राष्ट्रीयकरण होना चाहिये, उनका समाजीकरण होना चाहिये। मैं समझता हूँ कि जो सरकार अपने को समाजवादी कहती है तो वह सरकार खाली एक फ्रिन्ज नेशनलाइजेशन करके अपने को समाजवादी नहीं कह सकती है। जो बेसिक चीजें हैं उनके ऊपर जाना चाहिये। जैसे स्टील है, सीमेन्ट है, माइन्स है, प्लान्टेशन है, इन सब का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाना चाहिये और कभी का हो जाना चाहिये था। यह काम अभी तक नहीं हुआ है और जबतक यह नहीं होता है तब तक लाजमी तौर पर हमको यह कहना पड़ना है कि यह सरकार एक स्टेटम की सरकार है और कोई समाजवादी सरकार नहीं हो सकती है जबतक बुनियादी चीजों का समाजीकरण नहीं किया जाता है। तो मैं चाहूंगा कि जनरल इन्वियोरन्स और दूसरी चीजों के अलावा जो बेसिक चीज है, जो बड़ी बड़ी चीजें हैं, बेसिक इन्डस्ट्रीज है, उनका नेशनलाइजेशन और समाजीकरण किया जाना चाहिए और तब ही जाकर कोई चीज हो सकती है। अगर हमने ऐसा किया तो इसके हमारी पैदावार बढ़ जायेगी, पैसा आ जायेगा और उसके जरिये फिर हम अपनी प्लानिंग को बढ़ा सकते हैं।

जहां तक एग्रिकल्चरल सेक्टर की बात है, मैं भी समझता हूँ कि एग्रिकल्चरल सेक्टर पर काफी टैक्स लगाया जा सकता है। यह सही है कि जो छोटे किसान हैं, जो 10 एकड़, 20 एकड़ के किसान हैं, उनके ऊपर टैक्स लगाने का कोई मतलब नहीं है। लेकिन मुझे मालूम है कि देश में बड़े बड़े जमींदार अब भी हैं, चाहे जितनी सोलिंग की बात करें, चाहे जमींदारी खत्म की बात करें, चाहे जितने सोलिंग लाज पास करें, फिर भी कई तरीके से लॉय फार्म बना लेते हैं, कम्पनी बना लेते हैं और इस तरह से एग्रिकल्चर बहुत जोरों से चलता है। तो इन सब चीजों के ऊपर काफी टैक्स लग सकता है। इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा

कि छोटे किसान को छोड़कर जिनके पास बड़े बड़े फार्म हैं, बड़ी बड़ी कम्पनियां हैं, उनके ऊपर आसानी के साथ टैक्स लगाया जा सकता है।

साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहूंगा कि हमारे देश में सेन्टर स्टेट और स्टेट के अन्दर जिला, पंचायत, इन चारों का जो रिश्ता है उसके बारे में हम जबतक कोई बुनियादी बात नहीं करेंगे और जो रेवेन्यू मिलता है उमन, पंचायत को नहीं डिस्ट्रिब्यूट करेंगे तब तक हमारे देश में तरक्की नहीं हो सकती है। जब तक हम इस देश में चौखम्बा राज्य नहीं लायेंगे और जब तक हम जिला, गांव, स्टेट और उसके बाद सेन्टर, इन चारों का एक चौखम्बा राज्य नहीं बनायेंगे और हर एक के अनुरूप रकम नहीं बांटेंगे तब तक हम किसी चीज में कामयाब नहीं हो सकते हैं। जबतक इस देश में चौखम्बा राज्य नहीं होगा तब तक प्लानिंग भी नहीं हो सकती है। जैसा कोई छोटा सा ईरीयेशन प्रोजेक्ट है अगर गांव के लोगों को उनके हिस्से की रकम दे दी जाती है तो वह ईरीयेशन के प्रोजेक्ट को पूरा कर सकते हैं। इसी हंग से जिले 4 P.M. में भी हो सकता है। जो स्टेट गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से होना चाहिए वह स्टेट कर सकती है और जो सेन्टर की तरफ से हो सकता है वह सेन्टर कर सकता है, लेकिन इन सब चीजों का बंटवारा और समानाधिकार जब तक हम नहीं देंगे तब तक हम जो जनता को भलाई करना चाहते हैं वह नहीं कर सकते। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि इन चार खम्बों के बारे में सोचना चाहिए। मैं इसलिए इसको कह रहा हूँ क्योंकि एक राजमन्त्र कमेटी रिपोर्ट आई है, मद्रास सरकार इस रिपोर्ट को लेकर प्रचार कर रही है और वह चाहती है सेन्टर और स्टेट का जो ताल्लुक है उसको ठीक किया जाय, लेकिन साथ साथ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह अपरा है, उसके साथ साथ जिला और जो गांव की पंचायत है उसका भी रिश्ता ठीक होना चाहिए, तभी जाकर कुछ हो सकता है।

जो भी प्लान हो, जो भी चीज हो, जब तक हम व्यूरोक्रेसी को ठीक नहीं करेंगे तब तक कोई चीज सक्सीड नहीं कर सकती इस देश में क्योंकि सरकार कितना अच्छा प्लान बनाए, कितनी अच्छी

[श्री गोड़े सुराहरि]

योजना बनाए जब तक हमारे देश में गठित व्यू-रोज्मेंटी उमको रोकती रहेगी तब तक इस देश में कोई चीज नहीं हो पाएगी, चाहे आप हजार सोशलिज्म की बात करें। आप मचमुच सोशलिस्ट बन गए हैं यह मैं नहीं मानता। अगर मचमुच कोई सोशलिस्ट सरकार भी आ जाती है तो भी जब तक व्यूरोज्मेंसी को ठीक नहीं करते, जब तक उनका दिमाग ठीक नहीं होता, वे भी सोशलिज्म की ओर नहीं चलते हैं तब तक कोई चीज इस देश में नहीं होने वाली है। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार पहले अभी व्यूरोज्मेंसी को ठीक करे और जो उनकी प्रिविलेजेज हैं उनको खत्म करे। आखीर में मैं एक शब्द बंगला देश के बारे में कहना चाहूँगा। जिस ढंग से हम लोगों ने बंगला देश के साथ बर्ताव किया है वह अमान्यिक है और मैं समझता हूँ कि हमने उनके साथ गद्दारी की है। मैं नहीं जानता कि अन्दर अन्दर क्या चीज होनी है, सरकार क्या कर रही है चुपके से, लेकिन बंगला देश को कब की रिकॉगनीशन देनी चाहिए थी और साथ साथ जो रिफ्यूजीज आ रहे हैं उनको न आने दे ऐसी कोई योजना बननी चाहिए थी ताकि हमारी सेना, हमारे लोग वहाँ जाकर रिफ्यूजीज को न आने दें, उन्हें वहीं रखने की कोशिश करें। बंगला देश को रिलीफ देने के लिए बंगला देश गवर्नमेंट को रिकॉगनाइज करिए। उनके साथ गठबंधन करेंगे तो बंगला देश की जो भी सरकार होगी उसकी अचार्टिटी पर हम लोग वहाँ जा सकते थे और वहाँ पर रिफ्यूजीज को रोक कर वहीं पर सहायता दे सकते थे। बंगला देश की सरकार की सहायता देनी चाहिए और जो पाकिस्तान से दुरावमर्ष हो रहा है उसका भी प्रतिकार करना चाहिए। इन सब चीजों को न करके हम लोगों ने एक कन्डिस्तान बनने दिया है। वहाँ कितने सारे लोग मारे जाते हैं, अभी भी मर रहे हैं और अभी भी वहाँ का नक्शा सामने नहीं दिख रहा है कि बंगला देश की जनता को बर्ताने की कैसे कोशिश की जायगी।

SHRIMATI USHA BARTHAKUR (Assam) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I congratulate the hon. Finance Minister for placing a production-oriented Budget in this Ho.ise for the current year. He deserves special congratulation on having made a planned effort for the mobilisation of re-

sources. The special attention to the unemployed youth and the backward areas is highly welcomed. If the schemes can be properly implemented, I am sure that this will help to remove disparity and plug loopholes.

The main thing that we find in the Budget is that the taxation proposals will not hamper the growth of industries, which is the main factor in keeping the economy of the country in a sound condition.

Sir, the allotment of Rs. 25 crores to add to the provision of Rs. 50 crores for the educated unemployed scheme, though I it seems too meagre to solve the huge problem like unemployment, is a special feature of the Plan this year. Undoubtedly it will solve the problem to some extent.

The hon. Finance Minister declared in his Budget Speech—

"We are not to permit them to be a lost and frustrated generation. The details of these special sell 'tries are being worked out in consultation with the Planning Commission and concerned Ministries."

I hope that the hon. Finance Minister will be true to his word and that these schemes will be given top priority to solve the problem of unemployment of the country. Along with it, efforts should be made to eliminate the procedural and administrative delays and corruption which are known to be a stumbling block in implementing all progressive measures in our country. The vital aim of such schemes should be to speed up project implementation, expand employment opportunities and reduce disparities among the rich and the poor people of our country.

! Sir, the proposed decision to secure power to acquire properties which correspond with the sale deeds, is a step in the right direction, because evolution of property has been one of the commonest means to

I evade the wealth-tax, capital gains tax and stamp duties. The increase in excise duties on several luxury articles are all right as far as they go, as they include the increase in the tax on high income and wealth,

higher duties on fine cloth, other luxury J consumer goods and ceiling on high private I sector salaries. But, Sir, we must say that the new levies proposed by the hon. Finance Minister in the Budget will hit hard the common and middle classes of people severely.

Sir, at present our country is facing various problems—the problem of poverty, backward areas, underdevelopment and huge unemployment. There is the problem of adverse balances in respect of export and import trade. There are economic inequalities and social inequalities. We promised that the minimum basic needs of food, shelter, clothing, education and health amenities would be provided to the citizens of this country by various schemes. I am sorry to say that there is ample room in the Budget to inspire people in that direction. The budget levies on maida, for instance, will push up the price of loaves, which is the common food of the half-starved people of our country. Further, new levies on woollen cloth, cotton textiles of coarse varieties, pressure cookers, soap, ready-made garments, etc. will affect the lower and middle classes much. As regards readymade garments, the people of backward areas do not know how to sew garments at home and at the time of festivals like Puja, Deevali, Mohurrum, etc. parents come to the market to purchase ready-made garments for their children.

If the price of such things increases due to new tax the sufferings of the poor people will be undoubtedly greater. Besides this, Sir, it is not proper to think that only the rich will put on synthetic fabrics. Even the lower middle class are taking these things for economical reason. Hence, such indirect taxes will, however, add to the burden of the poor man who ought to have been given some relief. Furthermore, the increase in petrol prices would make travelling more expensive because this will definitely raise the fare of taxi-scooters which are the only transport for the average middle class people.

I fear, Sir, the levy on agricultural equipments would reduce the agricultural production which had been an important contributor to the national resources. Hence I like to request the Finance Minister to withdraw tax proposals on things mentioned above so that we can fulfil our promises in forming a socialistic society. Sir, in spite of so many taxes on common things the deficit of Rs. 220 crores is not a good sign for a poor country like us.

Sir, another thing I want to mention here is that while giving Central assistance to the States special attention should be given to the backward States to strengthen their economic condition. As, for instance, my State of Assam is the most neglected backward State in India. Due to lack of proper communications with the rest of the country the cost of living in that State has become higher and higher.

Closure of inland transport through East Pakistan has increased the cost of transport of essential commodities to and from the States. With a view to improving the economy of the State like Assam we need special consideration in some of the most important matters. Controlling of Brahmaputra River system is essential from the point of view of stabilising agricultural production in the State. In view of the magnitude of the problem and the expenditure involved, it is beyond the capacity of the State Government on account of limited resources. The Government of India and the Planning Commission should take over the problem of Brahmaputra control as a Central sector project.

Again, Sir, the projects promised to be set up in Assam, viz. the cement factory, paper pulp factory, second oil refinery and the petro-chemical complex have to be expedited so that the benefits from the industries start flowing into the economy of Assam at the earliest.

Sir, for quite some time now the Government of Assam have been taking up with the Government of India the question of extending broad gauge line from New Bongaigaon to Gauhati via Goalpara v.i(3)

Shrima" Us'a Barihakur]

a road-«»;-rail way bridge at Jogigopa Pancharatna in addition to the extension of the broad gauge line to Gautiati along the metre gauge line, and this line would provide much-needed alternative route connecting Assam and neighbouring areas with the rest of the country. In view of the strategic importance of the region the need of such an alternative route cannot be over-emphasised. I hope the honourable Finance Minister will look into this most important matter for the country's safety. So I request the honourable Finance Minister that the aid for the backward States in India should be generous keeping in view that the States should develop and become self-sufficient in all respects so that the people can really feel that they are marching towards the socialistic goal.

Sir, the States of Assam, West Bengal, Meghalaya and Tripura have done immense service by giving shelter to lakhs of refugees of Btngla Desh whose number is increasing day by day and these States have now fallen in great difficulty due to shortage of food and shelter.

Tiv; India Government should give libe- ! ral help to these States so that they can manage the humanitarian affairs peacefully. Moreover, the Central Government try to relieve the burden of those immediately by distributing the | refugees equally in other sister States.

Our country, Sir, is facing the great problem of population explosion. The population of India has been estimated al i lore than 529 million, which is more than 14 per cent of the world population at present, though India has only 2.4 per cent of the world's land. Family planning, ire, has a greater significance in India than elsewhere. The labour community being innocent about the genesis of the family planning schemes is apal to birth control. So, the maternity benefit law should be suitably amended to restrict the children of the labour community. Suitable measures should be devised to propagate birfh control amongst the rural

population. Sir, without imparting some knowledge through education regarding a happy family life, family planning schemes will not bring forth the results expected, whatever money may be spent for it. So, I request the Finance Minister to set apart a considerable sum al the head of Education along with family planning schemes. Another important thing that I want to mention here is; that importance has not been given up till now for infant education in our country. Good education should be provided to children right from the pre-primary stage. That is the proper time for a child for character formation. Just as primary education is the statutory duty of the Government, similarly pre-primary education also should be the statutory duly of the Government and at the head of Education some substantial sum should be kept aside for pie-primary education.

With these words, I resume my seat.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI (Maharashtra) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I have had the privilege year after year since 1958, of expressing my views on the Union Budget in this august House. I have always kept in mind the difficulties of the Finance Minister : in a federal set-up like ours, he has to make good the omissions and commissiots on the pari of the Slate Governments. In a democracy which is committed to social welfare, he has to ensure that the needs of the Exchequer do not negative either the process of economic growth or the spread of social justice. While appreciating the job that has to be fulfilled by the Union Finance Minister, I have always believed thai a good Budget should be able to satisfy, by and large, two criteria : first, to what extent will th involved in taxation be exceeded by the benefits that would How to the community as a whole; and secondly, to whai extent the Budget proposals help improve the internal efficiency of Government on the one hand and assist the economy to

trd without undue props, on the other. Judged by these two criteria, I cartmol h itin pointing out that the Budget pre

to Parliament by Shri Chavan is a total failure.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR AN KHAN) in the Chair]

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA (Nominated) : He has spared all the big heads of capitalists.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : That is your opinion, Mr. Alva. Why don't you listen me ? I know you telephone every capitalist in Bombay for advertisements in *Forum*. Let us not cross swords here. Otherwise many more things will come out.

(Interruptions)

I cannot help pointing out that the Budget presented by Shri Chavan is a total failure. He has, in the name of socialism, gone about taxing left and right. Obviously, he is yet to learn that just as money does not win wars, taxation by itself will not usher in socialism.

Wars are won by men and materials— men having the right kind of qualities trained for the right jobs, equipped with the right materials, in the right places at the right times. If men and materials do not exist or are not mobilised for war, then money cannot create them or turn the plough-share into a sword overnight. Similarly, socialism by which I mean greater social welfare for the average citizen cannot be brought about unless there is greater production, unless there is greater availability of supplies, unless there are enough savings to make possible such greater production and services, unless the economy gathers a self-generating momentum.

I shall show presently that almost all the proposals of the Finance Minister represent as many nails as are driven into the coffin of socialism. No enemy of socialism could have contrived a Budget which is worse than the present one to stali socialism, to spread poverty.

In the past two Budgets the Plan expenditure, it is now estimated, has fallen short

of the Budget provisions by about Rs. 200 i crores or so. This discrepancy only reveals j that although adequate revenues were raised, proper use of these finances was not made. In the present Budget a tax effort amounting to Rs. 286 crores has been made to finance an additional Plan outlay of Rs. j 155 crores. Not only the tax efforts in j relation to development expenditure is [excessive, but if the past trends manifest i themselves the proposed increase in the I developmental outlays may not materialise. j It is unfortunate that unprecedented increases in taxation have been undertaken which are likely to be absorbed by mere consumption expenditures of Government. This retards growth on the one hand and sets in motion a rise in prices.

It is a matter of elementary economics that savings are important insofar as they constitute the material for investment in goods and services. Normally savings take place in the hands of individuals, households, companies and Government. As per the Budget, personal taxation has been hiked up, so also taxation on companies. Development rebate will soon be withdrawn. Wealth tax has been increased ; indirect taxation has been stepped up with the result there will be hardly any saving either in the hands of the individuals or households or companies. The only source of savings is Government. If experience be any guide, Government is hardly the right agency to effect savings. I would like to draw the attention of the honourable Members of the House to the fact that during the last ten years Government savings as a percentage of lax revenue have declined from 22.7 per cent to 10.6 per cent. The present Budget, my feeling is, will reduce national savings by about P.s. 200 crores or so. At this time, when savings formation needed a boost to accelerate the pace of economic development, there is going to be an actual set-back. The public sector in our country has failed to pull its weight. Nevertheless, we are still regaled with the story that the commanding heights of the economy must be owned and controlled by Government.

[SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI] Till recently, at least the feeling at any rate in the public mind was that while the commanding heights of the economy might be in Government hands, the large economic terrain would be left to be developed by private enterprise. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru often declared that private enterprise has an honourable part to play in a mixed economy like ours. How can private enterprise play any part if there are no savings in the hands of individuals or households or companies? If there are savings in the hands of individuals the wealth-tax makes an erosion. Surely, Government cannot be satisfied with the existing number of companies in the private sector to cater to the needs of our growing population. On the one hand, the larger companies are not allowed to expand. On the other, new companies cannot come into existence.

It is with sorrow and pain in my heart that I visualise, not in the too distant future, a situation that will become insupportable to the people. There will not be enough goods to go round. Prices will skyrocket. Law and order situation, bad as it is, will worsen.

The Finance Minister has made a provision of Rs. 25 crores for providing employment to the educated unemployed. I have not seen anywhere any mention as to how these 25 crores will be invested and how employment will be created. If the small man, educated unemployed or anyone, wants to stand on his own legs and start an industry, then the Government has to adopt certain positive measures. The present levels of taxation are such that no one can start an industry, however small, on his own. Unless people are able to save enough to form the nucleus capital, no further investment is possible.

I would like to give an instance which will certainly surprise most of the Members. If a small entrepreneur wants steel for the purpose of fabrication, he has to obtain a certificate from the Director of Industries. Lout capacity. This is all right, but the trouble comes thereafter when he has to apply to the Hindustan Steel for a sales

order. He has to deposit 10 per cent of the value of the steel with the order. Suppose his requirements are of 5 tonnes a day, he needs 150 tonnes per month, and 1,800 tonnes a year. Generally speaking, he has to deposit at least Rs. 1,50,000 without any assurance whatsoever that he gets the supply. In fact his request might be rejected, or if he is fortunate he may be given only 10 to 25 per cent of his requirements. Even if the supplies are not made, the amount of advance will be blocked for more than two years. May I know if this is the kind of policy which will make small entrepreneurs stand on their own legs?

The increase in indirect taxation is also unprecedented both in magnitude as well as coverage. On the whole, I believe the cost of living will go up by about 6 per cent or so at least to the middle classes. This will start a new round of what I may call 'tax push inflation'. The Finance Minister himself has recognised the importance of price stability but the proposals he has made do not add up to this criterion. Further, the steep rise of 20 paise per litre on motor spirit will make road transport costlier and the burden would have to be borne by users of all categories, including the common man. Reimposition of excise duty on oxygen, chlorine, ammonia and refrigerant gas will raise production costs of the industrial consumers of these items.

As regards new items, the coverage is so wide that even items yielding a revenue of Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 lakhs have been brought under the purview of excise duties. The administrative problems in collection will be considerable and the assessee will face difficulties.

As regards additional excise duties, which are in lieu of sales tax and the yield from which would go entirely to the States, one would have wished that in the present circumstances no fresh imposts were made on cotton textiles. The industry is passing through a critical phase and even the marginal increases on medium A and medium B varieties of cotton textiles from 4.8 paise to 6 paise per sq. metre and the rounding off of the additional duty leviable on coane

cloth from 3.6 paise to 4 paise per sq. metre would adversely affect the industry, trade and consumers. The impact of increases on superfine and fine cloth will be considerable.

Here I would like to refer to the cent per cent duty on imported staple fibre. I wonder whether the term 'staple fibre' has crept in wrongly in place of polyester fibre. Polyester fibre is one which could have been taken into consideration by the Finance Minister. But staple fibre is imported chiefly to make good the shortage of cotton and the increase in duty will further put the textile industry into difficulties. I hope the Finance Minister will rectify this.

Another item on which I want to say something is zinc. Zinc is one of the items released from 'GATT' and therefore the Government of India has been pleased to levy customs duty at the rate of Rs. 40 *ad valorem*.

Zinc was all subjected to a countervailing duty of Rs. 500 per ton. With a levy of 40 per cent *ad valorem* the Customs duty comes to Rs. 980 on the basis of the present CIF prices of Rs. 2,450 per ton. As such, the total quantum of duty aggregates to Rs. 1,480. Such an exorbitant duty on zinc which is one of the basic raw materials is so unfair and unrealistic. The prices of zinc has shot up to Rs. 600 per ton and a further steep increase is anticipated which will put the SSI units in great hardship who are engaged in galvanizing and other works and the consumers will be hard hit as they have to pay for their day-to-day requirements. Zinc has a number of uses in industries and for certain consumer products it is required in large quantities, such as, galvanizing of buckets, hardwares, agricultural implements, electrical accessories, including transmission towers, corrugated iron sheets, brass utensils, etc. It is strange that items like buckets and brass have been included in the taxation proposal. Zinc oxide manufacturers will be badly affected and will have to face closure. Zinc is the raw material for manufacture of zinc oxide and

zinc oxide has multiple uses and is largely used in industries, namely, rubber, paints, ceramics, etc. A number of consumer items fall under these categories. A cycle tyre and tube will also bear price increase.

Zinc oxide is already subject to an Excise duty of Rs. 240 per ton. Now, this levy will increase the total quantum of Customs duties and Excise duties to Rs. 1,720. I wonder whether this new levy is imposed to protect the public sector projects like the Hindustan Zinc Ltd., which is already losing heavily. This will no doubt help this project increase their selling price at the cost of consumers and industries.

One more point, Sir, and I will finish. Withdrawal of exemption in Wealth Tax from jewellery, etc. with retrospective effect will entail the Department in tremendous work by opening almost all Wealth Tax assessments completed for earlier years and will involve the Department in great confusion and the assesseees in hardships. Besides the Supreme Court judgment should not be reversed with retrospective effect in the interest of the public at large and on the grounds of justice, equity and fairness. Besides, the voluminous work that the Department will have, they will not be able to devote proper and better time for new or complicated cases and this might involve further legal complications.

In conclusion, I may reiterate that while I agree with the major objective of the Government of banishing poverty, I do not support the means by which this is sought to be achieved for the simple reason that they violate economic logic. Indiscriminate taxation does not augment savings, does not help capital formation, weakens growth and dilutes the improvement in the standard of living. I do not think that even the Government can vouchsafe growth and social justice with the present proposals adumbrated in the budget. It is necessary for the Finance Minister to have a fresh look at the budget proposals and make them production—and employment-orieme

I Thank you, Sir.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA : Sir, on a point of order. Sir, I want you to hear me. I have been very patient so far though a very important rule has been violated by Mr. Chinai. I have great respect for him. Let him not disturb the system, Sir. On the last occasion, we had a very interesting Coca-Cola debate and he raised the point of quorum when just five more M.Ps were needed to be present.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN) : What is your point of order ?

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA : Sir, he has a practice. He has read out the whole speech which is against the rules.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN) : All right. Now, Miss Shanta Vasisht.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT (Delhi) : Sir, lam...

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINA : What about the lady Member who preceded me ?

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA : She is a lady.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : Sir, I am very happy to welcome this budget. I think this is a slight departure from the past practice of a couple of decades or so and a slight, I would say, deviation could be seen from the earlier practice of not burdening the high and the rich, but always having indirect taxes. The burden was largely to be on the lower-income groups or the ordinary people, the common man. This time it has been slightly different and I am very happy about it. I think that this departure will be substantial and stable and permanent and it will be continued in the future also, because I hope that the Government, with all the socialist programmes that it has been announcing for all these months and the common man's expectations that have been roused by these programmes and by these slogans, will try to live up to those expectations that the common man is beginning to have from the Government.

It is always doubtful whether the Government is taking a rightist posture or a leftist posture. There are elements in the country and abroad, hoping and expecting that ultimately the Government will settle down into a rightist sort of line. But I hope that the Government will not fall into the trap and will not take that line because the common man has given a direction to the Government and to the Prime Minister, and I think they should know what the common man is expecting, what he wants, what his needs are and how the Government can go about solving them.

Secondly, I also feel that their postures are very deceptive also. When they talk about the common man, they are having some deal with the business community. They are having a deal with both sections. Either they are friendly with both sections or they are merely giving a lip-service to the common and are in league with the powerful people in the country. Whatever it may be, I do want that they should be able to keep a very socialistic and leftist line of functioning and deliver the goods to the people of the country. Thereby, I think they will be able to have a very stable and sound government, with which people will be very much satisfied.

Then, Sir, I would like to point out that the 'Bangla Desh' has been played up quite a bit. Probably, in the beginning, India has been looking at it like a 'tamasha' in the neighbour's house, and then they thought probably that the events are going too far. We should never be happy when our neighbours are in trouble. Hungary was not an international question. And if Czechoslovakia was not an international question, then this was also an internal matter for them. Our Government has adopted a sort of double policy, of even encouragement. Now these people have been made homeless ; they have become shelterless ; they have suffered. There is tremendous agony in that area. Then, why do we ask them to go to hell ? We should not have encouraged them... (Interruption)

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI) : If I may be permitted to intervene, I do not understand how it is meant that we want them to go back to hell. The Prime Minister has asked them...

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : I am not complaining. They are not going back. But they are suffering. Life for them has become a hell. We are not asking them to go back. The Prime Minister has not asked them to go back. But life for them has been made a hell. They have been damaged : they have been made homeless ; their women are dishonoured ; they are poverty-stricken people ; they are visited by epidemics and all sorts of things. I think we ought to have been more mature in our dealing with "Bangla Desh". We should not have encouraged them to face the bullets. We asked them, "Buck up, Buck up..." and they are now facing the music. They are facing the hell. Their leaders have been put in jail. I feel that the Government should have taken a more mature attitude...

(Interruption)

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh) : I entirely agree with her. The Government should not jump immediately into some stand that...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : What is this ? Is it a point of order ?

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : My only explanation is this. As a matter of fact, I think, the Government was rather hesitant, and rightly so, even from the beginning till now and was pushed by Members in the Parliament to...

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : Sir, my time is being taken by others.

I may say that this Government is not capable of being pushed. Why should it be pushed ? They are strong enough to be on their own legs. Why should they be pushed by Members ? Secondly,

they know the laws of international behaviour and the international practice that normally the neighbouring countries do not interfere in the internal affairs of another country. If you give Bangla Desh aid and on, you can practically become a party and you can have a war. In that case, if the Government is proposing to get into a war with Pakistan, then they should think twice about it because, recently, about ten days back, there was a T.V. programme giving a map of East Pakistan on the borders of India and saying that this is the position where we are very strong, saying that this is the territory where Pakistan is very strong and saying [that] this is the one area where their army is well positioned, and this is one area where our people are well positioned. So that when on the T.V. went on for nearly ten minutes. Then there have been also some threats by the Prime Minister that "we shall do this and we shall take this action". I agree that the Government has to take a self-respecting and strong attitude if any foreign country or neighbouring country makes incursions into our country or makes attacks on our border outposts and so on. But the Government should think seriously about it; whether they certainly want to have a war with Pakistan, or not, if they want to be a party to this sort of thing. After all, 'incursions' is a minor matter if they take place by aeroplanes of other countries. Even Russian planes stray into other countries' air space. Other countries' planes also stray into some other countries' territory. In a few minutes you can cover hundreds of miles because the speed of the planes is so very high. But my suggestion and my argument here is this that the Government should know and realise deeply and properly the consequences if they want to walk into this situation where they may be faced with a war. and whether they are prepared for it. I think Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who was our respected leader, faced, if I may say so, a lot of trouble when the Chinese trouble came. And if the Chinese trouble had lasted another six months, the Government would have been in very serious trouble at that time. Then Sir,

[KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT]
 Shastriji, because he gave up the posture, the country took earlier against Pakistan, at Tashkent and other places, he, if he had come back—I wish he came back alive to this country from Tashkent—and faced the people of the country, he would have faced a lot of music because, if the Pakistani trouble had gone on for another five or six months, the people would have become very much dissatisfied and unhappy with his Government. Now, if the Government think that they are going to walk into a situation where there is going to be a war with Pakistan, they will get into a very serious situation. Whatever consolidation the Indira Government might have got in her own party and the Government and the country, she will be faced with a very serious situation. Many people may play the game and they may try to capitalise from that situation and put serious difficulties in the way of Shrimati Gandhi. I think she should realise whether she wants to have a war or not and whether these types of threats are meant only for Pakistan to mend her ways. If our people are pushing the Government, if the Members of Parliament are pushing the Government to become a party to this Bangla Desh affair and to send them arms supplies, that would certainly be a very unfriendly act in the terminology of international law. It would be...

SHRI PREM MANOHAR : What about the 53 lakhs of refugees who have come over here ?

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : My suggestion is this ; because you were going to play the game in this Bangla Desh affairs, therefore you have got the refugees here. Now that you have the burden of the refugees, you have got to accept them as such and help them as much as you can. You cannot ask them to go back now because it is not very honourable. Secondly, you had no business in the first instance to walk into that situation. Now that you are accepting them as refugees, I think it is better for you to help the refugees on humanitarian grounds, on the ground that

! they are our neighbours. On the ground of whatever the present situation may-warrant, you have to do something for them, and you may seek the help of other countries in this matter. But you got it all inadvertently and without quite realising the consequences of it. Secondly, my suggestion is this, Sir, that if they are going to prepare for a war, it will be causing very serious consequences, (n that case they should have conscription in the country and every member of a family who is above 21 years of age should go to serve in the war, no matter who is it and from which family he comes. It is the contractors who will make money through their contracts for supplies to the army and they will make money as soon as the war starts and expect the ordinary people to send their men as the fodder for the war. And the representatives of the people will sit here and just give advice. I think this is not going to be a very equitable state of affairs. If the country is to feel one, if you have to have unity in the country, every family and every family member must be a party to any national issue in this country, whether it is war or anything else. Otherwise, one section in the country benefits by cost and the other sections still more suffer in the process.

Thirdly, the common people are the sufferers for whom nobody really bothers. So, this is only my observation about Bangla Desh, but I think the Government should seriously think about it, and when the TV programme goes on and the threats are going on and when they are pushed into this situation would Shrimati Indira Gandhi like to risk her position in that bargain because that may hurt not only the various sections within the country but also outside the country ?

My other observation in this matter this : Unemployment is a very big problem in the country and I think even a capitalist country like America had unemployment insurance as far back as 20 years or more. I think the Government would not be taking a very leftist line if they take up unemployment insurance. Anybody who is able

bodied who wants a job but cannot get it should be given some unemployment insurance benefit so that this tremendous and massive frustration that is there amongst the people is taken care of and people would know that the Government will look after them and take care of them when they are in serious difficulty.

Other Members have talked about some of the levies and so on and I just want to say a few words. I am glad that the lower classes have been left a little' untouched as far as the taxation goes and the higher income groups have been touched very cleverly and very properly like taxation on tractors. Tractors are used only by the richer class of agriculturists. By and large, our Green revolution is not very green at all and this is only a myth that has been created by those who have a lot of black money and have gone into agriculture and they have converted their black money into white money. I think the Prime Minister must be knowing from her own farm how much produce she must be getting—from two or three acres of land. Land does not pay so much. It does not pay much to the small farmer. But just because the industrialists or capitalists are going to convert their black money into white money by having farms if you are creating a lobby for higher taxation on agriculture you are going to squeeze the blood out of the small farmers and peasants and that will be more antisocial if at all you do such a thing and it will be a grave injustice. But by the tax on tractors and so on or other luxury items and such other things it is not bad. The main problem is the rising prices and if you want to maintain price level, you have to keep the middle man from raising prices. The taxes are not so high, but the middleman raises prices disproportionately... *(Interruption)*... You are supporting the middle men and the middle shopkeepers. They are the ones who make money at the cost of the consumers and also at the cost of the producers. It is you people *{pointing to Dr. Bhai Mahavir}* who support all these people and they are the ones who are responsible for raising the prices in the

country. It is high time that you speak against them and check them. Otherwise the problem...

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Delhi) : They are the people who impose excise duty... *(Interruption)*... The distance between you and ruling party is not much...

(Interruptions)

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : You do not worry about the distance... *(Interruption)*... There was very little distance between you and your alliance partners—what happened then ...

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : The distance is not that short.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : About the soap levy. It is 0.2 or something. Your shopkeeper is going to make it nearly 100 per cent. When the levy is 0.2 per cent or 0.4 percent, where is the justification for you middle man to raise the price of soap from 0.62 paise to 0.75 paise ? Are you going to socially boycott that person ? Are you going to create a *dharna* there ? Are you going to have a procession or demonstration there ? Have you the courage to do so ? If you have the courage, do it.

AN HON. MEMBER : I think you have the courage.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : It is left to me. Therefore, Sir, as far as the prices are concerned, there will be demand by the salaried classes, there will be demand by the Government employees and others that because the prices are going up again fixation of pay, dearness allowance and other allowances should be taken up by the Government so that they may be able to live up to the rising prices and so on and be able to make both ends meet.

My suggestion is, so long as you do not keep a certain check on the middle man also you will never be able to check the prices. All your programmes are made into naught, all your schemes are made into naught and the common people suffer and they blame

[Kumari Shanta Vasis'tit]

and abuse the Government with some justification, I am sure, as they suffer, but the Government should really gear up the machinery on a large scale and extensively to see that the middleman, the shopman and others are not going into adulteration, they are not supplying poorer stuff and they are not charging higher prices. Though on many items like petrol you cannot generally raise the price of petrol beyond the duty, because it is an item which has to be checked up by Government through its retail outlets, but most items are such, whether it is bread or soap or other things, where a levy may be point something but it will go up by another 10 paise. What are you going to do ? That happens every year around the budget time, but the Government is not able to devise a machinery which may check the prices like that and they go on saying that if anybody is raising the prices, we shall prosecute. During the last 5 years the Ministers were saying "We will prosecute those who raise the prices." I wonder even if 100 people have been prosecuted. As a matter of fact those who do raise the prices are monied people, who have political pulls and they get away scot-free and they make hay. So I feel that on coarse cloth and maida specially, the levy on both these, should be done away with by the Minister concerned because these two really affect the very poor sections of the people who buy the coarse cloth and bread as well as double-roti.

These levies should be removed and the agricultural sector should not be taxed generally except the higher income group. Conscriptio should be introduced because that is going to give good relations and good unity to the country and also remove the disparities and social exploitation considerably. There should be conscription and some military service for *everybody* for 2 or 3 years including for our friends on the right side. It will be very good if all of us had some military training for a couple of years.

AN HON. MEMBER : We accept j it.

i

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (राजस्थान) : हम पहले से मांग कर रहे हैं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN) : It should not be for ladies,

KUMARI SHAMTA VASISHT : It will be for ladies also. All countries have this. It should be for ladies and men. There would be greater discipline, greater sense of unity and then you will have a united India; otherwise people think in terms of their States and so on. Therefore I extend my support to the Budget and I hope the Government will remove some of these levies and they will not allow the rightist in their camps to have a greater hold on the situation and I hope they will not settle down to a very rightist position thereby undoing the socialist talk they have had so far. That is my fear. You never know what will happen. —\$z f%ir %T\$z

tsTT TfT^n Hj~W>-At I

Thank you.

شہری اسد دہلی (اتو پر دیش) —

صدر معتمدوں میں بھی اس بجٹ کو خوش آئند کہتا ہوں اور نائید کرتا ہوں لیکن اس نے سانبھ ساتھ جو بھی اپنے ملک اور اپنے ملک والوں کی بھلائی کے لئے کوئی کام کرنا چاہتے ہیں اور اڈر ملک کے سبھی بسنے والوں کو ترقی کی طرف لے جانا چاہتے ہیں اور ان کی زندگی کے معیار کو اونچا اٹھانا چاہتے ہیں تو پھر یہ ضروری ہے کہ ہم کو قربانی دینی پڑے گی لیکن اگر ہم پبلک سے عوام سے قربانی کا مطالبہ کریں تو اس کے ساتھ ساتھ گورنمنٹ کو بھی اسی طریقہ پر اور راستہ پر چلنا ہوگا۔ اگر ہم جو زمیندار ہیں گورنمنٹ کے وہ اس راستہ پر نہ چلیں اور صرف پبلک سے چاہیں تو وہ نیا راستہ سے زیادہ بوجھ خوشی خوشی

اتہائے تو یہ ایک طرفہ کام ڈالنا مشکل ہے اور اس سے نقصان ہوگا۔ اس لئے ہم کو اگر پبلک ڈی پھلنگی لیتے ان کے اور بوجہہ ڈالنا ہے اور ان کو اس کے سہن اس کے برداشت کی تکمیل کرنی ہے تو اس کے لئے ذہن پید کرنا ہوگا اور اپنے آپ اس راستہ پر چلنے کی کوشش کرنی ہوگی۔ اس طرح سے ہم کام کر سکتے ہیں۔

اس الٹی بجت میں کافی ڈیکریٹ لکھے گئے ہیں۔ ان میں سے کچھ کہا جاتا ہے عام غریب لوگوں سے براہ راست زیادہ ٹیکس وصول نہیں ہوگا لیکن کچھ ٹیکس ضرور ایسے ہیں جو غریب لوگوں کے اور براہ راست جیسے مقرر ہوتے ہیں۔ دو چار چھ ایسے ڈیکریٹ ہیں۔ (ڈیکریٹیشن)۔ اس طریقہ سے چار ڈیکریٹ

تے نوابہ میں اضافہ ہوا ہے۔ ڈیک اور دوسرے ٹیکس میں اضافہ ہوا ہے۔ پٹرول پر ٹیکس بڑھایا گیا ہے اور جیسا کہ مجھ سے پہلے سمجھا رہے ہیں کہہ رہی تھیں کہ ان ٹیکسوں کے ساتھ ساتھ جو ہمارے کاروباری ملک کے لوگ ہیں وہ لوگ جس طرح سے ٹیکس میں اضافہ کرتے ہیں اس سے سب کو ملاک نہیں کی پبلک اور عوام کے اور بڑا بوجہہ پڑے گا۔ مذفع خور اور میٹائی لوگ جن کی عادت پیسے اور دام بڑھانے کی ہے وہ بھی دام بڑھائیں گے اور ان پر ٹیکس سے دام بڑھیں گے۔ ان تمام چیزوں سے کتنا بڑا بوجہہ پبلک کے اوپر پڑے گا جس کو وہ برداشت کر سکیں گی کیوں کہ جو غریب عوام ہمیں جو بہت پہلے ہوں کافی دیے ہئے ہیں وہ کیا اسے کو خوشی سے برداشت کریں گے یہ مشکل نظر

آتا ہے اس لئے ان تمام چیزوں کی طرف توجہ کرنی چاہئے۔

اس طرح سے اس بجت پر سفر کرنے والوں نے اوپر ٹیکس ڈیفائنڈ کیا گیا ہے۔ جو لوگ ہوائی چہڑے سے ٹورین سے سفر کریں گے۔ جو باہری سفر کریں گے۔ بس سے سفر کریں گے ان پر ٹیکس کا اضافہ ہوا ہے ان سب لوگوں سے ٹیکس وصول کیا جائے گا۔ تو میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس میں کچھ ایسے لوگ بھی ہیں جو زیارات کے لئے باہر جاتے ہیں۔ جیسے ہمدرد سکھ بھائی ہیں جو پاکستان میں ان کے گورنڈوارے ہیں ان کی زیارات کے لئے جاتے ہیں یا دوسرے ملکوں میں بدھست جاتے ہیں۔ تو اس طرح سے اگر ان پر یہ بوجہہ پڑے گا تو یہ مناسب نہیں ہوگا۔ اس لئے میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر عام اس طرح کا ٹیکس اپنے والا ہے تو اس کو واپس لینا چاہئے۔ یہاں سے الٹے جو پلٹوں وغیرہ میں سفر کرتے ہیں ان کے اوپر ٹیکس بڑھایا جائے۔ اور وہ لوگ اس کو برداشت کریں گے تو کوئی خرچ نہیں

اس طریقہ سے شہر چاندان کے بارے میں جو حد بندی کی گئی ہے کہ بھی بہت طروری ہے۔ مسانعت کے لئے اس طریقہ سے جو اربوں کروڑوں روپے کی چاندان لوگوں کے پاس ہے اور دوسرے لوگوں کے رہنے کے لئے ایک معمولی سا کمرہ اور چھڑی بھی پاس رہنے کے لئے ہے تو یہ صورت۔ حال بدن ہونی چاہئے اس کے لئے کچھ نہ کچھ بیانس ہونا ضروری ہے لیکن حد بندی کرتے ہوئے اس کا دھیان رکھا جانا چاہئے کہ ایسے چیز تبدیل ادارہ بھی ہیں جو پبلک کے مفاد کے کام

شہری اسد مدنی۔ (جاری)

آئے ہیں۔ ان کا مفاد چاہے مختلف طریقہ سے مزیدیں ہو یا تعلیمی ہو ان کو اس طرح سے متسلی کرنا چاہئے کہ کہیں ایسا نہ ہو کہ ان کو نقصان پہنچ جائے۔ کیوں کہ جو ہم مساوات چاہتے ہیں جو حد بندی چاہتے ہیں وہ نیشن اور عام پبلک کے مفاد کے لئے چاہتے ہیں۔ یہ تمام ادارہ انہیں کے فائدہ کے لئے ہیں۔ اس لئے ایک فائدہ کی چیز کو ختم کرنا دوسرے کے فائدہ کے لئے یہ مناسب نہیں ہوگا۔

دوسری طرف یہ بھی حقیقت ہے کہ جو بھی انڈر ٹیکنکس کے ادارہ بن رہے ہیں ان کا جو نظام ہے وہ ابھی تک قابل اطمینان نہیں ہے۔ اس لئے اس وقت جو انتظام پرائیویٹ طور پر چل رہا ہے اس سے بھی زیادہ خراب حالت میں پبلک کے مفاد کے اداروں کو لایا جائے تو یہ کوئی معتدل بات نہیں ہوگی اس لئے اس بات کا بھی خیال رکھا جانا چاہئے اور جو غریب لوگ ہیں درمیانی طبقہ کے ہیں ملازمت پریشہ لوگ ہیں یا چھوٹا موٹا کاروبار کرتے ہیں ان لوگوں کا بھی لحاظ زیادہ رکھا جانا چاہئے کیوں کہ وہ بسا اوقات مزدور اور دوسرے قسم کے صنعت کرنے والوں سے کچھ زیادہ پریشان اور متوسط طبقہ ہے درمیانی طبقہ ہے اس لئے اس کی طرف خیال رکھا جانا چاہئے اور ان کے لئے کچھ ایسے راستے ہیں جس سے وہ خون آگے بڑھ سکیں اور انہیں ہر طرح کی رعایت بھی دی جائے۔

بجٹ میں محصول سے ۲۰۰ ارب پونے دس کروڑ کی آمدنی دکھائی گئی

ہے۔ پونے ۸ کروڑ سے زیادہ ترقی اسکیموں پر کھ گیا ہے۔ سو ادا کرنے کے لئے ۶ ارب ۲۸ کروڑ روپیہ رکھا گیا ہے۔ انتظامی اخراجات کے لئے ۲ ارب ۸۷ کروڑ ہے۔ ریاستوں کو تقریباً ۱۲ ارب دیا گیا ہے۔ ڈیفینس پر ۱۰ ارب ۸۹ کروڑ کا خرچ ہے۔ یہ بجٹ میں دکھایا گیا ہے۔ تو اس آمدنی کا ۱ فی صدی سر ادا کرنے پر خرچ کرنا پڑے گا۔ یہ کافی قابل غور بات ہے۔ بہت بڑی رقم ہو جاتی ہے جو ہم کو دینی پڑے گی۔ سال - اس کی طرف توجہ کرنی چاہئے۔ اس طرح ہماری ساری آمدنی کا ۲۵ فی صدی سے زیادہ صرف ڈیفینس پر خرچ ہو رہا ہے۔ بہر حال ملک کی حفاظت اور ملک کی سالمیت اور ملک کا وقار یہ نہایت ضروری ہے۔ اگر ہمارے ملک کی ایک انچ بھی زمین یا کوئی ایک شہری بھی خطرہ میں پڑتا ہے تو پورے ملک کی عزت اس کی زندگی اور وقار کا مسامہ ہے۔ جس کے لئے ملک کو ہر قسم کی قربانی کرنے کے لئے تیار رہنا چاہئے۔

اس کے ساتھ ساتھ میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ یہ بدقسمتی کی بات ہے کہ ہندوستان اور پاکستان پروسی ہوتے ہوئے شریفوں کی طرح سے اور بھلے تعلقات کے ساتھ نہیں رہ پنا رہے ہیں۔ یہ ایسے غریب ملک ہیں جن کے ۵۰ فی صدی سے زیادہ لوگ بالکل مفاس اور غریب ہیں۔ ایسی حالت میں ۱۰ اور ۲۵ فی صدی بجٹ کا بچانے ترقی پر خرچ کریں لوگوں کو آگے بڑھائیں تعلیم سے صحت سے کاروبار سے آرو دوسرے چیزیں ہیں یہ مجبور ہیں کہ انہی بڑی رقم ڈیفینس پر خرچ کر لیں۔ یہ صورت حال بہت تشویش ناک ہے

اور اس کی طرف دونوں ہی ملکوں کے جو پبلک کے خیرخواہ لوگ ہیں جو زندہ رہنا اور رکھنا چاہتے ہیں ان کو توجہ کرنی چاہئے۔ اگر یہ صورت حال باقی رہے تو جو آسائشیں اور وعدے ہم ملک کے عوام سے کرتے آئے ہیں ان سب کا کچھ حصہ بھی ہم پورا کر پائیں گے یا نہیں یہ بہت مشکل مسئلہ ہے۔

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माधुर : आपने कहा कि हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान दोनों शरीफों की तरह से नहीं रह रहे हैं, वही हिन्दुस्तान भी शरीफ नहीं है, वह भी बदमाशों कर रहा है, आप अपने देश को भी डिस्टर्ब करने हैं।

श्री ایم اسد مدنی—یہ صورت حال ہے آپ دیکھ کے بارے میں کچھ نہیں کہہ رہا ہوں۔

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माधुर : आपने कहा दोनों मुलक खराब हैं, अपने देश को भी—

श्री ایم اسد مدنی—اچھے تعلقات تو نہیں ہیں۔

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माधुर : दोनों मुलक शरीफों की तरह नहीं रह रहे हैं। अपने देश के लिए ऐसी बात कहना बड़ी गलत बात है।

श्री ایم اسد مدنی—جب آپ کا نمبر آئے تو فرمائے گا۔ اگر کشمیر کی دہے اور اس طرح سے یہ صورت حال ملک میں رہے اور دونوں بڑے بڑے ملک بوجہ سے دیئے گئے تو پورا اس کا نتیجہ دونوں ملک کی پبلک کے لئے عوام کے لئے بدترین ہوگا۔ بدقسمتی سے ہمارے پیروسی ملک میں ڈکٹیٹر شپ ہے۔ جمہوریت نہیں ہے۔ ڈیموکریسی نہیں ہے۔ وہاں کے عوام کو وہاں کی حکومت نے پالیسی میں کوئی دخل نہیں ہے۔ وہاں پر فوجی

لوگ راج کراچ چلائے ہیں۔ یہ بھی صاحب اور ان سے پہلے ایوب خاں فوجی قسم کے لوگ ہیں اور ان کے مزاج ڈکٹیٹری ہیں۔ جو ان کی سمجھ میں آتا ہے جو ان کے قبیب دو چار آدمی ہیں وہ جو کہتے ہیں دن رات وہی ان کو نظر آتا ہے۔ یہ بڑی بدقسمتی کی بات ہے۔ (انڈیشن) آپ معاف فرمائے گا۔ آپ کی

مداخلت سے کوئی مسئلہ حل نہیں ہوگا۔ جب آپ کری تقریب کا وقت آئے تو ساری چیزیں کھینچنے لگیں۔

وہاں کی پبلک پر انہوں نے نہایت ظلم طریقہ سے مظالم کئے ہیں۔ آج ہمارے سامنے مشرق کا مسئلہ ہے لیکن صرف بنگال کا ہی مسئلہ نہیں ہے خود پاکستان کا جو فرتھر صورت ہے سندھ ہے بلوچستان ہے وہاں کے لوگ بھی اسی طرح دکھ رہے ہیں پریشان ہیں۔ ان کے ساتھ بھی اقتصادی اکیٹوکل نا مساوات غیر برابر اور امتیاز کا سلوک ہوتا جا رہا ہے۔

بنگال کے لوگ اس کے زیادہ شکار تھے لیکن وہ لوگ بھی شکار ہیں اور کوئی نہیں چانتا کہ کس وقت وہاں بھی اس طریقہ سے وہاں کی فکٹریز شپ کے خلاف کیسا ردعمل یا کوئی دی ایکشن ہو۔ وہاں یہ صورت ہے کہ ان سے یہ توقع کرنے بھگاڑ ہے کہ وہ کس معقول بات پر غور کریں گے۔ اگر وہ معقول بات پر غور کرتے تو بالکل کھلی ہوئی بات تھی کہ مجیب الرحمان صاحب نے اپنے بنگال کے بسنے والوں کی پریشانی کو دیکھ کر کے اعلان کیا تھا کہ ہماری مصدحتوں کا یہ حل ہے اور اس پر لوگوں کو انہوں نے بلایا تھا کہ ہمارے ساتھ ہو جاؤ۔ ہم اگر ڈیموکریسی

میں کامیاب ہونگے تو ایسا ایسا کرینگے۔ لوگ ان کے ساتھ ہو گئے۔ اگر وہ چھوڑیں پاکستان کے لئے ٹکڑا ٹکڑا کرے والی تھیں۔ ہریانہ کو لے والی تھیں تو یحییٰ خان کو اس دن سوچنا چاہئے تھا اور ان کو ڈیموکریسی کے نام پر آزادی نہیں دینی چاہئے تھی۔ اگر وہ سچے ہیں تو ان کو اس دن پابندی لگا دینی چاہئے تھی اور الیکشن کی اجازت نہیں دینی چاہئے تھی۔ اگر وہ ایسا کرتے تو ان کا یہ کہنا سچ ہوا اور لوگ اس میں کچھ نہ کتبہہ مانتے کہ یہ بات تھی۔ یہ یوں تھا۔ ایک یا دو یا تین ہانہوں غلط ہیں جن کو پاکستان والے برداشت نہیں کر سکتے تھے اور پھر معجزہ البرحمان صاحب کو ہٹانا پوتا بدلنا پوتا کتبہہ اور کرنا پوتا یا انکا نوٹی اور راستہ ہوتا لیکن انہوں نے اس پر کسی قسم کا اعتراض نہیں کیا۔ الیکشن ہو گئے صرف ہنگام میں نہیں پورے پاکستان کی معجزاتی حاصل ہوئی معجزہ البرحمان صاحب کو اور ان کے ساتھ ہوں کو۔ اتنا ہی نہیں یہاں تک خود یحییٰ خان نے کہا تھا کہ یہ فہوجر پرائم منسٹر ہیں۔ یہ سب کہنے کے بعد جب اس کا وقت آیا کہ واقعی وہ طاقت ان کے ہاڑہ میں منتقل کردیں تو یہ بات سمجھ میں آنے والی نہیں ہے کہ جن اصولوں پر کہلے ہندوں اس طرح سے عہدوں برسوں سے پروپیگنڈا کر کے الیکشن اشو بنا کر کے میلو فیسٹو بنا کر کے الیکشن لوجکے تھے وہی اس طرح سے ایک دم زھر بن گئے۔ تو یہ بات سمجھ میں آتی نہیں۔ خدا جانے ملتوی کا کوئی دہاو تھا یا کوئی ویتھڈ انڈرسٹ تھا یا کہا چھڑ تھی جس سے انہوں نے بہانہ بازی

کی اور کتبہہ کے لئے آئے لیکن صرف شو کے واسطے۔ اس میں کوئی حقیقت نہیں تھی۔ وہ حل نہیں کرنا چاہتے تھے۔ اگر حل کرنا چاہتے تھے تو معجزہ البرحمان صاحب ہر قیمت پر اس بات کے لئے تیار تھے کہ ہمارے یہ جو مسائل ہوں ان کا آپ کوئی حل بتا دیجئے۔ یہ سچ نکات اگر ٹیک نہیں ہوں تو ان کے بجائے کوئی اور نکات دے دیجئے۔ کوئی اور راستہ تجویز کر دیجئے۔ جس سے ہماری مشکلات حل ہو چکیں۔ اور ہم اسے ماننے کے لئے تیار ہیں۔ غور کریں کے لئے تیار ہیں۔ لیکن وہ صرف ایک فریق تھا اس کے پیچھے انہوں نے اپنی فوجی طاقت وہاں پہنچائی اور باتوں کرتے رہے اور پھر اچانک انہوں نے زبانی ظالم اور قتل عام شروع کر دیا۔

خیر ہنگام بہت ہی تیار کن حالت سے گزر رہا ہے اور وہاں ایک ایسی تباہی آئی ہے کہ ایک نسل کے بوزوں کو بچوں کو جوانوں کو تعلیم یافتہ لوگوں کو ختم کرنے کی کوشش کی گئی ہے۔ میں خود وہاں بارڈر پر گیا ہوں اور میں نے وہاں کے جو رفیوجیٹ کیمپ ہیں ان کو دیکھا ہے اور کچھ لوگوں سے بھی ملا ہوں۔ اپنے جاننے والوں سے بھی اور دوسرے لوگوں سے بھی۔ تو وہاں بالکل اس کی کوشش کی گئی ہے کہ کوئی بھی سمجھدار یا تعلیم یافتہ باقی نہ رہے پائے ہنگام کے اندر۔ یہاں تک کہ ایڈووکیٹس، کوہ رکھلوں کوہ پروفیسروں کوہ انجینئروں کوہ ڈاکٹروں کو دھونڈ دھونڈ کر مارا گیا ہے چاہے وہ کسی خیال کے ہوں۔ کسی پارٹی کے ہوں وہاں کسی پارٹی یا سیاسی اختلاف

کے بغاؤ ہی کسی کے خلاف کاروائی نہیں کی گئی ہے۔ تو اس طریقہ سے بنگال میں بالکل قتل عام کی کوشش کی گئی ہے جس کو کسی سبب کے بغاؤ پر نہیں کہا جا سکتا بلکہ یہی سمجھا جانا چاہئے یہی تاثر حقیقت پر مبنی ہے کہ انہوں نے بنگال کو بالکل دبا دبا کر غلام بنانے کا فیصلہ کر کے یہ ساری کاروائی کی ہے۔ اس طریقہ سے جہاں آبادیوں کی آبادیاں تباہ کی جائیں قتل عام ہو وہاں اگر کوئی یہ فیصلہ کرے کہ صرف دباؤ کی بلیاں پر بنگال والے ان کے ساتھ ہو جائیں گے یہ شاید جس کے پاس عقل کم ہو وہی ایسا فیصلہ کر سکتا ہے۔ روزہ اتنے بڑے نظام کا نتیجہ کبھی بھی یہ نہیں ہو سکتا کہ لوگوں کے دل ان کے ساتھ ہو جائیں اور جب دل ساتھ نہیں ہوینگے اور کروڑوں انسانوں کے دل اس طرح سے پھرتے رہینگے تو وہ کب تک اس طرح سے طاقت کے بل پر ان پر قبضہ رکھ سکتے ہیں یہ میں سمجھ نہیں سکتا۔ میں تو ایسا کہا کرتا ہوں اور سمجھتا ہوں کہ اگر وہاں کے ملک کو نقصان پہنچتا ہے تب بھی ایسا ہمارا یقین ہے کہ اتنے بڑے قتل عام کے بعد دنوں حصے ایک ساتھ چڑے رہینگے یہ سوچا نہیں جا سکتا۔ طاقت اور فوج کے بل پر چلنے والوں تک وہ قبضہ رکھیں وہیں لیکن اتنی بڑی پیمائش کو اس طرح سے پرہیز کر کے مستقل طور پر ان سے وہ چوڑے رکھینگے یہ چوڑے مہری سمجھ میں نہیں آتی۔ یہ چوڑے فطرت کے فیصلہ کے خلاف معلوم ہوتی ہے۔ (وقت کی گھنٹی)۔

یہ مسئلہ خود اہم ترین مسئلہ ہے۔

उधर की बातें करोगे तो नहीं चलेगा ।

شری ایم اسد مدنی : کبھی ادھر

سے بولتے ہیں کبھی ادھر سے بولتے ہیں۔ تو ابھی حال میرا مطالبہ یہ تھا کہ یہ مسئلہ صرف وہیں کا نہیں ہے بلکہ یہ مسئلہ ہمارے ملک کے لئے ایک مسئلہ بن گیا ہے اور ہمارا ملک جو ابھی ایک نئے سوشلزم اور پیمائش کی پہلائی کے راستے پر آئے بڑھ رہا تھا اس کے لئے ایک بہت بڑے امتحان کا وقت آگیا ہے۔ میں خود نہیں کہہ سکتا کہ اس کا کیا نتیجہ نکلے گا اور اس طرح کا بوجھ ہمیں اٹھانا پڑے گا۔ ظاہر ہے کہ اس طرح کے پرہیز اور مصیبت زدہ لوگ آجڑے ہوئے جن کے جوان - پڑے لکھے نوجوانان تعلیم یافتہ گارجین اور دوسرے لوگ مار ڈالے گئے جہاں میں ہیں اور جہاں محصلوں کے مسئلے تباہ کر دئے گئے۔ اس طرح کے لوگ معجزاً آنا نہیں چاہتے تھے لیکن بغیر خواہش کے پرہیز ہو کر وہ آئے ہیں اور اب ان کو دھکیلا نہیں جا سکتا۔ بہرحال یہ ایک انسانیت کا سوال ہے اور جس طرح سے یہی ہو اور جو یہی ہو ان کے لئے ہمیں بوجھ اٹھانا پڑے گا جب تک کہ حالات پھر سے بہتر نہ ہو جائے اس بوجھ کو برداشت کرنا پڑے گا۔

لیکن اس بوجھ میں ترقیات کے لئے جو آٹھ پونے آٹھ ارب روپیہ رکھا گیا ہے یہ بہت کم ہے۔ ہونا یہ چاہئے تھا کہ ڈیفینس سے کم سے کم دوگنی رقم ہم ترقیاتی پلانوں کے لئے رکھ سکتے۔ اور ایسا ہونے سے مستقبل میں کافی ترقی ہوتی اور ملک آگے بڑھ سکتا۔ ہمارے ملک میں بینک ڈنٹلائزیشن ہوا ہے اور اس کا اثر ہندوستان کے سارے بسنے والوں نے لیا ہے اور اس کا بہت بڑا

تجوت ہے پچھلے الیکشن کے نتائج لیکن میں یہ کہنے پر مجبور ہوں کہ اس کا جو فائدہ تھا جو مقصد تھا اور جو فائدہ پبلک کے لئے حاصل ہوا چاہئے تھا وہ نہیں ہو رہا ہے۔ وہاں کے کام کرنے والے یا خدا جانے کیا وجہ ہے اس کا فائدہ نہیں ہو رہا ہے۔ وہاں جو کام کرنے والے ہیں وہ پہلے جو بینکوں کے مالک تھے ڈائریکٹرز تھے ان کے ساتھ لگے ہیں اس لئے وہ اس کو ناکام کرنا چاہتے ہیں یا یہ کہ ہمارے ملک میں بدقسمتی سے انتظام میں گچھ برائی اور گریشن عام ہوتا چلا جا رہا ہے۔ اس کی وجہ سے یہ فائدہ حاصل نہیں ہو رہا ہے۔ ہمارے عام مزدور پیشہ صنعت کار کو جو فائدہ اٹھانا چاہئے تھا وہ اس کو تقریباً ناکام کر رہے ہیں۔ اور عام لوگوں کا جس طرح تعاون ہونا چاہئے مدد ہونی چاہئے لوگوں کے اندر کام کرنے کا جذبہ ہونا چاہئے کہ غریبوں کو اس سے فائدہ ہونا چاہئے وہ چیز پیدا نہیں ہو رہی ہے اور عام لوگ خاص طور پر ان بڑے ناواقف مزدور صنعتی دستکاری کرنے والے وہاں نہیں پہنچ پاتے ہیں اور نہ کوئی ان کو صہی جواب دیتا ہے اور نہ ان کو اس سے کوئی فائدہ پہنچتا ہے۔

بویہری ۱۰ موہممہد (بہار) آپ اسکی تادیب کرتے ہیں۔

شری اسد مدنی - خیر میرا مطلب یہ ہے کہ اس طرح سے بڈجٹ نشیلا-نیشن کا جو فائدہ ہونا چاہئے وہ بے کار ہوتا چلا جا رہا ہے۔ حکومت ایسی مشینری بنا رہی ہے کہ اس طرح چیک کریگی اس سب کو اور کیا نتائج نکالینگے یہ تو دیکھنے کی بات ہے اور اس طریقہ سے ایک بے بات میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جو دستکار لوگ ہیں جن کا پیشہ

وہی رہا ہے جن کی نسلیں اس میں بہت گئی ہیں اور اس میں وہاں زندگی گزارتے ہیں ہماری بدقسمتی سے جو پلاننگ کے ترقی کار ہیں وہ ظاہر ہے کہ ان کام کرنے والوں کو اس کام میں ٹیکنیکل مدد دینے سے کسی مدد ان کے لئے را مینٹیننس نہیں کرنے کی مدد اور اس طریقہ سے تیار شدہ مال کے لئے کوئی مارکیٹ نہیں ہے۔ اس کی مدد نہیں کرنا چاہتے اور سرکاری مشینری سے اس سب کے لئے ان کو کوئی جواب نہیں مل رہا ہے۔ ان کے بچے حاصل ہیں ان کو کوئی ٹیکنیکل مدد نہیں اور مہارت حاصل کرنے کی جو مدد ہونی چاہئے وہ ان کے بچوں کو نہیں ملتی اور وہ پرانے طریقے پر چلنے کے لئے مجبور ہیں۔ جن کا یہ خاندانی پیشہ ہے جو آنکھ کھلنے پر وہی کام ہوتا دیکھتے چلے آتے ہیں ایسے خاندانوں کو ہی کوئی مدد نہیں ہوتی اور اس نام پر جو بڑے بڑے دولت مند ہیں جن کے ہاتھ میں را مینٹیننس کا اسٹاک ہے جن کے ہاتھ میں فیکٹریز ہیں جن کے ہاتھ میں مارکیٹ ہے۔ جو دھنی ہیں جو اربوں اور کروڑوں روپے کا کاروبار لئے بیٹھے ہیں وہ ساری چیزوں پر حاوی ہیں اور وہ سب چیز چلا رہے ہیں۔ اس طرح سے اگر یہ روپیہ بریاد ہوگا اور جو غریب لوگ ہیں جن کے لئے ساری اسکیمیں ہونی چاہئیں ان کو مدد نہیں ملے گی تو ہم غریبوں کی مدد کا خواب بھی پورا نہیں کر سکیں گے اور اس کا نقصان ہوگا۔ اس طرح سے میں دیلوے کے متعلق کچھ عرض کروں۔ میں دیلوے بچمت پر نہیں ہوں۔

उपसमाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान): रेलवे पर आप नहीं बोल सकते हैं। आप खत्म कीजिये। आपका वक्त हो गया है।

شری ایم اسد مدنی - بہر حال میں ریلوے بجٹ پر نہیں بولتا لیکن ایک بات میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ دلی کھیٹل ہے پورے ہندوستان کی اور یہاں لاکھوں آدمی رہتے ہیں اور لاکھوں آدمی یہاں چاروں طرف سے آتے جاتے ہیں تو یہ خیال کرنا چاہئے کہ چاروں طرف کے لوگوں کے لئے زیادہ سہولت ہو۔ تیز رفتار گاڑیاں آئیں جائیں۔ مگر یہاں سے غازی آباد تک تو ڈبل لائن ہے لیکن اس کے بعد سپارن پور تک ڈبل لائن نہ ہونے کی وجہ سے کافی دقت پیش آتی ہے اور ڈبل ہوتی ہے۔ اس طریقہ سے یو۔پی میں کانپور اور لکھنؤ دو بڑے شہر ہیں۔ کانپور انڈسٹریل شہر ہے اور وہاں سے لاکھوں آدمی روزانہ ٹیکسی اور ہر پندرہ منٹ پر بسوں کے ذریعہ آتے جاتے ہیں لیکن برائڈ گیج کی ڈبل لائن نہیں ہے اور اس کی وجہ سے بڑی دقت پیش آتی ہے۔ تو اس کی طرف ریلوے کو دھیان دینا چاہئے۔

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : रेलवे पर आप नहीं बोल सकते ।

شری ایم اسد مدنی - میں تو صرف معمولی طریقہ سے بول رہا ہوں۔ شمارے ملک کی ہوابازی کی منسٹری نے چہازوں کو لے کر کے کافی اچھی ترقی کی ہے۔

श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) : मौलाना की ओर समय दिया जाय, हम सुनना चाहते हैं ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : माथर माहव का बयन आप देना चाहते हैं ।

شری ایم اسد مدنی - تو ریلوے کے علاوہ ہوابازی کی جو حالت ہے اور جس طریقہ سے ڈیلے ہوتی ہے اس کے متعلق میں عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں۔ پانچ پانچ اور چھ چھ گھنٹے اور کہہ ہی کہہ ہی دن دن بہر ہم لوگ خود ہوائی اڈہ پر پڑے رہے ہیں۔ تکت لئے ہوئے ہیں کلمریشن ہے پروگرام بنا ہوا ہے پور بھی پڑے ہوئے ہیں اور کوئی خبر نہیں۔ یہ بھی نہیں کہا جاتا کہ کب ہوائی جہاز آئے گا۔ شروع ہی میں یہ خبر دینی چاہئے تو یہ صورت حال نہ ہو۔ اس طریقہ سے تریبون اور ہوائی جہازوں کا جو پروگرام ہے جو اینڈ منسٹریشن ہے وہ بالکل رسی ہو گیا ہے۔ ہم نے یہ سنا ہے کہ اگر جہازیں میں ٹریڈین لیت ہو جائے۔

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : अब आप बोलिये ।

شری ایم اسد مدنی - بجٹ پر بھی نہیں بولنے دینگے تو پور کب بولنے دینگے۔ غصہ ہو گیا۔ لوگ آدھا آدھا ڈھنٹے بولتے ہیں۔ آپ بھی چاہتے ہیں کہ راج نارائن صاحب کی ہی طرح کیا جائے۔ اس اجلاس میں یہی کرانا چاہتے ہیں۔ چند منٹ کا موقع

دیجئے۔ آخر میں میں یہ عرض کر رہا تھا۔ . .

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : वह हवाई जहाज पर बोझ रहे हैं, हवाई जहाज की वजन कर रहे हैं।

شری ایم اسد مدنی - جلد اب تو شاید

ہوا کی بات کرتے ہیں۔ میں تو زمین پر ہی ہوں۔ آپ ہوا کی بات کرتے ہیں۔ جو صورت حال رہی پچھلے دنوں میں وہ عرض کر رہا تھا۔ میں یہ عرض کر رہا تھا کہ میں نے سدا تھا کہ جاپان میں اگر تریبون لیوٹ ہو جائے تو کراہے واپس کر دیتے ہیں۔ یہاں پلیس کا یہی یہ حال ہے کہ ۲۲ ۲۲ کہتے تک یا کئی کئی دن تک پوچے رہو اور تمام پروگرام بالکل خراب ہو جائے تو یہی کوئی پوچھنے والا نہیں ہوتا۔ کاش۔ خدا جانے ہمارے ملک میں کبھی ایسا ہو پائے گا کہ نہیں کہ وقت کی کوئی قیمت ہو۔ اب تو حالت یہ ہے کہ اگر کوئی پہنچا دے۔ چاہے ۲۳ گھنٹے کے بعد بھی تو مسافر پر بہت بڑا احسان ہے۔ ورنہ چاہے ہوائی جہاز ہو چاہے ریل ہو۔ وقت کی کسی کو کوئی فکر ہی نہیں ہوتی۔

اس طریقہ سے جو صحت کا محکمہ ہے۔ وزارت صحت ہے اس کی حالت نہایت نازک ہے۔ میں ایک بات کہنا چاہتا ہوں۔ معاف کیجئے گا۔ میں موجود تھا اور وزیر صحت نے ایک صاحب سے

اپنے محکمہ کے لوگوں سے یہ بات کہی تھی کہ بھائی۔ تین ہسپتال ہیں۔ ایک یہ ولنکلڈن ہے اور یہ ایک میڈیکل انسٹی ٹیوٹ ہے اور یہ ایک صفدر جنگ ہے۔ تین کو اچھا رکھو معلوم ہوگا کہ سارے ملک میں ٹھیک ہے۔ اس کا خیال رکھو تو ہمیں یہ نظریہ نہیں رکھنا چاہئے۔ ہندوستان کے سارے ہسپتالوں کو آپ جا کر دیکھئے۔۔۔ دوائیں نہیں ڈاکٹر نہیں بلڈنگ نہیں بیڈس نہیں کوئی دیکھنے والا نہیں۔ اس حالت میں پورے ملک کے عام ہسپتال پڑے ہوئے ہیں۔ جتنے ہسپتالوں میں کچھ چیزیں نظر آتی ہیں ان میں بھی شکایات ہو جاتی ہیں۔ لیکن اس کے ساتھ ساتھ میں کہوں گا طب یونانی کی طرف توجہ نہیں کی جا رہی ہے اور ہمارے اس ہاؤس میں مسٹر صاحب نے یہ وعدہ کیا تھا ہم لوگوں سے کہ طب یونانی کی ڈسپنسری دلی میں قائم کی جائے گی۔ اس وعدہ پر شاید سال ہونے کو جا رہا ہے آج تک کام نہیں ہوا خدا جانے کب ہوگا کہاں ہوگا۔

जपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : भाग तशरीफ रखें।

شری اسد مدنی - دو تین چیزیں اور
 عرض کرنا تھیں۔ آبپاشی کی حالت
 نہایت خراب ہے۔ اس پر غور کرنا
 چاہئے اس معاملہ میں ٹیوب ویل بنانے
 میں غریبوں کو بہت مصیبت ہو رہی ہے
 اور جو سرکاری کرمچاری ہیں وہ اپنا
 فرض یہ نہیں سمجھتے کہ جو چھوٹے
 کاشت کار ہیں غریب کاشت کار ہیں ان
 کی مدد کرنی چاہئے اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہے
 کہ بڑے کاشت کار رہیں چھوٹے نہ رہیں۔
 چھوٹا کاشت کار نہ آفیسر تک پہنچ سکتا
 ہے نہ اس کے درخواست کی سنوائی ہوتی
 ہے تین تین چار چار سال ہو گئے نہ
 ٹیوب ویل ملتا ہے نہ ٹریکٹر ملتا ہے نہ
 کنکشن ملتے ہیں نہ سہولتیں حاصل ہوتی
 ہیں۔ اس طرح سے سود کی مہنگائی ہے
 اس نے لاکھوں بنکوں کو مصیبت میں
 مبتلا کر رکھا ہے اور اس طرح سے
 مارکیٹ پر سرمایہ داروں کا قبضہ ہے
 اور بنکر پریشان ہے۔ تیسری چیز گھنے
 علاقوں کی طرف توجہ دینی چاہئے۔
 غریب لوگ چھوٹے چھوٹے کام کرنے
 والے لوگ چھوٹے چھوٹے کمروں میں
 جہاں آنگن نہیں ہوا نہیں چہت نہیں
 روشنی نہیں رہتے ہیں۔ اس طرح

کروڑوں ہندوستانی بس رہے ہیں زندگی
 گزار رہے ہیں۔ ان کے لئے یہ کہا جاتا
 ہے کہ ہاؤسنگ کمپنیاں قائم ہوں
 مکانات بنیں لیکن ان غریبوں کی سوسائٹی
 قائم کرنا رجسٹری کرانا اس کے لئے
 قرض لینا اس کے لئے قانونی کاروائی
 کرنا وغیرہ وغیرہ یہ بہت مشکل ہے
 اور سرکاری کرمچاری اس میں ساتھ
 نہیں دیتا۔ پڑھے لکھوں کی دولت
 مندوں کی بڑی بڑی سوسائٹیاں قائم
 ہو چلی جا رہی ہیں لیکن غریب
 لوگوں کی ہاؤسنگ سوسائٹیاں کہیں
 بنی ہیں؟ میرے علم میں تو ایسا نہیں
 ہے اس لئے گورنمنٹ کو توجہ دینی
 چاہئے کہ عام لوگ جو گھنی آبادی
 میں رہتے ہیں جو غریب ہیں ان کے لئے
 کمپلیری ایسی سوسائٹیاں بنائی جائیں
 پورے محلہ میں ایک جگہ آباد کیا
 جائے۔ ایک کو دس میل دور ایک کو
 پانچ میل دور اس طرح سے آباد نہ کیا
 جائے تاکہ وہ محلہ میں اچھی زندگی
 گزار سکے۔

وائس چیرمین (شری اکبر علی خان)۔
 مولانا صاحب۔ آپ تشریف رکھنے
 میں نے ماتھر صاحب کو پکار لیا ہے۔
 مسٹر ماتھر۔

श्री एम० असमद मदनी (उत्तर प्रदेश): सदर मुहतरम, मैं भी इस बजट को खूब आमदीद कहता हूँ और तारीफ़ करता हूँ लेकिन इसके साथ-साथ जो भी अपने मुल्क और अपने मुल्क वालों की भलाई के लिये कोई काम करना चाहते हैं और अगर मुल्क के सभी बसने वालों की तरफ़की की तरफ़ से जाना चाहते हैं तो और उनकी जिन्दगी के मैयार को ऊंचा उठाना चाहते हैं तो फिर यह जरूरी है कि हम को कुर्बानी देनी पड़ेगी लेकिन अगर हम पब्लिक से, अश्वाम से, कुर्बानी का मुतालबा करें तो इसी के साथ-साथ गवर्नमेंट को भी इसी तरीके पर और रास्ते पर चलना होगा। अगर हम जो जिम्मेदार हैं गवर्नमेंट के वे इस रास्ते पर न चले और सिर्फ़ पब्लिक से चाहे कि वे ज्यादा से ज्यादा बोझ खुशी-खुशी उठाये तो यह यफ़तरफ़ा काम चलना मुश्किल है और इससे नुक्सान होगा। इसलिये हमको अगर पब्लिक की भलाई के लिये, उनके ऊपर बोझ डालना है और उनको उसके सहन, उसके बरदाश्त की तकमील करनी है तो उसके लिये जहन पैदा करना होगा और अपने आप उस रास्ते पर चलने की कोशिश करनी होगी। इसी तरह से हम काम कर सकते

[] Hindi transliteration.

इस माली बजट में काफी टेक्सिज़ लगाये गये हैं। उनमें से अगर अगरचे कहा जाना है कि आम गरीब लोग से बराह रास्त ज्यादा टैक्स वसूल नहीं होगा लेकिन कुछ टैक्स जरूर ऐसे हैं जो गरीब लोगों के ऊपर बराह रास्ते, जैसे मोटा कपड़ा है, दो-चार-छः ऐसी चीजें हैं (Interruption) इसी तरीके जो रेलों के किराया में इजाफ़ा हुआ है, डाक और दूसरे टैक्स में इजाफ़ा हुआ है, पेट्रोल पर टैक्स बढ़ाया गया है और जैसा कि मुझ से पहले सदस्या बहन कह रही थी कि इन टैक्सों के साथ-साथ जो हमारे कारोबारी मुल्क के लोग हैं वे लोग जिस तरह से टैक्स में इजाफ़ा करते हैं इससे सबको मिला कर यहाँ की पब्लिक और अश्वाम के ऊपर बड़ा बोझ पड़ जायेगा। मुनाफ़ा-खोर और दरभियानी लोग जिनकी आयत पैसे और दाम बढ़ाने की है वे भी दाम बढ़ायेंगे और उधर टैक्स से दाम बढ़ेंगे। इन तमाम चीजों से

कितना बोझ पब्लिक के ऊपर पड़ेगा जिसको वह बर्दाश्त कर सकेगी क्योंकि जो गरीब अश्वाम हैं, जो बहुत पहले ही काफी दबे होते हैं, वे क्या इसी को खुशी से बर्दाश्त करेंगे, यह मुश्किल नज़र आता है। इसलिये इन तमाम चीजों की तरफ़ तवज़ो करनी चाहिए।

इसी तरह से इस बजट पर सफ़र करने वालों के ऊपर टैक्स का इजाफ़ा किया गया है। जो लोग हवाई जहाज़ से, ट्रेन से सफ़र करेंगे, जो बाहरी सफ़र करेंगे, बस से सफ़र करेंगे उन पर टैक्स का इजाफ़ा हुआ है। इन सब लोगों से टैक्स वसूल किया जायेगा तो मैं यह प्रश्न करना चाहता हूँ कि हममें कुछ ऐसे लोग भी हैं जो जयारत के लिये बाहर जाते हैं जैसे हमारे मिख भाई हैं जो पाकिस्तान में उनके गुरुद्वारे हैं उनकी जयारत के लिये जाते हैं या दूसरे मुल्कों में बुद्धेस्ट जाते हैं जो इस तरह से अगर उन पर यह बोझ पड़ेगा तो यह मुनासिब नहीं होगा। इसलिये मैं यह प्रश्न करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आम इस तरह का टैक्स आने वाला है, तो इसको वापस लेना चाहिये। यहाँ से अलबत्ता जो प्लेन वर्गों में सफ़र करते हैं उनके ऊपर टैक्स बढ़ाया जाये और वे लोग उनकी बर्दाश्त करेंगे तो कोई हर्ज़ नहीं।

इसी तरीके से ज़हरी जायदाद के बारे में जो हदबन्दी की गई है वह भी बहुत जरूरी है। मसालहत के लिये इस तरीके से जो अरबों, करोड़ों रुपये की जायदाद लोगों के पास है और दूसरे लोगों के रहने के लिये एक मामूली-सा कमरा और झोंपड़ी भी पाम रहने के लिये न हो तो यह सूरतहाल बन्द होनी चाहिये। इसके लिये कुछ न कुछ बेलेंस होना जरूरी है लेकिन हद-बन्दी करते हुए इसका ध्यान रखा जाना चाहिए कि ऐसे चेरीटीबल अदारे भी हैं जो पब्लिक के मुफ़ाद के काम आते हैं उनका मुफ़ाद चाहे मुहतलिफ़ तरीके से मजहबी हो या तालीमी हो, उनको इस तरह से मुफ़तगनी करना चाहिये कि कहीं ऐसा न हो कि उनको नुक्सान पहुँच जाये। क्योंकि जो हम मसालत चाहते हैं, जो हदबन्दी चाहते हैं वे वह नेशन और आम पब्लिक के फायदे के लिये चाहते हैं। यह तमाम अदारे उन्हीं के फायदे के लिये हैं। इसलिये एक फायदा

[श्री एम० असप्रद मदनो]

की चीज को खत्म करना दूसरे के फायदा के लिये यह मुनासिब नहीं होगा ।

दूसरी तरफ यह भी हकीकत है कि जो भी इंटरटेक्स के अन्दारे बन रहे हैं उनका जो नजाम है वह अभी तक काबले इतमिनान नहीं है । इसलिये इस वक्त जो इन्तेकाम प्राइवेट नीर पर चल रहा है वह उससे भी ज्यादा खराब हालत में पब्लिक के सफाद के अन्दारों को लाया जाये तो यह कोई माफूल बात नहीं होगी । इसलिये इस बात का भी ख्याल रखा जाना चाहिये और जो गरीब लोग हैं, दरमियानी तबका के हैं मुलाजमत पेशा लोग हैं या छोटा-मोटा कारोबार करते हैं उन लोगों का भी लिहाज ज्यादा रखा जाना चाहिये क्योंकि वह बसा औकान मजदूर और दूसरे किसम के मेहनत करने वालों में कुछ ज्यादा परेशान और मतस्त तबका है, दरमियानी तबका है इसलिये इसकी तरफ ख्याल रखा जाना चाहिये और उनके लिये कुछ ऐसे रास्ते हैं जिनमें वह खुद आगे बढ़ सकें और इन्हें हर तरह की रियायत भी दी जाये । बजट में महसूल में 40 अरब पौने-दम करोड़ की आमदनी दिखाई गई है । पौने-आठ करोड़ से ज्यादा तरक्की स्कीमों पर कहा गया है । सूद अदा करने के लिये 6 अरब 48 करोड़ रुपया रखा गया है । इन्तकामी अखराजात के लिये 2 अरब 87 करोड़ है । रियासतों को तकरीबन 12 अरब दिया गया है । डिफेंस पर 10 अरब 89 करोड़ का खर्च है । यह बजट में दिखाया गया है तो इन आमदनी का 17 फीसदी सूद अदा करने पर खर्च करना पड़ेगा । यह काफी काबलेगीर बात है । बहुत बड़ी रकम हो जाती है जो हम को देनी पड़ेगी हर साल । इसकी तरफ तबज्जो करना चाहिये । इसी तरह हमारी सारी आमदनी का 25 फीसदी से ज्यादा सिर्फ डिफेंस पर खर्च हो रहा है । बहरहाल मुल्क की डिफाजत और मुल्क की सालमियत और मुल्क का बकार यह निरायन जरूरी है । अगर हमारे मुल्क की एक इंच भी जमीन या कोई एक शहरी भी खतरे में पड़ना है तो पूरे मुल्क की इज्जत, उसकी जिन्दगी और तकार का मसला है जिसके लिये मुल्क को हर किसम की कुर्बानी करने के लिये तैयार रहना चाहिये ।

इसके साथ-साथ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह बदकिस्मती की बात है कि हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान पड़ोसी होने हुए शरीफों की तरह से और भले ताल्लुकान के साथ नहीं रह पा रहे हैं । यह ऐसे गरीब मुल्क हैं जिनके 50 फीसदी से ज्यादा लोग बिल्कुल सुफालम और गरीब हैं । ऐसी हालत में 10 और 25 फीसदी बजट का, बजाये तरक्की पर खर्च करें, लोगों को आगे बढ़ायें, तालीम है, मेहनत है, आरोग्य है, और दूसरी चीजें हैं यह मजबूर है कि इतनी बड़ी रकम डिफेंस पर खर्च कर डालें । यह सूरतेहाल बहुत तशवीश नाक है और इसकी तरफ दोनों ही मुल्कों के जो पब्लिक के खेरखाह लोग हैं जो जिन्दा रहना और रखना चाहते हैं उनको तबज्जो करनी चाहिये । अगर यह सूरतेहाल बाकी रहेगी तो जो आशायें और वायदे हम मुल्क के अग्राम से करके आये हैं उन सब का कुछ हिस्सा भी हम पूरा कर पायेंगे या नहीं, यह बहुत मुश्किल मसला है ।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : आपने कहा कि हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान दोनों शरीफों की तरह से नहीं रह रहे हैं, यानी हिन्दुस्तान भी शरीफ नहीं है, वह भी बदमाशी कर रहा है, आप अपने देश को भी क्विटमाइज करते हैं ।

श्री एम० असप्रद मदनो : यह सूरतेहाल है अपने देश के बारे में कुछ नहीं कह रहा हूँ ।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : आपने कहा दोनों मुल्क खराब हैं अपने देश को भी . . .

श्री एम० असप्रद मदनो : अच्छे ताल्लुकान तो नहीं हैं ।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : दोनों मुल्क शरीफों की तरह नहीं रह रहे हैं । अपने देश के लिए ऐसी बात कहना बड़ी गलत बात है ।

श्री एम० असप्रद मदनो : जब आपका नम्बर आए तो फरमाइएगा । अगर कशीदगी रहे और इस तरह से यह सूरतेहाल मुल्क में रहे और दोनों बड़े-बड़े मुल्क बोज से दबे रहें तो फिर उसका मतीजा दोनों मुल्क की पब्लिक के अग्राम के लिए बदनरीन होगा । बदकिस्मती से हमारे पड़ोसी मुल्क में डिस्टेडरिजिण है । जम्हूरियत नहीं है, डेमोक्रेसी नहीं है, वहाँ के अग्राम को वहाँ की हकूमत में, पालिसी में, कोई रण्यन नहीं है । वहाँ पर

फौजी लोग राज-काज चलाने हैं। याह्या साहब और उनसे पहले अयूब खां फौजी किस्म के लोग हैं और उनके मजाज डिक्टेटरी हैं। जो उनकी समझ में आता है, जो उनके करीब दो-चार आदमी हैं वे जो कहते हैं दिन-रात वही उनको नजर आता है। यह बड़ी बदकिस्मती की बात है (Interruption) आप साफ़ फरमाइएगा। आपकी मदाखलत से कोई मसला हल नहीं होगा। जब आपकी तकरीर का बक्त आए तो सारी चीजें कह दीजिएगा।

वहां की पब्लिक पर उन्होंने निहायत गलत तरीके से मुतालम किए हैं। आज हमारे सामने मशरक का मसला है लेकिन सिर्फ बंगाल का ही मसला नहीं है, खुद पाकिस्तान का, जो फरन्टियर सूबा है, सिंध है, बलूचिस्तान है वहां के लोग भी इसी तरह दुःखी हैं, परेशान हैं उनके साथ भी इकतमादी, एकांतमिकल, नाममावान, गैर-शरायगी और इम्तयाज का सलूक बराबर करना जा रहा है।

बंगाल के लोग इसके ज्यादा शिकार थे लेकिन वे लोग भी शिकार हैं और कोई नहीं जानता कि किस बक्त वहां भी इसी तरीके से वहां की डिक्टेटरशिप के खिलाफ कैसा रहे अमल या कोई रिपब्लिकन हो। वहां यह सूरत है कि उनसे यह तबक्को करना बेकार है कि वे किसी माबूल बात पर गौर करेंगे। अगर वे माबूल बात पर गौर करते तो बिल्कुल खूबी हुई बात थी कि मुजीबुर्रहमान साहब ने अपने बंगाल के बसने वालों की परेशानों को देख करके पता किया था कि हमारी मुसोबतों का यह हल है और इसी पर लोगों को उन्होंने बुलाया था कि हमारे साथ हो जाओ। हम अगर डेमोक्रेसी में कामयाब होंगे तो ऐसा-ऐसा करेंगे। लोग उनके साथ हो गए, अगर वे चीजें पाकिस्तान के लिए टुकड़ा-टुकड़ा करने वाली थीं, बरबाद करने वाली थीं तो याह्या खां को उसी दिन सूचना चाहिए थी और उनको डेमोक्रेसी के नाम पर आजादी नहीं देनी चाहिए थी। अगर वे मच्चे हैं तो उनको उसी दिन पात्रन्दी सगा देनी चाहिए थी और इलेक्शन की इजाजत नहीं देनी चाहिए थी। अगर वह ऐसा करते तो उनका यह कहना सच होता और लोग उसमें कुछ न कुछ मानते कि यह बात थी। यह यूं था। एक या दो या तीन बातें गलत थीं जिनको पाकिस्तान वाले बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकते थे और फिर मुजीबुर्रहमान साहब को हटना पड़ना, बदलना पड़ना कुछ और करना पड़ना या उनका कोई और रास्ता होता लेकिन उन्होंने उस पर किसी किस्म का एतराज नहीं किया। इलेक्शन हो ग. सिर्फ बंगाल में

नहीं पूरे पाकिस्तान की मजादों शामिल हुई मुजीबुर्रहमान साहब को और उनके साथियों को। इतना ही नहीं यहां तक खुद याह्या खां ने कहा था कि यह फ्यूचर प्राइम मिनिस्टर हैं। यह सब कहने के बाद जब उमका बक्त आया कि वाकई वह ताकत उनके हाथ में मंतकल कर देंगे तो यह बात समझ में आने वाली नहीं कि जिन अपूलों पर खुने बन्दों इस तरह से महीनों, बरसों से प्रापेगंडा करके, इलेक्शन इणू बना करके, मेनीफेस्टो बना करके, इलेक्शन लड़ चुके थे वही उस तरह से एक दम बहर बन गए तो यह बात समझ में आती नहीं। खुदा जाने, सिल्टी का कोई दबाव था या कोई वेम्पेड इन्ट्रेस्ट था या क्या चीज थी जिससे उन्होंने वहाना बाजी की और गुप्तगु के लिए आए लेकिन सिर्फ जो के वामने। इसमें कोई हकीकत नहीं थी। वह हल नहीं करना चाहते थे अगर हल करना चाहते थे तो मुजीबुर्रहमान साहब हर कीमत पर उस बात के लिए तैयार थे कि हमारे यह जो ममायल है उनका आप कोई हल बता दीजिए। ये छः नकान अगर ठीक नहीं है तो उनकी बजाए कोई और नकान दे दीजिए। कोई और रास्ता तजवीज कर दीजिए। जिससे हमारी मुश्किलें हल हो जाएं। और हम उसे मानने के लिए तैयार है, गौर करने के लिए तैयार है लेकिन वह सिर्फ एक फ्राड था उसके पीछे उन्होंने अपनी फौजी ताकत वहां पहुंचाई और बतने करने रहे और फिर अचानक उन्होंने ज्यादती, जुल्म और कलेश्राम शुरू कर दिया।

और, बंगाल बतूत ही तवाहकुन हालत में गुजर रहा है और वहां एक ऐसी तवाही आई है कि एक नयन के सड़ों को, बच्चों को, जवानों को, तालीमयापना लोगों को, खत्म करने की कोशिश की गई है। मैं खुद वहां बांडर पर गया हूँ और मैंने वहां के जो रिपयूजी कैम्प है उनको देखा है और कुछ लोगों से भी मिला है, अपने जानने वालों से भी और दूसरे लोगों से भी। तो वहां बिल्कुल उनकी कोशिश की गई है कि कोई भी समझदार या तालीमयापना बाकी न रहने पाए, बंगाल के अंदर। यहां तक कि एडवोकेट्स को, बुकला को, प्रोफेसरो को, इंजीनियरो को, डाक्टरों को बूह-भुंड कर मारा गया है चाहे वे किसी स्थान के हों, किसी पार्टी के हों। वहां किसी पार्टी या म्थामी इकलताफ के बिना पर ही किसी के खिलाफ कार्रवाही नहीं की गई है। तो इस तरीके से बंगाल में बिल्कुल कलेश्राम की कोशिश की गई है जिनको किसी मवब के बिना पर नहीं कहा जा सकता बल्कि यही समझा जाना चाहिए, यह हकीकत पर मवनी है कि उन्होंने बंगाल को

[श्री एम० अरसमद मदनी]

बिल्कुल दबा-दबा कर मुनाम बनाने का फैसला करके यह गरीबी कार्यवाही की है। इस तरीके से जहाँ आबादियों की आबादियाँ तबाह की जाएँ, कत्लेआम हो वहाँ अगर कोई यह फैसला करे कि सिर्फ दबाव की बुनियाद पर बंगाल वाले उनके साथ हो जाएंगे यह शायद, जिसके पास अकल कम हो, वही ऐसा फैसला कर सकता है वरना इतने बड़े कत्लेआम का नतीजा कभी भी यह नहीं हो सकता कि लोगों के दिल उनके साथ हो जाएँ। और जब दिल साथ नहीं होंगे और करोड़ों इन्सानों के दिल एसी तरह से फिरे रहेंगे तो वे कब तक इस तरह से ताकत के बल पर उन पर कब्जा रख सकते हैं, यह मैं नहीं समझ सकता। मैं तो ऐसा कहा करता हूँ और समझता हूँ कि अगर वहाँ के मुल्क को नुक्सान पहुँचा है तब भी ऐसा हमारा यकीन है कि इतने बड़े कत्लेआम के बाद दोनों हिस्से एक साथ जुड़े रहेंगे, यह सोचा नहीं जा सकता। ताकत और फौज के बल पर जितने दिनों तक यह कब्जा रखें, रखें लेकिन इतनी बड़ी पब्लिक का इस तरह से बर्बाद करके मुस्तकिल तौर पर उनसे वह जोड़े रखेंगे यह चीज मेरी समझ में नहीं आती। यह चीज फ्रिटरिन के फैसला के खिलाफ मालूम होती है। (Time bell rings) यह मसला खुद अहम तरीक़े में मसला है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : इधर-उधर की बातें करेंगे तो नहीं चलेगा।

श्री एम० अरसमद मदनी : कभी इधर से बोलते हैं कभी उधर से बोलते हैं। तो बहरहाल मेरा मतलब यह था कि यह मसला सिर्फ वहाँ का वही है बल्कि यह मसला हमारे मुल्क के लिए एक अहम मसला बन गया है और हमारा मुल्क जो अभी एक नए सोशलिज्म और पब्लिक की भलाई के रास्ते पर आगे बढ़ रहा था इसके लिए एक बहुत बड़े इम्तहान का वक्त आ गया है। मैं खुद नहीं कह सकता कि इसका क्या नतीजा निकलेगा और किस तरह का बोझ हमें उठाना पड़ेगा। जाहिर है कि इस तरह के बर्बाद और मुशीबतक़दा लोग उजड़े हुए जिनके जवान, पड़े-लिखे नौजवान, तालीम यापना गार्जियन और दूसरे लोग मार डाले गए, जेलों में हैं, और जहाँ मुहल्लों के मुहल्ले तबाह कर दिए गए इस तरह के लोग मजबूरन आना नहीं चाहते थे लेकिन अग़र अजाइज के बर्बाद होकर वे आए हैं और अब उनको धकेला नहीं जा सकता। बहरहाल यह एक इन्मानियत का मसला है और जिस तरह से भी हो और जो भी हो

इनके लिए हमें बोझ उठाना पड़ेगा जब तक कि हालत फिर से बेहतर न हो जाए। उस बोझ को बर्दाश्त करना पड़ेगा।

लेकिन इस बजट में तरकीयात के लिए जो आठ, पौने आठ अरब रुपया रखा गया है यह बहुत कम है। होना यह चाहिए था कि डिफेंस में कम से कम दुगुनी रकम हम तरकीयाती प्लानों के लिये रख सकते। और ऐसा होने से मुस्तकबिल में काफी तरकी होती और मुल्क आगे बढ़ सकता। हमारे मुल्क में बैंक नेशनलाइजेशन हुआ है और उसका अमर हिन्दुस्तान के सारे बसने वालों ने लिया है और उसी का एक बहुत बड़ा मन्त है पिछले इलेक्शन के नताइज, लेकिन मैं यह कहने पर मजबूर हूँ कि उसका जो फायदा था, वह जो मक़मद था, और जो फायदा पब्लिक के लिये हासिल होना चाहिए था वह नहीं हो रहा है। वहाँ के काम करने वाले, खुदा जाने क्या बजह है, उसका फायदा नहीं हो रहा है। वहाँ जो काम करने वाले हैं वे पहले बैंक के मालिक थे, डायरेक्टर्स थे, उनके साथ लगे हैं, इसलिए वे इसको नाकाम करना चाहते हैं या यह कि हमारे मुल्क में बदकिस्मती से इन्जेजाम में कुछ बुराई और करप्शन आम होना जा रहा है इनकी बजह से यह फायदा हासिल नहीं हो रहा है। हमारे आम मजदूर पेशा मन्तकार को जो फायदा उठाना चाहिये था वह उसको तकरीबन नाकाम कर रहे हैं। और आम लोगों को जिस तरह का ताबन होना चाहिये, मदद होनी चाहिये लोगों के अन्दर काम करने का जज्बा होना चाहिये, कि गरीबों को उससे फायदा होना चाहिये वह चीज पैदा नहीं हो रही है और आम लोग खास तौर पर अतपड़ नावाकफ़ मजदूर सन्ततो दस्तकारी करने वाले वह नहीं पहुँच पाते हैं और न कोई उनको सही जवाब देता है और न उनको इससे कोई फायदा पहुँचता है।

चौधरी ए० मुहम्मद : आप इसकी ताहद करते हैं ?

श्री एम० अरसमद मदनी : खैर मेरा मतलब यह है कि इस तरह से बैंक नेशनलाइजेशन का जो फायदा उठाना चाहिये वह बेकार होना चला जा रहा है। हकूमत ऐसी मशीनरी बना रही है, किस तरह से बैंक करेगी इस सब को, और क्या नतायज निकलेगे यह तो देखने की बात है और इस तरह की एक बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो दस्तकार लोग हैं जिनका पेशा वहीं रहा है जिन को नमने इसमें ब्रीत गई है और इसी में वहाँ जिन्दगी गुजारते हैं हमारी बद-किस्मती से जो प्लानिंग के तरकीकार हैं, वह जाहिर है कि इन काम करने वालों को, इस काम में टेक्नीकल मदद, रुपये पैसे की मदद, उनके लिये रा-मैडियल

मुहिय्या करने की मदद और इस तरीके से तैयार जूदा माल के लिये कोई मार्केट मुहिय्या करने की मदद नहीं करना चाहते और सरकारी मशीनरी से इस सब के लिये इनको कोई जवाब नहीं मिल रहा है। उनके बच्चे जाहिल हैं, उनको कोई टेक्निकल मदद, प.टी मदद, और महारत शामिल करने की जो मदद होनी चाहिये वह उनके बच्चों को नहीं मिलती और वह पुराने दरों पर चलने के लिये मजबूर हैं जिनका वह खानदानों पेना है जो आंच खोलने पर वही काम होता देखते चले आते हैं। ऐसे खानदानों को भी कोई मदद नहीं होती। और इस नाम पर जो बड़े-बड़े दौलतमन्द हैं जिनके हाथ में रा-मैटिगियल का टाक है, जिनके हाथ में फ्लैट्स हैं, जिनके हाथ में मार्केटिंग है, जो धनी हैं, जो घरों और करगों रुपये का कारोबार लिये बैठे हैं, वे सारी चीजों पर ठावी हैं और वह सब चीज चला रहे हैं। इस तरह से अगर यह खपा बचाव होगा और जो गरीब लोग हैं जिनके लिये सारी चीजों में होनी चाहिये उनकी मदद नहीं मिलेगी तो हम गरीबी की मदद खराब में भी पूरा नहीं कर सकेंगे और उसका नुकसान होगा। इस तरह से मैं रेलवे के मूल्तमक कुछ अर्जें करूँ कर दूँ, मैं रेलवे बजट पर नहीं आता।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री प्रकाशर अली खान) : रेलवे पर आप नहीं बोल सकते हैं, आप खरम कीजिये, आप का बक्त हो गया है।

श्री एम० प्रसन्नद मदनो : बहरहाल मैं रेलवे बजट पर नहीं बोलना, लेकिन एक बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि दिल्ली कौपीटन है पूरे हिन्दुस्तान की और यहाँ लाखों छादमी रहने हैं और लाखों छादमी यहाँ आगे तरफ से आने जाते हैं तो यह ख्याल करना चाहिये कि चारों तरफ के लोगों के लिये ज्यादा मूल्तियत हो, नेज खपतार गार्डियां आये, जाये, मगर यहाँ से पाकिस्तावाद तक तो टवल लाइन है लेकिन उसके बाद महारनपुर तक टवल लाइन न होने की वजह से काफी दिक्कत पेश आती है और दिक्कत होती है। इसी तरीके से ए० पी० में कानपुर और मन्बनज दो बड़े शहर हैं, कानपुर इंडस्ट्रियल शहर है और वहाँ से लाखों छादमी गोजाना टैक्सी और हर पन्द्रह मिनट पर वहाँ के जरिये आने जाते हैं लेकिन शादमेज की टवल लाइन नहीं है और उसकी वजह से बड़ी दिक्कत पेश आती है तो इसकी तरफ रेलवे को ध्यान देना चाहिये।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री प्रकाशर अली खान) : आप रेलवे पर नहीं बोल सकते।

श्री एम० प्रसन्नद मदनो : मैं तो सिर्फ मामली तरीके में बोल रहा हूँ। हमारे मुल्क की हवा-बाजी मिनिस्ट्री में जहाजों को ले कर के काफी प्रकृती तरफकी की है।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : मौलाना को और ममम दिया जाय, हम गुनना चाहते हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री प्रकाशर अली खान) : माधुर माहव का बक्त आप देना चाहते हैं ?

श्री एम० प्रसन्नद मदनो : तो रेलवे के इलावा हवावाजी की जो हालत है और जिस तरीके से दिक्कत होती है उसके मूल्तमक में अर्जें करना चाहता हूँ। पांच-पांच घंटे और कभी-कभी दिन-दिन भर हम लोग खुद हवाई अड्डे पर पड़े रहे हैं टिकट लिए हुए हैं, कल्कर्मेशन है, प्रोपाम बना हुआ है फिर भी पड़े हुए हैं, और कोई खबर नहीं। यह भी नहीं कहा जाना कि कब हवाई अड्डा प्रयेगा। शुरू ही में यह खबर दे दी जाये तो यह सूरत हाल न हो। इस तरीके से ट्रेनों और हवाई जहाजों का जो प्रोपाम है, जो एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन है वह बिल्कुल रही हो गया है। हमने यह गुना है कि अगर जापान में ट्रेन लेट हो जाये

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री प्रकाशर अली खान) : धव आप बँटिये।

श्री एम० प्रसन्नद मदनो : बजट पर भी नहीं बोलने देगे तो फिर कब बोलने देगे ? मजबू हो गया, लोग आधा घंटा बोलने हैं। आप भी जानते हैं कि राजनारायण माहव की ही तरफ किया जाये। इस इकलाम में यही कराना चाहते हैं। चन्द मिनट का मौका दीजिए। बाकिर में मैं यह अर्जें कर रहा था।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : वह हवाई जहाज पर बोल रहे हैं, हवाई जहाज की बात कर रहे हैं।

श्री एम० प्रसन्नद मदनो : जनाब तो शायद हवा की बात करते हैं। मैं तो जमीन पर ही हूँ। आप हवा की बात करते हैं तो सूरत हाल रही पिछले दिनों में वह अर्जें कर रहा था। मैं यह अर्जें कर रहा था कि मैंने गुना कि जापान में अगर ट्रेन लेट हो जाये तो फिरमा वापस कर देने हैं। यहाँ प्लेन का भी यह हाल है कि 24-24 घंटे तक या कई-कई दिन तक पड़े रहे और नमाम प्रोपाम बिल्कुल खराब हो जाये तो

[श्री एम० असजद मदनी]

भी कोई पंछने वाला नहीं होता। काज, खुदा जाने हमारे मुल्क में कमी ऐसा हो पायेगा कि नहीं कि वक्त की कोई कीमत हो। अब तो हालत यह है कि अगर कोई पहुंचा दे, चाहे 24 घंटे के बाद भी तो मुसाफिर पर बहुत बड़ा एहतान है बरना चाहे हवाई जहाज हो, चाहे रेल हो, वक्त की किसी को कोई फिकर ही नहीं होती।

इसी तरीके से जो सेहत का मेहकमा है, वजारते सेहत है, उसकी हालत निहायत नाबुक है। मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ, माफ कीजियेगा। मैं मौजूद था और वजोरे सेहत ने एक साहब से अपने मेहकमे के लोगों से यह बात कही थी कि भाई, तीन हस्पताल हैं, एक यह विस्विगडन है और यह एक मेडिकल इंस्टीच्यूट है और एक सफदरजंग, तीन को अच्छा रखो सालुम होगा कि सारे मुल्क में ठीक है। इसका ख्याल रखो तो, हमें यह नजरिया नहीं रखना चाहिये। हिन्दुस्तान के सारे हस्पतालों को आप जा कर देखिये—दवायें नहीं, डाक्टर नहीं, अलड तक नहीं, बेड्स नहीं, कोई देखने वाला नहीं। इस हालत में पूरे मुल्क के आम हस्पताल पड़े हुए हैं। जितने हस्पतालों में कुछ चीजें नजर आती हैं उनमें भी शिकायत हो जाती है। लेकिन इसी के साथ-साथ मैं कहूंगा। तिन्हे यूनानी की तरफ तवज्जों नहीं की जा रही है और हमारे इस हाउस में मनिस्टर साहब ने यह वायदा किया था हम लोगों से कि तिन्हे यूनानी की डिस्पेंसरी दिल्ली में कायम की जायेगी। इस वायदे पर शायद साल होने को जा रहा है आज तक काम नहीं हुआ, खुदा जाने कब होगा, कहाँ होगा।

उपसमाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : आप तशरीफ रखें।

श्री एम० असजद मदनी : दो तीन चीजें और अजें करना थीं। आबपाशी की हालत निहायत खराब है। इस पर गौर करना चाहिये। इस मामले में ट्यूबवैज बनाने में गरीबों को बहुत मुसीबत हो रही है और जो सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं वे अपना फजें यह नहीं समझते कि जो छोटे काश्तकार हैं गरीब काश्तकार हैं, उनकी मदद करनी चाहिये। उसका नतीजा यह है कि बड़े

काश्तकार रहें, छोटे न रहें, छोटा काश्तकार न आफिसर तक पहुंच सकता है न उसके दरखवास्त की सुनवाई होती है। तीन-तीन, चार-चार साल हो गये न ट्यूबवैज मिलता है, न ट्रेक्टर मिलता है, न कन्वशन मिलते हैं, न सड़लियतें हांमिल होती हैं। इसी तरह से सुत की महंगाई है अपने लाखों बुनकरों को मुसीबत में मुबतला कर रखा है और इसी तरह से माफिक परसरमाया-दारों का कब्जा है और बुनकर परेशान हैं। तीसरी चीज घने इलाकों की तरफ तवज्जों देनी चाहिये। गरीब लोग, छोटे-छोटे काम करने वाले लोग, छोटे-छोटे कमरों में जहां आंगन नहीं, हवा नहीं, छत नहीं, रोशनी नहीं, रहते हैं। इस तरह करोड़ों हिन्दुस्तानी बस रहे हैं, जिन्दगी गुजार रहे हैं। उनके लिए यह कहा जाता है कि हाउसिंग कम्पनियां कायम हों, मकानात बनें लेकिन उन गरीबों की सोमाइटी कायम करना, रजिस्ट्री कराना उसके लिए कर्ज लेना, उसके लिये कानूनी कायंवाही करना बगैरा-बगैरा यह बहुत मुश्किल है और सरकारी कर्मचारी इसमें साथ नहीं देता। पड़े-लिखों की, दौलतमन्दों की बड़ी-बड़ी सोमाइटियां कायम होती चली जा रही हैं लेकिन गरीब लोगों की हाउसिंग सोमाइटियां कहीं नहीं बनी हैं। मेरे इलम में तो ऐसा नहीं है। इसलिए गवर्नमेंट को तवज्जों देनी चाहिये कि आम लोग जो घनी आबादी में रहते हैं, जो गरीब हैं उनके लिये कम्पलमरी ऐसी सोमाइटियां बनाई जायें। पूरे मुहल्ले में एक जगह आबाद किया जाये। एक को दस मील दूर, एक को पांच मील दूर इस तरह से आबाद न किया जाये ताकि यह मुहल्ला में अच्छी जिन्दगी गुजार सके।]

उपसमाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : मौलाना साहब, आप तशरीफ रखिये, मैंने माथुर साहब को पुकार लिया है, मिस्टर माथुर।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : उपसमाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बजट के ऊपर मैंने कांग्रेसी सदस्यों के भाषण सुने हैं। सभी के भाषणों की एक प्रकिया रही है कि प्रारम्भ का वाक्य उनका यह रहा है हम इस बजट की तारीफ करते हैं, हम इसका समर्थन करते हैं और आखिरी वाक्य भी उनका यह रहा है कि हम इस बजट का समर्थन करते हैं, लेकिन प्रत्येक सदस्य के बीच के भाषण से यही जगता था कि उन्होंने इस बजट का विरोध किया। मुझे आश्चर्य है यह ट्राविड प्राणायाम क्यों किया जा रहा था, कांग्रेसियों को यह ट्राविड प्राणायाम करने की क्या आवश्यकता है? स्पष्ट शब्दों में जिन बातों का दूसरों ने विरोध किया वैसे ही वह भी विरोध करते हैं। पिछले दिनों में

जो आम चुनाव हुए थे उसमें कांग्रेस को बहुत बड़ा बहुमत मिला और इस नाते से वे खूल करके इस बजट के विरोध में खड़े नहीं हो सकते कि ये जो टैक्स लगे हैं गलत लगे हैं। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, किसी भी कांग्रेस के सदस्य ने इस वर्ष के बजट में जो टैक्सेज लगे हैं, उनका समर्थन नहीं किया लेकिन पता नहीं फिर भी क्यों कहते हैं हम इस बजट का समर्थन करते हैं। यह हिप्पोक्रैसी नहीं तो क्या है ?

श्री मान सिंह वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : वह सब व्हिप के कारण है।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : इस वर्ष के बजट के कारण आम जनता पर जो प्रतिक्रिया हुई है वह निराशाजनक है। केवल कुछ बड़े लोग जो कारपोरेट सेक्टर के हैं वे शायद प्रसन्न होंगे, उन पर टैक्स नहीं लगाया है, लेकिन जो मध्यम वर्ग के लोग हैं, आम तबके के लोग हैं, आज उनके ऊपर इन टैक्सों का जो भार पड़ा है वह इतना ज्यादा है कि मैं जब चुनाव के बाद दिल्ली आया तो वही कांग्रेस के समर्थक जो कांग्रेस की बड़ी तारीफ करते थे उन को बजट के बाद देखा कि प्रत्येक के मुंह में गाली निकल रही है। आज उन्हीं टैक्सी वालों से और रिक्शा वालों से पूछो जिन्होंने चुनाव में उनकी मदद की थी, आज कहते हैं कि हमको पता नहीं था यह मुसीबत आएगी, गरीबी और बेकारी को मिटाने का धोका देकर हमको भुलावे में डाल दिया, पता नहीं आने वाले चार-पांच सालों में यह नयी सरकार हमारे साथ किस प्रकार का व्यवहार करेगी, किस प्रकार का मालूक करेगी।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब बजट पेश हुआ था तो सरकारी प्रवक्ता ने कहा था कि चीजों के दाम नहीं बढ़ेंगे क्योंकि हमने जिस प्रकार से टैक्स लगाये हैं, जिस प्रकार से बजट बनाया है, उससे चीजों के दाम नहीं बढ़ेंगे। लेकिन मुझे पता नहीं कि सरकारी प्रवक्ता या हमारे माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी बाजार में जाकर स्वयं खरीदते हैं या नहीं। केवल यह कहना कि हमने तो केवल कुछ ही चीजों पर टैक्स लगाया है और दूसरे चीजों के दाम नहीं बढ़ेंगे, तो यह उनकी गलत धारणा है।

मैं आपके सामने यह उदाहरण रखना चाहता हूँ। आपने पेट्रोल के दाम बढ़ा दिये हैं जिसकी वजह से जितनी भी जरूरत की चीजें पेट्रोल की गाड़ियों द्वारा इधर से उधर जाती हैं उनके सब दाम

बढ़ गये हैं। आज सब्जी मन्दी से जो सब्जी थी वहीलर गाड़ी में लाई जाती है पेट्रोल के दाम बढ़ने से सब्जी के दाम नार्थ एवेन्यू में बढ़ गये हैं। आज इसी तरह से जितनी भी दूसरी कंज्यूमर्स की चीजें हैं उनका धरर पेट्रोल पर टैक्स लगाने से दामों पर आ गया है। यही वजह है आज सब्जी, दूध और दूसरी जरूरी चीजों के दाम बढ़ गये हैं। सरकार कहती है कि हमने लिमिटेड चीजों के ऊपर टैक्स लगाया है, लेकिन उसके परिणामस्वरूप जो इनडायरेक्ट टैक्स बढ़ गये हैं उनकी वजह से धार चीजों के दामों पर भी भार पड़ा है। सरकार का कहना है कि हमने तो जरूरत की चीजों पर टैक्स नहीं लगाया है, जो मूनाफाखोर हैं उन्होंने ही चीजों के दाम बढ़ा दिये हैं। व्यापारियों का यह कहना है कि सरकार की जो नीति है, सरकार का जो कार्य है, उसके कारण इस प्रकार से चीजों के दाम बढ़ते दिखलाई देते हैं।

बजट प्रस्तुत करते समय मंत्री महोदय ने कहा था कि इस बजट से देश में उत्पादन बढ़ेगा। पिछले वर्ष के जो आंकड़े हमने देखे उगसे हमें कहीं भी उत्पादन बढ़ता हुआ दिखलाई नहीं दिया। पिछले वर्ष 1970-71 में जो राष्ट्रीय आय थी वह केवल 5.3 प्रतिशत थी और उत्पादन बढ़ोत्तरी 5.1 प्रतिशत रही। औद्योगिक उत्पादन केवल 4.7 प्रतिशत बढ़ा और सेवा में वृद्धि 6.5 प्रतिशत हुई। केवल सेवा में वृद्धि के कारण उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ सकता है। आज जो मुख्य समस्या है वह यह है कि हमारे देश में उत्पादन बढ़ना चाहिये। सरकार उत्पादन बढ़ायेगी, यह तो कहा नहीं जा सकता है, लेकिन पिछले वर्ष जो उत्पादन की गति रही उससे यह कहा जा सकता है कि इसमें कोई प्रगति नहीं हुई है।

उप-सभाध्यक्ष, लोगों को पहले जितनी चीजें मिलती थीं उतनी अब नहीं मिल रही हैं। सरकार कहती है कि हमने अनाज का उत्पादन बहुत बढ़ा लिया है, लेकिन आज दूसरी चीजों को देखने से मानूम पड़ता है कि उनमें उत्पादन घटा है। आज आप दाल को ही ले लीजिये। 1965 में एक व्यक्ति को 72 ग्राम दाल मिला करती थी जिसमें कि प्रोटीन होता है और 1971 में 51 ग्राम दाल प्रति व्यक्ति मिलती है।

[श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर]

पहले 1965 में एक व्यक्ति को ज्यादा प्रोटीन मिलता था, लेकिन अब जब कि सरकार कहती है कि हमने अनाज का उत्पादन बहुत बढ़ा लिया है तब प्रति व्यक्ति को केवल 51 ग्राम ही दाल या प्रोटीन मिलती है।

इसी तरह से कपड़े की हालत है। पहले प्रति व्यक्ति 14.6 मीटर कपड़ा मिलता था, लेकिन अब प्रति व्यक्ति 13.5 मीटर कपड़ा मिलता है। इसका कारण क्या है? इसका कारण यह है कि पहले जनता थोड़े से पैसों में कपड़ा खरीद लेती थी लेकिन आजकल कपड़ों के दाम बहुत बढ़ गये हैं जिसके कारण गरीब और आम जनता खरीद नहीं सकती है। आज हमारे देश में विकास की दर गिरती ही जा रही है और फिर भी सरकार कहती है कि विकास की दर 8 प्रतिशत बढ़ी है। कांग्रेस के लोग भी शुरू-शुरू में अपने भाषणों में बजट की तारीफ कर देते हैं लेकिन जो बीच का भाषण होता है उसमें उनका विरोध प्रगट होता है और इससे मालूम होता है कि वे भी वस्तुस्थिति से परिचित हैं और यह बात उनसे छिपी नहीं है।

जो आपने टैक्स लगाये हैं उसके संबंध में कहा गया है कि इन्कम टैक्स में भी वृद्धि की गई है, लेकिन जहाँ तक इन्कम टैक्स का मवाल है, जिस प्रकार की दरें हैं इन्कम टैक्स की, उसमें अपने देश में किस प्रकार से भयंकर चोरियाँ होती हैं। अभी कुछ दिन पहिले श्री कालदार साहब की रिपोर्ट निकली थी जिसमें—उन्होंने बतलाया था कि 200 करोड़ रुपये की चोरी प्रति वर्ष हमारे देश में होती है। आज इस प्रकार की चोरी आम हो गई है। इसका कारण यह है कि जिस रूप में इन्कम टैक्स लिया जाता है और उसका जितना फायदा जनता को मिलना चाहिये, जितना इन्सेंटिव मिलना चाहिये, उतना नहीं मिलता है। यही कारण है कि आज तक भी इस इन्कम टैक्स की चोरी में कमी नहीं हुई है। आज जिस प्रकार से टैक्स लगाया जाता है उससे लोगों को चोरी करने की प्रेरणा मिलती है। कुछ लोगों ने हिसाब लगाया है कि एक आदमी ढाई लाख रुपये सालाना कमा ले तो उस आदमी को टैक्स देने के बाद केवल 49,325 रुपये बचते हैं, लेकिन वही आदमी अगर परिश्रम करके

साढ़े 7 लाख रुपये कमा ले तो इस ज्यादा मेहनत के बाद उसको 66,200 रुपये बचेंगे। ढाई लाख कमाने वाले को 50 हजार और साढ़े 7 लाख कमाने वाले को 66,200, इतनी मेहनत के बाद उसे 16,875 रुपये का फर्क पड़ता है। लोगों ने यह हिसाब लगाया है, मैं नहीं जानता यह कहां तक सही है, वित्त मंत्रालय के महानुभाव इसके बारे में जांच करेंगे।

भूतलिंगम कमेटी ने हम बात की सिफारिश की है कि साढ़े 7 हजार से नीचे के लोगों के ऊपर टैक्स नहीं लगना चाहिए क्योंकि जो उनका अधिकांश स्टाफ है नीचे के लोगों को एसेस करने में उसका समय लग जाता है और जो बड़े लोग हैं उनको देखने के लिए उन्हें समय नहीं मिल पाता। इन्कम टैक्स की चोरी सरकारी कर्मचारी नहीं कर सकता, जिसको बंधी बंधाई तनकवाह मिलती है, वह चोरी नहीं कर सकता, उसको तो सही रिटर्न भरना पड़ेगा, लेकिन जो बड़े लोग हैं उनके ऊपर विभाग के कर्मचारियों का कोई बस नहीं चलता, उन्हें समय नहीं मिलता कि उन लोगों की जांच कर सकें, चौकस कर सकें। इसलिए सरकार को इस बारे में गिणय लेना चाहिए। हमारी इन्कम टैक्स लेने की जो स्थिति है, किस तरह से हम जे उसके बारे में सरकार ने एक समिति नियुक्त की। उस समिति के अनुसार हम साढ़े 7 हजार से ऊपर टैक्स रख सकते हैं जिसके कारण से स्टाफ बचेगा, कर्मचारियों की शक्ति बचेगी और जो बड़े लोग चोरी करते हैं—इन्कम टैक्स की चोरी देश में कम नहीं होती—उसको रोका जा सकता है। हमारे देश में कितना ब्लेक मनी पैदा होता है। पूना से आने वाले माननीय सदस्य कह रहे थे कि ब्लेक मनी एग््रीकल्चरल सेक्टर में जाता है। मैं उनकी इस बात की तारीफ करता हूँ। मैंने सब स्थानों पर देखा है। आज जितने इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स हैं कलकत्ता और बम्बई के रहने वाले वे सब लोग किसान बन गए हैं, किसान हैं नहीं, खेती करते नहीं हैं परन्तु किसान बन गए हैं ताकि ब्लेक का पैसा एग््रीकल्चर में लगा दें। जयपुर से अजमेर रोड पर कितने ही मेकेनाइज्ड फार्म हैं, कोई फलाने सेठ साहब का है, कोई फलाने सेठ साहब का है, सारे सेठों ने पूंजी लगाई है। इस ब्लेक मनी को रोकने के लिए

सरकार को अपने एन्कम टैक्स डिपार्टमेंट को टीक करना चाहिए। टैक्स की चींटी को अगर थाम रोक सकें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि बहुत बड़ी बात होगी।

एक महानुभाव भारतीय नॉति दस के सदस्य ने कहा कि एग्जीक्यूटिव सेक्टर पर टैक्स नहीं लगना चाहिए। एग्जीक्यूटिव सेक्टर पर टैक्स लगाने की बात का मतलब यह नहीं है कि छोटे किसानों पर टैक्स लगाया जाय। जो किसान आज इन्कम टैक्स नहीं दे सकते, जो इतना पैसा नहीं करता उस पर टैक्स लगाने की बात कोई नहीं करता, लेकिन आज जिनके पास 4-4, 5-5 मुरब्जे हैं, जो एक-एक लाख लार्से की फसल पैदा करते हैं उन पर किसी भी प्रकार का टैक्स लगने और केवल बेचारे कर्मचारी पर, जो 500 रूपये महीने पैदा करना है उस पर टैक्स लगाया जाय क्योंकि चम्पाना माहब कहते हैं कि स्टेट्स ऐसी नहीं हैं, स्टेट्स में राय ले रहे हैं, यह बात किसी भी प्रकार से जाजिब नहीं हो सकती।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : 10 मिनट हो गए।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माधुर : सभी नहीं हुए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : मैं बराबर बड़ी देर रहा हूँ।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माधुर : मैं 5 मिनट में समाप्त करना हूँ।

जो आज एग्जीक्यूटिव सेक्टर घटता बचा है उस सेक्टर पर हम टैक्स लगाएँ तो उस पर आपत्ति नहीं होगी चाहिए। सरकार को इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार करना चाहिए।

वित्त मंत्री जी ने कहा कि 6 हजार रुपये महीने से ऊपर की आयवनी के लोगों पर नए टैक्स का प्रावधान किया है। हमें उस पर आपत्ति नहीं है। आज देस में जिस प्रकार की विषमता है, नीचे के तबके के लोगों के पास खाने के लिये भी नहीं है और दूसरे लोग हैं जिनकी आयवनी 10-15 हजार रुपये की है। इस प्रकार की स्थिति को अपने देस के अन्दर बर्दाश्त नहीं करना चाहिए। इस सीमा को और भी कम किया जा सकता है। हमने तो यह मुझाब दिया है कि डाई

हजार रुपये महीने से ऊपर खर्च करने का किसी व्यक्ति को अधिकार न हो। इसके ऊपर अगर कोई व्यक्ति खर्च करता है तो उस पर भारी टैक्स लगाएँ। आज उस पर खर्च का टैक्स लगाएँ। कोई भी व्यक्ति डाई हजार रुपये से ज्यादा खर्च न कर सके, इस तरह का प्रावधान लाएँ। नीचे के तबके को देखने हुए, ऊपर के तबके के लिए एक सीमा का निर्धारण करें। इस बात को अगर सरकार कड़ाई से माब लागू करे तो सरकार के पास पैसा भी आएगा। हम तो सरकार को सुझाव दे सकते हैं कि इस प्रकार के एक्सेन्स है जिन पर आप टैक्स लगाएँ जिसके कारण से जानशोक्त काम हो। जानशोक्त कौन करता है? जानशोक्त के लिए कांग्रेस पार्टी को अपने पर को देखना चाहिए।

कांग्रेस पार्टी के लिए चुनाव के अन्दर जिस प्रकार से हमारी प्रधान मंत्री ने दौंग किया और अगले 1.5 मिनट के लिए भी किसी स्थान पर उठरी और उनमें उनके हेरोकोप्टर को उतरना पड़ा तो उसके लिए वहाँ की स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को शेली-मेट बनाना पड़ा और उनके लिए स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को 25,000 रुपया खर्च करना पड़ा। तो यह क्या कोई व्यवस्था है? आम जनता पर इनका क्या प्रभाव पड़ेगा? कर्मि के लोग, सरकारी मंत्र में जो लोग बैठे हैं वह जा कर लोगों के सामने रहें कि वे मादगी से रहें, देस के अन्दर मादगी का बलाघरण बनना चाहिये, लोग अधिक खर्चा न करें, लोगों के जीवन में मादगी आए और नारे देस के लोग एक माब खड़े हों, तो इस स्थिति का निराकरण करने के लिए आज कांग्रेस के लोग प्रादम उपस्थित नहीं कर रहे हैं और इस लिए मैं उनसे कहूँगा कि प्रादम उपस्थित करने की दृष्टि से उनको स्वयं आगे आना चाहिए लेकिन आज उन लोगों में बड़े बंगनों में मान और शोकात ले रहने की भावना पैदा होगी दिखाई देती है। क्या हम उसको रोक नहीं सकते? हम इनको को कहने के लिए प्रादम की बात करते हैं। बाकी के लोगों को पेट पर पट्टी बांधने की बात करते हैं, आम प्रादमियों पर टैक्स लगाने की बात कहते हैं, हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने भाषण देते समय कहा कि डबल रोटी आम प्रादमी नहीं खाता। आम प्रादमी प्रकचन लनी हुई रोटी नहीं खाता लेकिन वित्त मन्त्रन की डबल रोटी तो जो मजदूर

तबके का आदमी है वह रोज खरीद कर खाता है और इसलिए यह कहना कि डबल रोटी तो अमीरों की बात है, मैं समझता हूँ उचित नहीं है। बटर रोटी अमीरों की बात हो सकती है, लेकिन अमीरों ने तो आपको बटर लगा दिया और इसलिए आपने उनको माफ कर दिया और उनपर भारी टैक्स नहीं लगाया, लेकिन जो बिना बटर के रोटी खाता है, उसकी तो आपने वह रोटी भी छीनने का प्रयत्न किया है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :
शुक्रिया। डा० राजू।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माधुर : मैं एक मिनट में ही खत्म कर दूंगा। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सरकार से निवेदन करूंगा कि बजट की दृष्टि से वह इसमें कुछ इस प्रकार का परिवर्तन लायें, जिससे लोगों को थोड़ी राहत मिले। इस बार आपने 50 करोड़ रुपया रोजगार के लिए रखा है, पिछली बार भी रोजगार के लिए 25 करोड़ रुपया रखा गया था, लेकिन उसमें से रुपया लेफ्त हो गया। शिक्षित बेरोजगारों के लिए 25 करोड़ रुपया रखा गया था, क्या यह 75 करोड़ रुपया हिन्दुस्तान की गरीबी और हिन्दुस्तान में बेकारी की जो विभीषिका है, उसको शान्त करने के लिए काफी है? क्या यह उस समस्या का निदान है? मैं समझता हूँ कि कुलकर्णी जो वहाँ बैठे हैं मंत्रिमंडल की बेंचों पर, वह भी इस बात को स्वीकार करेंगे कि 75 करोड़ रुपया...

एक माननीय सदस्य : बहुत जल्द वहाँ आ रहे हैं।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माधुर : तो मैं आज ही उनको बधाई दे रहा हूँ। तो क्या यह 75 करोड़ रुपया हिन्दुस्तान की गरीबी, बेकारी को मिटाने के लिए पर्याप्त है? वह गिर हिला रहे हैं कि पर्याप्त नहीं है। उन्होंने हमारी बात स्वीकार की है। तो अगर वह मंत्रिमंडल में चले जायें तो प्रयत्न करें कि हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों की बेकारी मिटाने के लिए हमारी सरकार ज्यादा प्रयत्न करे, तभी इस देश के अंदर खुशहाली आ सकती है।

8 RSS/71-9

SHRI V. B. RAJU (Andhra Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this budget has a mixed reception. It has offended both, that is, it has offended the rich and the poor. But it has offended much more the middle strata of society.

Sir, the objectives that are incorporated in the Congress manifesto while fighting the mid-term poll contained one important factor, namely, stabilisation of prices, which is at the bottom of all the mischief, which has led to the imbalance in the economy. Sir, this budget seems to be having as its object mobilisation of resources and ideologically reducing disparities in incomes or removing inequalities. But this budget seems to be, its proposals and its approach, seem to be, very much unconcerned with the stabilisation of prices. Sir, you may just try to look back and see that in the past one decade, say, from 1960 to 1970, the *per capita* national income at the level of prices of 1960-61, has increased only by 11 per cent. Two things there have been very conspicuous. One is the population growth. Sir, the recent Census must have revealed something to the Government to take note of. The rate of growth of population has been more than the rate of growth in the previous decade. A lot of money has been spent on family planning. Of course, we claim that the population increase has not been in the same manner as it was projected by the experts. But it is really causing some anxiety. So three things seem to be great uncertainties to upset our economy : the price instability, the population growth and the monsoon. Sir, we had good monsoons in the past three years. In fact, the increase in the national income is a reflection of actually the agricultural production, of increased agricultural production. And that is dependent upon the weather, still. Even though our scientists have contributed a lot in improved seed, yet our agriculture depends mostly on weather.

Sir, there is one more uncertainty. It is our immediate neighbours. In the first decade we had two drought years and two wars. And I do not know what is actually

[Shri V. B. Raju] is a store for us in this decade. So our immediate neighbours also are very unpredictable entities. As you know, Sir, millions of evacuees are going to affect our economy. Now, therefore, in my view, the Government of India or the Ministry of Finance must not take it that things are going to move in an arithmetical way. There are so many uncertainties. Even defence preparedness may be necessary. So many things may happen. Moon-soon, our neighbours, inflationary tendencies, the population growth—all these are factors.

Sir, we talk about green revolution. In fact, the green revolution has yet to come. What we have had is only a wheat revolution. Sir, in the economic survey that was handed over to us it has been clearly stated that the strides in technology of farm production have not been able to affect significantly the output of rice. So it is only in wheat that we have been able to actually turn the corner. Then the aggregate output of pulses has more or less remained stagnant during the last 15 years.

These hybrid varieties in rice have been a failure; these quick-yielding varieties have been a failure. So, therefore, what I am trying to draw out is that we have yet to go a long way towards green revolution.

Then, coming to commercial crops, it is said : "In cotton, jute and oilseeds even the introduction of improved seeds to the cultivators has not begun on a large scale.

This is actually an admission by the administration. I said a minute ago, that the growth in the national income was the reflection of agricultural production, and not the industrial production. In fact, our Economic Survey admits that our industrial production during 1970 has not lived up to the promise shown in the previous two years. The year 1970-71 has not been a good year for industrial production. The rate of growth is considered to be about 5 per cent while it was 6.8 per cent in 1968 and 7.1 per cent in 1969. In fact, we have been coming down from previous years. The reason that is being advanced

is disturbed labour relations or the railway movement being affected or the shortage of raw materials. These things are not peculiar to that year alone. Something or other has actually been happening every year. Now, Sir, the most pitiable situation that we have been witnessing all the while in the past few years is the under-utilisation of the installed capacity in industry, and the public sector is actually notorious for this. Now, Sir, the utilisation in the steel industry in 1970-71 has been to the extent of 67 per cent only, of course lower than in the previous year. In 1968-69 it was 71 per cent, and it came down to 67 per cent. It is so surprising and it is really worrying us that in the public sector steel it is as low as 59 per cent. Now, Sir, we are talking of expansion of industry. In my personal view we have come to a stage of consolidation. Now, Sir, this expansion by utilising our scarce resources and at the same time under-utilising the installed capacity is really a crime. If our growth is only tied down to agricultural production—though still the contribution of agricultural production to the National Product is as high as 45 per cent—if we continue to depend only on agricultural production, it may upset our apple cart if the weather actually fails us. This is the point I wanted to make. Now I want to make a suggestion. Though there is the Committee on Public Undertakings, a serious effort must be made by Parliament to see that in the next one or two years we lift the public sector industries up and see that full utilisation of the installed capacity is there before we think of expansion.

Now, since the time allotted to us is short because we are the last batsmen, and the last batsmen cannot have much time at the far end of the day (*Interruptions*) let me quickly come to the Budget proper. The financial policy of the Government seems to be a greater dependence on deficit financing. I have tried to work out the figures for the last twenty years—from 1950 to 1970. The overall budgetary shortfall has worked out to be nearly Rs. 3,000 crores. I think it is only in two years there has not been a shortfall, and they are the

years 1951-52 and 1960-61. Otherwise, in all the eighteen years there has been the overall shortfall which accounts for the figure of Rs. 3,000 crores. The policy behind framing the Budget seems to be greater dependence on the overall shortfall made good by deficit financing. I think something must be done to rectify this situation. Because of the money supply in the market, because of the deficit financing and also because of the credit policy, the money supply with the public has exceeded Rs. 7,000 crores. From Rs. 2,000 crores in 1950, the money supply today rose to Rs. 7,000 crores. How can you control inflation? In the previous Budget I made a suggestion; yet the present Budget does not give an indication whether serious thought has been given by the Government for controlling this inflation.

Some Members have mentioned about the private savings. I would say that private savings are being mobilised not for public savings but for public consumption. In fact, the process should have been like this. The resources, which are being utilised for our private consumption, must have been converted into public savings, but instead the private savings are being drawn to public consumption. I do not mind taxing the rich people, but what is the proportion of the direct taxation to the indirect taxation. Out of Rs. 177 crores that are being mobilised, only 27 crores are being mobilised from direct taxation. The remaining are the indirect taxes. Sir, if there is price-rise in one sector or in one thing, it is going to affect the oilier thing. It is a contagious and you see how the middle man exploits the situation. You have seen the petrol distribution. 20 paise is the tax increase, 3 paise is the increase in cost and 3 paise has been increased actually by the distributor—it is 26 paise now. The middleman takes advantage of it and we are actually put to inconvenience.

Let me come to the taxation proposals. It is an insult to the injury. What is that insult? The Finance Minister claims and says that bread, readymade garments, soap

etc. are the items consumed by higher income group. I must say about one item and that is textile. Sir, at the level of cloth it is actually taxed. When it gets into the readymade garment it is again taxed. So, twice it is taxed. There is another item that has not been taken note of. It is 'nuts and bolts'. Sir, these nuts and bolts are used at every stage of production into every machine and they are taxed. Sir, there is no rationality behind these proposals.

Another thing is that the rich farmer has to be taxed. There is a confusion between the Centre and the State about jurisdiction, but the tractor is taxed because the rich farmer uses it. All right, tax him; but do not tax him heavily all of a sudden, because you are hungry do not pounce upon him. The import duty is 30 per cent and the excise duty is 10 per cent for the same. Is it justified? So, these proposals have got to be re-examined. My point is that it is not merely mobilisation of resources. We are actually passing through a difficult situation.

Sir, as I said, the first victim of taxation proposals is the promise of price stability.

Then, another thing is about the unemployment. I have seen actually in a newspaper item how the State Governments are going to provide one job for each family. It was a news item. I went through it and it was so interesting. It is said there that those whose names are already on the register, they should obtain a certificate from a Gazetted Officer that in their family not a single person is already in job. Is it the way to give new jobs? It is adding more difficulties for the unemployed to get a certificate from a Gazetted Officer to the extent that no member of his family has already a job. This is a mockery. Lastly, one thing actually about a policy matter. We are talking about ceiling on urban property. Why urban only? Why do you not say 'Physical property'? Why do you want to make a distinction between urban and rural property once you know that you have already recognised that there are big farmers, rich farmers?

AN HON. MEMBER : There is ceiling on land. That is already done.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : It is only on land, not on other property. Let there be ceiling on property instead of on urban and rural.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE (West Bengal) : It seems to me that perhaps we are trespassing into the fields of others. My impression is corroborated by the relaxing mood of the Minister and when Mr. Raju was making some important points, I think the Minister did not pay much attention to them because they know this House has nothing to do with the fiscal proposals and this indirectly-elected House will only have an indirect impact on the Government.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : I was following every word that he spoke. I appreciated the phrase when he said 'It is a mockery' about employment.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE : To speak the truth, I am disappointed with the Budget statement of the Finance Minister. In this lengthy statement covering 24 pages and 92 paragraphs, I do not find anything encouraging at least from a ruling party which recently received a massive mandate from the electorate on some popular slogans. If the Budget is a reflection of the political mind of a Party, then I can see the Budget speech of the Finance Minister very correctly reflects the ruling party's mind as the ruling party has these days become a prisoner of indecision. The entire Budget speech lacks direction, perspective, determination and assertion. I would like to draw the attention of the Minister through you to para 15 of the Budget speech of the Finance Minister. Here the Minister expresses his concern over the overdraft of the States. The same thing was said in the interim Budget speech of the Finance Minister. He expresses concern but he has not found out a way how to prevent those States from having overdrafts from the Reserve Bank of India. When we are having a discussion on the Budget in this session, almost all the State Governments have finished their Budgets |

and what is the picture ? Out of 18 States who have finalised their Budgets, 16 States have gone with deficit Budgets and with an uncovered amount of Rs. 280 crores. From where this amount they will get ? Definitely they will have to make overdrafts from the Reserve Bank and again the Finance Minister will quote these figures in the next year's Budget speech and will express his grave and deep concern. Many a time on the very floor of this House it has been discussed that the problems of the States should be taken into account. Actually almost all the States are now suffering from the problem of non-plan revenue gap. Many State Governments including Tamil-nad and West Bengal have suggested to the Government of India that the fiscal provisions in the Indian Constitution should be changed so that the States should be made economically viable.

They have also suggested that the problems of the States their financial problems, should be looked into not by a temporary Finance Commission appointed at intervals of every five years but there should be a permanent Finance Commission to look into the various economic and financial problems of the State Governments. But,

Mr. Vice-Chairman, there is nothing about that problem and the Finance Minister satisfies himself merely by expressing deep and grave concern over the overdrafts by the State Governments from the Reserve Bank. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, while I was listening to the speech of Prof. Nurul Hasan, it impressed me very much. Only 1.8 per cent of the total Budget has been earmarked for education. I know what would be the answer of the Finance Minister. He will simply say that education is a State subject and the Government has almost nothing to do with it but we should not forget—only last year, 1970, was the International Education Year and we find that the Census Report is not yet published but as far as we know from the press reports—390 million people in the country are illiterate. It is a tragedy that after nearly two decades of independence almost half of the world's illiterate masses reside

in India. Even our ex-Education Minister, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, while inaugurating the Bangalore Conference on the Problems of adult education Developing Countries pointed out that there is a colossal mistake in the Indian planning in that we have not taken into consideration the human factor in planning. Nowadays everybody lays great emphasis on the human factor of planning and I do not understand how we can have a developed economy, how we can have a planned economy, how we can talk of social justice, how we can talk of eradication of social inequalities if 390 million people of this country remain illiterate? Is not this mass illiteracy linked up with the programme of family planning? Is it not linked up with productivity both in the agricultural sector and in the industrial sector? Is not this vast mass of illiterate people a stumbling obstacle in the progress of the country? If it is so, how can the Government shut its eyes and evade its responsibility simply by pointing out that education is a State subject and that it is a matter for the State Governments to deal with the problem of illiteracy? I can tell you as far as the financial position of the various State Governments is concerned they cannot do anything in the matter; they cannot budge an inch from their present position. The Government of India will have to take the responsibility. They will have to take up a massive programme for the eradication of illiteracy. When the Government of India is talking of a crash programme for rural employment, when they are talking of providing employment for every family—this was clearly dealt with by my friend, Mr. Raju—we expected that the Government would come up with a plan for adult literacy and link it up with the employment programme. Had it been so I can tell you perhaps we could have given due consideration to the human factor in our planning.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, much has been said about the unemployment problem. I would not dwell much on it. Simply I would like to point out—and it has been admitted not by any other person but by

the then Planning Minister himself—that at the end of the First Five-Year Plan the total number of unemployed persons was 8 million; at the end of the Second Plan it went up to 12 million and at the end of the Third Plan it went up to 15 million. And, Sir, I do not know how many Five-Year Plans we shall require to make the entire country jobless, to make the entire population without employment. How will the employment problem be solved? Has the Government any assertion? Even the Railway Minister, when he was talking of providing 16.4 million people with employment by constructing overbridges or under-bridges in 41,000 level-crossings, expressed that he wished that the programme should be taken up this year and the amount sanctioned for the purpose should be spent this year. He merely wished it. There is no assertion. There is no perspective. There is no direction. There is no determination to get the work done. Therefore, as I said at the very beginning, this Budget lacks in determination. It has no perspective. It has no imagination which we expected from a party which received a massive mandate from the people only a few months back.

The Finance Minister has expressed sympathies for the refugees of Bangla Desh. He said:

"Already, some three million evacuees have crossed over the borders. It is our hope and endeavour that all these unfortunate people will be able to return to their homes and hearths in dignity and honour."

This may be his hope, but I can tell you on the floor of this House that they will never go back. The Government of India have to take the responsibility for the refugees. I over the horde. They will never go back. Much has been said on the problem and how the Government has dealt with it. It is the Government of India which is responsible for the situation which has built up here. I do not agree with the Members who have expressed their view

[Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee] that it is an internal affair of Pakistan. It is not an internal affair. It is out and out an external political problem. Some of them have pointed out that from the humanitarian point of view we should render help to the refugees. There is no question of humanity. It is a political question. We have to deal with it politically, you have to fight it out politically. You cannot shirk responsibility. If you do not face the music boldly, now it will be too late and I can tell you that almost ten million people may come from that side of the border and they will settle down here. Pakistan has declared an undeclared war against India. They are pushing out these refugees and they are forcing India to come to a political settlement. That political settlement will not be done by a mere passing of resolutions or by a mere expression of sympathies. You will have to do it and there is no other alternative? but to establish or to call them to establish there a popular government which can bring confidence to these refugees and they can go back. Miss Shanta Vasishth was speaking very eloquently on the subject. She is not here now, but she was advising the Government not to face war. Whether the Government of India will take the risk of launching a war against Pakistan or not I can tell you that the Government of India will have to face war one day or other. We should know that history repeats and sometimes history repeats very tragically. Munich may not have been ended in 1939. Chamberlain might not have been discredited in history for once only, but if even today we follow the same policy of appeasement, we will be living in a fool's paradise. If we think that there will be a political solution with the intervention of other powers and that these 58 lakh refugees, who have already crossed the border, and the hundreds and thousands of refugees who are coming every day will go back, excuse me, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I must say that we are living in a fool's paradise. They will not go back. They will never go back. I remain in the State and I know what is happening there and what will happen

within a week or two. Hundreds of thousands are dying of cholera and in Calcutta already the epidemic has started. The sixty lakhs of people living in Calcutta will be the victims of this cholera epidemic. The entire Bengal will be lost. The entire Government will collapse if we do not face the music boldly and properly. We shall have to do it one day, but then I think it will be too late. Therefore, by merely allocating Rs. 60 crores for the refugees on humanitarian grounds, it will not solve the problem. The administration has already collapsed. My party is heading the Government there. Only to tackle it and only to make relief arrangements for the refugees, the entire administrative machinery has failed and if more refugees come, I think the Government will become a non-entity. There will be no existence of the State Government. Therefore, it is high time, Mr. Vice-Chairman, to take up this matter and have a political settlement. We cannot shirk our responsibility. It is not the domestic affair of Pakistan. It is not the domestic affair of East Bengal. They are just pushing out hundreds and thousands of refugees. They are causing our economy to collapse. They are causing our administration almost to paralyse, and if we say that we shall merely pass resolutions, that we shall show our sympathy, that we shall allocate money for relief measures, I do not think much will come out of that. Therefore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is high time for us to take a bold step in this matter and to have a political solution.

Regarding another point I would like to draw your attention, that is about the rule of the nationalised banks. Much has been said about the nationalised banks, how they are financing, how they are helping self-employed young men, how they are giving assistance to the self-employed persons. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am referring here from the report of the Thacker Committee which has been published in the February issue of the Reserve Bank Bulletin. Some alarming observations had been made by that Committee. It has been pointed out that in the present financial

assistance scheme practised by the nationalised banks there are some lacunae, there are some loopholes, and taking advantage of those loopholes, taking advantage of those lacunae moneylenders are entering into the small-scale sector which is the coveted and protected economic sector. What are the reasons? Because the financial assistance scheme is so defective, because the financial assistance practised by the commercial and nationalised banks has so many loopholes that the small entrepreneurs, the technically self-employed entrepreneurs are forced to take loan from the moneylenders and the moneylenders in turn by paying money are getting control over this enterprise. If these loopholes are not plugged, if the financial assistance scheme is not thoroughly changed, I think the desire and hope expressed by the hon. Finance Minister in his budget proposals will not materialise.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am to support this because I have no other alternative. My opinion does not count for much on this subject. We are to make some passing observations and those observations may be heard or may not be heard. But I shall request through you the Finance Minister that he should look into these matters and particularly the issue of Bangla Desh, the question of recognition of Bangla Desh, of installing a popular Government therein to protect West Bengal, to protect the entire Eastern India, not because of humanitarian grounds, not because of any sympathy for those people who have lost their lives, who have lost their honour, but for the very existence, for the very necessity of keeping that part of India with the other parts of India the Government of India should take a bold stand and should recognise Bangla Desh; they should rouse public opinion, they should rouse international opinion so that the popularly elected Government takes charge of that country, a sovereign democratic republic. Then only these people will go back and the Finance Minister's desire will come to a reality.

SHRI U. N. MAHIDA (Gujarat) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is the third time I am

speaking on a budget, and as on every occasion I am the last speaker. Earlier I had to address my comments to the mighty Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai. Last year I pleaded for the abolition of agricultural wealth tax with the very human personality, I think it was Shri Sethy. This time I do not know whether my remarks will be heard at all, because there is a change in personnel. Sir, not only have I studied the three Budgets but I have, for reasons that I need not disclose here, been studying quite a large number of Budget proposals, and I believe a Finance Minister who can please all sections of the population is yet to be born. The comments on the Budget arise from political predilections of the parties or from members personal involvement.

In speaking about my comments, I will restrict myself to two big controversies that I have been observing on the floor of the House controversies regarding the manner in which "growth" should be achieved. There is a school of thought that recommends the continuation, perpetuation and even enlargement of the private sector. On the contrary, there is another school of thought, and that is the predominant one now that favours the public sector. In either case, savings have to be found. As the Prime Minister has often been saying in all her popular speeches, prosperity cannot be achieved by mere speeches; sustained efforts have to be made, sacrifices have to be made. And those sacrifices have to come from two directions—first is, securing a large production by serious efforts by all—including labour, and secondly, savings from all, including the rich and the poor. I am stressing this aspect because lately savings have not been what they were earlier and even the trend of production is not satisfactory. Referring to some details, I would say that the greatest part production is from the forestry and allied agricultural sector—what is referred to as the primary sector. Now the decline there has been from 51.3 per cent of national domestic product to 44.1 per cent in 9 years from 1960-61 to 1969-70. I am not saying that total agricultural production has declined,

[Shri U. N. Mahida] but there has been no substantial increase. There is another way of interpreting this that we in India are developing slowly into an industrial economy; we were not depending upon rural or agricultural economy. In the secondary sector covering Manufacture, Construction, Electricity, Gas etc., there is an improvement from 19 per cent of the NDP to 22 per cent in a period of 9 years. Another improvement in the tertiary sector. This has been of the order of 29 per cent of NDP in 1960-61 to 33 per cent in 1969-70. Now, though there has been a steady trend of improvement in the last two sectors, the increases do not suggest a rapid pace of industrialisation. In fact, the trend, though it has been sustained, is hardly to be complacent about. In the developed countries, the ratio of secondary and tertiary sectors—manufacturing, construction, power, etc. to primary or agriculture sector, show a much higher percentage. Therefore, if prosperity is to be achieved by rapid industrialisation, as in the west, our efforts in this direction must be stepped up.

I referred a little earlier to agriculture, and while I stressed that the stepping up of agricultural production is necessary—no economy can be sustained in a country like ours except by tremendous efforts in the agricultural base—a transformation a predominantly agricultural or rural economy, slumbering at a low level of subsistence, a transformation to an industrialising society, is very necessary. Even today, there is great relevance in the slogan, emphasised, by Sir M. Visvesvaraya, "Industrialise, if we want to prosper", if we want to proceed towards the goal of prosperity, "Industrialise or Perish." What was stressed 30 years ago is equally true even today. This transformation can be it about in two directions, as I suggested earlier—Private Sector and Public Sector. As to the private sector, it must be emphasised that, although the social desirability is there for investment in the private sector is high, private sector depends only on profit motive. There is no other motive. In the private sector profit incentive

is of tremendous importance. With this method only very slow progress can be achieved. This has been the experience of all western nations. We find them highly industrialised today, but the rate was very slow. But they had those conditions some 150 years ago. We cannot afford to be as slow as that. If we become complacent and try to keep the pace slow, we will be faced with very great difficulties. It has to be emphasised that where industrial revolution has been delayed and equitable distribution has been suppressed, the result; i.e. explosive political revolutions. This has been the position in two biggest nations in the world. It has been said about Rui quote :—

"The delayed industrial revolution was responsible for the political revolution." In view of this, situated as we are, the State, now is the master of economic destiny. It is not so here only. Even in other countries this is actually the case while referring to private sectors. We are talking much of American system and criticise controls. But the "Social Control of Business" is equally great there. The State now is in fact, the vehicle of ideas and expectations of the people as a whole, and I may add, hope and aims of accredited political leaders. The private sector, therefore, instead of criticising day in and day out must accept the logic of the recent elections. It must realise the need to extend to the Government much more co-operation than in the past. Their task is rendered easy because the Prime Minister once declared :

"As long as the emphasis is on growth, there will be little interference provided the fruits of growth are also distributed properly".

The proviso is of great importance. While talking of that proviso I am reminded of an ancient *sutra* that applies to the rich in the private sector and the like. The rich must realise what Gandhiji said that they have to live as trustees of their wealth. That aspect of wealth has also been earlier referred to in Ish-Upnishads :

That has to be the approach of the wealthy.

As to criticism of the taxation proposals, arising particularly from the private sector the criticism has been that we lose incentive, if all that we earn has to be paid off as Income tax. To that my reply would be: Earning a little more even only a little more is better than earning nothing. Putting it in other words, if I can earn Rs. 10 more and pay Rs. 8 as tax, will it not be better than not earning anything extra. Paying additional tax is an act of patriotism. I consider that the richer people should earn more and more and pay more taxes. Because there are various forms of patriotism. People have been going to jail. They have been agitating over the countryside for reforms. Then, is it not patriotism, Sir, to earn much more and give more and more to the State, to the people by way of income tax, so that the public sector may expand and prosperity can increase? (*Time bell rings.*) Only two points. I have taken only five minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Ten minutes.

SHRI U. N. MAHIDA : I referred earlier to possibilities of political revolution if industrial revolution is delayed. The only one point I want to add, in this regard, is that because of the pressure of national aspirations and of the urgency of social and economic reforms, our industrially backward society cannot patiently wait, while the private sector haltingly builds up momentum, firm by firm, product by product and dividend by dividend. Therefore, it is inevitable that the public sector will have to be increasingly resorted to, not as a dogma, but because there are distinct advantages. Investment in public sector will add to industrial potential as a whole. Not only that it will create favourable environments for the private sector itself. A large number of industries in the private sector cannot flourish except with the assistance received from the public sector. But, while singing all this praise and with all

this advocacy for the Public Sector, I must also mention their one great drawback. And that is this : they are not yielding what they should yield. Skipping over the details, I might point out that our largest, most established and oldest public undertaking, the Railways, is in the red for four successive years. Regarding other non-departmental public undertakings, out of 67 concerns, excluding Hindustan Steel, 28 are making a loss of Rs. 64 crores. Important among them are Heavy Engineering Corporation, Heavy Electricals and the National Mineral Development Corporation. Now, there are others which do make profits. But practically all the profit is wiped out by the losses. So with this really colossal investment in the public sector, unless it is geared to contribute to economic growth, there will hardly be any justification for its expansions. One of the main reasons, for this sector not becoming profitable or at least economical, is that their management lacks a great deal of initiative. Because of this inefficient management, the returns from the public sector have not been commensurate with the investment made. The problem of securing adequate returns from the public sector undertakings has to be faced squarely and remedies have to be applied. The conventional explanations for the failures, and the platitudes that you find both in the Government's Memorandum and the Budget speeches must be brushed aside and those in charge of management must be told in clear terms that within a reasonable period of time, say, two to three years, they must show results. Again, the policy of manning the higher echelons in the public sector must change. We are resorting to manning these institutions on consideration other than efficiency. I would not like to comment on this but it is a matter for general observation that the public undertakings very often give temptation for accommodating helpful administrators and party colleagues. (*Time-bell*). One point only, Sir. I am leaving out half the portion of my notes for the sin of being the last speaker. So, I am merely adding that the loss of the public sector is so great that it is depressing our economy. From year to year, we are merely

[Shri U. N. Mahida] protesting. No improvement is taking place. Therefore, the time has come when you should have a high power commission for this sector. You have set up an Irrigation Commission; you have set up an Agricultural Commission; you have also got a commission on unemployment or underemployment with Mr. Bhagwati as Chairman. I suggest that this question of public sector undertakings needs to be studied in a comprehensive manner. It cannot be done by departmental reviews or audit reports or by the parliamentary committee on public undertakings. What is required is the establishment of a Commission on Public Undertakings manned by competent persons. Such a Commission should be set up forthwith with comprehensive terms of reference.

I will take only two minutes regarding two items of taxation. Much has been said against the tax on petrol. Not that I advocate a revision or decrease of tax. The 23 paise additional tax on petrol is not really a very heavy charge. I am speaking from my experience as Vice-Chairman, of managing one of the biggest transport undertakings in this country, namely, the State Transport Corporation of Bilingual Bombay State. It had then the largest number of vehicles. (*Time-bell*). The burden in this case is not on poor people. The diesel vehicles are not affected by this levy. Agricultural transport will not suffer to any extent. Lorries and Buses mostly run on diesel. Now, if petrol is taxed, if people go about in their beautiful cars, let them pay a little more. And as for taxis, it is time that the rates of taxi fares are increased. But in that case also who pays? The Government is persistently refusing to increase the income tax exemption limit from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 7,500. When Government feel that these people with Rs. 7,500 income are rich and do not need exemption, those who can afford to go about in towns in taxis are certainly coming in the same rich class. If you do not exempt people with Rs. 7,500 income and taxing them is inevitable additional levy of 23 P. on petrol is also justifiable. But then I have to suggest that the industry or the

sector yields tax must also equally benefit. The number of vehicles on the road has increased from about two lakhs and odd to thirteen lakhs after Independence, six to seven times more. But the roads have not progressed to that extent, neither has the surface of the roads improved correspondingly. I would therefore, appeal to the Finance Minister that at least half of the amount realised from petrol be allocated for the improvement of roads, particularly village roads. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Thank you. You have done your duty as Transport Chairman.

Before I place the next week's programme before the House, I have been directed by the Chairman that a certain remark made by Mr. Arjun Arora about the dress of a lady Member be expunged. I direct that that portion should be expunged.

ALLOCATION OF TIME FOR DISPOSAL OF GOVERNMENT AND OTHER BUSINESS

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I have to inform Members that the Business Advisory Committee at its meeting held today, the 10th June, 1971, allotted time as follows for Government legislative and other business to be taken up during the current Session of the Rajya Sabha :

1. The Manipur Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1971 1 hr.
2. The Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) (Delhi Validation of Appointments and Proceedings) Bill, 1971..... 1 hr.
3. The Appropriation (Railways) No. 2 Bill, 1971 ... 3 hrs.
4. The Mysore State Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Bill, 1971..... 1 hr.
5. The Gujarat State Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Bill, 1971 1 hr.