

### ALLOTMENT OF TIME FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF THE FINANCE BILL, 1966

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have to inform Members that under rule 186(2) of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I have allotted seven hours for the completion of all stages involved in the consideration and return of the Finance Bill, 1966, by the Rajya Sabha, including the consideration and passing of amendments, if any, to the Bill.

### ENQUIRIES RE. CALLING ATTENTION NOTICES

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore) : Sir, on the 7th of this month I had tabled a calling attention motion, calling the attention of the Government to the aggressive military preparations that are being carried on by China on our northern frontiers on the one side and by Pakistan on the other, particularly the attempted efforts made by Pakistan with regard to the building up of military preparations at the Haji Pir sector and the Sialkot sector. It is given added importance by the fact that China has exploded a hydrogen bomb. I would like to know whether the Government is making a statement in respect to this report.

MR. CHAIRMAN : We have passed on your notice to them.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar) : I have given notice of a specific calling attention motion on the reported thermo-nuclear blast which is third in a series of nuclear blasts by China. It is also reported that China has developed adequate delivery capacity for these nuclear devices. And it is also being said in very competent circles in this country and outside that China has either developed or is at the point of developing medium-range ballistic missiles. These reports have naturally caused justified concern in the minds of Members of Parliament and in the country, and I would expect, Sir, that the hon'ble Minister of Defence will come out with his statement on the 12th. I would be satisfied if he comes out with a statement before the end of this session.

SHRI D. THENGARI (Uttar Pradesh) : We have also given a calling attention notice regarding the reaction of the Government of India to the explosion of a hydrogen bomb by China. It is a matter of life and death for our nation, and we should like to know very much whether as a reaction to it and as a safeguard, our own Government would be prepared to go in the direction of nuclear weapons. We want this clarification.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir, I have given a calling attention motion notice relating to the sale and export of military trucks by the Tata Mercedes Benz concern, called TELCO. The Director of the concern himself told the press that the concern has been selling and exporting military trucks to the Government of South Vietnam, a country in whose case India has got a special international responsibility to keep peace. That is a violation of our policy of non-alignment and is a damaging thing to our status as Chairman of the International Control Commission. Mr. Pande of TELCO, according to a report in the Patriot, says that he has been doing so according to the schedule set by the Government. That is a very serious revelation and I will request you to please ask the Minister of External Affairs and the Minister of Commerce to make a statement.

### THE FINANCE BILL, 1966

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI SACHINDRA CHAUDHURI) : Sir, I beg to move :

"That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 1966-67; as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Sir, the Finance Bill, 1966, was passed by the Lok Sabha on the 5th May, 1966 and it is awaiting consideration by the Rajya Sabha. The Bill, the Explanatory Memorandum and other Budget papers were circulated to the Members of the Rajya Sabha immediately after introduction of the Budget. This House held a general discussion on the Budget and in reply the points raised in the course of that discussion were dealt with on the 23rd March, 1966. During the consideration of the Bill in the Lok

[Shri Sachindra Chowdhury]

Sabha, Government amendments were moved to several provisions of the Bill, with a view to rationalising these provisions further and to give reliefs in certain directions. These Government amendments, and also a private amendment which was accepted by me on the floor of the Lok Sabha, have now been incorporated in the Bill. I am giving a gist of the more important provisions of the Finance Bill, 1966, as amended during its consideration by the Lok Sabha.

The first matter, Sir, is the rates of income tax and surcharge on certain levels of income. The limit of total income not chargeable to tax was increased by Rs. 1,000, from Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 7,000 in the case of resident Hindu undivided families satisfying certain conditions, and from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,000 in the case of other resident non-corporate assessees. The amount of personal allowance on which tax relief is granted to resident individuals and Hindu undivided families has been increased by Rs. 500 in each case. Sir, the details need not be given, but they can be worked out easily.

The Bill provides for the levy of a special surcharge for the purpose of the Union, calculated at the rate of 10 per cent. of the aggregate amount of the income-tax and the existing surcharges in relation to earned and unearned incomes, in the case of all non-corporate assessees.

So far as the annuity deposits are concerned, the following changes in the scheme of annuity deposits will be effective in respect of incomes for the financial year 1966-67 or any other accounting year relevant to the assessment year 1967-68. The making of annuity deposits will be made optional for all depositors without their having to file written options.

Secondly, depositors will be allowed to make deposits, during the financial year immediately preceding the relevant assessment year, in any amount of their choice, on any number of occasions. No proceedings will be taken for recovering any shortfall in the amount of the deposit actually made from the ceiling amount calculated at the prescribed rate. The deductions for the annuity deposit in computing the taxable income of the depositor will be made in respect of the amount actually deposited up to the ceiling amount.

In the case of a person who does not make a deposit, an additional amount will be charged as penal tax, as at present, with reference to the 'ceiling amount' of deposit. Where the deposit actually made is less than the 'ceiling amount', the penal tax will be calculated with reference only to the deficiency.

The penal tax for not making the deposit or for making a short deposit will not be chargeable in the case of (a) depositors whose total income does not exceed Rs. 25,000; and (b) depositors who are more than 70 years of age during the relevant accounting year. In the case of a depositor whose total income exceeds Rs. 25,000 by a small amount, but who fails to make the deposit, the penal tax will be worked out only with reference to the amount by which his total income exceeds Rs. 25,000, and not with reference to the 'ceiling amount', if the former course is advantageous to the assessee. However, such a depositor may make the deposit up to the 'ceiling amount' if he so desires, and get the benefit of the deduction of the amount actually deposited in computing his taxable income.

There are certain other provisions to which I would now like to invite the attention of the House. There has been the removal of the charge of income-tax on the equity shareholders of companies on the national capital gain represented by the fair market value of bonus shares allotted to them.

Premiums paid on Pure Endowment Assurance policies and Children's Deferred Endowment Assurance policies issued by the Life Insurance Corporation, are to be treated on par with premiums paid on life insurance policies, for the purpose of tax relief in the case of individuals and Hindu undivided families.

Sums paid on a contract for a deferred annuity on life will qualify for tax relief in the case of individuals, notwithstanding that the contract contains a provision for the exercise by the insured of a cash option in lieu of the annuity.

Interest on Government securities will be paid without deduction of tax at source in the case of resident individuals where the total investment did not exceed Rs. 2,500 and the investor was not chargeable to income-tax.

Dividends on units in the Unit Trust of India, received by an individual, upto an amount of Rs. 1,000 in a year will be excluded completely in computing his total income. Further, in the case of a non-resident individual unit-holder, receiving dividends on units in an amount not exceeding Rs. 1,000 during a financial year, no tax will be deducted at source; where the dividend paid to a non-resident individual unit-holder in a financial year exceeds Rs. 1,000, tax will be deducted at source from the whole of the dividend, at the existing rate of 15 per cent.

The levy of the Expenditure Tax has been discontinued with effect from the assessment year 1966-67.

So far as the Gift-Tax is concerned, the rates of the Gift-Tax have been modified so as to reduce the incidence of this tax at all levels of the value of the gifts. Provision for the aggregation of gifts made to the same donee during the past four years has been removed.

As for Estate Duty, the rates of Estate Duty in certain intermediary slabs have been increased.

The statutory period for inclusion of gifted property in the estate of the deceased donor for the purpose of charge of Estate Duty is increased from one year to two years.

Exemption from Estate Duty is granted in respect of the estate of deceased members of the police force, including any border security force, who are killed in action in protecting the border at any time after 31st March, 1965. This measure implements an assurance given by my predecessor in Lok Sabha last year.

With regard to corporate taxation, there is increase in the rates of income-tax—in the case of all classes of companies detailed below :

(1) Domestic companies in which the public are substantially interested—

(a) whose total income does not exceed Rs. 25,000—

Under the Finance Act, 1965 it is 42.5 per cent. and now if the present Bill is passed it will be 45 per cent.

(b) whose total income exceeds Rs. 25,000—

Under the Finance Act, 1965 it is 50 per cent and under this Bill it is 55 per cent.

(2) Life insurance profits of the Life Insurance Corporation—

Under the 1965 Finance Act the rate is 47.5 per cent and under the present Bill it will be 52.5 per cent.

(3) Closely-held domestic companies—

(a) Industrial companies :

(i) on the first Rs. 10 lakhs of the total income, under the 1965 Act it was 50 per cent and now under the present Bill it is 55 per cent.

(ii) on the balance it was 60 per cent under the 1965 Act and under this Bill it will be the same 60 per cent; there is to be no change.

(b) For other than industrial companies the rate was 60 per cent in the 1965 Act and under this Bill it is 65 per cent.

(4) Foreign companies which declare their dividends outside India :

(a) on royalties and technical service fees under certain approved agreements, the rate was 50 per cent in the 1965 Act and it is maintained at the same rate of 50 per cent; there is to be no change.

(b) On other incomes the rate was 65 per cent in the 1965 Act and now under this Bill it is 70 per cent.

There is the discontinuance of the tax levied on domestic companies at the rate of 12.5 per cent of the face value of the bonus shares or the amount of bonus issued by them to their share-holders.

There is a modification of the "dividend tax" i.e. the extra amount of income-tax chargeable with reference to the distribution of equity dividends in the case of domestic companies other than closely-held companies which are required to distribute dividends up to the statutory percentages. This tax will now be chargeable only on the amount of equity dividends declared or distributed during the previous year in excess of 10 per cent of the paid-up equity capital, as on the first day of the previous year.

There is a new provision made in the Income-tax Act for a deduction of 8 per cent of the profits from specified priority

[Shri Sachindra Chowdhury]  
industries in the computation of the total income of domestic companies. This is in replacement of the special rebates of income-tax and surtax which were available to such companies previously.

The list of articles and things relating to priority industries in the Fifth Schedule to the Income-tax Act has been enlarged by the addition of three new items, namely, tea, newsprint and printing machinery.

The quantum of development allowance for tea plantation in new areas has been increased from 40 per cent to 50 per cent of the actual cost and for replantation in existing areas, from 20 per cent to 30 per cent of the total cost. As the House knows, tea is our best foreign exchange earning commodity and, therefore, encouragement to this particular industry is materially beneficial to the interests of the country. This allowance will be given in two stages, i.e. for the second year in respect of the cost incurred upto that year and in respect of the balance of the cost, in the 4th year, instead of wholly in the 4th year as at present.

Indian companies receiving dividends on shares in a foreign company allotted in consideration for supply of technical know-how or technical services under certain approved agreements to the foreign company, will be charged to tax on the dividends at the rates of 25 per cent only. The same concessional rate of tax of 25 per cent will be charged on royalties, commission, fees, etc. received by an Indian company from a foreign company in consideration for supply of technical know-how or technical services under an approved agreement. Happily for this country, Sir, we are producing more and more people who have the know-how and also the technical knowledge and we export that knowledge to other countries also and the recipients of the royalties etc. are charged at a lower rate. Firstly by this means a certain amount of foreign exchange is earned and it has to be encouraged and it costs very little to us except in human intelligence.

In the case of closely-held Indian companies which are partly but not mainly engaged in specified industrial activities, the penal tax under section 104 will not be charged for their failure to distribute any portion of their profits from such activities. This exemption from penal tax will also be

available to closely-held Indian investment companies partly engaged in these industrial activities.

Then we have some provisions for simplification and rationalisation of the scheme of taxation.

The tax mechanics of companies is simplified by eliminating the levy of a gross rate of tax of 80 per cent accompanied by provisions for rebates and reduction of rebates, and stating directly the effective rate of tax applicable to the income of each class of company.

Several changes have been made in the provisions relating to closely-held companies, in order to rationalise and liberalise those provisions in certain directions. I have already mentioned some of these. The whole of the cost of machinery or plant costing not more than Rs. 750 per unit will be allowed to be deducted as depreciation in the previous year in which the machinery or plant is first put to use. This is for helping small-scale industries, cottage industries and so on.

Then capital expenditure incurred by assesseees in acquiring copyrights and patent rights for the purpose of the business will be allowed to be deducted in computing the profits of the business in equal instalments over a period of 14 years.

Total income will be rounded off to the nearest multiple of Rs. 10 and the amounts of tax, refund, penalty, etc. will be rounded off to the nearest multiple of Re. 1 in order to facilitate income and tax computations.

The rate of Central Sales-tax in respect of inter-State sales of certain goods is to be increased from 2 per cent to 3 per cent with effect from 1st July, 1966.

These are more or less the changes that have been made in the direct taxes. As to indirect taxes there are certain changes which are before this House. Certain commodities I am afraid had to be charged to a higher rate of tax. Since then I have given thought to these and I might mention that I have been able to give some relief to certain of the items so that small-scale industries, handloom industries and the like might be helped. These reliefs I announced in the Lok Sabha on the 29th April and were made effective from 30th

April except on two items which I shall mention in a moment. Relief has been given to the handloom industry by restoring the pre-budget effective duty on cotton yarn cleared in the form of hanks in the count groups 22-33 nf. That is, hank yarn in the count group 22-28 nf, is now totally exempted, and in the count group 29-33 nf, hank yarn will again pay the small duty of 5 paise per kg. As a corollary the duty on yarn in other forms used by the other sectors of the industry has been reduced by 10 paise per kg. only in the count group 29-33 nf. As far as powerlooms are concerned, powerloom units having 50 to 300 looms have been given some marginal relief by reducing on an average their fabric duty by about one paisa per sq. metre.

So far as paper boards are concerned, I have had quite a lot of representations from paper board manufacturers who carry it on as a cottage industry and in obedience to their needs what I have done is this. The effective duty on mill boards and straw boards has been reduced from 42 paise to 28 paise per kg. In addition, these two varieties of boards will get a slab concession on the first 500 tonnes cleared in any financial year. These concessions will be available uniformly to all manufacturers of mill boards and straw boards.

So far as matches are concerned, the non-mechanised sector of the industry has been enabled to produce in excess of the ceiling limits on paying marginally higher rates on the increased production.

So far as relief on sulphur imports is concerned, what we have done is this. In order to reduce the cost of chemical fertilizers the regulatory customs duty on imported sulphur has been abolished and the excise duty on sulphuric acid used in the manufacture of fertilizers has also been exempted.

I said there were two items about which I said I shall mention later. One is Turkey Red Oil which we have decided to exempt from duty and the other is Surface Active Preparations and washing preparations made without the aid of power.

You will remember that there has been a decision that there should be an increase on certain whitening materials such as surf and so on. It has been represented that it will affect a large number of cottage indus-

tries and people having small processes in the villages if this duty were not lifted. Here again considering the small-scale industry and the people working in the villages, we have decided to take away the duty.

These are some of the commodities in respect of which I have been able to give relief. As for others, as I said, the House had the different provisions before it. Sir, I move that the Finance Bill be returned to the Lok Sabha.

*The question was proposed.*

**SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL** (Gujarat) : Sir, my first reaction on hearing the Finance Minister's Budget speech was that even though he might have brought a new look, he is a prisoner of the Plan and the small reliefs that he was able to give were just a little sugar coating. After that this House has discussed the Budget proposals when some of us had the opportunity to offer our criticism and our suggestions. It was encouraging that the Finance Minister was appreciative of the constructive criticism and the suggestions that were made by us but unfortunately we see very little of it translated into the final proposals in the shape of the Finance Bill. Basically what is going on in this country for the last ten years is on the same pattern. In the name of requirements of the Plan this country is being misled and bled white. Prime Minister after Prime Minister goes on repeating—and so also the Finance Minister—that the taxation proposals are for the good of the country and for the good of the common man whereas in fact the Plans appear to be made along with a totalitarian Budget after Budget for perpetuating themselves for many years in office. From the Second Plan onwards there has been failure in achieving the Plan targets and yet the Government and its Planning Commission go on talking not only of one Plan but the Plan after that and the Plan after that. Sir, that is there they are thinking in terms of perpetuating themselves and their rule for another ten years. Every Finance Minister begins by saying that the little increase that he proposes is not going to make any effect on prices but in the last ten years the Central Excise duties alone have increased to a tremendous figure. In addition to that, the State Governments also seem to be catching up and the excise duties levied by the State Governments have now reached the figure

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel]  
of Rs. 650 crores. Sir, we had three additional doses of taxation during the regime of the previous Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari. So during the last twelve months there is an additional burden on the tax-payer of Rs. 382 crores. In the second Finance Bill of last year there were fantastic increases in customs and excise duties and the main purpose of this, it was said, was to prevent the rupee from falling further in internal and international markets. It was claimed that as a counterpoise to the otherwise deteriorating position of the rupee and also to make devaluation unnecessary all this was being done. But none of these expectations has been achieved. The finance Minister began by stating his objectives in the Budget speech and said that the possibility of raising additional internal resources will depend on the growth of dynamism of the Indian economy itself and from this point of view he said he attached importance to strengthening and maintaining the confidence of the private sector.

He went on to say :

"It is not necessary for me to dwell at length on the malaise of the capital market, which has continued now for more than three years. There cannot be any doubt that the revival of the capital market and a greater flow of private savings to industry in the form of equity investment are desirable in the larger social interests."

But one would like to know how has all this been translated into action.

**SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Madras) :** Sir, on a point of order. It is a very important Bill. The Finance Minister has just left this House. When the Leader of the Opposition is speaking, the Finance Minister must be here. Last time, when this question was raised, you said that one of the Cabinet Ministers must be present but there is no Cabinet Minister here now. The Leader of the Opposition is on his legs and he has left the House in a most discourteous manner.

**MR. CHAIRMAN :** No, no. I do not think there is any discourtesy. He will come back.

**SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATIL :** The Finance Minister has also increased the

Central sales tax, the special sales tax and there are increases in income-tax and corporate taxes. He has tried to make out that by this the country is paying only 15 per cent of the national income compared to 9.6 per cent five years ago. This is misleading because, in addition to this we have the enormous increase in wholesale prices and the cost of living has increased by as much as 30 per cent in the last five years.

First of all, let us look at the growth of the Central and the State expenditures over the last fifteen years. In 1950-51 the total Central Government expenditure was Rs. 500 crores and the total Government expenditure of the States was Rs. 400 crores, making a total of Rs. 900 crores. Over the last five years I would like to quote the figures and show how these figures are mounting and how there is increase in the Central expenditure. The figures are :—

	Rs. crores
1960-61	1,700
1961-62	1,866
1962-63	2,377
1963-64	Nearly 3,000
1964-65	„ 3,200
1965-66	„ 3,500

To this, for 1965-66, if you add Rs. 1,840 crores approximately, which was the expenditure of the State Governments, you get the enormous figure of the order of Rs. 5,300 crores, as the aggregate volume of Central and State expenditure, as compared to Rs. 900 crores fifteen years ago. All the expenditure of the State and the Central Governments in the year 1965-66, totalling Rs. 5,339 crores, is broken up into four main headings. A sum of Rs. 879 goes to defence. I would leave this without much comment for the moment, as being capable of minor economies, but nothing of major consequence. Secondly, Plan development expenditure is Rs. 2,225 crores. I suggest that if we do not impose severe cuts on this, the country is going to be bled white. I would like to ask the Finance Minister what he is doing about the offer that an hon. Member of the other House made to him. The offer was made by Mr. Dandekar, who has been a civil servant in that department, who understands finance and taxation. He is a responsible person and Government themselves had put great confidence in him on several occasions. In his criticism on the Finance Bill, he said :

"If anyone thinks that this is somewhat an exaggeration, all I can say is this. I am prepared to name persons in the Government Service to go into this matter. . . ."

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, I am afraid you should not give quotations from what happens in the other House. You can give the substance, but not quotation.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : I was only trying to show, in his own words, that he offered to name persons in the Central Government Service today who should be asked to go into this, the taxation position as it is today. You ask them to suggest economies and economies could be made in expenditure budgeted as it is, by pruning the waste that is taking place in many places. It is a question of bringing able people together and setting a task before them, the task of giving relief to the people, to prevent unnecessary taxation, which has already become burdensome, to prevent inflation, which is the greatest trouble with the economy and from which we are suffering today and make a distinction between real Plan and non-Plan expenditure. I suggest that the Congress Party in its own interest should give serious thought to this. This idea is supported substantially by the various Reports of the Public Accounts Committee, particularly by the few Reports published recently, e.g. the Report on the Khadi Commission. In the Report on export promotion you will see how Rs. 1 crore is lost by failure to take proper guarantees. The other part of the Report is on iron and steel. And one more item I will mention. The Government of India has lost some Rs. 16 lakhs in the purchase of mules. This is how the whole business of Government is going on from one department to another.

श्री विमल कुमार मन्ना लाल चौड़िया  
(मध्य प्रदेश) : खच्च २।

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Exactly, as is they have not got enough. What is really necessary is a change in the outlook of the Government, a will to improve agricultural output, not by regulation and by regimented co-operatives, which have failed so miserably in this country, but by helping agriculturists to improve their output, by service co-operatives, if necessary,

by supplying them with better seed, manure, water supply, etc., without the greedy State Governments coming in and going on raising levies on water supply again and again. What is needed is a drastic cut in wasteful expenditure, in which I include corruption, which is a substantial form of waste. Besides this, there is a lot of waste in what are called welfare activities. Are not the Social Boards and the other so-called welfare staff, who are supported by an army of service jeeps, etc. used very largely in the election machinery of the Congress Party, rather than in giving the required relief to the poor people and in whose name all this expenditure is incurred?

I will not take long. I will just point out one serious example of the way in which Government money is being wasted and Government is reluctant to take action, when the matter is brought to their attention. Through Short Notice Question No. 1 on 3rd March, I drew the attention of this House to the arrest of certain ships of a company, a company which had been given large guarantees by the Government of India. I made certain allegations about the manner in which the company's affairs were being carried on. Instead of the Minister coming forward with a straightforward answer even after the Half-an-hour Discussion that was demanded, we got a responsible Minister of the Government of India—I hope he is—getting up and saying that I was making these allegations because of provincial bias, that some Bombay companies were behind this; whereas the facts have now turned out to be quite the contrary. Sir, I am referring to the affairs of the Jayanti Shipping Company and I would like to take a few more minutes of the House for reading some photostat copies of letters that I have in my possession to show how things are going on. I have handed over the photostat copies to the hon. Home Minister to take whatever suitable action he thinks fit. Here is a letter signed by Dr. Teja :

"In connection with the list of spares which we additionally require for our ships, I enclose the agreed list with this letter for your reference. It is my understanding that a round figure of \$28,000 for each ship is going to be charged for these spares listed as enclosed. It is also my understanding that you have agreed to this low price as a consideration for

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel]  
our ordering the new ships from your Yard, and that your company will not supply these spares on a repeat order basis at the same price. In other words, the break-down price for these spares are in excess of the total sum of \$28,000. I thank you for your co-operation in agreeing to this arrangements, . . .

(Sd.) Jayanti Dharma Teja."

Then there is a receipt for this \$28,000 which is unstamped, and another receipt for a like amount unstamped. Then I have another letter . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : Sir, as an Enquiry Commission has been established, will it not be better if my hon. friend sends these papers to the Commission of Enquiry ?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : I have already referred to that.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He has sent copies to the Home Minister.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Here is a letter from T. Ogimoto, Chief, Export Ship No. 3 Section. It is a letter addressed to Dr. Teja :

"We enclose herewith two RECEIPTS undated for the sum of U.S. \$159,600 & 79,800 respectively which Capt. Kothawala requested us by phone on 9th November, 1964.

The above RECEIPTS are issued by us at your request solely for your convenience and we acknowledge not to have received any actual payment regarding above RECEIPTS from Am-Indo Shipping Inc.

Please sign and return us a carbon copy of this letter attached hereto for acknowledgement of the above."

Then there is a letter from Mr. Kothawala who is a representative in Japan of the Jayanti Shipping Company and Dr. Teja :

"Dear Mr. Schulz,

While Dr. Teja was here, he gave me two receipts, in Original and one copy of each, that had been issued by Mitsubishi, for U.S. \$79,800 and \$159,600. As per his instructions, I am sending them to you to be dated and stamped as previously done, copies of which are attached."

He is continuing this. This is not the first occasion—

"I trust you will do the needful in the matter. Kindly acknowledge receipt.

(Sd.) M. M. Kothawala."

Then there is a letter of reply from Mr. Schulz to Mr. Kothawala acknowledging this :

"This is to confirm receipt of your letter of April 17th, containing original and one copy of each of the two receipts issued by Mitsubishi for U.S. \$79,800 and \$159,600.

Thank you also for forwarding the drawing of the cargo oil and fuel system of the Chanakya to Mr. Tsacoyanis.

(Sd.) T. Schulz."

Then there are two receipts duly dated. First they were undated. Now these two receipts have been dated 8th November and 14th December 1964 and to show acknowledgement also have been appropriately stamped a few days later, 18th November and 24th December. This is where the money of the poor taxpayer of this country is going. Government have failed to eradicate corruption at high places. Only a few days back we heard what was happening in the States. I will not repeat it. Here is an instance to show how the blue-eyed boys of the Government are allowed to milk money from the Government. Large loans are given, and it is for you to see how they are being used. For these purposes are we going to be milked and bled white by the Government? How do you expect any reasonable person to support this Finance Bill?

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra) : Mr. Chairman, the hon. Finance Minister had to take charge in the month of January and it was only within two months that he had to carry this heavy burden of presenting the Budget to the Lok Sabha and then to the Rajya Sabha.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

It was indeed a very difficult task and, Madam, in view of the situation that there was the conflict between India and Pakistan there were heavy strains on our economy. Foreign aid was abruptly stopped by our



friendly countries. There was the shortage of food and when the whole economy of this country was on hard trial, the Finance Minister had to frame the Budget and had to present it to Parliament.

Madam, I have gone through the criticism that is levelled not only in this House when the budget was under discussion but I have also listened to the speeches of important leaders in the Lok Sabha, and having regard to the criticism that is levelled from all the sectors, the Rightists, the Leftists, the Extremists and the Centrists, I feel that the hon. Finance Minister has definitely stood the trial well and has come out of the examination both skilfully and successfully. Just now it was said by the leader of the Opposition, Shri Dahyabhai Patel, that in this country of ours taxation is going on very heavily. This burden is not bearable for the people. I do understand that for the poor people it has become really difficult in these days, but how to develop this country? When we are passing through the days of a developing economy, how can we do away with taxes? Without taxes it is not possible for us to rebuild this country, and particularly when the problems of this country are so enormous, we cannot do without planning too. Since our independence, Madam, there are problems and problems. Even prior to our independence there were problems. There was illiteracy, there was unemployment, and there was poverty. Besides, at the time of partition a heavy flow of refugees came into this country. Particularly, when the whole world and the modern countries are going ahead with the fastest speed in these days of technology and science, if we are to catch up with that speed, well, it is not possible for this vast country of ours to go without planning, and that is why we have accepted planning. I have gone through the criticisms, and the main points of the criticism we find today are regarding the foreign aid, food imports, fertilizer deal, Indo-American Foundation, growth of monopolies, increasing disparities between the rich and the poor, heavy burden of administrative expenses, corruption, nepotism and excessive use of power. Today we are concerned with the economic aspect and I would like to deal with the economic aspect only. So far as foreign aid is concerned, Madam, I think there is not much of controversy in having foreign aid. Of course there are a few fanatics and they say

that it is not possible for any socialist country to have socialism with foreign aid. Even if we look at China and Albania, two most powerful Communist countries, as is said today by the protagonists of Communism, they have accepted aid from Russia. You look at any Communist country and you will find that they have accepted foreign aid. So, it cannot be said that we cannot have foreign aid. The only question should be that there should be no political strings attached. When we accept foreign aid, I do understand that there should be no political strings attached. But when some countries are giving foreign aid some sort of strings are bound to remain attached. Maybe they may demand some interest, maybe they may demand some concessions. And while having these dealings it is for us to see that the freedom and independence of this country is not bartered away. It is really sad to see that not only the leaders of some of the Opposition parties but also the leaders of my own party have said that the present policies of the hon. Prime Minister and her Cabinet are bartering away the freedom and independence of this country. It is not only an insult to our Prime Minister and her Cabinet, actually it is an insult to the people of this country. We know our Prime Minister and the Cabinet very well and if there is any attempt to barter away the freedom and independence of this country, the Prime Minister will be the first person to come forward to make any sort of sacrifice to maintain the dignity, honour and prestige of this country. It is also a fact that the party in power has fought against the British Imperialism with all possible might and vigour and that party knows the value and importance of our own independence. To say that these leaders are trying to barter away our freedom is not fair on the part of those who criticise them. I feel that this sort of criticism is having some political angle. When there was the aggression committed by China, why was it committed? There was actually no cause for dispute between them before. India was going on with its democratic policies and towards socialism. China wanted to disrupt the whole of the Indian economy and that was the reason why that aggression was there in 1962 and that remains constant. And these friends who are saying today that we should not accept any foreign aid, that we should not accept any import of foodgrains, I

[Shri M. M. Dharia]  
believe, they want to create the same situation by hampering our own economy in this country and from that point of view it is for us to think over whether that criticism is proper and correct.

There are other criticisms also regarding this fertiliser deal and the proposed Indo-US Foundation. I do understand that while having all these deals we should take care to see that the Indian people are not exploited, that this country is not exploited. But that does not mean that we should not accept any foreign aid or that we should not have any deals and it is from that point of view that we shall have to look at things.

So far as the Indo-US Foundation is concerned. I feel that there is no harm in accepting this aid. And when I say 'aid', this is not begging. India has kept her prestige by making repayments of all the loans that have been advanced to her in time. It is our tradition. From that point of view, there is nothing harmful for a country which is backward to accept these loans for its progress and from that point of view, I believe, there should be no intervention in our own educational system from any foreign country. It should not be tolerated. At the same time there should not be any reason why we should refuse to take any help that is coming forward.

It is stated by several leaders, again, that the Fourth Five Year Plan is not decided in this country, that the decision is not taken in Delhi, but that it is taken at Washington. If you look at the Memorandum that has been circulated to all the Members, you will find that we need nearly 4,800 crores of rupees from foreign countries. Out of this sum of Rs. 4,800 crores, Rs. 500 crores will be coming from the Communist Bloc. A sum of Rs. 4,000 crores is expected from the World Bank and the United States and other countries. And we expect that a private capital of nearly Rs. 300 crores may come from the private enterprises from other countries. Now, we have formulated our own Plan and that Plan is no doubt based on this amount of Rs. 4,800 crores to be received from the foreign countries. If we are to formulate our plans and finalise them certainly some negotiations are absolutely necessary to see whether it is possible for this country to have that much of

amount from the foreign countries and from that point of view, if there are any discussions at Washington or at Moscow, there should be no harm in those discussions being held. It is not bartering away the freedom of our country. It is not going to be decided by others. It is our own Plan; it is for us to decide our Plan, it is for us to fix the priorities. But we shall have to create the atmosphere in those countries from where the aid is to come. After knowing what amount is to come, then only can we formulate our Plan and set our priorities. And in this context if we look at the present discussions, I feel that there is nothing wrong in our Prime Minister or the Minister of Planning or the Finance Minister having any negotiations with the foreign countries. This Plan is not going to be decided at Washington, it will be decided in Delhi. I have no doubt about it. The whole of the draft is prepared in Delhi and if it is to be finalised, then these negotiations are absolutely necessary and consequential; they are a necessary corollary. And from that point of view I feel that such a criticism is absolutely futile.

There is one more criticism which is raised against us and that is regarding the foreign aid that is being received every year. During the First Plan we received Rs. 194 crores which was 5.8 per cent of the total investment. During the Second Five Year Plan, we received Rs. 1,422 crores which was 21.1 per cent. In the Third Five Year Plan, we received Rs. 2,650 crores which was 25 per cent. But during the Fourth Plan even if we receive Rs. 4,800 crores for which we have been negotiating, it will be less than 21 or 22 per cent. So the whole tide is getting turned, it is being changed. From the 25 per cent of foreign aid which we were then receiving during the Third Five Year Plan, we shall be going backward and not forward, in receiving more and more aid, and if we are going to receive foreign aid to liquidate the aid itself in the days to come, there is nothing wrong. It would be the best possible policy in the interests of this country and from that point of view I again believe that the criticism that is being levelled is not fair.

I would like to come to the aspect of agriculture. I feel that so far our Government has not paid that much attention to agriculture which it should have paid in the beginning. If we had done that, I feel that

perhaps the economic strains that we are facing today would not have come in our way. Ours is a country having a rural basis. There are several needs of the poor agriculturists. We know that this country has been producing more than 50 per cent of its income from the agricultural resources and from that point of view, we shall have to satisfy the needs of the poor agriculturists. Recently, there was a conference of the Chairmen of Land Mortgage Banks in the whole country, here in Delhi. They are in need of Rs. 100 crores but so far, I am afraid, the Reserve Bank and our Government have not provided even Rs. 40 crores to these Land Mortgage Banks. They want them to go in for more and more agricultural production and if we are not going to place that much of amount at the disposal of these Land Mortgage Banks, how is it possible for us to go ahead with the intensive farming programmes? I feel that the time has come when the Government should change its approach towards agriculture. A rural bias is absolutely necessary and to face the various problems, I believe that the formation of an agro-industrial society at the rural level is absolutely necessary. The Fourth Five Year Plan is no doubt based on these formulations and from that point of view, more and more aid would have to be given to the agricultural sector.

There are other problems too. But the time at my disposal is absolutely short and so instead of going into detailed arguments, I would make quite a few suggestions.

It is true that nearly Rs. 75 crores have now been given under this Budget towards family planning and it will be at the disposal of the Ministry of Family Planning. Madam, I believe that this is really a serious problem. Every day we have been adding nearly 32,000 to 33,000 new people to this country and if every day 33,000 new citizens are being added, I do not know how we are going to solve this problem of food, shelter, clothing, education and all that. And from that point of view, we shall have to enforce family planning and take effective measures. I would like to suggest that the time has come in the life of this country when we should compulsorily say that no couple should have more than three children. Of course, it must be for future years, not for the past years. The Bigamous Marriage Act should be made applicable to all the

citizens irrespective of their cast and creed.

1 P.M.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : I agree.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Abortion should be legalised.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : No, no.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Well, that is my suggestion. Economic sanctions should be used for this compulsory family planning. Officials should be told that their increment will not be available to them if they are not operated after three children.

SHRI BANKA BIHARY DAS (Orissa) : What about M.P.s?

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : I am coming to that. So far as farmers and others are concerned, they are given tacaavi and all possible aid. They should be told that if they want this aid for further cultivation, they can have it, but if they are having more than three children, they must get themselves operated. So in this way economic sanctions should be used in all the fields including Members of Parliament, as my friend, Shri Banka Behary Das, has suggested. I feel that is the way whereby we shall be in a position to control the present growth of our population.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa) : Let us have a day of killing when anybody can kill anybody so that we can bring down the number.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : It is really a serious problem. I do not know whether my friend has read the book which says that the only space we will have will be to stand, not even to sit or sleep. That day may come on this earth. From that point of view one should be cautious today.

My fifth suggestion would be casting an obligatory duty on the corporations, municipalities, burroughs, Zila Parishads, Samitis and even Gram Panchayats to see that all the citizens coming under their purview are operated, and for that all possible help should be given.

My last suggestion is with regard to free aid in the form of contraceptives, pills or loops or whatever it is including operations.

Then, Madam, I feel that in order to give reasonable facility to all those who

[Shri M. M. Dharia]  
are particularly of the weaker section, the Government must decide to supply the necessities that are required in our life, may be food, shelter or clothing.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Your time is up.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Within five minutes I shall close. I feel that the Government should see to it that these basic necessities of the people are substantially fulfilled, and from that point of view a price line shall have to be fixed. This vicious circle of more and more dearness allowance is going to add to inflation, and from that point of view also, I believe, the time has come to supply these necessities of life to the people.

For the development of this country a capital levy shall have to be introduced. I am happy that our Finance Minister has simplified the present tax structure. But that is not enough. A capital levy shall have to be introduced. As regards the death duty, as we adopted it, at the time of its implementation there, loopholes shall have to be plugged.

Another suggestion of mine would be the requisitioning of property in urban areas. The hon'ble Finance Minister said the other day in Bombay that if a ceiling is not fixed on the rising prices of these properties and lands in the cities or urban areas, it may not be possible for us to give housing facilities to the poor and the middle class people. That shall also have to be done.

Then, Madam, there are various reports which are not being implemented. For example, there is the Monopoly Commission's report before us. What have we done with these growing monopolies? The rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer. We should not allow that tendency. Now the time has come when we have to put an immediate curb on these growing monopolies.

I also feel that this Gold (Control) Act shall have to be scrapped. I know there was very good intention when it was introduced. But the purpose for which this Gold (Control) Bill was introduced, I feel, has not been able to do justice to the people or to the Govern-

ment. That is why since several Members have been insisting on the Government, I request the Government to consider their request. I can understand there may be other sides also. From that angle also it should be considered, and this demand should be given priority.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have taken 20 minutes, and in your party, there are many, many speakers.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : I will not take much of the time now. Yesterday only we celebrated the Gokhale Jayanti. I would only refer to what that great man said in those days. From that point of view, an atmosphere shall have to be created in this country. He said :

"The struggle before us is a long and weary one, and while the thought of it should stimulate all our energies, undue impatience will only recoil upon our own heads. Nation-building is nowhere an easy task. In India it is beset with difficulties which are truly formidable and which will tax to the uttermost all our resources, and all our devotion. Let us not forget that we are a stage of the country's progress when our achievements are bound to be small, and our disappointments frequent and trying. That is the place which it has pleased Providence to assign to us in this struggle, and our responsibility is ended when we have done the work which belongs to that place."

Thank you very much.

SHRI N. R. M. SWAMY (Madras) : Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to congratulate the Minister of Finance for his bold steps with regard to giving certain concessions to an extent which has given some relief to the corporate sector and other bodies. Madam, when the late lamented Shri Lal Bahadur invited the present Minister to take charge of the Finance portfolio, many of us raised our eyebrows, saying that he was neither in the politics nor in the administration. How will he cope with this heavy portfolio, we all felt. But our faith in the judgment of the late lamented Shastriji was unshakeable. Now we know the integrity of the present Finance Minister. We now realise that the confidence and trust reposed in him had not gone in vain. But the people feel that the relief which

has really been given is not much compared to the expenditure involved in the administration.

We have been clamouring, Madam, that rebate must be given, concession must be shown, but correspondingly the expenditure seems to have been retained in the same fashion. As a result of these concessions, how much shall we save and to what extent the expenditure will be curtailed has not been shown by the Finance Minister. He has yielded to the pressures and representations made by the corporate sector and the Chambers of Commerce. But to what extent it will have an impact on the expenditure is not known. He has not taken pains to tell us that corresponding to the savings that he has made how much expenditure will be involved. Otherwise what will happen? The gap will widen since the expenditure will not be restrained. Therefore, the Finance Minister must explain to this House how much we will be able to save by giving these concessions without resorting to deficit financing. What happens is that our taxation proposals are modified to see that the expenditure is cut by raising the taxes. But so far he has not shown that the expenditure has been curtailed. I, therefore, take it for granted that this Budget has been loosely done without resorting to curtailment of expenditure.

Madam, I do not want to suggest that the Finance Minister is not having the support of this House. He has not done much nor could he do anything even if he wanted to do because the legacy he has inherited was such a difficult one. He has precious little time to adjust and whatever little he has done has to be construed from the point of view of the time at which he has come to occupy this position. The Finance Minister is not merely something like a book-keeping Minister or an allotment-making Minister or a tax-collecting Minister. This Ministry has got to look at the picture as a whole with vision, perspection and a sense of mission. This Ministry has got the power to guide the other departments and give inspiration to them. Ordinarily this Ministry is very often criticised for levying taxes. When somebody has to take charge as a Finance Minister, he has to make a study of the overall picture of the country's finances and he has to make a study of the socio-

economic fabric in a dispassionate and objective manner before he can think of anything else. He has to work within the framework of this socio-economic structure.

Madam, there are several problems in our country and the first problem is the village and its economy. We are all aware that village life has been one of terrible misery. We all know that modern industrialisation has thoroughly changed the very picture of the village life which has become almost miserable. Village has become a raw material producing adjunct to the industrial area. We have seen that the industrial pace is very much curtailed as a result of the internal market which has set a limit to the expansion of industries. With the growth of population, pressure on land, consequent fragmentation of land, creating more and more unemployment, the whole village life has become almost a heap of debris. Madam, I may be pardoned if I say that the village life is such that they do not get even clean drinking water. It is enough if they are given pure drinking water and approach roads are provided for them so that they can carry their products to the market. If the village people are given these facilities, I am sure the whole picture of our country would greatly change and the pace of industrial progress will also be accelerated. Village life is such that the people there are attracted to towns because of their glamour. They go to the town side *en bloc* and the result is that production is jeopardised and they are very much enamoured of the city life. They go there with their families and with their kith and kin and live in a small house. On the other hand we spend large sums of money for beautifying cities like Delhi and all that. These people go and live there in small huts not even three or four feet high and they crawl inside and live a miserable life. We should therefore see to it that the village life is made more and more attractive by giving them all facilities.

In this connection I would like to make one suggestion. From food crops they have shifted to commercial crops so that they get more money. We should try to wean them away from commercial crops so that they come back to food production. For this purpose we must give them loans, seeds, fertiliser, etc. and their crops

[Shri N. R. M. Swamy]  
 have to be protected from insects. Then there should be a development bank or some such bank to give them loans against their crops and their crops in turn must be ensured. If we do that, I am sure the villagers will take interest and carry on their work so that there is more and more food in the country. We are all aware that we have tried co-operative farming, land reforms and community development service but all these three things have not done their jobs. We need not have much imagination to realise that the landless labourers are not likely to get the benefit provided by community development or the co-operative societies. They do not recognise village as a unit. Only certain individuals get the benefit, those who are creditworthy and who have got enough resources to invest. Then what is the alternative? The only alternative is to see that development banks come into existence so that the poor people get loans, I mean the landless labourers. If this is done, I think we can change the map of this country; it will get altogether a different shape. The Food Minister must try to do this work at least in some districts in each State for a period of three years and see whether there is any change and the stalemate is broken. The Finance Minister should be able to find money for it. The other day, Madam, the Food Minister said that community development has not done its job and he wanted to have it changed in shape and form so that better results would follow and the situation would not be worse than what it is.

The next important problem which needs solution is education. We all know the Central Government spends a lot of money subsidising university education through the U.G.C. but nobody thinks of the base which has narrowed and the top which has become very heavy. The net result is that the murmurs of the discontented occasionally burst into bouts of indiscipline in the temples of education. This is not at all congenial for the development of our country. The result is that the badly run and badly managed institutions are only intended for the children of the poor people and the business magnates and industrialists send their children to public schools. So, the Finance Minister has to find some money to see that secondary

education which is in the doldrums is brought up to its proper standards because secondary education is the raw material for the universities to mould the character of the people. It will not be possible to shape the character of the student if secondary education is not raised to its proper standards. The Finance Minister has to find money for this purpose. How to find money for all these things? We have to find the money from our own resources and also by borrowing. There is nothing wrong in going abroad and getting money by borrowing, especially these large sums of money that are needed for our developmental expenditure. Some people may criticise the Government that it is going with the beggar's bowl and that our country even after 18 years of independence is not able to find enough money and that it is not carrying on the administration properly and so on. But I beg to submit that there is nothing wrong in going abroad for getting money for our development purposes. It has nothing to do with our integrity and we are not bartering away our sovereignty. Of course, there is one snag here. When we take such large amounts of money from foreign countries Parliament must be aware of how much we want to borrow from those countries. There is a provision in our Constitution to say that the Government can borrow and Parliament should also know what amounts are required. But this provision has not been utilised by the Government, may be for good reasons. They may feel that this might possibly curtail the expansion of the development schemes of the country. Perhaps that is the reason why we are not taking advantage of that provision. But at the same time how much money we are going to get from outside we are not able to know. Only after getting the money we are told and then we have to support it. I have no objection to this being done because it is not done for any bad purpose. It is for the purpose of the development of the country that this is being done. But we seem to be mortgaging the entire future, our future generations for years to come who will be engaged in discharging those loans.

Much has been said, Madam, about the Indo-U.S. Education Foundation. There is nothing wrong about this Foundation according to me and about its being created

here. The only snag here is that we should not allow foreigners to have a say in our educational system. There is a possibility that they might send inferior quality men and materials and try to administer education of our country. I only want that that should be guarded against.

We have not been very happy when our leaders were asking us to lead an austere life. They asked us to lead an austere life, to consume less and to save more. Yet we can see what is going on around us. What do we see? Many of our leaders, the moment they become ministers, they want big bungalows, fine curtains, fine furniture and imported cars. We have seen that. They immediately want not a country-made car but an imported car and the Finance Minister has to find somehow the foreign exchange and get the imported car. What has been the asset of the Congress all these years? An austere life was the asset, but that is not there now and so we are unable to enthuse our people and to create the necessary buoyancy in their heart. They cannot say now, "See that man who lives the life of a poor man though he can afford to live a rich man's life. He does so for the sake of the poor people and to be in consistent with the status of our country." But nobody does that now.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** You have taken twenty minutes. Please finish in another minute or two. There are several speakers from this side of the House.

**SHRI N. R. M. SWAMY:** Then I will only refer to a few more points and finish my observations, Madam. So far as non-developmental expenditure is concerned I would certainly request the Finance Minister to see that it is cut to the minimum.

Much has been said about the Gold (Control) Order and it has been urged that it should be scrapped. I am one with those who say that it should be scrapped because it has not served the purpose for which it was introduced.

Then there is the delicate point of scrapping prohibition. Prohibition is a subject on which many will have difference of opinion. I am sure it has not served the purpose for which it was introduced and I wish Government to give second

thought to the subject of prohibition also and then scrap it along with the Gold (Control) Order.

Continued dependence on foreign technical know-how and foreign technology should also be done away with because in the recent conflict with Pakistan we saw the results and we have learnt the lesson that self-reliance is the best thing for us to develop.

I have seen the conditions in the villages and the difficulties caused by scarcity of kerosene. I will not find fault with the dealers or the companies. Though the foreign exchange position is in the doldrums the Finance Minister must make a practical approach to the problem and remove this miserable position in the villages.

The public undertakings, I find, have not been functioning very satisfactorily. They are over-staffed and huge expenditure has been incurred on them. Yet there is delay in production and high cost. Also there is not the full use of their capacity. These are the things that are most noticeable and they should be removed and these undertakings should be run as efficient private concerns are run and not as departments of the Government.

Recently we have heard a lot about huge infiltration and concentration of military people on our borders with China and there are the doubtful intentions of our neighbour Pakistan. There may be confrontation and trouble. I hope the Finance Minister will be able to persuade the latter and prevent the former from joining hands with one another.

I do not think I have much time left and so I shall resume my seat now with the observation that the Finance Minister will please find money for the proposals that I have referred to.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Shri Banka Behary Das will speak after the lunch hour. The House stands adjourned till 2.30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at twenty-six minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at half-past two of the clock, the VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair.

**SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS:** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, when I analyse the Finance Bill which envisages certain new imposts and certain concessions. I am sorry to say that I am thoroughly disappointed. Let us have a balance sheet of the Finance Bill. On the one hand they have given certain concessions to the big business houses of this country including companies and eliminated the Expenditure Tax, whereas on the other hand they envisage a rise in the Central Sales Tax and also imposition of new imposts in the shape of excise duties. Sir, in the name of Five Year Plans based on development and defence the Government of India has created an economic situation which is highly explosive. We are living on a volcano of inflationary prices and high taxes which have eroded the standard of living of the common man and have brought about an economic system in which the monopolists have grown richer and richer, the holders of black money are running a parallel Government and where the entire capitalist class has been in a vantage position to successfully pressurise the Government and get whatever concessions it wants. In the name of socialism a society based on the so-called mixed economy has been brought about and during the last more than one year we are seeing that the ruling party is sliding back from socialism both in the agricultural and in the industrial sectors. They are more and more surrendering themselves to the pressure of both foreign and Indian finance. The recent policy regarding fertilizer industry and foreign aid clearly exposes this and shows how far they have treaded in the opposite direction. The fiscal policy of the Finance Minister as defined here in this House and shaped through the present Budget only fits in with this reactionary policy.

We live in an age of planning. Planning takes into account some cardinal factors that resources are to be raised, the directions of expenditure are to be defined, the production targets are to be fixed and achieved and prices are to move according to a path charted by us but in actual practice planning of resources including taxes is being made leaving all other factors to the mercy of the various forces that operate in this backward economy as a result of which the tax burden on the

common man has been very intolerable and inflation is the order of the day. To appreciate the incidence of taxes and the rise in prices I would quote here a few figures. In 1950-51 the entire tax revenue of the Indian Government was Rs. 357 crores which in course of time, according to the Budget Estimates of 1966-67, has come to Rs. 2160 crores. Out of this the Income-tax and the Corporation tax which was about Rs. 125 crores has gone up to Rs. 600 crores, which is about four times. Customs duty which was about Rs. 157 crores has gone up to Rs. 554 crores which is again about four times whereas the Union excise duty which was only Rs. 67 crores has gone up to Rs. 958 crores which is more than 14 times. During this period, on the advice of the foreign economic expert, Mr. Kaldor, we imposed an Expenditure tax to mop up the surplus that was still in the hands of the Big Business of this country but Sir, you know in this Budget we are bidding goodbye to this Expenditure tax.

In this connection I want to inform you that during this Plan period we have planned our resources successfully. Not only that; according to the mid-term appraisal that was placed before this House two years back in 1963-64, we find, it says :

"On this basis (that is, on the basis of taxation imposed by then) the aggregate yield over the Plan period from the taxation measures introduced so far at the Centre may come to a little over Rs. 1900 crores."

But the Third Five Year Plan target of additional taxation for the entire period of the Plan was only Rs. 1,100 crores. So you will see that whatever target we fixed for five years of the Plan was achieved not only in three years but it was in excess by Rs. 800 crores and during the rest of the two years also we have imposed new taxes. I do not know what will be the result of all this but definitely it is beyond Rs. 2,000 crores. In the same Report in para. 14, speaking about the revenues of the Union Government and also of the States it is said :

"Taking both the Centre and the States together the measures of additional taxation undertaken so far would



yield over the Plan period roughly Rs. 2,400 crores, about Rs. 700 crores more than the target."

So we know when this Third Five Year Plan was formulated whatever targets we fixed for additional taxation we surpassed them both in the States and at the Centre by so many crores of rupees even within three years.

Now, what has been the result of our investments of this money in the various sectors of the economy, in agriculture, in industry, both in the private and public sector? I shall come to production targets a little later. In this connection I want to say that all this has had a bad impact upon the whole economy. The prices have been sky-rocketing. In the words of Shri V. T. Dehejia, Chairman of the State Bank of India—who said in Bombay on April 28, 1966:

"One major failure of the Five Year Plans had been the failure to check rising prices. Stabilising the price line, if not effecting reduction in the high prices, has to be one of the cardinal objectives of present economic policies."

He further added:

"During the Third Plan, wholesale prices had risen by nearly 38 per cent and foodgrain prices by nearly 50 per cent. The main cause of this disturbing price situation was that we overshot the target of money supply at a time when we failed to reach the target in the increase in real production."

And according to him during the year ending March 1966 the money supply in the country increased by Rs. 400 crores.

Sir, again quoting official figures I may inform you that during a decade of planning—during the Second and the Third Five Year Plans—the general price rise was 80 per cent out of which the food prices registered a rise of 86 per cent. During the Second Plan alone the price index went up by 35 per cent which again rose by 32 per cent in the Third Plan. Taking the 1952-53 as the base year in the last year of the First Plan, that is 1955-56 the index number was 92.3. During this First Plan period only we planned properly as there was a stability in prices. In the last year of the Second Plan, that is, 1960-61

the index number had gone up to 124.8 and in the last year of the Third Plan, that is, 1965-66 it has gone up to 165.

Now, on the production front, we all know what our achievement in agriculture has been. I need not dilate much on this because I have very little time at my disposal but everybody knows that so far as agriculture is concerned we have landed ourselves in conditions of famine and scarcity. In the industrial sector also we have been giving so much latitude to the private capital and though we have set up some public sector industries also, our achievement has been very poor. We have declining production in the industrial sector. The index number of industrial production for January-March 1966 is lower than the previous quarter's index of 183.4, while the index in January-March 1965 stood at 186.1, that is, within one year we have been going down even in the industrial sector. The overall rate of industrial growth, during the first three quarters of 1965-66, works out to 5 per cent only, compared to 7 per cent in the corresponding period of 1964-65. Judging from the trends in the last quarter of 1965-66, the growth rate is lower than 5 per cent, though we have always estimated for a growth rate of 9 to 11 per cent. In this connection, I want to point out a few facts. This Government has no moral right, in the circumstances, when the standard of living of the common man is being eroded daily, to impose more taxes on the common man, unless they take some positive steps to find the resources through other means. I want to give a few concrete suggestions to the Finance Minister. As you know, when the war of independence took place in America, the only slogan of the Americans against the Britishers was, no taxation without representation. Here, in a different context, I want to say that this Government has no right to impose new taxes on the common man as long as they do not know how to husband the large resources that they have accumulated. In this connection, I want to say that eight major steps should be taken if you want to find resources in this country to develop the backward economy and among the eight suggestions I would place imposition of new taxes as the eighth one, not the first or second or even the seventh. In the first place, I want to say that we should avoid, as far

[Shri Banka Behary Das]  
as possible, wastage in expenditure. I need not go into the details. The Public Account Committee's Reports of Parliament and also of State Legislatures, clearly indicate how we are extending, how wastage of a colossal nature is taking place everywhere.

The second suggestion I want to make is, avoid corruption, eliminate corruption in the administration. You know how through this process a huge amount of money that we collect from the poor people is being wasted and it is going into the pockets of some people, which is again a pressure on inflation in this country.

My third suggestion is that we must do our best to see that the taxes that are being imposed are collected, that taxes are not evaded by the big business houses of this country. In this connection I may say that Prof. Kaldor might have proved incorrect when in 1952-53 he estimated that tax evasion in this country in that year was about Rs. 200 crores or Rs. 300 crores, or he might be correct. There may be some difference of opinion about it, but it is a fact a huge amount of money as tax is being evaded and the State exchequer is not getting the benefit that it should out of the present taxation measures that have been imposed in this country.

The fourth suggestion is that the arrears outstanding against big businessmen in this country are very huge. I need not go into the details. Take the case of income-tax. Take the revenue of every State. I know that in my own State a huge amount of money is pending as arrears against the politicians of that State who are running industries, who are running mines. I have no time to go into these. This is another step that should be taken.

Then, fifthly, I want to speak about unaccounted money. I do not want to speak about the amount that is moving underground in this country. Three or four years back there was a serious attempt to unearth the unaccounted money that was left behind even in the vaults of the various houses of this country, but I am sorry to say that after our new Finance Minister has come, after the new Finance Minister has taken up this portfolio, this policy has undergone a complete shift. I can state here that during the last week the Finance

Minister went to Bombay and addressed the industrialists of that city. He categorically said things which clearly exposed the shift in the policy of the Government. He does not believe in these searches and these raids. He believes in the Sarvodaya spirit, in the Sadachar spirit among the capitalists, so that there will be a voluntary disclosure of their unaccounted money. So, whatever steps were being attempted three or four years ago, when Mr. T.T.K. was the Finance Minister, that policy has been given the go-by.

Then, the sixth suggestion I want to make is: stick to time-bound, money-bound estimates. I do not want to go into details. You know how the estimates are prepared, how they are revised. The cost goes up by four hundred times, five hundred times or six hundred times. You take many of the big projects in India. By staggering these projects for a longer period, the State exchequer is made to spend huge sums of money on these projects.

The seventh suggestion I want to make is curtailment of expenditure on non-developmental projects. If you scan the Finance Commission's Report, if you scan the Reports of the Public Accounts Committee, you will find that the non-developmental expenditure is also going up in geometrical progression. So, I say that unless all these seven steps are rigidly followed, this Government has no right to impose any new taxes.

With a few words I want to finish. In this connection some people might say that in the rural sector there is more money and it should be mopped up. I hold a different view on this. I still hold that in the rural sector not only there is not enough money, but in the rural sector the people are asked to pay much more than in the urban sector for purchase of essential Consumer goods. This fact is not taken into account. This is what the old Taxation Enquiry Commission has said in its Report:

"The enquiry indicates that, although the level of urban taxation on the whole is higher at all income stages as compared to the rural, the disparity is not quite as great in the middle and lower ranges of income as is often believed. Considering the higher average income

within any given income group in the urban area than in the rural area, the difference in tax incidence in groups up to Rs. 300 is not appreciable. Urban indirect taxation is a little more progressive than rural taxation, and, when land revenue and income-tax are added, would be decidedly more so, but only in the group with expenditures over Rs. 300 a month. Apart from any general scope for stepping up tax incidence in urban areas, there appears to be greater room for increased taxation of higher, rural incomes, if the country is to have a more satisfactory picture of incidence."

For those in the middle or lower classes in the rural sector there is absolutely no relief. Whatever measures the Government are taking, they are only hitting the entire rural sector and the common man is hard hit in the process.

In the end, I want to say that the Congress Party is wedded to socialism, but it cohabits with capitalism and thereby it commits the crime of political bigamy. Unless they forsake such a criminal policy, not only the Indian economy which is in doldrums will collapse, but also Indian democracy will give place to a system which we all abhor.

Thank you.

**श्रीमती ताराबाई साठे (महाराष्ट्र) :**

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस सदन के सामने जो फाइनेंस बिल रखा गया है उसका मैं समर्थन करती हूँ। फाइनेंस बिल के बारे में प्रमुख सिद्धांत और तत्व मैं आपको बताना चाहती हूँ कि आपकी एकानामिक स्ट्रेटेजी क्या है और हमारा आर्थिक धोरण क्या है और आर्थिक बाढ़ के लिये वह कितना पोषक हुआ है और यह जो बाढ़ हो रही है वह समाजवादी समाज की रचना की तरफ ले जायगी या नहीं। यह सोचने की बड़ी प्रमुख बातें हैं।

हमारा 22 दिन तक पाकिस्तान के साथ मुकाबिला हुआ, जब हम नहीं चाहते थे तभी भी मुकाबिला करना पड़ा और देश में काफी प्रान्तों में अकाल, अभूतपूर्व अकाल, भी हो रहा है और इसी लिये आर्थिक व्यवस्था को बड़ा धक्का पहुंचने की सम्भावना है। इसी पार्श्व-

भूमि में हमें इस फाइनेंस बिल पर सोचना चाहिये।

1950 ई० तक जो हमारी आर्थिक बाढ़ हुई वह सिर्फ 1 प्रतिशत या उससे कम ही थी, फिर 1950 ई० से आज तक हर साल आर्थिक बाढ़ 3 और 4 प्रतिशत हो गई है, उसके साथ-साथ हमारी जन-संख्या भी बढ़ी और जीवन-मान भी बढ़ गया इसलिये यह आर्थिक बाढ़ अपूरा लगता है और इसीलिये हमने चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना की तैयारी की है। फिर इस दुर्दैव के बाद से हमें पाकिस्तान के साथ मुकाबिला करना पड़ा और न जाने चीन के साथ भी मुकाबिला करना पड़ेगा। विकास यानी डेवलपमेंट और सुरक्षण यानी डिफेंस ये अहिनकुलंवत् परस्पर विरोधी चीजें हैं, दोनों का रास्ता विरुद्ध होता है। इस पार्श्व-भूमि में हमें फाइनेंस बिल देखना चाहिये कि जैसे एक रस्सी पर या तार पर सरकस करनी पड़ती है ऐसी ही सरकस हमारी सरकार को करनी पड़ती है।

दूसरा महत्व का प्रश्न है कि यह आर्थिक बाढ़ हमें समाजवाद पर ले जाती है या नहीं। यह प्रमुख सवाल है। मैं देखती हूँ कि श्रीमन्त अधिकतर श्रीमान हो रहे हैं और गरीब अधिकतर गरीब हो रहे हैं। यह क्यों हो रहा है और इसके बारे में महालोनोविस कमेटी ने भी यह बता दिया है कि देश में उद्योगधंधे और कारखानेदारों की जैसी एक मोनोपोली हो गई है, थोड़े लोगों के हाथ में, थोड़े पूंजीपतियों के हाथ में यह धंधा ज्यादा से ज्यादा आज चल रहा है। They control and try to control production, raw material and employment and also want to control, and to some extent they are successful, distribution and price, which is most important to note.

इसके साथ-साथ अखबार भी उनके साथ होते हैं, उनके हाथ में होते हैं और जो कुछ श्रीमन्त चाहें, उनकी पूरी धोरण और वह जो कुछ चाहें उसको बड़े जोश के साथ आवाज ये उठा सकते हैं, वह बड़े

[श्रीमती ताराबाई साठे]

जोरों से बातें कर सकते हैं और इसी लिये पूंजीपतियों की आवाज सब दुनिया में जाती है। श्रीमन्त तार सप्तक में बोलते हैं गरीब षड्ज सप्तक में बोलते हैं जो गरीब और भूखे होते हैं वे गूंगे होते हैं, उनकी आवाज कहीं पहुँच नहीं पाती है। यह बड़ी गम्भीर परिस्थिति है और इस समस्या पर हमें विचार करना चाहिये। आजकल ये जो पूंजीपति होते हैं उनके लिये काफी रियायत या कंसेशन दिये गये हैं, मैं यह बताना चाहती हूँ।

Firstly, dividends upto 10 per cent have been exempted from the dividend tax. Secondly, the tax on bonus shares has been abolished. Thirdly, the capital gains tax on the shares is now payable only in the event of realisation through sales. Fourthly, the surtax has been reduced by 5 per cent to 35 per cent. Fifthly, the development rebate has been extended to tea, newsprint and printing machinery. Sixthly, the exemption limit for annuity deposit has been raised from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 25,000. Seventhly, expenditure tax has been abolished. Eighthly, concessions are given in gift tax.

तभी भी हमारे पूंजीपति या कारखानेदार काफी जोरों से चिल्ला रहे हैं और आक्रोश कर रहे हैं। मेरे सामने महाभारत की यह कथा आती है जब कि भीष्म ने युधिष्ठिर को बताया था कि देखो ये गरीब भूखे गूंगे हैं और इनके निःस्वास में ताकत है, कितनी ताकत है यह आप समझ नहीं सकेंगे, ये रौद्र का, रुद्र का अवतार होते हैं, इनकी रुद्र की ताकत है, रुद्र यानी क्रोध, तो इनका ज्यादा क्रोध है और यह निःस्वास में छिपा हुआ क्रोध होता है, न जाने कब धोका हो जाय, न जाने भविष्य में यह कब हो जाय। इसलिये सरकार से और हम सब कार्यकर्ता लोगों से यह बताना चाहते हैं कि दुखी, भूखे, गरीब, दरिद्र लोगों को काफी दिलासा देना चाहिये। फिर भी मैं देखती हूँ

कि कीमतें बढ़ती जाती हैं। किस-किस चीज की बढ़ी हैं, नमक से लेकर चीनी तक की, जूते से लेकर सिर में डालने के तेल तक दांत मांजने की कड़ुनिब की लकड़ी से मिट्टी के तेल तक जिससे कि रात को बत्ती जलाते हैं, कपड़े से लेकर फोटो तक की, साबुन वगैरह तक की जो जो चीजें रोज़ लगती हैं उन सभी के दाम बढ़े हैं और मालूम ऐसा होता है कि और भी बढ़ जायेंगे। सरकार हमारी क्या कर रही है यह बहुत महत्व का सवाल है? देखिये, जब यहां कोई चिल्लाता है और यह बहस होती है कि गवर्नमेंट उसके बारे में कुछ स्टेप्स लेना चाहती है ऐसा मालूम होता है तब दो-चार दिन में कीमतें कम होती हैं, समझिये कि आठ आना एक वस्तु की कीमत है तो वह सात आने हो जायेगी और यहां बताया जाता है कि सात आने हो गई लेकिन फिर दो-चार दिन में एकदम से वह दस आने हो जाती है। ऐसे कीमतें बढ़ती हैं। आप इंडेक्स देखेंगे तो पायेंगे कि काफी कीमतें बढ़ रही है। जैसे कि लम्बी उड़ान लेने के लिये लम्बी स्टार्ट लेनी पड़ती है वैसे ही कीमतें पीछे आती हैं और फिर एकदम से आगे जाती हैं। इसलिये गरीबों के लिये बढ़ी मुश्किल हो रही है।

पेंशनर्स की बात भी मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहती हूँ। पेंशनर्स के बहुत कठिनाई के दिन आ गये हैं। यह हमने कई दफा यहां बताया है फिर भी पेंशनर्स के बारे में अभी तक गवर्नमेंट कुछ करती नहीं है। बूढ़े लोगों के लिये कुछ न कुछ करना चाहिये। मैं ऐसा बताना चाहती हूँ और विनती करना चाहती हूँ कि कम से कम उनके कुटुम्ब के लिये कांटी-ब्यूटरी हेल्थ स्कीम से उनको दवा तो दें लेकिन यह उनको नहीं देते हैं। ज्यादा पेंशन नहीं बढ़ावें लेकिन ऐसी सेवा जो होती है, इन काइंड जो दे सकते हैं वह तो दे दें। मैं पोस्ट एंड टेलिग्राफ पेंशनर्स एसोसियेशन की प्रेसिडेंट हूँ और मैं देखती हूँ कि कितनी कठिनाई उन लोगों के लिये है तो मैं सोचती हूँ कि जहां-जहां भी डिसपेंसरीज हैं, पोस्ट एंड टेलिग्राफ डिपार्टमेंट की हैं या रेलवेज की हैं, वहां

सब पेंशनर्स के लिये कम से कम यह सुविधा तो देनी ही चाहिये।

डीयरनेस एलाउंस जो दिया जाता है उसके बारे में भी कुछ कहना चाहती हूँ। यह एक बिगश सकिल है, दुष्टचक्र है जो कि कभी भी नहीं टूटेगा। आप देखते होंगे कि यहां यह बढ़ता है और वहां किराया वगैरह बढ़ता है, जैसे कि किसी का 17 रु० बढ़ गया तो उनके हाथ में आने से पहले ही जिसका मकान था उसने 20 रुपये किराया बढ़ा दिया, तो जो उसके हाथ में देते हैं उससे कुछ ज्यादा डाल कर ही उसको दूसरे को देना पड़ता है। तो डीयरनेस एलाउंस बढ़ाने से यह काम होगा नहीं। गवर्नमेंट को काफी सख्त स्टेप्स इसके बारे में लेना पड़ेगा और कम से कम निमक, तेल, गुड़, मिर्चा, चावल, दाल, गेहूं, ज्वार, बाजरा, इनका दाम तो जरूर बढ़ने से रोकना चाहिये नहीं तो जीवन-यापन कठिन हो जायगा और जैसा कि मैंने बताया कि युधिष्ठिर को भीष्म पितामाह ने बताया था वैसा ही सोचने का समय अभी आ गया है। फिर भी सरकार सुनती नहीं क्योंकि इनकी आवाज बड़ी नहीं है और कारखानेदारों की बड़ी है।

कारखानेदारों में भी छोटे कारखानेदार और बड़े कारखानेदार में फर्क हो जाता है। मैंने यहां एक सवाल फ्रेंच पालिस के बारे में किया था। फ्रेंच पालिस के लिये जिन लोगों ने 1963 ई० की जुलाई से पहले कारखाना लगाया था, 1963 ई० के पहले जो निकाला था उनके लिये आर्डर अभी दिया गया है कि एक्साइज ड्यूटी उनके लिये ज्यादा हो जायगी, जो लोग पहले के हैं और जिनका काम इस्टेब्लिश हो गया है उन कारखानेदारों के लिये यह टैक्स अलग है और इन नये लोगों के लिये टैक्स अलग है। हां, टैक्स लगाना है तो जरूर लगा दीजिये लेकिन सभी पर समान तरह से लगा दीजिये और जब आप लाइसेंस दें तब ही लगा दें, तब ही बताने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये थी लेकिन जब आप पीछे बताते हैं तो उसका कोई फायदा नहीं और उससे बड़ी तंगी होती है। जो कुछ आपकी पालिसी हो, जो कुछ

आपका धोरण हो यह पहले ही रखना चाहिये और उसमें फिर-फिर बदल करने में बड़ी मुश्किल लोगों के लिये होती है। इसलिये मैं विनती करती हूँ कि फ्रेंच पालिस के लोगों के बारे में भी आप कुछ न कुछ सोचिये।

उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, उपलब्ध साधनों से ज्यादा खर्च करने की प्रवृत्ति आज कल बहुत ही दिखाई देती है। रिजर्व बैंक से नोट छापने की गवर्नमेंट कोशिश करती है और इसकी कोशिश करने के बाद उनके पास काफी पैसा आ सकता है, स्टेट्स भी रिजर्व बैंक से कुछ कर्जा लेती हैं। तो यह ऋणम् कृत्वा धृतम् पिबेत वाली बात ठीक नहीं है, जब उत्पादन से ज्यादा खर्च होता है तो नियोजन कार्य में घक्का पहुंचता है इसलिये नियोजन का कार्य ठीक करने के लिये हमें उत्पादन से ज्यादा खर्च जो है उस पर रोक लगानी चाहिये। जब खर्च की वृद्धि को कम करने की आवश्यकता होती है तो नियंत्रण भी जरूर लगाते हैं और नियंत्रण के बारे में मैं कुछ बताना चाहती हूँ। सिर्फ अनाज और खेती के उत्पादन के बारे में नियंत्रण रखने से कुछ फायदा नहीं होगा, सिर्फ लेवी लगा कर और यह कह कर कि उनका दाम इतना ही होगा, ज्वार का इतना होगा, गेहूं का इतना होगा, यह बताने से फायदा नहीं होगा क्योंकि जब तक आप जो मैन्युफैक्चर्ड गुड्स हैं, जो और चीजें हैं जो कि कारखानों में तैयार होती हैं उनके बारे में नियंत्रण नहीं लगा देंगे तब तक इससे कुछ फायदा नहीं होगा।

3 P.M.

तो इनके ऊपर भी नियंत्रण लगाना चाहिये।

अब आप नियंत्रण की ही बात देख लीजिये। सरकार ने स्टील बनाने वालों को कुछ रियायत दी जिसकी वजह से स्टील पर से कंट्रोल हटा दिया गया। पहले स्टील की कीमत 100 रुपये टन थी लेकिन जब से उस पर से सरकार ने कंट्रोल उठा दिया तब से उस की कीमत बहुत बढ़ गई है। इसकी वजह यह है कि मैन्युफैक्चरर्स ने अपने हाथ में कंट्रोल इस काले लिया है और वे जिस दाम में बेचना चाहते हैं बेचते हैं और इस तरह से अपने लिए

[श्रीमती ताराबाई साठे]

फायदा उठाते हैं। गवर्नमेंट इस बारे में क्या कर रही है मुझे कुछ मालूम नहीं है। सरकार ने अनाज पर कंट्रोल लगाया है ताकि सब लोगों को ठीक दाम पर अनाज मिल सके। लेकिन देखने में यह आता है कि जब सरकार किसी चीज पर से कंट्रोल उठा देती है तो उसके दाम बढ़ जाते हैं। इसी तरह से पहले सीमेंट के ऊपर सरकार का कंट्रोल था और जब से उसने इस पर से कंट्रोल हटा लिया तब से उसके दाम बढ़ गये हैं। पहले सरकार के हाथ में इसका डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन था और वह ठीक तरह से हो रहा था, लेकिन अब इसका डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन ए० सी० सी० वालों के हाथ में है और वे ज्यादा अच्छी तरह से यह काम नहीं कर रहे हैं। गवर्नमेंट के पास जब इस तरह की मशीनरी थी जो कि उस का अच्छी तरह से डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन कर रही थी, तो फिर ए० सी० सी० सी० वालों को यह काम क्यों दिया गया, समझ में नहीं आता है। उनको यह काम देने से सीमेंट की कीमत भी बढ़ गई है।

इसके साथ ही साथ एक बात मैं इस संबंध में और कहना चाहती हूँ कि जो सीमेंट के बैग आते हैं उनमें जो वेट लिखा होता है उतना उनमें नहीं होता है। जब सीमेंट के बैग फैक्टरी से बाहर निकलते हैं तो इधर उधर ले जाने में उनका वजन कम हो जाता है और उनको इकट्ठा एक के ऊपर दूसरा बैग रखकर भी सीमेंट किनारे से निकल जाता है। मुझे मालूम है कि पूना में किसी कान्ट्रेक्टर ने विल्डिंग बनाने का ठेका लिया। जब उसने बतलाया कि इतनी जगह पर इतने बैग सीमेंट के लगेंगे, पर सीमेंट के बैगों का जो वजन होता है वह बहुत कम है। इस तरह से वहाँ पर यह झगड़ा चला कि जो कम सीमेंट बैगों में मिला वह कौन देगा? फैक्टरी वाले देंगे, कान्ट्रेक्टर देगा, होलसेलर देगा या एजेंट देगा? मेरा तो कहना यह है कि फैक्टरी वालों को अपने बैगों को ठीक तरह से पैक करना चाहिये क्योंकि आजकल जो पैकिंग होती है वह इतनी खराब होती है कि उसमें से कुछ न कुछ सीमेंट बाहर निकल ही जाता है। जैसे पहले युद्ध के जमाने में सीमेंट कागज के पैकिंग में हुआ करता था,

उसी तरह का पैकिंग इस समय भी होना चाहिये ताकि सीमेंट के बाहर निकलने का कोई डर न हो। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि मैनु-फैक्चरर्स इस चीज की तरफ ध्यान ही नहीं देना चाहते हैं और वे ज्यादा से ज्यादा फायदा उठाने की कोशिश करते हैं और इसी तरह से जो बीच के एजेंट होते हैं वे भी यही कोशिश करते हैं। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन यह है कि हमें पब्लिक सैक्टर में इन कामों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा करना चाहिये। अगर हम प्राइवेट सैक्टर के हाथों में ज्यादा हक दे देंगे तो उससे बड़ी गलती हो जायेगी। इसलिए मैं चाहती हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट इस बारे में ज्यादा ध्यान देगी।

अब मैं गोल्ड कंट्रोल के बारे में कहना चाहती हूँ। यहाँ पर आजकल यह कहा जा रहा है कि गोल्ड कंट्रोल को हटा दिया जाना चाहिये। क्यों हटा दिया जाना चाहिये? क्योंकि औरतें नहीं चाहती हैं। लेकिन मैं औरतों की तरफ से बतलाना चाहती हूँ कि औरतें गोल्ड कंट्रोल हटाना नहीं चाहती हैं। बल्कि जो आदमी ब्लैक मनी का काम करते हैं वे ही यह चाहते हैं कि यह गोल्ड कंट्रोल हट जाय। मैं आपको बतलाना चाहती हूँ कि ज्यादातर औरतें तो कई वर्षों में भी एक तोला सोना नहीं खरीद सकती हैं क्योंकि उनके पास पैसा ही नहीं होता है। जिसके पास ब्लैक का मनी होता है वही सोना खरीदता है और कहता है कि औरत के लिए खरीद रहा हूँ। आपको मालूम होगा कि काफी पुराने जमाने में आदमी भी गले में सोने की जंजीर पहनते थे और हाथ में अंगूठी पहना करते थे। लेकिन अब यह रिवाज धीरे-धीरे खत्म हो रहा है और उसी तरह से हम अगर इस गोल्ड कंट्रोल को जारी रखेंगे तो धीरे-धीरे औरतें भी जेवर पहिनना छोड़ देंगी। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि औरतों की ओर से जो यह कहा जाता है कि औरतें गोल्ड कंट्रोल को नहीं चाहती हैं, बिल्कुल झूठ बात है। औरतें तो सिर्फ 14 कैरेट सोने के जेवर डालती हों ऐसा ही नहीं पर कास्ट्यूम ज्यूली डालती हैं। इसलिए इस गोल्ड कंट्रोल को खत्म करना नहीं चाहिये।

मैंने परसों ही अखबार में पढ़ा कि हमारे देश के इन्डस्ट्रियलिस्ट यह कह रहे हैं कि हम बाजार से सोना खरीदकर सरकार को इन्टरनेशनल दाम पर दे देंगे। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि इस तरह की जो बात कही जा रही है वह गोल्ड कंट्रोल आर्डर के खिलाफ है। आज हम देखते हैं कि अखबारों में रोज गोल्ड का भाव लिखा हुआ आता है कि आज इतना भाव हो गया है। जब सारे मुल्क में गोल्ड पर कंट्रोल लगा हुआ है तो फिर यह भाव कहां से मालूम होते हैं और हमारे इन्डस्ट्रियलिस्ट किस तरह से इन्टरनेशनल भाव पर सोना सरकार को दे देंगे, मुझे इस अवसर पर एक संस्कृत का सुभाषित याद आता है जो इस प्रकार है :-

गौतमीमाता तिलेन तिलं यच्छति

अहो बत आश्चर्यमेतत् ।

इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि गौतमी माता जितना तिल लेती हैं उतना ही तिल देती है और यह एक बहुत ही आश्चर्य की बात है कि वे वगैर किसी मतलब के ऐसा करती हैं। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि यह एक सादा सवाल है कि इन्डस्ट्रियलिस्ट जो यह कहते हैं कि हम सोना खरीदकर इन्टरनेशनल दाम में सरकार को देंगे, तो उसमें अवश्य अपना ब्लैक मनी का जो सोना है वह देंगे। यही वजह है कि वे इस तरह का आफर सरकार को दे रहे हैं ताकि ब्लैकमनी जो उनके पास पड़ा है वह सरकार को आसानी के साथ सोने के रूप में दे दें। इसलिए सरकार को इन्वैस्टेड इन्टरेस्ट लोगों से सावधान रहना चाहिये और गोल्ड कंट्रोल को सख्ती के साथ लागू किया जाना चाहिये क्योंकि वे 40, 60 रु० तोले का नुकसान खाकर सरकार को सोना देना चाहते हैं। ये क्यों गवर्नमेंट पर उपकार करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं ?

गोल्ड कंट्रोल आर्डर में जो अमेन्डमेंट किया गया है कि पुराने जेवरों को नये जेवरों के रूप में बदला जा सकता है, यह सुविधा दी वह गलत है। इसकी वजह से आज सारे देश में नये जेवरात बन रहे हैं। इसलिए

मैं सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि उसे अपनी पालिसी पर सख्ती के साथ अमल करना चाहिये और एक ही पालिसी को रखना चाहिये। सरकार को अपनी पालिसी समय-समय पर बदलना नहीं चाहिये। जब एक चीज को कबूल कर लिया है तो उसको सच्चाई के साथ अमल करना चाहिये। जो स्वर्णकार हैं उन्हें जो तकलीफ होनी थी वह तो हो चुकी है और उनमें से काफी रिहैबिलिटेड हो चुके हैं और जो नहीं हो चुके हैं उनके लिए सरकार यहां मदद कर रही है। सरकार इस तरह के लोगों की जो मदद कर रही है वह मदद उन्हें 6 महीने के बाद मिलती है और हम उनकी मदद अच्छी तरह से करेंगे तो सब लोग ठीक काम धन्धे पर लग जायेंगे। लेकिन इस समय इम्पलिमेंट का काम अच्छी तरह से नहीं हो रहा है और अगर हम उसको हटा लेते हैं तो यह भी कोई उपाय नहीं है। इसलिए मैं विनती करती हूँ प्रांतीय सरकारों से यह कहा जाय कि उनकी मदद के लिए जो धन दिया जाता है उसको जल्दी से इन लोगों की भलाई पर खर्च किया जाना चाहिये। मैं सरकार को बतलाना चाहती हूँ कि औरतें गोल्ड कंट्रोल को चाहती हैं और साथ ही साथ प्रोहेबिशन को भी चाहती हैं। इसलिए मेरी सरकार से यह विनती है कि वह गोल्ड कंट्रोल को देश में सख्ती के साथ लागू करे।

अब मैं प्राइवेट सेक्टर में जिन उद्योगों को संरक्षण दिया गया है उसके बारे में कुछ कहना चाहती हूँ। सरकार ने देशी उद्योगों को कई तरह का संरक्षण दिया हुआ है। पहले चीनी को भी काफी संरक्षण दिया गया था मगर उसके दाम दिन प्रति दिन बढ़ते ही चले गये हैं और साधारण लोग अब चीनी नहीं खरीद सकते हैं। इसी तरह से मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि विटामिन 12 का चोरी से बाहर से आयात होता है और 100 ग्राम 25 रुपये को मिलता है। जो विटामिन 12 यहां पर बनती है उसके 100 ग्राम के लिए हमें 200 रु० देना पड़ता है। इसलिए मैं यह विनती करना चाहती हूँ कि जनता ने अपने त्याग से इन उद्योगों को

[श्रीमती ताराबाई साठे]

संरक्षण दिया है, मगर उन पर सरकार का कोई भी नियंत्रण नहीं है और वे जनता से मनमाने दाम लेते हैं जनता से सरकार अभी भी कितना त्याग चाहती है ? इसलिए सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि वे इस तरह के उद्योगों के ऊपर काफी नियंत्रण रखें और जब तक वह नियंत्रण नहीं रखेगी तब तक कोई फायदा जनता को नहीं हो सकता है। इसके लिए यह जरूरी है कि सरकार सख्ती से इन चीजों पर नियंत्रण करे।

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN IN THE CHAIR]

इसके साथ ही मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि हमें नियंत्रण के बारे में लोगों को शिक्षित करना चाहिये और इसके बारे में शिक्षा देने की आवश्यकता है। जब तक नियंत्रणों के बारे में हम लोगों को नहीं बतलायेंगे तब तक हम इस काम में कामयाब नहीं हो सकते हैं और न इससे फायदा ही होगा। इसके साथ ही साथ इसके बारे में हमें एक ही पालिसी रखनी चाहिये और तब ही हम इसमें कामयाबी हासिल कर सकते हैं। आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया इसलिए मैं आपको धन्यवाद देती हूँ।

SHRI M. J. J. MOIDEEN (Madras) :  
Madam Deputy Chairman, I support the Finance Bill. On the other day when I spoke on the Budget, I could not mention about one of the services which is also badly treated as the Educational Service, and this Service is the Medical Service. In India the pay of doctors in Government hospitals is rather very low when compared to other countries. That is why we find sometimes that people, technical people like doctors or engineers, try to settle down in foreign countries and also try to migrate. Of course, sometimes their passports are not very easily obtainable. Even so, they try just to get out of the country. I think their service condition should be gone into and should be bettered so that they can concentrate more on their services than their worries at home.

There is another small thing that as far as Delhi is concerned, I understand that in the CHS dispensaries the staff who are working there have to come from long distances, as they have got to attend the

dispensaries in the morning and in the evening. And they have to cycle about 50 miles or so in a day. That is rather a very hard thing. If the Government can provide some housing facilities for them nearer their dispensaries, not only can they be more efficient but they can also be available for emergencies during the nights. I just wanted to mention that.

While the Leader of the Opposition was speaking, he was referring to the high increases in the Budget in the successive years. He quoted for the last four or five years. Of course, there has been increase. But I wish he had mentioned the amount which has increased on account of new taxation or enhancement of taxation. I think the bulk of increase is not by enhancement of taxes or by new taxes, but by the existing taxes. I think that is a very healthy condition. That shows how the economic progress of the country is going on. Of course, in a welfare country, in a developing country you need progressively increased budget figures, and when the economy develops, the revenues also increase accordingly.

Madam, I am rather disappointed to find in press reports that there is a proposal for retrenchment in Government services, particularly in the States and in the Central Government services they want to retrench the N.G.O.s up to 7½ per cent. On the face of it it may be a small number, but they being an important section of the lower middle class, I think it will disrupt, to some extent, the society and the economy of the country also. When some retrenchment is effected, they have to change their habits of life which they have already established on account of their employments. Sometimes they may have to withdraw their children from schools, and do some such things. I wish, instead of thinking of retrenchment, necessary funds are found both at the Centre and in the States for the purpose. Well, retrenchment is a short cut. But that does not augur well in a developing economy. I can cite an instance which comes to my mind just now. In the year 1929 there was a chain of bank crashes in America, and the effect of it was that not only the American economy got shattered but it affected economic conditions all over the world. I think in 1931 or so, the price level reached its bottom throughout the world and when there was the Presidential election in 1931



very few people came forward to shoulder the responsibility of President. Of course, Mr. Roosevelt took courage and accepted the Presidentship, and the first thing that he did was to introduce what was known as the "New Deal". He asked everybody to do something. He exhorted them to destroy some forests, make roads and construct dams. He wanted them to do something. He asked them to demolish individual living houses also even though they were in a satisfactory condition and were useful. He asked them to rebuild new houses. Madam, construction and building is a great industry in itself. It gives employment to millions of people. As long as the money is spent within the country, it should not be considered as expenditure. It is only a healthy circulation. It is distribution of wealth amongst the people. In this way the American economy was rescued by President Roosevelt.

As for financing the schemes, he said if the people were not able to finance, he would finance them. Loans were obtained, internal and external, and overseas debentures also were floated. Therefore, foreign debentures or loans are not as bad as it has been portrayed. Sometimes such things are necessary. If President Roosevelt had not done it at that time, perhaps the American economy might have been worse than that of some of the backward countries, today. Now America occupies a very unique position.

Sometimes we hear hackneyed slogans and phrases, namely, we are so much dependent upon foreign aids and that we go about with begging bowls. Well, as far as foreign aids are concerned, I think there is not much wrong in them. I remember, Madam, that during the World Wars I and II, the Indian resources of men and material played a great part in the conduct of the Wars. But for the resources from India, I think the trend of the Wars would have been somewhat different. I can say that if the Western democracies and the U.S.S.R. are enjoying some good positions today, it is on account of the Indian aid of men and materials which was given to them, and that too in abundance, without any thought of return or benefit. So when India wants to develop, it is only fair that such countries which have benefited by India should come

to our rescue. It is just a case of mutual assistance, one nation helping the other, just like friends helping one another in their times of need. And aids are not just taken for nothing. We do want to repay them. Our people have got the will to repay. As long as this will of repayment is there, the will to work is there, there is nothing wrong in taking aids. Perhaps they would not have been needed if some of our Plans had been properly formulated. That is a different thing. But, as such, obtaining aids is not anything bad in itself. It is done by almost every country. Even the great Western democracies have done it. It is necessary to preserve democracy in India, which is absolutely necessary for the progress of the world and also for the progress of all freedom loving peoples.

Sometimes it is said that India is being sold out. How can it be sold out? It is not possible. The Minister, the other day, was saying that it is not possible. Of course, it is not possible. Sometimes the phrase "begging bowls" is used. Well, it is not taking round a begging bowl, but it is just taking aid. That is all. Of course, if our economic policies had been properly formulated, we need not have gone in for so much of these things. If only sufficient encouragement was given to agriculture—I do not say it was denied but it was not given that much of attention as was given to industrial development—we could have produced our own food. Well, I do not find fault with the Government because it has been proved that the industrial development which was given so much of importance has served us so well during the emergency against China and Pakistan. At that time we were able to produce most of our light armaments and other things in the country itself. Anyhow, if there had been proper encouragement for agricultural production, I do not think we would have been so short of foodgrains also. India has always been having a deficit in foodgrains up to 7, 8 or 9 per cent. That was the condition even in the pre-War days. There is nothing new about it. But at that time we had always favourable trade balances. Now unfortunately we are not having them. If I remember correctly, we used to export goods worth about Rs. 250 or Rs. 300 crores and the imports were only about Rs. 150 crores

[Shri M. J. J. Moideen]

or so worth of goods. If the same quantum had been maintained, we could have earned about Rs. 1,200 or Rs. 1,500 crores of foreign exchange every year, but we are not doing it. That is because our agricultural programmes were not given that importance which they deserved and on the top of it export and import controls have done great harm to our production. Of course, in the days of War it was all right, because they are considered as war evils and sometimes a curse. But after that there was no need for having such controls. Exports and imports could have been regulated better by fiscal policies rather than by relying on controls. Controls do not always react quickly to the needs of the markets and also for internal purposes and because of these controls we have lost many markets and that has greatly affected our foreign exchange earnings. That is why we have to go in for loans, aids and all that sort of things. We have also to depend more and more on food imports, more than what we used to do on former occasions.

I may be permitted to say, Madam, that since independence our production of cereals has nearly doubled but still they are not sufficient. It is not only the growing population in India which is responsible but it is also the increase in *per capita* consumption which is responsible for this shortage. Before the War, the *per capita* consumption was only about 12 ounces or so; now it is more than 20 ounces. Production can be increased only if it is made worth while for the farmer to produce more. Price controls and distribution controls will on the other hand affect the production.

In a country like India where the increase in demand for food is two-pronged it is absolutely necessary that food production is subsidised. The Food Corporation has come into existence. It can be better used for subsidising the food production indirectly. The Food Corporation can buy paddy or wheat at somewhat higher prices than those ruling in the market and sell rice or flour—in some different forms—at a cheaper price. In that way food production can be subsidised and all the food distribution would also come under Government control but on a voluntary basis, not on a compulsory basis. What we find

is that production is going down. Of course this year drought is responsible but last time also when there was rationing there were drought conditions. Rationing was abolished in 1951. The condition then was considered to be the worst. But immediately after rationing was abolished the situation improved and immediately it became all right. This time, in the last quarter of 1964 we had bumper crops and our production was nearly as much as our target. Our production in that year was about 88 million tons while the target was only 89 million tons. It was at that time that the price control was thought of. I do not know why it was done. That has really hampered our production. I think we have to again go into that question and also the question of controls on exports and imports.

About gold control, Madam, many have said so many things. I do not want to say much. The only thing I want to say is that at that time when gold control was brought in, I wrote to Shri Morarji Desai that it would not serve the purpose for which it was brought, *i.e.* to unearth the hidden gold and also to stop smuggling. I think the hidden gold did not come out and smuggling also did not stop. On the other hand, there is more and more smuggling because there is a higher premium on gold nowadays. I think, as many people say, it should be scraped. (*Time bell rings.*)

Well, I think my time is up. If I have anything else to say, I shall write to the Finance Minister. Thank you.

SHRI K. DAMODARAN (Kerala) : Madam Deputy Chairman, the Finance Bill which seeks to give effect to the Budget proposals for 1966-67 cannot be discussed on the basis of this relief or that relief, on the basis of this amendment or that amendment. It cannot be discussed in isolation from the general state of the economy of our country. Does it lead the country towards prosperity on the basis of industrialisation, on the basis of the development of agriculture, education and so on? Or does it lead to more and more pauperisation of the people? Does it strengthen the economy in general or does it weaken it? Does it help to build up an independent economy or does it increase our dependence on foreign monopoly capital? It is claimed that the burden of taxation is distributed evenly so that the economically weaker sections may have less of the rigour. It

is also claimed that it provides incentives to industrialists so that industrial development is encouraged. On the one hand it is argued as Mr. Dharía has said, that more and more taxation and indirect taxes have become necessary for the sake of industrialisation, that without taxation no industrialisation is possible. At the same time it is argued that more and more concessions should be given to the industrialists because otherwise they will not have any incentive to produce. The first assumption is totally wrong. A look at the increasing and devastating rise in the indirect taxes is enough to show that the poorer sections of society and even the middle classes have not benefited from the financial policies of the Government. One must be a very bold man who can assert that the people have been benefited. The cost of living has been steadily increasing. Prices are every day going up, soaring high. Unemployment is increasing and the rich are becoming richer every day and the poor are becoming poorer and poorer. Everybody is stating such things. The second assumption is only a half truth. It is true that year after year all sorts of concessions are given to the industrialists, of course, in the name of planned development. The present Bill also is no exception and the withdrawal of the Expenditure tax, the provision regarding bonus shares, the exemptions given in the Dividend tax etc. are all examples. It is argued that such concessions are intended to encourage the industrialists. According to the Government taxation for the poor and concessions for the rich are the steps for encouraging industrialisation in the country. But in spite of such concessions and in spite of such heavy taxation on the poor, industrialisation today has reached the point of stagnation. That is what we find and everybody has begun to speak about it. It is not going up. It is stagnant. After three Five Year Plans the rate of growth is lower than that in most of the Asian countries, even countries which do not speak of socialism. The rate of growth in India is lower than that in Burma, Malaysia, Korea and Australia. It is lower than even that of Pakistan. The rate of growth in Pakistan is 4.4 per cent while that of India is only 3.3 per cent. What is the basic cause for this stagnation? The basic cause for this stagnation is that although the profits of the industrialists—I mean those of the bigger ones—have

increased to an enormous extent and the taxation on the people has also increased to an enormous extent, the purchasing power of the people in general, has steadily gone down. If an industry is to prosper it is not enough if the industrialist is allowed to amass more and more profits. It is not enough if the industrialist is allowed to invest more and more capital in his industry. No industry can prosper without an expanding market. Capital formation depends on the growing purchasing power of the people. Industrialisation and a growing market, the growth of industries and the growth of the purchasing power of the people, these are indivisible. If you arrest one the other will not succeed. But the financial policies of this Government hit at this vital point and in order to solve this dilemma they are now seeking to find outlets in other developing countries by the export of capital and so on. This is also bound to fail. Of course it is necessary to cooperate with other countries in their effort to develop themselves. It is necessary to help them as far as it is possible for us to do that. I am not against that sort of thing. But I find that today this has also come not from our strength but from our weakness and this is bound to fail because these developing countries will not allow us to play with their destinies for any length of time. This policy of safeguarding the profits of the individual big capitalists at the expense of the people, the policy of giving them more and more concessions at the expense of the purchasing power of the people, the policy of heavier and heavier taxes on the people, they all constitute a bankrupt policy because it defeats its own purpose of industrialisation. This policy will not help industrialisation. On the other hand it will lead to the non-utilisation of even the existing capacities of the industries and that process has already begun. Many industries today are not able to utilise their existing capacities, leave alone expansion and many are thinking of closing down. Factories will close down because factories can exist only if they are able to sell their products and they will not be able to sell their products if you take away money from the pockets of the people which has to be used for buying those goods. And so this will not result in the prosperity or industrialisation of the country, but it will result in the pauperisation of the people.

[Shri K. Damodaran]

My hon. friend Shri Dharia referred to the Report of the Monopolies Commission. That Report is a charge-sheet against the Government's policy of encouraging the rich at the cost of the poor and middle class people in India. It is stated in that Report that 75 big groups of industrialists are controlling 1,536 companies in our country. In all there are 25,661 companies and out of these 25,661 companies that are there in the private sector, 75 big groups control as many as 1,536 companies and these 75 big groups which are controlling these 1,536 companies have an asset of not less than Rs. 2,606 crores which happens to be 46 per cent of the total paid-up capital in the land. These 75 groups own 46.3 per cent of the total paid-up capital or about half of it. As much as 46.3 per cent is with these 75 groups and this is not an accident. It is the policy of the Government that has raised these 75 groups to such a commanding height. The Government's financial policy has helped them to raise capital. The licensing policy of the Government has favoured these 75 groups by preventing the smaller industrialists from entering the field of large-scale production, and the Government's export-import policy has helped these 75 groups by creating protected markets for them and the foreign collaborators, of course, have also helped them. These 75 groups in collaboration with the foreign capitalists are today controlling the greater part of our economy. They are also trying to control the Government itself. This is how the Directive Principles of our Constitution are being implemented. This is how the Industrial Policy Resolution which envisages the prevention of the growth of private monopolies and the concentration of economic power in the hands of a small number of individuals is being implemented.

The Government seems to think that the success of the Five Year Plan depends not on the people but on the whims and fancies of these 75 groups and their foreign collaborators. Some speakers defended aid. I am not against getting foreign aid. The question is not whether foreign aid is to be accepted or not. The question is whether we have to submit to pressures from the aid-giving countries. It is being said that there has been no pressure at all. But naturally they can use pressure as a weapon to get more and more concessions. They

naturally try to change the declared policies of the country. I do not want to speak about the uproar created in the country by the Government's policy of allowing majority shares to the Americans in the fertilizer field. It is only a pointer. It points to the fact that the Industrial Policy Resolution is virtually dead. The pressure from the World Bank and the Agency for International Development is steadily increasing. I do not say that the Government has completely surrendered to their pressure but the World Bank and the aid-giving countries are putting so much pressure for liberalisation of imports, decontrol of essential commodities, devaluation of the rupee and revision of the principles underlying the Five Year Plans and so on and so forth, and the Government, step by step, is submitting to this pressure. The growth of the economy of the country cannot be safeguarded under this policy. The economy of the country can be saved not by submitting to pressures but by resisting such pressures by a firm stand to build the economy of our country on the basis of more and more prosperity of the people, not at the cost of the people, but on the basis of the prosperity of the people. The alternative will be disaster, crisis, chaos and anarchy. It is high time that the Government changes its basic policies.

Thank you, Madam.

SHRI K. SUNDARAM (Madras) : Madam Deputy Chairman, the year 1966 had a surprise from Mr. Krishnamachari, the former Finance Minister who presented the nation with a gift of his resignation. The entire commercial, industrial and trading community welcomed it. Thus a back-door entrant to the most-coveted portfolio of the Central Cabinet found an honourable retreat to Tambaram to speculate about the mysterious explosions which are puzzling the seismographists of that city. There was yet another surprise sprung by our late Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, who accepted the resignation without any hesitation and without giving any time for speculation, canvassing or pressurisation.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri when he assumed the Chairmanship of the Planning Commission said that everything was not well with the economy of the nation and he did make a bold attempt to reverse the adverse trends in our economy. With his

demise the new Finance Minister was left without the dynamism and courage to work for a quick recovery of the country's economy.

Coming to the Bill proper, it seems to have been prepared in haste and most probably with the help of the notes left by the former Finance Minister. Obviously, it has no relation to the conditions of the country today. The Finance Minister in Part A of his Budget Speech has conceded (1) the inadequate performance of the economy, (2) the sluggishness of the capital market, (3) the pressure on the balance of payments and (4) the rise in prices of essential commodities.

In subsequent paragraphs he has also mentioned the remedies for the maladies of the economy such as increasing agricultural and industrial production, maintaining price stability and curbing inflationary pressures in the economy. Having set out the objectives and goals to be achieved, unfortunately no attempt has been made to achieve them. The Finance Minister says—I am quoting him :

“First and foremost, the Budget has to be production-oriented, creating a better psychological climate with a greater regard to savings and efficiency all round.”

Madam Deputy Chairman, I have exercised in futility to find in the present Budget proposals, any provisions or incentives for increased production, 1966 having been announced as the Productivity Year by this Government has been greeted by the textile labour of Bombay by a 14-day strike, a Bombay Bandh, followed by Calcutta Bandh and Delhi Bandh, then Air-India Bandh, then I.A.C. Bandh, the N.G.O. Bandh, the Students Bandh, the chronic Electricity Bandh and finally water supply Bandh in several cities.

**SHRI V. M. CHORDIA :** The solution for all this lies in the Congress Bandh.

**SHRI K. SUNDARAM :** Who is responsible for these Bandhs which is but the symptom of the agitated and frustrated mind of all sectors of people driven to the extreme by the countless anti-economic measures which the Government are adopting in the name of their political ideology? The out-riddled approach persists incessantly even in this Bill. People who are already harassed for want of resources to provide

the bare necessities of life are being made to pay still higher prices even during the current fiscal year in the shape of indirect taxes on essential commodities like textiles, kerosene, diesel, tobacco and sugar. The shortage of diesel and kerosene has been persisting in our country ever since we found our own oil. The malady of such commodities is that they have been getting the most cruel treatment at the hands of successive Ministers. The present Finance Minister tactlessly increased the taxes by 50 per cent on kerosene and diesel oil and he owes an explanation to this House justifying this increase on these two commodities.

In spite of the heavy stocks of sugar in the factories the country is artificially starved of the supply of sugar which is being rationed in the country. Is the increased tax on sugar conducive to increased production?

Coming to textile yarn and cloth, the excise duty has been increased by about 37.5 crores of rupees. This is not the first time that this commodity is being taxed. For the last several years successive Finance Ministers have been taxing this industry right and left on the top of the taxes levied by every other authority in the States and in the Centre who has the authority to levy taxes. For the last six months the textile industry has been passing through very difficult times on account of accumulated stocks, shortage of working funds and so many other factors. At a time like this, when they are unable to make both ends meet, does this extra taxation help increase production? No. Mill after mill has been closing down and in such mills there are instances where the labour is coming forward to defer its wages the management has offered to forego its remuneration, but the Government has refused to forego even a part of its taxation. Is it conducive to increased production? Definitely the Budget is not production-oriented. The blow of additional taxation on cotton yarn is so heavy, Rs. 7.5 crores, that most of the mills are finding it difficult even to survive. On a representation by all the people concerned with cotton yarn to the Finance Minister, some relief of Rs. 2.5 crores has been given, but much needs to be done still.

I am very glad that the Finance Minister has conceded that the cotton yarn position is really bad. Can the present Finance

[Shri K. Sundaram]

Minister plead ignorance that the cotton lint has undergone various taxes by the time it has arrived in the mill and afterwards the cotton yarn is taxed? When it is converted into cloth, it is taxed. The cloth is taxed when it is bleached. When it is dyed, it is again taxed. The dye used on the cloth is taxed. When it is Mercerised it is taxed and the dyed cloth, when it is Sanforised, is again taxed and finally when the cloth is sold there is again the sales tax. I am sure the Finance Minister knows that there is something as the law of diminishing returns. Tax burden in this case has reached the saturation point and diminishing returns have started already. The result is that production is suffering. We have high costs, high prices and low production.

Studying the conditions of the textile industry as a whole and persecution of this industry with a vengeance, year after year by successive Finance Ministers, one has to conclude that the Government is determined to strangle the industry as a whole and the cotton spinning industry in particular, which is a major industry of Madras State. This is the oldest, biggest and organised industry in the private sector. They have met the challenge on every front squarely, both on the home front and export front, and they have fulfilled the targets fixed much ahead of the Plans, while every other industry and the public sector as a whole has failed miserably. If the hon. Minister is really interested in increasing production, he should have suggested excise remissions for increased production by rehabilitation and modernisation and help the industry to get out of its present tight position. On the contrary, the industry, which has paid ungrudgingly all the excise levies, does not get even credit facilities. As for the treatment which the industry gets at the hands of the excise authorities, it is nothing short of humiliation, harassment and contempt. All excisable commodities are treated as though they are explosives like gun powder. It is long overdue measure to recast the outdated excise rules originally used for gun powder alcohol and narcotics by the Britishers.

Normally there is a busy season and a slack season, but now there is a pre-Budget and a post-Budget season. These are avoidable impediments to production. By abolishing the Expenditure tax, the tax structure has been simplified, but the demand

notices of this simplified structure were prepared on electronic computers in March in Madras city.

The Minister of Industry very recently mentioned about the liberalisation of industrial licences. Only last year equity shares dropped by more than 15.8 per cent. Millions of small shareholders have lost the value of their shareholdings. In spite of that there has been a ten per cent increase on corporates taxes. Now, on this liberalisation of industrial licensing, I wish the Industry Minister every success and good luck, so that there will be a mushroom growth of industries and we will have more vacant seats in the 404 flights of Air-India. Apart from these taxes, there are several crores which the non-tax-payers are paying by way of indirect taxes. They will be the poorer to that extent next year.

Coming to exports, the Madras State Electricity Board last month refused to provide additional power to fulfil export commitments already made. That is the attitude that you take. If that is the case, how does our Finance Minister expect to fulfil all those targets of exports? Even the tax credit certificates are still in the air. After export performance, the value of the licences that were granted, was arbitrarily cut and the exporters have completely lost confidence in the Government.

The Finance Minister pleaded that the States had made unauthorised overdrafts to an alarming proportion. This only confirms that even the States are bankrupt. The Finance Minister has extended concessions wherever representations were made. Before submitting to the Lok Sabha, there were some concessions made. Before submitting to the Rajya Sabha some concessions were made. And if there is still more pressure, any amount of concession will be forthcoming. That is the nature of the Budget that we are facing today.

The threat to abolish the managing agency system has completely shattered the confidence of the private sector. Therefore, there is a crisis of confidence in the present Government for any industrial development.

Lastly, when we compare Part A with Part B of the Finance Ministers Budget Speech, it is evident that one has no bearing whatsoever on the other. Part A is the

real analytical study of the economy of the country and Part B is nothing but an exercise for parliament to hoodwink democracy. During the last five years the actual tax collections were double that of the budgeted amount. Whenever there is a shortfall, the Minister comes out with an interim Budget, a supplementary Budget or a 'give me more' Budget. but whenever there is excess collection, they conveniently forget it and do not mention anything about it. Instead they start lending money, without the sanction of Parliament, to the States and ask for more. If such a thing happens in the corporate sector, the individual could be put behind the bars, but the Ministers are a privileged class.

If hon. Members allow this Bill to be passed, we would have crossed the 'no return' line, not for taking off, but for a suicidal crash.

Thank you.

4 P.M.

**SHRI V. C. KESAVA RAO** (Andhra Pradesh) : Madam, at the outset I congratulate the Finance Minister for giving some concessions in the tax structure of the Finance Bill. Madam, since independence the country has taken up in right earnest the question of developing the country in many ways. Under the leadership of the late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, in the three Five Year Plans, the country has developed to a large extent. When we have taken up these development schemes and are trying to improve our economic situation, in 1962 the Chinese aggression to a certain extent, has stopped our progress. Not only that, in 1963 the rise in the prices of foodgrains, specially consumer goods also made some hindrance in our progress. Last year, in 1965, the Pakistani aggression made us understand where we stand. After going through these difficulties we have come to understand certain problems which we have to face.

Now the main problem before the country in its economic development is the crisis of rising prices, crisis in the investment market and crisis in foreign exchange. During the First, Second and Third Five Year Plans we have solved these to a certain extent regarding the developmental schemes. We have taken up during the Second and Third Five Year Plans the basic industries like steel and electricity. You are aware that steel is a basic industry for

all the other industries. When steel is supplied at a lower rate to the producer, the producer wants to make profit out of it. When the Government in the public sector are producing steel for the basic industries, the private sector industries want the steel at a lower price to make profit out of it.

Then, Madam, we all know that due to our plans of improving this industry, specially the steel industry, we have, to a certain extent, neglected the basic industries like food production. That does not mean that we have completely neglected food but to a certain extent we have not thought of producing more. We thought of improving our economy by industrialising our country. But the food problem is the main problem and we have not given much thought to produce more food. Only now we realise that the country is short of food. In addition to that, the population is growing fast. In one way we have to care more for food production and in another way we have to stop the population growth. Of course under family planning money has been spent and is being spent, but the results are not to our expectations. I am afraid that due to the neglect of these two problems we are now facing a difficult situation. I think we cannot overnight change the situation. So we have to plan in a proper way. We have to change the pattern of our plan to produce more consumer articles and produce more food. How to produce more food? For some years we have been telling the cultivators that they must use fertilizers, and now the cultivators have started using fertilizers. When they have started using fertilizers and they want fertilizers, we are not in a position to give them. I know that in my area people go to Mysore, Andhra Pradesh and Madras, to purchase manure supplied to those States by the Centre. Those States, of course, may be using this fertilizer supplied to them but not to the same extent. So, the cultivator is forced to purchase the fertilizer at a higher price and use the fertilizer for his lands. But in a State like Andhra Pradesh these fertilizers are not supplied to the requirements of the cultivators. Now, Madam, we are thinking of having fertilizer factories. Andhra Pradesh, as everybody knows, is mostly an agricultural State and agriculture is the most important industry of the people. They produce more, I am glad that recently the Food Minister, Mr Subramaniam, has visited the State and

[Shri V. C. Kesava Rao] congratulated our cultivators for taking to new methods of production of foodgrains, especially rice. But I have to say, Madam, that it is only lip sympathy when fertilizers are not given to them. Recently we have been thinking of starting fertilizer factories. The State of Andhra Pradesh has requested for a public sector fertilizer factory, but the Government has not come forward to give a factory to Andhra Pradesh. When we, Members of Parliament, from Andhra Pradesh met the Minister, he said that "You can have it in the private sector". He has given it to somebody in the private sector and he has not come forward so far to start this fertilizer factory. Now we are thinking of having it somewhere else where the fertilizers are not necessary. So, I request the Government to consider in which State we can start this fertilizer factory where it is useful and where it will produce more.

Then another thing. Only fertilizers will not be able to produce more. We have to give some water also. We are all aware that the Nagarjunasagar project was started ten years back. The State Government is not in a position to finance the entire project. Its anticipated cost was only Rs. 43 crores but now it has gone up to Rs. 153 crores. Every year the State Government comes to the Centre asking for loan; they have even been requesting that the Centre may take over this Nagarjunasagar Project. A project which costs Rs. 153 crores is really a very big thing for a State to carry out. I do not know why the Central Government is shy in taking over a project like this. If that project is completed, we will be able to produce more than half of what we are importing now from other countries, especially from America. If that project is completed in a year or two, we expect that eight lakhs of acres could be brought under cultivation. I request the Central Government to consider whether it is wise or not to take over this Nagarjunasagar Project and finance it from the Centre.

Then in regard to the production of foodgrains, apart from fertilizers and water, we want some assistance to be given to the cultivators. The cultivators, we know, are not rich. They require credit. So when a cultivator asks for credit, at least we can give them some money as loan or fertiliser. But this is not available. And if a cultivator wants Rs. 100, he has to spend at

least one-fourth of it on the officers who give the loan. And if this kind of thing goes on, I do not know how long the cultivator will be able to survive. Another thing. The cultivator wants electricity also. Where there is no irrigation facility, where there is no canal system, the cultivators dig tube-wells. They take out water from there and produce foodgrains. Where the cultivators come forward to have 'well-cultivation' is it not the duty of the Government to give them subsidy or loan to dig wells? In certain cases the digging of a well may cost more than Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 6,000. And if they have to dig very deep into the ground, the well may cost more. Is it not the duty of the Government to finance digging of these wells and have a common system of having tube-wells and supplying water to the cultivators? I know, in certain areas, especially during this year, we have drought conditions with practically no water available for drinking also. I had the opportunity of visiting some villages. At every village the people said that there was no water for drinking or for the cattle. So people are going and getting pots of water from miles away. And when drought conditions prevail, is it not the duty of the Government to see that they deepen wells, or get water from distant places either through small canals or even carry water, if necessary, through lorries and supply it to the people as well as the cattle? Conditions are like this. We are now seeing famine conditions in Orissa which was a surplus State; famine conditions exist in Mysore and famine conditions are there in parts of Andhra Pradesh. So, considering all these things, is it not necessary that we honestly take up irrigation works and dig canals in the various parts of the country and see that something is done in the matter? And how long have we to depend upon the foreign countries for foodgrains? We know that the countries giving food to us are laying down conditions. They want us to produce food in our country; they want that our agriculture should improve. So, the Central Government should seriously think of improving the agricultural conditions and of providing irrigation facilities. In addition to these big projects, there are many other ways of giving water to the cultivators. We can have minor and medium-sized irrigation projects, we can dig tanks, we can have some bunds constructed here and there and



give water to the cultivators. I can boldly say that if we can provide these facilities to the cultivators, our country will be able to produce what is necessary for the people of this country.

In addition to these, we have to see that something is done as regards family planning. Of course, money is being spent but the people are not taking to it very seriously. Some people say that it is a mockery. Some people think that it is just a farce. But we have to think of the future. Other countries succeeded in this; we have to take lessons from those countries and stop this population growth. If this population growth is not checked, there is no end to it and we will not be able to survive and, to survive, we have to find out methods of stopping this population growth and producing more foodgrains.

Another thing is that our country is not producing tractors for the use of the cultivators. We are getting some tractors from Russia. But previously we were having tractors from America and England. But now the cultivators are finding it very difficult to get spare parts for use in those old tractors. The Government should see that some spares are also imported and help these people to do cultivation by tractors. Unless this is done, the cultivators who purchased the tractors at an enormous cost will have to throw them away and they will suffer.

Another thing which I want to mention here is the foreign exchange difficulty. We know that the difficulty is there. We have to find out ways and means of exporting our articles to the foreign countries. I heard recently that especially last year they stopped the export of molasses. Our country has got hundreds of sugar factories and we produce thousands of tonnes of molasses and it is wasted. Last year some States came forward and said that this molasses might be used as cattle fodder. But the molasses meant as cattle fodder is being used for illicit distillation purposes. So, if cattle fodder is manufactured from this molasses, we can easily find out what are the other ingredients used. They have to use bran and other things, and we can easily find out what is the amount of cattle fodder they have produced from molasses. I do not want to mention that molasses is being used for illicit distillation and people

are making profit out of it and the Government is losing revenue from it.

Another thing is this. By exporting this molasses we used to earn a lot of foreign exchange. That has been stopped now. I think the Central Government will reconsider their decision on this matter and see that molasses which is wasted in the country is exported and that foreign exchange is earned.

Then another point that I have to raise is about housing for the rural people. In the Budget also some amount has been set apart. Who is using this money set apart for housing? Numbers of families have increased. In every village you will find three or four families living in a small hut. The poor people, especially, agriculture labour and the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribe people require a plot of land. They require money for the construction of their houses. But the money given for housing is going into the hands of the rich people. They form co-operative societies. Everywhere a man having two houses tries to have a third one. Everybody knows what they are doing in the co-operative societies. In the cities, specially urban areas, all these housing societies are formed by the rich people. Actually the poor man, who has no shelter, is going without any shelter and we would not get even a pie from either the Central or the State Government to construct a small hut for himself. I request the Government to consider that this amount should be utilised for the poorer section in the rural areas.

Another thing, Madam. In the urban areas there is disparity in incomes. Everybody knows that people in the cities have got black money. The rich are becoming richer and the poor are becoming poorer. The rich purchase more and more houses, sell them and get more money.

Then, there is disparity between the employees of the Central Government and the State Governments. My friend, who spoke before me, was saying that there are all kinds of Bundhs proposed in the States. Recently our State Government employees also wanted it, but somehow it was averted. The State Government employees are not getting good salaries. Unless we give some money towards an increase in their salaries, the State Governments are not in a position to give a rise. I, therefore, request the Central Government either to subsidise

[Shri V. C. Kesava Rao]

or to give some amount for the purpose to enable them to give some more money to the low-paid employees.

Finally, I just want to mention only one thing, namely, road transport. Our railway system is good enough but it is not in a position to carry all the goods. So we have to develop road transport. For that we have to spend more money on highways. The highway between Madras and Calcutta, that too between Bezpada and Madras is so bad. I do not know whether any repairs are being undertaken this year. Every year rains and floods wash away a bridge and the traffic is dislocated. Therefore, I request the Government to see that our national highways are developed. They should see that money is spent for developing these roads. It is not a waste. The traffic on the roads is paying heavily, especially the lorry and the bus traffic. Therefore, spending on this would not be a waste to us as we are getting revenue from this traffic. Therefore, the Government should consider giving some more money for the development of national highways.

**श्री सुखदेव प्रसाद (उत्तर प्रदेश).** उप-सभा-पति महोदया, मैं आज इस फाइनेंस बिल का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। माननीय फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर ने सदन के सामने जो बिल प्रस्तुत किया है, मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ। इस बिल के संबंध में बहुत सारी बातें हमारे दल की ओर से और विरोधी दल की ओर से कही गई हैं। मैंने उन सब बातों को ध्यानपूर्वक सुना और उस पर गौर किया।

जहां तक देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को सुधारने का प्रश्न है, मैं समझता हूँ कि काफी मात्रा में इसमें गुंजायश है। माननीय वित्त-मंत्री जी ने बहुत सौच समझकर बिल को प्रस्तुत किया है और देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को सुधारने के लिए जो कुछ भी सम्भव प्रयत्न हो सकते हैं वे उन्होंने अपने साधनों को देखते हुए किये हैं। इस बात के लिए मैं उन्हें तहे दिल से बधाई देता हूँ।

महोदया, पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश के लिए मैं एक बात आपके द्वारा माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि उत्तर प्रदेश का जो पूर्वी हिस्सा है वह

ज्यादातर गरीब है। कारण यह है कि वहाँ के ज्यादातर लोग खेती करने वाले हैं, खेती-हर मजदूर हैं, और वहाँ पर कोई इंडस्ट्री नहीं है। एक आध इंडस्ट्री जो छोटी मोटी चल रही है, उससे वहाँ की समस्या हल होने वाली नहीं है। इसलिए मैं आपके द्वारा उनसे यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश के लिए वे अधिक इंडस्ट्री की व्यवस्था करें तो अति उत्तम होगा। इसके साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि बृहत्त गंडक योजना जो केन्द्र द्वारा संचालित हो रही है अगर उसमें विजली उत्पादन करने का काम जल्दी से किया जायेगा तो मैं समझता हूँ वहाँ पर इंडस्ट्री बहुत ज्यादा डेवलप कर सकती हैं।

पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश में चीनी की मिलें बहुत अधिक हैं और वहाँ का किसान कौश क्रीप के रूप में शूगरकेन यानी गन्ना ही पैदा करता है और उस गन्ने को ले जाकर वह चीनी मिलों को देता है। लेकिन मैं इस संबंध में यह ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जिस गन्ने को किमान साल भर मेहनत कर के पैदा करता है, कभी कभी ऐसा होता है कि मई जून तक उसके गिराने की नौबत नहीं मिल पाती है और इससे वह बेचारा बहुत परेशान हो जाता है। इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि उसकी दो तीन फसल मारी जाती है। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन यह है कि सहकारी योजना के आधार पर या कोई सरकारी योजना के आधार पर वहाँ चीनी की मिलें बढ़ाई जाँय जिससे वहाँ की शूगरकेन इंडस्ट्री को बढ़ावा मिल सके और किसानों को भी लाभ हो सके।

महोदया, एक बात गोल्ड कंट्रोल के बारे में भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि जहाँ तक इसके व्यवहारिकता का प्रश्न है, उसको देखते हुए मेरी समझ में अब इसकी आवश्यकता नहीं रह गई है। जो गोल्डस्मिथ हैं उनके परिवारों के लिए उन्हें पुनर्स्थापित करने के लिए, उनके पुनर्वास के

लिए हम तरह तरह के कार्य कर रहे हैं। उनके लिए हम पेंशन की व्यवस्था कर रहे हैं, नौकरी की व्यवस्था कर रहे हैं और इसी तरह से अन्य कई तरह के कार्य उनको बसाने के लिए कर रहे हैं। लेकिन हम इन सब बातों को करते हुए भी इससे उतना फायदा नहीं उठा रहे हैं जितना कि हमने आशा की थी। आज पुराने सोने के नाम पर नये सोने के गहने गढ़े जा रहे हैं और बाजार में बिक रहे हैं दूकानों में तो नाममात्र दिखाने के लिए 14 कैरेट का सोना और गहने रहते हैं मगर वहां पर शुद्ध सोने के गहने मिलते रहते हैं। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि हम इन लोगों को हर तरह की सुविधा दे रहे हैं, पेंशन दे रहे हैं लेकिन ये फिर भी बेकार हैं। इसलिए मैं समझता हूं कि उनके साकार का सबसे अच्छा तरीका यह है कि इस गोल्ड कंट्रोल को हटा दिया जाय जिससे आखिरी चीज जो हमें करनी चाहिए वह हो जाय क्योंकि इस कंट्रोल को हटा देने से हमारे ऊपर कोई असर भी नहीं पड़ेगा।

महोदया, गल्ला उत्पादन के संबंध में एक निवेदन वित्त मंत्री जी से यह करना चाहता हूं कि देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था के संबंध में जो छिछालेदार इस समय हो रही है उस का कारण गल्ले के उत्पादन में कमी है। गल्ले के उत्पादन में कमी होने की वजह से हमें विदेशों से गल्ला मंगाना पड़ रहा है और इसके लिए अरबों रुपया खर्च करना पड़ रहा है। जिस धन राशि को हम अपनी इंडस्ट्रीज और दूसरे माधनों पर लगा सकते थे, उसे हम गल्ला मंगाने के लिए लगा रहे हैं। गल्ले का जहां तक सवाल है, हमारी भारत भूमि उपजाऊ है। यह सर्वमान्य सत्य है कि यदि हम को पूरे साधन मिलें तो हम जापान से, चीन से, अमेरिका से भी गल्ले के मामले में बाजी मार ले जा सकते हैं। हमारे किसानों ने इस तरह की बात कर के दिखाई है। जितनी की अन्य कीर्तिमान देशों के लोगों ने प्रति एकड़ गल्ले की

पैदावार स्थापित की है उससे कहीं अधिक पैदावार हमारे देश के किसानों ने कर के दिखला दिया है। लेकिन, महोदया, यह बात सर्वसुलभ नहीं है क्योंकि देश के अन्दर बहुत सारे किसान इस तरह के हैं जिनके पास न पानी का साधन है और न किसी प्रकार के सुधरे तरीके के औजार हैं जिस से वे परेशान हैं कि वे खेती को बढ़ावें तो कैसे बढ़ावें।

महोदया, ट्यूबवेल और नहरें देश के अन्दर बन रही हैं और उनके बनने के साथ साथ किसानों की पैदावार बढ़ रही है। लेकिन हमारे एक साथी ने अभी अभी यह माग की है कि आंध्र प्रदेश में ट्यूबवैल्स और दूसरी चीजों में सरकार को किसी किसिम की छूट देनी चाहिये। मेरे ख्याल में जहां तक हमारे यू० पी० प्रांत का सवाल है, वहां पर केन्द्र सरकार द्वारा इस तरह की एक नई योजना हाल में चालू हुई है जिसके अर्न्तगत यह व्यवस्था रखी गई है कि जो कोई भी सिंचाई के लिये ट्यूबवैल लगाना चाहता है उसको उस पर आधी छूट सरकार दे देगी और आधी उस पर कर्ज के रूप में रहेगी। मैं समझता हूं कि इसमें भी किसानों को काफी लाभ होगा और वे सिंचाई के साधनों को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये काफी तैयार होंगे जिसमें कि वे अपनी पैदावार को भी बढ़ा सकेंगे।

महोदया, जहां तक गल्ले के नियंत्रण का प्रश्न है, मैंने शुरू से इसके खिलाफ एक आवाज उठाई है। देखना यह है कि जिन एरियाज में यह गल्ले का नियंत्रण होता है वहां सरकार कितना खरीद व फरोस्त कर पाती है। मैं अपने गोरखपुर में ट्रांस-राप्ती एरिया में गल्ले के नियंत्रण के बारे में बतलाना चाहता हूं कि वहां चावल का नियंत्रण है जहां से कि कोई भी चावल का व्यापार प्राइवेट सेक्टर में नहीं कर सकता। लेकिन मैं यह देखता हूं कि वहां पर सरकार बहुत कम गल्ला खरीद पाती है और वहां

[श्री सुखदेव प्रसाद]

से सारे का सारा गल्ला ब्लैकमार्केट से या अन्य साधनों से बाहर चला जाता है। कंट्रोल से पहले जैसे गल्ला वहाँ से बाहर चला जाता था वैसे ही अब भी चला जाता है और अब भी वहाँ कोई कंट्रोल नहीं मालूम होता है। चाहे कोई सरकारी अधिकारी हो या कोई दूसरा हो वे पैसे के लालच में वहाँ से गल्ला बराबर बाहर निकालते चले जा रहे हैं। इस प्रकार वहाँ पर जो कंट्रोल लागू है उससे सरकार का कोई लाभ नहीं हो पा रहा है।

आज खाद के पाने की जैसी व्यवस्था है उस व्यवस्था के बारे में एक बात सब से जरूरी यह है कि फर्टिलाइजर (रसायनिक खाद) का आज किसान अभ्यस्त हो गया है। यद्यपि वह गोबर की खाद तैयार कर रहा है, दूसरी किस्म की खाद तैयार कर रहा है लेकिन वह देखता है कि गोबर की खाद के मुकाबिले में रासायनिक खाद से पैदावार कहीं अधिक बढ़ रही है, इसलिये वह रासायनिक खाद की ज्यादा मांग कर रहा है। अभी हमारे आन्ध्र के माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि उनके यहाँ खाद की कमी है। लेकिन मुझे भी यह कहना है कि हमारे उत्तर भारत की जो बहुत सारी रासायनिक खाद होती है वह अधिक दाम दे कर दक्षिण भारत में खरीद कर के ले जाई जा रही है जिससे हम लोग खाद नहीं पा रहे हैं। यह सब से बड़ी समस्या हमारे सामने है। बहुत सारे लोगों ने इस बात की शिकायत की है कि हमारे यहाँ के जो व्यापारी हैं वे खाद को खरीद कर के दक्षिण भारत में भेजते रहे हैं और इससे हमारे उत्तर भारत में रासायनिक खाद नहीं मिल पा रही है। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि इसका हर प्रांत का कोटा अलग-अलग बांध दिया जाय क्योंकि मैं समझता हूँ कि इसका कोटा बन्धने के साथ-साथ हमारी रासायनिक खाद की समस्या भी हल हो जायगी।

जहाँ तक महंगाई का प्रश्न है, यह एक सर्वमान्य सत्य है और इससे कोई इनकार नहीं कर सकता कि महंगाई है और वह बढ़ती जा

रही है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस महंगाई के साथ-साथ हमारे जितने सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं वे अपनी तनख्वाह की वृद्धि की मांग करते हैं और यह चीज भी है कि जैसे-जैसे उनकी तनख्वाह बढ़ती जाती है वैसे-वैसे चीजों के दाम बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं। इसलिये तनख्वाहों का बढ़ना या चीजों के दामों का बढ़ना, यह कोई महंगाई का हल नहीं है। जब तक हम मद्रास्फीति रोकते नहीं, जब तक हम रुपये का अवमूल्यन रोकते नहीं तब तक हमारी यह महंगाई रुक नहीं सकती है और पता नहीं कि यह किम दर्जे पर जा कर पहुँचेगी जिससे आम जनता का जीवन-स्तर अस्त-व्यस्त हो जायेगा। यह महंगाई आज नहीं बल्कि धीरे धीरे कई वर्षों से बढ़ती चली आ रही है और इस पर कंट्रोल कर पाने में हमारी गवर्नमेंट असमर्थ हो रही है। मैं नहीं समझता कि इसमें ऐसी कौन सी बात है। इस पर कड़ाई के साथ अंकुश होना चाहिये।

महोदया, आपके द्वारा मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री महोदय से एक निवेदन और करना चाहता हूँ और वह है इस देश के 85 प्रतिशत गरीबों के लिये। वह निवेदन यह है कि जैसे हमने एक पंचवर्षीय योजना उद्योगों को प्राथमिकता दे कर के बनाई और दूसरी कृषि को प्राथमिकता दे कर के बनाई, उमी तरीके से एक पंचवर्षीय योजना हम को गरीबों को प्राथमिकता दे कर के बनाना चाहिये जिससे 85 प्रतिशत गरीब लाभान्वित हो सकें। अभी हमारे बहुत से भाइयों ने इस बात को कहा कि देश के अन्दर गरीब गरीब होते जा रहे हैं और अमीर अमीर होते जा रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि इसकी सबसे बड़ी रोकथाम इसी तरह हो सकती है कि हम एक पंचवर्षीय योजना उन गरीबों के लिये बनावें जो देश के अन्दर 85 प्रति शत हैं और उसके अन्दर हम उनकी तरक्की की बात को रखे जैसे उनके लिये कृषि की बात है, उनके रहने के लिये मकान की बात है, उनके रोजगार की बात है। इस रोजगार, कृषि और मकान को ले कर के, उनकी पढ़ाई की बात को लेकर के और उनकी

दवा की बात को ले कर के एक पंचवर्षीय योजना बड़े मजे से हम बना सकते हैं जिसमें हम इन गरीबों को प्राथमिकता दें। इस प्राथमिकता से एक बात और यह होगी कि गरीब जो हैं वे अपने अन्दर एक शक्ति का अनुभव करेंगे और फिर पूँजीपति या देश के 15 प्रतिशत जो धनवान कहे जाने वाले लोग हैं उनके मुकाबिले में वे पैर मिला कर चलने की कोशिश करेंगे। इस तरह वे भी समझेंगे कि हमारा कोई जीवनमान है, हमारा कोई जीवन-स्तर है जिसको ले कर वे चलने का प्रयत्न करेंगे और वे अपने को एक मानव अनुभव कर सकेंगे।

महोदया, एक बात जो यह कही गई है कि 75 पूँजीपति ही देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था पर हावी हैं, मेरे खयाल से ऐसी बात नहीं है। मैंने यह देखा है कि सरकारी क्षेत्र में भी उद्योगों का काफी विकास हुआ है। छोटे उद्योग जो हैं उनका भी औसत दर्जे के लोगों ने काफी विकास किया है और देश में औद्योगीकरण की जो नीति है वह अब पनप रही है और लोग उसकी ओर उन्मुख हो रहे। यह देश के भविष्य के लिए एक सुन्दर लक्षण है।

एक बात, महोदया, मैं आपके द्वारा और निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश के सामने आज जो सबसे बड़ी दुर्भाग्य की बात है वह है "बन्द" की बात। कभी कोई बंगाल बन्द का प्रश्न उठाये, कोई दिल्ली बन्द का प्रश्न उठाये, कोई बम्बई बन्द का प्रश्न उठाये और यह बन्द की व्यवस्था इसी तरह धीरे-धीरे चलती रही तो एक दिन सारे हिन्दुस्तान के बन्द की बात भी आ जायेगी और मैं समझता हूँ कि यह देश के लिये सब से बड़ा दुर्भाग्य होगा। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं अपने माननीय विरोधी भाइयों से भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ तक विरोध का प्रश्न है, विरोध विरोध के लिये नहीं बल्कि स्वस्थ सुझाव के लिये होना चाहिये। देश के अन्दर गल्ले की कमी है, देश के अन्दर किरोसीन की कमी है, देश के अन्दर और बहुत सारी चीजों की कमी

है और उस कमी को वे भी अनुभव करते हैं और हम भी अनुभव करते हैं। हम कांग्रेस के मेम्बर होने के नाते इस देश के नागरिक नहीं रह गये, ऐसी बात नहीं है। वे कांग्रेस के मेम्बर न होने के नाते देश के नागरिक हैं, ऐसी बात भी नहीं है। हम सभी इस देश के नागरिक हैं और हमें सब समस्याओं को एक समान समझना चाहिये। लेकिन स्थिति का लाभ उठा कर के, गरीबी का लाभ उठा कर के, कमजोरी का लाभ उठा कर के, अकाल का लाभ उठा कर के, बाढ़ का लाभ उठा कर के यदि विरोधी भाई अपने घोट के लालच में लोगों को भड़कायें, गरीबों को भड़कायें और देश में यह "बन्द" का प्रश्न उठाये तो हमारे देश के लिये यह बड़े दुर्भाग्य की बात होगी। उनको इस पर ध्यानपूर्वक विचार करना चाहिये और विचार कर के कम से कम इस कदम को उनको पीछे हटाना चाहिये। यह ठीक है कि आज देश में कांग्रेस की सरकार है, कल अगर उनकी सरकार कही बने तो उनके सामने भी यही समस्या आ सकती है। वे एकाएक ऐसा नहीं कर सकते कि कहीं से पूँजी लाकर ऐसी अर्थव्यवस्था स्थापित कर देंगे कि एकदम गरीबों को वे पूँजीपति बना देंगे या देश को एकदम मालामाल कर देंगे। मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसी शक्ति उनके पास नहीं है, न मेरे पास है।

कुछ भाइयों ने कपड़े पर टैक्स के प्रश्न के बारे में कहा। महोदया, मैं आपके द्वारा यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि एक गरीब अपने खाने में से टैक्स दे रहा है, नमक पर भी टैक्स दे रहा है, मिट्टी के तेल पर दे रहा है, गल्ले पर दे रहा है, हर चीज पर दे रहा है। दूसरी तरफ हमारे पूँजीपति भाई यदि उनको सौ में 50 फीसदी मुनाफा नहीं हुआ तो वे समझ लेते हैं कि हमें सबसे बड़ा घाटा हो गया और उसका रोना शुरू कर देते हैं जिसका नतीजा यह होता है कि वे टैक्स-टैक्स चिल्लाना शुरू कर देते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बोझ उन्हीं पर नहीं है। जो हम कपड़ा खरीदते हैं उस पर भी है। लेकिन हम रोना नहीं रोते। वे सबसे पहले

[श्री सुखदेव प्रसाद]

इसका रोना रोते हैं कि हम पर टैक्स ज्यादा बढ़ा। मैं समझता हूँ कि जहाँ तक जनता का प्रश्न है, किसी भी देश की जनता किसी काल में, किसी भी समय में टैक्स देने के लिए खुशी से तैयार नहीं हुई है। हम खेती पर लगान लेते हैं, वह भी टैक्स है। हम दूसरे तरीकों से अर्थोपार्जन का प्रयत्न करते हैं वह भी टैक्स है। इस तरीके से जब हम टैक्स अर्जन करना चाहते हैं तो जनता कुछ न कुछ दुखी होती है और विरोधी भाई उसके लिए तैयार होकर एक झंडा खड़ा कर देते हैं कि 'बन्द करो'। जहाँ तक यह टैक्स की बात है, मैं समझता हूँ कि बड़े-बड़े पूँजीपतियों पर उसे कम करने के बारे में नहीं विचार किया जाना चाहिए क्योंकि पूँजीपति थोड़ा सा टैक्स देते हैं तो उससे कोई उनकी अर्थ व्यवस्था छिन्न-भिन्न नहीं होती। अभी अभी सभी लोगों ने कहा कि जो पूँजीपति हैं वे अमीर होते जा रहे हैं और गरीब और गरीब होते जा रहे हैं। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि थोड़ा टैक्स बढ़ जाने से उनकी पूँजी में कमी आ जायगी ऐसी बात नहीं है।

महोदया, मैं आपके द्वारा फेमिली प्लानिंग के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। वह देश के लिए बहुत आवश्यक है क्योंकि हम गल्ले के उत्पादन के साथ साथ उससे कम बच्चों का उत्पादन नहीं करते हैं। हम जिस प्रतिशत से गल्ले का उत्पादन कर रहे हैं उससे अधिक प्रतिशत पर बच्चों का उत्पादन कर रहे हैं। ऐसी सूरत में फेमिली प्लानिंग का प्रश्न हमारे सामने है। लोग कहते हैं कि हम पैदावार नहीं बढ़ाते। पैदावार हम बढ़ा रहे हैं। हम गल्ले के मामले में काफी आगे बढ़ रहे हैं, लेकिन जहाँ तक बच्चों की पैदावार का प्रश्न है उसे भी चेक नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। इस बात को मैं दो तरीके से लेता हूँ। एक तो जो बुद्धिजीवी वर्ग है उसमें प्रचार होना चाहिए कि वह फेमिली प्लानिंग की दिशा में अग्रसर हो। दूसरा यह कि अगर यह बुद्धिजीवी वर्ग फेमिली प्लानिंग करने लगे और गरीब बच्चों की पैदावार दिन-

रात बढ़ाते रहें तो नतीजा यह होगा कि एक दिन बुद्धिजीवी वर्ग समाप्त हो जायेगा। और मजदूर वर्ग की जनसंख्या फिर समस्या बन कर हमारे सामने खड़ी हो जायगी।

आपने जो हमें समय दिया उसके लिए मैं आभार प्रकट करता हूँ। साथ ही साथ एक निवेदन और करना चाहता हूँ। वह यह है कि लखनऊ से होकर सिलीगुड़ी जो रेलवे लाइन जाती है, वह मीटर गेज की है। यह इतनी आवश्यक लाइन है जिसके बारे में कहा नहीं जा सकता—बंगाल, बिहार और उत्तर प्रदेश को मिलाने वाली लाइन है। इतनी महत्वपूर्ण लाइन मीटर गेज की है। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि माननीय वित्त मंत्री बजट में कुछ इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था करें जिससे इसके स्थान पर ब्राड गेज लाइन को ला सकें जिससे समय की बचत कर सकें और उत्पादन को बढ़ा सकें। इन सब बातों के साथ मैं फाइनेंस बिल का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh) : Madam Deputy Chairman, the various clauses in the Finance Bill dealing with the statutory aspect of finances in relation to the tax measures have been placed before the House and we are asked to consider the various clauses in the Bill and then approve of them. Madam Deputy Chairman, I had occasion to express myself on the ramifications of the tax measures which had been brought forward at the time when I spoke on the Budget and more or less with some variations they have been brought forward now in the form of this Bill. Madam Deputy Chairman, as a student of economics and also as one who has been practising as a lawyer, I am not one of those who have pathetic faith in the efficacy of laws of taxation to change society in such a manner that either socialism could be established or economic equality could be brought about. Some economists, notably Taylor, an eminent economist of America, and also some Latin American economists, based on their own experience, have come to the conclusion that in a state of economy if there is monopoly side by side with an inelastic market in relation to industrial production of goods—if these conditions are there in a state of the economy of a country—then in such circumstances even direct taxes will have

no effect and all excise duties or income-taxes or any other direct taxes can be shifted on to the consumer by the manipulation in the cost of production and rise in the prices. Therefore, especially in the context of our Indian economy since there is a certain amount of monopoly in the private sector especially in the consumer goods sector, to the extent that there is monopoly in the consumer goods sector where the supplier can demand or predicate or fix prices in the market, to that extent the monopolist will not be interested in increased production, unless by increased production he will be able to maximise profits.

As things now are in India, Madam Deputy Chairman, unfortunately, the entire consumer goods industry is directed to the production of such goods as will have an effective demand only from a certain section of the population. It is not their fault. The entire income distribution or the way in which the entire income distribution has taken place in this country, is one of the causes. I need not go into the findings of the Mahalanobis Commission. They have very vividly brought out how this income distribution has taken place. It has been agreed by all economists—I am sorry Prof. Gadgil is not here now—Prof. Gadgil and other economists of the country have come to the conclusion that effective demand is concentrated only in a small section of the Indian population. If that is admitted as a fact, then it logically follows that the industries will be able to orient their production only for meeting demands of that character, provide for the effective demands of that small section of our population. Therefore, to that extent the consumer goods industries will be able to orient their production of luxury goods so that they may satisfy these demands of the upper income groups. Then what would follow? The inference does not stop there. It leads on to certain other things. Though I do not state it as a proposition of theory that will stand for all time, in the given context of a developing economy, the public sector industry produces basic goods or the capital goods that are necessary for the consumer goods industries. When the public sector industry produces a particular product it can either go direct to the consumer or it can be further subjected to an extended reproduction or further transformation into capital goods which again can go into the consumer goods industry for

the production of consumer goods. Now the public sector produces a particular product, for instance, steel. That steel can go either to the consumer directly as steel or it can go into other types of production, undergo further transformation of production for the purpose of producing machines which machines again will be used in the consumer industry sector for the purpose of producing consumer goods. Now the economy has become stagnant and I call it a stagnant economy because the production of the private sector has reached a water shed beyond which it will not be able to traverse further. For some time generally there may be some demand for it but in a period of five to ten years a stage may come when it will not be able to proceed further. That is why I say that the private sector has lost its functional status and it has generally the character of a parasitic nature. If we allow the things to drift like this, we may reach a stage when the public sector will not be able to find a market for the products produced. We may reach what some of the economists call the stage of under consumption or market crisis. Though I do not, for a moment, say that this theory will hold good for all times to come, but in a given circumstances this theory will acquit itself. Therefore it is absolutely necessary for the public sector to take over the consumer industries, develop its own consumer industries. When once you develop consumer industries in the public sector, it will act as a countervailing force against the monopoly price structure of such industries in the private sector; also it will provide the necessary profits for the public sector. It will also create the necessary demand for the goods that will be produced in the public sector. In these three ways, you will be able to develop a harmonious and balanced economy wherein you will be able to avoid crises of overproduction and underconsumption which you will not be able to do in the present state of the economy. And that I believe should have been the reason why the Congress President after deep consideration has given a categorical slogan at Jaipur that consumer industries must be started in the public sector.

Madam Deputy Chairman, I would also like you to appreciate that when we talk of the public sector the question of profit in the public sector is not be considered as on par, as we understand the nature of profit in the private sector. In the private

[Shri K. V. Raghunatha Reddy] sector it is purely meant for capital accumulation or for private appropriation by capitalists whereas if you get profit in the public sector, it is the saving of the community, meant for the development of the public sector further so that it would benefit the entire community. It is not for private accumulation. Therefore, a distinction must be drawn in relation to the interpretation we give to the concept of profit in the public sector and to the concept of profit in the private sector.

We are also asked sometimes : what is the difference between monopoly in the private sector and monopoly in the public sector ? This question was asked when you were appointing the Monopolies Commission. Are there not monopolies in the public sector ? This is what is asked. But it should be realised that the concept of monopoly undergoes transformation when it is applied to the public sector *vis-a-vis* the concept being applied to the private sector. We are not against monopolies; the point is we are against irresponsible monopolies in the private sector and in favour of responsible monopolies in the public sector. That is the distinction between the two.

**SHRI LOKANATH MISRA :** What is the authority for this particular explanation ? Is it based on your own authority or do you have any authority to quote in support of it ? It must be a Marxist authority.

**SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY :** Madam Deputy Chairman, I had and I still have a very high regard for Mr. Misra and I thought he would not find it difficult to understand this proposition because it is a very simple proposition. He wants me to quote an authority. I would only say that if Mr. Misra reads the last Chapter of the autobiography of Pandit Nehru where he has lucidly dealt with responsible and irresponsible monopolies and their character, he would not have raised this question. Another authority is R. H. Tawney.

Madam Deputy Chairman, similarly there are popular misconceptions about the concept of what is known as Welfare State. Both on public platform and in the Press the concept of Welfare State is sought to be interpreted as synonymous with Socialist State and the expression 'Welfare State' is

sought to be used by interested parties as a sedative against the propagation of the view of a Socialist State. The Indian people stand for a Socialist State and not for a Welfare State. Pandit Nehru wanted Socialist State and not Welfare State. But I would like you to understand it better before we go into the question of the Welfare State versus the Socialist State, and why we prefer a Socialist State. As early as 1790, Paine in his Second Volume of 'Rights of Man' has brought out clearly how the State should intervene in order to give certain benefits to the citizens of the country. Again Stein in his book on Socialism and Communism in France has said that monarchy itself should come forward to provide certain facilities to the people so that they may not rise in rebellion. And monarchy did indeed provide—in history there were certain good monarchs who did this—sometimes certain facilities were given

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** Mr Reddy, you must finish by five of the clock. You need not go into the history in such details.

**SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY :** If the Jana Sangh . . .

**SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar) :** He is giving lessons on socialism to them.

**SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY :** . . . happens to have some kind of a socialism they would have this kind of socialism which was known as Feudal Socialism in history. Welfare State, Madam, can be had within the framework of capitalism whereas what a Socialist State means is that it will contain all the elements of the Welfare State. The difference is in a Welfare State under capitalism the question of the inequality of wealth, the concentration of economic power, will not be solved but in a Socialist State we will have all the elements of a Welfare State and at the same time, we will solve the problem of inequalities, and concentration of economic power. There will be no inequalities because all the means of production will be in the hands of the public sector. If at all, the inequality will be brought down to the minimum. And when I say inequality will not be there I do not for a moment mean that there would be absolute biological equality or intellectual equality. What I mean is the



inequalities created by man, the inequalities that have been brought about as part of the social organisation, the inequalities created by the institutional structure, will be brought down to the minimum. We can quite appreciate intellectual inequality between man and man and the difference in contribution that can be made by man in the realm of art, science, philosophy or human welfare. Therefore we are not against that kind of inequality but we are definitely against inequalities created by the society itself. You can understand that when a child is born in society, he does not have the choice. When a child is born he has no choice as to in which family he should be born. He never bargains for it. When he is born, along with his birth he carries all the disabilities, all the sorrow, all the hunger and agony of the parents. He was not responsible for it before he

was born but once he is born he has to take the entire burden of the society, sorrow, misery everything. Therefore man by himself is not responsible for the inequalities but the society has created the various difficulties by the nature of the social organisation. If man is not responsible for that type of agony, then he has got a right to ask that the society must be shaped in such a manner that he will have a right to live as an equal with all others.

Thank you very much.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 11th May, 1966.