[श्री ए० एम० तारिक]

है कि बड़े लीडर या बड़े आदमी कभी गल्ती नहीं कर सकते हैं। गल्ती कर सकते हैं। गल्तियां हुई हैं'। मैं इस एहतराम के साथ जो मुझे शेख साहब की जात से है या शेख साहब की जात से होना चाहिये, इस बात से इन्कार नहीं करता हूं कि शेख साहब ने गल्ती की। किस वजह से की, यह शेख साहब खुद जानते हैं। शेख साहब आज यह कहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान से काश्मीर का इलहाक नहीं हुआ है, हिन्दुस्तान से कश्मीरियों ने इलहाक नहीं किया है। मैं इन्तहाई अदब से शेख साहब से यह पूछूंगा कि अगर कश्मीर का इलहाक हिन्दुस्तान से नहीं हुआ था तो शेख मोहम्मद अब्दुल्ला ने हिन्दुस्तान की कान्स्टीट्यूएंट एसेम्बली में १६ जून, १९४९ ई० को हलफ क्यों लिया।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : तारिक साहब बीस मिनट हो गये है।

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : मैं थोड़ा सा वक्त आपका जरूर लूंगा।

PROF. M. B. LAL: Let him finish his speech.

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : उन्होंने १९४९ ई० में १६ जून को हलफ लिया उस आईन-साज ऐसेम्बली में जो हिन्दुस्तान की किस्मत का फैसला कर रही थी। कान्स्टीट्यूएंट ऐसेम्बली की डिबेट में यह लिखा हुआ है :—

"The Constituent Assembly of India met in the Constitution Hall, New Delhi, at eight of the clock, Mr. President (the Honourable Dr-Rajendra Prasad) in the Chair.

TAKING THE PLEDGE AND SIGN-ING THE REGISTER

The following Members took the pledge and signed the Register: —

(1) Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah
(2) Mirza Mohd. Afzal Beg
(3) Maulana Mohd. Sayeed Masoodi ' (Kashmir)
(4) Shri Moti Ram Bagda

MR. PRESIDENT: I am sure the House will join me in extending a cordial welcome to Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah and the three other Members who have joined the Assembly today and are going to take their seats for the first time. This brings to the Assembly now the full complement of representatives from all the States that have acceded to India."

"They have acceded to India."

"In the light of this saying of Quaid-i-Azam". .this Quaid-i-Azam is for Sheikh

शेख साहब ने प्रेसीडेन्ट के उन अल्फाज को उस वक्त चैलेन्ज नहीं किया। शेख साहब ने उस रियासत के नुमाइन्दे की हैसियत से आईनसाज एसेम्बली में हलफ उठाया जिसने हिन्दुस्तान में मुकम्मल तौर पर इलहाक किया। यही नहीं, जिस वक्त कश्मीर की आईनसाज एसेम्बली बनी उस वक्त उस आईनसाज एसेम्बली के पहले इजलास में उसके वक्त के टेम्परेरी चेयरमैन मौलाना मोहम्मद सईद ने जो नेशनल कान्फ्रेन्स के जनरल सेक्रेटरी भी थे और आज शेख साहब के दस्ते रास्त हैं यह कहा —

Sahib not for Mr. Jinnah—

"In the light of this saying of Quaid-i-Azam, I want to impress on you the fact that we have assemble^ here to decide the fate of Kashmir, no matter whether or not the world recognises our Constituent Assembly. It ig said

that our decision regarding Kashmir would be an obstacle in the path of that plebiscite which trie U.N.O. contemplates. But the world has seen that the U.N.O. could not decide anything these four years. This type of attitude has made it more complicated. It seems clear that just as the efforts to decide the Kashmir issue have failed at New York or Lake Success Conferences, it will meet the same fate at Paris also. I find no immediate prospect of a free and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir as our opponent, Pakistan, is not willing to accept those essential conditions that we have put forth so often. So there is no way out to decide this issue other than the decision of this Assembly. Tnis Assembly will decide the fate of the nation. There can be no other just decision but the decision of this Assembly and no decision other than this can either be applicable or thrust on us. This Assembly enjoys the confidence of every adult man and woman, and is well equipped with full powers to decide whether Kashmir will accede to India or Pakistan.

The elected members of this House know the manifesto that we put forth at the time of election which said that the National Conference demands vote for the confirmation of its policy and the steps it had taken during the last four years and intends to take in future. It is not a fact that diuring the elections the National Conference openly declared that it had completed the accession of Kashmir with India" . . .

This manifesto was issued by Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah in 1951 for the Constituent Assembly.

". . . and she seeks the vote of the electorate for the ratification of this step alongwith other measures adopted by it. We asked for votes in clear terms- from people and the result was that from amongst the voters of that area about whose sympathies and support Pakistan was shouting from house tops, not a single person could be found, whom the voters could set up as a candidate to stand against the National Conference."

काश्मीर की आईनसाज एसेम्बली का इलेक्शन इसी चीज पर हुआ था कि क्या काश्मीर के लोग इस इलहाक का कन्फर्मेशन करते हैं जो काश्मीर के लोगों ने हिन्दुस्तान के साथ किया है और इस मेनिफेस्टो पर शेख मोहम्मद अब्दुल्ला के दस्तखत हैं और इसी मेनिफेस्टो की कामयाबी के बाद आईन-साज एसेम्बली ने शेख मोहम्मद अब्दुल्ला को कश्मीर का वजीरेआजम बनाया । इसी आईनसाज एसेम्बली ने हिन्दुस्तान की पहली लोक सभा में चार नुमाइन्दे भेजे । खुद शेख मोहम्मद अब्दुल्ला ने अक्वामेमुत्तहिद्दा में, युनाइटेड नेशन्स में, जो शरकत की वो हिन्दुस्तानी डेलीगेट की हैसियत से की । युनाइटेड नेशन्स में शेख मोहम्मद अब्दुल्ला ने सर मोहम्मद जफ़र उल्लाह की दलील का जवाब, उन की ग़लत बयानी का जवाब हिन्दुस्तानी डेलीगेट की हैसियत से दिया । उन्होंने अकवामे मुत्तहिद्दा में इस बात का ऐलान किया कि पाकिस्तान काश्मीर में हमलावर है और हिन्दुस्तान की फौजें हम कश्मीरियों ने बुलाई हैं और ये फौजें वहां रहेंगी और यकीनन वो फौजें वहां कश्मीरियों के कहने से आई हैं ।

मैं यह समझता हूं कि इस वक्त जबकि शेख मोहम्मद अब्दुल्ला हिन्दुस्तान के वजीरे आजम से तकरीबन ग्यारह साल जेल में रहने के बाद बातचीत करने के लिये दिल्ली आ रहे हैं । हमें कोई ऐसी बात नहीं करनी चाहिये । यह सवाल हिन्दुस्तान के मुसलमानों का नहीं है । यह सवाल हिन्दुस्तान के हिन्दुओं का नहीं है । हमें कोई ऐसी फ़िजा पैदा नहीं करनी चाहिये जो शेख मोहम्मद अब्दुल्ला

[श्री ए० एम० तारिक]

को या उनके दोस्तों को यह कहने का मौका दे कि शेख साहब का दिल्ली आना बेसूद हुआ। हमें ऐसा माहोल पैदा करना चाहिये कि शेख मोहम्मद अब्दुल्ला यहां आ सकें। वह पंडित जी से बात करें। आखिर शेख मोहम्मद अब्दुल्ला ही काश्मीर की आजादी का ठेकेदार नहीं है। जहां शेख अब्दुल्ला ने काश्मीर की आजादी के लिये कुर्बानियां दी हैं वहां जवाहरलाल ने भी दी हैं, खाण्डुभाई देसाई ने भी दी हैं, महात्मा गांधी ने भी दी हैं, सरदार पटेल ने भी दी हैं। काश्मीर की आजादी में हिन्दुस्तान की रियासतों का भी हाथ है, हिन्दुस्तान के अवाम का भी हाथ है। काश्मीर की आजादी सिर्फ कश्मीरियों ने नहीं ली। इसी तरह आज काश्मीर का कोई फैसला होना होगा उसमें हर हिन्दुस्तानी शहरी शामिल है। और हमें इस बात से नहीं घबराना चाहिये कि सिर्फ शेख मोहम्मद अब्दुल्ला ही काश्मीर में सब कुछ है। फर्द जो होता है वो फर्द होता है उसकी अहमियत जमायत से होती है। जमायत से बाहर कोई फर्द कुछ नहीं होता चाहे वो फर्द कितना ही बड़ा क्यों न हो। मुझे मिस्टर मणि से इन्तहाई अफसोस है कि कल यहां उन्होंने शेख मोहम्मद अब्दुल्ला पर बड़ी सख्ती से हमले किये और यह कहने की कोशिश की कि शेख मोहम्मद अब्दुल्ला गद्दारी करता है और वो गद्दार है। बहरहाल गद्दारी और वफादारी किसी फ़िर्के या किसी जमायत की मल्कियत नहीं है। गद्दार और वफादार हर कौम में हो सकते हैं। मुझे उम्मीद थी कि हमारे दोस्त मिस्टर मणि और दूसरे दोस्त मिस्टर अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी इन बयानों का भी तजकरा करेंगे जो स्वतंत्र पार्टी ने काश्मीर के मसले पर दिये हैं। जो शेख अब्दुल्ला के बयानात से ज्यादा खतरनाक हैं। मैं इन्तहाई फ़ख्र करता मिस्टर मणि की दरियादिली पर और उनकी बहादुरी पर और अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी पर अगर वो श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण के उस बयान का भी तजकरा करते जो उन्होंने दिया है और जिसमें उन्होंने कहा कि मैं इस बात को झूठ समझता हूं कि काश्मीर ने हिन्दुस्तान के साथ इल्हाक किया है। मैं श्री जय प्रकाश नारायण का बहुत एहतराम करता हूं। हम लोगों की सियासी जिन्दगी को बनाने में उनका भी हाथ है। लेकिन मैं हर उस आदमी को झूठा समझता हूं जो यह कहता है कि काश्मीर का इल्हाक हिन्दुस्तान से नहीं हुआ है चाहे वो कोई हो। मैं मिस्टर मणि से और मिस्टर अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी से यह दरख्वास्त करूंगा कि जब वफादारियों का, जब कुर्बानियों का, जब लायलटी का सवाल हो तो किसी एक आदमी को, किसी एक फर्द को पिन-डाउन नहीं करना चाहिये। अगर इस मुल्क में कोई हिन्दू गद्दारी करता है तो आप उसको गद्दार नहीं कहेंगे लेकिन अगर एक मुसलमान वही बात कहे तो आप उस को गद्दार कहेंगे? नहीं। गद्दारी करने वाले का मजहब से कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है। मैं सीधी बात कहता हूं। महाराजा जयपुर ने जो कहा शेख अब्दुल्ला के बारे में उससे बढ़ कर सख्त फिकरा मुकुट बिहारी लाल जी ने जो हिन्दुस्तान की तहरीके आजादी में . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, May I . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Tariq, Mr. Mani wants to say something.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: Let m_e finish, Mr. Mani.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Just one point only. I have very great respect for what Mr. Tariq has said about the finality of the accession of Kashmir. Regarding Sheikh Abdullah, the point today is that Shri C. Rajagopalachari and Shri Jai Prakash Narain are discussing academic solutions. What Sheikh Abdullah is trying to do in

Kashmir is to undermine the loyalty of the people of Kashmir to the Union. I do not want to use the word "traitor'", but this is against our Constitution. II Sheikh Abdullah i_s elected a Membe:.' of the Rajya Sabha, he will be debarred by the Rules of this House from taking the oath that i_s prescribed. It is for this reason that I said the mati must be arrested and put in prison, and I do not want to change my views in spite of all that Mr. Tariq has said.

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : जहां तक मिस्टर मणि का ताल्लुक है मैं उनसे बिल्कुल इख्तलाफ़ राय नहीं रखता हूं कि जो शख्स हिन्दुस्तान के आईन से, हिन्दुस्तान की शहरीयत से गद्दारी करता है, उसको जेल तो क्या फांसी लगा दी जाये क्योंकि वह गद्दार है । लेकिन करने वाले के मजहब और सियासी बैक-ग्राउन्ड, जो भी हो, उसको पेशे नजर रखना नहीं चाहिये । लिहाजा अगर हम यह समझते हैं कि शेख मोहम्मद अब्दुल्ला हिन्दुस्तान की शहरीयत से, हिन्दुस्तान के आईन से गद्दारी करता है तो शेख मोहम्मद अब्दुल्ला को मोरल सपोर्ट देने वाला भी जबरदस्त गद्दार है । इन सब के साथ एक किस्म का फैसला होना चाहिये । इसमें दो राय नही होनी चाहियें और जब इस बात का मौका आयेगा, हिन्दुस्तान के मुसलमान की वफादारी का, तो आप देखेंगे कि अपनी बिसात, अपनी ताक़त के मुताबिक हम वफादारी में किसी से पीछे नहीं रहेंगे ।

श्री एन० एम० अनवर : हम जान देने वाले हैं । हिन्दुस्तान के पांच करोड़ मुसलमान जान देने वाले हैं और जनसंघियों ने जो कहा था, मुसलमानों के खिलाफ जो बात कही थी, कि कश्मीरी चाहते हैं कि कश्मीर को पाकिस्तान के हवाले कर दिया जाये . . .

(Interruption.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHAROAVA) : Try to wind up now, Mr. Tariq. You have taken half-an-hour. I cannot allow you more time.

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : जहां तक इस वफादारी का ताल्लुक है यह मौके मौके की बात है । इस वक्त अगर हम किसी कौम की वफादारी को इस माहौल में चैलेंज करेंगे जो इस समय हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान के दरमियान है तो उससे हमें नुकसान पहुंचने का खतरा है । फायदे का कम है । इस वक्त सवाल यह है कि अगर हम ऐसे हालात पैदा करें जिससे पाकिस्तान के लोगों को कोई फायदा पहुंचे . . . मुझे पाकिस्तान में हिन्दुओं से उतनी ही हमदर्दी है जितनी वहां के मुसलमानों से है क्योंकि पाकिस्तान के अन्दर मुसलमानों से भी अच्छा सलूक नहीं हो रहा है । वह इसलिये नहीं हो रहा है कि पाकिस्तान में कोई डेमोक्रेसी नहीं है, जम्हूरियत नहीं है । आज भी मशरिकी पाकिस्तान के मुसलमानों पर मग़रिबी पाकिस्तान के मुसलमानों के हाथ उतने ही मुज़ालिम हो रहे हैं और वो उतने ही नालां हैं जितने मशरिकी पाकिस्तान के हिन्दू । सवाल यह है कि मशरिकी पाकिस्तान के हिन्दू भाग कर हिन्दुस्तान आ सकते हैं, मुसलमान नहीं आ सकता है । अगर आज हिन्दुस्तान के लोग, हिन्दुस्तान की अक्सरीयत, अपनी वसीउल-कल्बी का सबूत दें, अपने बड़े भाई होने का सबूत दें, और पाकिस्तान के मुसलमानों के लिये दरवाजा खोल दें तो मैं आपको यकीन दिलाता हूं कि एक हफ्ते के अन्दर सारा मशरिकी पाकिस्तान खाली हो जायेगा । मशरिकी पाकिस्तान का मुसलमान अपने आपको हिन्दुस्तान में ज्यादा महफूज समझता है बनिस्बत मशरिकी पाकिस्तान के । मशरिकी पाकिस्तान में इस वक्त बंगाली मुसलमान की हालत एक गुलाम से बदतर है । जैसे दो सौ साल पहले अरब मुल्कों में और अफ्रीकी मुल्कों में जो गुलामी की हालत थी वो मग़रिबी पाकिस्तान के मुसलमानों को हो रही है । यह ग़लत है कि सिर्फ वहां हिन्दुओं के साथ जुल्मोसितम हो रहे हैं । नहीं । ये आप तारीख देखिये सोलह सत्रह साल की, जिस मुल्क में हर छः महीने के बाद एक वजीरेआज़म

[श्री ए० एम० तारिक]

बदलता हो और वहां के अवाम को यह मालूम न हो कि बदलने वाला कौन है, बनाने वाला कौन है, जिस मुल्क में यह मालूम न हो कि उसकी आईनसाज एसेम्बली का इंतखाब किसने किया, जिस मुल्क में यह मालूम न हो कि गवर्नर जनरल को, वजीरेआजम को, कौन बनाता है और वजीरेआजम को डिसमिस कौन करता है, उस मुल्क से आप क्या तवक्को रखते हैं ।

एक साहब ने फर्माया था कि पाकिस्तान इस्लामी मुल्क है । अगर पाकिस्तान इस्लामी मुल्क होना छोड़ दे, तो हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान के ताल्लुकात ठीक हो सकते हैं । यह गलत बात है । पाकिस्तान बिल्कुल इस्लामी मुल्क नहीं है । पाकिस्तान इस्लाम के नाम पर एक धब्बा है । इस्लाम में मायनोरीटीज की हिफाजत अव्वलीन फर्ज है । पाकिस्तान न इस्लामी मुल्क है न मुसलमानों का मुल्क है । पाकिस्तान की हुकूमत वहशी है । पाकिस्तान की हुकूमत जालिम व दरिन्दों और जाहिलों की हुकूमत है और मैं यह कहूंगा कि कातिलों के हाथ में—चाहे वो हिन्दुओं के कातिल हों, चाहे मुसलमानों के । पाकिस्तान के हुक्मरान इंसान के कातिल हैं, इंसानियत के कातिल हैं और पाकिस्तान में ये हुकूमत ज्यादा देर कायम नहीं रहेगी । मैं आपको यकीन दिलाता हूं और हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों को सोचना चाहिये कि पाकिस्तान में तमाम लोग तकरीबन एक लाठी से हांके जाते हैं और आपको उन लोगों से हमदर्दी करनी चाहिये । हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों ने नेपाल के मुजाहिदों को मदद दी है । हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों ने स्पेन के लोगों को मदद दी है । आज मैं इस बात का तकाजा करता हूं कि हम हिन्दुस्तानियों को मशरिकी पाकिस्तान के लोगों की भी हिमायत करनी चाहिये । अगर वो पाकिस्तान की हुकूमत के खिलाफ बगावत का अलम बुलन्द करना चाहते हैं तो भी हम लोगों का फर्ज है कि हम उनको मोरल सपोर्ट दें और उनको आजाद करायें, बिल्कुल इस तरह से जिस तरह से हम ने और मुल्कों में मुजाहिदों को हिमायत की है । मैं आपका शुक्रिया अदा करता हूं ।]

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Mr. Vice-Chairman, will you please alow me to say a word or two by way of explanation sinca the Swatantra Party has been mentioned in this House? I had deliberately restrained from mixing up the issue of Kashmir and the. release of Sheikh Abdullah in this House on the Budget discussion because I felt that it was not a relevant subject to speak on the Budget **I** had restrained myself and spoke only on the Budget. Since this issue has been raised and the name of the Swatantra Party has been taken more than once, I would like to clarify that the Swatantra Party nas taken no decision on this issue. The Swatantra Party allows a certain amount of latitude to its members except on the basic principle of "statism", that is, we are opposed to "statism". That is the attitude of the Swatantra Party. On the question of the release of Sheikh Abdullah we all felt that it was not right to keep him in jail for so long. On the question of Kashmir and its final accession to India, perhaps many of us agree with the remarks of Mr. Tariq. Shri Rajagopala-chari is the leader of the Party, it is true, but he allows a large amount of latitude and freedom to its members to hold different opinions and to express them. We hope that in this country also we will get a certain measure of freedom, in this House also and in all the parties, that while remaining members of the parties, except on the basic principles people would have the latitude to express themselves in diametrically opposite views as, for instance, in the American Senate. No decision has been taken by the Swatantra Party.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA); There cannot be **a** second-speech. Whatever clarification you want to offer may be offered.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL; I said that no decision has been taken by the Swatantra Party on this issue.

SHRI D. THENGARI: Sir, I had no intention earlier of referring to the Kashmir problem inasmuch a:; I thought it was not so relevant to the Bill under consideration but now that the problem has been referred to, to begin with, I shall express my opinion on this problem. I entirely agree with Mr. Tariq that considerations of com-munalism should not be the criterion for the release or arrest of any individual but at the same time, I demand the re-arrest of Sheikh Abdullah because I feel that the law and logic that have placed Mr. Annadorai, who is not a Muslim, behind the bars demand that Sheikh Abdullah also be, placed behind the bars and one would not be quite unjustified in thinking that the demand for his re-arrest is not much actuated by communal ism but rather the factors that led to his release and the subsequent reluctance of the Government not to re-arrest him have a tinge of communalism and, therefore, this entire problem should be reconsidered from a nationalistic point of view. This is the taxpayers' point of view also. We have spent a lot on Kashmir.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: This is an imperialistic argument.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Whatever it may be, this is also an argument.

SHRI D. THENGARI; The money spent has proceeded from the pockets of the taxpayers. Now, we are told that for development and defence the tax-payers must be prepared to undergo more sacrifices. Since they are patriotic, I can assure the Government that they would be prepared to undergo all sacrifices provided they are assured that the money demar.ded of them would be spent properly on defence and development, it would not be misspent. If we do not arrest Sheikh Abdullah and allow the Kashmir problem to drift in the way it is drifting, if the Government of India indicates its lack of determination in handling the Kashmir situation, the taxpayers would be justified in feeling that their money is not being spent properly and, therefore, they would be also justified in starting a "No-Tax Campaign" because the Government is not responsibly spending the money collected out of the various taxation measures. This is also the taxpayers' money and their point of view.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: For the information of my hon. friend, I might say that by the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah much more of the taxpayers' money would have to be spent. We nave already spent crores of rupees. So, it is better to keep him out and not spend more.

SHRI D. THENGARI: Against this background, I demand the re-arrest of Sheikh Abdullah.

Now, coming to the Finance Bill, I must say that the Finance Bill will not be received with much enthusiasm by the consumers in general and the workers in particular inasmuch as it does not ensure either reduction in prices or increase in the quantum of real wages to workers or provide employment to the unemployed ones. True, an attempt has been made to bring the tax-evaders to book. It is good and noble so far as it goes but that is not enough. The workers must be assured that whatever has been realised from the tax-evaders would proceed to the workers and, therefore, this is my humble suggestion that in the case, of industrial employers, whatever is realised from them by way of penalty for wrong assessment should be utilised specifically for making up the gap between the real wage and the actual wage of the employees working under them.

fShri D. Thengari.]

Now, the Finance Bill has given wide powers to the Income-tax officials We want to punish the tax-evaders no doubt but in our enthusiasm to curb one evil we should not raise another Frankenstein and I want this assurance from the Finance Minister that the Income-Tax officials will have sufficient character and integrity not to misuse the powers given to them under this Act. Our experience as workers in this respect has not been very encouraging. While on the one hand it can be apprehended that the Income-tax officials can abuse their powers against the Income-tax payers, we the workers have often experienced that whenever Income-tax officials choose to conspire with or to have unholy alliances with the industrial employers, both of them put together can deprive the workers of their legitimate dues. I want to cite one concrete example, that of the Edward Mills in Bombay. In the case of this Edward Mills, for the last four months, the employees have publicly alleged that the accounts are fraudulent and yet the Income-tax officials have conveniently connived at the whole thing and there is every reason to allege that there is a conspiracy between the Income-tax authorities and the management of the Edward Mills. I would request the Government of India to hold an impartial enquiry into our allegations against the management of the Edward Mills. Of course, this is incidental, yet I would request the Government of India to hold an enquiry into our allegations against the management of the Edward Mills.

Now, various aspects of our general economy are also under discussion. There is discussion about the advisability of expansion of the public sector. Now, the prosperity of any country must depend upon production and production in its turn upon the enthusiasm of the producers. How would the producers be inspired to work more if the workers are told that they have only two choices? Their choice is only between two evils, private capitalism and State capitalism in the name of nationalism; they are required to choose between the devil and the deep sea, between the frying pan and the fire. In such circumstances they would have hardly any enthusiasm to work sincerely The workers in general require *r* third solution which would steer clear of both the evils, the evils of private capitalism and State capitalism in the name of nationalisation. It would be wrong to presume that any one particular pattern of ownership is & panacea for all industrial evils. There are patterns and patterns and different industries have different characteristics, which necessitate different patterns. At the same time, wherever the question of ending private ownership arises the workers must be assured that precedence would be given not to the 'statisation' of industry but to labourisation of that industry so far as possible through schemes of co-partnership or labour co-operativisation. Therefore I request the Government of India to give serious consideration to schemes of labourisation also. As a balanced thinker I believe no one particular pattern would suit all industries and the pattern would have to be different from industry to industry—restrained regulated private enterprise, co-operative economy, municipalisation, even nationalisation in case of basic industries and defence industries and also labourisation. The tendency today to prescribe nationalisation as a panacea and not even to think of labourisation through co-partnership and labour co-operativisation is not likely to arouse enthusiasm among the workers fov producing more and more. I think, so far as the Finance Bill is concerned, on behalf of the poorer sections o the population, these comments should suffice.

SHRI M. M. SUB, (West Bengal): Mr Vice-Chairman, in rising to support this Finance Bill I find that on the revenue side we are collecting

revenues from three or four sources, taxation on income, corporations, Union excise duties and sea and land customs. I shall now speak about some things which are impeding the growth of small industries.

We find that by taxing motor spirit we are collecting about Rs. 5 crores through customs and about Rs. 70 crores in the form of Union excise duties. Similarly on refined diesel oil and vapourising oil we are collecting Rs. 30 crore$_s$ as customs duties and about Rs. 64 crores through central excise. That comes to about Rs,. 94 crores. In America they do not tax motor spirit or diesel oil because these are, necessary for industrial growth. Will you believe that the price of petrol in India is about four times the price in the United States? Nowadays the road transport carries much of the goods. Therefore if transport is taxed, not only it costs us mor? to carry raw materials and finished products but the workers, the office-goers and others who travel by bus have to pay more fare. In order to reduce costs it would have been wisw to follow the tax policy which is followed in countries like Japan, the United States and West Germany. It is true that we want to have revenue but revenue can be collected by other means; it need not be through tax on transport or on primary raw materials like iron and steel, heavy chemicals and other things that we import for industrial use. We have also a cess on coal so that our coal also costs; very much more; and coal is necessary for production of electricity. In America a kw. of electricity for industrial use *r.ost* less than one-third of a cent; for us here it costs three times as much Therefore this basic policy of taxing primary raw materials and other items that are necessary for industrial growth should be revised. This was started in the days of the British rule. Their policy was different; they never cared for industrial advancement of the country. In fact they wanted that there should be no industrial progress In our country. Therefore I would iequest the Finance Minister to have the same taxation policy which ia followed by countries like Japan, West Germany and the United States of America for developing their industries. Now, a major part of industrial production come$_s$ from small industries managed by individuals or by what may be called family concerns. In America there are no doubt big industrial undertakings like the General Motors, Ford Motors, etc. but if you enquire deeply you will find that the component parts come, from small industries. It is the small ilb-dustries which produce the component parts at a very competitive rate, at a very economic rate and this helps them to lower their production costi Therefore if we follow policies by which those countries have industrialised themselves, then it will be easier for our smaller entrepreneurs to come into the field.

Then comes the question of export How can you compete if electricity is more expensive, if transport is four times more, expensive? Not only petrol is costly but even the trucks. The truck here costs four times as I much as it costs in the United States. Your raw materials are also expensive because they are taxed. Your steel is taxed. We have still to import some steel because we do not produce enough here in the country and there is excise duty on steel as w?ll. The customs duty is about Rs. 25 crores and excise duty comes to about Rs. 40 crores; that i$_s$ about Rs. 65 crores in all. Similarly, soda ash, caustic soda / and other basic raw materials are all taxed. It is true that when you export the finished products a certain amount of rebate, a certain amount of drawback is allowed but then initially it costs so much that the small entrepreneurs find it difficult to enter the field. Therefore the fundamental policy of taxing motor spirit, imported steel, heavy chemicals and other raw materials which are necessary for industrial production should be changed. Then alone we can help small Industrie, to grow. It will act as a

I'Shri M, M. Sur.] spur to these small engineering firms that are now nearly on the verge of collapse. We notice in the Calcutta area there are a large number of such firms which are on the verge of 60I-lapse because they find it very difficult to procure enough raw materials. Much of their capital i_s tied up in buying raw materials and they do not have enough money to go into production and sell things

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) ; You can continue tomorrow. The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House adjourned at five, of the clock till eleven of the clock on Saturday, the 25th April, 1964.