

SHRIMATI MAYA DEVI CHETTRY (West Bengal): May I also say a few words, Sir? It is very kind of you to have said a few nice words about the retiring Members. I am one of those in the exit list. I have always, Sir, enjoyed goodwill from the former Chairman and from you and from the Deputy Chairman and all the Members of this House, from this side as well as that. I will always carry the sweetest memories of this august House.

As you know, Sir, I come from a minority community, the Gurkha community. There are about thirty lakhs of Gurkhas living in India. In today's national crisis, the Gurkha community, in my opinion, is an important community, which is defending our borders. I also come from the border areas surrounded by neighbouring countries like Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim Tibet and Pakistan. So, wherever God places me I will serve my country with honesty and sincerity. I wish for the strength and prosperity of our country and for the good life of our Members and our leaders. I thank you very much, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Maithilisharan Gupta will now recite a verse.

श्री मैथिलीशरण गुप्त (नाम-निर्दिष्टित):

श्रीमान्,

“शेष यहीं तक नहीं बन्धूजन ! कार्य हमारा,  
आगे बढ़ती चले सदा जीवन की धारा ।  
जाते हैं हम यहां सुखद सम्बन्ध जोड़ कर,  
अपने आसन नवागतों के लिये छोड़ कर ।  
हम जो साध न सके उसे वे सिद्ध करेंगे,  
बढ़ दृढ़ता से विजय-सक्षय निज विद्ध करेंगे ।  
नव नव अनुभव हमें दे चली अवधि हमारी,  
अंगरेजी ही रही यहां निरर्वाध, बनिहारी !  
इतने दिन हम यहां साथ रहते आये हैं,  
कर कितने संताप हंस, खेले—खाये हैं ।  
उन बातों का स्मरण क्यों न हम सब को साल,

बंटे फिर भी मौन कौन कर्तव्य न पाले ।  
भूलें हम सै हुई न होगी कमी कौसी,  
पर क्या बँतों, क्षमा आप लोगों की जैसी ?  
मांग मांग कर लोग बहुत कुछ पा लेते हैं,  
किन्तु बड़े तो क्षमा बिना मांगे देते हैं ।  
तात, आज भी एक बात के हम अधिकारी,  
बने आपकी दया उलट कर याद हमारी ।”

श्रीमान्, इस सदस्यता की अवधि के अन्त में आपने मुझे भी दो शब्द कहने का जो अवसर दिया है उसके लिये मैं हृदय से कृतज्ञता प्रकट करता हूँ ।

#### THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1964-65

—continued.

PROF. A. R. WADIA (Nominated): Mr. Chairman, Sir, if I had spoken a fortnight ago, I would have been prepared to accept all the statements of the hon Finance Minister at their face value and I would have wholeheartedly congratulated him but speaking a fortnight after his introduction of the Budget has given us time to think out and study more closely the implications of all his suggestions and I am afraid my enthusiasm has grown much less and I find the proverbial iron fist under a velvet glove. But that does not mean that I do not appreciate several points in the Budget speech of the hon. Minister. I particularly appreciate his several *obiter dicta*; for example, his emphasis on initiative which is very apt to be forgotten in totalitarian regimes. I appreciate his encouragement to the private sector as a very important sector. I appreciate his recognition of the importance of competition. It is a very important point in controlling prices and I appreciate his emphasis on the public sector as a profit-making concern, as a business concern to be conducted on commercial lines. I appreciate his will to help the low income groups and to encourage saving. And I parti-

cularly appreciate what he says on page 11 in Part A of his speech about imports: "There is a point beyond which restrictions on imports, whether fiscal or administrative, begin to do more harm than good, result in idle capacity in industry and slower rate of growth and lead to higher prices with a consequent fall in export earnings, which may well exceed the saving in foreign exchange effected by the cut in imports."

Well, Sir, frankly I have often felt that our restrictions on imports have exceeded all bounds especially in the case of import of drugs because it concerns the question of life and death. There are numerous difficulties faced in getting licences for the import of the most necessary things. I am very happy to find that the hon. Minister is appreciative of all this. Sir, I appreciate the difficulties of any Finance Minister and I recognise that it is practically impossible to frame a Budget which will be pleasing to all the parties concerned. We have to recognise the difficulties of the hon. Finance Minister especially when he is faced with the problem of providing for our defence and also for our development.

I think it is a well known thing that our hon. Finance Minister has been very profoundly influenced by the Kaldor Report which was published a few years ago. He has taken up many of the suggestions of the Kaldor Report and has introduced many unpopular taxes including the notorious expenditure-tax but there was a certain logic in Kaldor's proposals. One point has been completely missed by the hon. Finance Minister. Kaldor coupled all these taxes with a very drastic reduction in income-tax almost to the level of 50 per cent at the highest level. That is a point which has been completely forgotten by our hon. Finance Minister. After all, you have to create income; you have to create wealth and that can only be done if the income-tax is at a reasonable level.

When you have income-tax at certain levels which practically mops up the whole income it is very deleterious to the interests of the country. Now, America has followed that example and it has lowered its tax structure and I wish the hon. Finance Minister could have found it possible to have reduced the income-tax to a very drastic extent. I think it would have made even dishonest business people more honest. There would have been less temptation to conceal incomes and people would have been more ready to give whatever was due to the Government. Well, unfortunately, this point has been missed and that makes the Budget all the more difficult to be accepted at its face value.

Sir, I have just referred to the expenditure-tax as a notorious tax. I think his predecessor was very wise in abolishing it. We congratulate him on the great moral courage that he displayed when he abolished it and I heard it from a very important official that they abolished it because they found it very difficult to collect and the cost of collecting it was almost more than amount collected. Now the present Finance Minister has thought it fit to reintroduce the expenditure-tax. He has perhaps made it a little more reasonable than it was before but the fundamental defect remains, that is, difficulty of collecting and a greater defect is that it loses the goodwill of the people concerned. It is bound to lead to harassment and that harassment will affect the goodwill of the people concerned.

I congratulate the hon. Finance Minister on abolishing the Compulsory Deposit Scheme but he has thought it wise to reintroduce it in another form calling it Annuity Deposit Scheme. It is reasonable up to a certain point and I am very happy to find that in his concluding speech

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in the other House he was prepared to exempt people over 70 years of age. It is almost cruel to ask them to save at the age of 70 with the prospect of getting it back ten years hence. He has been very wise in making it optional. I would like to make one more humble suggestion to him and that is to exclude the pensioners because after all the pensioners are more or less old people. Whatever savings they had the capacity to effect they effected during their active period of life and in their retirement they are dependent on pension and if a certain portion of this pension has to go as annuity, it will create hardship especially when, unlike his predecessor, he is taxing this amount as income in the succeeding years when the amount is repaid.

**SHRI K. SANTHANAM (Madras):** There are no pensions over Rs 15,000.

**PROF. A. R. WADIA.** Well, some people have pensions, after all. Now, I do not wish to speak in detail during this general discussion about the various taxes but I do find that the hon. Finance Minister has given us very illusory concessions. I almost felt like laughing when he said that he was reducing the tax on imported motor cars from 150 to 60 per cent, because we all know that the import of motor cars is practically prohibited. It only remains on paper to amuse us. I am afraid similar things may be said in connection with several other taxes also.

**SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE (Uttar Pradesh):** Gramophone records.

**PROF. A. R. WADIA.** He has benefited the lower income groups by decreasing the income-tax but I am afraid even this is illusory, illusory in the face of rising prices because whatever is saved in income-tax will be taken away in the form of higher prices and the main reason, as he has

himself recognised, is agriculture. Our agriculture is our main problem. I heartily associate myself with the very important suggestion made by my friend, Mr. Basu, yesterday that there is a tendency, unfortunately, to relegate the portfolio of agriculture as a sort of second-rate portfolio when, as a matter of fact, it should be given the very first place and he made a suggestion that it should be incumbent on every Chief Minister in the State to have the agriculture portfolio himself so that he can put all his influence, all his prestige and all his time to the production of foodgrains so that we can at least get our food at reasonable prices. Unless this is done all talk of industrialisation will be a cruel mockery. It is all right to appeal to us to tighten our belts, but there is a limit to tightening of belts. We all know that we are not going to benefit from the costlier projects. This generation will not get the benefit. The next generation may get the benefit. Our grandchildren may get the benefit of it, but the present generation has to live and in order to enable them to live there must be a certain reasonableness in the level of prices.

I do feel that the time has come to review the whole tax structure. In Part B of his speech the hon. Finance Minister himself recognises that—

“The existing taxation policy good as far as it goes in the direction of producing revenue, has also to be geared to the paramount task of promoting growth.”

A little later on he says:—

“Taxation has, therefore, to be used as a sensitive and multi-purpose tool to encourage production, to keep a measure of restraint on rising levels of consumption to ensure that people get the fruits of their labour to induce savings and to prevent profiteering so that the inherent ills of a scarcity economy are not multiplied.”

It is a very wise statement and I do hope that a fine, broad-based tax structure can be evolved which will suit and meet the needs of our country.

I am also very happy to find that he is against monopolies. Monopoly means lack of competition and lack of competition means high prices. I welcome his idea of appointing a Commission to consider the whole question of monopolies. I do not know what he means by monopolies. Perhaps he has in mind only private monopolists, who have again and again been attacked in this House, but comparatively there are very few private monopolists. The greatest monopolies are in the hand of the Government and I think it is necessary for this Commission to review the policies of Government monopolistic concerns. It is sometimes scandalous the way in which prices are raised. In one of the States that I was recently touring I was told, for example, in respect of the State transport that whereas the cost was eight annas, the actual fare charged was Rs 2/3/-, which means a fantastic profit of nearly 400 per cent. Now, this is thoroughly unfair and I do not think that the Government is justified in making full use of its monopolistic powers to increase prices as high as that. It is unfortunate that this happens in our Government concerns. There is a private industry flourishing. The Government take it over and as soon as they take it over prices begin to rise. There is inefficiency in administration. Now, all that requires looking into and in the interests of the country at large I do feel that the Commission on Monopolies will view the working of Government monopolies in particular.

Well, Sir, it is always an unpleasant thing to pay taxes, but we recognise that taxes have to be levied and the Government has to be carried on. We do not mind it. We find

that in the name of defence a tremendous amount by way of taxes was raised last year and yet we find that the Defence Ministry has not, for one reason or another, found it necessary to spend the full amount allotted to them, to the tune of Rs 100 crores, but the taxes remain. Now, that is an unfortunate experience. Very recently, I came across two examples of how callously public money can be spent. In a certain State a hydro-electric project was planned. Now, it should be planned in an area where the water can be held. But unfortunately it was discovered after digging that the whole area consisted of limestone and water could not be held. So, after spending about Rs 10 lakhs, including a very luxurious guest house, the project was almost on the point of being abandoned. And then somebody thought as a brain-wave that experts might be invited from outside to recommend how all the leaks in the limestone could be stopped. Well, I do not know whether this will succeed or not, because against the inherent defects of nature even science is helpless. But the money is gone. In the same State another hydro-electric project has been planned. Now, it is a matter of common sense that wherever a hydro-electric project is planned, we should have a clear idea as to the amount of rainfall and the statistics of rainfall should cover nearly thirty years. As a matter of fact in this particular area there was no record of rainfall, except for the last four or five years. That was done by a certain Christian missionary institution. On the basis of this record they proceeded to develop this scheme. They calculated that a certain area would be covered with water. The land was bought and they paid compensation in lakhs. Now, they find that the rainfall will not be sufficient and the level of water will be low. All those lands that have been acquired will not be covered with water. Again, it is a tremendous waste of

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public money. Well, Sir, this is what makes us feel extremely sad. Taxes can be paid provided we have the satisfaction that the amounts collected are made good use of. But then we find that they are recklessly spent. Estimates are notoriously low. In the beginning the people who make the estimates know that the estimates are not going to be final. Year by year they simply rise till the whole thing becomes extremely costly.

One thing more I should like to say and that is in connection with income-tax. I think there is something very faulty in the collection of income-tax. The Government talks of urgency in collecting taxes. But for two years or three years taxes are not assessed. Sometimes, as I have had that experience, suddenly at the end of three years a huge demand is made to pay up the taxes for all the three years concerned. I think the hon. Minister is perfectly conscious of this, but he has a very interesting remedy for it, by throwing the burden and the responsibility of paying the taxes on the taxpayers themselves—and absolving the Income-tax Officers of their responsibility for doing their work. Now, as soon as we sign a return, within thirty days we have to pay up the amount that we consider is due from us. I think it is a very hard thing to do, especially when the income-tax today is extremely complex. I regret to say that many of us find it necessary to seek the help of an income-tax consultant as to what has to be put in and what deductions have to be made and so on. It takes time and ultimately we do not know what amount exactly we have to pay. Yet, if we do not pay it, we are threatened with a very heavy fine—half or double I forget. Anyway, it seems to me it is extremely unfair to an honest income-tax payer. It is the responsibility of the Income-tax Officers to do their work. If more people are necessary to be employed,

let them be employed. If they are to be trained, let them be trained, but let them do their work and then call upon the income-tax payers to do their duty.

I welcome all the steps that the hon. Finance Minister proposes to take against tax evasion. I hope he will succeed. As a friend of mine put it, there is always a tussle between the brains of the Government and the brains of the businessmen. Who will ultimately succeed we do not know. Tax evasion is something immoral, not merely illegal but immoral, and I do wish every success to the Government to round up these tax-evaders.

Another matter. I do feel that there is need for economy in Government expenditure. On more than one occasion I have had to say that Parkinson's Law works with remarkable efficiency in the case of our Government offices, and it was only a few days ago I ventured to suggest, following the lead of my friend, Mr. Santhanam, that the strength of the Planning Commission office should be reduced, according to him to 25 per cent; I was more modest and I was prepared to be content with only a 50 per cent., reduction. Sir, the same thing could be done in many other Government offices. I think there are far too many people, and as a result of it we have to spend more and get less work. Probably if these economies are carried out, it may be possible to reduce the heavy load of taxation to which this country has got almost accustomed.

Anyway, Sir, we appreciate the difficulties of the Finance Minister. He has had a very difficult task to face, and whether we like it or not we wish his Budget every success.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh); Mr. Chairman, in the parliamentary life the presentation of the Budget is a very significant event during the year. It is an occasion when the representatives of the people

consider and review the economic policies and programmes of the Government and the fiscal measures that have been adopted or that will be adopted for the future governance of the country. Having that in mind as well as the present position in which the country stands today, being an undeveloped country, we have to stick to the programme of development and at the same time in view of the unfriendly attitude of two of our neighbours we have to prepare ourselves for any contingency and provide for defence. The difficulty of any Finance Minister is really so heavy that he has to plan the budget in a way that would meet effectively these two demands of the country, demand for development and demand for the defence of the country.

Sir, bouquets have been given to our Finance Minister, and to a certain extent I think correctly, but I think we could appreciate the Budget better if we just have glimpse of the figures of the last year's Budget also. As you know, Sir, we have this year added to the taxation only to the extent of Rs. 40 crores. But last year we added to the taxation to the tune of Rs. 380 crores and being an occasion after the aggression of China the whole country was united, an emergency was declared, and the nation willingly conceded to this heavy taxation. So, when we consider and appreciate that this year the Finance Minister has not added to the common man's burden so far as indirect taxes like excise are concerned, or when we consider that even in the matter of direct taxation there has been only an addition of Rs. 15 crores, we have to pay our compliments not only to the present Finance Minister but also to the Finance Minister who has retired and who shouldered the burden last year and courageously brought forth all these measures for the increase of taxation. So, I think when we compliment, we cannot forget Mr. Morarji Desai also, and I offer my compliments to the present Finance Minister as well as to Finance Minister who has retired.

Now, Sir, in addition to the direct taxation and the indirect taxation there were previously two features: one was the Gold Control Order and the other was the Compulsory Deposit Scheme. Somehow most of us on this side also were not very happy with the Compulsory Deposit Scheme. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari has very correctly dropped it and has brought in the Annuity Deposit Scheme which is more or less the same but with this big difference that it starts at Rs. 15,000 income whereas the other started at a very low income, with the result that the Finance Minister who has retired got the odium, and now Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, being a very resourceful person with a very sharp intellect and being very appreciative of the current trends, dropped that and got the bouquets, and I do not grudge that. In the same way so far as the Rs. 40 crores taxation is concerned, Rs. 25 crores comes from indirect taxation and Rs. 15 crores comes from direct taxation. In this he has established his ingenuity and he has in a very correct way given concessions to the industries, given incentives to the persons coming from small enterprises, and has at the same time given effective encouragement to the corporate bodies by adjusting the inter-corporate tax and other taxes in a very nice way. I think to that extent he deserves our congratulations. (Interruption). Having submitted that, I would like to say that before I refer to some of the points and some of the steps that should be taken, I want to place one cardinal thing before this House.

Sir, there is no doubt that the thinking is very high and, I should submit respectfully, correct. I also accept that the measures adopted are also very good. But, Sir, notwithstanding the good intentions, notwithstanding the good schemes and projects and the ideology and the objectives, the fact remains that the common man has become extremely anaemic. I do not say it suffers from heart attack or cancer, but certainly it is suffering from want of blood.

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is anaemic, and unless and until we see and inject it at the right time, without further delay, with. . .

SHRI N. M. LINGAM (Madras): Why not give blood transfusion?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I do not want to carry that analogy very far. Unless that is done, Sir, neither the prestige of Jawaharlal Nehru, nor the honesty and integrity of all the members of the Nehru Government will save the country, will save the Government or will save the Congress Party and I feel, Sir, that immediate steps, certain immediate proposals will have to be taken to save this critical situation. Before I come to that I would like to have one or two clarifications from the Finance Minister when he pleases to reply to this debate.

Sir, in view of our present condition he has, if I may say so, correctly opened the door for the foreign private capitalists to come and invest their capital in our industries. I quite appreciate it. I am one of those who, notwithstanding certain difficulties which I am fully aware of, welcome this measure, but the point is this. I would like the Finance Minister to tell this House whether he has taken into consideration all the facts prevailing at the present moment, particularly the increase in the Bank Rate in England, which has created a commotion, and even in the United States the 'Financial Times' and others are discussing this matter, as to what would be the position of the increased Bank Rate whether other countries should also increase it, whether the capital will go from there to other countries or not. I would like him to give us his appraisal. According to his calculations and according to his facts and figures and with all the necessary concessions that he has offered, he has allowed the foreign capital to come in, but we would like to be sure that the response will be effective. If, after all that, the response is not encouraging, I think that would not be proper, but I am sure he must have calculated it. One fact is clear, that the capital has been sh-

for the last two or three years, but I want to know what would be the situation after this. The other explanation or clarification that I desire, Sir, whether this coming of the foreign capital will affect the position of loans or grants, suppose some capital comes in, whether that in any way affects the position when we are getting loans or other monetary aid, whether they will be affected or whether, notwithstanding this offer, they will not be affected.

SHRI M. H. SAMUEL (Andhra Pradesh): Capital is private, and loans and grants are Governmental.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I know that; I am not asking for the distinction. At present we are getting certain loans from outside countries; we allow investments of equity capital coming from outside, and I want to know whether that position will be affected, or we will get that and we will get this also. That I want to be sure about, because I think this whole measure will be very helpful to us if these other factors are not prejudicially affected.

Now, Sir, I would like the hon Finance Minister to consider another thing. While considering the capitalists, Sir, as he has himself been a very good businessman and he has been in business, he has considered only the question of industrialist capitalists. He has not considered the question of feudal capitalists. Sir, you know and many of us know that even the industrial and the investment activity have not advanced to the extent it had advanced in the United Kingdom when the feudal system was wiped out. The position is, there are big houses of a big value but nobody to purchase. There are houses which bring an income, but it is an income which is a stagnant income, which does not suffice to keep the families going, and besides that, I would like to know whether, while considering the expenditure tax, it includes the expenditure on the dependants and the large number of employees, or

only that on the family members. I am sure, Sir, even today, in some of the old families, in the expenditure, a big chunk goes to the dependants, servants, family members, widows, retired servants, and so on and so forth. Now I would like the Finance Minister to explain and clarify whether he wants to apply the expenditure tax to these people also. What would be the position, Sir? If applied, we will have hundreds of people unemployed. We will have hundreds of poor widows and people like that without any return because, when they have to pay the expenditure-tax after Rs. 3,000, and all these things are included in the expenditure, they will be forced to cut off all those things.

SHRI N. M. LINGAM: The exemption limit is much higher.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: No, the exemption limit is at Rs. 3,000 and anybody who spends Rs. 3,100, for example, will have to pay.

SHRI N. M. LINGAM: No, no.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Yes. I would be very happy if it is made clear, what the position is. So my respectful submission is that while dealing with these modern trends we forget that we have in society persons of this category also. I do not want any concessions, but I want a human, decent, reasonable treatment to them and to save those people who, whether you or I like it or not, are dependants and they are being given their allowances and salaries, and they are carrying on their life.

Now, Sir, I would briefly refer to a point which my friend, a leader of the group of Communists, referred to while discussing the matter. Sir, I have heard not only here but in the Madras Assembly also that Mr. Ramamurti was considered one of the cleverest Members, and once Rajaji said: "If anybody could trip me, it is Ramamurti." Now, Sir, regarding that I am not afraid because, as diamond cuts diamond, we have got a Madras Finance Minister here to meet Mr.

Ramamurti. The thing is, he said and he expressed his anger and disapproval about the Indian situation; he said that technologically they had not developed, what Soviet Russia had done. Sir, I know and I fully appreciate that after the Revolution a new life had come in Soviet Russia. But to compare India sixteen years back with Russia before the Revolution is, I think, absolutely incorrect and not according to facts. (Interruptions). Although the Czar was despotic, technologically Russia was not at all inferior to any of the European countries. You forget that in science, in technology, she was very highly advanced. During the First War and during the Second War we know that India could not produce even a good pin, could not produce anything worth the name, and now we are producing engines, aeroplanes and what not. I know that my friends of the Communist Party (Interruptions) are very adept at plus and minus, but let it be plus 50 degrees and minus 50 degrees, not zero degree and 100 degrees. Exaggeration should have some limit. We have advanced, we do admit that we have still to go further. That is why the Finance Minister has correctly mentioned in his Budget speech that he is inviting foreign capital; more so, it is to get the technical know-how.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): Why do not they develop anything here?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: You better go to Peking, then you will realise the beauties of India.

DR. A. SUBBA RAO (Kerala): Is it not possible to have that technical know-how here?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Dr. Subba Rao, he is not yielding.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I may. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: You carry on.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I am grateful to you, Sir. My submission is that in these matters we have to



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learn from outside countries till we have brought our country at the same par, at the same level, at the same stage. So, I would submit that that objection is absolutely uncalled for and his criticism regarding the progress of India and the work that the Government has done is not at all in consonance with facts and figures.

Sir, I need not say much about him because he is not also here now; I mean our respected, dear, esteemed friend, the hon. Member, Shri Dahyabhai Patel. He opened the debate and he started firing. Certainly, he started firing. But one thing I must say; (Interruptions) he wrote and read out his speech and it was much better anyway. But when he started speaking extempore, he started giving thrusts here and there, and the worst thing is, I would say, he tries to play between the Finance Minister and the Prime Minister always. He is the son of a great man, he is the leader of a group, and I understand that he is coming into fresh light and added strength. So, probably, he will be first leader of the group. I would implore him, I would request him, that he should see to the dignity of that place and should not do things which do not befit his position. I mean, they want to live in the old days of orthodox conservatism. They are very good people. but they do not fit in with the new times and new ideas and new circumstances. That is a different thing. We can fight it out. But at the same time we have to keep up the dignity of the House. If I may respectfully submit, as you, Sir, yourself have said, the dignity of this House and the standard of this House have to be kept up.

I would not say about the other things but I am very happy that my esteemed friend, Mr. Vajpayee, has accepted at least partial control. He was against any control. . .

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: No, no.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: He said that he was against full control but that whenever necessary, partial control might be. . .

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: No, that has been. . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Before that, you were nearer the Swatantra Party which is against all controls

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: They are not against self-control; even the Swatantra Party is not against self-control.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Akbar Ali Khan, in the interests of the other members of your party of whom I have a very long list, may I know how long you will take to finish your speech?

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: He should exercise his control over that.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Can I have ten more minutes, Sir?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Ten minutes?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Five or six minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please try to finish.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: All right, Sir.

I came when my friend, Mr. Sulaiman Sait, was speaking. I do not want to bring in those controversies here. He is a very nice friend. But I think he made certain observations on Mr. Chagla's speech at Madras. Let us keep these remarks and observations to the platforms, that is much better. But when he has said this, I must say, even in the narrow interests of his own community, if I may be permitted to say so after 44 years of experience, that the communal organisations like the Muslim League, the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Akali Dal, will not be of any benefit even to their own communities. So, may I appeal to him to just have a rethinking and to join into the full life of the country which is moving fast so that the

separation, the exclusion the inferiority complex go away? And let us all together build a new India free from all prejudices, as enshrined in our Constitution.

Now, I must come to the subject that I had promised to Sir, I feel that the difficulty is there because there is no drive in all these measures. Take, for instance, agriculture, take social affairs. We have provided money. There are schemes and all these things, but nothing comes out. The other day, our friend, Mr. Gupta, was saying that even in regard to social affairs, the amount that was granted was not spent. In regard to defence, as Prof. Wadia just now said, the unspent amount is Rs. 100 crores. Of course, we tightened our belt, we wanted to stand on our own feet; we gave the money but that was not spent. So, the Government will have to explain why this was not done to the entire satisfaction of Parliament. My submission is that a drive is necessary, particularly in the province of agriculture. My submission is that the Finance Minister has said in his Budget Speech that before the kharif season, certain proposals will have to be taken up. My respectful submission is that so far as agriculture is concerned, the Agriculture Minister, the Irrigation and Power Minister and the Community Development Minister must divide the whole country and within six months tour the whole country along with the Agriculture or Planning Ministers of the States and see that everything is implemented and that the difficulties that come in the way, administrative and procedural difficulties, are absolutely warded off and that a sense of emergency is created among the Officers who carry out these things. That is one suggestion.

The other thing is, I am also pained that our public sector undertakings are not working to our satisfaction. In view of that, I would suggest that the Finance Minister, the Industries Minister and Mr. Subramaniam, the

Minister of Steel, Mines and Heavy Engineering, should also take note of certain things. There should be no question of any appointment of committees and commissions. The Mahalanobis Committee has been working for four years. About this Monopolies Commission, I welcome it. But I do not know how many years it will take. That will not do. Parliament wants the report, in the coming sessions of August, about the public sector undertakings. To see to agricultural progress and development, the Finance Minister and other Ministers should divide the whole country and see that everything is implemented. My view is that the benefit of planning is not reaching the common man because either the middleman is devouring it or the administration has not necessary drive and imagination to effectively implement the Plan. This should be done by making Ministers realise their responsibility.

The other thing that I would submit is this. So far as some of the general problems are concerned, Sir, we are all extremely pained to hear the statement that Mr. Khanna, Rehabilitation Minister made today and we all share his anxiety, and I would like the Finance Minister to spend as much money as possible for this purpose because it is a human question. Whether they are people uprooted in Bengal and Calcutta or they are people uprooted in East Bengal, it is a human question. If you will permit me, Sir, may I suggest that all of us will be very happy—and I am sure not only all the parties of this Parliament but also of the Legislatures—if, as a token of our respect and appreciation, 10 per cent. of our salaries is cut and given for the purpose of rehabilitation. (Interruption) I mean, it is a suggestion that I place before you. I know it is not going to meet the full expenditure. But that will show that we want to share the difficulties of our people.

Now, Sir, the Finance Minister has also referred to his anxiety about the States. Well, I appreciate it but at

[Shri Akbar Ali Khan.]

the same time, may I submit that as far as the big projects like the Nagarjunasagar Dam and others are concerned, if we put them in the Plan amounts, allotted to the States they cannot go on? These big projects should be taken up by the Government. Very correctly, Sir, the Neiveli project of Madras has been taken outside the Plan amount. So when we consider the question of the States and their liabilities to pay, let the Centre also think over the question very seriously. If they are not doing their part, certainly they must be pulled up. If they are not spending money properly, certainly they must be pulled up. I would respectfully submit, Sir, that the genuine difficulties of the States should be looked into. I do not speak only on behalf of Andhra Pradesh. I consider it my duty to speak on behalf of all the States, specially backward States, and I would submit, Sir, that in this matter a very careful scrutiny should be made, and let the Finance Minister in consultation with Chief Ministers see how far, so far as these big projects are concerned, they can be taken up by the Centre.

Now, Sir, I know you want me to sit down as the time is up. But before I resume my seat I would like to say just a word about Kashmir, although I had some other points also to speak on, lest I should be failing in my responsibility I give priority to Kashmir. The other day we had a very big gathering and a convention where we representatives of all States decided that politically, legally and morally Kashmir is an integral part of India. In saying so, Sir, my selfishness is also there. I consider Kashmir as a symbol of secularism. I consider it a negation of the two-nation theory. I consider it a pledge to maintain true nationalism. For the last thirty years. I have known the affairs. there, I have been in touch with their leaders, and I have found that no communal organisation was ever able to prosper there although they had a some name there. Now about such a place, where there has

always been nationalism in practice, where there has always been true secularism, it is our duty to prevent it from the encroachment of a theocratic state. It is my respectful appeal, if my appeal can go to the people of United Kingdom and the United States, please consider this not only from the point of view of the Kashmir problem but from the point of view of all the minorities in this country and the other countries, particularly, Pakistan. I think, Sir, this Kashmir affair is really responsible for all the atrocities that are being committed on the other side. If these friends firmly and definitely advise Pakistan, I am sure this matter will end and peace will prevail in the sub-continent.

One word more and I have finished, and it is this. I am convinced—I have said this before and I say this again—if an independent commission from the United Nations goes to the so-called Azad Kashmir and it also goes to Kashmir which is with us, they will find out what are the economic, political and social condition of the people at both places. I have no doubt that they will come to the conclusion that the privileges and the amenities that are enjoyed by the people in our Kashmir are much more compared to those enjoyed by who are in Pakistan occupied Kashmir. Thus from the point of view of Kashmiris also the attachment to India is a blessing.

With these words, Sir, I generally command the proposals contained in the Budget for the acceptance of this House. I am grateful to you, Sir, for giving me a little more time to speak.

غزو ہند کے ال کرمل دطالب

( اتر پردیش ) : جناب والا - اسد

کی جاتی تھی کہ شری مراد جی

تہستانی کے بعد جو ہجرت آئے کا

اس سے قریب اور عام لوگوں کو

بہت کچھ پہنچانے کی -

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

اب جو بھت شری تی - تی -  
 کوشا ما چاری نے پوہی کیا ہے -  
 اس کو دیکھتے ہوئے یہ معلوم ہوتا  
 ہے کہ غریب عوام کو ریلیف ملتا  
 تو درکنار رہا ان پر تقریباً ۲۵ کروڑ  
 روپے کے ٹیکس کا بوجھ اور لاٹ  
 دیا گیا ہے - یہ ایک ایسا بھت  
 ہے جو اوپر سے کچھ ہے اور باہر  
 سے کچھ ہے اور ایک چالاک آدمی  
 کی طرح انہوں نے یہ بھت پوہی  
 کیا ہے - جس کے ذریعہ انہوں نے  
 پورے لکھ آدمیوں کو بے وقوف بنانے  
 کی کوشش کی ہے -

بھت شور ملتے تھے پہلو میں دل کا  
 جو چہرہ تو ایک قطارِ خوں تہ نکلا  
 بہت سے لوگوں نے اس کو لگا  
 رکھی تھی کہ عوام کو اور غریبوں کو  
 ان کے بھت سے کافی ریلیف ملے  
 گا مگر دیکھتے ہیں یہ آیا کہ ہمارے  
 تی - تو کوشا ما چاری جی نے اپنے  
 بھت کے ذریعہ کھپتلاست اور سرمایہ  
 داروں کی ہی مدد کی - کہونکہ  
 وہ ہمیشہ سے ان کی نالائقی  
 کرتے آ رہے ہیں - ایک سمجھدار  
 آدمی کہی بھی اس بات سے اتفاق  
 نہیں کرے گا کہ انہوں نے جو بھت  
 پوہی کیا ہے اس سے عام لوگوں  
 کو کچھ سانس لینے کا موقعہ ملے  
 گا - کہنے کو تو کہا گیا ہے کہ سی -  
 تی - اس کو ختم کر دیا گیا ہے

کہنے کو تو کہا گیا ہے - دوبارہ  
 ایکسپریس ٹیکس لگایا جائے گا -  
 کہنے کو تو کہا گیا ہے کہ منوبلی  
 کنسٹرکشن آف ویلٹ کو ختم کرنے  
 کی کوشش کی جائے گی - کہنے کو  
 تو یہ بھی کہا گیا ہے کہ اسٹڈ -  
 کاربن ڈائکسائیڈ گرام فون پر سے ٹیکس  
 ہٹا دیا گیا ہے - مگر آپ اگر اس کو  
 غور سے اٹھاتی کہیں گے سمجھنے کی  
 کوشش کریں گے تو آپ کو معلوم  
 ہوگا کہ غریبوں کو اس سے کسی  
 قسم کا ریلیف نہیں ملا ہے - ان  
 کے اس بھت سے زیادہ سے زیادہ  
 کنسٹرکشن کھولیسٹوں کو ملے ہے اور  
 انہوں کو بہت زیادہ ریلیف دیا گیا  
 ہے - اگر میں اس کے متعلق اپنی  
 رائے دوں تو شاید آپ لوگ نہیں  
 مانیں گے لیکن میں آپ کے سامنے  
 ایک پرانے لہڈر شری این - ری -  
 کھڈل کے الفاظ رکھنا چاہتا ہوں -  
 وہ کانگریس کے ایک پرانے آدمی  
 ہیں - سیکرٹری اسمبلی اور سیکرٹری  
 گورنمنٹ میں مسٹر وہ چکے ہیں  
 اور پنجاب کے گورنر بھی وہ چکے  
 ہیں - انہوں نے حال میں ایک  
 بیان دیا ہے اور ان کے دو سینیٹراس  
 میں آپ کے سامنے پڑ کر حنا  
 چاہتا ہوں -

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी : हटन के बाद  
 सब ऐसा ही कहते हैं ।

شری پیارے لال کرہل ددطالبہ:

انہوں نے اس طرح کی باتیں کہی ہیں کہ کسی بھی تہوں - انہوں نے اپنا خیال نہیں بدلا اصول نہیں بدلا اور جو کچھ کہا ہے توہمک کہا ہے -

"There is nothing of socialism in the new Union Budget. A more favourable Budget to the capitalist class could not have been presented. The Finance Minister does not believe in control nor in the nationalisation of banks and seems to have forgotten Bhubaneswar."

یہ ان کے الفاظ ہیں جو انہوں نے اس بجٹ کے بارے میں کہتے ہیں اور ان پر ہمیں بہت غور کرنا چاہئے۔ چاہئے تو یہ تھا کہ ڈائریکٹ ٹیکسیز کا جو ہماری بوجھ غریبوں کے اوپر ہے - جو عوام پر ایک بڑا بھاری بوجھ لگی سالوں سے ہے اس کو اس بجٹ کے ذریعہ کم کرنے کی ضرورت تھی - کم سے کم ۵۰ پورسینٹ بوجھ کو کم کرنے کی ضرورت تھی - انڈائریکٹ ٹیکسیز کو ختم کرنے کی ضرورت تھی اور کم سے کم ۵۰ فی صدی ان کو کم کیا جانا تھا جو ٹیکسز پچھلے سال لگانے کے تھے کچھ چھوڑ کر مثلاً مٹی کے تھل پر ، بناسہتی پر صابی پر ، ماحسن پر ، چھلی پر جو دیوتی تھی اس کو ختم کرنے کی ضرورت ہے - کیونکہ یہ عوام کی روزانہ استعمال کی چیزیں

ہیں لیکن ہم دیکھتے ہیں کہ جو بجٹ پیہی کہا گیا ہے اس کے ذریعہ اس کے بوجھ کے نیچے عوام اسی طرح دیے ہی دھینگے اور اسی کا شکر عوام دھینگے - اس بجٹ سے عوام کو کسی طرح کا چھوٹ نہیں ملے گا اور عوام اسی طرح بھوکا اور نکلا رہے گا -

آپ نے اس بجٹ کے ذریعہ ایکسپنڈیچر ٹیکس بھڑکایا ہے - مگر ساتھ ساتھ یہ کوشش نہیں کی گئی کہ بلیک منی کو معلوم کیا جائے - جو ہڈن ویلتہ ہے اس کو معلوم کیا جائے - ہمارے ملک میں بہت سے ایسے لوگ ہیں جن کے گھروں میں سونے کے اسمار لگے ہوئے ہیں لیکن اس کو معلوم کرنے کی کوشش نہیں کی گئی - اب سوال یہ پیدا ہوتا ہے کہ ان بلیک منی کے بارے میں کس سے معلوم کیا جائے - یہ ایک بہت بڑا سوال ہے - یہاں کچھ لوگوں کے پاس ہڈن ویلتہ ہے - جس کو انہوں نے چھپا کر رکھا ہے - اس کے بارے میں میں کچھ کہنا چاہتا ہوں - سب سے پہلے میں منسٹر صاحبان کی طرف دھیان دوں گا کہ ان کے اسٹمس کو معلوم کیا جائے - ایسے ایسے منسٹرس ہیں جو ۱۵ سالوں سے کابینہ کے اندر ہیں اور انہوں نے کافی دولت جمع کر لی ہے - اس کے بارے میں آپ کو

معلوم کرنا چاہئے اور آپ کو انکے گھروں کو دیتے کرنا چاہئے - گھروں کے لئے لے کر دوڑوں روپے جمع کر لئے ہیں - یہ صحیح بات ہے اور آپ روزانہ پوچھ رہے دیکھتے ہیں - مہاراجا ذاتی علم ہے اس بات کا کہ ہمارے پہلے کے فائنلس منسٹر سراجی بھائی کے لئے کتنی دھسائی - -

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please speak on the Budget.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): On a point of order. I have not the slightest love for Mr. Kairon. but I think it is wrong . . .

شری پھارے لال کرپل ددطالب :

وہ پہلے ۱۰۰ روپے پر ملازم تھے اب کروڑوں روپے کے مالک بن گئے ہیں -

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think no allegation should be made against anybody. The Chair will not allow . . .

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: . . . since the case is pending before a tribunal.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall order that your speech will not be taken down if you continue to mention names.

شری پھارے لال کرپل ددطالب :

مہتمم قہقی چورمہن - یہ ایک معمولی سی بات ہے جس کا تعلق ہلکے منی سے ہے - جو ہڈن ویلے سے تعلق رکھتی ہے اور یہ کوئی چھپی ہوئی بات نہیں ہے - استھت منسٹر اور سہنل منسٹر جو ہیں ان کے

اسٹس کے بارے میں ہمیں معلوم کرنا چاہئے - میں ہی یہ بات نہیں کہتا ہوں بلکہ اس سدن میں بھی اس بارے میں کئی بار آواز اٹھائی گئی ہے کہ ایسے لوگوں کے اسٹس معلوم کئے جائیں - ان کے رشتہ داروں ان کے مال بچوں کے اسٹس معلوم کئے جائیں - کہوں کہ یہ کرپشن دور کرنے کا ایک طریقہ ہے -

طام ایکٹرز کو آپ لے لہجئے - یہ اوہن بات ہے اور ہر آدمی اچھی طرح سے جانتا ہے کہ ایک پکچر میں کام کرنے کے لئے وہ ۵ لاکھ سے لے کر ۱۵ اور ۲۰ لاکھ تک لیتے ہیں - اور کنٹریکٹ میں صرف ۵۰ ہزار یا زیادہ سے زیادہ ۱ لاکھ دکھاتے ہیں - تو یہ بات ہر آدمی جانتا ہے کہ کنٹریکٹ میں وہ صرف ۵۰ ہزار دکھاتے ہیں لیکن لاکھوں روپے ان کے پاس موجود ہے اور اس طرح لاکھوں روپے کا ٹیکس اویزنوتا ہے - یہ چھپی ہوئی بات نہیں ہے - آپ اس کو معلوم کریں - یہ میں انڈیزول کی بات نہیں کہہ رہا ہوں - آپ ان کے گھروں میں دیتے دیکھئے اور جو بڑے بڑے بزنس میں اور کنٹریکٹرز ہیں ان کے گھروں میں دیتے دیکھئے - اس طرح ان کو معلوم کھجئے اور ان کا نام پوچھ میں شہر کھجئے - یہ ایک حقیقت ہے اور آپ اس کا پتہ لگائیں -

[(شری پھارے لال کریل دہ غالبہ)]  
 اس طرح سے سپر پرفارمنس ٹیکس  
 کو ختم کر کے بڑے بڑے جو بزنس مین  
 ہوں ان کی مدد کی گئی ہے۔ اس  
 کے علاوہ سر ٹیکس لگایا گیا ہے مگر  
 ساتھ ہی ساتھ ان کو ریہیٹ دیا گیا  
 ہے۔ جو لوگ انڈسٹری چلاتے ہیں  
 ان کو ریہیٹ ملے گا۔ یہ سب  
 باتیں ہوں جن پر اچھی طرح آپ  
 غور کیجئے۔

اب کنسلٹریشن آف ویلٹھ کو آپ  
 لے لےجئے۔ کنسلٹریشن آف ویلٹھ  
 کیا چیز ہے۔ آدھا پوسٹل شہر  
 ہولڈرس جو ہوں ان کے ہاتھ میں  
 ۵۹۰۲۵ پوسٹل شہر ملی ہے۔ آپ  
 اس کو معلوم کیجئے کہ آدھا فی  
 صدی لوگوں کے پاس کل کمپنوں کے  
 کمپنیل کا آدھے سے زیادہ روپہ ہے۔  
 ۱.۳ فی صدی کمپنوں کے پاس  
 پینڈاپ کمپنیل کا ۴۵ فی صدی روپہ  
 ہے۔ اسی طرح سے کمپنوں کا سرمایہ  
 ۹۰۰ کروڑ روپہ سے بڑھ کر ۲۵  
 سو کروڑ ہو گیا ہے مگر دو چوتھی کے  
 جو بڑے بڑے سرمایہ دار ہوں ان کے  
 پاس ۶۰۰ کروڑ روپہ کا سرمایہ ہے  
 کل ۳۱۷۳ ڈائریکٹرشپ میں سے  
 ۴۴ آدمیوں کے پاس ۲ ہزار ڈائریکٹرشپ  
 ہیں اور باقی ۵۰۲ آدمیوں کے پاس  
 ۲۱۷۳ ڈائریکٹرشپ ہیں۔ دیکھ  
 کے ہمیں بڑے بڑے بھنگوں کے ۱۸۸  
 ڈائریکٹروں کے پاس ۱۶۴۰ ڈائریکٹرشپ

ہیں۔ جس آدمی کے پاس آزادی سے  
 پہلے ایک مل یا ایک فیکٹری تھی  
 آج اس کے پاس دو تھی سے لے کر  
 آدھے درجن تک فیکٹریاں اور ملوں  
 ہیں۔

بڑی بڑی فیکٹریز کو آپ پروتساہن  
 دیتے ہیں اور بڑی بڑی انڈسٹریز قائم  
 کرتے ہیں اور اس طرح کنسلٹریشن  
 آف ویلٹھ کو چند آدمیوں کے ہاتھ  
 میں دے دیتے ہیں۔ چھوٹی چھوٹی  
 انڈسٹریز کو چھوٹے چھوٹے ادھوک  
 دھندوں کو آپ کسی قسم کا پروتساہن  
 نہیں دیتے ہیں۔ چھوٹی چھوٹی  
 انڈسٹریز جو ہوں ان کو چھوٹے چھوٹے  
 لوگ چلاتے ہیں اس لئے چھوٹی  
 چھوٹی انڈسٹریز کو قائم کرنے کی  
 ضرورت ہے تاکہ ملک میں کنسلٹریشن  
 آف ویلٹھ جو چند آدمیوں کے ہاتھ  
 میں ہو رہا ہے وہ ختم ہو۔ اس  
 سلسلہ میں آپ نے روپن ہوس انکوائری  
 کمیٹی بنائی جس کی رپورٹ تو  
 سال کے بعد پھی ہوئی۔ آپ نے  
 انکم ٹیکس انکوائری کمیٹی بنائی۔  
 کمیٹی لا ایڈمنسٹریشن کی بھی  
 رپورٹ آئی۔ مہالانوبس کمیٹی کی  
 رپورٹ چار سال ہو گئے ہیں لیکن  
 ابھی تک سامنے نہیں آئی ہے۔ ان  
 تمام رپورٹوں کے بعد بھی آپ کہتے  
 ہیں کہ ہم کمپنیں بڑھائیں گے۔  
 اب اگر کمپنیں بننا تو اس کی رپورٹ  
 آنے میں کم از کم پانچ سال لگ

جائینگے اور اس کا بھی انجام یہی ہوگا۔

ہم نے مانا کہ تغافل نہ کرو گے لیکن خاک ہو جائینگے ہم تم کو خبر ہونے تک

آپ کمیشن پر کمیشن بگھاتے ہیں لیکن کمیشن کی رپورٹ کو تھپک طرح امپلیمینٹ نہیں کیا جاتا ہے۔ آپ اچھی طرح سے جانتے ہیں کہ کہاں کنسلٹریشن آف ویلٹھ ہے اور کس طرح سے ہم اس کو دور کر سکتے ہیں۔ اگر آپ چند سرمایہ داروں کو پروتساہن دینا چاہتے ہیں اور انہوں کو بڑھاوا دینا چاہتے ہیں تو اس دیس کے اندر صحیح معنوں میں جمہوریت کا آنا محض ایک خواب کی بات ہے۔ سوشلزم کہاں سے آپ لائینگے جب ابھی تک آپ جمہوریت ہی نہیں لہائے ہیں۔ جمہوریت کا مطلب یہ ہے۔

“Government of the people, by the people, for the people.”

معمولی الفاظ میں اس کا مطلب عوام کی حکومت سے ہے۔ تو سوشلزم تو دور رہا آپ عوام کی حکومت بھی نہیں لا سکتے ہیں اگر اس طرح سے کنسلٹریشن آف ویلٹھ ہوتا گیا اور چند لوگوں کے ہاتھ میں ایس کی پونجی اور سرمایہ آنا چلا گیا۔

جہاں تک فارن کیپیٹل اور انوسٹمنٹ کا تعلق ہے آپ نے ہلدوستان

میں فارن کیپیٹل کے لئے دروازہ ہمیشہ کے لئے کھول دیا ہے اور اس کو آپ برابر بڑھاوا دے رہے ہیں۔ ۱۹۵۰ء میں جب کہ ہماری پہلی پونجی شروع ہوئی تھی تو باہری پونجی اس دیس میں ۳ سو کروڑ روپہ تھی۔ ۱۹۶۲ میں یہ پونجی بڑھ کر ۸۵۰ کروڑ روپہ ہو گئی۔ فارن کیپٹیشن کے جو ایکریمنٹ ہوئے وہ ۱۹۵۸ میں ۷۷ تھے جو ۱۹۶۲ میں بڑھ کر ۱۳۳۲ ہو گئے۔ ہمارے دیس کی ساری اکانامی کا دارومدار اب زیادہ تر فارن کیپیٹل پر ہوتا جا رہا ہے۔ کل اگر یہ فارن کیپیٹل ودقرا کر لیا جائے تو ہماری اکانامی بالکل کلیپس ہو جائے گی۔ اس بات کو بغیر خیال کئے ہوئے آپ فارن کیپیٹل کو بڑھاوا دے رہے ہیں۔

اب میں ٹیکس اوپین کے متعلق کچھ عرض کرونگا۔ مہر نے جیسا کہ پہلے بھی بتایا فلم اسٹار اور بڑے بڑے افسر اور بزنس میں کے پاس جو روپہ جمع ہے اس کو حاصل کرنے کی کوشش کھینچتے۔ آپ دیکھئے کہ ٹیکس اوپین اور ایپر آف انکم ٹیکس کے متعلق کتنا روپہ بچایا ہے۔ سے کم ہے۔ اس لئے زیادہ نہ کہتے ہوئے اس سبببہ میں پبلک اکاؤنٹس کمیٹی نے جو رائے ظاہر کی ہے اس کو میں پڑھے دیتا ہوں۔



[شری پھارے لال کرپل ددطالبہ]

"The Committee feel concerned to note the increase in arrears of Income-tax from Rs. 253.49 crores as on 31st March, 1961 to Rs. 287.32 crores as on 31st March, 1962 and Rs. 271.71 crores as on 31st March, 1963. The Committee are especially worried about the slow progress in making recoveries against the old demands. The percentage of collection against the old demands has progressively gone down from 16.4 in 1958-59 to 15 in 1959-60, 14.3 in 1960-61 and 13.2 in 1961-62. The Committee note the steps taken by the Ministry to liquidate the old arrears. They desire that the position should be kept constantly under review and vigorous efforts made to speed up the recoveries. The present position in which out of the total demand of Rs. 567.51 crores for 1962-63, the arrears amounted to Rs. 271.71 crores which came to about 50 per cent cannot be considered as satisfactory.

The Committee also note that there is not much improvement in the disposal of outstanding appeals. The number of appeals pending as on 31st October, 1963 was 65,237 as against 86,226 as on 30th June, 1962. The Committee desire that early and adequate action should be taken for bringing down the arrears so as not to exceed four months' work load, as suggested by the Direct Taxes Administration Enquiry Committee."

کوئی کسان لکان نہ دے تو اس کی بیل بددھیا کو آپ نہام کر لیتے ہیں مگر اگلے بڑے بڑے بزنس مین کے پاس اتنا ایئر موجود ہے مگر اس کو حاصل کرنے کے لئے آپ کوئی قدم موثر نہیں اٹھاتے ہیں۔ اس لئے آپ یہ روپیہ حاصل کرنے کی بات سوچتے۔

بہت سے لوگ انکم ٹیکس چھپائے ہوئے ہیں۔ پبلک اکاؤنٹس کمیٹی نے بھی کہا ہے کہ ۸ کروڑ روپیہ انکم ٹیکس کا ہے جو چھپایا گیا ہے اور اس میں ۲۵۲۱۱ آدمی شامل ہیں۔ مگر کسی ایک کے خلاف بھی کارروائی نہیں کی گئی ہے پبلک اکاؤنٹس کمیٹی کا تو یہ کہنا ہے کہ ۸ کروڑ روپیہ چھپایا گیا ہے۔ مگر میں کہوں گا کہ کم سے کم ۲۰ کروڑ روپیہ سے یہ کسی حالت میں کم نہیں ہے۔ اسکی طرف آپ فوراً دھیان دیں۔

اب میں پبلک سیکٹر کی طرف آتا ہوں۔ آپ یہ دیکھئے کہ پبلک سیکٹر میں ویسٹاگج کتنا ہوتا ہے۔ پبلک سیکٹر میں ۲۷۰۰ کروڑ روپے کا انوسٹمنٹ ہے اور اس پر بھی ۲ فی صدی سالانہ نفع ہوتا ہے۔ اسی طرح سے ۳۸ انڈرٹیکمکس میں ۹۹۲ کروڑ روپے کا انوسٹمنٹ ہے لیکن سال میں سو روپے پر صرف ۲۵ نئے پیسہ کا نفع ہوتا ہے۔ تو یہ کس طرح ہوتا ہے؟ اس طرح کے بڑے بڑے افسروں کو بڑی بڑی تنخواہیں ملتی ہیں۔ آئی۔ اے۔ ایس۔ اور آئی۔ سی۔ ایس۔ کے وہاں آدمی ہیں اور بڑی بڑی تنخواہیں پاتے ہیں۔ اسٹیبلشمنٹ پر بہت خرچ ہوتا ہے روپے پر روپے خرچ ہوتے ہیں لیکن کوئی پوچھنے والا نہیں ہے کہ صحیح طور پر خرچ ہوتا ہے یا نہیں ہوتا ہے۔ تو میں

مرض کرونگا کہ یہ جو مہوج ریستوران  
میں اس کو ختم کرنے کی کوشش  
کیجئے۔ ( وقت کی گنتی ) میں  
کہا ہوتاں مجھے سمجھ میں نہیں  
آتا کہ میں کون کونسے پولیٹ کو  
دکھوں۔ ابھی تو میں نے شروع ہی  
کیا ہے۔ میں آپ سے درخواست  
کروں گا کہ مجھے زیادہ قائم دیا  
جائے۔

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kureel, I will not be able to give you very much time. I can give you just two minutes more.

شری پھارے لال کرہل دہ طالب :

دس منٹ اور نہیں ملے تو کم سے کم  
۵ منٹ ہی مل جائیں۔

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Fifteen minutes you have already taken. I can give you only another two minutes.

شری پھارے لال کرہل دہ طالب :

ایگریکلچرل پروڈکشن کی بات آپ  
کرتے ہیں۔ ایگریکلچرل پروڈکشن  
کےسے بڑھ سکتا ہے۔ جب کہ یہاں  
کے ۲۰ فی صدی زمین داروں کے ہاتھ  
میں ۷۰ سے ۸۰ فی صدی تک کی  
زمین ہے اور ۲۰ سے ۸۰ فی صدی  
کسان ایسے ہیں جن کے پاس مشکل  
سے ۲۰ فی صدی زمین ہے۔ زمین  
کو آپ ایگریکلچرل ٹیچرس آف دی سوائل  
کو دےجئے۔ جو اپنے ہاتھ سے مل  
چلاتے ہیں ان کو دےجئے۔ آپ کو تو

پتہ ہی ہے کہ ہمارے دھرم کے اندر  
بڑی ذات والوں کے لئے ہل کی مٹی  
پکڑنا ایک گناہ سمجھا جاتا ہے۔  
ایک ادھرم کی بات سمجھی جاتی  
ہے۔ جب تک آپ یہ زمین کسانوں  
کو نہیں دیں گے جو کہ اپنے ہاتھ سے  
جوتلے ہیں تب تک کچھ نہیں ہوگا۔  
آپ ان لینڈلےس ایگریکلچرل ٹیچرس  
کو زمین دےجئے جو کہ اپنے ہاتھ سے  
زمین جوتلے کو تیار ہیں۔ ان  
لوگوں کی کافی بڑی تعداد ہے۔  
جب تک آپ ان لوگوں کو زمین  
نہیں دیتے تب تک آپ کا پروڈکشن نہیں  
بڑھ سکتا۔ ان کو انسپنڈیو دےجئے  
مگر آپ یہ نہیں کریں گے۔ آپ ان  
چھوٹے چھوٹے کسانوں کو چھوٹے چھوٹے  
کھیتی ہر مزدوروں کو پیسہ دےجئے  
تائم پر فرٹلائزر دےجئے۔ اچھا بھیج  
دےجئے اور ان کو اپنے پروڈکشن کا  
مناسب دام دےجئے۔ جب تک آپ  
مڈل میں کو الیمینٹ نہیں کریں گے  
تب تک نہ تو کسان پیداوار بڑھا  
سکتا ہے اور نہ ان کو اپنی پیداوار کا  
مناسب دام مل سکتا ہے۔ بڑے  
بڑے ہووڈرس ہیں، بڑے بڑے گریوی  
فیلوس ہیں جو کہ فصل تیار ہونے  
پر اسے سستے داموں پر خرید لیتے  
ہیں اس کو جمع کرتے ہیں اور جمع  
کرنے کے بعد اس کا من مانا دام چلتا  
سے لیتے ہیں۔ تو کچھ ایسی بمبائی  
تبدیلی لائیے جس سے کہ کسان کو  
اپنی چیزوں کا مناسب دام ملے۔

[شروی پیارے لال کریل دہ طالبہ:]  
جب تک آپ ہرائس ریلوے کو سٹیشنز  
نہیں کھولتے تب تک کسان کو  
مناسیب دام نہیں ملے گا۔ اس کے  
علاوہ جو فیکٹریز میں چھڑیں  
پروڈیوس کی جاتی ہیں ان کا بھی  
دام طے کھجئے۔ ہماری پارٹی کا یہ  
کہنا ہے کہ اس پر زیادہ سے زیادہ  
۵۰ پرسنٹ کا فرق ہونا چاہئے۔  
یعنی جو ایک روپیہ گئی چھڑ ہے وہ  
سب ٹیکس وغیرہ لگا کر دیوہ روپیہ  
میں عوام کو ملنا چاہئے۔ اس چھڑ  
کو آپ دیکھیں پرافٹ موشو جو ہے  
وہ نہیں ہونا چاہئے۔ گورنمنٹ کے  
انڈرٹیکٹس میں جو چھڑیں ملتی  
ہیں اس میں پرافٹ موشو نہیں  
ہونا چاہئے۔

میں آپ سے درخواست کروں  
گا کہ تھورا سا ٹائم مجھے اور دے  
دیں۔

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am  
very sorry; you will please wind up  
now.

شروی پیارے لال کریل دہ طالبہ :  
تو میں عرض یہ ہے کہ کہانے پڑھنے  
کی چیزیں کے دام بڑھ رہے ہیں ان  
کو آپ قابو میں لائیے تاکہ جو غریب  
آدمی ہیں جو کہ کتنی مصیبتوں  
میں ہیں، کتنی پریشانیوں میں ہیں  
اسے ہم آپ اچھی طرح سے جانتے ہیں۔  
ان کو کچھ ریلیف ملے۔ ابھی گورنمنٹ  
کی آنکھوں کے نیچے تمام قسم کی

پرافٹریڈنگ بڑے بڑے ہورڈس بڑے  
بڑے گریڈ ٹیلرس کرتے ہیں اور اسے  
روکنے کے لئے گورنمنٹ اپنے کو بالکل  
ناکارہ پاتی ہے۔

श्री प्रकाश नारायण सनू : गवर्नमेंट  
खुद करती है।

شروی پیارے لال کریل دہ طالبہ :

جی ہاں۔ گورنمنٹ بھی خود کرنی  
ہے آپ نے دیکھا کہ کوآپریٹو  
سوسائٹیز کے اندر کیا ہوتا ہے۔ تو  
جب تک کوئی ایکزمپلری قدم نہیں  
اٹھایا جائے گا تب تک یہ سب چلتا  
رہے گا۔ محض کنٹرول کرلے سے آپ  
پرائسز کو قابو نہیں کر سکتے۔  
پروڈکشن بڑھائیے اور پروڈکشن بڑھانے  
کے ساتھ ساتھ ان لوگوں کو ایکزمپلری  
پڈشمنٹ دیجئے۔ ان کو کھلم کھلا  
پبلک اسکوائر میں لے جا کر کوڑے  
لگائیے۔ پھانسی نہیں لگا سکتے  
جیسا کہ روس میں کیا جاتا ہے لیکن  
کم سے کم کوڑے تو لگائیے۔ آپ دو  
چار کو کوڑے لگائیے تو پھر دیکھئے  
پرافٹریڈنگ ختم ہوتی ہے ہورڈنگ  
ختم ہوتی ہے اور لوگوں کو مناسب  
دام پر چھڑیں ملتی ہیں۔

میں زیادہ نہ کہتے ہوئے آپ سے  
درخواست کروں گا کہ اگر آپ اس دیس  
کے اندر سوشلزم لانا چاہتے ہیں۔ اس  
دیس کے اندر صحیح جمہوریت لانا چاہتے  
ہیں انڈسٹریز کا ڈولپمنٹ کرنا چاہتے  
ہیں، ایگریکلچر کا ڈولپمنٹ چاہتے

میں تو ایک بات یاد رکھئے کہ بیلکس  
کا نیشنلائزیشن کرنا بہت ضروری ہے -  
ہماری ہے - ہماری پوری اکانامی کا  
دارومدار ملک کے نیشنلائزیشن پر ہے  
آپ کے اپنے آدمی خود چاہتے ہیں  
اور کہتے ہیں کہ اس کا نیشنلائزیشن  
ہونا چاہئے تو پھر اس کا نیشنلائزیشن  
کرنے میں کیا دقت -

مہودیدہ - کیا آپ تھوڑا سا دو منٹ  
اور مجھے دیں گی -

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That  
will do, Mr. Kureel. Shri Santokh  
Singh.

SHRI P. L. KUREEL URF TALIB:  
All, right, thank you.

†[श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील 'तालिब'  
(उत्तर प्रदेश) : जनबेवाला, उम्मीद की  
जाती थी कि श्री मोरारजी देसाई के बाद  
जो बजट आयेगा उससे गरीब और आम  
लोगों को बहुत कुछ रिलीफ मिलेगी ।

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

अब जो बजट श्री टी० टी० कृष्णमाचारी  
ने पेश किया है उसको देखते हुए यह मालूम  
होता है कि गरीब अवाम को रिलीफ मिलना  
तो दरकिनारा रहा, उन पर तकरीबन २५  
करोड़ रुपये के टैक्स का बोझ और लाद  
दिया गया है । यह एक ऐसा बजट है जो  
ऊपर से कुछ है और बाहर से कुछ है और  
एक चालाक आदमी की तरह उन्होंने यह  
बजट पेश किया है जिसके जरिये उन्होंने  
पढ़े-लिखे आदमियों को बेवकूफ बनाने की  
कोशिश की है ।

बहुत शोर सुनते थे पहलू में दिल का  
जो चीरा तो एक कतरा खून न निकला

बहुत से लोगों ने उम्मीद बना रखी थी कि  
अवाम को और गरीबों को उनके बजट से  
काफी रिलीफ मिलेगा मगर देखने में यह  
आया है कि हमारे श्री टी० टी० कृष्णमाचारी  
जी ने अपने बजट के जरिये कैपिटलिस्ट और  
सरमायेदारों की मदद की है क्योंकि वह  
हमेशा से उनकी हा नुमाइन्दगी करते आ  
रहे हैं । एक समझदार आदमी कभी भी  
इस बात से इत्फाक नहीं करेगा कि उन्होंने  
जो बजट पेश किया है उससे आम लोगों को  
कुछ सांस लेने का मौका मिलेगा । कहने  
को तो कहा गया है कि सी० डी० एस०  
को खत्म कर दिया गया है । कहने को तो  
कहा गया है कि दोबारा एक्सपेंडिचर टैक्स  
लगाया जायेगा । कहने को तो कहा  
गया है कि मानोपली कंसंट्रेशन आफ वॉल्युम  
को खत्म करने की कोशिश की जायेगी ।  
कहने को तो यह भी कहा गया है कि ऐसिड,  
कार्बन डाइआक्साइड, ग्रामोफोन पर से  
टैक्स हटा दिया गया है । मगर आप अगर  
इसको गौर से स्टडी करेंगे, समझने की  
कोशिश करेंगे तो आपको यह मालूम होगा  
कि गरीबों को इससे किसी विस्म का रिलीफ  
नहीं मिला है । उनके इस बजट से ज्यादा से  
ज्यादा कंसंट्रेशन कैपिटलिस्टों को मिला है  
और उनको बहुत ज्यादा रिलीफ दिया गया  
है । अगर मैं इसके मुत्तलिक अपनी राय  
दूं तो शायद आप लोग नहीं मानेंगे लेकिन मैं  
आपके सामने एक पुराने लीडर श्री एन० बी०  
गाडगिल के अलफाज रखना चाहता हूं ।  
वह कांग्रेस के एक पुराने आदमी हैं । सेंट्रल  
एसेम्बली और सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट में मिनिस्टर  
रह चुके हैं और पंजाब के गवर्नर भी रह  
चुके हैं । उन्होंने हाल में एक बयान दिया है  
और उनके १ सेंटेंस मैं आपके सामने पढ़कर  
सुनाना चाहता हूं ।

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी : हटने के बाद  
सब ऐसा ही कहते हैं ।

श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील 'तालिब'  
उन्होंने इस तरह की बातें पहले भी कही

[श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील 'तालिब']  
थीं। उन्होंने अपना ख्याल नहीं बदला,  
उमूल नहीं बदला और जो कुछ कहा है  
ठीक कहा है :

"There is nothing of socialism in the new Union Budget. A more favourable Budget to the capitalist class could not have been presented. The Finance Minister does not believe in control nor in the nationalisation of banks and seems to have forgotten Bhubaneswar."

यह उनके अल्फाज हैं जो उन्होंने इस बजट के बारे में कहे हैं और उन पर हमें बहुत गौर करना चाहिए। चाहिए तो यह था कि इन्डायरैक्ट टैक्सेज का जो भारी बोझ गरीबों के ऊपर है जो अन्तम पर एक बड़ा भारी बोझ कई मालो से है उसको इस बजट के जरिए कम करने की जरूरत थी। कम से कम ५० परसेंट बोझ को कम करने की जरूरत थी। इन्डायरैक्ट टैक्सेज को खत्म करने की जरूरत थी और कम से कम ५० फी सदी उनको कम किया जाना था जो टैक्सेज पिछले साल लगाये गये थे कुछ चीजों पर, मसलन मिट्टी का तेल, बनास्पती पर, साबुन पर, चीनी पर, जो ड्यूटी थी उसका खत्म करने की जरूरत है। क्योंकि यह अवाम की रोजाना इस्तेमाल की चीजें हैं। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि जा बजट पेश किया गया है उसके जरिए इनके बाज़ के नीचे अवाम उसी तरह दबे ही रहेंगे और उसका शिकार अवाम रहेंगे। इस बजट से अवाम को किसी तरह का चैन नहीं मिलेगा और अवाम उसी तरह भुख्खा और नंगा रहेगा।

आपने इस बजट के जरिए एक्सपेंडीचर टैक्स फिर लगाया है। मगर साथ साथ यह कोशिश नहीं की गई कि ब्लैंक मनी को मालूम किया जाय, हिडन वैल्यू है उसको मालूम किया जाये। हमारे मुल्क में बहुत से ऐसे लोग हैं जिनके घरों में सोने के

अम्बार लगे हुए हैं लेकिन उसको मालूम करने की कोशिश नहीं की गई। अब सवाल यह पैदा होता है कि इस ब्लैंक मनी के बारे में कैसे मालूम किया जाए। यह एक बहुत बड़ा सवाल है। यहाँ कुछ लोगों के पास हिडन वैल्यू है जिसको उन्होंने छिपा कर रखा है। इसके बारे में मैं कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। सबसे पहले मैं मिनिस्टर साहबान की तरफ ध्यान दूंगा कि इनके एसेट्स का मालूम किया जाए। ऐसे मिनिस्टर्स हैं जो १५ सालों से कबिनेट के अन्दर हैं और उन्होंने काफी दौलत जमा कर ली है। इसके बारे में आपको मालूम करना चाहिए और आप उनके घरों को रेड करना चाहिए। कैरों के लड़के ने करोड़ों रुपये जमा कर लिए हैं। यह सही बात है कि आप रॉजाना पेपर में देखते हैं। मेरा जार्नल इल्म है इस बात का कि हमारे पहले के फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर मोरारजी भाई के लड़के कार्तिक देसाई . . .

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Please speak on the Budget.

**SHRI P. N. SAPRU** (Uttar Pradesh): On a point of order. I have not the slightest love for Mr. Kairon. But I think it is wrong. . . .

**श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील 'तालिब' :** दह पहले १०० रुपये पर मन्नाजिम थे अब करोड़ों रुपये के मालिक बन गये हैं।

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** I think no allegation should be made against anybody. The Chair will not allow . . .

**SHRI P. N. SAPRU:** . . . since the case is pending before a tribunal.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** I shall order that your speech will not be taken down if you continue to mention names.

**श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील 'तालिब' :** मैडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, यह एक मामला सी बात है जिसका ताल्लुक ब्लैंक मनी से है। जो हिडन वैल्यू से ताल्लुक रखती है और यह कोई छिपी हुई बात नहीं है। स्टेट मिनिस्टर

श्रीर सैटल मिनिस्टर जो हैं उनके एसेट्स के बारे में हमें मालूम करना चाहिए। मैं ही यह बात नहीं कहता हूँ बल्कि इस सेशन में भी इन बारे में कई बार आवाज़ उठाई गयी है कि ऐसे लोगों के एसेट्स मालूम किये जाएं। उनके रिश्तेदारों के, बाल-बच्चों के एसेट्स मालूम किये जायें क्योंकि ये करप्शन दूर करने का एक तरीका है। फिल्म एक्टर्स को आप ले लीजिये। यह आप्रोपिन बात है और हर आदमी अच्छी तरह से जानता है कि एक पिक्चर में काम करने के लिए वह ५ लाख से लेकर १५ और २० लाख तक लेते हैं और कांट्रैक्ट में सिर्फ ५० हजार या ज्यादा से ज्यादा १ लाख दिखाते हैं। तो यह बात हर आदमी जानता है कि कांट्रैक्ट में वह सिर्फ ५० हजार दिखाते हैं लेकिन लाखों रुपया उनके पास मौजूद है और इस तरह से लाखों रुपये का टैक्स इवेजेंट होता है। यह छिपा हुआ बात नहीं है। आप इसको मालूम करें। मैं इनडी-विजुअल का बात नहीं कह रहा हूँ। आप उनके घरों में रेड कीजिये और जो बड़े बड़े बिज़नेसमैन और कांट्रैक्टर हैं उनके घरों में रेड कीजिये। इस तरह से उनको मालूम कीजिये और उनका नाम पेपर में नशर कीजिये। यह एक तरीका है और आप इसका पता लगायें।

इस तरह से सुपर प्राफिट टैक्स को खत्म करके बड़े बड़े जा बिज़नेसमैन है, उनकी मदद की गई है। इसके अलावा सुपर टैक्स लगाया गया है मगर साथ ही साथ उनको रिबेट दिया गया है। जो लोग इन्डस्ट्री बनाते हैं उनको रिबेट मिलेगा। यह सब बातें हैं जिन पर अच्छी तरह आप गौर कीजिये।

अब कन्सिडरेशन आफ वैल्यू का आप ले लीजिये। कन्सिडरेशन आफ वैल्यू क्या चीज़ है? आधा परमिट शेयरहोल्डर्स जो है उनके हाथ में ५६.४५ परमिट शेयरमनी है। आप इसको मालूम कीजिये कि आधा फी

सदी लोगों के पास कुल कम्पनियों के कैपिटल का आधे से ज्यादा रुपया है। १-३ फी सदी कम्पनियों के पास पेडग्रुप कैपिटल का ४५ फी सदी रुपया है। इसी तरह से कम्पनियों का सरमाया ६०० करोड़ रुपए से बढ़ कर २५०० करोड़ रुपए हो गया है मगर दो चोटी के जो बड़े बड़े सरमायेदार हैं उनके पास ६०० करोड़ रुपए का सरमाया है। कुल ४१७४ डायरेक्टशिप में से ४४ आदमियों के पास २००० डायरेक्टशिप है और बाकी ५०२ आदमियों के पास २१७४ डायरेक्टशिप है। देश के २० बड़े बड़े बैंकों के १८८ डायरेक्टरों के पास १६४० डायरेक्टशिप हैं। जिस आदमी के पास आजादी से पहले एक मिल या फैक्टरी थी आज उसके पास दो तीन से लेकर आधे दर्जन तक फैक्टरियां और मिलें हैं।

बड़ी बड़ी फैक्ट्रीज को आप प्रोत्साहन देते हैं और बड़ी बड़ी इन्डस्ट्रीज कायम करते हैं और इस तरह कंसेन्ट्रेशन आफ वैल्यू को चन्द आदमियों के हाथ में दे देते हैं। छोटी छोटी इन्डस्ट्रीज को, छोटे छोटे उद्योग घरों को आप किसी किस्म का प्रोत्साहन नहीं देते हैं। छोटी छोटी इन्डस्ट्रीज जो हैं उनको छोटे छोटे लोग चलाते हैं इसलिए छोटी छोटी इन्डस्ट्रीज कायम करने की जरूरत है ताकि मुल्क में कंसेन्ट्रेशन आफ वैल्यू जो चन्द आदमियों के हाथ में हो रहा है वह खत्म हो। इस सिलसिले में आपने विवियन बोस इन्क्वायरी कमेटी बनायी जिसकी रिपोर्ट ६ साल के बाद पेश हुई। आपने इन्कमटैक्स इन्क्वायरी कमेटी बनायी। कम्पनी ला एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन की भी रिपोर्ट आयी। महलानोविस कमेटी की रिपोर्ट चार साल हो गए हैं लेकिन अभी तक सामने नहीं आयी है। इन तमाम रिपोर्टों के बाद भी आप कहते हैं कि कमीशन बैठायेंगे। अब अगर कमीशन बना तो उसकी रिपोर्ट आने में कम से कम पांच साल लग जाएंगे और इसका भी अन्जाम यही होगा :

[श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील 'तालिब']

हमने माना कि तगाफुल ना करोगे लेकिन  
छाक हो जाएंगे हम तुमको खबर होने तक ॥

आप कमीशन पर कमीशन बैठाते हैं लेकिन कमीशन की रिपोर्ट को ठोक तरह इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं किया जाता है। आप अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं कि कहां कमेंटेशन आफ वैल्य है और किस तरह से हम इसको दूर कर सकते हैं। अगर आप चन्द सरमाएदारों को प्रोत्साहन देना चाहते हैं और उन्हीं को बढ़ावा देना चाहते हैं तो इस देश के अन्दर सही मानों में जम्हूरियत का आना महज एक ख्वाब की बात है। सोशलिज्म कहां से आप लाएंगे जब अभी तक आप जम्हूरियत ही नहीं ला पाए हैं। जम्हूरियत का मतलब यह है—

"Government of the people, by the people, for the people."

सामूली अल्फाज में इसका मतलब अवाम की हुकूमत से है। तो सोशलिज्म तो दूर रहा आप अवाम की हुकूमत भी नहीं ला सकते हैं, अगर इसी तरह में कमेंटेशन आफ वैल्य होता गया और चन्द लोगों के हाथ में देश की पूंजी और सरमाया आना चला गया।

अहा तक फारेन कैपिटल और इन्वेस्टमेंट का ताल्लुक है, आपने हिन्दुस्तान में फारेन कैपिटल के लिए दरवाजा हमेशा के लिए खोल दिया है और उसको बढ़ावा दे रहे हैं। १९५० ई० में जबकि हमारी पहली योजना शुरू हुई थी तो बाहरी पूंजी इस देश में ३०० करोड़ रुपये थी। १९६२ में यह पूंजी बढ़ कर ८५० करोड़ रुपये हो गयी। फारेन कोलोबोरेशन के जो एग्रीमेंट हुए बह १९५८ में ७७ थे जो १९६२ में बढ़कर १४४२ हो गये। हमारे देश की सारी एकोनोमी का दारोम्दार अब ज्यादातर फारेन कैपिटल पर होता जा रहा है। कल अगर यह फारेन कैपिटल विदडा कर लिया जाये तो

हमारी एकोनोमी बिल्कुल कोलेप्स हो जाएगी इस बात को बगैर ख्याल किए हुए आप फारेन कैपिटल को बढ़ावा दे रहे हैं।

अब मैं टैक्स इवेजन् के मुत्तल्लिक कुछ अर्ज करूंगा। मैंने जैसा कि पहले भी बताया है फिल्म स्टार और बड़े बड़े अफसर और बिजनेसमैन के पास जो रुपया जमा है उसको हासिल करने की कोशिश कीजिये। आप देखिए कि टैक्स इवेजन् और एरियर आफ इन्कमटैक्स के मुत्तल्लिक कितना रुपया बकाया है। समय कम है इसलिये ज्यादा न कहते हुए इस सम्बन्ध में पब्लिक एकाउन्ट्स कमेटी ने जो राय जाहिर की है उसको मैं पढ़े देता हूं।

"The Committee feel concerned to note the increase in arrears of Income-tax from Rs. 253.49 crores as on 31st March, 1961 to Rs. 287.32 crores as on 31st March, 1962 and Rs. 271.71 crores as on 31st March, 1963. The Committee are especially worried about the slow progress in making recoveries against the old demands. The percentage of collection against the old demands has progressively gone down from 16.4 in 1958-59 to 15 in 1959-60, 14.3 in 1960-61 and 13.2 in 1961-62. The Committee note the steps taken by the Ministry to liquidate the old arrears. They desire that the position should be kept constantly under review and vigorous efforts made to speed up the recoveries. The present position in which out of the total demand of Rs. 567.51 crores for 1962-63, the arrears amounted to Rs. 271.71 crores which came to about 50 per cent cannot be considered as satisfactory."

"The Committee also note that there is not much improvement in the disposal of outstanding appeals. The number of appeals pending as on 31st October, 1963 was 65,237 as

against 86,226 as on 30th June, 1962. The Committee desire that early adequate action should be taken for bringing down the arrears so as not to exceed four months' work load, as suggested by the Direct Taxes Administration Enquiry Committee."

कोई किसान लगान न दे तो उसकी बैल-बधिया को आप नालाम कर लेते हैं मगर इतने बड़े बड़े बिजनेस मैन के पास इतना एरियर मौजूद है मगर हासिल करने के लिए आप कोई कदम मुअस्सर नहीं उठाते हैं। इसलिये आप यह रुपया हासिल करने की बात सोचिए। बहुत से लोग इन्कमटैक्स छुपाए हुए हैं। पब्लिक एकाउंट्स कमिटी ने भी कहा है कि ८ करोड़ रुपया इन्कमटैक्स का है जो छुपाया गया है और उसमें ४५,२११ आदमा शामिल हैं मगर किसी एक के खिलाफ भी कार्यवाही नहीं की गयी है। पब्लिक एकाउंट्स कमिटी का तो यह कहना है कि ८ करोड़ रुपया छुपाया गया है। मगर मैं कहूंगा कि कम से कम ३० करोड़ रुपया से यह किसी हालत में कम नहीं है। इसकी तरफ आप फौरन ध्यान दें।

अब मैं पब्लिक सैक्टर की तरफ आता हूं। आप यह देखिये कि पब्लिक सैक्टर में वेस्टेज कितना होता है। पब्लिक सैक्टर में २७०० करोड़ रुपए का इन्वेस्टमेंट है और उस पर सिर्फ २ फी. सदी सालाना नफा होता है। इसी तरह से ३८ ग्रन्ड-टेकिंग्स में ६६२ करोड़ रुपए का इन्वेस्टमेंट है लेकिन साल में १०० रुपए पर सिर्फ २५ नए पैसे का नफा होता है। तो यह किस तरह होता है। इस तरह के बड़े बड़े अक्रमरों को बड़ी बड़ी तनख्वाहें मिलनी हैं। आई० ए० एस० और आई० सी० एस० के आदमी वहां हैं और वह बड़ी बड़ी तनख्वाहें पाते हैं। एस्टेब्लिशमेंट पर बहुत खर्च होता है। रुपए

पर रुपए खर्च होते हैं, लेकिन काई पूछने वाला नहीं है कि सही तौर पर खर्च होता है या नहीं होता है। तो मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि यह जो हाज वेस्टेजेज है उनको खत्म करने की कोशिश कीजिए। (Time Bell rings) मैं क्या बताऊ, मुझे समझ में नहीं आता कि मैं कौन से प्वाइंट को रखू। अभी तो मैंने शुरू किया है। मैं आपसे यह दरखवास्त करूंगा कि मुझे ज्यादा टाइम दिया जाय

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kureel, I will not be able to give you very much time. I can give you just two minutes more.

श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील 'तालिब': दस मिनट और नहीं मिले तो कम से पांच मिनट ही मिल जाय।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Fifteen minutes you have already taken. I can give you only another two minutes.

श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील 'तालिब': एग्री-कल्चरल प्रोडक्शन की बात आप करते हैं। एग्रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन कैसे बढ़ सकना है जब कि यहां के २० फीसदी जमींदारों के हाथ में ७०-८० फीसदी तक की जमीन है और ७०-८० फीसदी किसान ऐसे हैं जिनके पास मुश्किल से २० फीसदी जमीन है। जमीन को आप एक्चुअल टिलर्स आफ दी सोयल को दीजिए। जो अपने हाथ से हल चलाते हैं उनको दीजिए। आपको तो पता ही है कि हमारे धर्म के अन्दर बड़ी जान वालों के लिये हल को मुठिया पकड़ना एक गुनाह समझा जाता है। एक अधर्म की बात समझी जाती है। तो जब तक आप यह जमीन किसानों को नहीं देंगे जा कि अपने हाथ से जोतते हैं तब तक कुछ नहीं होगा। आप इन लैडलेस एग्रीकल्चरल लेबरर्स को जमीन दीजिए जो कि अपने हाथ से जमीन जोतने को तैयार है। उन लोगों की काफी बड़ी तदाद



[श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील 'तालिब']  
है। जब तक आप उन लोगों को जमीन नहीं देते तब तक आपका प्रोडक्शन नहीं बढ़ सकता। इनको इनसैटिव दीजिए। मगर आप यह नहीं करेंगे। आप इन छोटे छोटे किसानों को, छोटे छोटे खेतिहर मजदूरों को पैसा दीजिए, टाइम पर फर्टीलाइजर दीजिए; अच्छा बीज दीजिए और इनको अपने प्रोडक्शन का मुनासिब दाम दीजिए। जब तक आप मिडिल मैन को एलीमिनेट नहीं करेंगे तब तक न तो किसान पैदावार बढ़ा सकता है और नाही उसको अपनी पैदावार का मुनासिब दाम मिल सकता है। बड़े बड़े होर्ड्स है, बड़े बड़े ग्रेनडीलर्स है जो कि फमल तैयार हाने पर उसे सस्ते दामों पर खरीद लेते है, उनको जमा करते हैं और जमा करने के बाद उसका मनमाना दाम जनता से लेते हैं। तो कुछ ऐसी बुनियादी तबदीली लाइए जिससे कि किसान को अपनी चीजों का मुनासिब दाम मिले। जब तक आप प्राइमरी रेंज को स्टेबलाइज नहीं करेंगे तब तक किसान को मुनासिब दाम नहीं मिलेगा। इसके अलावा जो फैक्ट्रीज में चीजें प्रोड्यूस की जाती है उनका भी दाम तय कीजिए। हमारी पार्टी का यह कहना है कि इस पर ज्यादा से ज्यादा ५० परसेंट का फर्क होना चाहिये। यानी जो एक रुपये की चीज है वह सब टैक्स वगैरह लगा कर डेढ़ रुपये में अवाम को मिलनी चाहिये। इस चीज को आप देखें। प्राफिट मोटिव जो है वह नहीं होना चाहिये। गवर्नमेंट के अन्डरटेकिंग्स में जो चीजे बनती हैं उनमें प्राफिट मोटिव नहीं होना चाहिये।

मैं आपसे दरखास्त करूंगा कि थोड़ा सा टाइम मुझे और दे दें।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am very sorry; you will please wind up now.

श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील 'तालिब': तो मेरी अर्ज यह है कि खाने-पीने की चीजों के

दाम बढ़ रहे हैं उनका आप काबू में लाइए ताकि जो गरीब आदमी है, जा कि कितनी मुसीबतों में है, किननी परशानियों में है उसे हम और आप अच्छी तरह से जानते है। उनको कुछ रिलीफ मिले। अभी गवर्नमेंट की आखों के नीचे तमाम किस्म की प्राफिटियरिंग बड़े बड़े होर्ड्स बड़े बड़े ग्रेन डीलर्स करते हैं और उसे रोकने के लिये गवर्नमेंट अपने को बिल्कुल नाकारा पाती है।

श्री प्रकाशनारायन सप्रू : गवर्नमेंट खुद करती है।

श्री प्यारे लाल कुरील 'तालिब': जी हा, गवर्नमेंट भी खुद करती है। आपने देखा कि कोओपरेटिव सोसाइटीज के अन्दर क्या होता है। तो जब तक कोई एक्जाम्पलरी कदम नहीं उठाया जायगा तब तक यह सब चलना रहेगा। महज कन्ट्रोल करने से आप प्राइसेज को काबू नहीं कर सकते। प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाईए और प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाने के साथ साथ उन लोगों को एक्जाम्पलरी पनिशमेंट दीजिये। उनको खुल्लमखुल्ला पब्लिक स्क्वैयर में लेजाकर कोड़े लगाइए, फांसी नहीं लगा सकते-जैसा कि रूम में किया जाता है लेकिन कम से कम कोड़े तो लगाइए। आप दो-चार को कोड़े लगाइए तो फिर देखिये कि प्राफिटियरी खत्म होती है, हॉर्डिंग खत्म होती है और लोगों को मुनासिब दाम पर चीजे मिलती हैं।

मैं ज्यादा न कहते हुए आप से दरखास्त करूंगा कि अगर आप इस देश के अन्दर सोशलिज्म लाना चाहते है, इस देश के अन्दर मही जम्हूरियत लाना चाहते है, इंडस्ट्रीज का डेवलपमेंट करना चाहते है, एग्रीकल्चर का डेवलपमेंट चाहते है तो याद रखिये कि बैक्स का नेशनलाइज करना बहुत ही जरूरी है। हमारी पूरी एकात्मिकी का दारोमदार बैंक के नेशनलाइजेशन पर है। आपके अपने आदमी खुद चाहते है और यह कहते है कि इसका नेशनलाइजेशन होना चाहिये, तो फिर

इसका नेशनलाइजेशन करने में क्या दिक्कत है ?

महोदया, क्या आप थोड़ा सा दो मिनट और मुझे देंगी ?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do. Mr. Kureel. Shri Santokh Singh.

SHRI P. L. KUREEL URF TALIB: All right, thank you.]

SHRI SANTOSH SINGH (Delhi): Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to say a few words about the Budget proposals for the year 1964-65. This is a great Budget of a great country.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): By a great man?

SHRI SANTOKH SINGH: Thank you very much. And this Budget involves a revenue of Rs. 2,095 crores and an expenditure of Rs. 2,041 crores with a surplus of Rs. 54 crores. This expenditure of Rs. 2,041 crores includes a defence expenditure of Rs. 718 crores which is more than that for the previous year by Rs. 25 crores. Last year it was Rs. 693 crores. We are also spending about Rs. 191 crores more on civil expenditure and some hon. Members have said that this is perhaps more than is desirable and some other have said that more money is being spent on unproductive purposes. I cannot agree with these views because wherever we spend money, it is desirable to spend it. We have, of course, to be careful in all things.

Madam, I have a few points to make—about ten of them—and I find that your attitude, Madam is to be quite strict, as I could see just now in the case of my hon. friend Shri Kureel, and you will not give more time. So I shall try to rush through my points just like the Frontier Mail, so as to be able to cover most of my points.

30 RS—3.

The first point that I would like to touch upon is about the development rebate. It has been decided to withdraw this rebate, the availability of this development rebate, after the first of April, 1966.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY (Mysore): Suppose it is extended?

SHRI SANTOKH SINGH: If it is extended, we would welcome it. Madam, without this development rebate it is not possible for the industries to come up properly. If I were to dilate upon this issue, I would have to show how capital formation takes place. The public sector companies and also the private limited companies come up by the floating of shares and thereby the capital comes in. With this capital the prospective entrepreneurs purchase the land, the machinery and other things and they do the servicing. By spending this capital they got the development rebate which used to be sometimes as much as 40 per cent. or so, and then they used to plough back their profits. This is how further increased industrialisation comes up. Some hon. Members were objecting even to the coming up of more factories. If one had one factory and if he now has six factories, then they say it is concentration of economic wealth.

Well, concentration of economic wealth certainly is not desirable and I too will not be a party to it and I also do not desire such concentration. But to say that more factories should not come up and to ask why anyone should have more factories, is absolutely objectionable. Now, to continue my point, this is how these private limited and public limited companies come up. Secondly, when floating these companies there is another method adopted by individual entrepreneurs. A small entrepreneur starts with a small capital, does the research work himself and carries on. The development rebate comes to his rescue and by ploughing back his profit, he multiplies and gets new capital. Madam, many things have been said about capital formation. As a matter

[Shri Santokh Singh.]

of fact, I have been listening very carefully and faithfully to the debate. People have been very anxious to see that capital comes forth from abroad. No doubt, the policy of our country is to attract foreign capital. This in itself is very important, especially at this time. They have included equity capital also and this will certainly attract more capital. I am all for this. After all, it is the industrialisation of the country that is going to add to the national wealth. There are two methods of adding to the national wealth, one is through agriculture and the other through industries. These two factors are contributing fifty per cent. each, almost.

It has been complained that the Finance Minister has said less about agriculture but I must point out that agriculture has been included in the sense that he has included fertilisers. Fertilisers contribute a major share in the development of agriculture. I am not connected with agriculture except that I am a consumer of food-grains three times a day. I am connected with chemicals. I should say that fertilisers play a great role in this field but unfortunately the cost of the fertilisers that we produce in the country is more. I gave caution in regard to Sindri where the cost of production is Rs. 370 per ton while the cost of imported ammonium sulphate is Rs. 200 per ton and our sale price is Rs. 330. We are losing every day over this. I am all for the inflow of foreign capital but at the same time I want a word of caution to be remembered. What is done in most of the cases is to seek foreign collaboration, whether it is in the public sector or the private sector. The collaborators who come from the foreign countries collect much more for the machinery and the technical know-how that they provide and take away too much of profit by way of royalties. Here is where my caution point comes. We should not stop the coming in of foreign capital; as a matter of fact, we should encourage this. While the coming in of foreign capital is impor-

tant, more important is the proper utilisation of such capital. If foreign investment comes and takes away by way of profits and royalties a sum of four hundred crores of rupees in a case where three crores of rupees have been spent, then this type of foreign capital coming in is not at all desirable. If we are very cautious in our dealings, if we do not look to the north or south, east or west, then we can make better use of this capital.

Only the other day our Minister for Irrigation and Power had to chide his own engineers. For three or four years the Japanese engineers went on erecting the C Power Station and our engineers went on watching those operations but in spite of this, they could not locate the vibrations in the turbine. The hon. Minister went to the point of saying that our engineers lacked talent. Maybe, on the face of it and as a Member of this august House I would also try to agree with him that our engineers could not do this work, a work which they should have been able to do. It pains me to read all these things. Why does this thing come about? This is a vicious circle. Madam, we do not depend upon our own engineers and scientists. We do not trust them. We have given them no chance to show their ability. Right from the Finance Minister, all Ministers and prospective entrepreneurs, industrialists and capitalists, everybody looks to the East and West for collaboration. They do not give a chance to our own people to work. When you do not give them a chance to work, how are they going to learn, how are they going to have confidence? After every five, six or ten years, you will go and chide them that they are not able to do anything.

Madam, we must be cautious right from now and see that these things are not allowed to happen, that we are not in a position again to chide them again and again. Take, for example, the case of the Japanese people. If they go in for collaboration, they get it and after four or five years, they

begin to export this very idea to other countries and make money but we on the other hand make one thing here, say, for ammonium sulphate in Sindri and then for Nangal or for Trombay we go on importing collaboration arrangements. We do not think in terms of manufacturing our own machinery ourselves. This is the state of affairs.

Madam, I would now like to touch about the chemical industry. I have a few words to say about the Hindustan Organic Chemicals Ltd. This company was incorporated on the 12th December, 1960, for the manufacture of basic chemicals and intermediates in collaboration with a consortium of West German firms—Badishri Aniline and Soda Fabric, Bayer, Hoechst and Ohde. The Government of India began to think in terms of this project in 1956. They spent huge sums of money running into crores in acquiring land, in bringing the township into existence and in other services but now, Madam, I learn that this project is being shelved, this public sector project costing nineteen crores of rupees is not going to come into existence. This is a very sad state of affairs. What has been claimed, and the boast of some experts is that it is good that this plant did not come up six or seven years earlier. They say that the basic chemicals which were to come from Durgapur, Bhilai or Rourkela, namely, benzene, naphthylene, ortho, meta, para Xylenes, toluene, anthracene, phenol, carbazol, pyridine, etc., were to come from a long distance and now that the petrochemical industry is coming up nearer, they would be available at a cheap rate. Nobody can deny that the petrochemical industry is going to progress very much but what harm would there have been if these materials had come from there? Madam, if toluene, Xylene and others have to come, what matters from which source they come, whether from Barauni or Haldia or Cambay or Cochin or from Rourkela, Durgapur or Bhilai? Whatever may be the source from which these basic materials are to come, they

should not have delayed the formation of this company and the erecting of this plant and I want, Madam, a thorough enquiry to be instituted to find out why this public sector project has not come into being. I am not very much in favour of the private sector or the public sector distinction. I am neither left nor right. The question is that whatever industry comes up in the country it must come up in the right form.

The chemical industry in India today produces about three or four hundred crores of rupees worth of 1 P.M. goods. With the coming in of the petrochemical industries as per the expected Fourth Plan and Fifth Plan targets I think there will be a production of between Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,200 crores worth of these chemicals including petrochemicals in our country. So it is a great industry, Madam and I wonder how our Finance Minister has ignored the claim of this industry because he has not included it in the special specified industries which have a claim for the 10 per cent rebate. Madam, I strongly propose that this should be included in that list.

Madam, the time left with me is very little. I wanted to say a few words about exports and other items and I shall try to do justice to them in a few minutes' time. It has been said that we must make exports as it is today the need of the country also. We must think in terms of the quality before we think in terms of exports. If our people stick to good quality and are able to produce in large quantities, if they are given more and more chances to set up industries, not only in restrictive terms as was pointed out by our friend that only five or six do all the things—I do not mind if these industrialists set up more factories—but if more chances are given to other people to industrialise the entire country, then we can think of exports. And those people who set up factories should be export-minded people. Export can

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take place only if your cost of production is less. But here in our country looking to the capital that is coming from abroad and looking to the interest that they will have to give the cost of production is going to be very very high. Now they have got an assured market in our country. In this big country if they find they have an assured market, they are not going to be export-minded. Therefore, Madam industrialisation of the country as a whole production of goods at lower costs and becoming export-minded, these are the things that are going to save our country.

With these words, Madam, I conclude. Thank you very much.

شری ہمد الغدی (پنجاب) : میڈم

قہقی چہر میں - دیہی پتا مہاتما گاندھی نے یہ فرمایا تھا کہ مجھے آنکروں سے تسلی نہ دو - مجھے ریزلٹ result سے سٹسفاٹی satisfy کرو - جہاں تک فیکرس figures کا تعلق ہے میں مانتا ہوں کہ مسٹر ٹی - ٹی کرشناچاری سے بہتر شاید بہت کم لوگ ہیں جو فیکرس کو ایسی خوب صورتی کے ساتھ بھجوتے ہیں جو میں دیکھ کر سکتوں - میں آپ کے دواوالہٹی سرکار سے اور سرکار کے ان معصب وطنی ساتھیوں سے جنہوں نے دیہی کی آزادی کے لئے بڑا کام کیا ہے گزارش request کرنا چاہتا ہوں -

میں اس بحث میں نہیں پرتا چاہتا کہ یہ - کام میں کا بھجوتے ہیں یا سرمایہ داروں کا بھجوتے ہیں - مجھے تو صرف اس بات سے دل چسپی ہے اور وہ ہے کہ آیا یہ ہمارے دیہی کی بھلائی کا بھجوتے ہیں یا نہیں ہے - میں کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ یہ دیہی کی بھلائی کے

لئے جو ادبوں روپیہ خرچ کئے جا رہے ہیں وہ چلتا کی لائی میں ہی خرچ ہو رہے ہیں - اس سے پتہ چلتا ہے کہ میں ایک دو مضمونوں کو خاص طور پر لوں میں چلند گذرشات آپ کے سامنے رکھنا چاہتا ہوں - آپ جو روپیہ خرچ کرتے ہیں لائے منظوری لے رہے ہیں وہ روپیہ اس شان کے ساتھ خرچ کیا جاتا چاہئے جس شان کا یہ دیہی مستحق ہے لیکن آپ کیا کرتے ہیں - میں صرف آپ کے سامنے تھیں چار مثالیں دیکھوں گا -

ہمارے فیملی منسٹر جن کے لئے جب وہ چھٹا منسٹر تھے تب بھی میرے دل میں کافی عزت تھی اور جب سے وہ فیملی منسٹر ہیں تب بھی ان کی honesty اور ان کی ہمتی integrity کے لئے عزت ہے - وہ اگر کسی کو بھی ایروڈرام aerodrome کی ایکسٹینشن کا کام دیتے ہیں - مجھے کوئی اعتراض نہیں کہ وہ کس کو دیں اور کس کو نہ دیں - لیکن یہ خواہش ضرور ہے کہ جو کام جس کو سپرد کیا جاتا ہے وہ فیملی کے مقصد پورا کرتا ہے یا نہیں - معصوم کام ہوتا ہے یا نہیں - میں بڑے ادب سے عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہلوارا Halwara میں انہوں نے ایروڈرام کی extension کا جو ٹھکانہ دے رکھا ہے وہ اس لئے دیا ہے کہ پاکستان کی نہت خرابی ہے اور وہ چھٹی سے سڑکوشاں کر رہا ہے اور کسی بھی

وقت نارفورن زون جہنم کی بہتی ہی  
سکتا ہے - ایسی صورت میں وہاں پر  
ہوائی جہاز انہیں کے اس وجہ سے اس  
ایروگرام کی ایکسٹینشن ہو رہی ہے -  
آپ کی جو ضرورت ہے کہ ایک کھوپک  
انچ چار ہزار پونڈ پریشر کو برداشت کر  
سکے تو وہ پوری ہونی چاہئے - سوال  
یہ ہے جو extension ہو رہی ہے اس  
کسوٹی پر پوری اترتی ہے یا نہیں -

اور اگر ایسا نہیں ہوتا تو میں سمجھتا  
ہوں کہ یہ دیہی کو سبوتاچ sabotage  
کرتا ہے - مہری واقفیت کا جہاں تک  
تعلق ہے میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ وہ تو  
سولہ سو پونڈ کے پریشر کو ہی برداشت  
نہیں کر پائے گا ایسا کہوں ہو رہا ہے -  
کہا اس لئے ہو رہا ہے کہ اس کا کام  
ایسی فرم کو دے دیا گیا ہے جو کہ اس  
کام کے اہل نہیں ہے اور نہ جس کے  
پاس کام کرنے کی ۶۰ لاکھ کا کام کرنے کی  
کھسکتی ہے اور باوجود اس کے حالت  
یہ ہے کہ سرکار نے اس فرم کو جسے  
صرف ۱۰ لاکھ روپے تک کا کام دینے کی  
اجازت تھی دیا ہے اور اب ایک ہی  
چھلانگ میں پی - قہلور - قی پنجاب  
کے چیف انجینئر کی سفارش پر ۶۰  
۷۵ لاکھ سے زیادہ ٹھیکہ دے دیا ہے - تو  
کہا میں یہ نتیجہ نکالوں کہ وہ ڈیفنس  
کا کام بھی جو ہمارے ملک کی عزت اور  
اکنومی کی ضمانت ہے تو کہا اس کا کام  
بھی سفارش پر دیا جاتا ہے - اگر دیتا  
ہے تو ایسے لوگوں کو دیا جانا چاہئے جو

آپ کے مقصد کو آپ کی ڈیفنس کی  
ایکٹو ویلوز کو دھکا نہ لکالیں - مگر  
ایسا نہیں ہوتا -

مہتمم ڈیفنی چیورمون - میں  
ڈیفنس منسٹر صاحب سے عرض کرنا  
چاہتا ہوں کہ ان کو سارو دعائی ہونا  
چاہئے - ہوشیار ہونا چاہئے - آج ان  
کے سامنے ایک بہت بڑا کام ہے جس  
کو انہیں کرنا ہے - جنہوں نے ہمارے  
ملک میں انگریزی کہا ہے اور آج اس  
کے ساتھی بھی اس ہمارے ملک پر  
طرح طرح سے مصیبت پیدا کرنے کی  
کوشش کر رہے ہوں - اس لئے ان  
سب باتوں کو دیکھتے ہوئے ڈیفنس کے  
کام کو جس طرح سے آج وہ چلا رہے  
ہیں اس طرح سے نہیں چلنا چاہئے -  
آج تجربہ کار لوگوں کو کام دیا جانا چاہئے  
نہ کہ چیف منسٹر کے لوگوں کو جو کہ  
ہماری نہایت سرگرمیوں میں رکھیں  
ڈالنا چاہئے ہوں اور اس میں رکاوٹ  
ڈالنا چاہئے ہوں -

دوسری جو مثال میں آپ کے  
سامنے رکھنا چاہتا ہوں وہ یہ ہے کہ  
امریکہ میں کچھ مشینری پڑی ہوئی  
تھی سن ۱۹۱۸ کی بارا آدم کے زمانہ  
کی - اس پرانی مشینری کو کچھ لوگ  
نہیں کو کھلی کے ساتھ مل کر یہاں لگا  
رہے ہیں اور سرکار نے اس کی اجازت  
بھی دے دی ہے - یہ چھرائی کی بات  
ہے کہ ابھی ہمارے اکبر علی خلی

[ شری عبدالغنی ]

صاحب کہہ رہے تھے کہ یہاں پر ہوائی جہاز ملتے ہیں - انجن ملتے ہیں ہوں کہا کیا کچھ نہیں ملتا ہے جس ذکر نہ کیا جائے - جس پر فخر نہ کیا جائے ماسوائے انسانیت کے - اگر یہ سب بات صحیح ہے تو پھر یہ ہوا آدم کے زمانے کی مشینوں کیوں لگ رہی ہے انسانیت مت رہی ہے اور باقی سب کچھ بنی رہا ہے - میں یہ بات جانتا ہوں کہ نیپیک کے ساتھ جو مشینوں لگائی جا رہی ہے وہ ۱۹۱۸ کی ہے - اس کو یہاں پر لگانے کی اجازت دی جا رہی ہے اور یہ کہا جا رہا ہے کہ نئے ڈھنگ سے لگائی جائے گی - میں شری سبرامنیہ کی عزت کرتا ہوں اور ان کی انتہیکریہ کی لکھ مہاتما گاندھی جی اور جواہر لال نہرو بھی قائل رہے ہیں - وہ اس بات کو سوچیں گے کہ لو، کی مشینوں میں اس طرح کی بات کہیں ہو رہی ہے - نہ صرف یہ بات ہو رہی ہے بلکہ اور بھی کچھ ہو رہا ہے - جس سے مجھے رنج ہوتا ہے - مہتمم قبطی چھوڑیں - آپ ملندرا ڈالماہا تاتا بولا کے بارے میں سن چکے ہیں - ڈالماہا اور ملندھرا کے خلاف ایکشن بھی ہو چکا ہے لیکن یہ معاملہ اور بھی سنگین ہے - سہلتر سے چھٹی جاتی ہے کہ فلاں فرم کا نام پبلک لسٹ میں آنا چاہئے - مہرا مطلب - اس میں چند پہارے لال کی فرم سے ہے - لیکن پبلک

لسٹ پر لانے کی بجائے پنجاب کے چیف منسٹر یہ کہتے ہیں کہ یہ پہلے آدمی ہیں اور آپ کو ان کے بارے میں دھوکا لگا ہے - لیکن چیف منسٹر کی سفارش پر آپ یہ بھی انہیں کروڑوں روپے کے لائسنس جاری کر رہے ہوں - میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ شری سبرامنیہ صاحب اس بات پر غور فرمائیں گے کہ ان کی منسٹری میں اس طرح کی باتیں کہیں ہو رہی ہیں - اس میں کیا راز ہے ؟

تیسری مثال میں جو دینا چاہتا ہوں وہ منسٹر ملو بھائی شاہ کے محکمہ کے متعلق ہے - وہ جب دلی کلیم مل میں تھے تب سے میں انہیں جانتا ہوں اور انہوں نے تب سے نام پایا ہے - کانگریس میں بھی نام پایا ہے - میں ان سے پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ پنجاب کے چیف منسٹر کے ہاتھ کو ایک spinning and weaving کھولنے کی اجازت کہیں سے دی گئی - اس بارے میں حقیقت کیا ہے - نہ یہ کوئی لمیٹڈ کنسرن تھا اور نہ اس بات کی جانچ ہی کی گئی - میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس بات کی جانچ پڑتال کر لی جانی چاہئے تھی کہ یہ کوئی لمیٹڈ کنسرن ہے یا نہیں اور اس فرم کی کیا حیثیت ہے - اس مل کے بارے میں پوچھا گیا تو یہ کہا گیا کہ ٹیکسٹائل کمپنری نے تسلی کر لی تھی - لیکن میں نے

اے لکھا تو اس نے کوئی جواب نہیں دیا۔ یہ پتہ چلتا ہے کہ اگست ۱۹۶۱ میں کریا سنگھ نامی ایک آدمی نے درخواست کی تھی اور پنجاب سرکار کی سفارش سے اپریل ۱۹۶۲ میں لائسنس دیا گیا۔ جولائی ۱۹۶۲ میں بہاولپور سے فرید آباد لانے کی اجازت دی گئی۔ ۱۴ اگست ۱۹۶۲ کو ان کے لئے کسانوں کی زر خرید زمین acquire کی گئی۔ ان فریب کسانوں کی زر خرید زمین چھپائی گئی جن کی یہ سرکار بڑی ہم درد ہے اور کہتی ہے کہ کسانوں کی کوئی بھی زمین برباد نہیں ہونی چاہئے۔ ان کی زمین کو یہ کہہ کر ایکواٹر لیا گیا ہے کہ پبلک انٹرسٹ کے لئے یہ زمین ضروری ہے۔ اس طرح سے ایمرجنسی کا نام لے کر تمام قانون و رولز کو پاؤں کے تلے روند دیا گیا ہے۔ اور مزے کی بات یہ ہے کہ ۱۴ اگست کو پہلی بار وہ کھپائی رجسٹر ہوئی ہے۔ کہا مستر منو بھائی شاہ اس بات کو دیکھیں گے کہ ایسی ناجائز بات کہوں ہوئی ہے۔ ویسے آپ ہم سے خون بھی مانگیں گے تو ہم خون بھی دیں گے۔ آپ ایک ٹیکس نہیں دس ٹیکس مانگیں گے تو ہم دس ٹیکس منظور کریں گے۔ میں پہلے بھی کہہ چکا ہوں اور آج پھر کہتا ہوں کہ آپ جتنے بھی ٹیکس مانگیں گے ہم ان کی حمایت کریں

گے کہونکہ ہم جانتے ہیں کہ کوئی حکومت بغیر ٹیکس کے نہیں چل سکتی ہے۔ یہ بات الگ ہے کہ ٹیکس کس پر کم لگے اور کس پر زیادہ لگے۔ لیکن میں پوچھتا ہوں کہ وہ سنٹرل گورنمنٹ جس کے نگہبان پندرہ جواہر لال نہرو ہیں وہ کہا اسی طرح چھپ ملتستروں کے بیٹوں کو ناجائز لائسنس دیتی رہے گی۔ ہم آپ سے یہ نہیں کہتے ہیں کہ آپ کتنا ٹیکس لگانے جا رہے ہیں۔ کمروسن آئل پر آپ ٹیکس معاف کرتے ہیں یا نہیں۔ ماچیس پر آپ ٹیکس معاف کرتے ہیں یا نہیں۔ کپڑے پر آپ ٹیکس معاف کرتے ہیں یا نہیں لکھی میں آپ سے پوچھتا ہوں کہ اسی طرح جو آپ کو ادھکار ملا ہے ۴۵ کروڑ بلنگان خدا لے جو آپ کو ادھکار دیا ہے اور جس کی بدولت آپ ان گدیوں پر بیٹھے ہوئے ہیں۔ ان بلنگان خدا کے ساتھ آپ کہا اسی طرح سلوک کرتے رہیں گے۔

اگے مہدم۔ میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس وقت زراعت کی بڑی چرچا ہے۔

مرض بڑھتا گیا جوں جوں دوا کی تھی بوجھانیں تھیں پانی ہم ابھی تک بنا چکے ہیں اور ہمارے پلاننگ کمیٹی میں بڑے بڑے قابل آدمی ہیں اس میں ہمارے ہمارے بزرگ



[شری عبدالغنی]

ہلڈت جواہر لال نہرو بھی ہیں - میں پوچھتا ہوں کہ ارب ما روپیہ خرچ کرنے کے بعد بھی زراعت کی پیداوار کم کیوں ہو رہی ہے - آپ کہتے ہیں کہ اللہ مہاں کی مرضی کیوں کہ موسم خراب ہو گیا - جو اچھی بات ہو وہ آپ کی اور اچھے آپ نے کہا اور جو خراب بات ہو گئی وہ اللہ مہاں کی مرضی اور موسم کی خرابی سے ہو گئی - کبھی بارش زیادہ ہو گئی اور کبھی بارش نہیں ہوئی - تو اس کے آپ یہ دہڑن دیتے ہیں لیکن کہا آپ نے کبھی یہ سوچا -

(Time bell rings.)

उपसभापति : दो तीन मिनट हैं आपके ।

[شری عبدالغنی : مہتمم - میں]

تو یہ سمجھتا ہوں کہ جتنا وقت دوسروں کو دیا گیا ہے اگر اتنا نہیں تو اس سے دو تہی مدت ہی سچہ کو کم دے دیا جائے مگر جب آپ حکم دیں گی میں فوراً اپنی تقریر ختم کر دوں گا -

میں زراعت کے بارے میں کہہ رہا تھا - اس کی ترقی کے دو طریقے ہو سکتے ہیں - ایک یہ کہ جو بڑے بڑے سڈ فارم بنائے جا رہے ہیں یا آپ نے ابھی تک بنائے

ہیں وہ ایسے بناتے جس سے کسان کے دل کو تسلی ملتی اور وہ ترقی کر پاتا لیکن آپ نے کہا - تمام وہ بے کار زمینیں جو آپ کے ریختہ داروں کی تھیں جو آپ کے دوستوں کی تھیں جو آپ کے عزیزوں کی تھیں یا جو آپ کے خوشامد مدیوں کی تھیں جن میں کچھ پیدا ہونے والا نہیں تھا ان کو لے کر آپ نے ان میں سڈ فارم بنایا اگر آپ کو ان لوگوں کو اکر سوتے ہی کرنا تھا تو آپ اور بیسہوں طریقے نکل سکتے تھے - پھر ہمارے سردار مورن سنگھ کامیاب کہے ہیں - جبکہ اس طرح سے کام ہو رہا ہے - اگر آپ کو کشمیری حاصل کرنی ہے تو آپ رفیع احمد قدوائی کی روح کو بلوائیں، سردار پٹیل کی روح کو بلوائیں، سی - آر - داس کی روح کو بلوائیں اور وہ آکر آپ کے گروہ کو چکائیں - آپ اس طرح سے ملک کو تباہ نہ کریں -

श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा : (उत्तर प्रदेश) हमें जगाने के लिए आप क्या कम हैं ?

[شری عبدالغنی : لارجن اردوڑا -

میں پتھوں سے کہتا ہوں کہ اگر آپ وہاں ہوں تو اس سے بہتر انتظام ہو سکتا ہے - میں کہہ رہا ہوں - مجھے یہ بات نہیں کہہ رہا ہوں - مجھے آپ کی خوشامد بھی نہیں کرنی -

اگر سچے خوشامد ہی کرنی ہو تو  
میں پختہ نہرو کی خوشامد کروں  
گا۔

تو اس وقت یہ تباہی کھوں  
اگلی۔ اس لئے کہ ہماری سرکار دو  
رخى چال چلتی ہے۔ ایک طرف  
یہ چاہتے ہیں کہ سوشلزم آئے یا  
کمونزم آئے۔ کچھ کہہ لہجئے اس  
کو کیونکہ سوشلسٹک پھٹون کے یہ  
حاسی ہیں۔ دوسری طرف جب  
ان کا بھجٹ آتا ہے تو یہ سرمایہ  
داروں کی آواز کو پہچانتے ہیں اور  
ان کی آواز کو سمجھتے ہیں۔ آج  
ملک میں کروڑوں روپیہ انکم ٹیکس  
کا چھپا ہوا ہے۔ لوگ اپنے ریٹرن  
وقت پر تھیک نہیں دیتے۔ اگر  
پوچھا جائے تو یہ کہتے ہیں کہ  
انکم ٹیکس ایسا معاملہ ہے جس  
کے متعلق بقایا نہیں جا سکتا۔  
آپ اپنے اس رخ کو بدلائیں۔ تو  
میں کہہ رہا تھا کہ آپ یا تو  
اونچے سے کنٹرول کھجئے یا نیچے  
سے۔ ایمرجینسی قلاب کر کے آپ  
کہہ دیجئے کہ ایک ہی چپاتی  
ملے گی۔ ایک ہی قہل روتی ملے  
گی اتنا ہی کھانے کو مکھیں ملے گا  
اور اتنے اندے ملوں گے۔ یہ بات  
تو سچہ میں آگئی ہے کہ آپکی  
فلط پالیسی کے کارن ملک میں  
اتنی مہلکائی آگئی ہے اور اس  
کو کسی طرح سے کنٹرول کیا جائے۔

اگر آپ اوپر سے کنٹرول نہیں کر  
سکتے تو نیچے سے کنٹرول کھجئے۔  
چلتے ہو ایک گاؤں میں۔ ہر ایک  
گاؤں میں آپ نے پلچاہتی قائم کر  
رکھی ہیں ہلاک ہلاک رکھ دیں۔  
ضلع پریسڈ یا کسٹرنک بورڈ بنا  
رکھ دیں۔ ان کو اجازت دیجئے  
کہ گاؤں کی جتنی ضرورت ہو اس  
کو پہلے پورا کیا جائے۔ ہلاک کی  
جتنی ضرورت ہو اس کو پہلے پورا  
کیا جائے۔ جس ضلع کی جتنی  
ضرورت ہو اس کو پہلے پورا کیا  
جائے اور جس اسٹیمٹ کی جتنی  
ضرورت ہو فوراً کے معاملے میں اس  
کو پہلے پورا کیا جائے۔ اس کے  
بعد اگر کچھ اناج بچے تو دوسری  
اسٹیمٹوں میں بھیجا جائے اب تو  
اناج اس طرح چلتا ہے جس طرح  
فوج چلتی ہے۔ فوج اس لئے  
چلتی ہے کہ وہ بے کار نہ ہو جائے۔  
آرام طلب نہ ہو جائے۔ اسی لئے  
کبھی اس کو شملہ سے نہنا بھیج  
دیا جاتا ہے کبھی نہنا سے لدانج  
بھیج دیا جاتا ہے۔ تو یہ چھوڑو  
سچہ میں آسکتی ہے لہکی فوراً کا  
معاملہ دوسرا ہے۔ ویسے سہتم قہتی  
چیر میں۔ آپ نے یہ سفاہی ہوگا  
کہ یہاں اتر پردیش سے کر لیا  
کھا اتھارہ روپئے میں اور بھیجا کھا  
۱۷ روپئے میں۔ جب اس پر لوگوں  
نے اعتراض کیا اور بہت سے ممبروں

[شری عبدالغنی]

نے اعتراض کیا تو پولیس نے وہی طریقہ اختیار کیا جو ایسے معاملوں میں وہ اختیار کرتی ہے کہ ایک آدمی جو سابق چھف منسٹر رہ چکا ہے اس کے خلاف کیسے کارروائی کی جائے۔ آج اگر آپ کو اس فرقہ کے مسئلہ کو حل کرنا ہے تو آپ اس طرح سے انتظام کھینچتے کہ جہاں پر جتنی پیدوار ہوتی ہے اس کو پہلے وہیں کھپائیے اور اگر وہ بچ جائے تو اس کو اور کسی جگہ پہنچائیے تب جا کر کے آپ کسی بات پر قابو پائیں گے۔

چونکہ میٹم چدرمیں نے حکم دے دیا ہے اور میں ہمیشہ ان کا حکم مانتا ہوں اس لئے میں اور زیادہ نہ کہہ کر صرف ایک بات عرض کروں گا اور وہ یہ ہے کہ اگر آپ چاہتے ہیں کہ کشمیر ہمارا ہو اور ہمارے پاس رہے تو میری آپ سے یہ التجا ہے یہ درخواست ہے کہ آپ شیخ عبداللہ کو دہلیز کھینچتے اس کو اپنے کنفیڈینس میں لے لیتے یہ کہہ ہی ہو نہیں سکتا کہ وہ آپ کے ساتھ غداری کرے یا نہیں کے ساتھ غداری کرے۔ تو ان کو آپ اپنے ساتھ لے جاتے اور پھر کشمیر کو اپنی جہد میں رکھا سبجئے اور یہ کروڑوں روپے جو ہر سال وہاں خرچ ہو جاتا ہے اور جس روپے سے

سری نگر سے بنگلور تک چاندیادیں بن رہی ہیں اس کو بچائیے۔

آخری بات یہ کہتا ہوں کہ آپ سوچئے انسانیت کو۔ قہاکہ میں اور کھلدا میں بے گناہ جو ہندو قتل کئے گئے ہیں اس کی بڑی چرچا ہوئی۔ ہمیں دکھ اس بات کا ہوتا ہے کہ ایوب خان جو اقلیتوں پر ظلم کر رہے ہیں اس کو ہم روک نہیں پا رہے ہیں۔ اس لئے ہمارے اوپر ذمہ داری ہے کہ ہمارے دیہیں میں کھوں اتنی طاقت نہیں آئی کہ ہم ایوب خاں سے ان بھائیوں کی جان کو بچا سکیں جو مسلم لیگ کی تو نمشداس تھوڑی کی وجہ سے جب ملک تقسیم ہوا تب وہ ان جاہلوں کے قبضہ میں آ گئے۔ ہم ہوائی جہاز بنا رہے ہیں۔ انجن بنا رہے ہیں اور بہت سی چیزیں بنا رہے ہیں اس کے باوجود ہم میں اتنی طاقت نہیں آئی ہے کہ ہم ان کو بچا سکیں۔ اس کے علاوہ میں یہ بھی کہوں گا کہ کلکتہ میں اتنے بے گناہ مسلمان مارے گئے اور آپ نے انسانیت کو دیکھنے کی کوشش نہیں کی۔ اگر یہی آپ کا رویہ رہا تو جس طرح محمد تغلق کو ابھی تک نہیں بھلایا جا سکا جس نے دلی سے دولت باد سب کو لے جانے کی کوشش کی تھی اسی طرح سے

ہندو نہرو کو بھی نہیں بھلایا  
 جائے گا - جن کے راج میں کوا  
 ہنس کی چال چلنے لگا اور اس کا  
 نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ وہ اپنی بھی  
 چال بھول کھا اور ہنس کی بھی  
 چال نہیں چل سکا - ایک طرف  
 تو آپ سوشلسٹک بہترین لانا چاہتے  
 ہیں جس سے غریبوں کا بھلا ہو  
 اور دوسری طرف جو سرمایہ دار  
 ہیں ان کو بھی آپ چھوٹ دیتے  
 ہیں - جو بھی آپ کرنا چاہیں  
 کریں لیکن سب سے پہلے اپنے کریہاں  
 میں منہ دل کر دیکھیں کہ آپ  
 نے خود کتنے ظلم کئے ہیں - آپ  
 اپنی گدی پر بیٹھ رہے ہیں اس  
 میں کوئی تکلیف نہیں ہے - لیکن  
 ایسا کوئی انہائے نہیں کھائے جس  
 سے آپ کی یہ گدیاں چھن جائیں -

†[श्री अब्दुल गनी (पंजाब) : मैडम  
 डिप्टी चेयरमैन, देश पिता महत्मा गांधी ने  
 यह फरमाया था कि मुझे आंकड़ों से तसल्ली  
 न दो, मुझे रिजल्ट से सेटिसफाई करो। जहा  
 तक फिगर्स का ताल्लुक है मैं मानता हूं कि  
 मिस्टर टी०टी० कृष्णमाचारी से बेहतर  
 शायद बहुत कम लोग है जो फिगर्स को ऐसी  
 खूबसूरती के साथ बजट के रूप में पेश कर  
 सकें। मैं आपके द्वारा अपनी सरकार से और  
 सरकार के उन मुहब्बेतन साथियों से,  
 जिन्होंने देश को आजादी के लिये बड़ा काम  
 किया है, गुजारिश करना चाहता हूं।

मैं इस बहस में नहीं पड़ना चाहता कि  
 यह कामन मैन का बजट है या सरमाया-

दारों का बजट है। मुझे तो सिर्फ़ इस बात से  
 दिलचस्पी है और वह यह है कि आया यह  
 हमारे देश की भलाई का बजट है या नहीं  
 है। मैं कैसे कहूँ कि यह देश की भलाई के  
 लिए जो अरबों रुपये खर्च किये जा रहे हैं  
 वह जनता की भलाई में ही खर्च हो रहे हैं।  
 इससे पेशतर कि मैं एक दो मजमूनों को खाम  
 तौर पर लूँ मैं चन्द गुज़ारिशात आपक सामने  
 रखना चाहता हूँ। आप जो रुपया खर्च करने  
 के लिये मंजूरी ले रहे हैं वह रुपया उसी शान  
 के साथ खर्च किया जाना चाहिये जिस शान  
 का यह देश मुस्तहिक है। लेकिन आप क्या  
 करते हैं? मैं सिर्फ़ आपके सामने तीन चार  
 मिसाल रखूंगा।

हमारे डिफेंस मिनिस्टर जिनके लिये  
 जब वह चीफ़ मिनिस्टर थे तब भी मेरे दिल  
 में काफी इज्जत थी और जब से वह डिफेंस  
 मिनिस्टर हैं तब भी उनकी आनेस्टी और  
 इन्टिग्रिटी के लिये इज्जत है। वह अगर किसी  
 को भी एरोड्रोम की एक्सटेंशन का काम देते  
 हैं तो मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं कि वह किसको  
 दें और किसको न दें। लेकिन यह स्वाहिश  
 जरूर है कि जो काम जिसको मुपुर्द किया  
 जाता है वह डिफेंस के मक़मद को पूरा करता  
 है या नहीं। सही काम होता है या नहीं।  
 मैं बड़े अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि हल-  
 वारा में उन्होंने एरोड्रोम की एक्सटेंशन  
 का जो अब ठेका रखा है वह इस लिये दिया  
 है कि पाकिस्तान की नीयत खराब है और  
 वह चीन से सरगोशियां कर रहा है और  
 किसी भी वक्त नार्दन ज़ोन जंग की भट्ठी  
 बन सकता है। ऐसी सूरत में वहा पर हवाई  
 जहाज उतरेंगे। इसी वजह से उस एरोड्रोम  
 की एक्सटेंशन हो रही है। आप की जो जरूरत  
 है, कि एक क्यूबिक इंच चार हजार पौड  
 प्रेशर को बरदास्त कर सके तो वह पूरी हानो  
 चाहिये। सवाल यह है कि जो एक्सटेंशन  
 हो रही है इस कसौटी पर पूरी उतरती है या  
 नहीं। और अगर ऐसा नहीं होता तो मैं  
 समझता हूँ कि यह देश को सेबोटेज करना

[श्री अब्दुल गनी]

है। मेरी वाकफियत का जहाँ तक ताल्लुक है, मैं समझता हूँ कि वह तो सोलह सौ पींड के प्रेशर को भी बढ़ाई नहीं कर पायेगा। ऐसा क्यों हो रहा है? क्या इसलिये हो रहा है कि इसका काम ऐसी फर्म को दे दिया गया है जो कि इस काम के अहल नहीं है और न जिसके पास काम करने की केपासिटी है? और बावजूद इसके हालत यह है कि सरकार ने इस फर्म को, जिसे सिर्फ १० लाख रुपये तक का काम देने की इजाजत थी, उसे ६० लाख का काम दिया है और अब एक ही छलांग में १०० डब्ल्यू०डी० पंजाब के चीफ इंजीनियर की सिफारिश पर ६० लाख से ज्यादा ठेका दे दिया है। तो क्या मैं यह नतीजा निकालूँ कि वह डिफेंस का काम भी जो हमारे मुल्क की इज्जत और इकॉनोमी की जमानत है तो क्या उसका काम भी सिफारिश पर दिया जाता है। अगर देना है तो ऐसे लोगों को दिया जाना चाहिये जो आपके मन्त्रसद को आपकी डिफेंस की एक्टिविटीज को धक्का न लगायें। मगर ऐसा नहीं होता।

मैडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, मैं डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि उनको सावधान होना चाहिये, हॉशियार होना चाहिये। आज उनके सामने एक बहुत बड़ा काम है जिसको उन्हें करना है। चीन ने हमारे मुल्क में एग्रेसन किया है और आज उसके साथी भी इस हमारे मुल्क पर तरह तरह से मुसीबत पैदा करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। इसलिए इन सब बातों को देखते हुए डिफेंस के काम को जिस तरह से आज वह चला रहे हैं उस तरह से नहीं चलना चाहिये। आज सिफारिश पर तजुबेकार लोगों का काम दिया जाना चाहिये न कि चीफ मिनिस्टर के लड़कों को जो कि हमारी नेशनल सर-गरमियों में विघ्न डालना चाहते हैं और उसमें रुकावट डालना चाहते हैं।

दूसरी जो मिसाल मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि अमरीका

में कुछ मशीनरी पड़ो हुई थी सन् १९१८ की बाबा आदम के जमाने की। उस पुरानी मशीनरी को कुछ लांग नैपकों कम्पनी के साथ मिलकर यहां लगा रहे हैं और सरकार ने इसकी इजाजत भी दे दी है। यह हैरानी की बात है कि अभी हमारे अकबर अली खां साहब कह रहे थे कि यहां पर हवाई जहाज बनते हैं, इन्जन बनते हैं क्या कुछ नहीं बनता है जिसका जिक्र न किया जाय, जिस पर फख्र न किया जाय। अगर यह सब बात सही है मासिवाय इंसानियत के तो फिर यह बाबा आदम के जमाने की मशीनरी क्यों लग रही है? इन्सानियत मिट रही है और बाकी सब कुछ बन रहा है। मैं यह बात जानता हूँ कि नेपको के साथ जो मशीनरी लगाई जा रही है वह १९१८ की है। इसके यहां पर लगाने की इजाजत दी जा रही है और यह कहा जा रहा है कि नए ढंग से लगाई जायगी। मैं श्री सुब्रह्मण्यम् की इज्जत करता हूँ और उनकी इंटिग्रिटी के लिये महात्मा गांधी जी और जवाहर लाल नेहरू भी कायल रहे हैं। वह इस बात को सोचें कि उनकी मिनिस्ट्री में इस तरह की बात कैसे हो रही है। न सिर्फ यह बात हो रही है बल्कि और भी कुछ हो रहा है। जिससे मुझे रंज होना है।

मैडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, आप मुंदड़ा, डालमिया, टाटा, बिरला के बारे में सुन चुके हैं। डालमिया और मुंदड़ा के खिलाफ एक्शन भी हो चुका है लेकिन यह मामला और भी संगीन है। सेंटर से चिट्ठी जाती है कि फजा फर्म का नाम ब्लैक लिस्ट में आना चाहिये। मेरा मतलब अमीन चन्द्र प्यारे लाल की फर्म से है। लेकिन ब्लैक लिस्ट पर लाने की बजाय पंजाब के चीफ मिनिस्टर यह कहते हैं कि यह भले आदमी हैं और आपको उनके बारे में धोका लगा है। लेकिन चीफ मिनिस्टर की सिफारिश पर आप फिर भी उन्हें करोड़ों रुपये के लाइसेंस जारी कर रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि श्री सुब्रह्मण्यम् साहब इस बात पर

गौर फर्मायेंगे कि उनकी मिनिस्ट्री में इस तरह की बातें कैसे हो रही हैं, इसमें क्या राज है ।

तीसरी मिसाल जो मैं देना चाहता हूँ वह मिस्टर मनुभाई शाह के महकमे के मुतल्लिक है। वह जब दिल्ली क्लाय मिल में थे तबसे मैं उन्हें जानता हूँ और उन्होंने तबसे नाम पाया है। कांग्रेस में भी नाम पाया है। मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब के चीफ मिनिस्टर के बेटे को स्पॉन्सिंग वीविंग मिल खोलने की इजाजत कैसे दी गई। इस बारे में हकीकत क्या है? न यह कोई लिमिटेड कम्पन था और न इन बात की जाच ही की गई। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस बात की जाच पड़नाल कर ली जानी चाहिये थी कि यह कोई लिमिटेड कम्पन है या नहीं और इन फर्म की क्या हैमियत है। इस मिल के बारे में पूछा गया तो यह कहा गया कि टैक्टाइल कमिश्नर ने तसल्ली कर ली थी। लेकिन मैंने उसे लिखा तो उनमें कोई जवाब नहीं दिया। यह पता चलता है कि अगस्त १९६१ में कृपामिह नामी एक आदमी ने दरखास्त की थी, पंजाब सरकार की सिफारिश से, अप्रैल, १९६२ में लाइसेंस दिया गया। जुलाई १९६२ में भटिन्डा से उसे फरीदाबाद लाने की इजाजत दी गई। १४ अगस्त, १९६२ का उनके लिये कितानों की जरखेज जमीन एक्वायर की गई। उन गरीब कितानों की जरखेज जमीन छीनी गई जिनकी यह सरकार बड़ी हमदर्द है और कहती है कि कितानों की कोई भी जमीन बर्बाद नहीं होनी चाहिए। उनकी जमीन का यह कह कर एक्वायर किया गया है कि पब्लिक इन्ट्रेस्ट के लिये यह जमीन जरूरी है। इन तरह से एमरजेंसी का नाम लेकर तमाम कानून व रूल का पाव के तले रोंद दिया गया है। और मजे की बात यह है कि १४ अगस्त को पहली बार वह कम्पनी रजिस्टर्ड होती है। क्या मिस्टर मनुभाई शाह इस बात को देखेंगे कि ऐसी नाजायज

बात क्यों हुई है। वैसे आप हमसे खून भी मांगेंगे तो हम खून भी देंगे। आप एक टैक्स नहीं, दस टैक्स मांगेंगे तो हम दस टैक्स मंजूर करेंगे। मैं पहले भी कह चुका हूँ और आज फिर कहता हूँ कि आप जितने भी टैक्स लगायेंगे हम उनकी हिमायत करेंगे क्योंकि हम जानते हैं कि कोई हुकूमत बगैर टैक्स के नहीं चल सकती है। यह बात अलग है कि टैक्स किस पर कम लगे और किस पर ज्यादा लगे। लेकिन मैं पूछना हूँ कि वह सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट जिनके निगहबान पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू हैं वह क्या इसी तरह चीफ मिनिस्टर के बेटों को नाजायज लाइसेंस देती रहेगी? हम आपसे यह नहीं कहते कि आप कितना टैक्स लगाने जा रहे हैं, कैरोसीन आयल पर टैक्स माफ करते हैं या नहीं। माचिस पर आप टैक्स माफ करते हैं या नहीं, कपड़े पर आप टैक्स माफ करते हैं या नहीं। लेकिन मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह से जो आपको अधिकार मिला है, ४५ करोड़ बन्दगाने-खुदा ने जो आपका अधिकार दिया है और जिनकी बदौलत आप इन गदियों पर बैठे हुए हैं उन बन्दगाने-खुदा के साथ क्या इसी तरह मुलूक करते रहेंगे?

आगे, मंडम, मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इस वकन जरायत की बड़ी चर्चा है—

‘मर्ज बढ़ना गया ज्यों ज्यों दवा की।’ तीन योजनाएँ तीन प्लान, हम अभी तक बना चुके हैं और हमारे प्लानिंग कमीशन में बड़े, बड़े काबिल आदमी हैं उनमें हमारे बुजुर्ग पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू भी हैं। मैं पूछना हूँ कि अरबों रुपया खर्च करने के बाद भी जरायत की पैदावार कम क्यों हो रही है। आप कहते हैं कि अल्ला मिया की मर्जी क्योंकि मौनस खराब हो गया। जो अच्छी बात हो वह आपकी और उसे आपने किया और जो खराब बात हो गयी वह अल्ला मिया की मर्जी और मौनस की खराबी से हो गई। कभी बारिश ज्यादा हो गई और

[श्री अब्दुल गनी]

कभी बारिश नहीं हुई। तो इसके आप ये रीजन देते हैं लेकिन क्या आपने कभी यह सोचा —

*Time bell rings.*

**उपसभापति :** दो तीन मिनट है आपके।

**श्री अब्दुल गनी :** मैडम, मैं तो यह समझता हूँ कि जितना वक्त दूसरों को दिया गया है अगर उतना नहीं तो उस से दो तीन मिनट ही मुझको कम दे दिया जाये। मगर जब आप हुक्म देंगी मैं फौरन अपनी तकरीर खत्म कर दूंगा। मैं जगजगत के बारे में कह रहा था। इसकी तरक्की के दो तरीके हो सकते हैं। एक यह कि जो बड़े-बड़े सीड फार्म बनाये जा रहे हैं या आपने अभी तक बनाये हैं वह ऐसे बनाते जिससे किसान के दिल को तमल्ली मिलती और वह तरक्की कर पाता। लेकिन आपने क्या किया? तमाम वह बेकार जमीनें जो आपके रिश्तेदारों की थी, जो आपके दोस्तों की थी, जो आपके अजीजों की थी या जो आपके खुशामदियों की थी जिनमें कुछ पैदा होने वाला नहीं था उनको लेकर आपने उनमें सीड फार्म बनाया। अगर आपको उन लोगों को एकोमोडेट ही करना था तो आप और बीसियों तरीके निकाल सकते थे। फिर हमारे सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह कामयाब कैसे हों? जबकि इस तरह से काम हो रहा है। अगर आपको कामयाबी हासिल करनी है तो आप रफी अहमद किदवाई की रूह को बुलवायें, सरदार पटेल की रूह को बुलवायें, सी० आर० दास की रूह को बुलवायें और वह आकर आपके गिरोह को जगायें। आप इस तरह से मुल्क को तबाह न करें।

**श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** हमें जगाने के लिये आप क्या कम हैं?

**श्री अब्दुल गनी :** अर्जुन अरोड़ा, मैं यकीन से कहता हूँ कि अगर आप वहां हों तो इससे बेहतर इन्तजाम हो सकता है। मैं घबरा कर यह बात नहीं कह रहा हूँ। मुझे आपकी खुशामद भी नहीं करनी। अगर मुझे खुशामद ही करनी हो तो मैं पंडित नेहरू की खुशामद करूंगा।

तो इस वक्त यह तबाही क्यों आई? इसलिये कि हमारी सरकार दोरूखी चाल चलती है। एक तरफ यह चाहते हैं कि सोशलिज्म आये या कम्यूनिज्म आये। कुछ वह लीजिये इसको क्योंकि सोशलिस्टिक पैटर्न के ये हमी हैं। दूसरी तरफ जब उनका बजट आता है तो यह सरम येदारों की आवाज को पहचानते हैं और उनकी आवाज को समझते हैं। आज मुल्क में करोड़ों रुपया इनकम-टैक्स का छिपा हुआ है। लोग अपने रिटर्न वक्त पर ठीक नहीं देते। अगर पूछा जाये तो यह कहते हैं कि इनकम-टैक्स कुछ ऐसा मामला है जिसके मुतल्लिक बताया नहीं जा सकता। आप अपने इस रुख को बदलिये। तो मैं कह रहा था कि आप या तो ऊंचे से कंट्रोल कीजिये या नीचे से। एमरजेंसी डिक्लेयर करके आप यह कह दीजिये कि एक ही चपाती मिलेगी, एक ही डबल रोटी मिलेगी, इतना ही खाने को मक्खन मिलेगा और इतने अंडे मिलेंगे। यह बात तो समझ में आ गई है कि आपकी गलत पालिसी के कारण मुल्क में इतनी महंगाई आ गई है, और इसको किसी तरह से कंट्रोल किया जाय। अगर आप ऊपर से कंट्रोल नहीं कर सकते तो नीचे से कंट्रोल कीजिये। चालिये हर एक गांव में। हरेक गांव में आपने पंचायतें कायम कर रखी हैं, ब्लाक बना रखे हैं। जिला-परिषद या डिस्ट्रिक्ट बोर्ड बना रखे हैं। उनको इजाजत दीजिये कि गांव की जितनी जरूरत हो उसको पहले पूरा किया जाये। ब्लाक की जितनी जरूरत हो उसको पहले पूरा किया जाये। जिस जिले की जितनी जरूरत हो उसको पहले पूरा किया जाये।

और जिस स्टेट की जितनी जरूरत हो फूड के मामले में उसको पहले पूरा किया जाये। इसके बाद अगर कुछ अनाज बचे तो दूसरी स्टेटों में भेजा जाये। अब तो अनाज इस तरह चलता है जिस तरह फौज चलती है। फौज इसलिये चलती है कि वह बेकार न हो जाये, आराम तलब न हो जाये। इसीलिये कभी उसको शिमला से नेफा भेज दिया जाता है, कभी नेफा से लद्दाख भेज दिया जाता है। तो यह चीज तो समझ में आ सकती है लेकिन फूड का मामला दूसरा है। वैसे, मंडम डिप्टी चैयरमैन, आपने यह सुना ही होगा कि यहाँ उत्तर प्रदेश से गुड़ लाया गया १८ रुपये में और बेचा गया ८७ रुपये में। जब इस पर लोगों ने एतराज किया और बहुत से मेम्बरों ने एतराज किया तो पुलिस ने वही तरीका अख्तियार किया जो ऐसे मामलों में वह अख्तियार करती है कि एक आदमी जो साबक चीफ मिनिस्टर रह चुका है उसके खिलाफ कैसे कार्रवाई की जाये। आज अगर आपको इस फूड के मामले को हल करना है तो आप इस तरह से इन्तिजाम कीजिये कि जहाँ पर जितनी पैदावार होती है उसको पहले वहीं खपाइये और अगर वह बच जाये तो उसको और किसी जगह भेजिये तब जाकर के आप किसी बात पर काबू पायेंगे।

चूँकि मंडम चैयरमैन ने हुक्म दे दिया है और मैं हमेशा उनका हुक्म मानता हूँ इसलिये मैं और ज्यादा न कह कर सिर्फ एक बात अर्ज करूँगा और वह यह है कि अगर आप चाहते हैं कि काश्मीर हमारा हो और हमारे पास रहे तो मेरी आपसे यह इत्तजा है, यह दरखास्त है कि आप शेख अब्दुल्ला को रिलीज कीजिये, उसको अपने कानफ़ी-डेन्स में लीजिये। यह कभी हाँ नहीं सकता कि वह आपके साथ गद्दारी करे या देश के साथ गद्दारी करे। तो उनको आप अपने साथ लीजिये और फिर काश्मीर को अपनी जेब में रखा समझिए और ये करोड़ों रुपया जो हर साल खर्च हो जाता

है और जिस रुपये से श्रीनगर से बंगलौर तक जायदादें बन रही हैं उसको बचाइये।

आखिरी बात यह कहता हूँ कि आप सोचिये इन्सानियत को। ढाका में और खुलना में बेगुनाह जो हिन्दू कत्ल किये गये हैं उसकी बड़ी चर्चा हुई। हमें दुःख इस बात का होता है कि अयूब खाँ जो अक्रलीयतों पर जुल्म कर रहे हैं उसको हम रोक नहीं पा रहे हैं। इसलिए हमारे ऊपर ज़िम्मेदारी है कि हमारे देश में क्यों इतनी तकत नहीं आई कि हम अयूब खाँ से इन भाइयों की जान को बचा सकें जो मुसलिम लीग की टूनेशनस थ्योरी की वजह से जब मुल्क तकसीम हुआ तब वह इन जाबरों के कब्जे में आ गये। हम हवाई जहाज बना रहे हैं। इंजन बना रहे हैं। और बहुत सी चीजे बना रह हैं। इसके बावजूद हम में इतनी ताकत नहीं आई है कि हम उनको बचा सकें।

इसके अलावा मैं यह भी कहूँगा कि कलकत्ते में इतने बेगुनाह मुसलमान मारे गये और आपने इन्सानियत को देखने की कोशिश क्यों नहीं की। अगर यही आपका रवैया रहा तो जिस तरह मुहम्मद तुग़लक को अभी तक नहीं भुलाया जा सका जिसने दिल्ली से दौलताबाद सबको ले जाने की कोशिश की थी उसी तरह से पण्डित नेहरू को भी नहीं भुलाया जायेगा जिनके राज में कौआ हंस की चाल चलने लगा और उसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि वह अपनी भी चाल भूल गया और हंस की भी चाल नहीं चल सका। एक तरफ तो आप सोशलिस्टिक पटर्न लाना चाहते हैं जिससे गरीबों का भला हो और दूसरी तरफ जो सरमायेदार हैं उनको भी आप छूट देते हैं। जो भी आप करना चाहें करें लेकिन सब से पहले अपने गरेबान में मुँह डाल कर देखें कि आपने खुद कितने जुल्म किये हैं। आप अपनी गद्दी पर बैठे रहिये, हमें इसमें कोई तकलीफ



[श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा]

नहीं है। लेकिन ऐसा कोई अन्याय नहीं कीजिये जिससे आपकी यह गदियाँ छिन जायें।]

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): Madam Deputy Chairman, the Finance Minister's Speech, which he made in the other House when he introduced the Budget proposals for this year, reveals a crisis of conscience, in his financial and economic conscience. It seems to reveal a soul divided within itself, between that part of it which belongs to the man, who in early life, through individual initiative and enterprise, carved out one of the great commercial careers of Madras, and that other part which belongs to the man, who late in life, fell a victim to the meretricious charms of a painted old lady, 'Socialism'. If not the words, at least the sentiment of the poet who was also torn between two loves when he wrote: "How happy would I be with either if the other fair charmer were away" animate his Budget. This ambivalence is evident in almost everyone of his budget proposals, the pull between the businessman and the socialist. He wants to give incentives to economic and industrial growth, but at the same time he suffers from the fear of giving too many concessions to business.

First, let us take the businessman in him. To favour the businessman he has proposed the abolition of the super profits tax and a reduction in the rate of tax on public companies engaged in specific industries like steel, chemicals, machinery, machine tools and plantations. Instead of the super profits tax he is imposing a surtax, which used to be levied at 50 or 60 per cent, on net earnings above 6 per cent, calculated on a very narrow capital base, to be replaced by 40 per cent, levy on earnings exceeding 10 per cent, on a comparatively larger capital base. He has also proposed inter-corporate investment enjoying some tax relief.

On personal taxation on income, at almost every level he has reduced the rates. He has substituted the Compulsory Deposit Scheme by the Annuity Deposit Scheme. He has also removed the ceiling that was placed on the salaries of the Indian employees in firms. He has given relief to foreign companies in the shape of exemptions of royalties and technical fees. So far the businessman.

Now comes in the socialist. He has proposed a steep rise in death duties and gift-tax and a high tax on capital gains and even on bonus issues. He has discriminated against distributed dividend. The estate duties are on a very high scale, from 40 per cent, at the level of Rs. 10 lakhs rising up to 80 per cent, at the level of Rs. 20 lakhs and more. He has reintroduced the expenditure-tax. Although it does not yield much revenue, it has, as a Member from Mysore, pointed out the other day, a psychological effect. This luxury expenditure of the rich people is creating a demoralising effect on the poor. They see their own poverty, and they see on the other side the huge expenses incurred by the rich on the occasion of weddings and other festivities. But this expenditure-tax should be assessed by the income-tax officials looking at evidences of luxury expenditure like the large numbers of electric bulbs used to illuminate wedding festivities, like the number of palatial houses owned by rich people, the windows, the doors and so many other evidences of luxury expenditure.

Then he has made certain proposals in regard to the evasion of income-tax. Evasion of tax takes place not only in India but also in England and the United States of America. It is the high rate of income-tax which leads to the temptation to evade just as high customs duties lead to smuggling. The Minister's proposals are, firstly, affirmation to be made by the assessee that his assessment is correct. Is the affirmation to be made on paper or on oath before an official? The tax

assessed by the assessee himself is to be deposited within a month, and the burden of proof lies on the assessee in the case of suspected under-assessment. These proposals in regard to evasion require honesty on the part of officials as well as honesty on the part of assesses. I wonder why the system adopted in England is not adopted by the Income-tax Department in India of offering a commission on the collection of income-taxes, especially on the collection of large revenue from income-tax.

Then, this self-assessment is peculiar to income-tax imposition. It obtain nowhere else. Regarding land revenue, the Collector or his assistant goes and inspects the crops and on his assessment of the value of the crops he levies the land tax. Why should it be left only in the case of income-tax payers that they should assess themselves? That again leads to all this evasion. If the income-tax authorities would look at the evidences, numerous evidences given by income-tax payers for the large incomes, the evasion of income-tax would be not so great as it is at present. The whole history of evasion seems to confirm John Stuart Mill's assertion that income-tax is not so much a tax on income as a tax on the conscience of the people.

Then again, Madam Deputy Chairman, savings and investment are a sign and proof of the economic value of a budget. What is the history of savings in our country? We find that public subscriptions by ordinary private individuals to Government loans have been falling steadily. It is only insurance companies, banks and provident funds that mop up all the loans that are floated by Government. How can people save when there is not enough of money to save from? Death duties, estate duties and gift-tax mop up all the extra money that could go into savings. Then where is the example of Government for the people to follow a programme of savings? Look at the public debt to which very little reference has

been made so far during the budget debate. It has reached the grand total of Rs. 7,509 crores, and the annual interest to be paid on this is about Rs. 318 crores, which works out to one-sixth of the annual revenue.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Would you take more time?

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Yes, Madam. Ten minutes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House would sit for ten minutes more or till he finishes.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: What is being done with regard to reduction of this huge debt? Only a token payment of Rs. 5 crores a year is provided. I wish to remind the House and the Government of Jefferson's warning in regard to public debt. He was speaking soon after America attained its independence just as we are now speaking after our independence:

"Public debt is the greatest of dangers to be faced. To preserve our independence we must not let our rulers load us with public debt. If we run into such debt, we must be taxed in our meat and drink, in our necessities and comforts, in our labours and our amusements."

This prediction has been proved almost to the letter in the case of India. Look at the load of indirect taxes that are placed upon the common people. The total amount of indirect taxes comes to Rs. 1,100 crores, whereas at the other end the amount of direct taxes comes only to Rs. 676 crores. No relief has been given to the indirect taxpayer. Kerosene oil, sugar, matches, textiles, all these commodities which are used by the common man, still carry the old excise duties. There is no relief to the consumers. The Minister's argument is that if any relief is given, it will go only to the middleman. Government say that they are not able to provide that, that any relief in

[Shri M. Ruthnaswamy.]  
regard to indirect taxes will not go to the consumer. That is an argument against all future relief in regard to indirect taxes.

In this connection, may I also say how much relief the pensioner requires? His is a permanent income and it cannot be increased, and if relief is given, it must be given also to the pensioner who has no political pressure to exert. I hope and trust that following the sympathetic policy of the Finance Minister announcing a certain rise in the rate of pensions, he will continue that sympathetic programme, and especially give relief to the pensioner from the burden of commutation amounts which he has to pay; even after he has finished paying the whole amount of the commuted income, he still goes on paying till he dies.

And what has the Finance Minister done about the great sources of revenue, namely, reduced expenditure? Government itself should set an example by exercising thrift in expenditure. A laudable reduction has been made in the year 1963-64 when the administrative expenditure was reduced to Rs. 80.40 crores. But again in 1964-65, it is to rise to Rs. 81 crores. And when one criticises the growth in administrative expenditure, one is told that it is in keeping with normal growth. There is no growth in the economy of the country but there is a steady growth in administrative expenditure.

And then there is that white elephant, the Planning Commission, with its palatial stables, its paraphernalia, its huge number of retainers; it almost looks like the Mysore Dussehra Durbar procession but without any of the colourful effect of the Durbar procession. The Planning Commission is costing Rs. 1 crore per year and with all that they produced 2 to 3 per cent. of agricultural growth. Madam Deputy Chairman, all this huge expenditure, the little relief given to the consumer, the soaking of the

rich, all this is due to the double-edged philosophy which underlies this Budget, namely, some encouragement to industrial growth but at the same time some paltering to socialism. It is a case of divided loyalty in the case of the Finance Ministers as well as the whole Government. They wanted to achieve social equality and at the same time increased productivity. It is not possible, socialist distribution can come only after production has been increased, and as long as the Finance Minister or any government is divided between socialism on the one side and economic prosperity on the other, there will be the same defect in the Budget. It is only when the Finance Minister aims at economic progress, pure and simple, without any ideology, without any 'ism', without any strings of ideology or 'ism' attached to it, can we look to the Budget of the Finance Minister for the promotion of undoubted economic prosperity.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2:30 p.m.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirtyfive minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at half-past two of the clock, THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

श्री गोडे मुराहरि (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
मैं आप से यह प्रश्न करना चाहूंगा कि संसद भवन के बाहर लाखों लोग अपना दुखदर्द ले कर आये हुए हैं, सारे हिन्दुस्तान से आये हैं। इसलिये १० मिनट के लिए इस सदन को एड्जर्न कर दिया जाय ताकि सदन के मेम्बरों को इस बात का मौका मिले कि वे जाकर उन लोगों का दुखदर्द सुन सकें।

उपसभापति : इस तरह से यह हाउस एड्जर्न नहीं हो सकता है। आप बाहर जा कर मिल सकते हैं। श्रीमती गोपीदास।

شری پیارے لال کوہیل «طالب» :

آپ کو ان کی چیخ پکار اور ان کے دکھ  
درد کو سنا چاہئے -

†[श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' : आप  
को इनकी चीख पुकार और उनके दुख दर्द  
को सुनना चाहिए ।]

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order,  
order, Mrs. Devaki Gopidas; please  
begin.

SHRIMATI DEVAKI GOPIDAS:  
(Kerala): Madam Deputy Chair-  
man, . . . .

उप सभापति : मैंने कहा कि जो जाना  
चाहता है वह जा सकता है और हाउस  
चलेगा ।

श्री पीारेलाल कोहिल «طالب» :

मैं हाउस में درخواست کرونگा کہ  
مادامہ جسٹس لوگ سولم جا کر باہر  
لوگوں کی دکھ بھری کہانی جو  
ہا سلس - میں آپ سے نہیں کرونگا  
اور بہت ادب سے یہ کہنا چاہتا  
ہوں کہ آپ اس ہاؤس کو تھوڑی دیر  
کے لئے ایڈجرن کر دیں تاکہ اس شعبہ  
کے لوگوں کو بھی ان کا دکھ درد سنا  
کا موقع مل سکے -

†[श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' : मैं  
हाउस से दरखास्त करूंगा कि माननीय  
सदस्य लोग स्वयं जाकर बाहर लोगों की  
दुखमरी कहानी जो है वह सुनें । मैं आपसे  
निवेदन करूंगा और बहुत अदब से यह  
कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप इस हाउस को थोड़ी  
दूर के लिये एडजर्न कर दें ताकि इस सदन  
के लोगों को भी इनका दुख दर्द सुनने का  
मौका मिल सके ।]

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order,  
order, you must not take advantage  
of the Chair's leniency.

श्री पीारेलाल कोहिल «طالب» :

میں آپ سے یہ درخواست کرنا  
کہ آپ بھی جانیں اور ہم پورٹسٹ  
کے طور پر اس ہاؤس سے باہر جائے  
میں -

†[श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' : मैं  
आपसे दरखास्त करता हूँ कि आप भी  
जायें और हम प्रोटैस्ट के तौर पर इस हाउस  
से बाहर जाते हैं ।]

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have  
told you, if you want to go . . . .  
(Interruptions) Order, order, you  
must sit down when I stand. Please  
sit down. I have said that those who  
are interested in what is happening  
outside the House may go there and  
do what they like, but the House  
shall not adjourn and the House  
shall carry on with its business. I  
have called Mrs. Devaki Gopidas. I  
do not want a word more on the sub-  
ject raised.

SHRIMATI DEVAKI GOPIDAS:  
Madam Deputy Chairman, I stand  
here to support the Budget. Our  
Finance Minister has done well and  
cleverly managed in facing the dual  
demands of defence and development,  
and for that purpose raising the fin-  
ances necessary for strengthening the  
defence of our country, at the same  
time accelerating and intensifying  
the process of economic development.  
With the limited resources available  
and without imposing any fresh taxa-  
tion, the Finance Minister has suc-  
ceeded in presenting a balanced Bud-  
get. At this juncture, when our free-  
dom is threatened by two ruthless  
enemies at our gate, as a perpetual  
menace, strengthening our defence is  
the most important and pressing pro-

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blem. At the same time we have to go ahead with our economic development programmes for maintaining our strength by catering to the well-being of the people. Our Finance Minister deserves congratulations for setting apart 718 crores of rupees for Defence Services without in any way hampering the expenditure on the civil side. Even this amount is not sufficient.

It is a fact that our revenue has shown signs of buoyancy as it has increased from 190 crores of rupees to 2,000 crores now. But we have to realise that this is achieved at the expense of the common man who is ultimately bearing the brunt of all levy, which fact we should not forget. I am sure our Finance Minister, a man of the masses, will find ways and means to lessen the burden over the common man and help raise their living standards in conformity with our onward march towards a socialist pattern of society. From this perspective let us examine the Budget proposals. Comparatively this Budget is a firm step forward in that direction. The only disappointment is that we expected a few more further steps in this direction from Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, our Finance Minister. Perhaps, as a prudent man, his idea is to go slow on firm steps.

Our Finance Minister is reputed to be very clever and intelligent, and that is amply proved by the clever manner in which he has framed this Budget. It is interesting to note that the first reaction of the public to the Budget was much more favourable as a welcome relief to the limited income group of the community as there are no fresh tax proposals. But after chewing and digesting it the mistake is realised that this Budget is aimed at encouraging economic growth especially in the corporate sector, to give

encouragement to the private sector and to the industrialist, and not to give social justice to the people—may be intended as the most feasible step towards further development. On proper study we could find that the whole tax structure is not rationalised in such a manner that the burden will not fall on the common man. So far as the lower middle class and the peasantry are concerned, apparently no concession is given excepting a dearness allowance of two rupees to employees and no fresh taxation, so much so that this Budget is a bit deceptive. The Finance Minister has seen his way to providing reliefs where he has felt that the cause of corporate expansion and personal savings will be best served. Yet the overall effect is likely to prove less beneficial than it should be. Reducing excise duty is meant to be beneficial to the consumer. But in a scarcity economy the benefit will never be passed on to the consumer while the increase would certainly pass on to them.

I whole-heartedly welcome the abolition of the Compulsory Deposit Scheme. It was a burden on the common man. Here I am reminded about the difficult and ridiculous position of those youngsters selected for employment under the Posts and Telegraphs in the Compulsory deposit Scheme. They were selected, given training, and a few were appointed. These boys and girls, who were in the colleges, came out with the hope of entering Central Government Service. After undergoing all these troubles, they are nowhere now. They were selected on the basis of merit. I take this opportunity to request the Government to accommodate them in the Posts and Telegraphs, or any other department.

The Finance Minister has initiated a probe into the monopoly pattern and concentration of economic power by

appointing a Commission of Inquiry. It is a welcome move if he means to go far enough and fast enough.

Then the Finance Minister has tried to reform the structure of personal taxation so as to bring down the incidence of tax at different income levels. Of course, this is with the objective of encouraging personal savings. A modest move towards encouraging personal investment for security is initiated by according generous treatment to contributions to life insurance and provident funds. In my view a proposal of compulsory insurance scheme with provision to pay the premium from rebates on annuity or dividends is sure to benefit both the depositor and the Government alike, and is sure to get good response.

The new Surtax on companies calculated on a wider capital base and providing concessions to priority industries is a considerable improvement on the Super-Profits Tax which it replaces.

The reintroduction of dividend-tax on distributed profits with suitable exemptions, of course, is in tune with his scheme of economic incentives and is a welcome measure. Exemption of all inter-corporate dividends from super-tax and exemption of private companies, especially Section 23A companies, from compulsory distribution of dividends enable building up of reserves and investments, and it is sure to help development of industries by further investment.

The Annuity Scheme is advantageous to those whose income is above Rs. 15,000 and whose income is declining.

The introduction of the gift-tax and the expenditure-tax are meant to regularise income and earning level by discouraging spending and securing the social purpose of reducing the size of fortunes and accumulating wealth with the idea of passing on from one

generation to another. The sum total is if one can earn, one has to pay income-tax and super-tax. If one saves, one has to pay wealth-tax. If one spends, one has to pay expenditure-tax. Give a gift and pay gift-tax. If one dies, one has to pay death duty. Then the big question is what incentive there is for an honest man to work and earn excepting our accepted philosophy "लोका समस्ताः सुखिनो भवन्तु". Anyway, we could expect utilisation of more money, the excess money being spent on humanitarian and philanthropic activities as the after-effect.

Regarding expenditure-tax, how potent an instrument it turns out in practice to restrain expenditure remains yet to be seen or will it expel more money from the national accounting system? In other words, whether the remedy is worse than the disease is to be proved.

We find evasion of tax to a high degree. Hence tightening of tax laws to check widespread evasion is essential. Still the proposed powers to the tax department are so sweeping and uncircumscribed and the penalty provisions for alleged concealment in which the onus is shifted to the assessee to prove their *bona fides* so arbitrary that they constitute a dangerous extension of bureaucratic power. I doubt whether it is a proper remedy consistent with our fiscal and other provisions; whether it is against the provisions of the Penal Code is yet to be seen. Often it may cause harassment to innocent people without any pull and may drive away honest and respectable persons from this field.

When talking about tax evasion I would like to bring before the Government how goods are sold without bills to dupe the Government in spite of the introduction of 'C' forms to record the sales for the sake of assessment of sales-tax. There are many cases where business is being transacted without bills, especially in in-

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ter-State sales where the producers and the dealers on the plea of sending to their own branch office, stock the goods and sell the goods without bills. The best remedy for this is to levy higher percentage of sales-tax at the original point only.

Another provision that is sure to create difficulties is that a person must file his return and pay full tax within 30 days or else pay a penalty of 50 per cent., is not at all practicable. Without obtaining the goods at destinations nobody could issue the 'C' form for filling the return. For goods despatched from Kerala, say, to Julundur or Ambala, it usually takes not less than 1½ to 2 months to reach. Therefore, it is quite impossible for anybody doing business excepting provision shops or stationery shops to file the returns within a month and pay the tax.

One point I would like to stress upon is about the necessity of economy in spending. It would do more benefit to examine the scope of economy in the use of these resources. The Finance Minister could easily have refrained from adding to the burden if he had only cast about far larger economies in governmental expenditure. Economy in expenditure implies, of course, not merely a cut in overall expenditure but a more economic use of resources. Wastage, leakage and extravagance in dealing with public funds have increased along with our expenditure on defence and development. In the reports of the Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committee we could find severe criticisms to this effect. But still the same mistake is repeated and perpetuated. I hope the Finance Minister will devise some way by which the findings of these reports are made more effective and a fear must be instilled in those who are responsible

Governmental machinery should not be a white elephant. We could see instances both at the Central and

the State level where officers about to retire are sent abroad for higher training courses. On the eve of retirement officers are sure to make a big tour throughout the length and breadth of the country or, if possible, a world tour. Is it for the benefit of the common man?

The affairs of the Government-owned undertakings are ridiculous. The working of the State undertakings, as revealed, does not suggest that the Government has employed the resources to get the maximum benefit. For a large investment of Rs. 806 crores at the end of 1962-63, not only there is no profit but it has resulted in a net loss of Rs. 9.14 crores. Wasteful expenditure must be curtailed and more profitable use of funds ensuring maximum return should be essential and urgent.

We are proud of being an independent nation. To my mind, we are not fit to pose ourselves as an independent and democratic nation unless and until this unemployment problem is solved and a general rise in the standard of living is achieved.

Another thing is that we are not utilising the man-power resources properly. Raising of living standards is one of the aims of the Third Plan. A recent statement shows that 60 per cent. of India's population spends less than Rs 25 a month and about 30 to 35 per cent., less than Rs. 15. Even after fourteen years of planning suppose we see under-fed and neglected and unhealthy children with swollen bellies and men and women clothed in rags with anxious looks and worry writ large on their foreheads, well we have to think a while and find solutions. Without solving such urgent and pressing problems we cannot progress in the right direction, however loud we may be in our profession of socialism, equal rights and all that.

One very important point that I would like to stress is regarding the

need of intensifying the child welfare activity. Children in our country have yet to be regarded at least as important as industrialisation or agricultural production, if not more. Our Prime Minister has often laid emphasis on children being tomorrow's leaders. We have to realise that it is on them that the future glory of our nation depends. Child welfare activities are to be aimed at developing the child to be a useful citizen. Regarding child welfare activities we are nowhere even though the Council of Child Welfare and Social Welfare Board have focussed their attention in that direction. We have not yet reached a fringe of the problem. The Council of Child Welfare with its old and defunct committees, both at the State and district levels, is not in a position to do much. I am so sorry to say that there is no proper co-ordination and understanding between the different agencies doing something in this line. Whatever little the Social Welfare Board is doing is not getting full sympathy and support from the State Governments. If we are aspiring for better days, it is imperative that we have to give due care to the mental as well as physical health of our children. Today most of the children are not at school but employed to mitigate to some extent the poverty of their parents. It is a disturbing fact in India that most of our young persons who should be at school undergoing a professional training are at work in every sector of economic activity, in fields, quarries, mines, factories and offices. According to an official report "often factory premises are crowded with children ranging from 5 to 12 . . . In several cases children who are hardly 8 or 10 are certified to having reached 15 years of age. Guarded investigations on the spot revealed that age certificates could be had on payment of Rs. 2 or Rs. 3 per child" Is it not shameful? We have enough legislation for preventing such misdeeds. It is not the dearth of laws or regulations on the Statute Book but it is the

machinery to implement and enforce that is lacking here.

Madam, fourteen years in a nation's life is a small period, but in a child's or, for that matter, a man's life it is a long period. Child welfare is not a matter for a few charitable institutions or philanthropists alone. Children can begin to receive a better deal where there is overall development.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** You have taken 20 minutes. You must wind up.

**SHRIMATI DEVAKI GOPIDAS:** I would. Regarding the rising price level and agriculture I wanted to say something. But since there is no time, I am not going to stress it. But I would just like to stress a few points about the local needs. When we are stressing panchayati raj and local-self government the role of the Information and Broadcasting Department has become very important. As I said during the last Budget Session, we have a radio station the relay from which cannot be heard more than 30 miles away. We were clamouring for a strong station but it is yet to come. I would request the Government to consider this point and make arrangements for that.

Regarding the unemployment and utilisation of manpower resources in Kerala, I had also stressed during the last Session but we are improving a bit in industrialisation. Still the second shipyard and phytochemicals which are the only projects sanctioned for Kerala in the beginning of the Second Plan have not yet started. I would request the Government to consider all these matters and I hope the Budget will receive the acclamation of the whole House. Thank you.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** The list is long but I will leave to the hon. speakers' good sense about the length of their speeches. Shri Sri Rama Reddy.



**SRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY:** Madam, I rise to give my whole-hearted support to the Budget. It has been received in the country as a Budget of great vision and perspective and as one where the needs of defence and development of today and our democracy and also socialism have been fully taken into consideration. With regard to the actual revenue and expenditure, we have seen that the total revenue is Rs. 2,095 crores and our total expenditure is Rs. 2,041 crores leaving a surplus of Rs. 54 crores. This is a welcome feature of our Revenue Budget. Therefore, for the first time, a sizable surplus of Rs. 54 crores has been left which will go into development. Therefore, it is a very happy symptom of the Budget and the sound finances of our country.

With regard to the Capital Budget, the capital expenditure stood at Rs. 970 crores, net loans and advances stood at Rs. 543 crores and Miscellaneous at Rs. 16 crores giving a total Capital Budget of Rs. 1,529 crores which is proposed to be met as follows:

Surplus from Revenue Account—  
Rs. 54 crores.

Additional taxation—Rs. 40 crores.

Net public borrowing, both internal and external—Rs. 738 crores.

Unfunded Debt net, including annuity—Rs. 206 crores.

P.L. 480 and other deposits and advances—Rs. 405 crores.

Deficit—Rs. 86 crores.

This is also another very welcome feature and this Rs. 86 crores of deficit Budget is a thing that has to be welcomed. This again shows the healthy state of our finances. I have already stated that a revenue surplus is a

very happy feature. It is also surmised in knowledgeable quarters, that there may not be need even for this Rs. 86 crores of deficit financing. This again is a very happy feature. The Budget as a whole has to be judged, according to me, on certain criteria. What are the criteria? I would pose the following criteria for judging the Budget as a whole. Firstly, the Budget has to be considered as an estimate of Revenue and Expenditure. I would like to put the Budget of the Finance Minister to a particular test and I would like the Budget to be tested under the following heads:

- (1) As an estimate of Revenue and Expenditure;
- (2) As an instrument of tax reform;
- (3) As a means of stimulating growth;
- (4) As a way of elimination of disparities;
- (5) As a way of cutting down monopolies;
- (6) As a means to reduce prices;
- (7) As a relief to the hand-pressed lower and middle-income-tax paying groups.
- (8) As a means to create an atmosphere for a bolder programme of investment and expansion; and
- (9) As a means to stimulate capital market to react to this growth-oriented Budget.

Therefore in the very brief time that has been allotted to me, I would like to go into the merits of this Budget under the heads I have just enumerated. I have already said with regard to the first point, that there is a sizable surplus of Rs. 54 crores. This is a healthy symptom of our finances. The principle that the Revenue Budget should contribute to the Capital Budget for development

is upheld and this has been very well shown.

Having said that much with regard to the first question, I say that the Finance Minister has come out in very brilliant colours on this score. With regard to the second point, with regard to the Budget as an instrument of tax reform also, he has come out in very good colours. Probably on this score also he has got very high marks according to me.

**SHRI N. M. LINGAM:** All the colours of a rainbow.

**SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY:** The income tax structure has been simplified very much. It is not only my opinion. The entire press, the public and the industrialists are saying that it is very much simplified. Therefore, the tax structure is much more rational. Secondly the much-hated C.D.S. has been removed, though it has been substituted by an Annuity Scheme for certain income groups. Thirdly, the super-profits tax which was coming in the way of savings and much more investment in the corporate sector, has been removed and in its place the surtax has been introduced. With regard to indirect taxes, there are not very many changes. The changes that have been brought about are very few and they may not matter very much at all. Therefore the simplification of the tax structure in the country on a very rational and scientific basis is a new feature of this Budget.

In regard to considering the Budget as a means of stimulating growth, this is the most essential aspect of the entire Budget. On this score also the experts say, and I go by what most of the experts say in the press and in public, that the stimulation of economic growth has been very much accelerated on account of the Budget proposals. The major change brought about is reduction of the corporate tax on specified basic industries like cement, steel, coal and fourteen other industries. This is a

very very essential thing that has been done. The problem has been tackled at its very root. The reduction of tax on inter-corporate dividends is another important measure which helps in the investments. By introducing dividend-tax he is encouraging companies to reinvest the profits in industries. The dividend-tax has been very much hated but I for myself feel that he has in his view the question of re-investment of the dividends in the industrial projects of the corporate sector. Therefore with this object he has done it. Therefore I very much congratulate the Finance Minister and I welcome this measure also.

With regard to the total Plan expenditure, for the year 1964-65 it is put down at Rs. 1,984 crores which is Rs. 333 crores more than that of the previous year. This increase is said to be meant mainly for agricultural development of the country. This again leaves a large part for the development of agriculture which is a very great necessity at the present moment. In the first two years of the Plan agriculture fared very well. I would like to sound here a note of warning with regard to this. Mother earth is not a cash counter where you throw cash and expect a return but even so this can be illustrated. During the First Plan we only spent annually Rs. 42 crores. Our agricultural production increased by 2.8 per cent. During the Second Plan Rs. 54 crores we had spent annually on agriculture and the production rose again by 4 per cent. During the Third Plan in the first year there was an increase of 250 per cent. in outlay but there was a small rise in production in agriculture of 1.5 per cent. only. During the second year of the Third Five Year Plan there was a 350 per cent. increase in the figure of outlay and the return is only minus 4 per cent. In these two years of the Third Plan, in the second and third years, it is no better. With regard to expenditure, there has been an increase of Rs.267 crores

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or so but ultimately there will be a setback in the figures of production in the last year of the Third Plan. This is the state of affairs. Therefore, we cannot believe that it is money and money alone that will produce agricultural articles, that money alone will give you increased agricultural production. New techniques are necessary and a new approach to agricultural development is necessary. I do hope and trust that proper attention will be given to this aspect also by the concerned Ministries.

The fourth test that I have is that the Budget should be a means of eliminating disparities. This is an important aspect. We have sworn by democratic socialism for this country and if our Budget does not reflect this philosophy of the ruling party to which I have the honour to belong, probably it would be a failure. But according to me, even this point has been taken into consideration fully by this Budget. It might be that all the rich people have not been eliminated by one stroke of the pen of

Finance Minister here and now, still they are proposed to be eliminated, probably very shortly. The estate duty, it was said by some people, has brought in only an extra income of Rs. 3 crores. But I reliably understand that one individual has got at present Rs. 3 crores by himself which he has to deposit. Therefore, under this law all those who have Rs. 20 lakhs properties have to pay 85 per cent. of their wealth as estate duty. This is the position with regard to estate duty. If this is not socialism, what else is socialism? Is cutting off heads socialism? Is the burning of property of others socialism? We shall leave all that to other parties. We shall go by the constitutional methods. The gift-tax has been there. About this gift-tax everybody knows and so I need not repeat anything about this tax. There is the reintroduction of the expenditure-tax and those who now spend more than Rs. 36,000 have got to pay the expenditure-tax.

SHRI N. M. LINGAM: If you spend Rs. 36,000 on an election?

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: I do not know. You may ask the Finance Minister. The wealth-tax has been introduced, and also there is the capital-gains tax. There are these five measures which are very very important measures, and according to one assessment, Madam, these taxes in the course of a generation, will completely wipe out all the big men and equality is going to be established in this country, though they may not do so immediately. Therefore, this matter of elimination of disparities has been given its due consideration and we have no quarrel with that, the philosophy of the ruling party has been upheld by the Finance Minister. He has not allowed it to go underground as has been unfortunately criticised by some hon. Members of our own party.

As for cutting down monopolies and using the Budget as a means of cutting down monopolies, there is no magic by which one can do it here and now. Therefore this Monopolies Commission is going to be established. It will go into the whole question in respect of the wealth concerned, in respect of the management, in respect of the managerial skill and so on. All these aspects will be gone into thoroughly and scientifically. Also suitable laws are proposed to be drafted and these are going to be brought before this House. What more should be done? This is a democratic country and we cannot do things as people in the totalitarian countries do. We have to follow certain procedures, we have to follow the constitutional procedures. We have a constitutional elected government and it has got to approve of the measures and certain procedures are necessary. Therefore, I congratulate the Finance Minister—and happily he is coming into the House just now—I congratulate him on having thought of this Monopolies Commission. It has great significance for removing entirely, lock, stock and barrel, the monopolistic system which has been existing here

This is my fifth point and on this score also the Finance Minister secures distinction marks and I congratulate him.

SHRI C. D. PANDE (Uttar Pradesh): You mean to say 80 per cent. marks? Your marking is liberal.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: The sixth test is that the Budget should be a means to reduce the prices. Here there is room for a little criticism. Of course, production cannot be controlled completely by the Finance Minister or by this Parliament or by anybody. We have not had sufficient production and prices have been rising. That is due to various failures and also due probably to some of the past laws of this country. But he has tried to set things right. Deficit financing primarily has been reduced to Rs. 86 crores. Even that may not be required if there is sufficient buoyancy in the taxes and industrial production. First of all inflation on that score has been cut down to that extent. But other positive measures with regard to the controlling of prices are not there. He thinks that for foodgrains he will introduce controls at strategic points. I do not know what he has in mind. I want to tell the Finance Minister, now that he is here, the agricultural commodities he may bring under control, but at the same time with regard to other commodities which the farmer requires, is he thinking of procuring them and supplying them to the farmer at cheap rates? If the Minister does not do it and if the farmer has to buy his clothing and other things that he requires, at higher rates and still you want him to produce agricultural goods, then I am afraid it is the farmer who will be hard hit. I want to sound a note of warning to the hon. the Finance Minister and say that if he wants to control foodgrains prices, he should make arrangements to meet the other requirements of the farmers and make them available to him at equally cheap rates so that he may not suffer and there may not be unbalance in the economy as a whole. The price

structure should be stable to all the people at all the levels. That is my humble suggestion.

Next I come to my seventh point. I am hurrying on so that I may not be accused later on of having taken more time than I should.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Is this your last point?

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: My seventh point is that the Budget should give relief to the hardpressed lower and middle income groups. I feel to these people the Finance Minister has done full justice. First of all the Compulsory Deposit has removed. He has reduced the tax as such for the lower income groups. For those drawing Rs. 5,000 annual income, it has been reduced and all of them are joyful. Similarly, for persons between the incomes of Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 15,000, they have a take-home pay than what they had before, and on that ground also we have no complaint. The Finance Minister has done full justice in the matter of giving assistance to those who are drawing below Rs. 15,000 annual income and therefore on this point also he has done justice.

On the subject of prices the hon. Finance Minister has scored only about 50 per cent. On the other points he has scored first class or distinction marks, but on this subject of prices he has only just passed.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: That means 33 per cent?

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: I would say 35 per cent, just the pass mark though in all the rest he has scored 80 per cent.

As regards the eighth point, namely, of the Budget being the means to create the atmosphere for a bolder programme of investment and expansion, let us see if this has been done or not. According to me, this has been done and the Finance Minister has done it marvellously well. The substitution of super pro-

[Shri N. Sri Rama Reddy.]  
fits tax by the surtax substantively reduces the burden on the corporate sector and therefore, the possibilities of more capital formation are there.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Mr. Reddy you seem inclined to pass everybody?

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: The importance of the favourable psychological effect that this creates for bolder programmes of investment and expansion should not be minimised.

The tax on equity dividends is a circumstance which works against this atmosphere in some respects.

Finally, as a means to stimulate capital markets to react to this growth orientation, there are some proposals. There is the invitation to foreign capital to invest in this country. On this I need not say much because the hon. Minister himself has said enough on it and other hon. Members also have dealt with this aspect. I welcome this because he says that the burden of our debt services and interest charges will be about Rs. 850 crores in the Fourth Plan and even in the Third Plan it will be Rs. 385 crores or roughly Rs. 400 crores. This is an enormous sum. If we compare all this sum that we have to pay in the matter of debt services interest charges and so on, we feel if some amount of dividend and other things go out of this country due to this foreign capital, it would not matter. Therefore, there is sufficient room still left in favour of the economy of our country. I welcome, therefore this participation of foreign private capital in industry because we cannot industrialise our country without foreign aid. What we can achieve in one or two Plans with foreign help, we will take centuries otherwise. We are running against time. Therefore, I wholeheartedly welcome this. With a view to creating confidence in the foreign markets I would like to say that the entire

Parliament must completely agree with the Finance Minister in the open offer he has made for the foreign countries.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken over twenty minutes.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: Yes, Madam. I am closing.

I would now like to say a few words more. I would like to point out that the Finance Minister must make a proper assessment of the civil expenditure of the country. It is going up enormously and is Rs. 181 crores more than what it was during 1963-64. My suspicion is that there is a lot of wasteful expenditure which has got to be checked. The administration must be streamlined and we must find out the loopholes and the weaknesses in order to save not only this sum of Rs. 54 crores but much more, which is needed badly for developmental purposes. I should think that the Finance Minister must pay particular attention to this aspect of the problem. He has also mentioned about the public sector undertakings. Shri Ashoka Mehta, the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, has said a ten per cent. return on the capital invested in the public sector undertakings is a *sine quo non* of progress. If there is no profit, it only shows the moribund state of affairs. Profiteering is different from profit. People who know something of economics say that profit is the most important aspect of everything. The public undertakings must yield profits.

Madam, the performance of the public undertakings has become very poor and deplorable. I have the figures analysed with me but since I have no time, I would not like to go into them. I would request the Finance Minister to go into the problem of public undertakings very thoroughly and put them on a very sound basis. Wherever there are weaknesses, such weaknesses must be eliminated. That is the most impor-

tant thing. The Government of India being the biggest entrepreneur it must take care to see that it is capable of producing all the capital required for its own development but also contribute to the general exchequer. This is the state of affairs in Russia which the Finance Minister has clarified. Therefore on that ground, you need not quarrel with this.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken twentyfive minutes.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: I am concluding, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are trying to conclude. You do not conclude.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: I am trying to conclude, Madam. I would like to say whether the Finance Minister has passed or not.

The Budget is a brilliant exercise in financial matters but the important thing is that you must take the Budget as a whole, not in parts. It has a cleansing and refreshing attitude about it, a very reasonable and careful assessment of the needs of defence, development and our democratic socialism, all of which have been taken into consideration and a fine balancing of the various aspects of fiscal and monetary measures needed has been done. I once again offer my heartfelt congratulations to the Finance Minister and wish him all the success because he has passed in the first class and with marks of distinction to his credit.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़ियां (मध्य प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदय जी, बजट पर जो चर्चा हुई है उस चर्चा को सुनकर थोड़ा आश्चर्य भी हुआ कि गये साल इसी सदन में जब श्री मोरारजी देसाई ने कम्पलसरी डिपॉजिट स्कीम को प्रारम्भ किया था और एक्सपेंडीचर टैक्स को हटाने का प्रस्ताव रखा था तो हमारे कई कांग्रेसी सदस्यों ने तालियां बजा बजाकर उस बजट का स्वागत किया था। लेकिन आज यह देखकर आश्चर्य

होता है कि जब माननीय टी० टी० कृष्ण-माचारी जी ने कम्पलसरी डिपॉजिट स्कीम को हटा दिया और फिर से एक्सपेंडीचर टैक्स लगा दिया तो हमारे कांग्रेस के सदस्य कहते हैं कि यह भी अच्छा है। यह बात समझ में नहीं आती है कि उन्होंने अपने मिर्झातों को, अपनी धारणाओं को एक तरफ रख दिया है और यदि शहनशाह दिन को रात कहने लगे हैं और रात को दिन कहने लगे हैं तो अन्य बन्धु अपनी बुद्धि का उपयोग नहीं करते हैं, उसी के अनुसार करने लगते हैं। मैं उनसे प्रार्थना करूंगा कि वे जो कुछ भी करना चाहते हैं अपने विवेक से करें। अगर वित्त मंत्री जी ठीक करते हैं तो ठीक कहें और अगर बुरा करते हैं तो उनको बुरा कहें। अगर वह इस तरह से करेंगे तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा।

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: I refute it. I had vehemently protested against the C.D.S. and other measures of the Finance Minister last year. I vehemently protest and say that he is not telling the truth.

श्रीविमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया :

मैं, उपसभापति महोदय, आपसे प्रार्थना करूंगा कि हमारे मित्र श्री रामा रेड्डी साहब अपवाद स्वरूप अपने को छोड़ दें जैसा कि मैंने कहा भी है।

उपसभापति महोदय, मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जब मैंने माननीय मंत्री जी का भाषण पढ़ा तो ऐसा लगा कि मानो विरोधी दल के लोग शासन के पुराने कामों की जिस तरह से आलोचना करते हैं उसको भी उन्होंने मात कर दिया। हमारे जहाँ पहले वित्त मंत्री जी थे उनकी बुराई करना और स्वयं को अच्छा बताना, यह जो मनोवृत्ति हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी की है, वह गलत है। इस तरह की जो मनोवृत्ति है, वह देश के लिए तो घातक है ही, स्वयं कांग्रेस के लिये भी घातक है और इस तरह की परम्परा को हमें कायम नहीं करना चाहिये और इसको खत्म करना चाहिये।

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया]

दूसरी बात उनके भाषण में यह थी कि शासन व्यवस्था कैसे चले, इसके ऊंचे ऊंचे सिद्धांतों का निरूपण किया गया था और उसके अनुसार किस प्रकार टैक्स लगे, इस का भी निरूपण किया गया था।

जहां तक पुराने कामों के आलोचना का सवाल है उनमें से सबसे पहले मैं इस बात की चर्चा करूंगा कि जब हम बजट बनाते हैं तो इस बात का ख्याल रखते हैं कि हमारा कितना खर्च कहाँ कहाँ होगा और कितनी आमदनी कहाँ कहाँ से होगी। इस बात का बजट में सही चित्रण होता है। किन्तु हमारे जो बजट का अनुमान है वह इस प्रकार है :

राजस्व प्राप्ति में १९६१-६२ में १२ प्रतिशत, १९६२-६३ में १५ प्रतिशत का अन्तर रहा है जबकि यू० के० में २ प्रतिशत व १.७ प्रतिशत तक वैरिएशन रहता है। इस तरह से जो अत्यधिक फर्क हमारे अनुमान में होता है वह अच्छे बजट का द्योतक नहीं है। इसलिए मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर वित्त मंत्री जी अपने आपको एक सफल मंत्री घोषित करना चाहते हैं तो कम से कम ऐसा बजट प्रस्तुत करें जिसमें अनुमान में और वास्तविक में अधिक फर्क न हो।

उपसभापति महोदया, यह देखकर बहुत दुःख हुआ कि सुरक्षा के संबंध में जितना रुपया रखा गया था, उसमें सुरक्षा के लिये कैपिटल एक्सपेंडिचर के लिए जो धन रखा गया था उसमें से ४३ करोड़ रुपये का उपयोग नहीं किया गया। एक तरफ तो हमारे देश में आफत आई हुई है और सदन रुपया देने के लिए तैयार है किन्तु हमारी इस सरकार में उस रुपये को उपयोग में लाने की क्षमता नहीं है। वह रुपये का उपयोग नहीं करना चाहती है जबकि सारे देश में आफत आई हुई

है और यह जो परम्परा है वह बहुत ही गलत है।

श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा : नावधानी से खर्च करती है।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया : आप १६६ राजज एवेन्यू आयें तब आपको मैं समझाऊंगा।

उपसभापति महोदया, सरकार हमसे टैक्स के रूप में पैसा लेती है और हम सबसे अधिक अपेक्षा करते हैं कि हमारी सुरक्षा होगी लेकिन हमारे हवाई जहाज गायब हो जाते हैं और काफी अर्सा हो जाता है फिर भी उनका पता नहीं चलता है। सीमा में जो लोग रहते हैं उनके सिर के ऊपर हमेशा खतरा बना हुआ है उनके जानमाल को खतरा बना हुआ है फिर भी हमारी सरकार रक्षा के कार्यों के लिए पैसा खर्च नहीं करती। क्या हम इसीलिए पैसा देते हैं, क्या आप हमारे ऊपर इसीलिए टैक्स लगाना चाहते हो कि हमारी सीमा क्षेत्र के लोग परेशान रहे, अगर कोई हवाई जहाज गुम हो जाय तो उसके लिए आपको कोई चिन्ता नहीं? मेकमहोन रेखा तक आप सेनाएं भी नहीं भेज सकते? यह जो परम्परा है वह ठीक नहीं कही जा सकती। अनुमान तो इतने विचित्र होते हैं कि खर्च का जो अनुमान होता है वह ज्यादा से ज्यादा आंका जाता है और जो आमदनी का अनुमान होता है वह कम से कम आंका जाता है। इन आंकड़ों के हिसाब से जो अनुमान हुआ था कि हमारे ऊपर कुल कितना टैक्स तृतीय पंच-वर्षीय योजना के अंतर्गत लगाना चाहिये, उसके हिसाब से ११ सौ करोड़ टैक्स होना चाहिये था और इस प्रकार १ सौ करोड़ रुपये का हमारा मूल लक्ष्य था लेकिन १९०० करोड़ रुपये से अधिक यह मात्रा गत वर्ष में ही हो चुकी है अर्थात् ६०० करोड़ रुपया अतिरिक्त करवसूल हो चुका है। इस साल के बजट प्रस्तावों में यह मात्रा और बढ़ जावेगी। दो दोनों तरफ आप अलग अलग ढंग से चलते

है, यह मामला कुछ ठीक नहीं लगता। अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से यह जो जनता पर आप भार डालते हैं, इससे ऐसा नहीं कहा जा सकता कि बजट अच्छा है।

दूसरे आपने बताया कि कीमतों की बढ़ोतरी हुई है। कामतों की बढ़ोतरी के सम्बन्ध में अगर हिसाब किताब देखा जाय तो जब से हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर टी० टी० कृष्ण-माचारी साहब पदारे हैं, उसके बाद से ही कीमतों की विशेष बढ़ोतरी प्रारम्भ हुई है। मार्च, १९६३, से जनवरी, १९६४ तक कीमतें ७.२ प्रतिशत बढ़ गईं जबकि गत तीन वर्षों में ८ प्रतिशत बढ़ीं, लेकिन आप अपनी प्रतिष्ठा में क्या कहते हैं :

"I have stated often that the growth of the economy has not been commensurate with our expectations. The measures we have taken during the last six months have produced some improvement in the situation."

पता नहीं आप किसको इम्प्रूवमेंट कहते हैं। एक साधारण नागरिक की हैसियत से मैं यह कह सकता हूँ कि अगर किसी का बैंक बैलेंस बढ़ा है, किसी का ट्रेजरी में पैसा बढ़ा है, तो उससे मेरा मतलब नहीं है। किन्तु एक साधारण नागरिक की हैसियत से मेरा आप पर यह चार्ज है कि छः महीने के अन्दर अन्दर हमारे खाद्यान्न की चीजों की और हमारे रोजमर्रा काम में आने वाली चीजों की कीमत बहुत बढ़ गई है और हमारे मंत्री जी कहते हैं कि अगर कुछ बुरा किया तो हमारे पहले मंत्रों ने किया और अच्छा किया तो मैंने किया। यह नीति बहुत गलत है कि आप स्वयं अपनी प्रशंसा में यह कह रहे हैं कि स्थिति सुधर रहा है। यह झूठी प्रशंसा है। आप बाजार में किसी भी साधारण नागरिक से जा करके पूछ लें कि कपड़ा किस भाव का हो गया है, गेहूँ किस भाव का हो गया है, शक्कर किस भाव हो गई, फिर आपको वास्तविकता का ज्ञान हो जायेगा। ये जो कीमतें बढ़ी हैं, क्या यही आपकी सकलता का छोटक है ?

तो मैं यह नहीं मान सकता कि आपने स्थिति सुधारी है। इस लिये व्यर्थ मैं अपने मुँह अपनी प्रशंसा करना शोभा नहीं देता।

तीसरे आपने कृषि उत्पादन में कमी की बात कही। कृषि का उत्पादन पहले १९६१-६२ में १.२ प्रतिशत बढ़ा था। फिर १९६२-६३ में वह उत्पादन ३.३ प्रतिशत घट गया जब कि हमने यह अपेक्षा कर रखी थी कि तृतीय योजना तक हमारे यहां पर १० करोड़ टन अनाज पैदा होना चाहिये। सब से बड़ा दुःख की बात यह है कि हमारा कृषि प्रधान देश है, किन्तु हमारे यहां के निवासियों का चुल्हा जब तक अमेरिका से अनाज न आ जाय जल नहीं सकता। यह हमारे लिये शोभा की बात नहीं है। हमारे प्लानिंग विभाग के इनचार्ज, भगत साहब यहां पर हैं, उनसे कई दफा प्रार्थना की गई कि आप काश्तकारों को उचित पैसा दीजिए, उनको इमेंटिव दीजिए, उनमें जो एक मनो-वैज्ञानिक कमजोरी है, जिसकी वजह से वे अधिक उत्पादन नहीं कर पाते हैं, उसको दूर कीजिए, लेकिन हमारे मंत्री जी कहते हैं कि इसका हम प्रदाय नहीं कर सकते कि उनको कितना उचित मूल्य दिया जाय। हमारे उपराष्ट्रपति महोदय ने राष्ट्रपति का कार्य करते समय अभिभाषण में कहा था कि कृषकों को उचित मूल्य मिलना चाहिये और हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी भी कहते हैं कि कृषकों को उचित मूल्य मिलना चाहिये, मगर हमारे योजना मंत्री कहते हैं कि उचित मूल्य क्या हो, यह हम निर्णय नहीं कर सकते। कई तरह की जमीनें हैं, कई प्रकार के खेत हैं। हमारी प्रार्थना है कि माजिनल लैंड पर यह निर्णय करना होगा कि एक एकड़ में इतना उत्पादन होता है तो इतना खर्च होना चाहिये।

सरकारी रिपोर्ट, एग्रीकल्चरल सेक्टर इन्क्वायरी की रिपोर्ट में जो आंकड़े बताये गये हैं उनके अनुसार काश्तकारों की आमदनी कम है और खर्च ज्यादा है। बिहार में



[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चोरडिया]  
 आमदनी ५३४ रु० है और खर्च ५७४ रु० है। मध्य प्रदेश में आय ३६० रु० और खर्च ४१० रु० है। मद्रास में आमदनी ३६५ रु० और खर्च ३७६ रु० है। पंजाब में आमदनी ६०७ रु० है और खर्च ७१८ रु० है। मैसूर में आमदनी ३६६ रु० और खर्च ४२६ रु० है। तो ऐसे कई प्रांत हैं जहां पर कृषि मजदूरों की आमदनी कम है और खर्च अधिक है। हमारे स्वर्ण सिंह जी समझते हैं कि केवल स्वर्ण-कर्ज देने से लोगों की हालत ठीक हो जायेगी। लेकिन केवल उधार देने से उनकी स्थिति ठीक होने वाली नहीं है। उनको अति कर्जग्रस्त बना देने से उनको जो आमदनी आने वाली है उसका बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा आप व्याज के रूप में ले लेगे। अगर सचमुच आप उनकी उन्नति चाहते हैं तो वे कैसे कर्ज से मुक्त हों, वे कैसे स्वावलम्बी हो जाये, इस ओर आपको लक्ष्य करने की आवश्यकता है और यह लक्ष्य तब तक पूरा नहीं होगा जब तक हमारे प्लानिंग डिपार्टमेंट के मंत्री जी मांजिनल लैंड पर निर्णय करके यह निश्चित नहीं कर देंगे कि खाद्यान्न का उचित मूल्य क्या हो। आज नगर वाले यह चाहते हैं कि हमें सस्ता अनाज मिले, सस्ता कच्चा माल मिले, जैसे कल जयपुरिया जी ने कहा कि हमें सस्ता रा मँटिरियल मिले। ग्रामीण लोग कहते हैं कि हमें अपने उप उत्पादन का उचित मूल्य मिले। मगर हमारे ग्रामीण भाइयों की आवाज हमारी सरकार नहीं सुनती है क्योंकि वे संगठित नहीं हैं। इसलिये हमारे मंत्री जो उनका उचित मूल्य देने के लिये तैयार नहीं है। यह आज नहीं तो कल हमारी सरकार के लिये एक बहुत बड़ी असफलता का कारण बनेगा। इसलिये इस दिशा में यदि सरकार सचमुच चाहती है कि कृषि का उत्पादन बढ़े तो सरकार को कृषकों को उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिये इन्फेंटिव देना चाहिये, उनका अपने उत्पादन का उचित मूल्य मिलना चाहिये, तभी अधिक उत्पादन संभव हो सकता है।

अग्रे आपने यह सर्टिफिकेट दिया है कि सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में चल रहे उद्योगों में आशानुरूप लाभ नहीं हुआ। जिनका दिमाग में यह विचार घुमा हुआ है कि सब चीजों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाय, मैं उनसे प्रार्थना करूंगा कि जो अभी सरकारी क्षेत्र में कारखाने चल रहे हैं उनको लाभदायक बनाने का प्रायः कष्ट करे। उदाहरण के लिये, यह जो हमारा हिन्दुस्तान स्टील लिमिटेड है उसमें खर्च ७४,३४,००० रु० का घाटा सन् १९६०-६१ में हुआ, सन् १९६१-६२ में वह १९ कराड़ ५० लाख हो गया और सन् १९६२-६३ में वह २३ कराड़ ८० लाख हो गया। यह जो घाटे की स्थिति सार्वजनिक क्षेत्रों में चल रही है वह राष्ट्रीयकरण का भावनाओं के लिये घातक सिद्ध हो रही है और यह राष्ट्रीयकरण कहा ले जायेगा, किस दिशा में ले जायेगा और कहा ले जा कर देश का डूबायेगा यह कुछ समय में नहीं पता है। देखो तो, जना का गढ़ा, कमाई का पैसा इन तरिकों से आप खर्च कर दे रहे हैं और न्यायमग्न नहीं कहा जा सकता।

सिद्धान्तों का चर्चा करने से ही कुछ लाभ नहीं होगा। किसानों को कम दाम देना उत्पादन के लिये घातक होगा, खाली भाषण देने से अगर उनको उचित मूल्य दिलाने के लिये कुछ न करने से उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ेगा। तो जैसा कि मैंने निवेदन किया, उस हिमाव से काम करेंगे तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा। भाषण में वित्त मंत्री जी ने बताया हमको सिचाई के माधनों में, खाद के उत्पादन में, बिजली के उत्पादन में वृद्धि करना चाहिये मगर आज स्थिति यह है कि कहीं पानी है तो नहरें नहीं बनवाई गई हैं और कहीं नहरें हैं तो पानी नहीं है, रिजरवायर है तो कैनाल्स नहीं हैं, कैनाल्स हैं तो पानी के आने के लिये जगह नहीं है, बिजली मण्डल है तो ट्रान्सफार्मर नहीं हैं और अगर ट्रान्सफार्मर हैं तो बिजली को लाइन नहीं है और इसलिये जो हमारे पास क्षमता है, सामग्री है उसका

उपयोग हम नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। तो जैसा कि मैंने निवेदन किया कि सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में जो काम है उसको दूर करना चाहिये वैसे ही उत्पादन के मामले में भी मेरा निवेदन है कि ट्रांसफार्मिंग वगैरह वगैरह को जा कमिया है उनका दूर करके हमारे पास जो साधन है उनका पूरा पूरा उपयोग होना चाहिये और उससे लाभ मिलना चाहिये, यदि ऐसा करे तो ठीक होगा।

दानो ही क्षेत्रों में, सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में और निजी क्षेत्र में भी औद्योगिक विकास किया जाना चाहिये। जहाँ एक प्राइवेट सेक्टर का सवाल है हमारे मंत्री जी ने जो जो रूप बजट का हमारे सामने रखा है उसको देखते हुए यह बेवेल एक पायस होना ही है, आपने बताया कि उनके पास पैसा बचना चाहिये और सब कुछ होना चाहिये मगर हमारी जो टैक्सेशन की नीति है उसके आधार पर उनका पास विशेष पैसा नहीं बच सकता और फिर हमारी सरकार की फिबिल पालिसी होने की वजह से उनका मालूम ही नहीं है कि क्या करना है और क्या नहीं करना है—एक तो यह कारण है और दूसरे हमारे कई भाइयों के दिमाग में जो राष्ट्रीयकरण का भूत सवार है उसकी क्रावागिनि में निजी क्षेत्र जल न जाय इसलिये भी वह अपने केपिटल का शाई करते जा रहे हैं। तो अगर सचमच देश का विकास करना है तो सरकारी क्षेत्र में भी कुछ करो—उसके लिये कोई इनकारी नहीं है—उनका लाभदायक बना करके करो और निजी क्षेत्र में भी उनका पूरा बढ़ने का मौका दो। निजी क्षेत्र में बचत तो करवाना चाहते हैं लेकिन वह बचत होती नहीं है क्योंकि इतने टैक्स बढ़ते जा रहे हैं।

याप विदेशों की तुलना में देखें तो हमारे यहाँ करो में बढ़ती होती जा रही है और विदेशों में कर कम होते जा रहे हैं। अमेरिका

जैसे औद्योगिक दृष्टि से उन्नत देश में करों की मात्रा घटाई जा रही है, वहाँ इस साल २० परसेंट में ११ परसेंट के बजाय कर की मात्रा १६ परसेंट से ७० परसेंट कर दी गई है और १९६५ में यह १४ परसेंट से ७० परसेंट कर दी जायेगी। इसलिये जब तक हम भी ऐसा नहीं करते हैं उनके पास बचत का साधन नहीं होगा और तब तक पूँजी काम में नहीं आ सकेगी।

दूसरे, हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने कहा कि हम मानोपलीज को खत्म करना चाहते हैं मगर हमारे काम ऐसे हैं कि मानोपलीज बढ़ती जा रही है, हमारे यहाँ नई नई कम्पनियाँ बढ़ती नहीं जा रही हैं, वह घटती ही जा रही है, हम अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से मानोपलीज का निर्माण करते जा रहे हैं। हमारे यहाँ ३१-३-५६ को २६,८७४ कम्पनीज थीं, और वह ३१-३-६२ को २४,७५७ रह गई जबकि इंग्लैंड जैसे छोटे देश में अभी ४ लाख ३ हजार कम्पनीज हैं तो अगर सचमुच हम चाहते हैं कि मानोपलीज खत्म हो, अधिक से अधिक कम्पनीज का विकास हो सके तो इस तरह की स्थिति का हम निर्माण करें जिससे कि अधिक व्यापक रूप से अलग अलग क्षेत्र में मानोपलीज खत्म हो कर काम हो सके मगर मानोपलीज जो होती जा रही है वह सरकार के द्वारा की जा रही है और उस मानोपलीज के अन्तर्गत जो अनुचित, नाजायज और इतने अधिक प्रतिशत का लाभ लिया जाता है उस पर भी नियंत्रण करना अनिवार्य है जैसा कि हमारे स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन में होता है कि तीन तीन सौ या चार चार सौ प्रतिशत का मुनाफा उठाया जाता है तो इस मानोपलीज को भी ध्यान में रख कर काम करेंगे तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा।

इसी तरह उपसभापति महोदया, हमारे मंत्री महोदय ने सिद्धांतों की चर्चा करते हुए कहा कि मुद्रास्फूर्ति को हम रोकेंगे लेकिन जब हर स्टेट में डेफिसिट बजट बन रहा है, विदेशों से काफी रुपया आ रहा है और आने वाला है, हम नये नोट प्रति वर्ष छापते

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चोरडिया]  
जा रहे हैं तब फिर यह अपेक्षा करें कि मुद्रा-  
स्फोति रुक जायगी। मुझे तो कुछ सम्भव  
लगता नहीं है, हम चाहे कल्पना भले ही कर  
ले कि मुद्रास्फोति समाप्त हो जाना चाहिये  
मगर इस तरह के कामों से उसके समाप्त  
होने की सम्भावना नहीं है इसलिये निवेदन  
करूंगा कि इस दिशा में भी कुछ ठोस कदम  
उठाया जाय तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा।

हमारे कामों का गति देखा जाय तो  
ऐसा लगता है कि वह बहुत धीमा है, हमारे  
सरकार के यहाँ पर ऐरियर्स भी प्रति दिन  
वढ़ता जा रहा है। १९६२-६३ में ५६५  
करोड़ रुपये का ऐरियर एक्सचेंज डिपार्टमेंट  
में था और इंकमटैक्स का ऐरियर २७१ ७१  
करोड़ रुपये था। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ  
कि जब इंकमटैक्स एक्ट में यह प्रावधान है कि  
एडवांस पेमेंट हो और अगर उसको अपॉल  
भी करना हो तो पहले पिछला पैसा जमा  
करे तब अपॉल करे तो फिर यह ऐरियर  
क्यों हो जाता है। अब यह देखने में आया  
कि १ करोड़ ३३ लाख रुपये असर्वाइज से  
सेटिलमेंट करने की वजह से कम हुआ।  
मुझे समझ में नहीं आता है कि यह कैसा है,  
इंकमटैक्स के कानून में सेटिलमेंट का कोई  
ऐसा प्राविजन तो है नहीं कि अच्छा तू इतना  
रुपया नहीं दे सकता है तो इतना हाँ रुपया  
दे दे बाकी रुपया राइट-आफ कर देगे।  
इस तरह से हमारा सरकार ने सब मिला कर  
४ करोड़ ३६ लाख रुपये राइट-आफ किया।  
यह कुछ ठाक लगता नहीं है।

फिर जहाँ तक ऐरियर आफ अससेमेट  
के केसज का सवाल है वह भी बढ़ता जा रहा  
है। हम भी एफिशियेस बढ़ाने का बात करते  
हैं, व्यापारों भी, नागरिक भी चाहते हैं कि  
हमारे केस का जल्दा निर्णय हो, मगर  
१९५८-५९ में ४,५५,८७२ ऐरियर आफ  
अससेमेट के केस थे तो वह १९६२-६३  
में बढ़ कर ६,०८,६५६ हो गये। मैं प्रार्थना  
करूंगा कि जब लोग चाहते हैं कि हमारे

केसज का जल्दा निपटारा हो तो फिर यह  
क्यों नहीं होता, अगर आपके इंकमटैक्स  
आफिसर्स कम हैं तो उनको बढ़ोतरा काँजिए  
और अगर वह काम पूरा नहीं कर सकते  
हैं तो उनको ठीक में करवाने का कष्ट काजिये  
तो अधिक अच्छा होगा।

अब अन्त में यह निवेदन है कि सी०  
डी० एस० का हम पहले से ही विरोध कर  
रहे थे, उसको आपने खत्म किया लेकिन फिर  
भी आपने छोटा सा छुगा—हिस्सा—छोड़  
रखा है कि जिन बेचारों ने सी० डी० एस०  
में रुपया जमा किया वह रकम अभी नहीं  
मिले। जिनको आपने इसकी लिमिट से बाहर  
किया है उनको क्यों नहीं इसको इजाजत  
देते हैं कि अपना रुपया वापस ले ले ताकि यह  
सी० डी० एस० की बीमारी खत्म हो और  
जो गलत काम हुआ था वह पूरा तरह से  
खत्म हो और उस गलत काम को पूरा तरह  
से ठीक कर सकें। तो ऐसा व्यवस्था हो।

हमारे सत्ताधारियों को चाहिये कि देश  
की सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से सबसे पहले काम  
करें, मगर हमारी सीमा पर नेफा तक हमारी  
सेना जा नहीं सकती और हम यहाँ बैठे बैठे  
बजट को बढ़ा कर रखना चाहते हैं, तो आप  
सबसे पहले सुरक्षा का काम करें। फिर दूसरा  
काम हमारे देश को खाना देने का करना  
है और तीसरा काम उन्हें मजदूरी देने का  
करना है। मुझको एक रिपोर्ट पढ़ने को मिली  
कि लखनऊ में कुछ पोस्ट-ग्रेजुएट लोग  
रिक्शा चलाने का काम करते हैं। अगर हमारे  
समाज की यह व्यवस्था हो कि बेचारों को  
ग्रेजुएट होने के बाद भी नाकरो धंधा न मिले  
और उन्हें लखनऊ में रिक्शा चलाना पड़े तो  
यह न्यायसंगत नहीं प्रतीत होता है।

आपने समय दिया इसके लिये धन्यवाद  
और मेरा निवेदन है कि मंत्री महोदय अपना  
स्वयं की प्रशंसा करने के बदले कार्य रूप में  
कोई चीज सामने रखें ताकि जन-जन आपकी  
प्रशंसा करे वह ज्यादा अच्छा होगा बजाय  
इसके कि स्वयं अपनी प्रशंसा करें।

SHRI K. S. RAMASWAMY (Madras): Madam Deputy Chairman, let me have the pleasure to present a bouquet to the Finance Minister for the farsighted, resourceful and courageous Budget that has been presented by him. This Budget is a great step forward towards socialism. It contains far-reaching measures, the result of which may not be known in one year or two years but which would lead us to the cherished goal in a reasonable time. The general reaction to the Budget in the country is very much favourable. The common man does not oppose it. He feels that he is not hit hard by the new taxation measures. Of course, he does not expect any relief in the taxes imposed last year, as he is well aware that the emergency is not yet over. But he will ask the Government why the money set apart for defence last year has not been spent fully. More defence industries should have been started and more men should have been recruited and given training. Why has this not been done and the money is left unspent? Of course, the Defence Minister will reply to that.

Madam, the middle-class people in the country feel that they stand to gain by the Budget. The Compulsory Deposit Scheme has been abolished. The exemption up to Rs. 15,000 in regard to payment under Annuity Deposit Scheme is a big relief to them. It should be examined whether people who pay income-tax in excess of that of last year in the five or six brackets can also be given some reduction by altering the tax structure.

Businessmen and industrialists also have not much criticism to make. They recognise that many incentives have been given to them. They only say that they are not enough. The agriculturists also will be satisfied if they are given a fair price, an adequate price to their produce. This shows that the incidence of taxation is fair and equitable and it does not hit hard any particular community much.

The objectives of the Government are to accelerate the growth of the country's economy and to bring about socialism. The steps taken to accelerate the growth of economy in the Budget are commendable. The taxation proposals have induced enough confidence in the corporate sector. The super profits tax is abolished. The new surtax is more equitable than the former. A deduction of 10 per cent on the expanded capital base of companies with regard to surtax is proposed. A rebate of 10 per cent in corporate tax and 20 per cent in surtax will go a long way to provide incentives to basic industries. New companies are given exemption from dividend tax to the extent of 10 per cent on capital other than preference capital. All inter-corporate dividends are exempted from super tax. These concessions I feel will provide enough incentives for savings and ploughing back the savings in investment.

I am surprised that the Swatantra Party Member from Madras has said that the Finance Minister is suffering from divided loyalty to industrialisation and socialism. Madam, I do not know how the Professor can make such a mistake. Socialism cannot thrive in poverty. We do not want a socialism in which poverty will be divided. We want socialism in surplus. Rapid industrialisation of the country alone will lead to creation of more wealth, and there should be more production both in industry and in agriculture. The Finance Minister by giving more incentives to industrialisation has only given encouragement for the growth of socialism. Not only we want wealth but we want the wealth to be equally distributed. The disparities in income and wealth should also be abolished, and to achieve this end four measures have been brought in. The gift-tax, the expenditure-tax which has been reintroduced, the estate duty and the capital gains-tax with the steep graduated scale will reduce the disparities in the distribution of wealth to a great extent.

[Shri K. S. Ramaswamy]

The highlight of the Budget is the announcement to set up a Commission of Enquiry into the monopolies and concentration of economic power in the economy of the country. The Government will bring in a Bill to end this concentration, and I hope that this will be done soon and implemented as soon as it is passed.

If these measures cannot lead us to socialism, I do not know whether the nationalisation of rice mills in the villages will lead to socialism. How can it lead to socialism?

The Finance Minister in his reply in the Lok Sabha has given convincing reasons for inviting foreign private capital to participate in the equity capital in the industries in our country. While I appreciate it, the Government should be always vigilant to see that they do not cross the boundary and erode into our political and economic freedom.

Having said that, I would like to take up agriculture. It was said by the Finance Minister in his reply in the Lok Sabha the other day that much incentive was given to farmers by way of loans, fertilizers, implements, water for irrigation electric power, etc. I take this opportunity to correct the impression that all these incentives reach all the farmers always. It is not so. Every farmer is in need of all these facilities, but every one does not get all these facilities. For instance, take fertilizer. Fertilizer is in short supply. So to the extent of short supply the farmers do not get it. Also many of the farmers do not use fertilizer. They use other organic manures and other things.

The loans that are provided by the co-operative banks do not even touch the fringe of the problem. Rural indebtedness is still there. The implements supplied are not enough. Seeds are not supplied at a fair price but at a high price. Rural electrification has to go a long way before the whole country is covered and electricity is

not available to all. Only in the Package Plan all is given to everybody in selected places. I do not want to underestimate the facilities provided by the Government. We are very grateful to them. But they are not enough compared to the cost of the requirements of the agriculturists. That is our grievance. Revenue has increased. The cost of cart, bullocks, cotton seeds, plough, fodder, in fact everything, is high. Labour is very costly. Last year, in my place the ordinary labour cost for transplantation was Rs. 1/4. Now it is Rs. 2/4. So every year it goes on increasing. Whatever incentive you may give by way of supplying these things, he has only to pay for it. There is not much subsidy given. The real incentive to the agriculturists, I feel, is only adequate price, not fair price but I say adequate price. Unfortunately cost accountancy does not exist in the country for agriculture. Otherwise the price given to agriculturists will look very small.

Madam, there are many countries in the world which are not self-sufficient in foodgrains, but they are importing enough of them to meet their requirements. We have been trying to become self-sufficient but unfortunately due to various reasons we have not been able to attain our target during the last fifteen years. So let us import slightly more than what we do now and at least solve the problem and maintain the price level of foodgrains which will be one of the major factors to reduce the price of manufactured goods. It is said that the price of imported rice is very high. If the price of rice imported from advanced countries, developed countries, is high, why do we not give that much of price to the rice produced within the country? Seasonal variations affect agricultural production very much. But they affect the food crops and cereals more than the cash crop. So I would request that more encouragement should be given to cash crops like sugarcane, cotton, jute, etc., so that we can export them

and earn foreign exchange with which we can import more foodgrains to meet our requirements till we reach our targets.

The other day the Finance Minister said that if anybody could show that any reduction given in excise duty, every pie that was given, went to the common man, he was prepared to consider it. Madam, regarding diesel oil I think we can give some reduction. There are a few lakhs of diesel engines and few hundred of tractors which will be running for the benefit of agriculturists. If concession is given in the rates on the diesel oil used for those engines and tractors, they will be very much benefited. I think in 1958-59 I gave a formula, a workable formula, which the Finance Minister can study and he can give this relief, if possible.

The Finance Minister said that if the prices did not go down, he would have to take recourse to controls and rationing. He spoke of controls at strategic points. This time when State procurement was introduced in Madras, they procured foodgrains from the mills by imposing some restrictions. Many of the traders stopped purchasing foodgrains and the prices came down very much. So, the small producers lost heavily. In future, if control is introduced at this level, the agriculturists all over the country may have to suffer. So, we have to be very cautious before introducing control and I would request that total control or rationing should never be introduced in this country.

I want to make another suggestion. In every Plan period, two years should be set apart for providing more incentives to the agriculturists. They should be celebrated as 'Agricultural Years' and all incentives should be given to agriculturists to increase production and fulfil the targets of foodgrains.

SHRI VIJAY SINGH (Rajasthan): Madam, the Finance Minister's Budget has been welcomed all over

the country, and I agree with Mr. Pattabiraman who spoke yesterday that this is by far the best Budget of the decade. The Finance Minister has received congratulations and praise from all over the country in the course of these last few days.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair].

And I do not think, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that he stands in need of any congratulations or praise from me but, nevertheless, to do my duty, I associate myself with all those who have congratulated him for the excellent Budget that he has presented before us.

Since last year, when China attacked India, a new chapter has opened in our national history. We have become painfully aware that unless and until we are strong at home, we will not be able to achieve anything merely by making statements and adopting policies. In order to be effective, they must be backed by force. The Prime Minister who has always reflected the true sentiments of the people has said somewhere in this context that we were up till now living in a dream world and we have now awakened to a new sense of responsibility. The Budget proposals of last year reflected the determination of the nation to face these new dangers. Since then, we have been constantly thinking about these matters and trying to readjust our policies in the light of the experience gained. The Finance Minister has very correctly said:

"The year has witnessed a considerable reappraisal and reassessment of policies and performances as well as a reaffirmation of the basic social values we seek to promote through all our endeavours."

In presenting this year's Budget, the Finance Minister has proved himself to be an expert mass psychologist. That is quite in the fitness of things.

In the little time that is at my disposal, I will touch upon only a few

[Shri Vijay Singh] aspects of the Budget proposals as they are before us. The first thing that strikes us when we go through the Budget is the increasing civil expenditure every year. We all know that the late Mr. Feroze Gandhi—I think it was in the year 1957 or so—made an elaborate statement before the party about the increasing civil expenditure. Since then Parliament, year in and year out, has been stressing that we must control our civil expenditure. But we are perfectly following the Parkinson's Law, and the civil expenditure is increasing every year. We all hear that some commissions are being appointed, that some committees are being appointed. But they do not bring the desired results.

I have tried, in my own way, to collect the figures of the last ten years to show how the civil expenditure has been increasing from year to year but it will serve no purpose, because I would only be taking undue time of the House. We all know that the civil expenditure is increasing. Now, we must try to see how we can control it and, to my mind, the first thing that comes is that before we talk of control of civil expenditure, we must think of control over the number of Ministers in Government. Last year, when the Chinese attack was there, there was a demand in the country that the size of the Cabinets all over the country should be reduced, that there should be austerity in that, and it was expected that something substantial would be done in that direction. But that has not been done. (*Interruptions*). And unless we control ourselves, we cannot control the civil expenditure that is going on increasing.

They say, charity must begin at home, and when we politicians cannot control ourselves, how can we control the civil expenditure? Two thousand and five hundred years ago, that great Indian politician, Chanakya, who turned a shepherd boy into a great king—whose statute we have

have got in this Parliament—said: "Yatha raja, thatha proja". When we, Ministers and politicians, cannot control our own expenditure, how can we control the civil expenditure. Ostentatious living and economy in expenditure can never go together.

One thing more that I would like to point out in this connection is that last year we provided something like Rs. 700 crores for our defence expenditure and we have not been able to utilise a sum of Rs. 103 crores. We must all be grateful to Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, who raised his powerful voice in that House in that connection—and indeed, he alone can do it, with the proper political background that he has got behind him—and I think that we must all be grateful to him that he has raised Parliament's protest in this connection. The Finance Minister with his dynamic personality and approach, I hope, will see that we are able to do something in this connection, just as he has given a new turn to our economy, we hope that he will be able to give a new turn to our administrative machinery and also to the other policies in the years to come, because he himself has stated at one place that all those ideas that are in him he cannot give effect to in one year. The problem is a very serious one and I cannot do better than quote what I have read today in the editorial of 'The Indian Express'. Here is what it says:

"Mr. Tyagi relevantly complained of the listlessness which appears to have seized the entire administration, more specially since the Prime Minister's illness. Whether this general malaise is due to the withdrawal of Mr. Nehru's active presence or whether its roots lie deeper it is not possible to say without a closer probe into the situation. But few will deny the absence of purpose and determination in the Government which is accompanied by a dangerous complacency conspicuously in conflict with the state of emergency which exists. Certainly, with the grow-

ing threats which beset us from more than one quarter, the emergence is justified. But we would wish that the Government also displayed a greater sense of urgency, of drive and resolution."

As I have said, we expect and hope that the Finance Minister, with his dynamic leadership, will do something in this connection.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would now like to place before you the problem of food prices and the regional imbalance in our economic life, and I would like to illustrate this by taking the example of my own State vis-à-vis the other States in our neighbourhood. Though Rajasthan is a very poor State, we are self-sufficient in the matter of food but this self-sufficiency has been disturbed because of the unrestricted movement of foodgrains from our State to other States. Members must have read in the various daily papers today the heart-rending account of the famine conditions in Rajasthan. I shall have occasion to refer to this matter in greater detail when I take up the other points but in this connection, I would like to point out what the Agriculture Minister of Rajasthan who accompanied Mr. Chester Bowles says. The report of 'The Indian Express' correspondent which has appeared in today's paper is quite relevant and I will read out a few portions of it. Here is what it says:

"Rajasthan is in a strange plight. It is surplus in foodgrains to the tune of 1.5 million tons a year, as Mr. Nathu Ram Mirdha, the State Food Minister, who accompanied Mr. Bowles, said. Much of its produce feeds people in other parts of the country. As already reported, the State Government has recommended to the Centre to allow it to stop export of grains outside the State. Meanwhile, it is suffering so that countrymen elsewhere may live well. That is one reason why it deserves all help from wherever it can come."

4 P.M.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I will only take two or three minutes of the House to explain what this statement is and how we are faring in Rajasthan. As the Agriculture Minister there has said, Rajasthan is not deficient in the matter of food; but what we see is there is an unrestricted movement of foodgrains from Rajasthan; we have got the neighbouring State of Gujarat. Now, Gujarat has rich agriculture; in Gujarat, the cultivator is very industrious and advanced; he has taken to the production of cash crops, because he gets more money, and he gets cheap cereals from Rajasthan so that the Rajasthan peasant has to suffer undue competition from the advanced peasants of Gujarat. The maize from Rajasthan goes to Ahmedabad to feed the multi-millionaries there. Maize from Rajasthan goes to Ahmedabad, not for food purposes primarily, but for starch. So the miserable condition of the villagers is that they cannot get the food they produce in their own State, in their own area. All the food is exported to metropolitan cities like Bombay. Unless and until we are going to restrict this unrestricted movement of foodgrains from one State to another, keeping in view the condition of prices and other factors, we will never be able to achieve anything. In fact, Gandhiji wisely enunciated the doctrine of swadeshi, which mean that people must be contented with the necessities that they found around themselves.

Therefore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to place before you, in all earnestness, that this unrestricted movement of foodgrains from one State to another must be controlled. The problem of food so far as metropolitan cities like Bombay, etc. are concerned must be tackled altogether on a different footing. As a matter of fact, we must have another approach so far as this question of metropolitan cities is concerned. We are importing foodgrains from outside, which may feed the people there, and if we



[Shri Vijay Singh.]  
are able to restrict or keep down agricultural prices, much of the outcry that we hear against rising prices from the middle class people and the salaried people will be over. Therefore this problem of foodgrains and the check on prices must be effectively tackled and the Finance Minister will earn the eternal gratitude of the nation if he is able to check this rise in the price of foodgrains, which, if unchecked, will effect a rise in the cost of living. In saying this, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would only like to say that the powerful hands of the grain dealers, speculators and hoarders must be eliminated, not eliminated entirely, but checked. We all hear that agricultural commodities fetch good prices in metropolitan cities like Bombay, but they do not come into the pockets of the agriculturists; the margin is mopped up by the middle men. Therefore, when we deal with this problem of controlling foodgrain prices, the influence of all these middle men must be kept in view.

The next point that I want to put before the House is about the water problem and famine conditions in Rajasthan. Here again, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I cannot do better than point to the picture a correspondent of the 'Indian Express' has drawn, a picture seen with his own eyes. It is a fairly long quotation, and having quoted it twice or thrice, I should be pardoned if I do it again; it is not for the sake of rhetoric that I do so, but for the sake of the starving millions, and I beg of the House to allow me to plead for them. Here is what the 'Indian Express' correspondent says:

"What we saw of the famine is a tear-jerking story. Thousands of people have left their homes to live wherever their children can hope to get a few handfuls of grain and their cattle a few shrubs to graze on. They live on vast stretches of sand under the blaze of the sun, made worse by the desert dust which keeps hanging in the air. Overhead vultures fly ominously.

And we were told that where we were was not the worst affected area, which is perhaps Bikaner. It was difficult to imagine what could be worse than this.

Where we went, near Phinch on the road from Jodhpur to Dun-dhara, we found that the Government had reacted to the distress. Construction of a road had been started as a relief measures. The men earn Rs. 1.12 a day, women 87 nP and children 75 nP. They live in the flimsy shakes of reed put up in the sand. Many such structures had fallen to the force of the desert wind. The desert sand makes the floor below. Nearest water is two miles away, which is not too far going by desert distances. A camel, with leather pouches slung over him, brings the precious commodity. How precious it is we learnt when a girl picked a pitcher to show it to Mrs. Bowles, who accompanies her husband here. The nervous state in which it threw the girl's mother cannot be told in words.

In that scene of absolute desolation, the sight of water was refreshing to the eye. We saw it when a camel's pouch was being emptied into a steel drum. What happened next was what one sees sometimes in the films. While it was being poured from above, it was draining out from below because the drum leaked. The desert sand was being watered, while men with parched throats looked on. For the authorities it was a lesson to be more careful but for the people who would have drunk it, it was another of a string of misfortunes."

Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is the condition in which you find millions of people in Rajasthan, and unless and until we are going to do something for them, whatever we may talk of the Budget, or whatever we may talk of the Plans here, it will have no effect.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, in this connection, I would like to place before you two facts, as I have gathered, regarding this problem of water in Rajasthan. At the end of the Second Five Year Plan or at the beginning of the Third Five Year Plan, a survey was conducted in Rajasthan to find out the dimensions of the problem, and it was found that we have 4,601 villages where there is no source of water, either a well or a tank or a canal. Then there were another 3,000 villages where the population is more than 400 but where there is only one well, which is not sufficient for the inhabitants. Now, when I say that there are 7,601 villages in Rajasthan, where there is no source of drinking water, or even where there are no wells, you will be imagining what these wells in Rajasthan are. They are not the tube wells of U.P. or elsewhere. They are not the shallow wells that we see all round Delhi. They are wells as deep as 300 feet. Therefore the problem of water of these 7,601 villages touches four million people in Rajasthan. This is the problem that they face every year. And now, how we are solving this problem, or I should say, not solving at all. And I will give you just two or three figures from the Budget that the Rajasthan Government has presented this year to show how we are tinkering with this problem. A provision of one crore of rupees to solve this rural water problem of Rajasthan was made in the budget, and at the instance of the Central Health Ministry it was reduced to Rs. 83 lakhs and then, after some time, the sum of Rs. 83 lakhs was reduced to Rs. 20 lakhs. Now out of this Rs. 20 lakhs, Rs. 10 lakhs have been placed for the construction of wells and this amount will be spent through the Community Development Department. The remaining Rs. 10 lakhs have been earmarked for other schemes of rural water supply, and the establishment charges of the Rural Water Supply Department are Rs. 7,50,000. So, we are left only with Rs. 2,50,000 to carry on this vast work of rural water supply. Then we

have got the committed expenditure of Rs. 60 lakhs. So this paltry sum of Rs. 2,50,000 is not sufficient to meet the committed expenditure of Rs. 60 lakhs.

I have just placed before you Mr. Vice-Chairman, the plight of the villages, the famine conditions there and a small, paltry sum that has been placed at the disposal of the authorities. (Time bell rings) I will take two minutes more, Mr. Vice-Chairman. Now I will illustrate how we are not able to solve this problem by giving two concrete examples.

Sir, Dr. Rao is a capable Minister and is one of those few Ministers in our Government who know their job. And when I give some examples from the Ministry of Dr. Rao, it is not in the spirit of criticism but it is only to show that if under such a capable Minister such things can happen, what will be the fate of other Ministries. The Consultative Committee of the irrigation and Power Ministry met on the 25th February. There was some clarification sought by some Members of Parliament, especially the Maharajah of Bikaner who is a Member of the other House. He wanted to know about the water problem of the Bikaner district. He particularly made a suggestion that water could be taken by lift from the Rajasthan Canal at the point of 45 miles by lift and supplied for drinking purposes to the neighbouring areas. We got a brief from the Ministry which is just with me here in which it was stated that the Rajasthan Canal would be complete up to 45 miles in the summer of 1964. I asked in the Committee that if it was going to be completed in the summer of 1964; it will solve much of our difficulty because the water problem is very acute at this time. But when the discussion took place, they said that it could not be completed in 1964 but it would be completed in 1966. When I pointed out the discrepancy, they said it was a slip of pen. When I pointed out 1964 in some other item of the agenda.

[Shri Vijay Singh.]

they had to admit that whatever be the information at their disposal, their calculations had gone wrong. Apart from that, Mr. Vice-Chairman, it shows the callousness of the people in delaying such an urgent problem.

I will give you another example to show how we are not very serious about this problem of famine and water in Rajasthan.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): It is time to wind up.

SHRI VIJAY SINGH: One minute. This is my personal problem because I come from the district of Pali. It is about Pali that I want to speak. In the Pali district 500 villages are affected by famine. The total population of these 500 villages is 4 lakhs. Now the total amount provided for relief work is Rs. 7,50,000. It means Rs. 1 and 80 nP. per man is to be spent in eight months. If this is the famine relief that we are going to provide, it is better not to call it famine relief at all.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am very thankful to you that you have given me so much time. I will conclude only by saying that it is no use talking about vast plans, vast budgets and other things.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: In Jodhpur district they have provided Rs. 87 lakhs.

SHRI VIJAY SINGH: You take the population of Jodhpur and then calculate. I have only given an example. I can give examples from the whole of Rajasthan because when I say something about Pali or Jodhpur it is not to pick up something from here and there to prove my argument. I have done this thing with a full sense of responsibility.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I was just saying that when we speak about big problems, it is not that we quote figures from here and there. Gandhiji once said that whenever you think of any

big project, what you should do is you should imagine in your mind's eye the poorest man whom you have seen and see how the scheme that you are going to adumbrate brings the expressions on his face. It is in this spirit that we should look at the Budget and it is in this spirit that the poor man looks at it.

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, we have listened to the speech of the hon. Member preceding me giving the description of the famine conditions prevailing in Rajasthan, not only food famine but scarcity of drinking water as well. The hon. Member pointed out that we have to consider the Budget in the light of the conditions obtaining in the country. I wonder how he could persuade himself to congratulate the Finance Minister when no provision has been made for the basic need of the people, namely, adequate supply of drinking water. I think this is the first thing which should have been provided. Still the hon. Member thought it fit to join the chorus of congratulations that have been showered on the Finance Minister. I am afraid I cannot join this chorus because as the hon. Member pointed out, whenever we have to consider any scheme, Gandhiji had told us to apply one test. We must think of the most helpless person that we have seen and then think how it will react upon that person. I would like to know what will be the reaction of this Budget upon the persons who are suffering from scarcity of water and food famine. Is it going to relieve them? If not I am sorry it is no occasion for congratulating the Finance Minister.

On the other hand, we see in today's papers the photograph of Mr. Bowles making a symbolic present of the gift from America of wheat. Again I would like to remind the House of the saving of Mahatma Gandhi. What did he say? Whatever else we may do, we should never import foodstuffs from foreign countries. We are not a small country. We are a big country. If we

take to importing foodgrains, it would lead to complete dependence upon other countries and ultimate bankruptcy I am afraid if the figures are taken from year to year, we will find that we are becoming more and more dependent upon foreign countries for our food requirements.

Sir, I want to make a few observations about other questions as well but before doing so I would like to refer to certain observations in the Finance Minister's speech in reply to the general discussion in the other House. I am sorry that he has not been well advised in making those observations for they are not in keeping with the spirit and traditions of democracy. What does he say? I have here with me a copy of his speech. He has observed:

"No man would seek to take medicine for curing his ills from a physician who wants to kill him. In this case, Members of the Opposition who seek to give us advice are not qualified physicians apart from the fact that their *mala fides* in relation to the Government and the party in power are well known. It will therefore be futile for me to go into their criticism . . ."

I submit Sir, it is not at all in keeping with the spirit of parliamentary democracy. After all, each party or each Member of the House is supposed to be actuated by one and the same objective. It is three-fold. Firstly, preservation of peace, security and integrity of the country. Secondly, to provide a clean, efficient and cheap administration. Thirdly, the promotion of the moral and material well-being of the people. As to how it is to be achieved, there might be difference of opinion but on this three-fold objective, there can be and should be no difference. So, socialism and democracy or parliamentary system of democracy and planning, are supposed to be means to the same end, the three-fold objective. So whatever criticism has been offered by the Members of the Opposition it merits as much consideration, as any other cri-

ticism because parliamentary democracy means Government by argument, by converting the opponent and by carrying conviction to him and above all converting the people about the correctness of the policies of the Government. So whatever criticisms may have been made, whatever be the motives with which they may have been actuated, after all this is the Budget and if the Finance Minister does not deal with those criticisms, it would be interpreted that he has no reply to them. At any rate, the general public will have the impression that whatever criticism has been offered by the Opposition Members has not been unjustified. Not only that. He said: 'Like in closed companies, people have not much interest.' There are parties in which people are not interested but he should not forget that whatever the strength behind the parties in the Opposition, the people are losing confidence in the party in power also. If the voting of the two or three elections are to be taken into consideration, it will be found that the ruling party is not there because of its inherent strength, because of the confidence of the majority of the voters in the administration, but because of the weakness and disunity among the Opposition parties. So personally I submit that whatever arguments or criticisms are offered on the floor of the House they have to be considered and replied to. It is another matter that he may not have time to address himself to all the points that are raised but these should not be ignored simply because these come from the Opposition Parties. I cannot understand this approach and it is not at all in keeping with the spirit of Parliamentary democracy.

He had made another observation that some Members of the Congress Party had also criticised the Budget and added: 'I do not want to deal with those objections here because the proper forum is the party itself.' I submit the proper place for reminding the Members about this was not the floor of the House. Every Member is expect-

[Shri Mohan Lal Saxena.]  
 ed to speak freely in the House. For any one to say that the Members of the Congress Party have raised certain criticisms and he is not going to reply because those should have been raised in the Party, is not in keeping with the principles of parliamentary democracy. I may remind the House that last year, the then Finance Minister, without referring to the criticism or views expressed by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, used a language which was uncharitable. He said: 'She should not profit by her association with the Party' and had even suggested that she should go out of the Party. I think it was not proper but that was said. The House will remember when I had offered certain criticisms and made certain suggestions, he had observed that he had a very sad experience of me in the Congress Committee. I had pointed out immediately that perhaps he was misinformed. He said that receipts had been burnt, receipts for collecting small sums, and I had pointed out that I was not responsible . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): How does it form, part of the Budget debate? I am afraid it is irrelevant.

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA: I was pointing out the way these criticisms are disposed of.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): How are we concerned with what happened in the Congress Office? We are concerned with the Budget.

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA: No. It was the Finance Minister who raised it, I did not raise it. He said that and I had pointed out that I was not responsible. He was the Treasurer. I did not leave it. After all I have also some reputation and I took it up. I have the correspondence. Ultimately he conceded: 'Let us agree to differ'. He said that I should have foreseen that the States would not co-operate in the matter. I said: 'It is

not a question of the States not co-operating but the persons in the Working Committee itself who had not co-operated in implementing the scheme' He has asked me not to publish it. Anyway, I have the correspondence. If you permit, I can lay it . . .

SHRI A. M. TARIQ (Jammu and Kashmir): Place it on the Table of the House.

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA: The issue was raised and I was not given an opportunity to reply.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): The House is not concerned with it.

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA: Anyway I have brought it to the notice of the House as to how the then Finance Minister had reacted.

In regard to the C.D.S. what has happened? How much money, energy and time have been involved in the C.D.S. which he had propounded here and according to his own dictum the person who makes a proposal should foresee whether the States are going to co-operate or not. I think he did not. What has happened? As it was pointed out by somebody, hardly any Member in the Congress Party is reported to have supported that scheme when it was given up. Not a tear was shed.

Having dealt with these two points, I would like to point out that soon after the appointment of the present Finance Minister I had sent certain suggestions to him and of course they had been acknowledged. I hope he considered them but I do not find any reflection of such consideration in the Budget. You will remember that my first point has been that the civil expenditure has been swelling and that there should be a curb on it at least during the emergency. My suggestion was that there should be an *ad hoc* curb of 15 per cent. in staff and the Ministries should be required

to make definite proposals before giving further sanction. That was not done. I had suggested that the expenditure relating to contingencies should be cut down by half. I had also suggested that entertainment expense which had come to Rs. 1 crore nearly for the Central Government—and I do not know how much it is for the States—should also be cut down.

About the State of Rajasthan we have listened to the story, the sorrowful story, of the conditions obtaining there. How does it behove us to spend so much on entertainment? Personally my suggestion would be that the whole item on entertainment should be cut off and the amount should be utilised for providing drinking water and cheap rains in the scarcity areas. Not only that, one suggestion has been made by Mr. Vijay Singh that because of the unrestricted movement of foodgrains this scarcity is there. Actually there should not have been any scarcity. There is a proposal for having State trading in grain I do not know how far it will be able to solve the problem I personally do not think it will. There is an impression that the public sector is co-terminous with the State sector which is not. Public sector includes many other activities just like trusts, co-operatives, municipalities and other agencies which can take up the work even the private sector does not consist of merely industrialists. There are large persons self-employed and others. So personally I would suggest that there should not be a free movement of food from State to State. On the other hand the Centre should appoint an agency to take over a certain percentage of the produce which it thinks is possible for the States to spare.

That may be used to form a pool and from that pool some States or big cities like Bombay and Calcutta can be supplied. Personally, I think something should be done. As has been pointed out, these grain dealers

buy grain from everywhere and hold up the stocks and when the prices go up, during the times of scarcity, they make money out of the misery of human beings.

Another point I wanted to make is about the villager or the producer. The producer is not receiving the price that is paid by the consumer for the grain. For that I have suggested the setting up of home-supply co-operatives. I do not mean these consumer co-operative stores in which you have so many disadvantages. We know what has happened in certain stores here. So, instead of having such stores or these fair price shops, you should have home-supply co-operatives which will have the ultimate object of getting grains from the villagers direct and supplying them to the consumer. I do not want to go into the details of this scheme. I have already sent it to the Prime Minister and it has been there for some time now and I do wish something is done. Otherwise this problem will not be solved by the setting up of fair price shops or by trying to give incentives to the agricultural producer by just giving him more and more fertilizers and so on. Gandhiji has taught us that we should try to live on what we produce and should mobilise our resources to the utmost and not to look for food to foreign countries. We know that it is said that all these supplies are without any strings attached to them. But once we become dependent on another country for our very food, we cannot say what conditions may be dictated to us afterwards.

As regards controls, as the House knows, Gandhiji was opposed to controls. We have seen what has happened as a result of the gold control. It may or it may not have stopped the smuggling of gold. It has not succeeded in bringing down its price as it was hoped. But certainly it has increased corruption and it has spread unemployment. We know that lakhs

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of persons who were self-employed, have been thrown out of employment. We know there has been so much of corruption. For that there seems to be no remedy. Even at that time I had warned that the scheme of gold bonds would not be able to mobilise much gold. I made certain suggestions then and I would like to repeat some of them.

I know the Finance Minister is going to give certain facilities to invite foreign capital. I would like to know what facilities he is going to give to persons in our country who have got gold and who may like to invest it if an opportunity is given to them to do so. In my suggestions I have said that the princes may be having some gold and they will be prepared to invest it provided there is some suitable scheme under which they can get some regular income from it, for themselves and their successors. I have suggested that in public concerns gold shares of 10 grams should be issued guaranteeing a return of Rs. 5 or so per annum. I do not remember the details of that scheme now and I also do not want to go into those details now. I would only submit that if some such scheme is introduced it will be possible to induce the princes and others who may be hoarding gold now, to put it into these concerns, provided as in the case of preference shares, they are assured of a regular return. I had also suggested the issuing of gold certificates. A person who deposits 10 grams of gold should be returned 10 grams of gold after ten years in addition to a certain amount of interest. My submission is that if you are able to get gold on the assurance of it being returned to the person, you can use that gold for your own resources instead of importing the foreign capital, which means so much drain besides other political implications. I would suggest that all the possibilities for mobilising the gold in our country should be explored and suitable schemes should be devised to that end.

Not only that, I have also suggested that you should issue ration bonds. A person who deposits Rs. 100 will be entitled to get a certain quantity of fixed ration. This can easily be done because at the harvest time you can give the cultivator the money and you can just purchase the produce at that price and the salaried classes will be assured of their grain supply at a fixed rate. I made my suggestion long ago, as early as 1955. But these suggestions are not being considered. They are thinking of big things. All these big things do not benefit the poor man. As I have already said, it is the small things that matter. These small things will affect his day-to-day life and unless we can do something to alleviate his sufferings and difficulties, whatever else we may do, his lot will not improve. You may make big dams. You may fire rockets and other such things. These are not going to improve the lot of the common man. Here I might at least recall what Gandhiji had said in a speech at an All India Congress Committee meeting about the removal of controls, I think in 1947, in September or October, I do not remember exactly. He said these controls were responsible for most of the corruption that was rampant and he had further observed:

"If controls are not abolished, it will be regretted one day and the people will lose initiative and faith in self-help."

And what he said later on is even more important. That was, I think, in November, 1947 at one of his prayer meeting speeches:

"Controls give rise to fraud, suppression of truth, intensification of black market and artificial scarcity and above all, it unmans the people."

He says that it unmans the people and deprives them of initiative. I am un-

able to read it. Later on he says that it undoes the teachings of self-help that the people have received for a generation and that is a tragedy equal to the other tragedy of fratricide. He was referring to the partition and the holocaust that followed. And he says that the second tragedy, though less spectacular than the first, is as dangerous if not more. So my submission is that we always think of wanting to do one thing or the other and later on find that either the State Government or somebody else is not co-operating or the businessmen are not co-operative and so on. But after all, with the experience of the last seventeen years we should be in a position to devise a machine by which the people may have their foodstuffs and other basic requirements at fixed rates or at reasonable rates and we should see that the producer receives reasonable returns for his efforts and the consumer does not have to pay a heavy price. Having said so much about the food problem I would only say that the situation is very serious and requires effective and speedy action. This has to be considered very carefully, and in the light of our past experience. It is no use blaming this man or that. We are all to blame for the situation that we find ourselves in. Gandhiji used to say that if things went wrong, we must direct the searchlight to ourselves with the zeal of a crusader to find the causes thereof. Since we are the creators of these circumstances, we should be able also to undo them.

There is so much talk about corruption. I was asked to give my suggestions and I gave them as long ago as 1952. We must have in every district or locality a band of selfless workers, people who are prepared to work for this cause but we must make sure first of all that they are not actuated by any ulterior motives. They must begin the crusade with themselves and circles in which they live and work and then later on this can embrace a whole district. Corruption does not mean only taking bribes; it takes many subtle forms and the subtlest

form is flattery which makes a person do any thing which he would not do otherwise. I have given my suggestion and my co-operation and my services will always be available but the point is that we must make up our mind I had suggested in 1952 that an anti-corruption commission, having the same status and powers as the Election Commission, should be set up by the President. This should have its counterpart in the States and this commission should be left to devise ways and means to tackle this problem. This is the only way in which something could be done.

There has been talk of setting up a Monopoly Commission but the trouble is that these commissions and committees are formed, they submit their reports but nothing is done and seldom speedy action is taken on their recommendations and suggestions. Take, for example, the case of the Taxation Enquiry Commission which was presided over by no less a person than the late Dr. John Matthai. It made certain recommendations. I would like the Finance Minister to tell the House which of the recommendations have been given effect to. One of the recommendations was that the civil expenditure should be reduced; the second was that the honest taxpayers should not feel that they are made to suffer and the third was that there should not be such a huge amount of arrears in realisation of taxes. There was also some suggestion about labour levy in some shape for which I have been pleading for long. Gandhiji also pleaded for this. I had suggested that every adult person—you can, in the first instance, take the males and exclude certain aged persons—should be required to give twelve or fourteen days labour in a year or contribute the money equivalent to that. This is still in vogue in France. Something has got to be done. We are going to tax the people and want to get money somehow or other but here is labour which can be put to good social use. It is just like opening the tap and wasting water. The tap goes on running. Like that there is so much



[Shri Mohan Lal Saksena.]  
human labour which is not put to any use. I have been forced to the conclusion that even forced labour is better than forced idleness because this keeps a man active, it does not paralyse him. Again the number of buildings that are being constructed.

People say that while others are becoming poor, the contractors are becoming rich. A committee consisting of representatives of the Railway Board and other Government department was set up and it had made certain recommendations which have not been implemented. We must adopt the system prevalent in America where tenders are not given on the basis of below the scheduled rates. If he charges below the scheduled rate, it means that either the scheduled rates are high or he is induced to use inferior material. There cannot be any question of quoting anything less than the scheduled rates. In USA what they are asked is to quote the commission that they would charge on the execution.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Saksena, there are a number of speakers.

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA:  
I am just winding up.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): You have already taken half an hour.

SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA:  
I am sorry. I will just conclude.

If the contractor, after doing the job effects any savings, he is entitled to a share in the savings, as also a commission. Under this system not only the Government or the builders but even the contractors benefit and there is no chance of using inferior material as is being done here.

I have so many points but as the time is short, I will conclude. Even though more than a year has elapsed, there is no feeling of emergency and

we have not been able to effect any substantial saving either in civil administration or in construction work or in entertainment.

Thank you.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, a few years back when the present Finance Minister in connection with the L.I.C. affair and the Mundhra scandal was forced to leave the Government, he said that a man-eater was at large and warned us of that. Now I think verily his words have come true and the man-eater is none other than the Government of India which in the person of the Finance Minister is out to devour poor India because this Budget goes against all the interests that our nation and the country have stood for. In a nutshell this Budget could be described thus. No relief whatsoever has been given to the poor common man, the multi-million people of India, but concessions have been given to the private capitalists, native and foreign, in all possible ways, helping further concentration of wealth, helping further growth of monopolies. This Budget for the first time is an open and unashamed declaration and it is rather prostration at the feet of the Western Powers and the foreign private capital.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: No, no.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Yes, it is. Then it promises that the price line cannot be held; that is, there will be continuous rise in prices, it would go on. It also promises a further decline in agricultural production. Some package deals or some things like them do not cut any ice in a vast country like ours. Last of all it calls for austerity. With all the taxation and oppressive measures, the working people, the workers, are not to ask for any wage increase; they have to suffer. That is the Budget that has been presented before us. So I say it is an unpatriotic Budget because it has sacrificed the interests of the nation and the people, because it has mortgaged the economy of our country and

the future generations to foreigners, because it will lead to growing poverty, growing inequality of wealth, growing concentration of wealth and further growth of monopolies.

Now, it has been said by the Finance Minister, I suppose in his speech in the Lok Sabha, that in a developing economy some sort of a growth in monopolies may be permitted or rather it is unavoidable but what has happened in our country is not just some sort of growth. Ours is an under-developed country, an under-developed economy but there has been such a stupendous growth of monopoly that defies any sizing up of it. For example twenty houses control about 50 per cent, of the share capital that is invested in the private corporate sector and if you add the rapid growth of foreign capital—I won't give you the figures; they are known to all—at the time of the transfer of power it was Rs. 256 crores but today it is well above Rs. 900 crores. The ratio is still one-third of the total invested capital and what is more some spurious argument is advanced and it is said that if the foreign capital has grown, so has grown the Indian capital and so our economy has become more independent. It is a spurious and false argument. Everybody knows that it is not the amount of capital that counts; what counts is the particular chunk of the capital which controls the economy. Even the Reserve Bank has had to admit that with forty per cent investment in a company owning minority shares a foreign concern or foreign entrepreneur can control the whole company. So the capital of Rs. 900 crores, placed in the strategic sectors of the industry, holding a commanding position in all important sectors, practically dominates our economy all along the line. So the upshot of seventeen years of Congress rule and planning has been that you have left the entire economy in the hands of the monopolists, Indian and foreign. They are the rulers of the country and the Government of India, whether it likes it or not, faithfully serves them because if the ultimate upshot of all

these years of planning had been to encourage them and facilitate their growth and to place the entire economy of the country in their hands, how can you say that you have not served them but that you have served the people? Sir, the test of the pudding is in the eating of it. Similarly the test of the Government's words and declarations is in the actual practice in the actual fiscal, financial and economic policies they pursue, the sum total result of which has been that our country has come into a blind alley.

Now, the Finance Minister has advanced another highly misleading argument. He has made certain distinctions between ownership, control and management. Our Finance Minister is an experienced businessman; he is supposed to know the business. Go to any businessman and he will tell you that ownership can never be divorced from control and management. Any businessman will tell you that. Then why make this subtle distinction? Why try to throw dust into the eyes of the people? Why try to mislead the Parliament? Say plainly that ownership has been concentrated in the form of control and management. Our Big Business in collusion with the foreign giant trusts compared to which they are of course pygmies, control the entire economy. That is the position we are in.

Another highly misleading argument that has been advanced by the Finance Minister is that since we are burdened with the servicing of foreign loans and debts to the tune of Rs. 856 crores in the Fourth Plan and more than Rs. 500 crores in this Plan, our whole problem will be solved if we bring in foreign equity capital. I wonder how such an argument can at all be advanced. Suppose we get Rs. 100 crores on loan; we may be compelled to pay interest charges ranging from four to six per cent, but what happens when equity capital is invited? Suppose this Rs. 100 crores come in as equity capital, in our country there is a return of 20 per cent on foreign invested

[Shri Niren Ghosh.] capital. That is what the American Senate Report has said. They have said that India is a paradise where the foreign capitalist can go and get fabulous super profits. In Western Europe American capital gets a return of 12½ per cent. while in India it gets a return of 20 per cent. So when a sum of Rs. 100 crores is invested in five years the total amount is repatriated and along with it they get their price for the technical know-how and they make huge profits on account of the equipment and machineries that they sell to us and all this drain goes on. There is a sort of a calculation here that between 1948 and 1958 there was an inflow of Rs. 178 crores of foreign private capital and during the same period double this amount, that is, Rs. 356 crores, was taken out as profits and interest charges.

I will recall to this House that during pre-1947 days, that is, before the transfer of power, the common banner of our freedom struggle was that the misery of India, political, economic, moral and spiritual, was due to the drain of our wealth on account of the British investments and it was said that our country could never be truly free unless the whole of this legacy was wiped out, unless the entire foreign capital was liquidated and we built an entirely inde-

5 P.M. pendent and free national economy. That is the only way in which our poor country can become prosperous and take its due and rightful place in the comity of nations. But all those things have been forgotten. Now, this banner has been thrown to the dust by the present rulers of the country. I am sure that the people of India, I am sure that the democratic and patriotic elements in all the parties will take up this banner. In those days only the princes and the pro-British elements used to praise them. Only the pro-British elements used to plead for British capital investment. I find it strange that today our ruling party, the Government of India is practically uttering the same words and the ban-

ner of freedom struggle they have thrown to the dust. They have taken up the discredited banner, the banner that was unfurled during those days by pro-British elements.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: They had no banner at all.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: You may not be in the struggle, but those who were in the freedom struggle know it. So, that is the position.

As regards the public sector also, please do not confuse between the public sector in India and the public sector in the Soviet Union. It is no use making comparisons between the two. There it is a socialist sector but here the public sector is also a capitalist sector. It is nothing else. There is no mixed economy in India. It is one single economy, unadulterated capitalism, both in the private corporate sector and in the State sector because the State power is in the hands of the capitalist class. Such being the position, the economy of the State sector and the private sector is nothing but capitalism pure and simple. They say they are building democratic socialism. It has always happened with the leaders of the bourgeois. There is many a slip between their words and deeds. They always pronounce slogans which they never mean. So this slogan of democratic socialism is the biggest hoax that is being practised on the people of India in the name of building socialism. Because they cannot defend capitalism outright openly, they say they are building democratic socialism. But what are they building? In practice, they are building capitalism unalloyed, unadulterated. Therefore I do not mean to say that the public sector is of no use.

First of all, I will point out how the public sector is being utilised in this country. The public sector has become the milch cow for the enrichment of big monopolists. When a project is undertaken for Rs 200 crores with a loan that is given on a State to State level they get an interest charge of 6 per cent or something like that. They take another charge on

account of technical collaboration. Up to 1962 we had to give Rs. 800 crores as the price for technical collaboration in foreign exchange. How much more we will have to pay during the last three years nobody knows. It should also be noted that precisely during the last two years American private capital has gone up by leaps and bounds. It has grown more in comparison with the last decade. Now, it is more than Rs. 250 crores. That is where it stands.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Niren Ghosh, how much time are you likely to take?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I will take another ten minutes. I can continue on Monday.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Please wind up today. I will request the House. Shall we sit for about ten minutes more?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Please go on.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: On account of the sale of machinery at the highest prices they get enormous profits. Then, all the spare parts, etc. we have to import from that country. Now-a-days one-third of our foreign trade is accounted for by the import of spare parts and components and intermediate products. Those projects are inevitably tied up with foreign collaborators who are giving help and advice to our Government. So, in this way they have enriched foreign monopoly. Further, here the big contractor, the big monopolist, everybody puts his hands on the bun. They get a slice of it. This is done with the money provided for from the public exchequer. Then, these public sector undertakings see to it that they do everything possible to help the growth of capitalism. Since the private corporate sector is almost overwhelmingly dominated by monopolists, in actual production of finished steel, etc., mainly

the cream of the benefits goes to them. Still I would say that we would fight for the expansion of the public sector, not for the expansion of the private monopolies, since once the Government has changed the character of the public sector would be changed. That is why we must plead for the expansion of the public sector knowing full well the evils, the ills that go with it today with the party that is in power. But things may not be like this for ever. Governments may change and the character of the public sector would change at the same time.

SHRI P. C. MITRA (Bihar): Why not the private sector?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Oh, 'Yes'. I am coming to that. Now, we have been promised a Commission to enquire into monopolies. I am not against any enquiry commission, though there is no need to set up another Commission. There are so many reports about private monopolists—the Mahalanobis Committee, the Company Law Administration, etc. But you cannot curb monopolies by simple legislation. America from where our planners draw their inspiration. . . .

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: No, no. It is from Russia. In America there is no planning at all.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: They have more industries in the public sector than we have in India. You do not know that. Now, what was I saying?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): 'In America'. You have lost in America.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: In America, from where you draw your inspiration, they have a trust bursting legislation, to liquidate the trusts. They have passed legislation but as you know America is the paradise of trusts and cartels. So, you cannot liquidate monopolies by simple legislation. What you have got to do is to take over these monopolies. The State should take them over.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: The labourers are quite happy there also.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: If the exploited people are happy they are happy. So, the only thing that can liquidate monopoly, the only remedy is to take over monopolies. Simple legislation would never check it. It will continue to evade legislation and grow. None-the-less I am for legislation, because it may put some check. We may at least come before Parliament and say something about it.

Now, what I say is that with our entire policy we are in a blind alley. Our economy has been mortgaged and so it is no wonder that now-a-days in external affairs too in the majority of cases we find ourselves in agreement with the Western powers. Such was not the case a few years before, in 1955 or 1956. Since they control our economy, since the entire economy is dependent on them, since we are begging for more and more credit from them on onerous terms which are full of strings, we are bound to heed to their advice.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: No strings.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Ultimately mortgaging our economy means putting curbs and restrictions on our political independence, and willy-nilly the Government of India have to side with the Western powers in the majority of the issues that come up in the international sphere, in international affairs. That is why I say that a radical departure should be made. The discarded banner that has been thrown down to the dust should be picked up by the people. That is why I say that the entire British and American private capital in this country should be nationalised and taken over. The foreign trade should be nationalised because no country can plan without having the foreign trade entirely in the hands of the State. That is the process through which we can get our equipment in exchange for our primary

products. So that is why I say that we are planning for unplanned things.

Next, we have reached a stage when we can never pay back the stupendous debts. They have already drained us of our life-blood. So I say that a stage will come or it has come when we have got to consider whether we should not cancel all those foreign debts. We cannot bear them. These debts should be wiped out.

The new imposts that were levied on the people in the Budget for 1963-64 should all be cancelled. The extra Rs. 380 crores that are weighing heavily on the broken backs of the poor people of India should go. For the working people, at least as per the 17th Indian Labour Conference the minimum wage that was promised but never implemented should be given. At least they should get that in order to guard against the continuing rise in prices.

So, if we can do these things, we can have the public sector completely in our hands free from foreign influences. We can build an independent economy and we can become a truly independent nation unless now when our political freedom is being curbed and restricted through this process, whether we like it or not. Then and then only the true image of India will come up before the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and we will find our proper place in the comity of nations. All those peoples will see in India an inspiration and a beacon-light, and I know today that sooner or later this is the path that India will travel.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. on Monday.

The House then adjourned at ten minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 16th March, 1964.