

[Shri Raj Bahadur.] that existed prior to 1948, that is a matter which can only be settled by the parliament because it was by an Act of Parliament that the Bengal pilots were transferred from the Government of India to the Calcutta Port Commissioners. Apart from that, there are practical difficulties in the whole matter in actually formally re-transferring them to the Government of India. But if they are prepared to work, we welcome them. There is no question about that and in fact we would very much like them to come back. I am glad Shri Bhupesh Gupta has taken note of the fact that they are not on strike. Indeed this is no strike. They have resigned. In the circumstances we can only appeal to them to come back. If they do not, we shall have to make such arrangements as we can to replace them by other suitable hands. There is no question of prestige in this matter.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Is he prepared to go with me to Calcutta? I am prepared to accompany him.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The point is, the statement is not discussed. You can only ask for clarification and you raised some questions and the answer has been given.

AN. HON. MEMBER: I want to ask some questions.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No more. Mr. Chatterji.

**THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1962-63**  
—continued.

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJI (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I was speaking yesterday about the displaced persons from Pakistan. The displaced persons from West Pakistan got 10 lakhs of houses, yet their housing expenditure up to 1958-59 was Rs. 61 crores. The displaced persons from East Pakistan did not get a single house, yet the total expenditure for them was only Rs. 35 crores. For the former it was a grant, but for the latter it was a loan.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

Madam, the displaced persons from West Pakistan have got two kinds of compensation—(1) price of land, and (2) price of houses, besides cash and loan compensated for. Their best cultivable land has been priced at Rs. 445 per acre, a very low price. For land left, they got compensation of Rs. 129 crores. The second item has been Rs. 179 crores, that is, price of houses Rs. 70 crores, cash Rs. 60 crores, loan written off Rs. 24 crores and another Rs. 25 crores advanced. No loan is due to any displaced person from West Pakistan. But every displaced person from East Pakistan is burdened with a heavy loan. Partially privileged displaced persons from West Pakistan are good people whereas displaced persons from East Pakistan are pictured to be bad people, showing big arrears of loans advanced. Another bad name of displaced persons from East Pakistan is that they do not want to leave Bengal. But facts prove that this is quite baseless. Most of the cultivators have been rehabilitated in Punjab, only 4,15,000 have been settled in Bombay, 3,73,000 in Rajasthan, 2,00,000 in Madhya Pradesh, 9,000 in Madras, 7,000 in Mysore and 4,000 in Andhra Pradesh but as regards the displaced persons from East Pakistan, 4,87,000 have been settled in Assam, 3,74,000 in Tripura and 1,22,000 in Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Andamans and Rajasthan. The rest are in Bengal. From these figures, it would be seen that of the displaced persons from West Pakistan, only about 20,000 have gone to distant places whereas the displaced persons from East Pakistan who have gone to distant places number about 1,22,000. The Estimates Committee state that since 1955 there has not been any desertion by the displaced persons from East Pakistan. The rehabilitation of displaced persons from West Pakistan is complete but that is not the case with the displaced persons from East Pakistan and yet the Third Plan provision is only for

two lakhs of displaced persons although, as admitted by Government, the flow of displaced persons from East Pakistan has not yet been stopped. The figures clearly prove that each displaced person from West Pakistan got about four times what a displaced person from East Pakistan got. The question, therefore, naturally arises as to why there should be this discrimination and differentiation.

Such being the case, I would very earnestly urge upon the Union Government that to rectify the injustice done to these unfortunate displaced persons from East Pakistan, the loan advanced to them may now be written off as unrepayable; and, the few lakhs of displaced persons from East Pakistan, who have not yet been rehabilitated, may now be settled down at an early date either in West Bengal or in Dandakaranya entirely at Government expense. Madam, belated justice is better than denial of justice.

I would like to mention two or three more points about the displaced persons from East Pakistan in Uttar Pradesh from where I come. In June last year I visited all the colonies of displaced persons from East Pakistan in Uttar Pradesh with official cooperation through the kind and generous help of the Chief Minister. In the colony of 300 agricultural families near Payagpur in the district of Bahraich, land has been allotted in the Baghel Tal, a huge lake, which is overflooded in rains. The very first year's flood so much terrorised the (displaced persons that next year they refused to cultivate it. Official persuasion totally failed to make them work. On the 9th June of last year, at my request they started work from the very next day. But on the 19th July rain water rushed to the lake through the connecting rivulet and not only the whole area was under deep water, but a colony also was under water. Two months later when I reached there accompanied by the District Magistrate, other offi-

cial and a local M.P., on the 17th September, it was a vast mass of water several feet deep. This lake land of 1500 acres was purchased at about Rs. 3 lakhs as the record showed. After several years of hellish camp life in Bengal these unfortunate displaced persons are again here for more than two years under petty doles which are again being cut down on account of price of seeds. My humble appeal to the hon. Union Minister was that despite the big expenditure incurred, we should admit our mistake and transfer them to Dandakaranya. Copies were sent to the Chief Minister and the Rehabilitation Minister of Uttar Pradesh. Moreover, during the last session during Question Hour, I wanted to know whether they would be transferred elsewhere, but the answer was an emphatic 'No'. Even last week I received a lengthy letter from their representative about their present miserable plight and the great anxiety because of the coming rains. What will be done if like previous years, this year also the whole area is submerged suddenly under deep water? The only redeeming feature is that the Chief Minister is taking personal interest in this matter, and, if things go wrong this year as well, I am sure he will agree to their transfer elsewhere.

Differential treatment is naked again at Allahabad. Having received repeated requests I visited the hutments of the women displaced persons from East Pakistan at Darbhanga Castle at Allahabad on the 22nd of last month. Besides the hutments, twelve families are living for the last seven years in a dilapidated building. Now the authorities are threatening to oust them from this place although they are willing to pay Rs. 5 per square yard, the rate at which almost the whole area has been allotted to the displaced persons from West Pakistan. The latter have erected palatial buildings all round, but these women are not to get even hutments to live in. That, Madam, is great injustice. To any casual visitor these hutments

[Shri J. C. Chatterji.]

would appear as servant quarters attached to the vast number of palatial buildings surrounding them. Again these women are charged Rs. 9 per square yard in place of Rs. 5 charged from the displaced persons from West Pakistan. I do not know, Madam, what standard of justice this is. These women had put forward a representation before the Rehabilitation Minister of Uttar Pradesh when he visited Allahabad on the 16th April, 1962 and a copy of that was handed over to me on 22nd April. I would quote a few sentences from it:

"While the West Pakistan refugees have been provided with loan, services, business, land and accommodation we, helpless and destitute women and girls have been deprived of all these. Now, the District Relief and Rehabilitation Officer is forcing us to accept one small room and pay for the enclosed land Rs. 9 per square yard against Rs. 5 charged for the same land from the West Pakistan refugees. We, therefore request your honour kindly to rehabilitate us by providing quarters or land on the same terms and conditions as allowed to the West Pakistan refugees. We are prepared to pay for this. The quarters consisting of one single room being too small cannot accommodate our family at the-Darbhanga Castle refugee quarters. We, therefore, request your honour kindly to consider our most deserving case and rehabilitate us according to our barest needs. We do not want palatial homes but reasonable facilities on payment after adjusting our rehabilitation grant for the land and house."

*(Time bell rings.)*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have two minutes more.

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJI: I may be allowed a few more minutes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just two minutes more, and we have to

restrict the time of each Member because the list is long and the time is short.

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJI: The Rehabilitation Ministry is almost wound up and I will not have the chance . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Madam Deputy Chairman, I suggest that he may be given more time. As far as we are concerned, we are prepared to surrender whatever little time is left. I do not like it, Madam Deputy Chairman—the budget discussions are arranged in this House in this manner because we do not have time for discussing the Grants and so on. When the Budget is discussed here, that is the only chance this House gets and time is steam-rolled. I do not know how it is done. Members do not get the chance and the Ministers can go on speaking for as long as they like but Members, both on that side of the House and on this side Of the House, will be told, after everything has been settled. "This is your time". Then they will be told, "Stick to it". I am not saying that you are doing it but somehow or other it happens. This is the only chance that we have, as far as the Budget is concerned, to participate in the General Discussion. The other House will be discussing it for a whole month and here, in our House, we do not get even ample time. I am speaking for all Members. Let all Members have more time, let us sit longer, a day more, if necessary, but it cannot be like that. We are shown a list, told: "This is the time and you must stick to this time". Then we go on bargaining for five minutes or ten minutes. We have ten minutes left and I make a present of it to the Congress Party.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is willing to surrender his time, Mr. Chatterji can go on.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am surrendering the time to the Congress Party. Madam . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am on my feet, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. When the time-limit was fixed for

the discussion of this Budget, three days were allotted, quite a good number of hours. Now, we are coming to the end of it. At 4 o'clock the Finance Minister will reply. There, fore, we have now to be within the restriction placed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam, you are right as far as what you have Btated but why are not we consulted? Why are not leaders of the Opposition invited when settling this matter? Are we to be neglected in this manner? I do not know if the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs . . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, I do not think any section of the House is neglected when the time limit is put for any debate and I thought you, being an old Member of the House, knew exactly horw the time limit is fixed for such debates.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why are not we consulted?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please carry on, Mr. Chatterji.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You can carry on.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You surrender your time and then eat up the time. Mr. Chatterji will have very little time left.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore) : Madam Deputy Chairman, the Finance Minister can reply tomorrow after Question Hour and the discussion can go on for the whole day.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why should we wait on the pleasure of the Finance Minister? Why can't he reply tomorrow?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA) : It will be a little difficult for the Finance Minister to reply tomorrow because he has to reply to *ike* Budget debate in the other House tomorrow.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: At what time does he reply in the Lok Sabha?

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA: He will be replying tomorrow evening.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall see how the list stands.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I appeal to hon. Members not to listen to the Finance Minister today but . . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall see how the list stands round about 3.00 P.M. and after that we shall look into the matter.

SHRI ANUP SINGH (Punjab): Madam Deputy Chairman, what Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has said has been repeated here almost in every session and nothing is being done about it. I think his complaint is perennial but valid and something should be done to give the Members more time because as he says rightly this is the only time when we can participate in the general discussion.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chatterji.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You strike off my name from the list of speakers.

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJI: I continue the quotation from the representation:

"We do not want palatial homes but reasonable facilities on payment after adjusting our Rehabilitation grant for the land and house. That Darbhanga castle should not be sold to others as Contemplated by Government but allotted to us. The Castle is being sold to someone for demolishing and converting into suitable plots for auction. If so, we have the prior claim on this land and request that the plots should be sold to us for our permanent rehabilitation. It -will be surprising:

[Shri J. C. Chatterji.] that while the West Pakistan refugees in this very locality are enjoying palatial buildings and land at a nominal cost of Rs. 5 per sq. yard, we the poor victims of our misfortune are being denied even the minimum accommodation according to the size of our family."

Similar things occurred at Lucknow, seven or eight years ago, when flats erected inside the city for women displaced persons from East Pakistan were given to the displaced persons from West Pakistan, forcibly removing the helpless women to huts in the farthest corner just near a Muslim graveyard.

A word about the Daliganj women's colony of displaced persons from East Pakistan at Lucknow. These women were removed from their flats given to displaced persons from West Pakistan inside the city and placed in huts at Daliganj under the Lady Social

Welfare Officer, Mrs. Punwani. For many years ladies of Alok Sangh, a long-standing social welfare organisation, did much for these women. In July last year four ladies of this

organisation met the Rehabilitation Minister on deputation. I also accompanied them at their request. They

brought 17 points of serious charges against Mrs. Punwani. But she is still there, perhaps under promotion.

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA (Madhya Pradesh): On a point of order. It should be taken as read and printed in the debate.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA: He is referring to a Report.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया :  
बहु तो अपनी स्पीच शब्द शब्द कर के पढ़ रहे हैं।

श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा : बहु एक रिपोर्ट की इत्तिला हाउस को पढ़ कर दे रहे हैं।

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJI: Now, I would only quote from The Pioneer\* dated 16th September, 1961 written by one M.L.A. of U.P. who wrote about the miserable plight of the Baghel Tal area refugees:

"Almost all the land acquired for this uprooted class of humanity remains completely submerged under the water of the Baghel Tal. \*\*\*I found that water in their fields is about 6 or 7 feet deep. This will convince any impartial observer that this land is completely unfit for cultivation. \*\*\* The matter was brought to the notice of authorities concerned and other VIPs of the ruling party and their reply is that the refugees do not want to work and they are as a class parasite. But this argument is not only factually baseless but adds insult to injury. I saw with my own eyes flourishing kitchen gardens, small tracts of land near their quarters in which very good maize crops and seasonal vegetables are growing. The refugees were all seen engaged in hard labour."

This is all that I wanted to say.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE (West Bengal): Madam Deputy Chairman, I welcome the Budget proposals and I congratulate the hon. Finance Minister for presenting this Budget to us. There was some criticism in the House and also outside that there is no indication of the socialist pattern of society reflected in the Budget proposals. An hon. Member of this House speaking on the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address said that there were different kinds of socialism. We have to remember that we have chosen a particular path, on the one hand having full faith and confidence in the wisdom of our people and on the other hand moving towards building up a socialist pattern of society. There are countries where such freedom is denied. They monopolise the entire

wisdom to one party alone and deny the freedom of expression of opinion and freedom of association to others. Here we welcome criticism from different angles, from the right as well as from the left. We have chosen a specific path and have made our Plans accordingly to carry our people towards our goal. It cannot be done in one day; a socialist pattern of society cannot be built up overnight. We have to proceed according to a plan and the Finance Minister has tried his best to find out ways and means of how we can finance the Plan. So I congratulate the Finance Minister for striking the golden mean between the extreme right and the extreme left. One thing that we must remember is that before we approach the electorate we go before them with a Plan which we place before Parliament first and after getting Parliament's approval we approach the electorate with that Plan to build up the socialist pattern of society. So the whole thing is placed clearly before the people of the country. They also hear other points of view and the last three successive elections have proved that our people, knowing fully well the different points of view, taking into account the different points of view, have voted the 'Congress Party to power and that is why the Congress Party is in power today. Therefore, so far as these criticisms are concerned, I do not say that they are unwelcome. They are welcome and we are benefited by these criticisms. That also I admit. But at the same time we try to influence others' opinions with our views in the matter.

Now, having said this, I would like to draw the attention of our Finance Minister to the pitiable condition of the middle-class people in our country. I would refer you to 'Shri Khandubhai Desai's speech wherein he has elaborated certain proposals to give more relief to the middle-class. I entirely agree with what he has said. Instead of going in for price reduction to give relief—

because I agree with Shri Kh'andu-bhai Desai that it would create a larger problem in the wider agricultural section of our country—it would be better if we can give them some relief by taking upon ourselves the burden of educating their children and also giving other relief to their families. So, I would earnestly request the hon. Finance Minister to give serious thought to this matter.

Now, Madam, I would come to a few problems of our State, West Bengal. The West Bengal Government wanted to raise coal from the mines which really vested in them after the Land Acquisition Act. But we are told that they were faced with difficulty because the Central Government would not give them permission. The problem of raising coal in West Bengal is linked up with the West Bengal Government's food production programme. Therefore, I would earnestly request our Finance Minister to look into this matter and take a decision, maybe at the highest level, to give permission to the West Bengal Government to raise coal from the mines which belong to them. As a matter of fact, private parties are given licences for raising coal. But when the West Bengal Government wants to raise coal for public purposes, for us, the people of West Bengal, I do not know why permission is being denied.

The next point is about the Haldia port and the Farakka Barrage. I urge upon the Government to take expeditious measures for its execution.

Then, I come to the refugee problem. My friend, Shri Chatterji, has given enough material to this House for serious consideration. Now, there are two problems. One is the camp refugees. The Central Government has taken the entire responsibility of taking them and rehabilitating them in Dandakaranya. We all agree that they are to be taken to Dandakaranya. But the Central Government

[Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose.] also admitted many times that there were a large number of East Bengal refugees who had not been given practically any rehabilitation benefit. What was given to them can be called relief. I remember that their number at one time was near about 11 lakhs. The Central Government admitted that they were not given proper rehabilitation benefits. The problem remains. The West Bengal Government cannot take upon themselves the responsibility of rehabilitating these large numbers of refugees. Therefore, the Central Government must come forward and say that the rehabilitation of these 11 lakhs of people is also their responsibility. Yesterday there was a question, but the answer was not given properly because the question was drafted a little defectively, namely, whether the West Bengal Government has approached the Central Government for money for rehabilitating these partially rehabilitated persons, those who have not got any rehabilitation benefits. The reply was that it did not arise because the first portion of the question was rather defectively drafted. But the fact remains and we know that the West Bengal Government has approached the Central Government to take the responsibility of rehabilitating these partially rehabilitated persons and those who have not got any rehabilitation benefit. Every time this question is raised, ultimately this question arises: "Whether they are entitled to rehabilitation benefit or not?" In my opinion, the Central Government should depend and must depend on the advice of the State Government in this matter. Whatever the West Bengal Government say about these refugees—whether they are partially benefited or whether they have not got any benefit at all—their opinion in the matter should be taken as final. There should be no shilly-shallying or dilly-dallying in the matter. Now, our Rehabilitation Minister said once in this House that ours was a humanitarian approach. Yes, I admit.

I agree ours is a humanitarian approach. If our approach is humanitarian, then our approach should also be sympathetic. Red-tapism and other things should not come in the way. Therefore, with a humanitarian approach, with a sympathetic approach this huge problem must be tackled. (Time *bell rings*.) What is it?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Two minutes more.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE: Only two minutes? Then, I shall have to take the same course as Mr. Bhupesh Gupta did.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken fifteen minutes.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE: I have not taken fifteen minutes. I have taken only seven or eight minutes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You started at 12-25 exactly.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE: I would like to have a few minutes more. I would also request our Finance Minister if he can give his reply tomorrow.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI): I am very sorry because I have to reply in the other House tomorrow.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE: Now I come to the matter of our relations with Pakistan. One thing I would like to impress upon the Government is the "practice of allowing the High Commissioners of our State to go there and their High Commissioners to come and look into the affairs of our minorities here. Certainly this practice should be discontinued. Why I say this is because we have a democratic Constitution, a secular State, and theirs is a military dictatorship. They do not believe in secularism. Naturally the officers and people who go from

here to their State go with a certain approach, and to them matters will pose certain problems which the other side will never appreciate. When their officers come to look after the interests of the minorities here, they come with a particular attitude of mind and they also cannot appreciate what we are doing. I, Jenow and I entirely agree with the Prime Minister when he said that we have nothing to hide. Yes, it is true that we have nothing to hide. But at the same time such a practice which encourages some people here to look beyond our State to those who do not believe in democracy, who do not believe in secularism, for their own security, I believe, will lead us into some trouble. Therefore, I would earnestly request the Government to consider seriously whether this practice should be discontinued or not.

Then I come to China. Here, Madam, I wanted to say much more about China, but I would like to touch one point only. Communist China started with friendly relations with India, with "Hindi-Chini bhai bhai", with the signing of agreements based on *Panchsheel*. But suddenly we find that they have taken up a very different attitude. I have read a book written by an eminent writer, Dr. P. C. Chakravarty of Jadabpur University—the name of the book is "India-China Relations". In his book he has posed this question: "Why—did China, it has been asked, abandon her former policy of apparent friendship with India and adopt one of open hostility? What is the real logic behind her intrusions and claims? What\* is the rationale behind Peking's aggressive posture?" While answering this question, he has taken into consideration three or four points of view. One is that many people believe that it is all on account of our sympathy towards the Dalai Lama, etc. But he has shown that long before this Tibetan situation arose, at least seven weeks before this revolt in Lhasa, the first letter of Mr. Chou En-lai to our

Prime Minister was written. And that the whole series of Chinese intrusions into Indian territory, including the construction of the Tibet-Sinkiang highway through Aksai Chin, had taken place prior to 1959. In conclusion he says and I agree with him:

"But perhaps the most plausible explanation of Chinese behaviour is that Peking is pursuing the traditional Chinese policy of expansionism. Every strong imperial regime in China has in the past attempted to expand its borders. There has been a revival of this historic trait, now that China is again strong, its Government centralised and its life and thought completely regimented."

In this connection I would earnestly request our Government to stand firm and not reopen any negotiations for the renewal of the agreement till these intrusions are completely vacated.

Last of all I want to say this—because I had some other things to say but I have no time. Before I sit down I would earnestly request our Finance Minister to provide some more money for the National Discipline Scheme. I understand that he will be visiting the Centre very soon, and they are really doing such good work and many of us who have visited the Centre are so much impressed. Sometimes I consider that it is the work which requires more Government help, help not only to continue as they are but for their expansion. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House will sit through the lunch hour, and hon. Members are requested to keep within the time limit of fifteen minutes. Mr. Santhanam.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM (Madras) Madam, I rise to support generally the budget proposals. I do not think that the proposals can be called so socialistic or even very radical but



[Shri K. Santhanam.] consider them to be reasonable and worthy of support by the entire House. So far as the amounts sought to be raised by the taxation proposals are concerned, it will be admitted that they cover only part of the targets of taxation for the Third Plan. I wish the hon. Finance Minister had taken a little more courage and levied Rs. 30 crores or Rs. 40 crores more this year and declared a tax holiday for the next three years. Unfortunately he has not done so, and so the House must be prepared for another dose of taxation most probably next year. If I have the time, I shall be able to demonstrate to the House that the least burden on the country will be laid if the entire taxation needs of a Plan are met in the very first year of the Plan. I wish we could develop a convention that both the Central Government and the State Governments will levy all the taxation needed for an entire Plan period in the first year and have a tax holiday for the other four years. It will give the country sufficient time to assimilate the taxation without living in a state of uncertainty year after year.

We are supposed to have a planned economy. But I am afraid the one essential point in which there is no planning is taxation. It is almost *ad hoc* and arbitrary though, as I have said, I consider the proposals made this year as reasonable. I am also glad that the Finance Minister has tried to spread out his proposals of taxation between direct and indirect taxation with as much equity as is possible under our circumstances.

So far as direct taxation is concerned almost the entire amount comes from the well-to-do classes, and the idea that it will bear heavily on the masses or even the lower and middle classes, I think, has no foundation. I have however two comments to make on the direct taxation. I am glad the Finance Minister has found it wise to differentiate between salary earners and other individual incomes from profession or trade.

ing the Income-tax Bill I pleaded for this differentiation and I had stated the grounds, which I do not want to repeat now. It is only the salary earners who can not evade any taxation. It may not be voluntary but they have no chance to evade it, while almost every professional or business income evades some part of taxation both legally, because all kinds of allowances are given, and illegally because part of the income comes in cash which does not go into the accounts. While I am glad about this differentiation, it is a pity that the actual concession is almost nominal. For an income of Rs. 10,000 the increase for non-salary earners is Rs. 52 under the new proposals and for salary earners, it is Rs. 40, that is, salary earners of Rs. 10,000 get just a concession of Rs. 12 in a year. For Rs. 15,000, the concession is only Rs. 29. Incidentally, I may remark that even the upper reaches of the middle class incomes have not to pay very much. The increase is of a minor order.

So far as indirect taxation is concerned, I am afraid that some of the taxes, especially on producer goods, are likely to cause disproportionate hardship, especially those on chlorine, ammonium and others which go into the fertilisers and also nitric acid, hydrochloric acid and sulphuric acid, because they enter into the process of production. We want, above all the cheapest production so that we shall be able to compete in the foreign markets and also provide our agriculturists and others with cheap fertilisers and other materials. I suggest to the Finance Minister that he may reconsider the point and if he asks me how they should be substituted, I have two concrete proposals to make. One is that tax on tobacco can be increased a little further. The second is this. He has formulated a principle in his Budget Speech saying that taxation should try to correlate supply and demand. Now, today in this country there is an excess of supply of sugar. There is a shortage-

of supply of cement. And it happens that the total quantity of cement produced is almost three times the quantity of sugar. If you increase the duty by Re. 1 per ton of cement, you can reduce Rs. 3 per ton in the excise duty on sugar. Therefore, I do suggest to him that he should reduce to some extent the excise duty on sugar so that the middle class people can use more sugar and the excess demand may be absorbed by the country. Sugar is a valuable food product. I think it is foolish on the part of the country to try to export at a great loss small quantities of sugar to foreign countries, whereas you can make our people consume more sugar which is a valuable food product. On the other hand, any increased taxation on cement will not cause hardship because the cost of site and the building materials has gone up to such tremendous heights that another increase of Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 per ton of cement is not going to be such a heavy burden. Besides that, today almost everyone pays an additional black market price of Rs. 50 for the cement he gets, unless he is able to get it through official channels. Therefore, adding some more duty on cement will frighten the blackmarketeer and correlate supply and demand, while a reduction in the excise duty on sugar will be a great boon to the middle classes who are the main consumers of mill sugar.

Then, about the Capital Gains Tax, I have no objection on principle, but I am afraid that this new proposal is not going to be implemented. In this connection, I would commend to the attention of the Finance Minister an article in "The Economist" of London, dated April 28, 1962, where a similar proposal in the British Budget to tax short-term capital gains is reviewed in a very interesting fashion. It is said:

"He (the Finance Minister) has missed the chance of framing a capital gains tax that could logically accompany reforms in corporate and personal taxations. The motto has been the maximum of

bother for the minimum of revenue. Few of these rules will affect anybody with sufficient sense to stroll around them: they merely ensure the taxing of unavoidable short-term gains at the highest marginal rates of income-tax and surtax."

The position in this country is slightly different because we have also a Capital Gains Tax for long-term gains. But I do suggest that the present provision is bound to be evaded by most people by adjusting the period to one year and one day, so adjusting the dates and the transactions that few short-term gains—if they are made by rich people—are shown in the accounts for the year. For small people, it does not matter; it comes under the income-tax which is likely to be less than 25 per cent. But the bigwigs who deal with these large capital gains play their part so well that they are not likely to pay this additional tax on capital gains. I do suggest that the Finance Minister should have a graded tax on capital gains—if it is within one year, so much; if it is within five years, so much and if it is within ten years, so much. Therefore, even if one stage is evaded, the second stage could not be evaded. We want a rational and graded Capital Gains Tax.

I wish to draw the attention of the Finance Minister and the House to certain disturbing elements in our economy. Our unproductive debt is growing, as shown by the increase in the net interest charges—that is total interest charges minus those charges which are recovered from our undertakings or our loans. For 1960-61, it was Rs. 62 crores, for the revised estimates of 1961-62, it was Rs. 72 crores and for the estimates of 1962-63, it is Rs. 80 crores. If you take the rate at which this unproductive debt is increasing, it is of the order of Rs. 200 crores. It means that every year Rs. 200 crores of our capital expenditure goes for things;

[Shri K. Santhanam.] which do not give any interest return. Some of it may be necessary and essential but this is a thing to be watched and to be scrutinised with greater care than has been hitherto.

Many Members have referred to the inadequate return from public undertakings. Here I wish to make a concrete suggestion that every public undertaking should first pay to the general exchequer the same rate as the Railway Convention, 4 per cent. And after paying it, let the balance-sheets of these undertakings show a loss and let these losses be accumulated and be a liability of these undertakings to the Central exchequer. It will show the state of these undertakings in a proper perspective and also make the people responsible for the management alert, and if they continue to make losses, we should have no hesitation in sacking those people in charge. We should see that the managers of these undertakings deliver the goods or get out. Now, it seems as if anybody can incur any amount of loss and continue. Now, our rules say that unless an officer is convicted of some crime, he can go on, and a premium has been put on inefficiency in this country.

Then, almost all departments of the Government of India seem to be allergic to audit. Audit through the Comptroller and Auditor-General is the only way in which Parliament can control expenditure. Whenever an audit objection is raised, it should become a convention that proper answers are given to that objection within three months. If any departmental official does not meet the objection, then he should be treated as if he has committed contempt of Parliament. Otherwise, there will be no way of control. Madam, I find in many Audit Reports that an objection was brought to the notice of people, but for one year there was no reply.

Sometimes it is for a longer period and by the time the replies are given, many facts are forgotten or many records cannot

be traced and so, somehow or other, they evade explanations. Sir, I suggest that there should be a rigid time limit, and if anybody wants to exceed the time limit, he must come and take the permission of Parliament. Of course, in the first instance, it will be referred to the House of the People and we shall be informed of it. We shall know which officials have given proper explanations and who have not given proper explanations.

Then, Madam, we want more and fuller information regarding our financial position. I suggest to the Finance Minister that his Economic Survey should contain a sort of combined balance-sheet of the Central and the State Governments. I know it is not possible for the current year; it may be for the latest possible year. Even if he can give a combined statement of the expenditure of the Central and State Governments for 1960-61, it will be of great use. Every year there should be the balance-sheet because the Central finances cannot be isolated from the State finances. We give a lot of grants and subventions and loans; we want to know what the position is, taking the finances of the Central and State Governments as a whole. I am afraid that even the Finance Minister and his department have no very clear idea as to the combined position of the finances of the country as a whole.

Lastly, Sir, I wish to make a suggestion to this House. Many people have complained that we have not got much time for debate and we have to adjourn for a whole month every year, and I do not see why we should not use that month for doing some work for which the other House has no time. Sir, I wish we could take up discussion of the balance-sheets of all the Central Government undertakings during that month, taking them one by one. Then we shall be able to render a service to the country, which it badly needs. Today nobody is able to scrutinise

them properly. I do not say we should adopt any resolution. I do not suggest that we should have any condemnation or approval, but let us have a free and frank discussion so that all those who prepare these reports will be careful, will know that the reports will be read at least by a large number of Members of the Upper House and they will be discussed, and therefore there will be the spirit of vigilance engendered, and this is wanted more and more. During this Five Year Plan period, every year we are spending Rs. 1,500 crores, and in the next Five Year Plan period it will be more than this, probably Rs. 2,000 crores a year, and we should like to know where they go, what happens to them and there should be too much vigilance kept on this aspect. I personally suspect, Sir, that out of the Rs. 1,500 crores, which we are spending each year on the Plan projects, at least Rs. 500 crores go into the pockets of the speculators and the contractors and the rich people, and only about a Rs. 1,000 crores go to the general population.

SHRI B. P. BASAPPA SHEETY (Mysore):  
What is the basis for you to say that?

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: The basis is my impression. It is my rough estimate, because the committee which is going into it has not reported. As one who has been dealing with finances of all kinds—with financial reports—and it is my hunch—and I say probably it may be more, or it may be less.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: From experience of the Railways, as a Minister there.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: Yes, I had to do with the Railways. I had to scrutinise the finances of all the States, and I have been a student of the Central finances from 1937 and so I have the experience of all these combined. I do not claim any accuracy for the statement at all, but it is a sort of hunch that I have got, and I 233 R.S.—7.

want the Finance Minister to disprove it, and I shall be most happy if he is able to disprove it.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I cannot disprove imaginary things.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: There is much black money going into all hands, lying in all corners, and that is visible everywhere. In Madras, in the last five years, every site has gone up in value, from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 15,000 today. How does it go up? A house which cost Rs. 25,000 five years ago costs Rs. 1,00,000 today. Where does the money come from? It is the money distributed by our Finance Minister, and it goes into the pockets of people who can pay such exorbitant prices. Of course, I know that we are a democratic country, we have got the rule of law and we cannot take arbitrary action. So I sympathise with him, but that does not excuse us from not devising ways and means of tracing them. We must get some kind of moral or political isotope which will reveal to us the ways in which this money percolates, and catch hold of them; if we are able to catch hold of all this black money, I think we can even push up our Plans. After all, our Plans are insignificant for the needs of the country, though they appear very big, and therefore, if we want to have bigger and better Plans, let us have some machinery, some ways and means of tracing the way in which money percolates to the various classes of people, and let us try to get hold of as much of such money as possible. After all, out of the Rs. 1,500 crores why cannot we get through taxation even a 100 or 200 crores of rupees a year? It is because we do not know; we have not got the financial and other machinery for this purpose. The devising of this machinery is the greatest task of the Finance Minister.

With these few words I generally support the Budget proposals and hope that we shall have more effective financial control over all our ex-

[Shri K. Santhanam.] penditure in course of time. Thank you, Madam.

SHRI MOHAN SINGH (Punjab): Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to support our Budget.

I welcome the little increase in our defence expenditure although this increase is very small. Yet it indicates a step taken in the right direction, but I am not at all happy over it. I do not think we have been practical and realistic in preparing our Armed Forces for the danger which sooner or later we are going to face.

A lot of things have been said and done in our neighbouring countries, namely China and Pakistan which have indicated to us their evil designs against our country. These two countries are being ruled by dictators of different types. We all know that, when a dictator faces an unpleasant and awkward situation at home, he can always manage to find some place abroad where he can divert and canalise the wrath of his people. The dictators of these two countries are no exception.

The little increase made in our Defence Budget of this year gives an impression that all that we have been saying about Pakistan and China to our people means nothing. It seems we have not been realistic in preparing ourselves to meet their threats, or else we are already powerful enough and possess all that we require to repulse their aggression. I personally think that we are too good to understand the limit and extent of wickedness of our adversaries. We are normally carried away by our own noble sentiments and always underestimate the evil designs of our enemies.

Let us try to understand what these countries are thinking about us. Let us visualise the objects which these countries are pursuing and trying to achieve. In this connection let us take Pakistan first.

Madam, the dictator of Pakistan, in order to maintain his dictatorial position against the pressing demand of his people for democratic liberties and economic development, must divert the attention and energy of his people to achieve some immediate and ultimate objects. What is his immediate object? His immediate object, as it is clear to all of us, is to snatch away Kashmir from us by threats and bluffs, if possible, otherwise by military action whenever he is ready to take such action.

It is a mad man's dream and I am sure we will not allow it to be materialised. We cannot stop a dictator from dreaming anyway he likes but the trouble is when he starts putting his dreams into action, they seriously and dangerously affect us. We cannot afford to go on waiting till he deals the actual blow to us. We must be thoroughly prepared to meet his bluffs and threats and to teach him a lesson which should be the last lesson for him, not for him alone but for all the others who are addicted to thinking, like him.

Madam, this is what the dictator is thinking about us. That is his immediate object. He has got an ultimate object as well. But as we will not allow him to be successful in his immediate object, the question of his ultimate object does not arise. But what is that?

His ultimate object is to boost up\* the morale of East and West Pakistan by whipping up their communal frenzy and hatred against us and then demand a corridor from us to connect East and West Pakistan and later on to fan a communal fire in our country with a view to preparing ground to establish his dictatorship in this country. These are the fantastic dreams of a dictator. We cannot teach a dictator decency who with one stroke swallowed the liberty of his own people.

Now, a few words about our Chinese friends. We know that all is not well in China. We also know that the leadership of China believes that war is inevitable. The present leadership of China has met with marvellous success in overthrowing the Chiang-Kai-Shek regime and establishing their own rule in the entire country with the biggest population in the world. A few years ago they marched into Tibet; it was just a walk-over. They are the youngest Communist party in the world with an amazing record of success in capturing power. Now, they have become intoxicated with their victories and achievements. They have become swollen-headed, power-drunk, conceited and not amenable to reason. What can you do?

We tried our best to build up brotherly relations with them even going out of our ways, but they have shocked us by capturing thousands of square miles of our territory. Why have they done this? There are some pressing reasons for it. Let us find out those reasons in the light of the objectives which they are pursuing.

I think the immediate objective which the Chinese Government is pursuing is by and by to establish claim to, and occupy the southern slopes of, the Himalayas, particularly those regions from where it is easy to roll down to our northern plains—this is their immediate objective—and then to liberate us ultimately because, according to them, we are yet not free.

This is why they have not only swallowed Tibet but they have now completely digested it. This may seem unbelievable but this is exactly how these people are thinking, otherwise there was no fun in their incurring our greatest displeasure, our wrath, our anger, our hatred and losing tremendous goodwill in this country by capturing some thousands of square miles of our territory, thousands of square miles of barren, unproductive, uninhabited and probably one of the most diffi-

cult mountainous terrains in the world. The occupation of these terrains is a liability, not an asset. Then, why have they done it? It is a very, very far-sighted investment on their part expected to return them a very good yield in a distant future. This is the situation which we are faced with. Why should these dictators dare to act in this manner against us? I think there is something basically wrong with us. In spite of all our wisdom and goodness, I think we are too good for these dictators, particularly in the field of diplomacy and all our virtues appear practically as our weaknesses to them and all our noble ideas are empty, good-sounding words to them.

These dictators keep their eyes tenaciously fixed upon their objectives. Means do not matter anything to them. In order to achieve their objectives, they can go to any extent. The only thing that they are afraid of is superior force, the force that can hit them back and throw them out of the fighting ring.

We have shown enough patience and forbearance. There is a limit to everything. I think the time has come when we have reached our limit, when we should say: 'Stop, thus far and no further'. We cannot afford to surrender our national territories in order to appease, placate or oblige incorrigible enemies. Sooner, or later, we will have to realise that aggression can be fought back and met properly by aggression alone. We cannot answer back a lathi-charge on our head or a bullet in our chest by singing back a sweet song or offering prayers for our adversaries. It is impossible. We must beat the devil in his own game and speak to him in a language which he can understand best. We are not doing that.

If the axis powers, before the last war, could not be brought to their senses by high-sounding principles, by treaties, by a policy of appeasement, by debates in the League of Nations, then how can we expect our present

[Shri Mohan Singh.]

dictators to be deterred from the evil designs by our pious nopes or vehement protests or our debates in the U.N.?

We must remember that it was due to our army that the Pakistani raiders in Kashmir were stopped and pushed back and are kept where they are and not due to any fear of the U.N. or any respect for international law. We must know that, it is due to our army that the Portuguese have finally vacated Goa, not due to anything else. We tried our best to use other means but nothing else could work. Then what happened in Hyderabad? These are hard realities which we cannot ignore. We will have to face them one day, and face them with our own strength.

Now, I want to say a few words about our policy in Kashmir. Kashmir has legally acceded to India as many other States have done. It is now an integral part of our country. I want to know why we went to the U.N. to debate the issue which is already finally settled? If we went there just to oblige our U.N. friends, then we must tell them that this was our last visit in this connection. Kashmir is an integral part of our country. It was an integral part of our country more than thousand years ago, even before the name of Pakistan was invented.

Then the next thing is, it was proved in the U.N. that Pakistan had committed aggression. Pakistan is still occupying about one-third of Kashmir. They were asked to vacate their aggression and withdraw their armed forces but this is strange that instead of withdrawing, they are threatening us with fresh aggression. Why are they doing so? Again, there is something wrong with us. I would suggest that we should now undertake to liberate one-third of Kashmir which is under their illegal possession and which legally is ours. Unless we undertake to do that, Pakistan will go on creating trouble.

The next thing that I wish to say about Kashmir is that Pakistan is receiving enormous military aid from America. They are receiving the latest weapons. Every day the balance is turning against us. Gradually we are becoming weaker and weaker and Pakistan is becoming stronger and stronger. The day Pakistan becomes militarily strong enough to attack us, nothing on earth would be able to prevent it. We have to prepare and keep this thing in view that this American military aid is a very serious matter. So long as this aid continues to pour into Pakistan, no guarantee has any meaning to us and the threats and bluffs which are threats and bluffs today, after a few years, will no more be threats and bluffs. They will become a reality.

I want to know from Pakistan why they want this military aid from America? Are they afraid of India, Russia, Afghanistan or their own people? If they are afraid of India—that India will some day attack them—I think they are sadly mistaken. A country like ours, which took about 14 years to make up its mind to send away the Portuguese from a tiny little territory of our country, how could such a country ever think of attacking Pakistan? I think we are incurably committed and religiously devoted to our policy of patience. We will do nothing of the sort, and Pakistan knows it.

The real thing is that Pakistan was created by its creators in order to keep it a constant source of trouble for our country. Since the creation of Pakistan, they are very true to this policy. Rulers in Pakistan have come and gone but this policy continues. The present rulers of Pakistan take a special delight in defaming India and adding to our difficulties. This is their foreign policy. They would like to keep the Kashmir issue always alive in order to whip up the frenzy and hatred of their people against us whenever they like to divert their attention from domestic policies.

I think we must spend some more money and take a realistic view of the whole thing and prepare ourselves for the ultimate danger which one day is bound to come if we are not properly prepared. Thank you.

شہی پھڑے لال گریل دہ طالب ۴۴

(اگر پردیش): جلدیہ - گورنمنٹ وقت بہ وقت اس بات کا تھول پیتی ہے کہ ہم اس دیس میں سماج واد لانا چاہتے ہوں اور ہماری گورنمنٹ کی بلہاد جمہوریت پر ہے، پرچانترا پر ہے - مگر ہم دن بدن کیا دیکھ رہے ہوں - آزادی سے پہلے ہم نے چلتا سے وعدہ کیا تھا کہ اس دیس سے فریبی کو دور کردینگے، بہرشتاچار کو دور کردینگے، بے روزگاری کو دور کر دیں گے، اور یہاں پر امن و امان ہوگا - جب انگریز لائیاں چلاتے تھے، گولیاں چلاتے تھے تب ہم اس کا مقابلہ کرتے تھے اور ہم چلتا سے وعدہ کرتے تھے کہ دیس کی آزادی کے بعد یہ سب چیزیں نہیں ہوں گی - مگر ہم اب اس کے بالکل برعکس دیکھتے ہیں - دیس کے اندر بجائے سماج واد لانے کے ہم سرمایہ داری نظام کو اور مضبوط کرتے چلے جا رہے ہیں -

چلتا کی دشا دن بدن خراب ہوتی چلی جا رہی ہے - آج چلتا کے بدن پر کھڑا نہیں ہے - پیت میں پوری روتی نہیں جاتی ہے - بہرشتاچار اسی طرح سے ہے، رشوت خوری اسی طرح سے ہے - اگر ہم اس دیس میں

سماج واد لانا چاہتے ہیں تو سب سے پہلے ہمیں اس دیس کے اندر اقتصادی برابری لانی ہوگی - اکاسمک ایکوالٹی کو لانا ہوگا - سماج میں برابری لانی ہوگی - سماجی طور پر ہمارے دیس کے اندر چھوٹا چھوٹا اسی طرح سے موجود ہے - اونچ نیچ کی بہارنا اسی اسی طرح سے موجود ہے - سپرپریتی کمپلیکس اور انفرپریتی کمپلیکس اسی طرح سے موجود ہے جیسا کہ انگریزوں کے وقت میں تھا - اسی طرح سے ہمارے افسروں کی تنخواہوں میں اور چھوٹے ملازموں کی تنخواہوں میں بھی بڑا بہاری اثر ہے - اسی طرح سے سرمایہ دار جو ہیں وہ دن بدن زیادہ سرما ٹھا کرتے جا رہے ہیں اور فریب چلتا دن بدن زیادہ فریب ہوتی جا رہی ہے - ہم نے اپنی طرف سے ایسی کوئی کوشش نہیں کی جس سے اس دیس میں سماج واد آنا ہو - آج الیکشن میں بھی کسی سچے اور دیانتدار آدمی کے لئے چٹاؤ لڑنا فریب فریب ناممکن ہو گیا ہے - کوئی بھی پارلیمنٹری کانسٹی ٹیونسی ایسی نہیں ہے جہاں سے کانگریس کا امیدوار کھڑا ہوا ہو یا کوئی منسٹر کھڑا ہوا ہو کہ اس میں کم سے کم ایک لاکھ روپیہ صرف نہ ہوا ہو - نہرو جی کی



[شری پیارے لال کرپل دہطالبہ:]  
کانسٹی ٹیوٹنسی میں آپ کے پرائم  
منسٹر صاحب کی کانسٹی ٹیوٹنسی  
میں کم سے کم سات آٹھ لاکھ روپیے  
خرچ ہوئے۔ درجنوں چھپیں چلیں۔

HON. MEMBERS (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN  
AND SHRI A. M. TARIQ): Question.

(Interruptions.)

شری پیارے لال کرپل دہطالبہ:

تمام مارواڑیوں نے و  
کئے۔ میں ان آدمیوں کے نام بتا  
سکتا ہوں۔ منسٹر صاحب یہاں  
موجود ہیں ان کو معلوم ہوگا کہ  
مارواڑیوں نے وہاں لاکھوں روپیہ خرچ  
کیا اور الیکشن کمیشن کی طرف  
سے اس کے خلاف کوئی قدم نہیں  
اٹھایا گیا۔ شری مرہری سوشلسٹ  
ممبر خود وہاں موجود تھے۔ یہ نام  
تک بتا سکتے ہیں

श्री पी० ए० पतिष्ठल (महाराष्ट्र) :  
बिल्कुल सत्य बात आप बोल रहे हैं।

شری پیارے لال کرپل دہطالبہ:

الیکشن کمیشن اچھی طرح سے جانتا  
ہے ہر آدمی اچھی طرح سے جانتا  
ہے کہ اسے خرچ کیا گیا۔ ایک  
معمولی سا آدمی جو کانگریس کا  
ہے وہ بھی ہزاروں روپیہ چناؤ میں  
خرچ کرتا ہے۔ یہ ایک حقیقت ہے۔

SHRI SHEEL. BHADRA YAJEE  
(Bihar): Madam, why do you allow

it? The expenses of seven lakhs of rupees in  
Nehru's constituency is a fabrication. He  
should withdraw it.

شری پیارے لال کرپل دہطالبہ:

سب اچھی طرح سے جانتے ہیں آپ  
جانتے ہیں ہمارے منسٹر جانتے  
ہیں کہ یہ ایک حقیقت ہے  
اور اس کو قطعی جھٹلایا نہیں  
جا سکتا۔

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: On a point  
of order.

(Interruptions.)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr.  
Kureel, will you take your seat?

شری پیارے لال کرپل دہطالبہ:

کسی دیانتدار آدمی کے لئے کسی  
غریب آدمی کے لئے چناؤ لڑنا  
ناممکن ہو گیا ہے۔

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: May I draw the  
attention of the hon. Member to the fact that  
the Prime Minister had denied these  
allegations here in this House a few days ago  
in the most explicit terms and in spite of this  
the hon. Member indulges in making alle-  
gations which are absolutely unfounded? I do  
not think, Madam, that it is right and that it  
should be allowed.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kureel,  
you carry on with your speech, but no  
insinuations.

شری پیارے لال کرپل دہطالبہ:

میرا کہنے کا مطلب صرف یہ ہے  
کہ کسی غریب اور دیانتدار آدمی  
کے لئے چناؤ لڑنا ناممکن ہو گیا ہے۔  
اس دیش کے اندر ہم جمہوریت  
کی جڑ کو کبھی بھی مضبوط نہیں  
کر سکتے اگر دیش کے اندر یہی

حالت رہی - جو کچھ میں نے  
کہا ہے - وہ حقیقت ہے -

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : आप कैमे आ  
गमे हैं ?

श्री पी. ए. एस. पाटिल : आप ए पीइन्ट  
आफ आर्डर, मैडम। यह जो सम्माननीय सदस्य  
ने इस से पहले कहा है कि पं० जवाहरलाल

(Interruptions.)

श्री शकेल भद्रा याजी: This  
is not a public meeting; this is Parliament.

श्री पी. ए. एस. पाटिल :  
मैंने पताना चाहता हूँ . . .

उपसभापति : मिस्टर तालिब आप ने  
सुना, फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब ने आप को  
याद दिलाया है कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने यहाँ  
क्या कहा था। उस के बाद यह सब कहने की  
जरूरत नहीं है।

श्री पी. ए. एस. पाटिल :  
अब मैंने कौन्सिल के अंकुश पहि  
करोन का कि कस طرح से अस दिवस  
के अन्दर समाज वाद लाया जा रहा है -  
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नेहरू के चुनाव में सात, आठ लाख रुपये खर्च  
किये हैं, वह आरोप आधारहीन और गलत है,  
इसलिये ये शब्द उन्हें वापस लेने चाहिये।  
ऐसो मेरी आप से रिक्वेस्ट है।

श्री पी. ए. एस. पाटिल :

जल्द - जिसका कि मैंने कहा  
था दन بدن अन डायरेक्ट टिकसिज  
बूहते जा रहे हैं - अन डायरेक्ट  
टिकसिज का زیادہ تر بوجھ ہماری  
غریب جنتی کے اوپر پوتا ہے اور دن  
بدن یہ ٹیکسिज زیادہ سے زیادہ  
ہوتے جا رہے ہیں - گورنمنٹ کا ٹوٹل  
ٹیکس ریوینیو سنہ ۱۹۵۱-۵۲ میں  
۷۳۹ کروڑ تھا، سنہ ۱۹۶۱-۶۲ میں  
— ٹوٹل ٹیکس ریوینیو سیلنٹ  
گورنمنٹ کا میں بتا رہا ہوں سٹیٹ  
گورنمنٹ کا نہیں— ۱۲۹۱ کروڑ روپیہ  
ہو گیا ہے - اور ۱۹۶۱-۶۲ میں ۱۳۹۱  
کروڑ تھا تو اس وقت اور بھی زیادہ  
ٹیکسिज بڑھے ہیں - اسی طرح سے  
ڈائریکٹ ٹیکسिज سے، جو بڑھے ہیں  
کم بڑھے ہیں - ڈائریکٹ ٹیکسिज کا  
اثر تھوڑے سے لوگوں پر پوتا ہے جو  
آسانی سے دے سکتے ہیں وہ امیر ہیں،  
خوشحال ہیں - مگر ان ڈائریکٹ  
ٹیکسिज کا زیادہ تر بوجھ ہماری غریب  
جنتی کے اوپر پوتا ہے، مدل کلاس  
طبقہ پر پوتا ہے، اور لوور مدل کلاس  
پر پوتا ہے - اور اس بچت میں  
ان ڈائریکٹ ٹیکسिज کو کافی بڑھایا گیا  
ہے - اس طرح سے آپ دیکھیں گے  
کہ جتنی ٹیکس بڑھا ہے — سنہ ۵۰

[شری پھارے لال کرپل ددطالبہ] سے لیکر اب تک - سنہ ۶۱ تک سے فیکرس سہرے پاس ہیں - اس میں ۳۱۱ کروڑ روپہہ جو اب تک بوما ہے ٹیکسیز کے ذریعہ سے اس میں ۳۳۵ کروڑ روپہہ ان ڈائریکٹ ٹیکسیز سے بوما ہے - تو اس سے آپ اندازہ لگائیں کہ سارے ان ڈائریکٹ ٹیکسیز کتنے زیادہ بونٹے چلے جا رہے ہیں اور کس طریقے سے ہماری غریب چلتا کا خون چاس رہے ہیں - پہلے جو پریوریشن ڈائریکٹ ٹیکسیز کا تھا وہ ۲۰ پرسینٹ کا تھا اس وقت گھٹتے گھٹتے ۱۷ پرسینٹ رہ گیا ہے اور اس سے امیر آدمیوں کو دن بدن کلسیشن دیتے جا رہے ہیں - ابھی اس بجٹ میں ایکسپینڈیچر ٹیکس کو ختم کر دیا گیا ہے - ویلٹھ ٹیکس، اسٹیٹ ڈیوٹی، گمٹ ٹیکس کے ذریعہ عام طور سے روپہہ وصول کیا جاتا ہے - میں آپ کے سامنے اس کے فیکرس دورں گا - سنہ ۱۹۵۶ اور سنہ ۱۹۵۷ سے جب سے یہ ٹیکس لگے ہیں تب سے سنہ ۱۹۶۰ اور ۱۹۶۱ کے درمیان کل ۵۲.۲۷ کروڑ روپہہ وصول کیا گیا - یعنی ہر سال تقریباً ۱۱ کروڑ روپہہ جو بہت کم ہے - اتنا کم روپہہ ویلٹھ ٹیکس میں، اسٹیٹ ڈیوٹی میں اور گمٹ ٹیکس میں وصول کیا جاتا ہے - میں نے پچھلی دفعہ بھی کہا تھا، پریسینٹیشنل ایڈریس پر جب

بھٹ ہوتی تھی، اسوقت بھی یہی کہا تھا کہ گورنمنٹ فیکر بتانی ہے کہ سارے ہڈنوسٹان میں ایسے لوگ جن کے پاس سرمایہ پچاس لاکھ سے زیادہ ہے یا پچاس لاکھ ہے ان کی تعداد ۱۰۲ ہے - کل ۱۰۲ آدمی آپ خرد اچے سہلہ پر ہاتھ رکھتے اور بتاتے کہ کیا آپ کو دہلی کے اندر صرف ۱۰۲ آدمی ملیں گے جن کے پاس پچاس لاکھ روپہہ کا سرمایہ ہے - میں کہتا ہوں کہ ان کی تعداد کہیں زیادہ ہے - کلکتہ سمیٹی، مدراس وغیرہ کی بات جانے دیجئے - جہاں کہ ایسے لوگ اور بھی زیادہ ہیں - میں کہتا ہوں کہ صرف دہلی کے اندر ہی ایسے آدمیوں کی تعداد زیادہ ہے - اسی طرح سے کارپوریشن ٹیکس جو ہے وہ دنیا کے سارے کٹریز میں سب سے لوہست ہے - سہرے ان فیکرس دہلے کا مطالب صرف یہ تھا کہ کس طرح سے گورنمنٹ، سماج وان تو دور رہا لاء سرمایہ داری نظام کو مضبوط سے مضبوط تر بنا رہی ہے - امیر کو اور زیادہ امیر اور غریب کو زیادہ غریب بنایا جا رہا ہے - اسی طرح سے اسٹیٹ ڈیونرز ہیں، اسٹیٹ فائینڈسٹریز ہیں، ان میں بھی اگر آپ دیکھیں گے تو ان ڈائریکٹ ٹیکسیز بہت زیادہ بڑھ گئے ہیں - اب میں فیکر نہیں دورں گا کیونکہ ٹائم نہیں ہے اور مجھے

بہت سی باتوں کہلی ہیں۔ کہلے کا مطلب یہ ہے کہ اگر دیہی میں سناچ واد لانا ہے تو غریب چلنے کے اوپر سے ٹھکسوز کا بوجھ اٹھائے۔ دیہی کے اندر اونچ نیچ کی بہاؤنا دور کہجئے۔ کس طرح سے یہ بہاؤنا دور ہوگی چھکے آج ایک منسٹر کا لوگا سرمایہ دار کا لوگا، تازہ ہرلا کا لوگا پبلک اسکول میں تعلیم پائے اور یہاں تک کہ ہم پارلیمینٹ کے ممبر بھی اپنے لوگوں کے لئے پبلک اسکول کے خرچ کو برداشت نہیں کر سکتے ہیں۔ کتلیے کلرک ہوں گے، کتلیے مڈل کلاس کے لوگ ہوں گے، کتلیے لوئر مڈل کلاس کے ہوں گے، کتلیے اپر مڈل کلاس کے ہونگے جو کہ اپنے بچوں کو پبلک اسکول میں پوعاتے ہیں۔ نتیجہ یہ ہوتا ہے کہ کتلیے آدمیوں کے لوگ پبلک اسکول میں پوہتے ہیں وہی لوگ ہزنس میں کتلیے دل حاصل کرتے ہیں، وہی بڑی بڑی نوکریوں میں آسکتے ہیں۔ غریب آدمی کا بچہ کسی اچھی نوکری پر نہیں جا پاتا ہے۔ یا تو آپ پبلک اسکول کو ختم کر دیجئے یا ہمارے آرڈرنری اسکول کے لیول کو پوہا دیجئے یا پھر پبلک اسکول میں بھرتی ہونے والے غریب لوگوں کی ساری فیس معاف کر دیجئے۔ یہ چیز کسے چل سکتی ہے کہ ایک طرف ہرلا کا لوگا پوہہ رہا ہے اور

دوسری طرف ایک معمولی کابلر کا لوگا پوہہ رہا ہے، ایک معمولی کلرک کا لوگا پوہہ رہا ہے۔ کہا آپ سمجھتے ہیں کہ جب یہ دوزوں زندگی میں ساتھ ساتھ رہیں گے تو ان میں اونچ نیچ کی بہاؤنا نہیں آئے گی؟ سہوہرتی اور انفہرہرتی کملہکس نہیں پیدا ہوگا۔ ایسی بہاؤنا آپ پیدا کر رہے ہیں۔ اگر آپ اس دیہی کے اندر سناچ واد لانا چاہتے ہیں اور ذات پات کی جو کو کسزور کرنا چاہتے ہیں تو ایک ہی ماحول میں، وائرون میں، بچوں کو تعلیم دیجئے۔ شروع سے ہی ان کے دل سے یہ بہاؤنا نکل دیجئے کہ ہم اونچے ہیں، ہم بڑے ہیں۔ اتنا دریکہ ہم تعلیم پر خرچ کرتے ہیں مگر اس میں بھی یہ اونچ ہے، یہ نیچ ہے، یہ اسپر ہے، یہ غریب ہے، یہ بھید بہاؤ، بھیدوں برتا جاتا ہے۔

بڑے انوسٹمنٹ کے ساتھ اس سے پہلے بھی میں نے کہا تھا کہ ہم دیہی کی رکشا کرنے میں کامیاب نہیں رہے۔ آج ہزاروں مربع مہل زمین پر دشمن کا قبضہ ہو گیا ہے۔ ہم تو کہتے ہیں کہ یہ سرکار اپنی قسمت کا شکر ہے، انا کرے کہ ابھی بھی برسراؤندار ہے ورنہ کسی دوسرے ملک کے اندر ایک چھو زمین بھی اگر دشمن کے ہاتھ میں چلی جائے تو وہاں کے مکہیہ ملتری جی کو

[شری پیارے لال کرپل دطالبہ:]  
 یورے ملٹری منڈل کو فوراً استعفیٰ  
 دے دینا پڑتا۔ وہاں کی جلتا  
 مجھوڑ کر دیتی۔ مگر افسوس کہ  
 ہماری جلتا ان پڑھ ہے۔ ہماری  
 جلتا نہیں جانتی کہ ہمارے دیہے  
 کے اندر کیا ہو رہا ہے، ہماری جلتا  
 کو معلوم نہیں کہ کس طرح ہزاروں  
 مربع میل زمین دشمن کے ہاتھ میں  
 چلی گئی ہے۔ آج اتنی زمین چلی جانے  
 کے بعد بھی یہ پارٹی برسرِ اقتدار بنی  
 ہوئی ہے۔ ہم نے آزادی سے پہلے  
 جلتا سے یہ وعدہ کیا تھا کہ ملک  
 کا بتوارہ انہیں ہونے دیا جائے گا  
 اور پاکستان انہیں بلنے دیا جائے گا۔  
 اور پاکستان انہیں بلے گا۔ لیکن  
 ہمارے دیکھتے دیکھتے پاکستان بن  
 گیا۔ اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ ہزاروں  
 آدمیوں کی جانوں گئیں اور لاکھوں  
 کروڑوں روپیوں کا نقصان ہو گیا۔ دیہے  
 کی یہ زمین تو آپ کی پرسنل  
 پراپرٹی نہیں تھی۔

You had no right to divide the country.

آپ نے اسی طرح سے بہروہازی کو  
 پاکستان کو دیدیا۔ یہ جلتا کی  
 زمین تھی اور جلتا کی رائے لئے  
 بغیر پاکستان کو دینے کا آپ کا کوئی  
 حق نہیں تھا۔ ایک دو آدمیوں نے  
 بیٹھ کر یہ فیصلہ کیا اور بہروہازی  
 کو پاکستان میں جانے دیا۔ اسی

طرح سے تی۔ ایم۔ کے۔ والے اپنے لئے  
 الگ راج کی مانگ کر رہے ہیں  
 اور ہمیں تو لگتا ہے کہ آپ ان  
 کی مانگ بھی نہ مان لیں کیونکہ  
 ہمارا آپ کے انصاف کے اوپر اب  
 وشواس نہیں رہ گیا ہے۔ ہمیں آپ  
 کے ورڈس کے اوپر اعتبار نہیں رہ  
 گیا ہے اور آپ کی طرف سے ہر  
 چیز ممکن ہو سکتی ہے۔ اگر ہم  
 گورنمنٹ کے کانوں کو نہ کھینچیں  
 اور انہیں عوش نہ دلائیں تو ایک  
 دن وہ بھی آ سکتا ہے جبکہ یہ  
 دیہے دوبارہ غلام ہو سکتا ہے۔

श्री एस० एन० दास (मध्य प्रदेश) :  
 आप इस को करेंगे।

[شری پیارے لال کرپل دطالبہ:]  
 ہم کیا کریں گے۔ ہمارے ملک کی  
 اتنی زمین چلی گئی ہے پھر یہی  
 سرکار خوش ہے اور اس کے سر پر  
 جوں تک نہیں رہنمائی ہے۔

उपसभापति : आप के दो मिनट रह  
 गये हैं।

[شری پیارے لال کرپل دطالبہ:]  
 اسی طرح سے ہماری آرمی کی بات  
 ہے۔ آرمی کے بارے میں کہا جاتا  
 ہے کہ وہ نیشنل آرمی ہے لیکن  
 نام کو ہی وہ نیشنل آرمی ہے۔  
 اس میں چند ذاتوں کے لوگ ہیں۔  
 جن کو مارشل ریسیز کہا جاتا ہے

اس ہی کو آرمی میں رکھا جاتا ہے -  
 شہدولت کاسٹ، شہدولت ٹرائیس اور بیک ورڈ  
 کلاس کے لوگوں کو آرمی میں نہیں  
 لیا جاتا ہے اور ان نے بازارے میں  
 کہا جاتا ہے کہ وہ لوگ مارشل  
 دیس کے نہیں ہیں - جو بڑے بڑے  
 انسر اور بڑے بڑے آرمی میں ان  
 ہی کے لڑکے آرمی میں بھرتی کئے  
 جاتے ہیں اور بڑی بڑی پوسٹوں پر  
 رکھے جاتے ہیں - اگر آپ آرمی کو  
 نہیں لیا جاتا ہے تو کیوں  
 نہیں سب ذاتوں کے لوگوں کو اس  
 میں بھرتی کرتے - آج دیکھنے میں  
 یہ آتا ہے کہ آرمی میں جنٹلی  
 پوسٹوں ہوتی ہیں ان میں سے  
 ۹۵ پرسنٹ بڑے بڑے لوگوں اور  
 انسر کے لوگوں کو دیدی جاتی  
 ہیں - اور بیک ورڈ کلاس، شہدولت  
 کاسٹ اور شہدولت ٹرائیس کے کسی  
 آرمی کو اس طرح کی پوسٹوں  
 نہیں دی جاتی ہیں - یہ کہا جاتا  
 ہے کہ سکہ مارشل دیس ہے - لیکن  
 میں آپ سے یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں  
 کہ گرو ناک کے ٹائم میں یہ ایک  
 مذہبی فرقہ تھا، کوئی لڑاکو قوم  
 نہیں تھی - شری تیغ بہادر اور شری  
 کرو گوہند سنگھ نے اس ذات کو لڑاکو  
 ذات بنا دیا - اگر شہدولت کاسٹ،  
 شہدولت ٹرائیس اور بیک ورڈ کلاس  
 والے مارشل دیس سے تعلق نہیں  
 رکھتے ہیں تو یہ گورنمنٹ کا فرض

ہونا چاہئے کہ وہ انہیں مارشل  
 کمیونٹی بدلنے تاکہ وہ بھی ملک  
 کی حفاظت کرنے میں اپنا پورا  
 حصہ لے سکے - اس طرح سے آپ  
 کو ان ذاتوں کے لوگوں کو زیادہ سے  
 زیادہ تعداد میں آرمی میں بھرتی  
 کرنا چاہیئے تاکہ وہ بھی دیس کی  
 حفاظت کرنے میں سرکار کی مدد  
 کر سکیں - اس طرح سے دیس کے  
 اندر یونہی کا سوال ہے - ہمارے  
 دیس کے اندر اتلی میں پاور ہے  
 کہ وہ اپنے دیس کی رکشا کرنے میں  
 سرکار کا ہاتھ بٹا سکتی ہے - لیکن  
 ہمارے پاس سنگٹھن نہیں ہے - آج  
 ضرورت اس بات کی ہے کہ سارے  
 دیس میں یونہی ہو اور سب  
 لوگوں کو ایک سنگٹھن میں لایا  
 جائے - تاکہ وہ دیس کے لئے قربانی  
 کر سکیں - جب تک ہماری سرکار چلنا  
 کا کانفیڈنس ون نہیں کرے گی، ان  
 لوگوں کو اپنے ساتھ نہیں لائے گی  
 تب تک ہم اپنے دیس کی رکشا  
 اچھی طرح نہیں کر سکتے ہوں -  
 اس لئے میں گورنمنٹ سے یہ  
 پرزور اپیل کرنا چاہتا ہوں، یہ  
 درخواست کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جہاں  
 تک دیس کی آزادی کی رکشا کا  
 سوال ہے ہمارے پاس بہت میں پاور  
 ہے لیکن اس وقت ضرورت ہے  
 اس میں پاور کو اکٹھا کرنے کی  
 اور اس کو ایک سنگٹھن میں پرو

[شری پیارے لال کرپل دہ طالبہ:]  
دیئے کی۔ انہم نے ایسا نہا تو  
ہم اپنے دیہی کی دکشا بہت اچھی  
طرح سے کر سکیں گے۔

اب میں کشمیر کے سوال کے  
ہارے میں کچھ کہنا چاہتا ہوں۔  
آج کشمیر میں سرکار کی طرف  
سے ہزاروں اور کروڑوں روپیہ خرچ  
کھا جا رہا ہے۔ کشمیر کے مسئلہ  
کو جلد سے جلد حل کرنے کی  
کوشش کی جانی چاہئے کیونکہ  
اس کی حرکات کرنے میں ہمارا  
پلی روپیہ خرچ ہو رہا ہے۔ عام  
آدسی کے لئے یہ اندازہ لگانا ناممکن  
ہے کہ وہاں پر ہمارا کتنا روپیہ  
خرچ ہو رہا ہے اس لئے اس مسئلہ  
کو جلد سے جلد حل کیا جائے۔  
اسی طرح سے ہمارے ملک کے  
کندھوں پر جو بہاری مالی بوجھ  
ہے اسکو ہٹایا جائے۔

उपसभापति : आप का बक हो गया है।

[شری پیارے لال کرپل دہ طالبہ:]

اس کے ساتھ وہاں کے جو سابق  
لیڈر ہیں ان کے اوپر اتنے سالوں  
سے مقدسہ چل رہا ہے اور اس کا  
ابھی تک فیصلہ نہیں ہوا ہے۔  
جمہوریت کا یہ تقاضا ہے کہ جلد  
سے جلد فیصلہ ہو اور وہ لوگ جو  
نظر بند ہیں ان کو رہا کیا جائے۔  
یا ان کا جرم ثابت کیا جائے۔

श्री वीलभद्र घाजी : उन पर मुकदमा  
चल रहा है।

[شری پیارے لال کرپل دہ طالبہ:]

سنہ ۱۹۵۶ سے آپ یہ فیصلہ کر  
چکے ہیں۔ جہاں تک ملک کا سوال  
ہے میں یہی آپ کے ساتھ ہوں۔  
مگر اس طرح سے اتنے سالوں سے  
ان کو نظر بند رکھنا جمہوریت کا  
تقاضا نہیں ہے۔ اگر دیہی کے اندر  
جمہوریت ہے تو آپ کو جلد سے  
جلد کم سے کم وقت میں فیصلہ  
کرنے چاہئے۔ اور جرنل کے سامنے  
ان کے قصور اور جرم کو لانا چاہئے۔  
بے قصور آدمیوں کو جیل میں رکھنا  
انصاف کے مطابق ہے۔

[شری اے۔ ایم۔ طارق (جموں اور

کشمیر): ذرا نام نو بتائیے کون  
نظر بند ہیں۔

[شری پیارے لال کرپل دہ طالبہ:]

میرے کہنے کی ضرورت نہیں آپ  
اچھی طرح سے جانتے ہیں۔ میں  
وکیل ہوں میں آپ کو سیاست  
پڑھنا سکنا ہوں۔ سچے سے کہا  
پوچھتے ہو؟ یہ آپ کا معاملہ ہے۔

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Time is  
up. Please wind up.

[شری پیارے لال کرپل دہ طالبہ:]

اس لئے میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں  
کہ کشمیر کا جو مسئلہ ہے اس کا  
جلد سے جلد فیصلہ کیا جانا چاہئے  
تاکہ بلاوجہ جو پیسے وہاں خرچ ہو  
رہا ہے اس کو بچایا جا سکے۔

श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' (उत्तर प्रदेश): जनाब! गवर्नमेंट वक्त बवक्त इस बात का डोल पोटाती है कि हम इस देश में समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं और हमारी गवर्नमेंट की बुनियाद जम्हूरियत पर है, प्रजातन्त्र पर है, मगर हम दिनबदिन क्या देख रहे हैं। आजादी से पहले हमने जनता से वायदा किया था कि इस देश से गरीबी को दूर कर देंगे। भ्रष्टाचार को दूर कर देंगे, बेरोजगारी को दूर कर देंगे और यहाँ पर अनीशमान होगा। जब अंग्रेज लाठियाँ चलाते थे, गोशियाँ चलाते थे, तब हम उरुका मुकाबिला करते थे और हम जनता से वायदा करते थे कि देश की आजादी के बाद ये सब चीजें नहीं होंगी। मगर अब हम उसके बिलकुल बरअक्स देखते हैं। देश के अन्दर बजाय समाजवाद लाने के हम समाजवादी निजाम को और मजबूत करते चले जा रहे हैं।

जनता की दशा दिनबदिन खराब होती चली जा रही है। आज जनता के बदन पर कणड़ा नहीं है। पेट में रोटी नहीं जाती है। भ्रष्टाचार उसी तरह से है, रिश्वतखोरी उसी तरह से है। अगर हम इस देश में समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं, तो सबसे पहले हमें इस देश के अन्दर इक्तसादी बराबरी लानी होगी, इक्नोमिक इक्वालिटी को लाना होगा। समाज में बराबरी लानी होगी। समाजी और पर हमारे देश के अन्दर छुप्राछूत उसी तरह मौजूद है। ऊँच नीच की भावना उसी तरह से मौजूद है। सुपरियरिटी कोम्प्लेक्स और इन्फीरीटी कोम्प्लेक्स उसी तरह से मौजूद है, जैसा कि अंग्रेजों के वक्त में था। इसी तरह से हमारे अफसरों की तनखाहों में और छोटे म्जाजमों की तनखाहों में भी बड़ा भारी अन्तर है। उसी तरह से सरमायादार जो हैं वो दिन ब दिन ज्यादा सरमाया इकट्ठा

करते जा रहे हैं और गरीब जनता दिन ब दिन ज्यादा गरीब होती जा रहे हैं। हमने अपनी तरफ से ऐसा कोई कशिष नहीं कि जिससे इस देश में समाजवाद आता है। आज इलेक्शन में भी कितो सच्चे और दयानतदार आदमी के लिये चुनाव लड़ना कठोर करोब नामुमकिन हो गया है। कोई भी पालियामेन्टरी कांस्टो-ट्यूएन्सो रूतो नहीं है जहाँ से कांग्रेस का उम्मीदवार खड़ा हुआ हो या कोई मिनिस्टर खड़ा हुआ हो कि उसमें कम से कम एक लाख रुपया सठ न हुआ हो। नेहरू जो की कांस्टो-ट्यूएन्सो में, आपने प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब को कांस्टो-ट्यूएन्सो में, कम से कम सात आठ लाख रुपये खर्च हुए। दर्जनों जेपें चलीं।

HON. MEMBERS (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN AND SHRI A. M. TARIQ): Question. (Interruptions)

श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब': तमाम मारवाड़ियों ने वहाँ रुपये खर्च किये। मैं उन आदमियों के नाम बता सकता हूँ मिनिस्टर साहब यहाँ मौजूद हैं, उनको मालूम होगा कि मारवाड़ियों ने वहाँ लाखों रुपया खर्च किया और इलेक्शन कमीशन को तरफ से उसने खिलाफ कोई कदम नहीं उठाया गया। श्री मुरहरो, सोशलिस्ट मेम्बर, वहाँ खुद मौजूद थे। ये नाम तक बता सकते हैं।

श्री पी० एस० पाटिल (महाराष्ट्र) : बिल्कुल गलत बात आप बोल रहे हैं।

श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' : इलेक्शन कमीशन अच्छी तरह से जानता है हर आदमी अच्छी तरह से जानता है कि ऐसे खर्च किया गया। एक मामूली सा आदमी जो कांग्रेस का हैतो वो भी हजारों रुपया चुनाव में खर्च करता है। ये हकीकत है।

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEB (Bihar): Madam, why do you allow it? The expenses of seven lakhs of



[Shri Sheel Bhadra Yajee.]

rupees in Nehru's constituency is a fabrication. He should withdraw it.

श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' : सब अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं, आप जानते हैं, हमारे मिनिस्टर जानते हैं कि यह एक हकीकत है और इसको कतई झुठलाया नहीं जा सकता।

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: On a point of order. (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kureel, will you take your seat?

श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' : किसी दयानतदार आदमी के लिये, किसी गरीब आदमी के लिये, चुनाव लड़ना नामुमकिन हो गया है।

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: May I draw the attention of the hon. Member to the fact that the Prime Minister had denied these allegations here in this House a few days ago in the most explicit terms and in spite of this the hon. Member indulges in making allegations which are absolutely unfounded? I do not think, Madam, that it is right and that it should be allowed.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; Mr. Kureel, you carry on with your speech, but no insinuations.

श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' : मेरा कहने का मतलब सिर्फ यह है कि किसी गरीब और दयानतदार आदमी के लिये चुनाव लड़ना नामुमकिन हो गया है। इस देश के अन्दर हम जम्हूरियत की जड़ को कभी भी मजबूत नहीं कर सकते अगर देश के अन्दर यही हालत रही। जो कुछ मैंने कहा है वो हकीकत है।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : आप कैसे आगये हैं ?

श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' : हम इस देश के अन्दर समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं।

क्या इस तरीके से हम समाजवाद लायेंगे ? क्या इस तरह से हम देश के अन्दर जम्हूरियत की जड़ को मजबूत करेंगे ? क्या हम इस तरह से गरीबों की हालत बेहतर बनायेंगे ? क्या . . .

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: This is not a public meeting; this is Parliament.

(Interruptions.)

श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' : मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि . . .

उपसभापति : मिस्टर तालिब, आपने सुना, फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब ने आपको याद दिलाया है कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने यहां क्या कहा था। उसके बाद यह सब कहने की जरूरत नहीं है।

श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' : अब मैं गवर्नमेंट के आंकड़े पेश करूंगा कि किस तरह से इस देश के अन्दर समाजवाद लाया जा रहा है। दिन ब दिन टैक्सेज बढ़ते जा रहे हैं।

श्री पी० एस० पाटिल : आन ए प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर, मैडम। यह जो सम्माननीय सदस्य ने इस से पहले कहा है कि पी० जवाहरलाल नेहरू के चुनाव में साठ लाख रुपये खर्च किये हैं, यह आरोप आधारहीन और गलत है, इसलिये ये शब्द उन्हें वापस लेने चाहिएं। ऐसी मेरी आपसे रिक्वेस्ट है।

श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' : जनाब ! जैसा कि मैं कह रहा था, दिन ब दिन इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज बढ़ते जा रहे हैं। इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्स का ज्यादातर बोझ हमारी गरीब जनता के ऊपर पड़ता है और दिन ब दिन यह टैक्सेज ज्यादा से ज्यादा होते जा रहे हैं। गवर्नमेंट का टोटल टैक्स रेवेन्यू सन् १९५१-५२ में ७३६ करोड़ था। सन् १९६०-६१ में—टोटल टैक्स

रेवेन्यू सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट का मैं बता रहा हूँ, स्टेट गवर्नमेंट का नहीं—१२६१ करोड़ रुपया हो गया है। और १६६१-६२ में १,३६१ करोड़ था तो इस वक्त और भी ज्यादा टैक्सेज बढ़े हैं। इसी तरह से डाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज से, जो बढ़े हैं, कम बढ़े हैं। डाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज का असर थोड़े लोगों पर पड़ता है जो आसानी से दे सकते हैं। वे अमीर हैं, खुशहाल हैं। मगर इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज का ज्यादातर बोझ हमारी गरीब जनता पर पड़ता है, मिडिल क्लास तबका पर पड़ता है, लोअर मिडिल क्लास पर पड़ता है और इस बजट में इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज को काफी बढ़ाया गया है। इसी तरह से आप देखेंगे कि जितना टैक्स बढ़ा है—सन् ५० से लेकर अब तक सन् ६१ तक के फिगर्स मेरे पास हैं—उसमें ४११ करोड़ रुपया जो बढ़ा है टैक्सेज के जरिये से उसमें ३३५ करोड़ रुपया इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज से बढ़ा है। तो उससे आप अन्दाजा लगायें कि हमारे इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज कितने ज्यादा बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं और किस तरह से हमारी गरीब जनता का खून चूस रहे हैं। पहले जो प्रपोर्शन डाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज का था वह ६० परसेंट का था और इस वक्त घटते-घटते २७ परसेंट रह गया है और इसी तरह से अमीर आदमियों को दिन ब दिन कन्सेशन देते जा रहे हैं। अभी इस बजट में एक्सपेंडीचर टैक्स को खत्म कर दिया गया है। वैल्यू टैक्स एस्टेट ड्यूटी, गिफ्ट टैक्स के जरिये आमतौर से रुपया वसूल किया जाता है। मैं आपके सामने उसके फिगर्स दूंगा। सन् १९५६ और सन् १९५७ से जब से यह टैक्स लगे हैं तब से सन् १९६० और ६१ के दरम्यान कुल ५४.२७ करोड़ रुपया वसूल किया गया। यानी हर साल तकरीबन ११ करोड़ रुपया जो बहुत कम है। इतना कम रुपया वैल्यू टैक्स में, एस्टेट ड्यूटी में और गिफ्ट टैक्स में वसूल किया जाता है। मैंने पिछली दफा भी कहा

था, प्रेसीडेंशनल एड्रेस पर जब बहस हुई थी, उस वक्त भी यही कहा था कि गवर्नमेंट फिगर्स बताती है कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान में ऐसे लोग जिनके पास सरमाया ५० लाख से ज्यादा है या ५० लाख है, उनकी तादाद १०२ है। कुल १०२ आदमी। आप खुद अपने सीने पर हाथ रखिये और बताइये कि क्या आपको दिल्ली के अन्दर सिर्फ १०२ आदमी मिलेंगे जिनके पास ५० लाख रुपये का सरमाया है। मैं कहता हूँ कि उनकी तादाद कहीं ज्यादा है। कलकत्ता, बम्बई, मद्रास वगैरा की बात जाने दीजिये, जहाँ कि ऐसे लोग और भी ज्यादा हैं। मैं कहता हूँ कि सिर्फ दिल्ली के अन्दर ही ऐसे आदमियों की तादाद ज्यादा है। इसी तरह से कारपोरेशन टैक्स जो है वह दुनिया के सारे कन्ट्रीज में सबसे लोएस्ट है। मेरे इन फिगर्स देने का मतलब सिर्फ यह था कि किस तरह से गवर्नमेंट, समाजवाद तो दूर रहा लाना, सरमायादारी निजाम को मजबूत से मजबूत बना रही है। अमीर को और ज्यादा अमीर और गरीब को और ज्यादा गरीब बनाया जा रहा है। इसी तरह से स्टेट रेवेन्यूज हैं, स्टेट फाइनेन्सेज हैं उनमें भी अगर आप देखेंगे तो इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ गये हैं। अब मैं फिगर्स नहीं दूंगा; क्योंकि टाइम नहीं है और मुझे बहुत सी बातें कहनी हैं। कहने का मतलब यह है कि अगर देश में समाजवाद लाना है तो गरीब जनता के ऊपर से टैक्सेज का बोझ उठाइये। देश के अन्दर ऊंच नीच की भावना दूर कीजिए। किस तरह से यह भावना दूर होगी जब कि आज एक मिनिस्टर का लड़का, सरमायादार का लड़का, टाटा विरला का लड़का, पब्लिक स्कूल में ताल म पाये और यहाँ तक कि हम पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर भी अपने लड़कों के लिए पब्लिक स्कूल के खर्च को बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकते हैं। कितने क्लर्क होंगे, कितने मिडिल क्लास के ल.ग होंगे, कितने

**[श्री प्यारेनाल कुरोल 'तालिब']**

सोप्रर मिडिल क्लास के होंगे, कितने अपर मिडिल क्लास के होंगे कि जो कि अपने बच्चों को पब्लिक स्कूल में पढ़ाते हैं? नतीजा यह होता है कि कितने आदमियों के लड़के पब्लिक स्कूल में पढ़ते हैं, वही लोग विजिनिंग में कंट्रोल हासिल करते हैं, वही बड़ी बड़ी नौकरियों में आ सकते हैं। गरीब आदमी का बच्चा कितनी अच्छी नौकरी पर नहीं जा पाता है। या तो आप पब्लिक स्कूल को खत्म कर दें, या हमारे आडिनरो स्कूल के लेवल को बढ़ा दें, या फिर पब्लिक स्कूल में भरती होने वाले गरीब लड़कों की सारा फीज माफ कर दें। ये चीजें कैसे चलती हैं कि एक तरफ विरला का लड़का पढ़ रहा है और दूसरी तरफ एक मामूली काबलर का लड़का पढ़ रहा है, एक मामूली क्लर्क का लड़का पढ़ रहा है। क्या आप समझते हैं कि जब ये दोनों जिन्दगी में साथ साथ रहेंगे तो उन्हें ऊंच नीच की भावना नहीं आयेगी। सुपेरियोरिटी और इनफोरियरिटी कास्प्लैक्स नहीं पैदा होगा। ऐसी भावना आप पैदा कर रहे हैं। अगर आप इस देश के अन्दर समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं और जात पांड की जड़ को कमबोर करना चाहते हैं तो एक ही माहौल में, नातावरण में, बच्चों को तालिम दें। शुरू से ही उनके दिल से यह भावना निकाल दें कि हम ऊंचे हैं, हम बड़े हैं। इतना रूपया हम तालिम पर खर्च करते हैं, मगर उसमें भी यह ऊंच है, यह नीच है, यह अमीर है, यह गरीब है, यह भेद-भाव क्यों बरता जाता है।

बड़े अफसोस के साथ इससे पहले भी मैंने कहा था कि हम देश की रक्षा करने में कामयाब नहीं रहे। आज हजारों मुरब्बा मील जमीन पर दुश्मन का कब्जा हो गया है। हम तो कहते हैं कि यह सरकार अपनी किस्मत का शक्ति अदा करे कि अभी भी बरसरे इत्तदार है; वरना कितने दूसरे मुल्क के

अन्दर एक चप्पा जमीन भी अगर दुश्मन के हाथ में चली जाये, तो वहाँ के मुख्य मंत्री जी को, पूरे मंत्रि मंडल को, फौरन इस्तीफा दे देना पड़ता। वहाँ की जनता मजबूर कर देती। मगर अफसोस कि हमारी जनता अनपढ़ है। हमारी जनता नहीं जानती कि हमारे देश के अन्दर क्या हो रहा है, हमारी जनता को मालूम नहीं कि किस तरह हजारों मुरब्बा मील जमीन दुश्मन के हाथ में चली गई है। आज इतनी जमीन चले जाने के बाद भी यह पार्टी बरसरे इत्तदार बनी हुई है। हमने आज्ञादी के पहले जनता से यह वायदा किया था कि मुल्क का बटवारा नहीं होने दिया जायेगा; और पाकिस्तान नहीं बनने दिया जायेगा और पाकिस्तान नहीं बनगा। लेकिन हमारे देखते-देखते पाकिस्तान बन गया। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि हजारों आदमियों की जानें गई और लाखों-करोड़ों रुपयों का नुकसान हो गया। देश की यह धर्मन तो आपकी पर्सनल प्रापर्टी नहीं थी। You had no right to divide the country. आपने इसी तरह से बेल्वाड़ी को पाकिस्तान को दे दिया। यह जनता की जमीन थी और जनता की राय लिये बौर पाकिस्तान को देने का आपको कोई हक नहीं था। एक दो आदमियों ने बैठकर यह फैसला किया और बेल्वाड़ी को पाकिस्तान में जाने दिया। इसी तरह से डी० एम० के० वाले अपने लिए अलग राश की मांग कर रहे हैं और हमें हर लगता है कि आप उनकी मांग भी न मान लें; क्योंकि हमारा आपके इंसफ के ऊपर अब विश्वास नहीं रह गया है। हमें आपके बड़ब के ऊपर एतबार नहीं रह गया है और आपकी तरफ से हर चीज मुमकिन हो सकती है। अगर हम गवर्नमेंट के कानों को न खेंचें और उन्हें होश न दिलायें तो एक दिन वह भी आ सकता है जब कि यह देश दुबारा गुलाम हो सकता है।

**श्री एल० एन० दास (मध्य प्रदेश)**  
आप इसको करेंगे।

श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' : हम क्या करेंगे ? हमारे मुल्क की इतनी ज़मीन चली गई है फिर भी सरकार खुश है, और उसके सिर पर जूँ तक नहीं रेंगती है।

उपसभापति : आपके दो मिनट रह गये हैं।

श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' : इसी तरह से हमारी आर्मी की बात है। आर्मी के बारे में कहा जाता है कि वह नेशनल आर्मी है, लेकिन नाम को ही वह नेशनल आर्मी है। उसमें च-द जातों के लोग हैं जिनको मार्शल रेसेज कहा जाता है। उन्हीं को आर्मी में रखा जाता है। शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट, शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स और बैकवर्ड क्लास के लोगो को आर्मी में नहीं लिया जाता है और उनके बारे में कहा जाता है कि वह लोग मार्शल रेस के नहीं हैं। जो बड़े बड़े अफसर और बड़े बड़े आदमी हैं उन्हीं के लड़के आर्मी में भरती किये जाते हैं और बड़ी बड़ी पोस्टों पर रखे जाते हैं। अगर आप आर्मी को नेशनल आर्मी कहते हैं तो क्यों नहीं सब जातों के लोगों को उसमें भरतो करती? आज देखने में यह आता है कि आर्मी में जितनी पोस्टें होती हैं उनमें से ६५ परसेंट बड़े बड़े लोगों और अफसरों के लड़कों को दे दी जाती है। और बैकवर्ड क्लास, शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के किसी आदमी को इस तरह की पोस्टें नहीं दी जाती हैं। यह कहा जाता है कि सिक्ख मार्शल रेस है। लेकिन मैं आप से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि गुरु नानक के टाइम में यह एक भ्रम था, कोई लड़ाकू कौम नहीं थी। श्री तेग बहादुर और श्री गुरु गोविन्द सिंह ने इस जात को लड़ाकू जात बना दिया। अगर शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स और बैकवर्ड क्लास वाले मार्शल रेस से ताल्लुक नहीं रखते हैं तो यह गवर्नमेंट का फ्रज होना चाहिए कि वह उन्हें मार्शल कम्प्युनिटी बनाये, ताकि वह भी मुल्क की हिफाजत करने में अपना पूरा हिस्सा ले सके। इस तरह से आपको उन जातों के लोगों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा तादाद में आर्मी में भरती करना चाहिये ताकि

वह भी देश को हिफाजत करने में सरकार का मदद कर सके। इसी तरह से देश के अन्दर यूनिटी का सवाल है। हमारे देश में इतनी मैन पावर है कि वह अपने देश की रक्षा करने में सरकार का हाथ बटा सकती है। लेकिन हमारे पास संगठन नहीं है आज ज़रूरत इस बात को है कि सारे देश में यूनिटी हो और सब लोगों को एक संगठन में लाया जाये। ताकि वह देश के लिए कुर्बानी कर सकें। जब तक हमारी सरकार जनता का कान्फिडेंस विन नहीं करेगी, उन लोगों को अपने साथ नहीं लायेगी, तब तक हम अपने देश की रक्षा अच्छी तरह से नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसलिए मैं गवर्नमेंट से यह पुरजोर अपील करना चाहता हूँ यह दरखास्त करना : चाहता हूँ कि जहां तक देश की आजादी का रक्षा का सवाल है, हमारे पास बहुत मैन पावर है, लेकिन इस वक्त ज़रूरत है उस मैन पावर को इकट्ठा करने की और उसको एक संगठन में पिरो देने की। अगर हमने ऐसा किया, तो हम अपने देश की रक्षा बहुत अच्छी तरह से कर सकेंगे।

अब मैं काश्मीर के सवाल के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। आज काश्मीर में सरकार की तरफ से हजारों और करोड़ों रुपया खर्च किया जा रहा है। काश्मीर के मसले को जल्द से जल्द हल करने की कोशिश की जानी चाहिये; क्योंकि उसकी हिफाजत करने में हमारा काफी रुपया खर्च हो रहा है। आम आदमी के लिए यह अन्दाजा लगाना नामुमकिन है कि वहां पर हमारा कितना रुपया खर्च हो रहा है। इसलिए इस मसले को जल्द से जल्द हल किया जाये। इसी तरह से हमारे मुल्क के कन्धों पर जो भारी माली बोझ है, उसको हटाया जाये।

उपसभापति : आपका वक्त हो गया है।

श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' : उसके साथ वहां के जो सावक लीडर हैं उनके ऊपर इतने सालों से मुकदमा चल रहा

[श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील "तालिब"]  
है और उसका अभी तक फैसला नहीं हुआ है। जम्हूरियत का यह तकाजा है कि जल्द से जल्द फैसला हो और वह लोग जो नज़रबन्द हैं उनको रिहा किया जाय या उनका जुर्म साबित किया जाये।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : उन पर मुकदमा चल रहा है।

श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील "तालिब" : सन १९५६ से आप यह फैसला कर रहे हैं। जहाँ तक मुल्क का सवाल है मैं भी आपके साथ हूँ। मगर इस तरह से इतने सालों से उनको नज़रबन्द रखना जम्हूरियत का तकाजा नहीं है। अगर देश के अन्दर जम्हूरियत है तो आपको जल्द से जल्द कम से कम वक़्त में फैसला करना चाहिए। और जनता के सामने उन के कुसूर और जुर्म को लाना चाहिये। बेकुसूर आदमियों को जेल में रखना इन्साफ़ के मुनाफ़ी है।

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : (जम्मु और काश्मीर) : ज़रा नाम तो बताइये कौन नज़रबन्द हैं ?

श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' : मेरे कहने की ज़रूरत नहीं। आप अन्धरी तरह से जानते हैं। मैं वकील हूँ, मैं आपको सिंयासत पढ़ा सकता हूँ, मज़ से क्या पूछते हो यह आपका मामला है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Time is up. Please wind up.

श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील 'तालिब' : इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि काश्मीर का जो मसला है उसका जल्द से जल्द फैसला किया जाना चाहिए ताकि बिला वजह जो पैसे वहाँ खर्च हो रहा है उसको बचाया जा सके।

SHRIMATI TARA RAMACHANDRA SATHE (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to congratu-

late the hon. Finance Minister on his Budget for 1962-63. The Union Budget has a special feature. The task of the Finance Minister has never been too easy and in these days it has become more difficult and complicated. The preparation of a good Budget, Madam, is akin to tight rope walking. As the supreme tax gatherer he cannot hope to be very popular in the country and as the supreme controller of the country's resources he is apt to be frowned upon by his colleagues and by the States also. While carrying on the task of the rapid economic development he has also to meet the requirements of defence which takes away a greater part of the Budget. Nobody will deny that defence is more important than economic development. The hon. Finance Minister has also to bring about economic development without injuring the democratic way of life and at the same time he has always to keep before him our goal to achieve socialist pattern of society. He has to balance two scales between direct and indirect taxes evenly as far as possible. Therefore, Madam, he needs all the sympathy and understanding from us. There is always a basic dislike of any tax proposals; it is human nature. At the same time the human nature is such that it demands more and more social facilities from the State, more and more services from the State. There are conflicting economic interests in our society. Under these circumstances we can very well say that it is exceedingly difficult to please all and in view of all these considerations I would say that the Budget proposals are the most considerate, and equitable both from the short and the long-term point of view.

In regard to direct and indirect taxes, the hon. Finance Minister has done well paying equal attention to the two equally attractive sisters, namely, direct and indirect taxes. For reasons which are not very clear to me, one of the sisters, namely, the direct taxes, suffered from a sense-

of neglect or indifference in recent years but I am very happy that due attention has been paid and the hon. Finance Minister has presented to us a balanced combination of direct and indirect taxation. The main issue is how far they affect the common man, directly and indirectly, both ways. We have been informed that new taxation proposals to the tune of Rs. 71.7 crores have become essential to meet the estimated revenue deficit of Rs. 60.78 crores in the 1962-63 Budget. The various tax proposals will have an equitable impact on the different classes of the society and to that extent they have tried to serve the cause of social justice also. I say that these tax proposals have come at a crucial stage in the progress of the Third Five Year Plan. I would personally prefer that if this taxation would have come in the earlier years of the Plan, there would have been less necessity for it towards the closing years. Additional taxation as provided in the Budget should, therefore, provide some relief during the next four years. The levying of direct taxation appears to be inevitable in the Indian situation where the poor outnumber the rich by a very substantial margin. We want even the small man to come up. So, he must also share a small part of the burden. Let him *pay* as a consumer. Really speaking the tax on textile goods, tobacco, cigarettes and match boxes may not increase the prices of these commodities much. They will increase only slightly, but in practice we see quite a different picture. The consumers who ultimately have to suffer the incidence of these taxes are a motley crowd, ignorant and unorganised and their voice is often hushed. They cannot go to the Government and raise their voice. In practice we can see, as soon as the taxes are levied, as soon as the Budget is out, the prices of these commodities are raised and within a very short period of time hundreds and thousands of rupees are taken from the pockets of the poor. So, I

would like the Government to care, fully study the consequences of the growing pressure of commodity taxation on the miserably low income of our people. Even the poor must be made to feel a sense of economic security without which political democracy will not work smoothly. In this connection I would make a specific reference to the textile prices. The hon. Minister fondly hopes that the whole of the additional burden will not be suffered by the consumer in the form of higher textile prices, but I think when there is excise duty and corporation tax on textile mills, the voluntary price control is likely to break down. I would like the Government to watch the price situation more carefully, particularly in the field of retail prices. On some occasions, the hon. Finance Minister had announced tax concessions at a later stage. I hope this year also he will do the same thing perhaps. In spite of the tax reductions, the profit of these tax reductions is taken by the traders and the retail shopkeepers. The consumer is not benefited by this. So, I request the Government that this matter certainly deserves to be looked into.

Now, coming to the wealth and expenditure taxes, I congratulate the hon. Finance Minister on introducing an increase in Wealth Tax by 0.25 and 0.5 per cent in the two highest slabs. From the reaction of the money and capital markets to the Budget, it appears that much worse was expected and that big business does not appear to have been hurt too badly. Does this not indicate the probable existence of a taxable margin, which the hon. Finance Minister has failed to exploit? Taking into consideration the wide economic disparities which exist in this country, the increase in the rates of Wealth Tax would be socially desirable and welcome. The Expenditure Tax and the Wealth Tax are twins which were simultaneously proposed to be introduced in our fiscal system. These together were

[Shrimati Tara Ramaehandra Sathe.] expected firstly to restrict ostentatious expenditure and secondly to bring about a more even distribution of wealth in our society. Thirdly, a very important point to be noted is to avoid evasion of taxes, mainly income-tax. But our hon. Finance Minister has now chosen to stragulate one, that is, the Expenditure Tax and to raise the rates of the other. While introducing these taxes, the then hon. Finance Minister said:—

"A standard rate of tax on earned incomes and a differential rate for taxation of unearned incomes, coupled with a tax on wealth and a tax on expenditure, will give us a better basis of assessment of tax liability, especially in respect of higher income ranges and will help us to close progressively the loopholes for tax-evasion and corrosion of the tax base."

Then, he added:—

"All my proposals in the field of direct taxation from an interrelated whole and should, I suggest, be judged as such."

Further, he had claimed that the Expenditure Tax could become a potent instrument for restraining ostentatious expenditure and for promoting savings. He had, however, added an important rider. He said: "Given effective administrative arrangements ..." This remark is worth considering and, in my opinion, is very important. Prof. Nicholas Kaldor, from whom the then Finance Minister had derived his inspiration for the *new* tax reform, submitted to the Government of India that the Expenditure Tax would be more difficult to handle than the present income-tax which would not be more difficult to administer than a comprehensive and effective system of income-taxation. On the contrary, Prof. Kaldor points out:—

"The incorporation of the Expenditure Tax in the system of

personal taxation, which included taxes on income and on property would facilitate considerably the detection of evasion partly because it would introduce an opposition of interests between the different parties, as regards the concealment of particular transactions, and partly because the necessity to account for the amount spent for personal purposes over a particular period, together with the obligation to produce balance-sheets of personal net wealth at the beginning and at the end of the period will lead to a disclosure of all receipts."

If the Expenditure Tax has failed, it is because the all important condition about the effective administration of the tax, which the then Finance Minister had emphasised, could not be fulfilled. The same loopholes and slackness which affect the administration of other personal taxes have let down the Expenditure Tax also. The then hon. Finance Minister in 1959-60 said:—

"The time has come to tighten the existing law".

Instead of tightening this law, our hon. Finance Minister says that the Expenditure Tax was ineffective as an economic restraint and unattractive as a source of revenue. He did not give us an account of the failure of this tax measure, about which high expectations were entertained, When it was first levied. Are we to suppose that the very idea of expenditure Tax was badly conceived or the tax was badly administered? I assure the hon. Finance Minister that the benefits of the analysis would not be confined to this country alone. So, it would have been more instructive if he had given us some indication of the possible impact of this measure on the Indian economy.

2 P.M.

Another point, Madam, to which I would like to refer is about the small savings. There is a great difference we find between the gross and the net savings. People buy national savings certificates for many reasons. Firstly, they have to deposit some money as a security. Secondly, they buy certificates of large sums to oblige the agents for their commission. After the minimum period of one and a half years is over the certificates are sold. Very few are eager to buy certificates of small denominations. Really speaking, an intensive drive should be made to persuade the people from the lower income group to purchase certificates of small denominations as their savings. The agents get only one anna as commission on the sale of a Rs. 5 certificate while he has to go to the saver twice or thrice for that purpose. So, naturally he avoids to approach the small investors and prefers to go to the rich people for whose investment no propaganda is needed. I have therefore to suggest to the hon. Finance Minister that it should be made compulsory for every agent to sell a certain proportion of small savings certificates.

In conclusion I congratulate the hon. Finance Minister and support the Budget.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Finance Minister will reply at 4 P.M. Mr. Kota Punnaiah.

SHRI KOTA PUNNAIAH (Andhra Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to welcome the budget in its broader perspective. It reflects the necessities of the time in the context of our planned economy. Our hon. Finance Minister is well known for his boldness and courage. The hon. Finance Minister did not belie our expectations when he proposed a substantial rise in the corporate taxes and the general rise in the income-tax structure. The proposal, taxing

the people who can afford to pay, is in conformity with our ideal of socialist pattern of society.

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

It is true that we are relying more and more on deficit financing and indirect taxation which are resulting in the rise of prices and inflationary pressures in the economy. No doubt they are necessary in the context of our planned and developing economy. But we should not forget the people who have ultimately to bear the burden of these inflationary pressures. They are the agricultural landless labour in the rural areas who form about one-fourth of the total population of our country and who are in the lowest rung of the economic ladder.

Although the Central budget neither gives nor takes away any thing directly from the landless agricultural labour, it has a great indirect impact on them. It is this point that I would like to bring to the notice of the House.

The inflationary pressures in the economy which caused a substantial rise in the price index of commodities like foodgrains and other necessaries have been affecting this class of people in more than one way. During the last decade of planning monetisation of rural economy has been occurring very rapidly. As a result of this the non-monetary benefits that this class has been enjoying are disappearing day by day. It means there is reduction in the real income of the agricultural labour. Anybody who has got knowledge of our rural economy cannot deny the fact that the rise in their monetary wages is not adequate even to compensate the loss they sustained in the disappearance of the non-monetary returns of various kinds which they used to receive previously.

The position worse as it is has further deteriorated by the daily rise in



[Shri Kota Punnaiah.] the prices of foodgrains and other necessities of life. The real income of this class has thus been deteriorating from worse to worst.

It is our declared objective to have a socialist pattern of society implying reduction of disparities in incomes and even distribution of economic benefits. Towards this end we have completed two Plans and have launched the third.

It is heartening to note that the Third Plan aims at raising our national income in real terms by 30 per cent over the five years. But which section of our society is going to be benefited by this increase in our national income? Certainly not the landless agricultural labour.

As I have said earlier, the agricultural labour has not only been a loser in real income but also a victim to the skyhigh prices.

In addition to being a victim of deficit financing, the agricultural labour is the worst affected section of our society by unemployment and under-employment. The agricultural labour is a seasonal one. There are no industries to absorb them in the off season. As a result of monetisation of the rural economy, even the period of seasonal employment has been considerably reduced. This is because even the agriculturist with an average income is not in a position to employ the labour for a sufficiently long period.

India lives in villages. We have to see that the rural economy is maintained if not improved. When the village economy is adversely affected by planned economy and deficit financing, we cannot feel complacent that we are planning at raising our national income. We can feel proud of our planning only when the real income in the villages is raised. Unless we take care to improve the conditions of the landless

agricultural labour, the weakest section of our society, no amount of planning can lead us towards a socialist pattern of society.

I, therefore, feel that deficit financing and indirect taxation, proposed in the budget, have been placing heavy burdens indirectly on this economically weaker section of our society. But I do not see any measures in the budget that would help to increase their incomes even indirectly.

Hence I request the hon. Finance Minister to keep these trends in mind while finalising the Budget. Thank you.

SHRI SITARAM JAIPURIA (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I must confess that the observations that I am going to make before the House, unlike those of my predecessors today and yesterday, will neither be spicy nor fiery, but I must submit the admitted facts which have got to be taken into consideration in a developing economy like that of ours and particularly in a planned economy.

Sir, I have gone very carefully through the speech of the hon. Finance Minister and also the Economic Survey. At the outset I should like to congratulate the Finance Minister for the very able manner in which he has conducted the affairs and has brought success to our Second Plan. In fact the foreign exchange requirements which at one time threatened all our plans have been met very successfully. Our thanks are also due to the friendly nations who came to our rescue and helped us in the successful conclusion of our Plan.

The Third Plan, if I might submit, is very bold and imaginative, and the success of that will depend on the co-operation of all sections of the community, which, I am sure, will be received in the interests of the country and the nation.

To my mind there are three essential prerequisites for the successful implementation of the Third Plan. The first one is the availability of the required quantum of foreign exchange; second, adequate arrangements for the supply of sufficient power, and third, removal of bottlenecks in rail transport. Thanks to the consortium meeting and as a result of an agreement there, a provisional commitment of Rs. 1100 crores has already been entered into. Our requirement of foreign exchange is Rs. 2600 crores. A sum of Rs. 700 crores probably will be available from the Second Plan carry-over or from firm foreign commitments for the Third Plan that have already been made. But further efforts to reduce the gap between imports and exports will have to be made. Imports have been cut down to the barest minimum and rightly so. But I would venture to say that at times it so happens that the industrial production of the country suffers for want of an import licence worth a couple of thousand rupees for spare parts. I am not unaware of the fact that a certain quantum is allowed. But more sympathetic consideration in that respect probably will help industrial growth.

Another point that I should like to mention in this respect is that certain basic raw materials of which we are short have to be imported, and if a certain commodity is to be imported, knowing the difficulties that we have in regard to foreign exchange, my submission is that the earlier it is imported the better it is; the earlier the suspense is ended, the better it will be for the industry, the better it will be for the price-line all over the country. Sir, I may refer particularly to the import of cotton because it is a well-known fact that cotton mills are facing a shortage of cotton, particularly in medium staple cottons. It has also a relevancy to the additional spindleage that is being installed in the country. And my

submission is that when there is a shortage of cotton already, this needs a little reconsideration. In the alternative, production of synthetic fabrics, like rayon or staple, which are already established by now and are no more items of luxury, but also replace cotton to some extent, should be encouraged.

I should like to submit further that the benefit that the Finance Minister has granted in the shape of reduction on export duty on tea and refund of excise duty to a certain extent on the same is a most welcome feature and is a concrete step towards the promotion of exports. The rebate of one-tenth of income-tax and supertax on incomes from exports is also a most welcome feature. But, if I might submit, this has been nullified to some extent by the increase of corporation tax on companies from 45 per cent, to 50 per cent.

May I take the liberty of drawing the attention of the Finance Minister in this connection to the recommendations of the Mudaliar Committee? There are three important recommendations that have been made. They are:—

1. A tax remission of 1k per cent. on profits of basic exports;
2. A tax rebate of 5 per cent, on all export earnings to enable the exporter to build an "Export Development Reserve"; and
3. A special tax remission of 10 per cent on earnings of 'additional' exports, *i.e.*, exports over the basic norm.

Not only this. It has been further recommended that adequate and prompt supplies of raw materials should be made and that also at international prices so that they do not suffer from any price disadvantage in relation to their competitors abroad. It has been suggested also

[Shri Sitaram Jaipuria.]

that a search should be made to find increased foreign exchange allocation for additional imports and for this purpose, they have recommended that a 'Revolving Fund' should be created. I hope that the Finance Minister, as he is well known in the financial world, will take care of this particular recommendation of the Mudaliar Committee which will be a positive step towards the promotion of exports.

I will not dwell much on the question of power and transport because these have already been dealt with by many of the previous speakers.

Coming to the Budget proposals, I must say that the Finance Minister has framed the Budget very adroitly and in the process has drawn within its net all sections of the community. The realisations, as they have been estimated and as stated on the floor of this House and also the other House, have probably been underestimated. In one way, it is good for the Budget. But I do submit that if a more practical view had been taken, probably the Finance Minister would not have had to come to the House for increased taxation on many items. In fact, there is a tendency that additional receipts always induce additional expenditure. And it appears that a situation has arisen where revenue and expenditure are virtually chasing each other. I will not like to dwell at very great length on the wasteful expenditure that is being incurred in the country. But undoubtedly—I am quite sure—the Ministry has taken full care and will take further care to avoid this wasteful expenditure. Not only care should be taken to avoid wasteful expenditure, but my submission is that a certain amount of confidence should be created in the public mind that wasteful expenditure has been completely avoided. And one very practical way of doing this, to my mind, is to maintain separate accounts, one

for normal revenue and expenditure, including normal developmental expenditure, and the other for capital expenditure. If this is done, I am sure that it will bring facts of a more concrete nature before the general public. Another submission is that changes and alterations in the basis from year to year sometimes make it difficult for one to have a proper comparison; it also makes it impossible to know what is the normal developmental expenditure and what is the capital expenditure.

Coming to the question of Corporation Tax, it has been increased from 45 per cent, to 50 per cent. And along with this has been coupled the withdrawal of Wealth Tax exemption in respect of investments in new industrial undertakings. What will be the effect of this? The effect of this will naturally be that not only will it retard industrial growth to a certain extent but the expansion and modernisation programmes of the industry also are bound to be affected. Not only will the industry be affected. If industries are affected, it means that the shareholders will also be affected, and this will mean discouragement to investment and it will also dry up the process of capital formation. My humble submission is that any incidence of taxation should not mean, in actual fact, a tax on employment opportunities, the result of which is denial of an opportunity to the people to live in better conditions and have a high standard of living. The need of the hour is to increase the incentive to work, save and invest, and only then will a vigorous capital market be possible.

Sir, I should like to say one thing about indirect taxation. Quite a lot has been said about it on the floor of this House. And it does affect not only the middle classes but the country as a whole. I am not going into the other cases. But I should like to submit one point—and I am glad and privileged that the Finance Minister

himself is sitting in this House—and that is about the excise duty in the matter of cloth. I will draw the attention of the Finance Minister to the excise duty that has been recently increased on processing and specialised processing of cloth. Well, I, for one, feel and agree with the Finance Minister that processing of cloth should entail a higher excise duty. But my submission is that this should bear some relation with the price of cloth. If I might quote the figures before the House, for cotton fabrics, superfine, the excise duty on grey is 27; 5 nP., bleached, etc. 32 5 nP. and mercerised 52:5 nP. That means, it is less than double. In the matter of cotton fabrics, fine, the excise duty on grey is 20 nP., bleached 25 nP. and mercerised and processed 45 nP. That is, it is more than double. I am also quoting figures to show that the increase in excise duty is higher on coarse and medium cloth. In cotton fabrics, medium, the duty on grey is only 8 nP., bleached 13 nP. and mercerised 33 nP. That means 400 per cent. increase. In Medium B, the duty on grey is 5 nP., bleached 10 nP. and mercerised 30 nP. That means 600 per cent. increase. And, Sir, when you come to the coarse variety, you will find that while the duty on grey is 3 nP., on bleached it is 8 nP., and on mercerised it is 28 nP., that is, over 900 per cent. While I do realise that duties are required to meet the needs of the State and have to be levied and, when the necessity arises, even raised, my submission is that the duty should be in relation to the price of the cloth, and to the capacity of the people to pay the price. In the case of superfine it may be possible that a person who is buying a piece of cloth for Rs. 20 can even pay Rs. 24 for it, but in the case of medium and coarse cloth, to think that a buyer of them can pay the same amount of duty as levied on fine and superfine cloth is wrong. It has never been the intention of the Government, and I am sure this will receive their attention.

One thing I would submit in this respect. It is a well-known fact that

the finer the cloth, the lower the cost of processing. Now, if we take one pound of cloth, on an average it will be 4 J. yards if medium, 5½ yards if fine, and 7½ yards if superfine, and the cost is calculated per pound. What does it mean? It means that the coarser the cloth, the higher will be the cost of processing. And what has been the result of this Excise Duty? The result has been that it is a premium on fine and superfine mills. It means that superfine and fine mills will probably have to bear less cost than the medium and coarse mills. The poorer sections of the community and the middle class people generally use coarse and medium cloth and I would most humbly submit to the Finance Minister to kindly review his tax proposal if he thinks it feasible, and I am sure that, when he will think over it, he will find it a practical suggestion in the interests of the masses and I hope he will consider it.

Sir, I will not say much. I had a point to raise about regional development but . . .

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

SHRI SITARAM JAIPURIA: I will do, Sir. I have every confidence that the Finance Minister, who has always evinced great interest in the industrial development of the country, will review his Budget proposals in such a manner that the tempo of industrial growth is kept up so as to ensure that higher production maintains price stability and enables the people to enjoy a higher standard of living, which is the basic objective underlying all schemes of planned development.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I welcome the Budget proposals for the year 1962-63, which are all-comprehensive and which embrace most of the development plans that we have envisaged for the establishment of a socialistic society in this country. In spite of

[Shri Joseph Mathen.] the taxation and the introduction of fresh duties we find that the Finance Minister has succeeded in disturbing only a microscopic section of the people of this country to extract sufficient funds for our schemes. The Finance Minister has also succeeded in finding funds for almost all the development plans of this country which will add to our good. While we discuss the general aspects of the Budget, we will have to consider the activities of most of the sections that are now covered in the Budget. Even though the provisions are there, I think, Sir, the expenditure on some of the activities envisaged in this Budget should be subjected to a thorough scrutiny. In this respect, Sir, I wish to bring to the notice of this House the special feature of the educational system of this country. Some of the Members have mentioned something about the educational system of this country, have remarked that the allocation of funds is not adequate and that the provision should be revised according to the needs of this country. As the hon. Member was speaking in Hindi, I did not thoroughly understand what he meant but still, Sir, the educational system has created a sort of confusion in our country over the last fifteen years, and every now and then we had been changing the schemes and plans for educating our children, and various States have adopted different schemes which have actually created a feeling of disintegration among the people of this country, in some of the States they have switched on to the regional language as the medium of instruction, and in some States they think that English should be retained as the medium of instruction. But the country as a whole, the people, believe that the medium of instruction should be Hindi, that is, the national language of our country. But, Sir, the time is not yet ripe for us to switch on to Hindi. So, as and when we find it feasible we may switch on to our national language, but till that time we will have to keep English as the medium of instruction in all educational institutions in

this country. Sir, the other day the University Grants Commission submitted a report wherein they have mentioned that English should be the medium of instruction at least in the colleges. Sir, it is my opinion that English should be retained in this country for years to come, till we find that we could translate all the essential books, books on science and technology, etc. into Hindi, which should be able to help us in educating our boys, especially in the technical institutions through Hindi as the medium. Here, Sir, some of the Members have pointed out with regard to the introduction of different types of education in the same State or in various parts of this country. We find that a majority of the children of our country are educated in the Basic system, which brings out, as far as I know, second class citizens in this country, who are to be governed by the boys who are sent to the public schools. Most of the children of the 'haves' are sent to the public schools, and they are imparted expert training, and when they come out, they are definitely superior to those boys who undergo this Basic system of education. If this Basic education is considered to be the best for the development of our country in the socialistic way, we will have, somehow or other, to find some better means of imparting education whereby they will be able to compete with the students who are now undergoing training in the public schools. Unless we do it, we will be creating, as I previously mentioned, a second class of citizens in this country. I hope the authorities who are concerned with the planning of education in this country will review their schemes according to the suggestions that I have put forth now.

In the same way, Sir, our country is mainly depending on our agriculture and industries for the development of our economy. But the agriculturists are an ignorant section of our people who do not find, in spite of the development in that sector of our economy, of high production, a

better income as the industrial section is having in this country. The industrial section is fast improving, and their standard of living has gone high. At the same time, in spite of the "better production in the agricultural section, the agrarian population has not come on a par with the industrial section of this country.

In the same way industrial labourers -are organised. Most of them are given so many benefits and advantages according to the legislation that is passed for the betterment of industrial labourers, whereas agricultural labourers at least 80 per cent, of them, are disorganised and the benefits extended to labouring class by our legislation are not found beneficial to them since the schemes are not implemented in the agricultural section. So, we will have to find some means whereby agricultural labourers are also brought on a par with industrial labourers.

In the same way, Sir, we find that most of the industries that we establish in this country are concentrated in certain areas, whereas some of the areas are thoroughly ignored in the matter of establishment of industries. It may be due to the industrial climate existing there. Still the licensing and other authorities have to look into this matter so that decentralisation of industries takes place for the benefit of all regions of the country. Unless we industrialise most of the States, which cannot depend on their agriculture for the development of their economy, they cannot progress. As a representative of a State I can easily say that industries have not developed as they should have developed with the various resources that they have at present. So, Sir, while licensing the establishment of industries in this country we will have to give proper directions so that industries may be established where there are facilities and where capital could not be found by the persons within the State.

Sir, most of the industries are usually established near big cities and people in the extreme **end of this**

country have to depend upon the mercy of the big industrialists who are now managing a major portion of the industry in this country. So, Sir, when we are planning to establish more industries, specific directions will have to be given to establish them where they do not exist at present.

Again, Sir, when we start industries, it is not actually the technical know-how of the industry that is required at present but it is the technical know-how of getting licences for the industry. That is the question that is now considered by industrialists. Once they get a licence to start an industry, they simply import some of the foreign materials and assemble them here and dispose of the finished product at a big margin of profit. The margin of profit is so high on finished products that the industrialist by establishing that assembling industry alone gets a big profit and becomes a 'multimillionaire within a short time. This is what is happening in this country. That margin should be reduced and a proper check and control should be maintained so that such exploitation is not pursued by these persons who are now participating in industry.

Sir, in the agricultural section we find that fisheries is also included. It is considered as part of agriculture. For its development we are **now** spending a lot of money. But, when compared with the country's need for the development of fisheries, the amount that we have allotted is not sufficient, and whatever little is allotted for the development of fisheries, from our past experience we can easily say that it is not being spent properly and in time. I understand that mechanisation of boats for fishing is one of the schemes that is engaging the attention of the Government. But it is a question of mechanising boats of millions of our fishermen in the coastal areas. The number of machinery that is proposed to be imported is not more than 300. Therefore, it will not cover even **one**-thousandth or one-ten thousandth of

[Shri Joseph Mathen.]

the demand of the people here. So, in this respect we will have to find some foreign exchange for the development of fisheries.

Now, Sir, we are switching on to the use of nylon nets instead of cotton nets. We do not produce a sufficient number of nylon nets and sufficient foreign exchange is not available for importing nylon nets. Therefore, to such matters our attention will have to be directed and we will have to find better facilities for the uplift of this section. Thank you.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR BASU (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, coming at the end of a long and exhaustive debate, I do not propose to make my observations either long or prolific. At the very outset I must state before the House that the two speeches made by the hon. Finance Minister are remarkable for their brevity and clarity. Within such a short compass one could get a fine picture of the entire economy, the progress that it has attained, the pitfalls that it has to surmount and the provisions that have got to be made for the future in order that our economy may thrive in the way envisaged by the planners.

Sir, I was a bit surprised to hear from my esteemed and hon. friend, Mr. Santhanam, whose speeches are always deservedly listened to with great attention in this House, particularly in matters relating to finance, that out of Rs. 1,500 crores provided in the current year, Rs. 500 crores would go to dogs. It was a surprising assertion. I am sorry that Mr. Santhanam is not here but I hope that in his cooler moments he will have second thoughts about the statement that he made. I am a bit alarmed if such statements are made on the floor of this House because to the unwary public this might create an impression that much of our resources are going to dogs.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Mr. Santhanam has come.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR BASU; I was just telling the House and the hon. Vice-Chairman that a statement of this character coming from one in the position of Mr. Santhanam was likely to create some amount of alarm in the mind of the general public who were accustomed to associating Mr. Santhanam's name with accuracy, knowledge, experience and authority. So I was suggesting that in his calmer moments Mr. Santhanam might have second thoughts with regard to the statement which he made and I am sure he will be the first person to come forward and retrace his steps in misdirection.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: I want to make an explanation. I never said that it went to the dogs. I said that it went to contractors and other people belonging to the parasitical class, not that it went to the dogs. It is not illegal. It legally went to them in the process of implementation of planning. That was my statement.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR BASU; I was describing these people, these contractors and other people who are prowling about for money, by the compendious expression "dogs". I was really referring to them. Now that I have made my position clear—I am glad—in the presence of Mr. Santhanam and he has also clarified his position, I pass on to other matters.

With regard to the taxation proposals which have been made by the Finance Minister, one's first reaction is naturally one of resentment, there is no doubt about it. Having regard to the vast number of poor, destitute people inhabiting this country, fresh taxations are naturally repulsive to the ordinary people of intelligence. At the same time it must be admitted that the burden which the Finance Minister proposes to impose is far more light than what was visualised by his esteemed predecessor as far

back as 1957. I remember the famous expression used by the former Finance Minister that he was ; aiming at "a mounting crescendo" of taxation for the country.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But the predecessor has changed his views.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: I am glad to hear that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is what we read in the papers.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: I am glad to know that the mounting crescendo has fortunately not been forthcoming in these recent years and the taxation which the Finance Minister proposes to impose is the lightest possible in the circumstances prevailing in the country and I am extremely glad that cigarette is one of the commodities which is sought to be taxed more highly. I would suggest that some measures should be taken which would eradicate and wipe out this evil from the face of this country. The smoking of cigarettes, from hygienic grounds, from health point of view, from the point of view of our survival as men—and women also unfortunately in these days— should be banned and tabooed. Recently researches carried on by leading physicians in England and other Western countries have pointed to the conclusion that cigarettes are a deadly enemy to humanity and one doctor, a leading physician—I believe the President of the Royal College of Physicians—went so far as to say that there was a hue and cry over two hundred and fifty cases of small-pox in his country, but people did not realise how many millions suffered because of this evil habit of smoking of cigarettes.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Why do you not suggest the prohibition of cigarettes?

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: In due course, not now.

Now, coming to the Capital Gains Tax, may I point out to the Finance Minister for his consideration one or two points in this connection? There is a provision to that effect—taxing of capital gains in the Income-tax Act. Now it has been provided in the Income-tax Act that capital gains up to a sum of Rs. 25,000 will not be liable to tax if that gain is acquired by sale of assets in the shape of house, and lands appurtenant thereto, and that benefit will be available to those whose total assets do not exceed Rs. 50,000. I was wondering why this concession is to be given in respect of assets like houses and lands appurtenant thereto. Why not assets which constitute merely land be given that concession because there are many in the urban areas who would like to have a residential house of their own by selling lands and lands alone even if there is no house appurtenant thereto? So I do not understand the reason which resulted in this provision in the Income-tax Act that sale of mere lands will not be available for this concession but there must be a house along with it which must be sold in order that this concession may be available. Also, with regard to the 25 per cent, being the rate of the tax, I suggest that it should be reduced to a much lower rate because many would like to part with their lands for getting a small residential house and an inroad should not be made in the sale proceeds if he is anxious to have a residence of his own by the sale of some lands.

Coming to the question of the market borrowings and small savings upon which the Finance Minister has relied to a large extent, last year it was my misfortune to criticise the taxation proposals in a somewhat strong manner. I suggested that instead of these taxation proposals, market borrowings and small savings should be relied upon to a large ex-



[Shri Santosh Kumar Basu.]

tent. The Finance Minister was very optimistic about small savings last year and he said Rs. 105 crores could easily be secured through that. I suggested that Rs. 116 crores should have been the target and could have been easily achieved. I also said that if those targets were achieved, it would not be necessary to have the burden of taxation increased to **that** extent, as was done last year. I find that even the Rs. 105 crores target has not been achieved. I realise my mistake as I find that it is not possible, for securing the wherewithal for running the administration, to rely merely on voluntary contributions by way of small savings. There must be some amount of compulsion **in** the shape of taxes if you are to take a strong and definite stand for protecting the revenues of the country, for running the administration. The small savings scheme is certainly not a substitute for taxation because it is clear that we have failed to achieve the target we had fixed for ourselves. In this connection I would strongly endorse the appeal the Finance Minister made that the Members of Parliament should come forward to assist the administration in reaching the target for small savings and to exceed that if possible. Questions have been put by various Members as to how they can associate themselves with the campaign for small savings. I had **a** little experience in that respect; when Shri Dhebarbhai was the President of the Congress, he laid down a week's programme for all Congress Members, in the course of which they were asked to secure augmentation to the small savings. I had occasion to go round with workers and I found that there was considerable willingness on the part of the general public who were mostly unaware of the benefits of the small savings scheme to come forward to invest in the scheme. Now I would appeal to the Finance Minister to organise this campaign in such **a** way **that** the officials engaged in securing

small savings can contact the Members Of Parliament and the Members of the State Legislatures so that it may be a part of their duty to keep themselves in touch with them for securing the success of that campaign. At present the whole thing is run by commission agents who are paid very handsomely for securing small savings investment. That alone will not do. Members of Parliament, irrespective of Parties and the Members of Legislatures can cast their influence on the general public for securing small savings investment which can never be visualised or achieved by mere officials or the commission agents. I would therefore suggest that some scheme may be devised at the Centre which may be sent down to the States concerned so that leaders of public opinion may be associate<sup>^</sup> with the campaign and with this scheme so that the highest possible results may be achieved. I would not take up the time of the House any longer. I would only conclude by mentioning two very important matters which concern **West** Bengal and Calcutta. I refer to the refugee problem and the Master Plan for Calcutta. The Master Plan for Calcutta which the West Bengal Government has launched and is being investigated in an intensive manner is the only plan which can save Calcutta and its hinter-land from absolute decay and chaos in the course of the next few years. That plan has got to be implemented and I do not know in what way the Centre can extend its financial support to that plan which is being studied and formulated in a very thorough-going manner, in a very businesslike manner with the assistance of the Ford Foundation experts and research-minded people; <sup>a</sup> great plan of the most up-to-date character has been put forward and is on the way to implementation. That is one thing to which I draw the attention of **the** hon. Finance Minister. It may **not** fit in with the present Budget. **There** is naturally no provision **for** it"

because it is a West Bengal plan but if any assistance is sought for from the Centre, I hope, realising the gravity of the situation in Calcutta, the Finance Minister would come forward and extend his helping hand. With this question is intimately connected the question of the refugees in Calcutta. There are at least fifteen lakhs of refugees scattered all over Greater Calcutta who require to be rehabilitated. Dandakaranya is a place where evidently they should go and make their habitation but now that has not been done. Dandakaranya is confined only to camp-dwellers but outside the camps there is a huge refugee population extending to fifteen lakhs, as I said. Well, they require to be rehabilitated, otherwise they are coming in the way, everywhere in Calcutta, of all development programmes and of all progress because they are scattered all over and they stick to the land which they are holding very often illegally, without any authority, but they will not budge an inch and often, in the case of most important schemes, they come and stand in the way.

I will conclude by pointing out that the huge water supply augmentation scheme which has been undertaken by the Corporation of Calcutta, although it has been nearing completion but because these refugees are occupying bits of land in Barrackpore Trunk Road through which the pipe is to pass and they would not move, is hampered. These are the practical difficulties and obstacles experienced by the authorities in Calcutta in the absence of a scheme for the removal of these refugees who are not in the camps and are not camp-dwellers and do not come within the purview of the Government's scheme of rehabilitation. I would request that the declaration of the West Bengal Government as to who is a refugee should be accepted without question and in all such cases of refugees where a declaration as such is issued by the West Bengal Government, rehabilitation facilities should be extended by taking them

into Dandakaranya which is fast developing to the credit of everybody connected with that organisation.

SHRI MAHESH SARAN (Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, during the First and the Second Plan periods we have made considerable progress. National wealth, agricultural production and industrial production have all gone up. The standard of living, even in the villages, of people who have small bits of land has gone up. The health of the village people is being looked after. Education to the children of the villages is being given free and all this is very heartening and we feel proud that lots of things have been done during these two Plan periods and we hope that a lot more will be done during the Third Plan period. Sir, it has also been heartening to find that prices have also stabilised a bit but after saying all this, I wish to draw the attention of the Government to the fact that in a welfare State, landless villagers with practically no income have to be looked after and more attention is to be paid to them than to the rich who can look after themselves quite properly. Now, Sir, we feel that big towns and cities are looked after much better than the backward villages. We find that industries are scattered in a few places so that some places are flourishing and others are neglected. We further find that sites are chosen which are near coalfields and things like this. It is all right but we can have small industries, village industries in the villages and this can help the poor people but, Sir, we find very few of them flourishing at all in the villages and helping the people of those localities. Lately, however, something has been done and it is very gratifying to note that 75 percent of the funds meant for the village and small-scale industries programme will now be utilised in rural and semi-urban areas, and out of this, two-thirds will be spent in villages with less than 5000 people. Now, Sir, this will help those people who have no land, people who are poor. They will be absorbed in these industries'

[Shri Mahesh Saran.] and they will be able to get some help for themselves.

Now, Sir, another point which is worth noticing is that the minor irrigation works have not been functioning properly, and during the time of the harvest and before that we do not get enough water. We find that there is corruption in respect of the staff which manages the supply of water. All these things have led to the great disadvantage of the people in the villages but now I am glad to learn that the construction and maintenance of local minor works has been entrusted to the Panchayats and the construction of field channels to the beneficiary. This is a step forward and things, I am sure, will slowly improve and there will be some hope for the people who have small holdings and people who have no land at all.

Sir, the Community Development programme has done a lot of good to the villages but I am sorry to say that the people who are not much enthused in these projects because of the fact that the plans were made by the Block staff and the people were asked to execute them. They did that because it gave them a little bit of profit but there was no real planning and they did not feel that it was their own. They had a lot of misgiving too about the results but now, on the introduction of Panchayati Raj, a revolution has taken place. The Panchayati Raj organisation "has taken over the planning and execution of the programme adapting it to suit local conditions. The Block is becoming the administrative unit of planning and development in respect of the development funds of the different departments in the State. With this progress, I am sure, things will take a very bright turn and people who require the help of the State most will be benefited.

Now, Sir, we have taken very big projects in hand but some of them are left unfinished. It is said that there was not enough of coal or enough of cement. I would suggest that it would be much better to have small projects

constructed rather than leave big projects unfinished and, therefore, the attention of the Government should be directed towards this aspect of the question.

Now, Sir, the high prices of commodities, especially of foodstuffs, are not helping the village people because there are no roads, *kucha* or otherwise, no warehouses, and if there are warehouses, they are few and far between and, therefore, the middlemen who can somehow collect the foodgrains from these people get benefited and the benefit does not go to the villages. It is, therefore, necessary that more approach roads, more

*kucha* roads and more ware-3 P.M. houses should be built. The

aim of the Government should be to give as early as possible relief to those who are not looked after at all and who are poor. The Plans have helped the rich. They have helped the people with land; they have helped the people who have some money with them but the masses, the poor people, look on and they feel sad and dejected because even after these ten years their condition has not improved much.

Now, the prices of foodgrains and other commodities have stabilised but the rate is very high. It is said that if the prices of foodstuffs are reduced, the losers will be the village people because they will get less for their produce. But my suggestion is that the cost of production has to be lowered by introducing efficient methods so that the yield per acre is increased much more than what it is today. In that case when the yield is more you can certainly reduce the prices because the cost of production will go down.

In other things also efficient methods are necessary because we want to export things. Unless the cost of production is low we cannot find markets for our export goods. Therefore it is necessary that attention should be given to the fact that

as far as possible efficient methods should be adopted to reduce the cost of production.

I have another point. The Plans are very good, well-drafted but their execution is not what it should be. Therefore unless we are able to execute our Plans well, it is no use having good Plans. We find that the bulk of the money allotted to the States is spent in the last few months and in the first few months very little is spent. This is not planning. It should be so planned that the spending is evenly distributed throughout the year. Unless that is done the work will not be satisfactory because people will be anxious to spend the money and hurriedly things will be done. That will not produce good results.

There is another aspect that strikes me. We have undertaken such huge and gigantic Plans but there is no austerity. We do not realise that it is necessary to reduce as far as possible our expenditure. We find that in the different departments more and more staff is being employed so that the civil expenditure is rising higher and higher and even then we find that the execution is much worse than it was before. We are also constructing huge buildings all round. Of course, it is very gratifying to see them but at what cost? Are the buildings so necessary at the present moment than even the good of the people and the landless? My submission is that it could have waited for some time till the condition of the country improved. So my point is that the idea of austerity, of spending every pie according to the needs of the country is not there. Now that we have a huge Third Five Year Plan, more money is required and every citizen has to contribute but the contribution that the citizens have to make should be according to their capacity. The rich can be taxed; the middlemen can be taxed; the ordinary people with some money can be taxed but how can the poor people

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who have practically nothing but taxed? My humble submission is that the taxation has been very fair but in respect of one or two things I submit that the Finance Minister may think it over and if possible reduce the taxes on unmanufactured tobacco, cotton cloth and yarn which will really help the ordinary man.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mau'ana Abdul Shakoor is not here; Mr. Channa Reddy is not here. Mr. Oberoi.

SHRI M. S. OBEROI (Bihar): Vice-Chairmen, Sir, many hon. Members before me have dealt with various points arising out of the Budget I would like to make a reference to only a few points about the direct taxation. As you have seen, there has been an increase of 5 per cent, in tax from 45 per cent, to 50 per cent in the case of private limited companies and public liability companies. This would result in decrease in profits, which would ultimately mean less dividends for the shareholders. This will take away some incentive for the investors, both in equity and preference shares.

There has been some change in the Wealth Tax. The exemption under the Wealth Tax available in respect of shares held in new industrial companies will also adversely affect the investor; for making such investments in the issue of new capital.

The hon. Finance Minister in his speech has recognised the burden and regretted that there was no way out of it. He was still not happy about the fact that with all the taxation, there was still a gap of Rs. 89 crores. To my mind the heavy taxation cannot be avoided at this stage when the country is faced with growing economic developments and also we have to incur heavy expenditure on the defence of the country.

I shall now deal with the Expenditure Tax and the Provident Fund

[Shri M. S. Oberoi].

contributions. The hon. Finance Minister has shown understanding and vision in abolishing the Expenditure Tax and further more raising the exemption limit for Provident Fund contributions and insurance premium to Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 20,000 in the case of Hindu undivided families.

Coming to export promotion, the hon. Finance Minister has compensated companies by allowing 5 per cent rebate on income-tax in respect of export earnings, which will mean that the increase in the rate of Companies Tax from 45 per cent, to 50 per cent will not apply in all such cases. I most welcome this proposal because this will lead to an increase in exports and thereby an increase in the foreign exchange earnings of the country. I would like to emphasise upon this House how important foreign exchange is for us at present. The foreign exchange is a big headache to our hon. Finance Minister. The Budget comes once a year, but the foreign exchange resources have got to be watched very carefully by the hon. Finance Minister from day to day, as they do not decline to any such low levels. It is there where the need of conserving foreign exchange arises.

If you look at the Press reports, you will find that the total foreign aid received by India from the beginning of the First Five Year Plan and committed up to 31st December, 1961, is Rs. 2,690 crores. Among the friendly countries from whom we have received this aid, the first comes the USA, second West Germany, third the USSR, fourth the World Bank, fifth the U.K. and the rest of other countries. We are conscious of the fact that the assistance which we have received from the friendly countries is of critical importance. These loans have got to be returned back in time. We would like to honour all our commitments as India has always done in the past. In this connection, we have to be very alert in tapping all the resources which bring us foreign exchange.

Foreign exchange is very closely connected with tourism. To earn foreign exchange, tourism is one of our most important sources. This is next to the traditional physical exports of the country, such as tea, cotton textiles, jute and iron etc. As a point of interest, I would like to say that in 1960, we earned Rs. 20 crores of foreign exchange from this source and as such tourism has become the fifth largest foreign exchange-earner of India. With regard to the future possibilities, I would like to quote from the Hotel Standards and 'Rate Structure Committee's Report, which was appointed by the Government of India in 1958:—

"Whereas in the case of other exports, there are certain limitations within which the expansion of these exports can take place, in the case of tourism, to use a common expression, 'the sky is the limit'. The Committee is of the opinion that given a certain necessary flip, tourism can be pushed up in the course of the next few years to as high as the fourth place in the matter of foreign exchange earnings—next only to tea, jute and cotton textiles. This should be an indication as to the immense possibilities for development of this invisible source of export."

As you know, a tourist comes to this country with money to spend and he is provided with all the services, such as accommodation in hotel, transport by rail, road and air. The tourist attractions like historical monuments, the modern projects, life of the people, all these amenities are already there which do not require any further investment, though money is required for improvements. In the case of other exports, goods have to be exported to countries outside India. &v the difference is that here we export the goods for the consumption of consumers and in the case of tourism, we get a ready money brought by the tourists to this country for spending here. Hence it transpires that tourism\* is quite a remarkable invisible export which has tremendous possibili-

ties for expansion with a comparatively negligible investment. Statistics for India's tourist industry are a convincing illustration of this point. During the calendar year 1951-55 (corresponding approximately to India's First Five Year Plan period), India's total earnings in foreign exchange from tourism amounted to Rs. 43·3 crores, while actual investment for the promotion of tourism was barely about Rs. 70 lakhs. During the following five years, it doubled up to Rs. 88·4 crores. The additional investment on this account was hardly Rs. 3 crores. This, of course, has been shared by the States as well as by the Centre. In the five years corresponding to India's Third Five Year Plan, we expect to earn something of the order of Rs. 140 crores. The money spent by a tourist is a straightforward transaction without any complications whatsoever. What we have got to see is this that we should provide good rail comforts and road transport, good hotels and other amenities. The first thing on his arrival the tourist looks for is a good comfortable hotel to live in. The figures show that 49 per cent, of his money is spent in hotels and restaurants, 30 per cent, on internal transport such as airlines, railways, road, etc., 18 per cent, on his shopping which he makes and 3 per cent, on entertainments like cinemas and theatres. So, it will be seen that the Hotel Industry is by far the largest earner of foreign exchange. The hotels are the backbone of tourism, as someone has said: "No hotels, no tourism". I would like to read out to you an extract from the Report of the Hotel Standards and Rate Structure Committee, which was appointed by the Government of India, as I said before, in 1958:—

"The Hotel Industry is of national importance and we would recommend to give this industry its due by formally recognising it as an industry so that the hotel trade can draw on the various resources of the Government which are made available for helping industries that

have proved to be significant from the point of view of the country's economy. The Hotel Industry may not be manufacturing or export tangible goods as such, but there is no denying the fact that it is one of the important earners of foreign exchange. This is all the more important because unlike the case of other industries, the Hotel Industry earns foreign exchange not for goods sold but for services rendered."

I am glad to say that the Hotel Industry has been recognised as an industry by the amendment of the Industrial Finance Corporation Act and also by an Act which has been recently enacted by Parliament, namely, amendment of the State Corporation Act, whereby the industry can avail of the funds from the State Corporations in each State. The Government of India has also included this industry in the list of industries eligible for income-tax holiday for the first five years for new enterprises. This will definitely help building up of more hotels for accommodation which we badly need. This will definitely help building up more hotels in the country itself. Very recently the Director-General of Tourism has rightly said: "Our role in developing tourism depends upon more hotels in this country". I am sorry that my time is over. I would request you, Sir, to please give me another five minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): You should wind up quickly. Not five minutes but two minutes you can take.

SHRI M. S. OBEROI: I wanted to speak on a subject which is a very delicate subject, particularly when our hon. Finance Minister is sitting right in front of me, and it would not be considered very pleasant on this side or on that side of the House. It is prohibition. While welcoming the tourists to this country, we have considered this question many times. I should however make it clear that I am not proposing any change in this

[Shri M. S. Oberoi.] basic policy of prohibition as laid down in our Constitution. Our Constitution provides rather a directive to the State Governments that they will endeavour to bring about prohibition of the consumption except for medicinal purposes of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health. To my mind this indicates that prohibition is intended for our Indian nationals and not for foreign visitors, though the point arises that any foreigner who visits India has to abide by the law of the country. We cannot stretch this to the extent that this should be binding on the foreign tourists also. In this connection I would like to place before you an extract from the report of the Hotel Rate Structure Committee appointed by the Government of India which reads: 'Our attention has been drawn to the statement issued by the late Union Home Minister. He said:

"It is neither necessary nor possible to enforce prohibition among the foreigners and India wants to attract the largest possible number of tourists many of whom are in the habit of consuming alcoholic drinks."

The Committee says:

"We entirely agree with this most sensible view especially since the restrictions imposed by the prohibition may prove a serious deterrent to the tourists' arrival and stay in India and thereby reduce earnings of foreign exchange which are a matter of importance to us."

Now I would summarise it in two minutes. I have said about the direct taxes. I have said about certain facilities which have been extended to the hotel industry. Lastly, I have said about the prohibition. In this connection actually there is no prohibition in Delhi. There are certain restrictions. There is no prohibition in Delhi at all but there are certain restrictions placed on a few hotels. There are 27 lakhs of people in Delhi and drinks can be served anywhere and everywhere, but unfortunately there are

five or six hotels where the foreign tourists come and stay and there is on them that these restrictions are placed. This matter came up before the Central Prohibition Committee in November, 1960 and they took a decision that the hotels should provide a separate room in the hotel where the foreign visitors could socially meet and discuss matters of interest of their country and our country.

AN HON. MEMBER: Over a glass of wine.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : You have to wind up now.

SHRI M. S. OBEROI: One moment, Sir. The hon. Finance Minister who enforced prohibition in Bombay was very considerate in having allowed hotels to have separate rooms where these alcoholic drinks could be served. But unfortunately in Delhi where there is no prohibition such facilities and amenities have been withdrawn. I would request the Home Minister to please look into this request of mine.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT (Delhi): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the budget has come and in the speech of the Deputy Finance Minister yesterday the question of prices was discussed at some length. The question has been raised by quite a few Members here as well as in the other House. The rise in prices has really been disturbing the people very considerably. It has caused a tremendous amount of hardship to the middle classes and the salaried classes. Last year also when the budget was presented and many Members had expressed their grave concern about the rise in prices, the hon. Finance Minister had assured them that the taxes were only so much, one naya paisa for this item and a very small percentage or even a fraction of a percentage on various other articles and so on. He had said that there would be no great rise in prices due to the taxation measures. But even while he was speaking, while he was answering the debate last time, the prices had unfortunately, as always happens, gone up by much more than

what the levy was. This year also, as it happens every year, the prices have been raised by the retailers or by the shopkeepers or by the middlemen or distributors much more than the taxes would warrant. So, this is a question which does not really re-lata so much to the taxes but to the fact that the middlemen are the ones w.ho are really making the money. In this way the benefit is not going to the manu.actors or the agriculturists or producers, but it is the middlemen or the distributors who are really taking the lion's share of the profit and hitting the consumers hard. So it really needs a serious examina-tioa as to how prices can be controlled, why they continue to shoot up year a Tter year and month after month and the benefit of that rise in prices does not accrue to the producer or the manufacturer. Therefore, the consumer suffers greatly and cannot be helped in this matter, at least not by the existing situation and circumstances and machinery that operates. At the same time the manufacturer or the producer does not benefit much. It is a third party who really gets the benefit from this situation which creates a tremendous amount of hardship for the ordinary consumer.

In this connection I would like to mention a few words by the way, that whereas the Deputy Finance Minister yesterday pointed out that they had studied the price structure and other factors and so on, and that the Ford Foundation Study Team had observed after their study that the agriculturists, the farmers did not have any incentive to produce more or that the emphasis was not on increased production. The psychology of the farmer was not to produce so much, he was lacking the incentive. The agriculturist is not very anxious to produce more, his main interest is not there, and therefore the production remains not as high as we want it to be or it should be. And my submission in this regard would be that In the e'ection manifesto of our party also it was mentioned that minimum agricultural prices would be fixed.

Also, the hon. Deputy Finance Minister analysing this price structure brought forth this point about agricultural prices and said that the lar-mer should be given an incentive. I would vtry strongly suggest, and request the Finance Ministry to kindly take steps in this regard soon, witrn-out any delay. And if the prices of agricultural products are fixed in three or i.our years or five years, that will be much too late. But it shou.d be done as soon as possible so that this major ssction of our country"! people is helped to grow more and more and is assured of minimum prices. Thereby, I think a very great incentive would be there for them to take care of their farms and produce more. Without this incentive and security many of them have to sell their produce at very low prices witrn-out any gain to them, and very often they do not even recover what they have invested in their farms. This, I think, is a very sad state of affairs, and they should be helped as sooi ai possible. As it is, I think it has been delayed for a very long time. This matter of fixing minimum prices for agricultural produce, etc. has gone on for years and the voice of the poor farmer is not so strong as to reatiy get much o: a response. But I do nope that the hon. Minister will examine this and do something about l\* quickly.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

Another thing that I may mention here is that many things which are manufactured in our country are even more expensive when compared to the imported articles of the same type and variety, though the labour charges here are much lower than the labour charges in other countries. Also .l feel that sometimes our governmental machinery does not want to bring about greater coordination and efficiency. I will give a few examples. We have mentioned in our election manifesto—it is also a part of our policy and programme—that there should not be monopolies. But various monopolies are there and unless there is very healthy competition.



[Kumari Shanta Vasisht.] prices will continue to be as they are now. For example, the small car has not come yet. God knows when the report will come and when it will be implemented. Why does it not come? It has been asked again and again. But that Committee's Report has not come yet. Similar is the case of coal. Again and again it is being said that coal is not being lifted from the pits and that railway wagons are not available for them and so on and so forth. At various times it is mentioned that coalmine owners and so on in collaboration and friendship with the officials in the Railway Department see to it that coal shortage is there, that coal is not brought and distributed to the various towns in time, when it is wanted. They see to it that coal shortage takes place. There are large coal deposits there. But if co-ordination with the Railway Ministry could be made better, I think this particular matter could be handled with great benefit to the industries and to the other consumers in general. But I think that due to sheer lack of good co-ordination and negligence in this matter, whereas the collieries are stocked with large quantities of coal, the industries are suffering due to lack of it and the consumers are there without coal. And the officials of the Railway Ministry and the coal-miners and so on join hands in this and want to keep the prices at a high level. They do not make the distribution of coal at the right time in the right way.

Similarly, in regard to grains also, I am just giving an example to show how it affects the common man. The producer sells his agricultural produce when the harvest comes, and at very low prices also, because the price will then fall. But the middlemen and the wholesalers buy large quantities and then create a shortage. This is a man-made shortage of grains. There is a man-made shortage of coal and man-made shortage of power, and various other things. I think these can be handled within our resources and

within our power and the Government, I am sure, is fully capable of doing it, and they should see to it, because when this grain shortage took place in Delhi some years back—it has taken place not once, but a couple of times—these shops had no grains at all. The wholesalers were blaming the retailers and the retailers were blaming the wholesalers, and the prices had really shot up to about Rs. 25 a maund of wheat. So, you can see that this is a very unreasonable and wrong state of affairs. Whereas the producer or the farmer sells his wheat at about Rs. 8 or 10 per maund, the retailer sells it at Rs. 25 per maund. At that time, the price was extremely high and it was difficult for an ordinary labourer or even a class II or class III person to manage with prices at that level. Even well-to-do people would say, "Well, we cannot afford *chappatties* for our children for breakfast. So, we think that we should give them slices of bread because bread is cheaper in the long run for our school-going children." They cannot send their children to school with *parottas*. It is very sad that our middle class people feel that they should cut down expenditure and not give their school-going children *parottas* in the morning, which is only wheat and nothing else. After all, it is not a luxurious meal that they give their school-going children. And their parents think that they should cut down all that and give them slices of bread instead of *parottas* so as to economise. This shows how they actually feel. The fact that the middle class people feel that green vegetables are very expensive, that their children cannot be given milk, that they cannot afford some of these articles, shows that they are feeling the pinch of high prices and they cannot make both ends meet. So, I feel, as I have pointed out, that something very radical or very fundamental would have to be done about these middlemen or other distributors or whoever the agents are. Whatever the set-up is, it has to be examined and some committee may be appointed—

ed for that to see as to how the prices can be controlled, as I am sure they can be controlled to a certain extent. When the salaries of the Central Government employees were raised last time, all the prices shot up overnight. What could have made it possible? The clerks were beginning to get another Rs. 10 per month and all the shopkeepers raised their prices. There was no check on that. Either you bring in some legislation or take some other action or examine the whole matter from A to Z so that something can be done. Otherwise, it is hard on the people, and the Government certainly gets some amount of unpopularity from the people. Something very radical has to be done in this regard.

Then there is also a certain amount of evasion by large companies and so on. With the collaboration of foreign firms and so on, they transfer a large number of their assets also to foreign countries. I do not know how much control our Government has over it—I am sure they have some control—but I do not think it is complete control. Nor do they have a complete picture before them. If they want to know their assets and liabilities and their working and functioning, I am not sure that they would get the entire picture as to how things are going on there. Some firms transfer all their assets to foreign countries and they declare themselves as insolvents. They sell away 5 per cent, or 10 per cent, of their goods here for nominal sums—a couple of thousand rupees or for one or two lakhs—and 95 per cent, or 90 per cent, of their assets are transferred abroad and then they migrate in due course, having taken all their bag and baggage, etc. But the fact remains that it is Indian money which has found a place abroad, which is not being used by us. In this way, we are losing much. On account of this collaboration with other countries and so on, I think that a large amount of foreign exchange also goes away. I am sure the Ministry is very anxious to have some clear picture

about their assets and so on. But I do not know whether they would be able, under the present circumstances, to have a clear picture.

Another point is that recently the Prime Minister mentioned very strongly in one of his post-election speeches that the rich people had a tremendous amount of influence. I am glad that this matter came to the notice of the Prime Minister—and it struck him so badly and disturbed his peace of mind—that the rich people had a tremendous amount of influence which money gave them; apart from money, they had influence in other ways also, in various circles and quarters. It is, of course, well known to all our Members here. But I think that also is a very serious threat. And some of these factors ultimately debar the common man from getting the social justice which is the right of every human being. Therefore, the goal of social justice which is our aim, the aim of the Government and the party also, and which is incorporated in our Constitution, remains a distant goal. And we should make every effort particularly through our economic set-up and economic structure to see that every person has equal opportunities and equal chance and that the various monopolies and strong controls are not there.

I will mention just a few words about my friend Mr. Chordia from the Jan Sangh. He was disturbed about all our neighbours—Pakistan, China, Nepal and everybody else—and he was deeply concerned about the unity of India, as he said. I would like to ask him as to whether his party had ever bothered about the unity of India. They have always talked about the so-called Hindu Rashtra.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE (Uttar Pradesh): As if it is the monopoly of the Congress Party.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: They have always talked about Hindu Rashtra. They have never bothered to have any feelings for the minority

[Kumari Shanta Vasisht.]

communities or to give them a sense of security and a sense of justice. They have not believed in the fact that they also have a right to co-exist with us, that they are as much nationals of this country as anybody else and that they are also as true and good citizens of our country as the Hindus are or anybody else is. They should also have shown a great feeling for the Muslims and Christians and other minorities of this country. On the one hand they talk about Hindu Rashtra; then they want to have unity from Kashmir to Cape Comorin, and here and there, and so on. If they really believed in the unity of India, they would not have believed in communal approach and communal thinking. And if they believe in communal approach, then they should not talk about unity because, if you want unity, you must treat all your people alike and have the same amount of regard and affection and goodwill for them. If you want to convert all Muslims into Hindus, or you want to change the Sikhs also or you want to . . .

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: Madam Deputy Chairman, I strongly repudiate the allegations made by the hon. lady Member. The Jana Sangh is not wedded to the cult of converting all non-Hindus to Hinduism. Jana Sangh is a political party wedded to a non-communal ideology. Muslims are joining the Jana Sangh in large numbers. A Muslim gentleman has been elected on Jana Sangh ticket to the Rajasthan Assembly. It appears that the lady Member needs education in regard to this.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: Jana Sangh is a Communal Party and their approach is also communal. Now perhaps they want to make it into a so-called political party. It is not a national party; it is still a communal party. Various sections of the Jana Sangh have created communal riots so as to terrorise and frighten the minority communities so that they might condemn the Congress Party

and the Congress Government, condemn the Government and say: 'This Government is not able to protect our rights and maintain law and order. Maybe we should look to some other political party which will give us a sense of security and our rights and so on.' By creating terror in the minority communities in India, the Jana Sangh has sometimes tried to frighten them, to make them come into their fold. I am not sure that these minorities will readily fall into their trap and go and join their party.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: So long as the Congress is there to mislead the minorities, the hon. lady Member is going to succeed in it, in their nefarious designs.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT:

I think our designs are very well-known to our country people, and they will not easily be frightened into joining communal parties. Communal parties have damaged the name of India by having various types of riots. Various types of feelings they have created. They have really played the game that the foreign people had wanted, namely that India should get a bad name. I would like to point out here for the benefit of Shri Vimal Kumar Chordia that France and England . . .

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: Madam Deputy Chairman, I seek your protection. The hon. lady Member has every right to express her views, but she has no business to impute motives. She has said that we have played into the hands of foreign powers. Has she got any evidence to prove, to show that we played into the hands of foreign powers? This allegation cannot be allowed to go unchallenged.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: Yes, when we have communal riots . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member should now wind up. The time limit also is over.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: Just a couple of minutes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Only two minutes.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: Whenever we have communal riots, it serves the purpose of other countries, whoever they may be. They can condemn us and say: "See what is happening in India. They cannot live together in peace and harmony. How can they talk about Panchsheel and other things?" Therefore this sort of behaviour gives them a chance to say that India is not doing very well. This is what I mean. I do not mean which powers are with you or not with you. That is not my concern. But that does bring a bad name, and the communal parties do play a part in bringing about that sort of a bad name.

Then Mr. Chordia said that we are not doing very well with our neighbours. I think, recently in the U.N. debate also, the tables have been turned against Pakistan again, and what we have been saying in Delhi, in Kashmir and other parts of India about the Kashmir problem has been very beautifully explained by Russia of all people, and for the time being Pakistan has had a very bad defeat, if I may say so, and that would only show that, after all, we had a good stand, we had a good approach. Our *bona fides* have been appreciated and extolled also, and I do not see that there is any justification for feeling so sorry for this, as my Jana Sangh friend did. Neighbours always have a bad time, which I think he probably knows. England and France have always had a sort of potential rivalry. They have always had friendship also. France and Germany have always had a standing rivalry for years and years, for decades and centuries. So also Germany and Russia have had their rivalry and wars, etc. for centuries. You see the entire history all through these centuries and you will see that these countries were

not able to get along. So also Turkey had a lot of problems with her neighbours, and so on. Even Canada and America do not have a very happy relationship though for all practical purposes they get along very well, but essentially, fundamentally, if you scratch them just underneath their skin, you will find that they are very great rivals of each other also, and one of the reasons for it is this that one country gets so much importance and the other country does not. You also understand the military aid to Pakistan by the United States. This also upsets the balance in this region of Asia. We should not be over-worried about this matter; our foreign affairs are in very good condition and I do not think we should worry so much. They talked about the defence of this country. I would like my Jana Sangh friends to tell me what are the plans that they have to defend this country. Do they have any scheme to defend this country? Do you think it is very easy to defend this whole border of the Himalayan Range, and without any preparation and plan you can send your Army?

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: It is done by surrendering our territory, which is the Congress way of defence.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: Either study this problem, or do not comment about it. You should study the Himalayan Range and the conditions there, the climatic condition, the absence of roads, the difficulty of transportation and so on. So my submission is that their allegation in this regard is absolutely wrong, and there is no weight in it whatsoever.

Mr. Ruthnaswamy said one word about it, that our Plan was very poor in the matter of agriculture, that Government was not paying much attention to the villages, to rural uplift, and so on. I would submit very humbly that the very fact that the Community Development Programme came into being and has spread now over more than

[Kumari Shanta Vasisht.] three-fourths of the country, and the very fact that this scheme was started not today, but ten years back, shows that our attention and our concern was for the rural population, and the fact that an intensified development programme had to be made operative over most parts of India, and will be completed within a year or so to cover the country in its entirety, shows that we have thought very seriously about rural development and so on. And he mentioned that there should be approach roads and so on.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do. It is time.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: Those have been done in the last ten years and more is being done to provide facilities for the supply of drinking water. This is also our election manifesto, that every village must have drinking water and approach roads and other facilities.

Thank you.

شہی اے - ایم - طارق : میڈم

ذہنی چہرہ میں - میں موجودہ بجٹ کے بارے میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں - جہان تک اس بجٹ کا تعلق ہے اس کے بارے میں کانگریس پارٹی نے اور کانگریس پارٹی کے علاوہ اور لوگوں نے بھی مختلف رائے ظاہر کی - میں آپکی توجہ بجٹ کے سلسلے میں صدر ہندوستان کی اس تقریر کی طرف دلانا چاہتا ہوں جو انہوں نے کل اس لحاظ سے سمیران پارلیمنٹ کے لئے دی - اور وہ ان کی آخری تقریر ہے - انہوں نے دو تین باتوں کی طرف ہر سمیر آف پارلیمنٹ کی توجہ دلائی - ایک یہ کہ الیکشن میں جو حد سے زیادہ

پہسہ خرچ ہو رہا ہے اس کو روکنا چاہئے ورنہ جمہوریت میں عام آدمی کیلئے الیکشن لڑنا مشکل ہو جائیگا -

دوسری بات جو انہوں نے فرمائی وہ یہ ہے کہ کہیں کہیں ایڈمنسٹریشن اور دوسری سیاسی آرگنائزیشن میں جو خرابیاں ہیں ان کو دور کرنا چاہیئے - میں صدر جمہوریہ کا مشکور ہوں کہ انہوں نے پھر ایک بار مدبر کی حیثیت سے ایک عظیم الشان ہندوستانی کی حیثیت سے ہمارے توجہ ان باتوں کی طرف دلائی - اگر حکومت ان باتوں پر دیانتداری سے عمل کرے تو میں اس ہاؤس کو اور ہاؤس کے باہر کے لوگوں کو یقین دلانا ہوں کہ آئندہ جو ہندوستان ہوگا وہ ایک عظیم الشان ہندوستان ہوگا اور ایک خوشحال ہندوستان ہوگا -

میڈم ذہنی چہرہ میں - جس وقت ہم جمہوریہ کی بات کرتے ہیں تو ہمارے سامنے چند افراد نہیں ہیں بلکہ عوام ہیں - جمہوریت میں سر اور ہاتھ دونوں ہی گلے جاتے ہیں، چند اشخاص نہیں گلے جاتے ہیں - لیکن موجودہ الیکشن نے ہمیں یہ دکھا دیا ہے کہ چاہے آدمی کی کنفی ہی شاندار اور عظیم الشان زندگی کہوں نہ ہو لیکن وہ بھی دولت کے حاملے لرز جانا ہے اور خوف کھاتا ہے - بہت سے ہمارے سیاست دان، بہت سے ہمارے رہنما بہت سے ہمارے

قومی کارکن ٹھہرا گئے، تھرا گئے، شکست  
کہا گئے، صرف دولت کے سامنے - میں  
حکومت کی توجہ اس طرف دلانا  
چاہتا ہوں کہ اس پوزیشن ہونی دولت  
کو روکنا چاہیے - ہم لوگوں پر ٹیکس  
نہ لگائیں لیکن ہمیں یہ دیکھنا چاہیے  
کہ چند لوگ، چاہے ان لوگوں کی  
اکثریت ہو یا اقلیت، اپنے لئے اس  
قدر پیسہ فراہم کر چکے ہوں اور اس  
قدر پیسہ بنا چاہتے ہیں کہ وہ اور  
چیزوں کے علاوہ ہماری سیاسی زندگی  
پر بھی قبضہ کرنا چاہتے ہیں - ہم  
تمام لوگوں کو اس کی طرف توجہ  
دینی چاہیے -

ایکسپلیڈنگ ٹیکس جو تہا  
اخراجات کا جو ٹیکس تہا، اس کے نہ  
رکھنے سے مجھے انتہائی افسوس ہوا -  
میں وزیر مالیات سے ایک بار پھر  
درخواست کروں گا کہ وہ اس طرف  
توجہ فرمائیں اور اسے لوگ جن کے  
پاس ایک سے زیادہ موٹریں ہیں، میں  
یہ سمجھتا ہوں، کہ ان پر ٹیکس لگانا  
چاہیے بلکہ اور سخت ٹیکس لگانا  
چاہیے - ہمارے سامنے مثالیں ہیں -  
آپ بدلتی جائیے، کلکتہ جائیے، دہلی  
جائیے، ہر جگہ بہت سے ایسے خاندان  
ہیں کہ خاندان کے ہر فرد کے پاس  
ایک ایک موٹر ہے اور ایک ذریعہ ہے  
ان لوگوں کے پاس دولت کو ایک  
عجیب طریقہ سے استعمال کرنے کا -  
دوسری طرف میں یہ نہیں کہتا کہ

ہندوستان نے ترقی نہیں کی ہے لیکن  
جس طرح ترقی ہم کو کرنی چاہیے  
تھی ہم اسے نہیں کر پائے ہیں - میں  
مہاراجی بہائی، فائننس منسٹر، سے  
ایک بار پھر درخواست کروں گا کہ وہ  
اس کی طرف توجہ دیں -

ہمارے چند دوستوں نے یہاں چند  
ایسے سوالات اٹھائے ہیں جن کی طرف  
میں آپ کی توجہ دلانا چاہتا ہوں -  
میں پبلک اسکولس اور چھوٹے اسکولس  
کے بارے میں زیادہ پریشان نہیں ہوں -  
میں انفریجیٹیو کمپلکس اور سپریمینٹی  
کا شکر نہیں ہوں - میں یہ سمجھتا  
ہوں کہ اگر انسان میں خودداری ہو  
تو وہ معمولی اسکول میں ہی پڑھ  
کر عظیم الشان آدمی بن سکتا ہے -  
ہندوستان میں ایسے لوگوں کی کمی  
نہیں کہ جو پبلک اسکولس میں  
پڑھ اور پھر قابل بنے لیکن ہمارے اکثر  
رہنما میرے خیال میں، ہمارے  
فائنل منسٹر خودہ کسی پبلک  
اسکول کے پڑھے ہوئے لوگ نہیں ہیں -  
ہمارے بہت سے رہنما جنہوں نے قومی  
زندگی میں ہماری رہنمائی کی اور  
جن کے ساتھ ہم نے آزادی حاصل کی  
یہ پبلک اسکولس کے پڑھے ہوئے نہیں  
تھے - لیکن یہ بات انسان کی اپنی  
ذاتی خودداری اور دیانتداری کی ہے -  
اگر آج ہم اس بات کو طے کر لیں کہ  
ہمیں اپنے بچوں کو اچھا بنانا ہے تو  
اس کے لئے ہمیں اچھی مثال دینی

[شری اے۔ ایم۔ طارق]

چاہئے اور ہمیں اسکولوں کے بارے  
میں زیادہ جھگڑا نہیں کرنا چاہئے۔

میں آپ کی توجہ اس طرف دلانا  
چاہتا ہوں کہ ایک صاحب، شاید وہ  
لوہیا سوشلسٹ پارٹی کے تھے انہوں نے  
جب کشمیر کا ذکر کیا تو اس انداز  
سے کہا جیسے کشمیر ہندوستان سے باہر  
کوئی ملک ہو۔ اور ہندوستان کے  
لوگ بڑے مہربانی کشمیریوں کو کوئی  
وظیفہ دیتے ہوں۔ میں ان کی توجہ  
اس طرف دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ کشمیر  
ہندوستان کا ایک ایسا ہی صوبہ ہے  
جیسا کہ گجرات ہے، بہاری ہے،  
پنجاب ہے۔ اور ہمارا ہندوستان میں  
انہاں ہی حق ہے جتنا کہ دوسرے  
صوبوں کا۔ ہندوستان اگر کشمیر پر  
کچھ خرچ کرتا ہے تو وہ اپنی سرحدوں  
پر خرچ کرتا ہے۔ اگر آج کشمیر پر  
پاکستان اور ہندوستان کے درمیان  
معاہدہ طے یہی ہو جائے تب بھی ہم کو یہ  
اخراجات کرنے ہیں۔ ہم کو ہندوستان  
کی سرحدوں کی حفاظت کرنی ہے۔  
کشمیر کی سرحد ہندوستان کی  
سرحد ہے وہ ایک طرف پاکستان سے  
ملتی ہے ایک طرف چین سے ملتی  
ہے، ایک طرف روس سے ملتی ہے اور  
افغانستان سے ملتی ہے۔ اس قسم کی  
غلط باتوں کو پہچان کر کے ہمیں یہ سمجھنا  
ہو کہ اس سیمبر نے ہندوستان کی یا

لوہیا سوشلسٹ پارٹی کی کوئی  
خدمت نہیں کی۔

ایک اور بات جس کی طرف میں  
آپ کی توجہ دلانا چاہتا ہوں وہ یہ  
ہے کہ ایک صاحب نے یہ کہا کہ وقت  
آیا ہے کہ پرنٹ جوائنٹل نہرو ریٹائر  
ہوجائیں۔ میں پرنٹ نہرو کی  
خوشامد کرنا نہیں چاہتا۔ میں  
پرنٹ جوائنٹل نہرو کا ایک ورکر  
ہوں، میں ان کا قلم نہیں ہوں،  
میں ان کا ساتھی ہوں لیکن انہاں عرض  
کروں گا کہ اس قسم کو باتیں کر کے  
لوگ ایک خاص قسم کی افراتفری  
پیدا کرنا چاہتے ہیں اور اس افراتفری  
کے پیچھے ایک بہت بڑی سازش ہے۔  
پرنٹ جوائنٹل نہرو جب مناسب  
سمجھیں گے، مہرے خیال میں، وہ  
خود ریٹائر ہو جائیں گے وہ نہ ہمارے کہنے  
سے ریٹائر ہونگے اور نہ ہمارے کہنے  
سے رک جائیں گے۔ لیکن ہم کو ان  
باتوں کی طرف خاص طور پر توجہ  
دینی چاہئے۔

सरदार रघुबीर सिंह पंजहार  
(पंजाब) : इस हाउस में किसी ने नहीं कहा।

[شری اے۔ ایم۔ طارق : اس

هاؤس میں کہا۔ آپ موجود نہیں تھے۔

सरदार रघुबीर सिंह पंजहारी ।  
इस हाउस में किसी ने नहीं कहा ।  
स्वाह्मखाह एक कंयुक्शन बवों पैदा  
कीजिये ।

[شری اے۔ ایم۔ طارق : اس کے

علاقہ دوسرے هاؤس میں پہلی لوگ  
سمجھا میں ایک سمبر صاحب نے اس

طرف حکومت ہندوستان کی توجہ  
دلائی ہے کہ آسام کے صوبے میں  
مسلمانوں کی تعداد بڑھ رہی ہے اور  
یہ ہندوستان کو خطرناک ہے -  
میں اسے صحیح نہیں سمجھتا ہوں -  
مسلمانوں کی آبادی اگر بڑھ رہی ہے  
تو اس سے ہندوستان کو کوئی خطرہ  
نہیں ہو سکتا کیونکہ ہندوستان کا جو  
مسلمان ہے وہ ہندوستان کا شہری ہے  
وہ ہندوستان کا انڈیا ہی وفادار ہے جتنا  
کہ کوئی اور - ایک خاص فرقہ ایک  
خاص جماعت کا یہ کہنا کہ ان کی  
آبادی بڑھ رہی ہے - اس میں کوئی  
شک نہیں ہے کہ آبادی بڑھانے میں  
مسلمان اس لئے آگے ہیں کہ ان کی  
بچائے ایک کے دو شادیاں بھی ہوتی  
ہیں، تین شادیاں بھی ہوتی ہیں اور  
وہ چار شادیاں تک کر سکتے ہیں -  
لیکن یہ کہنا کہ چونکہ ہماری آبادی  
اس ملک میں بڑھ رہی ہے ہم  
اس ملک کے لئے خطرناک ہیں، میں  
تمام سیاسی جماعتوں کی توجہ اس  
طرف دلانا چاہتا ہوں اور میں ان سے  
درخواست کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر وہ  
اس ملک کی ایکٹنا چاہتے ہیں، اگر  
وہ ہندوستان کی خیریت چاہتے  
ہیں، تو ان کو ایسی باتوں کو روکنا  
چاہئے - چاہے وہ کانگریس کے ممبر  
ہوں، چاہے جن سنگھ کے ممبر ہوں -

ایک اور بات جس کی طرف میں  
وزیر مائیت کی توجہ دلانا چاہتا ہوں

جس کا ذکر انریبل اوپے رائے صاحب  
نے کیا وہ ٹورازم کے بارے میں ہے -  
میں بحیثیت ایک کشمیری کے یہ  
سمجھتا ہوں کہ ٹورازم اس ملک کیلئے  
اہمائی ضروری ہے اور خاص طور سے  
ہم کشمیریوں کیلئے - میں چاہتا  
ہوں کہ آپ اس طرف توجہ دیں کہ  
ہندوستان سے کشمیر جانے کیلئے صرف  
ایک راستہ ہے، ایک سوک ہے اور وہ  
سوک بھی ایسی ہے کہ آہستہ سے  
آسانی سے ایک چھوٹی گاڑی بھی نہیں  
چا سکتی ہے - اس کا اثر یہ پڑتا ہے  
کہ جو سامان جاتا ہے یا جو لوگ  
وہاں جاتے ہیں ان پر دوگنا خرچ  
پڑتا ہے - اگر اس سوک کو مضبوط  
بدلیا جائے اور اس پر اچھی سے اچھی  
گاڑیاں تیار کی جہ تین کی چلن تو  
ایک تو کشمیر میں چیزوں کی قیمتیں  
کم ہونگی اور دوسرے لوگ زیادہ آسانی  
سے وہاں جا سکیں گے - میں آپ کی  
توجہ اس طرف بہن دلانا چاہتا ہوں  
کہ ہندوستان میں جو جنرل ٹورازم  
ہے جو سنٹرل ٹورازم ہے، اس کے بارے  
میں آپ تحقیقات کوئیں - اس کے  
اخراجات اتنے زیادہ ہیں اور اس کے  
اخراجات میں اتنی انفرنگری ہے کہ  
میں پانڈاری سے آپ کی توجہ اس  
طرف دلانا چاہتا ہوں -

ایک اور چیز جسکی طرف میں  
آپ کی توجہ دلانا چاہتا ہوں وہ ہے  
اس ملک کے اذہار اور کچھ غور



[ شری اے - ایم - طارق ]

ملک کے اخبار نویس - آپ جانتے ہیں کہ کسی ملک کی صحافت سماجی اور انصاف کی ترقی کرنے پر ضروری ہے کہ اس ملک میں جو اخبار ہیں وہ نہایت اچھے ہوں اور وہ کسی خاص جماعت یا خاص گروہ کے ہاتھ میں نہ ہوں - آپ سے بہتر اس بات کو کون جانتا ہے جناب وزیر ممالیات، کہ اس ملک کے اخبارات چند گنے ہوئے لوگوں کے ہاتھ میں ہیں اور وہ جس طرح چاہیں ان کو استعمال کر سکتے ہیں - میں آپ کی توجہ ایک خاص واقعہ کی طرف دلا چاہتا ہوں - یہ واقعہ ہے ساؤتھ بمبئی کے الیکشن کا - انوار ڈو الیکشن ہونا تھا ساؤتھ بمبئی کا اور ساؤتھ کی رات کو یہی - ٹی - آئی کے ذریعہ خبر آئی کہ لانچ میں چابی فوجیں روسی بم تریبون گزیوں میں آگئی ہیں - یہ خبر گنگ ٹوک کی تھی اور پھر اس سے چلی تھی - جناب والہ میں اس وقت اس مسئلہ پر رائے دینا نہیں چاہتا کہ وہاں کون چاہتا یا کون ہارنا لیکن باہر کے ملکوں کے نامہ نگاروں کی ایسی خبریں اور یہی - ٹی - آئی کے ذریعہ بھیجی جاتی ہیں جس سے اس ملک میں صحافتی زندگی بدل سکتی ہے میں چاہتا ہوں کہ آپ اس طرف توجہ دیں اور حکومت اس طرف توجہ دے کہ اس ملک میں چاہتے چاہتے اخبار جو دہائیوں میں چاہتے

ہیں چاہے وہ ملکی میں ہوں، انگریزی میں، گورنمنٹ میں ہوں یا پبلک میں ہوں، علم چاہتے چاہتے جو لوگ ہیں ان کو بھی سرپرستی ملی چاہئے - یہ نہیں ہونا چاہئے کہ کسی ایک خاص گروہ کو ہم اس ملک میں اخبار نویسی سہولت کریں اور فلم کے بارے میں وہ اخبار نکالیں، کلاسز اور انڈسٹری کے بارے میں وہ اخبار نکالیں، فائیلنس کے بارے میں وہ اخبار نکالیں - میں آپ سے درخواست کرتا ہوں کہ ان لوگوں کے اخراجات کی ایک خاص قسم کی تحقیقات کرائیں -

اس کے علاوہ میں ایک لفظ میں ایک بات آپ سے اور عرض کر دینا چاہتا ہوں اور وہ یہ ہے کہ جس طرح سے ہم حکومت اور حکومت کی کارروائیوں پر نکتہ چینی کرتے ہیں اسی طرح سے ہمیں خبریں اپنے اوپر کرنا چاہئے - ایسے سربراہان پارلیمنٹ جو پہلے بزنس نہیں کرتے تھے انڈسٹری نہیں کرتے تھے چاہے وہ کسی جماعت کے ہوں، چاہے کسی گروہ کے ہوں، وہ اگر پہلے چار پانچ چھ سال میں انڈسٹری کی طرف چلے گئے ہیں تو ان کی طرف آپ کو توجہ دینا چاہئے اور ان لوگوں نے کئی بڑے بڑے لائسنس اور پرمٹ لئے ہیں آپ سے درخواست کروں گا کہ یہ تمام چیزیں جب آپ کو موقع ملے ہاؤس کے سامنے رکھیں -

ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں اپی کا ایک  
بار دہر شکر یہ ادا کرنا عوں -

[ श्री ए० एम० आरिक् : मैडम डिप्टी चैयरमैन, मैं मौजूदा बजट के बारे में यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ तक इस बजट का ताल्लुक है उसके बारे में कांग्रेस पार्टी ने और कांग्रेस पार्टी के अलावा और लोगों ने भी मुस्तलिफ़ राय जाहिर की। मैं आपकी तवज्जोह बजट के सिलसिले में सदरे हिन्दुस्तान की उस तकरीर की तरफ़ दिलाना चाहता हूँ जो उन्होंने कल इस लिहाज से मम्बरान पार्लियामेंट के लिये दी। और वो उनकी आखरी तकरीर है। उन्होंने दो तीन बातों की तरफ़ हर मेम्बर आफ पार्लियामेंट की तवज्जोह दिलाई। एक यह कि इन्वेंशन में जो हद से ज्यादा पैसा खर्च हो रहा है उसको रोकना चाहिये वना जम्हूरियत में आम आदमी के लिये इन्वेंशन नइना मुश्किल हो जायेगा।

दूसरी बात जो उन्होंने फरमाई वह यह है कि कहीं कहीं एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन और दूसरे, बियासी अरगनाइजेशन में जो खराबियाँ हैं उनको दूर करना चाहिये। मैं सदरे जम्हूरियत का मशकूर हूँ कि उन्होंने फिर एक बार मुम्बर की हैसियत से एक अजीमंशन हिन्दुस्तानी की हैसियत से, हमारी तवज्जोह इन बातों की तरफ़ दिलाई। अगर हुकूमत इन बातों पर दयानतदारी से कामल करे तो मैं इस हउस को और हाउस के बाहर के लोगों को यकीन दिलाता हूँ कि अइदा जो हिन्दुस्तान होगा वो एक अजमंशन हिन्दुस्तान होगा और एक खुशहाल हिन्दुस्तान होगा।

मैडम डिप्टी चैयरमैन, जिस वक्त हम जम्हूरियत की बात करते हैं तो हमारे सामने चन्द अजमंशन नहीं हैं बल्कि अजाम हैं। जम्हूर-

रियत में सर और हाथ दोनों ही गिने जाते हैं चन्द अशख स नहीं गिने जाते हैं। लेकिन मौजूदा इन्वेंशन ने हमें यह दिखला दिया है कि चाहे आमदमी की कितनी ही शानदार और अजमंशन दयानत ज़िन्दगी क्यों न हो लेकिन वो भी दीतत के सामने लख जाता है और खूफ़ खता है। बहुत से हमारे मि. यार. र. र. बहुत से हमारे रहनुमा, बहुत से हमारे कौमी कारकुन घबरा गये, बर्रा गये, शिक्स्त खा गये, सिफ़ दीतत के सामने। मैं हुकूमत की तवज्जो इस तरफ़ दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि इस बड़ती हुई दीतत को रोकना चाहिये। हम लोगों पर टैक्स न लगायें लेकिन हमें यह देखना चाहिये कि चन्द खंग, चाहे उन लोगों की असीरियत हो या अकलीयत हो, अपने लिये इस क़दर पैसा फराहम कर चुके हैं, और इस क़दर पैसा बनाना चाहते हैं कि वो और चीजों के अलावा हमारी सि. अ. ज़िन्दगी पर भी कब्ज़ा करना चाहते हैं। हम तमाम लोगों को इसकी तरफ़ तवज्जो देना चाहिये।

एकदम डी. चर. टैक्स जो था, अखराजात का जो टैक्स था, उसफ़ान रखने से मसे इन्तहाई अफ़ोस हुआ। मैं खीरे माजियात से एक बार फिर दरखास्त बख़ंगा कि वो इस तरफ़ तवज्जोह फरमाये अर ऐसे खंग जिनके पास ए. ए. से ज्यादा मोटर हैं, मैं यह समझता हूँ, कि उन पर टैक्स लगना चाहिये बल्कि और सस्त टैक्स लगना चाहिये। हमारे सामने मिसालें हैं। आप दम्बई जाइये, कलकता जाइये, दिल्ली जाइये, हर जगह बहुत से ऐसे खानदान हैं कि ख. तदान के हर फ़र के पास ए. ए. मोटर है और ए. ए. ज़ि. है एक खंग के पास दीतत को एक अजमंशन तरीफ़ से इ. त. ब. ल. व. व. दूसरी तरफ़ मैं यह नहीं कहता कि हिन्दुस्तान ने तरबकी नहीं की है। लेकिन जिस तरह तरबकी हमको करनी चाहिये वो इन उजमंशनों करपाये हैं। मैं मुत्तारजी भाई फ़ाइन्स मिनिस्टर, से एक बार फिर दरखास्त बख़ंगा कि वो इसकी तरफ़ तवज्जोह दें।

[श्री ए० एम० तारिक]

हमारे चन्द दोस्तों ने यहां चन्द ऐसे सवाल उठाये हैं जिनकी तरफ मैं आपको तवज्जो दिलाना चाहता हूँ। मैं पब्लिक स्कूल्स और छोटे स्कूल के बारे में ज्यादा परेशान नहीं हूँ। मैं इ कोयरीटो कॉम्प्लेक्स और सुपीरेंट्स कॉम्प्लेक्स का शिकार नहीं हूँ। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि अगर इंसान में खूबसूरती हो, तो वो मामूली स्कूल में भी पढ़ कर अजबमान बन सकता है। हिन्दुस्तान में ऐसे लोगों को कमी नहीं कि जो पब्लिक स्कूल में पढ़ें और फिर काबिल बनें। लेकिन हमारे अफसर रहनुमा मेरे ख्याल में, हमारे फाइन्स निडिस्ट्रिक्ट खुद किसी पब्लिक स्कूल के पढ़े हुए लड़के नहीं हैं। हमारे बहुत से रहनुमा जिन्होंने कोमो गिन्दगी में हमारी रहनुमाई की और जिनके साथ हमने आजादी हासिल की, वे पब्लिक स्कूल के पढ़े हुए नहीं थे, लेकिन वे बात इंसान की अपनी जाती खुशतारी और दयानतदारी की है। अगर आज हम इस बात को तय कर लें कि हमें अपने बच्चों को अच्छा बनाया है तो इसके लिये हमें अच्छी मिसाल देनी चाहिये और हमें स्कूलों के बारे में ज्यादा शगड़ा नहीं करना चाहिये।

मैं आपको तवज्जो इस तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि ए० साहब, शायद वो लो हिता सोसिनिस्ट पार्टी के थे, उन्हें जब काश्मीर का जिक्र किया तो इस अन्दाज से जिया जैसे काश्मीर हिन्दुस्तान से बाहर कोई मुक्त हो। और हिन्दुस्तान के लोग बराय मेहरानो कश्मीरियों को कोई बड़ोफा दे रहे हैं। मैं उनकी तवज्जो इस तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि काश्मीर हिन्दुस्तान का एक हिस्सा ही सूझा है जो कि गुजरात है, बस्बई है, पंजाब है। और हमारा हिन्दुस्तान में उतना ही हक है जितना कि दूसरे सूबों का। हिन्दुस्तान अगर काश्मीर पर कुब्रुत न करता है तो वो अपनी सरहदों पर खन करता है। अगर आज काश्मीर पर पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान के दरम्यान मामला तय भी हो जाये, तब भी हमको यह अखराजत

करने हैं। हमको हिन्दुस्तान की सरहदों की हिफाजत करना है। काश्मीर की सरहद हिन्दुस्तान की सरहद है। वो एक तरफ पाकिस्तान से मिलती है, एक तरफ चीन से मिलती है, एक तरफ रूस से मिलती है और अफगानिस्तान से मिलती है। इतिहास की गलत बातों को फौला करके मैं यह समझता हूँ कि इ० मेम्बर ने हिन्दुस्तान को, या लं दिया सोशलिस्ट पार्टी की कोई खिन्मत नहीं की।

ए० और बात जिसकी तरफ मैं आपकी तवज्जो दिलाना चाहता हूँ वो यह है कि एक साहब ने यह कहा कि वक्त क़ाना है कि पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू रिटायर हो जायें। मैं पं० नेहरू को खुशामद करना नहीं चाहता। मैं पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू का एक वक़र हूँ। मैं उनका गुताम नहीं हूँ। मैं उनका साथी हूँ लेकिन इतना अर्ज करूंगा कि इस इतिहास की बातें करके लोग एक खास किस्म के अफरात-फरात पैदा करना चाहते हैं और इस अफरात-फरात के पीछे ए० बहुत बड़ी सजिशा है। पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू जब मनासिब समझे मेरे ख्याल में वो खूब रिटायर हो जायेंगे। वो न हमारे बहने से रिटायर होंगे और न हमारे बहने से रुक जायेंगे। लेकिन हमको इन बातों की तरफ खरतोर पर तवज्जो देनी चाहिये।

सरदार रघुबीरसिंह पंजाबारी (पंजाब):  
इस हाउस में किसी ने नहीं कहा।

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : इस हाउस में  
कहा। आप मौजूद नहीं थे।

सरदार रघुबीरसिंह पंजाबारी : इस  
हाउस में किसी ने नहीं कहा। स्वाहमस्वाह  
एक कंक मुन्न दये पैदा कीजिये।

श्री ए० एन० तारिक : इसके अलावा  
दूसरे हाउस में याने लोक सभा में एक  
मेम्बर साहब ने इस तरफ हकुमते हिन्दुस्तान  
की तवज्जो दिलाई है कि आसाम के सूबे में  
मुसलमानों की तादाद बढ़ रही है और यह

हिन्दुस्तान के लिये खतरनाक है। मैं इसे सही नहीं समझता हूँ। मुसलमानों की आबादी अगर बढ़ रही है तो उससे हिन्दुस्तान को कोई खतरा नहीं हो सकता। क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान का जो मुसलमान है वो हिन्दुस्तान का सहरी है, वो हिन्दुस्तान का उतना ही वफादार है जितना कि कोई और। एक खास फिरका, एक खास जमायत का यह कहना कि उनकी आबादी बढ़ रही है — उसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि आबादी बढ़ाने में मुसलमान इसलिये आगे हैं कि उनकी बजाय एक के दो शायियां भी होती हैं तीन शायियां भी होती हैं और वो पांच शायियां तक कर सकते हैं। लेकिन यह कहना कि चूँकि हमारी आबादी इस मुल्क में बढ़ रही है हम इस मुल्क के लिये खतरनाक हैं, मैं तमाम सियासी जमायतों की तवज्जो इस तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ और मैं उनसे दरख्वास्त करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर वो इस मुल्क की एकता चाहते हैं, अगर वो हिन्दुस्तान की खुशहाली चाहते हैं, तो उनको ऐसी बातों को रोकना चाहिये, चाहे वो कांग्रेस के मेम्बर हों, चाहे जनसंघ के मेम्बर हों।

एक और बात जिसकी तरफ मैं वजीरे मालियात की तवज्जो दिलाना चाहता हूँ जिसका जिक्र आनरेबल ओबराय साहब ने किया वो टूरिज्म के बारे में है। मैं वहेसियत एक काश्मीरी के यह समझता हूँ कि टूरिज्म इस मुल्क के लिये इन्तहाई जरूरी है और खासतौर से हम काश्मीरियों के लिये। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस तरफ तवज्जो दें कि हिन्दुस्तान से काश्मीर जाने के लिये सिर्फ एक रास्ता है, एक सड़क है, और वो सड़क भी ऐसी है कि आहिस्ता से, आसानी से एक छोटी गाड़ी भी नहीं जा सकती है। इसका असर यह पड़ता है कि जो सामान जाता है, या जो लोग वहाँ जाते हैं, उन पर दुगना खर्च पड़ता है। अगर इस सड़क को मजबूत बनाया जाय और उस पर अच्छी से अच्छी गाड़ियां ८ टन की ६ टन की चले तो एक तो काश्मीर में चीजों की कीमतें कम होंगी

और दूसरे लोग ज्यादा आसानी से वहाँ जा सकेंगे। मैं आपकी तवज्जो इस तरफ भी दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में जो जनरल टूरिज्म है, जो सेन्दल टूरिज्म है, उसके बारे में आप तहकीकात करायें। इसके अखराजात इतने ज्यादा है और इसके अखराजात में इतनी अफरातफरी है कि मैं दयानतदारी से आपकी तवज्जो इस तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

एक और चीज जिसकी तरफ मैं आपकी तवज्जो दिलाना चाहता हूँ वो है इस मुल्क के अखबार और कुछ गैर-मुल्क के अखबारनवीस। आप जानते हैं कि किसी मुल्क की सियासी, समाजी और इतनादी तरकी के लिये यह जरूरी है कि इस मुल्क में जो अखबार हों वो निहायत अच्छे हों और किसी खास जमायत या किसी खास गिरोह के हाथ में न हों। आप से बेहतर इस बात को कौन जानता है, जनाब वजीरेमालियात के इस मुल्क के अखबारात चन्द गिने हुए लोगों के हाथ में हैं और वो जिस तरह चाहे उनका इस्तेमाल कर सकते हैं। मैं आपकी तवज्जो एक खास वाकिया की तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ। यह वाकिया है नार्थ बम्बई के इलेक्शन का। इतवार को इलेक्शन होना था नार्थ बम्बई का और शनिचरवार की रात को पी० टी० आई० के जरिये खबर आई कि लद्दाख में चीनी फौजें रूसी बक्तरबन्द गाड़ियों में आ गई हैं। ये खबर गंगटोक की थी और पेरिस से चली थी। जनाबेवाला मैं इस वक्त इस मसले पर राय देना नहीं चाहता कि वहाँ कौन जीतता या कौन हारता। लेकिन बाहर के मुल्कों के नामानिगारों की ऐसी खबरें और पी० टी० आई० के जरिये भेजी जायें जिससे इस मुल्क में सियासी जिन्दगी बदल सकती है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इस तरफ तवज्जो दें हुकूमत इस तरफ तवज्जो दें कि इस मुल्क में छोटे छोटे अखबार जो देहातों में छपते हैं चाहे वो हिन्दी में हों, अंग्रेजी में हों, गुरुमुखी में हों या पंजाबी में हों, ग्राम

[श्री ए० एम० तारिक]

छोटे छोटे जो लोग हैं उनको भी सरपरस्ती मिलनी चाहिये । यह नहीं होना चाहिये कि किसी एक खास गिरोह को हम इस मूलक में अखवारनवीसी सुपुर्द कर दें और फिल्म के बारे में वो अखवार निकालें, कामर्स और इंडस्ट्री के बारे में वो अखवार निकालें, फाइनेन्स के बारे में वो अखवार निकालें । मैं आप से दरखास्त करता हूँ कि इन लोगों के अखराजात की आप एक खास किस्म कि तहकीकात करायें ।

इसके अलावा मैं एक लफ्ज में एक बात आप से और अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूँ और वो ये है कि जिस तरह से हम हुकूमत और हुकुमत की कार्यवाहियों पर नुक्ताचीनी करते हैं, इसी तरह से हमें खुद अपने ऊपर करना चाहिये । ऐसे मेम्बरान पार्लियामेंट जो पहले बिजनेस नहीं करते थे इन्डस्ट्री नहीं करते थे, चाहे वो किसी जमायत के हों चाहे किसी गिरोह के हों वो अगर पिछले चार, पांच साल में इन्डस्ट्री की तरफ चले गये हैं, तो उनको तरफ आपको तबज्जो देना चाहिये और उन लोगों ने कितने बड़े बड़े लाइसेन्स और परमिट लिये । मैं आपसे दरखास्त करूंगा कि ये तमाम चीजें जब आपको मौका मिले हाउस के सामने रखें ।

इन अल्फाज के साथ मैं आपका एक वार फिर वृत्तिया अदा करता हूँ ।”]

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam Deputy Chairman, before you call the Finance Minister, this morning you must have noticed that there was a desire expressed in this House that the House should be given more time for discussing the General Budget and that the Finance Minister—if you could kindly agree—should speak tomorrow morning so that we get at least one and a half hours more— assuming that we are sitting up to half-past five—for the Members of the

House. Now, I do not know whether you got the suggestion conveyed; to the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs or to the Finance Minister.

But it seems that you are going. 4 P.M. to call him now. If it is so,...

Madam Deputy Chairman, I would like to know how it was decided that exactly at 4 o'clock and at no other point of time, the Finance Minister will be called upon to speak and how it was decided that the debate—the general discussion on the Budget— must close at exactly 4 o'clock by cutting the speech of the last Congress-speaker to ten minutes. It may be done in two ways, either through the Business Advisory Committee—as far as we know, the Business Advisory Committee never met and gave any advice whatsoever in this matter—or it may have been done by the Chairman on his own. I know that the Chair has that power, perhaps, but that is one of the Ordinance-making powers of the Chair and we submit to it but we, of the Opposition, had never been consulted. I do not know what the other colleagues here have to say but as for me, I have never been consulted or our Party has never been consulted as to how this particular Budget discussion should be arranged in order to see that Members are accommodated. I am not talking about the Opposition. I am talking about the entire House. I do not know whether the Congress Party has been consulted. Evidently they have been consulted but certainly the interests-of many Members opposite have not been taken into account in this matter. That is what I feel because the Members who spoke here made a point that since, we discuss the Budget only—the general discussion—and we do not have an opportunity to go into discussion on Grants, we should have a little more time. Anybody would say that this is a very reasonable demand. I do not know how these have been settled. Therefore, I would not like, Madam Deputy Chairman, to create any difficulties here in the discharge of your duties but I think in all fairness, we would like-

to know exactly how the decision had been arrived at.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This morning Mr. Bhupesh Gupta raised a point that the debate should go on and the Finance Minister should reply to-morrow. I said that I would consider the point but then I found that it was not practicable for the Finance Minister to put off his reply till to-morrow. Now Mr. Gupta is aware of the Rules of Procedure according to which the Chairman, in consultation with the Government, fixes the time-limit for such a debate as this, on financial business. Besides, it is the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, who announces his programme every Friday, I think, in this House and so he did announce his programme and that was the proper time when Mr. Gupta could have asked for more time. The Finance Minister.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam. You call him but may I make one correction?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have called the Finance Minister.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA-. The Parliamentary Affairs Minister never gave the time. (*Interruptions.*)

Do not shout at me like that. You know it very well. Madam, you control Mr. Yajee . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Morarji Desai, you will begin.

(*Interruptions.*)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I make a correction that you never announced the time. Anyway this is the attitude of the Members 'opposite. I know that you have a large number and you can silence us but at least we can make our voice felt.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I am very sorry that my hon. friend, Mr. Gupta, should be annoyed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not annoyed.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: When this debate was fixed, I was told on Monday that I have to reply here at \* o'clock and I have to reply in the other House to-morrow. This is what I was told and I have stuck to that programme myself. It has been difficult for me to be present here all the while because I have to attend to both the Houses on the same day for a debate on the same subject. I have tried to devote my time between the two Houses equally and I have acquainted myself with what has been spoken here as far as it has been possible for me to do so.

I am, as usual, very thankful to all hon. Members for whatever appreciation they have given to the Budget proposals, for their concrete suggestions and also for their criticism, because all the three enable me to get a proper picture of the budget proposals and my course of action for the future. The most relevant question that arises on the Budget would be whether the order of taxation which is levied is justified or whether it is necessary or whether it is appropriate. Of course that does not mean that all the other points discussed here were irrelevant. By a common convention it has always been held that every subject that can be discussed, can be discussed on the Budget debate. That of course creates some difficulty for me because it is not possible for me within the given compass of time, to reply to all the points raised on all the subjects that can ever be considered. . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: **The** other Ministers can reply. Why should you reply?

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: If other Ministers try to intervene, then it is said that the Ministers are taking away the time allotted to the House.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA; We will have more time.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: That also makes it difficult. Time cannot be

[Shri Morarji R. Desai.] unending and cannot be allotted as the hon. Member wants it to be allotted. That is not always possible. After all, the business of the Houses is carried on according to known principles, conventions, traditions and rules and we cannot, as we like, go on changing them for our own convenience. My hon. friend also has got to submit to some discipline and I am very happy that he has submitted to discipline today and I congratulate him. I hope that is what he will do always. It is a good augury for the future.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But your Budget is a bad augury for the future. My submission to discipline is good. Your Budget is bad. That is what I say.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: That my hon. friend has got to say, whatever it may be. Even if it is good, he will always say that it is bad but that I do not grudge. When he says it is bad, I infer that it is good. If he says it is good, then I would become very suspicious.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That, Madam, I say is good. If he is so colour-blind that he interprets the English word in the absolutely diametrically opposite way, I say it is good.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: My friend chose not to speak on this debate and therefore wants to make up by all sorts of interruptions, but that also is not new. He has always been used to do it. As I proceed to speak, he cools down and then he remains silent and that also will be the procedure on this particular reply that I am going to make because he finds it inconvenient afterwards to stand up and interrupt. That is what I do to him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let others do that.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Madam, the overall order of taxation which has been presented, if my impression is correct, has been generally accepted. It has been accepted that looking to our plans and our requirements, the taxation which has been levied or which is sought to be levied is of the proper order, is required for the fulfilment of the Plans this year and also the Five Year Plan which is now current. Of course that does not mean that everybody thinks so. There are two extreme opinions also, along with this. One opinion is that all this taxation was not required and the other opinion is that I should have taxed much more than this and finished the whole taxation for the Third Plan this very year. Both these extremes, as usual in the case of extremes, proceed from an unbalanced appreciation of facts. Extremes can never lead us to the right way. That is a well-known proposition, at any rate in our philosophy, and it applies to everything. Therefore, these extreme suggestions also prove that the order that has been there is appropriate and is justified but I would like to explain why a lesser taxation would not have served our purpose. After all, the taxation that is now levied or the Budget that is presented now is in conformity with our ideal of working our economy according to a settled plan. We are trying to develop ourselves by stages in a planned way. We have finished two Plans and the Third Plan is going on. That Plan was discussed by the House and the Plan has been accepted. That Plan envisages an extra taxation of Rs. 1100 crores in five years. If that taxation is to be realised, then we have got to see that it is done in a proper manner. It was argued here by one hon. friend that there is no plan about taxation. That was said only because he does not know the plan and because the plan for taxation cannot be revealed. If the plan for taxation is revealed in advance, then the Finance Minister can as well resign and get

out but he has a plan for himself for all the five years.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I doubt if you would ever . . .

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: That is because my hon. friend thinks of planning for himself and also planning that I do not exist. That is his ambition.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No. Madam, that is very unkind of him.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: He can go on saying that. I know that neither I nor the gods are going to oblige him. He also knows that very well and, therefore, he takes it smilingly.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: And also the gentleman from Madras knows.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Now, last year's taxation provided for Rs. 450 crores and this year's taxation will take us to about Rs. 400 crores more. This is rather high, but we need not change it. Then, in the next three years we have got to provide for Rs. 250 crores more. That can be done but if I had provided for a lesser taxation this year, then it would not have been possible to achieve the result in the next three years because if we provide for this taxation in the first two years, we get for the first year's taxation five times that tax amount and for the second year we get four times but if we do it in the next three years, the last year will be for one year only and, therefore, it will not be a proper proposition to levy a larger taxation in the last years because then the slab would have to be much larger. In the same way, on the other side, if I had to levy all the taxation in the first two years, then it would have to be of the order of Rs. 120 crores in the first year and more than Rs. 100 crores or Rs. 130 crores in the second year. Now, that would

also be a terrible burden for the country to carry or the economy to bear. After all, taxation cannot be levied simply because we want to levy it; nor should taxation be levied merely for the pleasure of it. Taxation would be a pleasure for nobody to levy but taxation is a necessity also both for the purpose of meeting our expenditure and more for the purpose of fulfilling our Plans whose aim is to see that we bring about the development of this country in such a way that there is full social justice and equality, that we remove poverty from this country which is the immediate priority. If we have got to do that, we have got to have more production because without production there cannot be any more production of wealth and without production of wealth there cannot be any distribution of wealth. If we have got to do all that, we must have investment and investment cannot be carried out unless there is saving and savings are of various kinds. Even taxation is a method of saving. Savings are from small savings and also from loans. In this manner, we have got to tap various resources so that the economy is utilised in a proper planned manner. This purpose of taxation has, therefore, to be borne in mind whenever any taxation is levied. If we judge the present taxation from that point of view, or even the past taxation, then I hope that hon. Members will be satisfied that these purposes have been borne in mind in suggesting the items for taxation which I have suggested and which I have requested the hon. Houses to agree to. It has been said that this taxation does not take us nearer to socialism or the socialist order of society which is our aim. Well, Madam, I have not said that any one Budget is going to bring in socialism in the country. The cleverest man or the greatest genius on earth will not be able to do it and socialism cannot be brought into the country even in two years, three years or five years or even in ten years. It is a continuous process



[Shri Morarji R. Desai.] and will have to go on but the only thing that has to be considered is that we have got to do it as quickly as possible and in such a manner that whatever we do is properly digested and brings in a healthy development and not a lop-sided development or an unhealthy growth anywhere in the society. This is how we have been trying to arrange the economy of this country. When I present a Budget, it is not my personal Budget. It is the Budget on behalf of Government, a Government which the political organisation to which I have the honour and privilege to belong runs and it is in keeping with the ideals which this organisation has put before the country and the ideals which have been accepted by Parliament. It is those ideals which govern me in presenting the Budget and that is how I have done it. Therefore, if it is said that I have erred, well, I may have erred but it is not merely my Budget. That must be remembered, and I will be the last person to bring in my own personal views in public matters but I must say one thing and that is that whatever is done by Government or by any member of the Government is done in full loyalty to the ideals which we profess and in this I do not think, whatever may be the criticism, any member of the Government is going to fail. Of course, there will be criticisms, some prejudiced, some unprejudiced, some deliberate, some ignorant, but that is the fate of every public man, and after being in public life for more than 32 years I have learnt and learnt very well that one must bear this cross patiently but one must not be disheartened in doing one's service to the best of one's capacity and one must go on learning from all this criticism rather than getting to dislike all the people who make the criticism. I do not dislike anybody who criticises me. On the contrary, I thank him for showing me, at any rate, some ray somewhere even if he did not intend to do so. I am also very

thankful to the hon. Shri Bhupesh Gupta everytime he speaks, even though he speaks vehemently, because whatever he says, at any rate, gives me some knowledge whether to avoid a certain pitfall or to gain something. Both things are a matter of benefit for me; neither is a matter of disadvantage to me.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Thank you very much.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: My hon. friend will have to thank me constantly in his life.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I will be very happy to do so.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It may be done outside.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Therefore if this comes from that point of view I have no doubt that all reasonable people will have very little quarrel about it. Let us therefore see why it is said that this does not represent a particular trend or philosophy and whether it does not represent a socialist order of things. Of course, when my Communist friends say that this is not a socialist thing, I have no quarrel with them because the socialism of the Congress is not the socialism of the Communist Party. On that score I have no doubt whatsoever in my mind.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): Yours is the philosophy of the Big Business.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: That is what pains them; that is what bothers them and that is why I bother them very much. The socialism of the Congress and of the Government is the very real socialism in that we want to see that every person in this country lives happily and lives as a free individual in a fully democratic society. We want no exploitation and we want equal opportunity for everybody. This is what we want to achieve. But

because we want to achieve it we have not said that we have achieved it. Nobody can achieve it. Even in the heaven of my hon. friend they have not achieved it even after 44 years of exertion. Even there they are far behind it. When it is said that indirect taxation is only a taxation of the poor it is forgotten by those hon. friends that in the country of their choice there is nothing but indirect taxation. There is hardly any direct taxation; there is only income tax at the rate of 12J per cent and that too, when I went there I was told by the highest in the land that they were going to give up. They do not want it. And I said very rightly, 'You can easily do so because you have not got to bother about it. You can always take it through prices.' Because there is nobody to challenge the prices, the prices can be fixed as they like. It is said that we should draw everything from the public sector factories. If we have a different kind of political arrangement, certainly that is the thing which one might do. But that is not what we want. That would certainly be drawing only from the poor people and much less from the rich. And when they say that there is great disparity in incomes here, the disparity of income there is not much less, It is much greater. The highest income is 25,000 roubles per month and the lowest is 500 roubles; it is 50 times difference. That is not the difference between the Minister here who draws Rs. 2250 and the Chaprassi who draws about Rs. 80 or Rs. 90. And out of this Rs. 2250 income tax is paid and that is about Rs. 5,000 per year. Therefore if you consider that, the disparity is much less than it is there but I do not say this in order to run down that economy. That is not my purpose because I have no business to run down the economy of any other country.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Which country are you talking about?

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: My hon. friend knows it very well. I need not say anything more about it but he always wants to hear the name also. That is very pleasing to him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Since you have been pleased to quote a country, let us have the name.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Therefore when the question of prices is referred to, I can only give one instance of how prices are regulated. We exported shoes from here at Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 per pair.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Same old story?

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: And the same thing is charged there at Rs. 100 to Rs. 125. Now one can understand why there is no necessity of having any direct taxes there. Why should there be any income tax? Everybody pays about 40 per cent or more through indirect taxation and therefore no other taxation is required. I do not see if anybody here will welcome that kind of taxation. But even when there is a much less order of indirect taxation here my hon. friends here tell me that all this is wrong and all this should be given up. I do not know what they want. This year we have levied Rs. 27 crores of direct taxation and Rs. 44 crores or a little more than that of indirect taxation. I do not think in any country you can have a higher resort to direct taxation than what we have levied this year and in future years also I do not think it will be possible for anybody to do so if he has any reason within himself. After all, the purpose of taxation is to see that we take most from those who can pay most. But we have also to take even a little from all those who are also poor. In a country like this where there are 443 millions of people and out of them only a million pay income tax and probably one or two millions more who have the same kind

[Shri Morarji R. Desai.] of income from agriculture but who do not pay any tax on it, it means only 3 million people have an income over Rs. 3,000 and all the rest are below that. If we say that we want to take even half the salary of all these people, what will we get? We have got to tax howsoever low it may be also the rest of the 440 million people and if we do not do so, we will not be able to develop this country as fast as we want to develop. More than that it will also not raise the level of these 440 million people. It will not enhance their self-respect; it will not give them courage; it will not give them self-confidence if they do not have the feeling that they have contributed towards the development of the country. Nobody will have any regard or self-respect left if he lives on other people, if he does not contribute, howsoever little it may be, to the development of himself or herself. It is also from that point of view that it is necessary and it is therefore that we brought down also the minimum level for income tax to Rs. 3,000 because as incomes go on increasing that is what we will have to do.

It is said that the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer in this country as a result of the policies followed by us. Let me examine some of the statistics that are before us and these are actual facts which anybody can go and verify. We shall see the incomes of different sections of society. I will take two years for comparison, 1953-54 and 1959-60, and the range of incomes that I am taking would vary from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000, from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000, from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 25,000, from Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 40,000, from Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 70,000, from Rs. 70,000 to Rs. 1 lakh and above one lakh. In 1953-54 the total income in crores of rupees in the range between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 10,000 was 123, that is, 30.1 per cent. In 1959-60 it has risen to Rs. 201.4 crores, that is 32.2 per cent. The income between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 15,000 was Rs. 61.9 crores, that is,

15 per cent, in 1953-54 and in 1959-60\* it rose to Rs. 109.8 crores which is 17.5 per cent. Between Rs. 15,000 and Rs. 25,000 it was Rs. 66 crores, 16 per cent which went up to Rs. 112 crores and 17.9 per cent. Between Rs. 25,000 and Rs. 40,000 it was Rs. 50 crores and 12 per cent, and it went up to Rs. 78 crores and became 12.5 per cent. Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 70,000 it was Rs. 42 crores and 10.3 per cent, and it rose to Rs. 61.6 crores and became 9.8 per cent. Rs. 70,000 to Rs. 1 lakh— Rs. 17.5 crores and 4.3 per cent, which went up to Rs. 22 crores and it has become 3.6 per cent. Above one lakh Rs. 48 crores. It was 11.8 per cent. It went down to Rs. 40 crores and it has now become 6.5 per cent. Therefore, it will be seen that the higher incomes are going down and the lower incomes are rising up. The numbers of people in the lower incomes are also rising. I would show this also from the number of assesseees, who have increased in all these brackets. The number of persons who paid income-tax or the number of assesseees between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 10,000 in 1953-54 was 1,77,615, that is, 60.8 per cent. It went up to 2,89,297, that is, 60 per cent. In each bracket it is 60.2 per cent. The percentage of increase in the number of assesseees in each bracket to the total increase is 593 per cent. That is how it has increased. Between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 15,000, the number was 50,000. It has **now** become 90,000. Between Rs. 15,000 and Rs. 25,000 it was 34,000. It has gone up to 58,000. Between Rs. 25,000 and Rs. 40,000, it has gone up from 16,000 to 25,000. Between Rs. 40,000 and Rs. 70,000, it has gone up from 8,000 to 12,000. Between Rs. 70,000 and Rs. 1 lakh, from 2100 it has gone up to 2700. But above one lakh rupees it has come down from 2224 to 2159: There also you will find that the number has decreased in the last slab and it has increased much more in the case of income between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 10,000. I have not collected the figures between Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 5,000, but they must have increased **much** more during these years. So, it will be seen that the incomes are **not** going more and more to the higher

sections, but the income is getting distributed more and more lower below. That, of course, does not mean that we have been able to reach the lowest level.

SHRI GOVINDAN NAIR (Kerala): You have given income groups between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 1 lakh. What about the rest?

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: That is what I have been saying, that it does not mean that we have reached all sections, but even those incomes are increasing. What is the meaning of assessee—with income between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 10,000—increasing from 1,79,000 to 2,89,000? So many more persons have come in that bracket. In the same way, more persons have come in the bracket of Rs. 3,000, more persons have come in the bracket of Rs. 2,000, more persons have come in the bracket of Rs. 1,000 and so on. It has gone on.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Altogether how many?

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD (Maharashtra): What about the labour class?

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Even the labour class have increased their income. You cannot say that it has not increased.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Money income!

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Money and also real value. It is no use saying this. When this is said it is forgotten—when, you talk of prices—that the prices have gone up, prices have gone up by 30 per cent, in the Second Five Year Plan.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): May I ask the Finance Minister, whatever these statistics might be, whether it is not a fact that the rate of income-tax in India is the highest in the world, with our poor per capita income?

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I do not agree.

SHRI A. D. MANI: The facts are there.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: It is not the highest in the world. The highest slab here is 87 per cent. The highest in the world is 92 per cent. Therefore, how is it the highest?

SHRI A. D. MANI: At Rs. 70,000\* the highest level is reached in India, while in the case of the higher levels in the United States of America and the U. K. I had given all those figures in my speech.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: My hon. friend should have a sense of proportion in applying things. One must apply the highest income there, the highest property there and the highest wealth there and in that context consider the income which we are comparing. You have to compare Rs. 70,000 with the highest here. Is it realised that the wealth of all the companies in this country is not equal perhaps to the wealth of one General Motors Company in the United States of America? This is the kind of wealth that we possess in this country and still you want to compare the income at that level in America with the income here. I do not think that, it would be a proper comparison at all. Let us have in this matter a very realistic sense of proportion. That is all that I am saying. We are poor. We want to be better, but we cannot be better by merely running ourselves down, or by comparing ourselves in a wrong manner with other people. If somebody can run ten miles and if I am able to run only half a mile, it does not mean that I must immediately attempt to run ten miles. I may attempt to run from half a mile to a quarter of mile more. If I try to do much more than that, I will die. But at that stage the man who runs ten miles will also run 10J miles. Perhaps he will increase his capacity more. But that does not mean that I am not advancing. To say that we are not advancing is not right. In the initial stages, when we build up the foundations, the

[Shri Morarji R. Desai.] progress is bound to be a bit slow. When the building is built up to a certain level, then the progress becomes much faster. In the beginning it may be at arithmetical progression. As you go up, it may be at geometrical progression. It depends upon the wisdom that we have. It depends upon the patience that we have. It depends upon the co-operation that we want to give to each other. Unless we do that, we are not going to pool together all our energies and strength and unless we pool together all our energies, it will not be possible for us to put in our maximum effort. It will be certainly the task of the Government to see that all people give their co-operation and that is what we are trying to do. I would not quarrel with my hon. friends. If they quarrel with me, I do not want to quarrel with them. I want their help every time and I should try always to take it. But if they do not give me their help, I do not quarrel with them. I cannot take help on their conditions. I can take their help only on mutually agreed conditions. Therefore, it has got to be seen to that we work on some common basis, on some common programmes. If that is not done, I have no quarrel. They can go on their way and we can go on our own way.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: You put your own conditions, that is the trouble.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I only want conditions which are reasonable, which are human.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mutual benefit.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA (Bihar): May I just intervene for a minute, if the Finance Minister agrees? What I feel and some of us on this side of the House feel is that the figures which have been given by the Finance Minister only prove the point that we have been making that the rich have become richer and the poor have become poorer.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: This is not a point to be made now.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: No, no. But he has given these figures just to demolish the argument. What I am submitting is this that it just proves the point. He has given the figures as regards the number of people, that there has been a rise in the number of people from the lower bracket to the higher brackets . . .

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I am very sorry . . .

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: . . .but the working class earnings have been eroded by the rise in prices. Their real wages have fallen down, which has been accepted by the Government.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I do not know how the hon. Member can interrupt like this and make a speech.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Have you read the Report of the Study Team headed by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan?

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Let him read the figures that I have given. The hon. Member can then, make his point and I will put him wise afterwards. I do not want to argue about it just now. Anybody who wants to find meaning from it can find it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You have proved our case. Thank you very much.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: That is very good. If that is so, you should thank me. There is nothing wrong about it. Ultimately it is my business to see that I give correct information to all the Members in the House. I do not want to hide anything. Anybody who wants to apply his mind can apply it. Whatever mind he has, he can apply to it. I can only help in improving it, but I cannot improve it myself. That is all that I can say. Then, Madam, it has been said that this taxation would not be necessary if we lessened non-development expenditure, non-Plan expenditure, and

if we made economies. Whereas I agree that every care should be exercised in the matter of what is called non-development expenditure, non-Plan expenditure and in the matter of economies, I am not prepared to say that all that has been said is correct, that there is much wasteful expenditure, that there are no economies effected, that all non-development expenditure and all non-Plan expenditure is futile or is money wasted. Therefore, I have explained this every year, and yet I find that the same position is taken up by hon. Members on this point without paying any heed to what I say, and I must go on repeating the same fact again and again in the hope that one day it will be accepted.

Madam, it has been said, by taking the figures in the explanatory memorandum where the distribution of revenue and expenditure and expenditure on administrative services have been shown, that the expenditure is rising all the while. Now I cannot say that it has not increased. It has increased over the last decade, but why has it increased? That also I have explained. A small part of this increase, as I have said before, is also due to reclassification, which is not a real increase. An expenditure from one side is taken and put on another side, and thus it shows an increase. But apart from that there has been in the same period an increase in the expenditure on social and developmental services from Rs. 25 crores to Rs. 163 crores. Now it cannot be said that this expenditure is not very vital and is not necessary. That is very necessary. You cannot say that that is administrative expenditure which is wrongly made. We have got to remember that increased expenditure on administration also becomes necessary.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY:  
(Madras): It strictly relates to administrative services and not to social and developmental services.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: They also get covered up when the figures are taken. That is where the difficulty

lies. I am also taking the increase in pure administration where I do say that it is necessary to some extent and, therefore, it has got to be done. When more development is made and outlays on development are there, there is a larger burden on administration. It requires a larger administrative service, and therefore more money has got to be spent. Whether it is appropriate or whether it is proportionately up has got to be constantly seen, and we are all the while at it. I may say, as I said last year, that we have got a ban on new servants being employed. We have said that if any new people are to be engaged for any new jobs to be created, the specific permission must be taken of the Finance Minister and the Public Minister. This has stopped recruitment of about 2,000 people annually. That is the estimate that we have formed during the last two years, and that ban continues. We have also appointed a special Reorganisation Unit which examines every Ministry and "every Department, but it will take some time before we can examine all the Ministries and all the Departments. They have done several, and wherever they have gone they have suggested methods of better working which has led to retrenchment, which has led to economies, and we have saved in that way, I think, in the last year or two years about Rs. 44 lakhs per annum. But we go on doing that scientifically so that we do not harm the interests of proper administration, and that is why we have got to go at it scientifically and not merely by a rule of the thumb saying that 5 per cent, may be retrenched or 10 per cent, may be retrenched. Scientific methods of conducting work study have been evolved and economies have been achieved in some Departments, while in some others the further growth of staff has been arrested. This is what the Unit has achieved and is going on achieving. We are training members from every Ministry in this method of work so that this goes on being applied every year and from time to time. Therefore, it will be a continuing process.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Does this Unit consist mostly of civil servants or some members are recruited from outside?

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: They are recruited from wherever they are available. But let hon. Members not think so lightly of the Administrative Service or of the civil servants. Civil servants are highly trained people. It is very easy just here to talk safely against them. But if it comes to a comparison of capacities, it will require a different agency to do that. Therefore, let us also evaluate them properly. After all it is the work of civil servants and anybody who is taken from outside also will become a civil servant when he gets into it. Therefore, why try to run down a civil servant? A wrong civil servant may be run down but every civil servant need not be run down. Most of the civil servants have been doing very good work. Why try to run them down? As I said, from wherever one may draw them, once they are drawn in the service, they all become civil servants.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Not when they are temporary.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Even if they are temporary, they become civil servants.

Then it was said that there is a large scope for economy also in Plan outlays. I do say that there is, and we are constantly at it. It was also suggested that there was a lot of construction work done which could be cut down. There also we have a special Committee which goes on examining this, suggesting methods whereby expenditure can be cut down, and they are all adopted, those methods. But if it is thought that all construction work should stop, it will become a very dangerous thing. After all construction is required everywhere, for everything, whatever you want to do. Of course it was suggested that we should not have large buildings for offices. When we have got

to have permanent offices in the country, should we spend money in such a way that we go on repeating that expenditure every year and wasting money? We must have buildings which are substantial. They should not be ornamental but they should be economical. They should be such as would not require us to waste money on repairing them every year. If we use land which is worth Rs. 40 a square yard or Rs. 100 a square yard, we cannot build on it a structure, which is worth Rs. 5,000. We have got to build a structure which must be appropriate to it. Otherwise it will be a misuse of Government money, of public money. Therefore, that has also got to be considered. How can we economise by not constructing, roads or not having factory buildings or irrigation works or schools or hospitals? All these have got to be built, and these are also major portions in our development and in our Plans. To say that we should economise entirely by merely making a suggestion is very easy. But to take out money from it and still to make it efficient and effective is a problem which has got to be attended to. May I assure my hon. friends here that Government is very much alive to the necessity of seeing that we spend the least amount of money keeping in view all the while the necessity of maintaining efficiency and effectiveness in the amount of money that is spent. That is how this Government has been applying its mind to it, and that is how the Finance Ministry also is applying its mind to it.

It was also said that we could have much more money from our investments on the public sector projects. We should have. I have myself spoken about it in what I said here in presenting the Budget. But there too, even though I have explained the fact, wrong inferences are drawn by saying that we are not deriving proper profits from what we have invested. It is true that the figures given in Annexure 17 of the Explanatory Memorandum show that the dividends accruing to Government in the current year would be Rs. 2-58 crores over a *toUX*

investment of the order of Rs. 700 crores. But one should see what this sum of Rs. 700 crores means. In it there are three categories. The concerns that are shown in that are at different stages of development and most of the concerns have not yet reached the full production stage. How can one expect to receive profits from those concerns which have not yet reached the production stage? Now, out of Rs. 700 crores, such concerns would account for about Rs. 450 crores. Then, there is also an investment . . .

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: May I ask a question? Why are not such things shown separately and properly in that Annexure? Why should it give rise to such a misunderstanding?

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: If every single item is going to be explained in the manner in which my hon. friend wants, I think I will require, instead of 2,000 pages, 5,000 pages or 10,000 pages, and none will be the wiser for it. But whenever it is asked, it can be given. Nobody keeps back anything. Reports are given. Everything can be examined.

Out of the rest, there is an investment of about Rs. 125 crores on concerns such as the Hindustan Aircraft, Bharat Electronics, the Oil and Natural Gas Commission and so on. Now, these are not to be judged solely from their revenue-earning capacities. They are intended for meeting the promotional development or the defence requirements of the country. Therefore, one cannot say that they must ■ earn 10 per cent., they may not earn anything. You will find that the factories which are already fully running are making good profits. During 1960-61, the National Development Corporation made a profit of Rs. 104 crores, the Hindustan Machine Tools: Rs. 74 lakhs; the Indian Telephone Industries: Rs. 47 lakhs and the Hindustan Antibiotics: Rs. 79 lakhs. All these profits, except for a sum of Rs. 53 lakhs in the case

of the Hindustan Machine Tools and Rs. 9 lakhs in the case of the Indian Telephone Industries, were ploughed back for further investment, because they are also shown as reserves. That is not shown here. But the reserves also are earning by themselves and they are utilised for further development. It must have been seen by hon. Members that the Hindustan Machine Tools aims at building another factory from its own earnings.

DTWAN CHAMAN LALL (Punjab): Two.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: That is what they are going to do. How can they do that if they are not earning money?

Therefore, if one looks at these things from only one point of view— finding fault with them—one can find many faults. I do not say that there are no faults anywhere or that there are no shortcomings or no shortfalls. They are there. After all, Government agencies are full of only human beings and all human beings are not perfect. And all the accumulated imperfect things collect together other imperfections too. And, therefore, there are bound to be some faults. But we are providing methods and also strategies whereby we try to see that the imperfections are minimised and we see to it that they do not come in Our way. And that is where we invite the help of all hon. Members and of those who are prepared to help us in removing these imperfections and in making things work better and better. I will thank all hon. Members for giving any specific suggestions that they want to give me and to give the Government. Government will always be obliged to them for making suggestions, not only for finding faults but also for making suggestions. But may I point out a simile? I do not want to apply it in that strict manner here but I want to convey a meaning to it. Therefore, I am giving that simile. Please do not think that I am meaning any disrespect to anybody or there is a comparison to that



[Shri Morarji R. Desai.] A book was written by an American lady, Miss Katherine Mayo, about India and she had pointed out all sorts of things against India and what picture obtained in India. When Mahatma Gandhi was told about this, he said, "Well, whatever she has said, we cannot say it is wrong. But if one looks only at the drains, surely one finds the gutter. One does not find anything else." And gutters have got to be there. And wastages are not always unnatural. There is some wastage which is also natural. That must not be mixed up with the unnatural wastage. Any wastage that is due to indifference or incompetence or bad planning certainly must not be compared to ordinary wear and tear. Ordinary mistakes which are common to all human beings must not be magnified into losses and wastages of Government. It has been said that the Public Accounts Committee has pointed out from time to time the enormous amount of losses due to mismanagement and that Government is not taking anything into account. Madam, I must also here say that when this was said, I began to worry as to what the position was. And it was said that thousands of crores of rupees were wasted like that and would be wasted. I examined the Audit Reports of the last three years. I totalled up all the losses pointed out in all those Audit Reports for each year and I found that all these Audit Reports in one year related to about Rs. 3,000 crores of expenditure and the amount of loss pointed out in the whole year in all the Audit Reports did not go beyond Rs. 3 crores. Now what is the percentage? The loss was ■ 12 per cent. And is this loss so great that this Government must be castigated in a manner which goes to show that it is completely incompetent and reckless and extravagant? Well, that can be said. It may be a legitimate criticism by the opposition if they consider it so. But it will not do any good to them because it will also give them a lopsided view to their own intelligence and to their power of judgment. And

I am more concerned with that because they are as great an asset to this country as anybody else, and I want . . .

SHRI ROHIT M. DAVE (Gujarat): Out of the sum of Rs. 450 crores which has been provided for in the Third Five Year Plan, during the first two years how much is likely to be realised?

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I cannot say off-hand just now. But those Rs. 450 crores are not merely profits. They are also relating to the Reserve-Fund and all the other things which we are utilising and I think we will realise it. I do not say that we will not realise it. That is my estimate.

Therefore, Madam, when I say ail these, I only want to show how Government is careful to take note of all that is being said by my hon. friends. Whether appreciative, whether deprecatory, whether condemnatory, or in whatever way it is said, we try to take a good meaning out of it and try to improve ourselves. And that is what we are constantly trying to do.

Looking to the items of taxation, very little has been said. Something was said by an hon. friend that the increase of 5 per cent, in the corporation tax is very high. It is not at all very high. Of course, the majority of people will say that it is not high at all. I do not, therefore, go into that. I think that it is a well-deserved tax which is put on the corporations. But it was said that prices increased: and increased so much that the poor men were hit. And I was told that the prices had gone up in everything and the poor men were hit. Now in the taxation that is made this year, which are the items which concern the common man? The only items which concern the common man are tea and matches and tobacco. On matches no extra tax is levied. But it was said that the prices had gone from six naye Paise to seven naye Paise. I have enquired even today and I find that the prices have come down to six

naye Paise, and they are not remaining at seven naye Paise. It does happen in the beginning for some days that people try to take advantage and do that. We have got to find out some ways and means to see that that does not happen. But the most effective way is public opinion 5 P.M. and popular pressure. Instead of doing that, if all the while Government is going to be badgered about it, I do not see whether Government will be able to find a way. Government constantly tries to find a way. I tried to do it during the whole of last year; I have not been able to find it; I might find it again in the course of the next few months. If I find it, I will certainly put it into practice, but one way is also to have large consumer co-operative stores and if a few hon. friends here take up that task and start them, Government will be prepared to help them in that task, to see that those consumer stores function properly, that they are not in any way hampered on account of capital. That we can do if they are co-operative stores. Then there will be an automatic check on the prices and nobody will dare to do it. Another way of course—one which is not so very possible of attainment probably, because human nature is what it is—is that if people cease to buy something for about a month or so, I think these people will automatically come down to lower the prices themselves. But I said in the beginning myself that it is not possible to expect people to act that way. Even I found, I was amazed to find the moment I ceased to speak on the Budget, the moment I finished my speech, that there was a run from the public galleries to the market to buy some things. That is how we work in this country, and no wonder that prices go up. This is what I noticed on that day, and I actually pursued it and found it out. This is how things happen. Now we have got to stop this kind of scare that is created by some people. Well, this is what we have inherited during the last few centuries. We have got to work

against it and stop it. But it will take some time; it cannot happen very quickly.

Now in this matter of prices, take loose tea on which there has been an increase of duty. I find the pre-Budget price of it was Rs. 8-50; the post-Budget price is also Rs. 8'50—it has not increased. B. P. Clean Common Tea was Rs. 4-25; it has remained Rs. 4- 25—it has not increased. Sugar has increased from Rs. 15 to Rs. 17—I have not increased any tax there. Matches, as I said, is remaining now again at 6 nP. a box. Among cigarettes, Gold Flake has increased from Re. 092 to Re. 1, and I do not think that there is a case of the poor man at all. Scissors has remained the same—30nP. as before. Char Minar has gone up from 15 nP. to 19 nP.

HON. MEMBERS: That is common man's.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Bidis have remained the same, 6 nP. for 10, 15 nP. for 25, I have found out the prices of these three items and I find that there is not the rise which I had feared.

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD: Sweet oil and soap have increased in price

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I have not increased the tax. Where is the question of finding out the prices for them.

(Interruption)

Therefore I say that the method should be different. It is not the Budget that has made them more-castly, but it is perhaps the cupidity of some people and the scare created by others which have combined to do this. Now we have got to find out methods to see that that is not done. Even cloth prices have not increased that much anywhere except in one or two brands. So how can it be said that the prices have gone up by leaps and bounds? This I was told by one of my hon. friends, Shri Mani, who is generally very considerate in whatever

[Shri Morarji R. Desai.] he says, and he says that they have gone up by 25 per cent. I do not know where he found it.

SHRI A. D. MANI: If the hon. Finance Minister would come with me to the bazar or send any official of the Finance Ministry to go with me, I will show that the prices have gone up by 25 per cent, and not on the basis of the figures he quoted just now.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: We have to examine this in the retail shops, not in the fashionable places where my hon. friend goes. I do not mind the prices going up in the fashionable quarters, because that does not touch the poor man at all, and they will take care of themselves. It is only exchange of money; that does not matter to me; it divides from one to another, and ultimately it trickles down to the poor people. Therefore I do not mind. But to the retail shops where the poor men buy, I have sent men and found this out this very morning in order not to miss the whole facts. I found it out this morning, and yesterday also, and I am giving these facts today, and if it is to be contradicted, it may be contradicted. Of course I have not gone myself— that I must say; I must rely on the men whom I have sent, and I do not think any of my hon. friends have verified it themselves. Therefore it is no use contradicting me in this manner. It must be recognised that I have a more efficient machinery than they have in this matter. Therefore, Madam, I do not think it is necessary for me to go much longer in this matter. What I have said ought to convince my hon. friends that the Budget proposals have been framed as carefully as they could be under the circumstances obtaining in this country. I do not claim any perfection for them. I only say that they have been done with due care and caution; they have been done in furtherance of our ideals and we are trying to take as much care as is possible in expending the revenues that we take from our people.

One complaint was made by my hon. friend Professor Wadia about foreign exchange and I was told that my hon. friend Shri Bhupesh Gupta was very indignant about it, how an hon. Member of Parliament could be treated in that manner. I was told this; I was not present here at the time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let me tell you what I said. I said that he went there—to Pakistan—on a delegation approved by the Government, and having gone there he did not have any foreign exchange, and when he wrote letters etc. he did not get proper replies even, and I said that that should be looked into; that was my idea.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I have looked into the matter. I find that there was going to be a conference in Karachi where five social workers were going. The Education Ministry gave them a travel grant, and no foreign exchange. They did not know that they would require to be given foreign exchange. They gave rupees as travel grants. Then these people, who were to go, asked for foreign exchange. Then the Education Ministry referred the matter to the Finance Ministry, and the Finance Ministry said: "It is not necessary to send five people to this conference; send only two; we are prepared to give that amount. If you want to send five then we will give only Rs. 240 to each". That is what we have been doing. No names were given to us. We did not know whether Professor Wadia was one of them or not, that the Finance Ministry did not know; I am not talking of the Education Ministry.

PROF. A. R. WADIA (Nominated): The Education Ministry did know.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: The Education Ministry did know. I have no quarrel with that. We said so; we suggested sending only two and added that if they were sending five we will give only Rs. 240 to each, and that is what we gave. But may I ask:

"Do hon. Members of Parliament want to be treated differently in the matter of foreign exchange requirements?"

HON. MEMBERS: No,

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I hope, Madam, they will serve a better example to the people in this country and save foreign exchange as much as possible, and not find fault with me for denying Members of Parliament and my colleague foreign exchange for a purpose which we did not consider very necessary.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA Madam Deputy Chairman something about the Small Saving. Yesterday a poin. was raised about the Small Savings and Mrs. Tarkeshwari Sinha said a lot of

things about it, but the Finance Minister has not touched it. She will remember that, when I contested her figures, she said that she would pass on to me a book in the course of the morning today, but I may inform him, Madam, that she has not passed on any book to me up to now. Will the Finance Minister kindly enlighten us on this subject?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: She will pass it on to you.

The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at ten minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 10th May 1962.