

Central Excise Duties Export
Draw-fcbSck (General) Rules, 1960: —

- (i) Notification G.S.R. No. 214,
dated the 25th February, 1961.
- (ii) Notification G.S.R. No. 213,
dated the 25th February, 1961. I [Placed in
Library. See No. LT-(2715/61 for (i)
and (ii).]

THE MINIMUM WAGES (AMEND- MENT) BILL, 1961

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF LABOUR
(SHRI ABID ALI): Sir, I move for leave to
introduce a Bill further to amend the
Minimum Wages Act, 1948.

*The question was put and the motion was
adopted.*

SHRI ABID ALI: Sir, I introduce the
Bill.

REFERENCE TO RECEPTION OF 'PRIME MINISTER NEHRU ON AR- RIVAL IN LONDON

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) :
Sir, I want to raise a small matter. We read
in the papers that when Prime Minister
Nehru arrived in London, he was not
received by the Prime Minister of the
United Kingdom but by another Minister. I
would like to know the position. It is an
important thing. The Prime Minister is
not here. You can help us. There is a
suggestion and it is made out by this kind of
gesture that Great Britain [is somewhat above
the other member-] (countries of the
Commonwealth. When our Prime
Minister receives every Commonwealth
Prime Minister or any Prime Minister for that
matter, it is good thing. But this is not
reciprocated in England. When he was com-
ing to London from the
United Nations, he was not received at
the airport by the Prime Minister. All other
Commonwealth Prime Ministers are not being
received by the British Prime
Minister—including our Prime

Minister. Here is the acting Leader of the
other House. I think he has stepped
temporarily into his shoes . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: He says, "Don't be so
touchy".

THE BUDGET (GENERAL) 1961-62 GENERAL DISCUSSION—continued

SHRI P. C. SETHI (Madhya Pradesh) : Sir,
I was saying yesterday that we cannot make
the man a machine of a ruthless State, and
therefore I would say that we are proceeding
quite satisfactorily and quite in order, neither
too fast nor too slow. It was said here that the
prices of consumer goods in India have gone
very high. I admit it. But I want to ask these
hon. Members as to what the position is of all
consumer goods in the U.S.S.R. I had the
privilege of visiting that country in the year
1958 and I could say that the prices of most
of the consumer goods including the textiles,
and specially the prices of shoes, are very
high there. Secondly, I would say that even
from the variety point of view we do not find
so many varieties in the Departmental Stores
of the U.S.S.R. as are available in Department
Stores of the other continental countries. This
goes to show that the variety of consumer
goods also is very much less there. Then, Sir,
we see a very big crowd in the Departmental
Stores there, and we see that they are not able
to purchase much. This also goes to show that
as far their purchasing capacity is concerned,
it is very low. There is a very famous joke
about the consumer goods position in the
U.S.S.R. which is very prevalent in the U.S.A.
It is said that there was a discussion between
two ladies that atomic bombs and hydrogen
bombs would be dropped in a box. But the
other lady said: "My dear, don't worry as long
as they do not have the box."

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal):
Do they want that as cosmetics?

MR. CHAIRMAN: You go on, Mr. Sethi. He is interrupting you and taking away your time.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: To be short, I would only say that as far as the position of consumer goods in the Soviet Union is concerned, it is not very satisfactory.

Broadly and generally we will have to support the Finance Ministry in their effort to mobilise the resources for the development of this country. Over and above this, there are some welcome features of the Budget. One is that control on the entertainment taxes of the companies is being introduced, and that is a very nice thing. Secondly, there is an enhancement in the period of tax exemption for foreign technicians. This is also very good. Then there is the benefit of five years' tax holiday to newly started hotels to earn foreign exchange. This is another good feature. Then there is reduction of Rs. 600 in value to stimulate the construction of houses for low income groups. ■ This is another good feature of the Budget.

Having said these things, I would certainly like to emphasize that prices of foodstuffs and other very necessary articles which are used by the poorer classes in India have got to be stabilised. I would request the hon. Finance Minister to reduce the duty on the following items: one is betel-nut, which comes to Rs. 57 lakhs; another is loose tea, which comes to Rs. 1'98 crores; another is coffee, which comes to Rs. 0.38 crores; and then newsprint. Many arguments have been advanced by other friends regarding these articles. As regards newsprint, I would like to emphasize that this is more or less a sort of tax on knowledge. Many books are also printed in newsprint, and therefore the duty on newsprint should not be levied and it should be removed. Similarly, Sir, I would also emphasize that there is an increase in the kerosene prices, although it is stated that

the kerosene which is used for domestic purposes would not be sold at a high price. But there is already a rise in price, and so this ought to be examined and if there is anything in the matter, it should be enquired into. This would all mean a loss of about Rs. 6-15 crores is the estimated increase desired.

Keeping these things in view, I have a few remarks to make regarding our expenditure side also, and I would lay particular emphasis on them. One is that the administrative expenses have increased. Only yesterday we had an article published in the *Hindustan Times* which went to show that administrative expenses had increased in the last ten years to the tune of Rs. 37 crores. This is a point which should be kept in view and some austerity measures have to be applied. Secondly, in this very article it is said that there is an unproductive portion also to the tune of Rs. 2179-39 crores advanced to States, out of which it is feared the half will go waste. Therefore, effort should be made that the States the resources which are available to them especially in those areas in agricultural field where they have not been tapped so far.

Sir, I would also like to emphasize as has been emphasized by Members, that there is evasion taxes in this country. Evasion taxes is also there in other countries. But we have to take notice of and try to check this.

I would also like to emphasize priorities have to be fixed in our expenditure. Specially I would like say that we should use the material which is necessary and which is most readily available to 12 NOON. For example, I would like say that when you go from Moscow Airport to Moscow City, will find only wooden electric pole, both sides of the road. But as far as our country is concerned there is .

demand for iron electric posts everywhere. Similarly, all the stations in the Soviet Union and in many other countries are not covered but here we see that every station is covered with iron roofing and this only goes to show that we are very surplus in iron. But this very material could be used for some other useful purpose in our country. Therefore, I would like to emphasise that as far as the construction of very big buildings and other things is concerned, we should take notice of this thing and fix a priority in expenditure so that we can do something better.

We should also look into the question of foodstuffs. As far as the increase in foodstuffs is concerned, I would say that there has been a definite increase in cash crops and we see that the production of cotton and other cash crops has increased. But foodstuffs, in spite of the efforts that are being made, are not increasing to the extent we would like them to. I would quote only one example from my own district. During the last ten years, we have spent a large sum of money on new irrigation schemes, and 14,535 acres ought to have been irrigated under these schemes. But I have to inform the House regretfully that only 1,844 acres are being irrigated. If this is the position in regard to the minor and major schemes introduced in the districts, then this reveals a very sorry state of affairs and therefore I would like to emphasise that we should look into this question and see that whatever money is spent on the imports of huge quantities of foodstuffs from other countries is not wasted and we must put a stop to imports and should do everything possible to achieve a definite increase in the production of foodstuffs.

Sir, in view of the situation on our borders, I would not like to emphasise that we should have any decrease in our Defence estimates. But we are the followers of Mahatma Gandhi and we have been propagating the idea of disarmament in all

the other countries. Looking to this, I would suggest that if there is a possibility of any decrease in the Defence expenditure, we should look into that question.

With these words, I thank you for having given me some time to speak on the Budget.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR (Punjab): Mr. Chairman, we live in difficult times where the Finance Minister has, of all Ministers, the most difficult task to perform. The preparation of a Budget is never an easy job and when the target aimed at is high and the means at his disposal very limited, the responsibility becomes even greater.

Considering the grave limitations the Finance Minister has to contend with, I think he needs to be congratulated on having, as he himself has claimed, tried to keep an even keel by not coming down too heavily on any one particular section of the community.

The Third Five Year Plan may not be trimmed. That is the general consensus of opinion. Industrialisation must be proceeded with apace. Ours is to be a mixed economy with both the public and private sectors playing their legitimate roles. Money has perforce to be found somehow to supplement what we have. It is therefore no good criticising the ways and means adopted by the Finance Minister unless there are concrete alternatives to offer. Knowing as we all do the Minister's antipathy towards certain means of revenue which have been suggested to him in past years, it is difficult to see where else he could have turned for the lessening of the deficit than to what he has done. I have therefore no adverse comments to make on what I feel is a wise Budget under the circumstances. I would however like to make a few observations.

I wonder very much whether sizable economy cannot be made in ad-

[Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.] ministrative expenditure. While I realise that work and governmental responsibility have increased, I am not sure that administrative expenditure has not increased, comparatively speaking, very much more and whether there is not a great deal of overlapping. Could not something drastic in the nature of an overhaul be done in this regard?

Everybody, whether they have much or little—and the ones who have much are very few and far between—is willing to tighten his belt so that the country may progress as speedily as possible but what hmts the average person is that whatever he buys in the way of food is not only costly hut adulterated. Surely, something tangible should and could, and what is more, must be done to give people their hard-earned money's worth for what they spend. According to the laws on the statute book, the guilty can be punished but because of the graft that exists everywhere, sinners can always go scot-free. Adulteration applies equally to drugs also. Surely, it is high time for the Ministries concerned, Home, Food and Health, to get together and devise strong measures to check what is a growing evil. Adulteration, at any rate where food is concerned, seems to be done at source and it should be possible for Government to do something about it- I would plead for far more attention being paid to integrity in every sphere. Without integrity, both moral and intellectual, there can be no progress in our country.

I would like the Finance Minister to consider seriously for his next Budget the desirability of levying a marriage registration fee or tax, both on existing unregistered and all •future marriages. I do not think that such an imposition would be resented by even the poorest in the land and a large sum of revenue would thus be •available to the exchequer. Further, it would be of help to statisticians
and

demographers to know at what age marriages take place in our country. The collection of such data and the collection of the cess should not be too difficult or too heavy an executive burden. Such a procedure would also be of educative value as the men who ask for a marriage licence could be advised not to marry unless they are wage-earners. This would be a healthy check on population growth which is a problem for us, and the breaking of the law concerning the age of marriage could also be checked.

I would also plead for the consideration of the levy of a health cess. This would help to subsidise to some extent, at any rate, the cost of expanding medicai aid and relief which is a dire necessity. If people have to pay for education, why should they not pay for health services too?

I would like to plead for more attention being paid to small-scale industries, to smaller schemes for irrigation and all activity which can absorb the large number of unemployed. Large and costly schemes like another atomic reactor should be relegated to the background in order to cope with the serious problem of unemployment.

And finally, since food production is of the essence, everything possible should be done to help the farmer. Such help should not be in the nature of laws or impositions from above which crush initiative. Indeed, we should refrain from resorting to measures which kill incentives rather than create them. I am glad that at long last my plea for abolishing the ban on the slaughter of useless cattle has received response from the Food Ministry. We cannot afford to allow our valuable food which should feed our children to go into the mouths of useless or wild animals, and much greater attention should be paid to protecting our grain from pests.

I thank you, Sir, for giving me these few minutes to make these observations.

DR H. N. KUNZRU (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, this Budget, in a sense, closes one chapter and begins another. The Second Five Year Plan is about to come to an end, but its achievements and failures will continue to influence the progress of the Third Five Year Plan. It is necessary therefore to look back a little and cast a glance at some of the salient features and the result of the Second Five Year Plan—Sir, the expenditure that will be incurred on the Plan will be about Rs. 4600 crores. Thus the expenditure will reach the limit envisaged when the Second Five Year Plan was prepared. But what is the increase in production brought about by the expenditure incurred during the Second Five Year Plan? I shall refer only to a few significant figures in order to enable the House to realise what it is that causes anxiety in spite of the industrial progress achieved during the last five years. It was expected, Sir, that the increase in national income during the Second Plan would be about 25 per cent., but we learn from the latest Economic Survey that during the first four years of the Plan it was only about 12·2 per cent., and that, during the fifth year, that is, during the current year, assuming that an increase of about 6 per cent., will take place in the national income, it is expected that by the end of the current year the national income will rise by about 19 per cent. Now the language used by the Economic Survey is significant. It speaks of assuming a rise of about 6 per cent., which means, I suppose, that the European Adviser to the Government of India is not sure that the increase will be of this magnitude.

Then, Sir, I should like to refer to the rise in prices. This rise has been continuous, and it is thought that by the end of the current year a rise of about 25 per cent., will take place. Now this is not a small rise, Sir. But what is more significant than this is

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that the rise in prices in 1959-60 as compared with the previous year is expected to be about 6J per cent. Now, Sir, these figures justify the anxiety that everyone feels with regard to the outcome of our Five Year Plans. A great deal of progress is no doubt made; we are producing things that were not produced before. But what is the effect of it, of all the expenditure that we incurred on raising the standard of living of the people? If the two indices of our progress that I have referred to mean anything, they mean that our aim of making life happier for the common man is not much nearer achievement than it was ten years ago.

Sir, I should like to refer to two or three other deficiencies which I think it is necessary to stress. The output of coal and of steel has been below the targets envisaged when the Second Plan was prepared. As regards steel, so far as I remember, the production was to be about 43 million tons, but I think that the rise has been of the order only of about 22 million tons. As regards coal we were expected to raise about 60 million tons of coal every year. But we shall be able to raise only 51 million tons. It is true, Sir, as announced by the Government some time ago, that the monthly rate of coal raising required to reach the target has been achieved, but then this is the end of the Second Plan, and we have now to think of raising more coal in accordance with the new target prescribed in the Third Five Year Plan, which is about 97 million tons without taking into account the coal that will be required for the Bokaro Thermal Project. It means therefore that we have a long way to go before we shall be able to raise the target to the level required by the Third Plan.

Sir, there is just one more deficiency to which I draw attention of the Government with all the strength at my disposal. The Finance Minister has very rightly said in his Budget Speech that increased food produc-

[Dr. H. N. Kunzru.] tion is the basis of the new Plan—we have been assured 1; ment more than once during the last three or four years that they recognise the importance of agricultural production; they regard it as indispensable to the achievement of the progress required by us to raise the standard of living of the people. But I am sorry to say, Sir, that in the production of some of those things on which the increased production of food depends we have fallen far behind the goal that we were to reach in accordance with the Second Five Year Plan. I shall give only one instance and it relates to the production of fertilisers. When the Second Plan was prepared it was expected that by its end the capacity of the country to manufacture fertilisers would be about 380,000 tons—to be more exact, about 382,000 tons.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: (Madras): On what?

DR. H. N. KUNZRU: 382,000 tons of fixed nitrogen. Now, when the Plan was prepared, we could produce about 75,000 tons of fixed nitrogen. This is the figure for 1956-57. But in the year 1960-61 this production will amount to about 110,000 tons only. What the increase in capacity will be. I have not been able to ascertain exactly. We know that the Nangal fertiliser factory has been constructed and that it is undergoing a trial production of fixed nitrogen. What the result will be, we cannot say. But I understand that in 1961-62 we shall have a production potential of about 235,000 tons of fixed nitrogen and that we shall actually produce about 165,000 tons. Now, Sir, we have to create, by the end of the Third Plan, capacity for producing a million tons of fixed nitrogen. In view of our sad experience during the Second Five Year Plan, I urge the Government as forcefully as I can that much more attention will have to be paid to these factors on which increased food production depends, if the

Third Five Year Plan has to be carried through; — If we go on as we are doing

....., in a three or four years, face disaster, particularly if our population is going to rise to the extent to which we fear it will by the end of the current year. Every detail requires to be followed up from year to year. Every aspect of the fertiliser plans will require careful attention. Unless this careful and sustained attention is forthcoming, we may incur any amount of expenditure we like but we shall be simply wasting the money which we will be spending.

Sir, I should like to draw attention, to one more factor, that is, that the rise that has taken place in prices has affected the working classes too. The all-India working class consumer price index has also shown a rise of the same order as the wholesale index of prices generally. Sir, as I have said, it is not a pleasure to me to go on repeating fact after fact showing how we have failed to achieve the expected results in the Second Five Year Plan. I mention them only in order that we may be careful in future, that we may be more determined than ever to see that the Plans that we formulate are carried through.

Sir, I fear that the deficiencies that I have pointed out are due not so much to shortage of funds—they may have been caused by shortage of funds too—but I fear that they have been caused due to no inconsiderable extent, by the inadequacy of our technical personnel and our administrative organisation. These deficiencies are remediable; they could be removed. I should like to know from the Finance Minister what effort Government propose to make as a result of our experience during the last ten years, as a result of our experience of the inadequacy of our administrative organisation Plan after Plan, to see that such improvements are made as would enable us to reach the targets laid down in the Third Plan. It is only in this way

that we can utilise the funds that the people provide, the funds that the poor people who are taxed year after year provide, in the best possible way. They hope, Sir, when they are compelled to part with something that they can ill-spare, that in a few years their lot will be better, but If Plan after Plan the same tale is repeated, we shall have no moral justification for asking the poor people at least to part even with a small quantity of what they have at the present time.

Sir, I should like to refer to the Success achieved by the Government in its Plans for increasing small savings and its borrowing programme. Sir, the total amount of small savings in the Second Five Year Plan will, according to the Economic Survey, be about Rs. 390 crores, and we shall have borrowed about Rs. 762 crores. This figure relates to both the Central and the State Governments. We shall thus have raised about Rs. 1,152 crores, but we do not expect to reach the target of Rs. 1,200 crores that was envisaged when the Second Five Year Plan was prepared. The difference may be too small but today it is significant that our borrowing programmes have been successful because of the investment of P.L. 480 funds. Sir, this is quite apparent from the reports of the Reserve Bank of India for the years 1958-59 and 1959-60. Now, Sir, when we receive commodities under the P.L. 480 Agreement from the American Government, we pass on 6 cheque to the American Ambassador but we make no commitment in cash. The cheque cannot be realised. If, therefore, P.L. 480 funds have been used for investing money by the State Bank of India in government loans, it means that the Government gladly went on receiving this money knowing all the while that it was leading to increased inflation. The State Bank of India invested the money in government loans when actually it had not received a single naya paisa from the Government. If Government are anxious

I to see that there is no further inflation—and I must say in justice to the Finance Minister that I believe that he personally wants to check inflation as quickly as possible—the Government should have seen to it that inflation through investments of the P.L. 480 funds in government loan funds were stopped immediately. Now, I understand a new procedure has been adopted. I understand from the Explanatory Memorandum that P.L. 480 cheques will now be deposited by the American Ambassador in the Reserve Bank of India and that they will be invested—if I may say so, and I do not know if I am speaking quite accurately—in special securities. What little information I have with regard to this matter I got after so much difficulty and I would request the hon. Finance Minister either to explain clearly to us the effect of the new procedure ...

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: Does not the Government collect money from the people by selling the wheat?

DR. H. N. KUNZRU: I am coming to it. And he may tell us whether in the new procedure when a cheque is deposited, any money can be drawn out of it for investment in any security of the Government of India and so on? If the hon. Finance Minister is unable to give that information himself today or tomorrow, I suggest that he should circulate a note making the procedure as clear as possible. We have been told that the new procedure will make the investment of P.L. 480 funds in government securities impossible. I hope it is so.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

If the Government had taken care from the very beginning to utilise the money agreed to be given by the Government of the United States of America, either as grants or as loans from P.L. 480 funds, to the extent that the commodities received from the U.S.A. were sold, there would have been no inflation. But there has been a time-lag from time to

[Dr. H. N. Kunzru.] time, between the sales of these commodities and the investment of P.L. 480 funds and this is what has caused the inflation.

Sir, I do not want to go on dwelling things, although there are other indices to which I could forcefully draw attention. For instance, there is the rise in the index of prices of industrial raw materials and of manufactured products. But in view of what I have said, I ask the Finance Minister whether a Plan of the size • that has been prepared can be carried through without causing a further spurt in prices. The Finance Minister has told us that deficit financing in the Third Five Year Plan will be required to the extent of about Rs. 550 crores. But should prices rise and more internal currency be needed, can there be any assurance that he will not be compelled by the Government to go in for deficit financing to a larger extent?

My last point with regard to this subject will relate to the foreign exchange component of the Plan. According to the Third Five Year Plan, the total amount needed by us would be of the order of Rs. 2,600 crores. This includes about Rs. 500 crores required for the repayment of foreign loans. If this repayment can be postponed, we shall need only about Rs. 2,100 crores, of foreign exchange assistance. I ask the Finance Minister whether there is a reasonable probability of the lending governments agreeing to a moratorium on the repayment of the loans during the Third Five Year Plan. If not, the position will be serious. We have already, taking the balance of the Second Five Year Plan and the money already promised for the Third Plan, about Rs. 750 crores which we can utilise during the Third Five Year Plan. If we need Rs. 2,100 crores only, then we shall require only Rs. 1,400 crores more. But if we need Rs. 2,600 crores if the lending governments insist on the repayment of their money, then we shall need about Rs. 1900 crores. I ask the Finance Minister, therefore,

what prospect there is of our getting < the required funds. This is necessary. We have to know this, because if we know, it, it will certainly affect the psychology of the people and con-I sequently also the rise in prices, to a certain extent.

Apart from this, if we want to carry the Plan through, we must have an assured prospect of getting the assistance that we need for raising not merely our industrial production, but also our agricultural production.

Sir, the last financial point that I should like to refer to is that of taxation. It is impossible for me, having dealt with other questions for a fairly long time, to deal at length with the question of taxation today. But I should like to say that I welcome the reduction of the tax on new bonus issues from 30 per cent., to 12½ per cent. I would not have been sorry if this tax had been abolished and some other tax could have been found. The issue of bonus shares was not harmful to the public.

I welcome also, Sir, the change* made in taxation to attract foreign capital and to increase technical collaboration with other countries. Some fear has been expressed in this House that the concessions made by the Finance Minister may tie up our economy to a greater extent than now with the economy of other countries or make them subservient to other countries in some way or other. I personally have no such fear. I think the Finance Minister has acted very wisely in trying to attract foreign capital which is indispensable to our future progress. I cannot see how we can carry through plans of the magnitude of the Third Plan without foreign assistance. It would be far better for us to get the foreign assistance that we need and increase production in the country as far as is required by the growing population and the need for raising the standard of living of the people than be influenced by imaginary fears, be influenced by fear of your own weakness, and hang back, leaving the country to take care of itself economically.

I cannot refer to individual commodities but I should like to refer 'even today to the unwisdom of taxing newsprint. I agree with all that Mr. Mani said yesterday on the question. I understand this question to a certain extent and I wish, Sir, newsprint could be exempted from the taxation proposed by the Finance Minister.

Taking new taxation as a whole, the customs duties and the counter vailing import duties which will be levied where necessary, with together give us about Rs. 29 crores, the Union excise duties will give us after the States' share has been deducted, about Rs. 28-6 crores, and the direct taxes, that is, the minor changes in Income-tax and Corporation Tax, suggested by the Finance Minister will yield Rs. 3 crores. I take it, Sir, that there is no objection in this House to the increase proposed by the Finance Minister in the import duties. If certain excise duties are imposed, it is obvious that in some cases countervailing import duties would have to be levied. Therefore, there should be no objection to this increase of about Rs. 29 crores in the revenue of the Government in accordance with the proposals of the Finance Minister. Now, there remain then two other items of revenue, the Union excise duties yielding about Rs. 28-6 crores to the Central Government and the direct taxes yielding about Rs. 3 crores. Now, Sir, whatever may be said in justification of not increasing direct taxation to a greater extent, whatever economic justification the Finance Minister may be able to offer, will it be politically possible either for the present Finance Minister or for any future Minister to allow such a disparity between the two to remain year after year? It is a fact that heavy direct taxation was imposed in previous years. The strategy followed in the past might have been mistaken but I do not personally think, whatever mistakes we might have committed in the past, that we can go on increasing Union excise duties year after year without increasing direct

taxes to a larger extent than proposed by the Finance Minister in the Budget for 1961-62. Government themselves expressed their anxiety with regard to concentration of power in a few hands, and I understand that an enquiry is being made into the extent of the benefit received from the first two Plans by various sections, of the people. I do not know whether my information is correct but I hope it is. When Government get this report, and if they find that the increased production has benefited only a small number of people, they would have to impose some new taxes in order to level down the inequality between the privileged classes and the poorer classes. Obviously, they would have to levy an excess profits tax. The facts being what they are, I think we shall be safe in saying to the Finance Minister that he can even now impose an excess profits tax. I know that there are various other kinds of taxes introduced in the last few years. I am not, frankly speaking, very happy about them, but if the Finance Minister can use his own skill and that of his Board of Revenue to rationalise this tax structure, as he has rationalised the taxation structure in regard to the companies, I am sure it will be in the best interests of the country.

Sir, I have done with what I had to say about the Budget presented by the Finance Minister. I should like to say a word or two about the Army, and I shall say, whatever I have to say on the subject, very briefly. There are so many points to be discussed in connection with the Defence Estimates that I cannot possibly refer to them today, but I should like to refer to a very important point even today, and that is the dissatisfaction caused in the Army by the promotions recently announced. I will not say that such dissatisfaction has been caused for the first time, but it is, to one who takes keen interest in the Defence Services of the country, disturbing to note that this dissatisfaction is increasing.

[Dr. H. N. Kunzru] We have, Sir, to see that the morale of our Army is kept at the highest point at the present time. We should do everything in our power to keep senior officers with us and to see that they are contented. As a result of the promotions that have been made, we shall lose many senior officers. I do not say that promotions should always go by seniority. In the past too, these promotions have not always gone by seniority; both seniority and merit have been taken into consideration. What I suggest, Sir, is that Government should have some definite principle to follow. They cannot once act in accordance with the principle of seniority and on another occasion justify their action on the ground of the merit of the officers concerned. Both have to be taken into account. I suggest that in making promotions both seniority and merit should be considered before promotions are made, and where a senior man has been reported on favourably, that is, if he has not got really an adverse report, both seniority and merit should dictate in that case that he should be promoted. I think I have not laid down any revolutionary principle, but Government must lay down some principle on which it will act always. It is very harmful to the morale of the Defence Services that the principle on which the Government acts should change from time to time. I do not want to name persons or say exactly what harm had been caused. I am sure the Defence Ministry is well aware of it. The representative of the Defence Ministry who is here knows it even to a greater extent than I do. All that I say is that it is high time that Government paid serious attention to this matter and came to a definite conclusion, which should be known to the Defence Ministry and to the Defence Services and which they should be assured would always be followed.

SHRI FARIDUL HAQ ANSARI (Uttar Pradesh): The Defence Ministry is following a definite policy.

श्री मोहन सिंह (पंजाब) : माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने जो बजट पेश किया है मैं उसका स्वागत करता हूँ।

तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के पहले वर्ष में खास करके जब कि इस साल के अंत में जनरल इलेक्शन होने जा रहे हों तो तकरीबन ६०, ६१ करोड़ के नये टैक्सेज लगा कर एक घाटे वाले बजट को मामूली से सरप्लस बजट में तब्दील करके वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने अपनी दिलेरी का सबूत दिया है। और साथ ही हमें इस बात का यकीन होता है कि हमारी सरकार राष्ट्रीय निर्माण के महान् कार्य को किस दिलेरी से सफलता की ओर ले जाने पर तुली हुई है। तकरीबन ६०, ६१ करोड़ के नये टैक्सेज लगाना हमारे जैसे महान् देश के सामने मामूली बात है। खास करके जब कि हम दूसरे हर देश से हर किस्म की सहायता मांग रहे हों, तो हमारा भी फर्ज होता है कि हम खुद भी हर किस्म की कुर्बानी करने के लिये तैयार हों। जब हम देश की आजादी के लिये लड़ा करते थे, उस वक्त हमें हर किस्म की माली और जानी कुर्बानी देने के लिये तैयार रहना पड़ता था। आज जब कि हमने अपने देश में खुश-हाली आने का फैसला किया है और हमने अपने देश को दुनिया की तरक्कीयापत्ता कौमों की पहली कतार में ले जाने का फैसला किया है और इस फैसले को सामने रख कर हमने अपने देश में नंग, भूख, गरीबी, मुफ्त-लिसी, जहालत, इन सबके खिलाफ एलान जंग किया हुआ है, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसी सूरत में अगर हमको अपने मकसद में काम-याबी हासिल करनी है तो हमें हर किस्म की माली कुर्बानी, दिमागी मुशक्कत, जिस्मानी मुशक्कत के लिये तैयार रहना चाहिये।

जबसे टैक्सेज का इतिहास शुरू होता है, टैक्सेज देने वालों ने कभी टैक्सेज को पसन्द नहीं किया और न ही कभी टैक्सेज खुशी से, अपनी मर्जी से, वालंट्री बेसिस पर, किसी ने

अदा किये हैं। जब भी कोई नया टेक्स लगा है, कुछ न कुछ शोर व शर और बावेल ज़रूर हुआ है और अब भी कुछ न कुछ शोर होना था। मगर सवाल यह है कि यह जो टेक्सेज लगाये गये हैं, टेक्सेज के जरिये वसूलशुदा जो रकम है वह किस काम के लिये और कैसे इस्तेमाल की जा रही है? क्या यह रकम राजा महाराजाओं के ऐशो इशरत के लिये खर्च की जा रही है या देश के निर्माण के लिये, हर देश निवासी की भलाई के लिये, एक सूखी बूझी प्लान के मुताबिक, निहायत अकलमन्दी से खर्च की जा रही है? इसका जवाब हमारी पहली पंचवर्षीय और दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं की सफलता से और तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के ढांचे से मिलता है।

हमारे दमियान और हमारे देश में सासकर कुछ पेशेवर विरोधियों का यह फैशन बन चुका है कि उनको हर नये टेक्स की मुखालिफत ज़रूर करनी होती है। मगर अचभे की बात यह है कि ऐसे महापुरुष चाहते हैं कि हर चीज हो। वे मांगते हैं कि हमारे इस मुल्क में नये नये स्कूल हों, कालेज हों, युनिवर्सिटीज हों, सड़कें हों, नहरें हों, डैम बनें, हमारी फौज का समान अच्छा हो, नौकरों की तनख्वाहें बढ़ें, हर चीज अच्छी हो, मगर जब उसके खर्च का सवाल आता है तो वे कहते हैं कि टेक्सेज भी न लगे, किसी मुल्क से कोई मदद भी न ली जाय, किसी मुल्क से कोई कर्जा भी न लिया जाय, किसी बाहर वाले को हमारे मुल्क में काम भी न करन दिया जाय। वे खुद भी सहयोग न दें, और जनता को भी सहयोग न देने दें, हो भी सब कुछ जाय और वे करने भी कुछ न दें।

इनके अलावा हमारे मुल्क में ऐसे भी महापुरुष हैं जिनको यहां कुछ होता ही नजर नहीं आता। कौन नहीं जानता कि पिछले दस वर्षों में भारत ने बमिसाल तरक्की की है। लेकिन कुछ भाई ऐसे हैं जिनको

चारों ओर अन्धेरा ही अन्धेरा नजर आता है। वे समझते हैं कि देश डूब रहा है और शायद वे ही उसमें तैर रहे हैं। हमारे दमियान में कुछ भाई ऐसे भी हैं कि उन को हमारे देश से हजारों मील दूर चीन जैसे देश में अगर सुई बराबर काम होता सुनाई देता है तो वह उन को पहाड़ जैसा मालम होने लगता है और हमारे देश में भाखड़ा जैसे डैम उनको नजर नहीं आते। बताइये, उनका क्या इलाज है।

हमें रुपये की जरूरत है। जिधर से रुपया मिले हम उसको लेंगे। क्योंकि हमें देश ऊंचा करना है, देश का निर्माण करना है। कुछ ऐसे भी भाई हैं कि अगर अमेरिका से हमें पैसा मिले तो वे कहते हैं कि अमरीका ने इंडिया पर डालर अटैक कर दिया है, मौनटरी बम फेंका जा रहा है। मैं समझता हूं कि जब हमें देश को ऊंचा करना है तो हमें जिधर से भी पैसा मिलेगा, हम उसे लेंगे।

हमारा देश बड़ी तेज रफतार से तरक्की की ओर जा रहा है और बड़ी बड़ी तब्दीलियां आ रही हैं। उसके साथ हमारी जिम्मेदारियां भी बढ़ रही हैं। अगर हमको अपने देश को आगे ही आगे ले जाना है तो यहां ही बस नहीं है, हमें हर साल नये नये टेक्सेज की खोज करनी पड़ेगी और जो टेक्सेज का बकाया है उसे बड़ी सक्ती से वसूल करना पड़ेगा।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री और खास कर प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री साहब की तबज्जुह अपने सैनिक बजट की तरफ लाता हूं। खुशी की बात है कि हमारी राष्ट्रीय सेना और सुरक्षा के प्रति हमारे देश में एक जागृति हो रही है और हमारे देशवासियों को इस सिलसिले में अपनी जिम्मेवारी का भी अहसास हो रहा है। हमारे दस पड़ोसी मुल्कों, पाकिस्तान और चीन की पिछले चन्द वर्षों की हरकतों, चलों और साजिशों ने उनके इरादों और उनके मकसदों को बिल्कुल साफ कर दिया है। पाकिस्तान और चीन के जो मकसद हैं वे हम पर बिल्कुल अच्छी तरह जाहिर हो

[श्री मोहन सिंह]

गये हैं। इनका जो इरादा है वह हमारे हर देशवासी के ऊपर रोशन है और इसी रोशनी में हमारी सेना की जिम्मेदारी भी बढ़ गई है। खास कर के अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में हमें अपनी सेना को कभी कभी भेजना पड़ा है और हमारी जिम्मेदारियां हर साल बढ़ ही रही हैं। मगर हैरानी की बात है कि जो सैनिक बजट यानी फौज के अखराजात इस साल के हमारे सामने आये हैं, उसमें बड़ी मालूमी सी १२ करोड़ रुपये की रकम की ज्यादाती दिखाई गई है और यह भी इस वजह से कि चन्द एक मुहकमे का विस्तार हुआ है और पे कमीशन की सिफारिशों के मुताबिक कुछ तनख्वाहों में इजाफा हुआ है।

डा० एच० एन० कुंजरू : अभी कुछ नहीं हुआ है।

श्री मोहन सिंह : इस का मतलब यह है कि इस साल हमने अपनी सेना को और मजबूत करने के लिये कोई नया कदम नहीं उठाया है।

मैं वित्त मंत्री साहब की तबज्जुह और खास करके सुरक्षा मंत्री साहब की तबज्जुह पाकिस्तान और चीन की जो मौजदा नीतियां हैं उनकी तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूं। जैसा कि हम सबको मालूम है इन दोनों मुल्कों में—गो मुल्लतलिफ किस्म की है मगर डिक्टेटराना हुकूमत है। इन दोनों मुल्कों को खुश करने, इनके साथ अच्छे ताल्लुक पैदा करने, इन के साथ दोस्ती पैदा करने का हमने भरपूर यत्न किया है और हम अब इस सिलसिले में अपनी हद तक पहुंच चुके हैं। अगर अभी तक जंग नहीं छिड़ी है तो वह सिर्फ हमारी वजह से ही है। हम इसको कमजोरी कहें, दूरदर्शिता कहें, नकनीयती कहें, जो कुछ कहें, लेकिन यह ठोस हकीकत है कि इन दोनों मुल्कों ने हमारा हजारहा मील का रकबा, हमारा काफी बड़ा इलाका है, हड़प लिया हुआ

है—पाकिस्तान ने काश्मीर में और चीन ने हमारी उत्तरी सीमा पर—और अब उसको ये हजम करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। हम यू० एन० ओ० के जरिये, बाउंडरी कमीशनों के जरिये या नक्शों, इतिहास, तहरीर और तकरीरों के जरिये अपना केस साबित करने में लगे हुए हैं और वे हमारे इलाकों पर कब्जा जमाये बड़े ऐश और आराम और चैन से जैसे थे वैसे ही पड़ गए हैं। गो कि हम रूहानी, दिमागी और कानूनी दुनिया में बड़ी सच्चाई, होशियारी और तदब्बुर के साथ अपना केस ठीक साबित कर चुके हैं मगर इस हकीकी दुनिया में फैसला ज्यों का त्यों हमारे बरखिलाफ चला आ रहा है। चोर की चोरी बिला शुबहा साबित हो चुकी है मगर चोरी का माल उसके कब्जे में है और उसको देने को वह बिल्कुल सोच ही नहीं रहा है। तो इस सिलसिले में मैं यह समझता हूं कि सोये हुए को तो जगाया जा सकता है मगर जो जानबूझ कर सो जाय उसको जगाने का और ही ढंग होता है। अगर गोआ के मालिकों ने हमारी नेकनीयती, सच्चाई, अच्छे इरादों और अच्छे रवैये की कोई परवाह नहीं की तो मैं हाउस को यकीन दिलाता हूं कि पाकिस्तान और चीन भी हमारे नेक रवैये और इरादे की कोई परवाह नहीं करेंगे।

इसके बाद मैं आपकी तबज्जुह इस मामले की तरफ ले जाना चाहता हूं कि खुदा न करे अगर जंग छिड़ गई तो हमें दो फंट्स पर लड़ना होगा और हमें अपनी फौज को इस तरह पर तैयार करना होगा। अगर चीन के साथ किसी किस्म की कशमकश हो जाती है तो पाकिस्तान के लिये यह एक मुनहरा मौका होगा और वह इसको हाथ से जाने नहीं देगा। अगर वह इससे कुछ फायदा उठा सकता है तो उठायेगा। जहां तक चीन का ताल्लुक है, हमने निहायत नेकनीयती से, बड़े प्रेम से, प्यार से इसकी तरफ दोस्ती का हाथ बढ़ाया इसको अपना भाई बनाया और इसने पहला बार हम पर ही चलाया और हिन्दुस्तान और चीन के दौमयान दोस्ती की संकड़ों

वर्ष की पुरानी रवायात को बिल्कुल खत्म करके इसने एक छल, धोखा और फरेब का नमूना दुनिया के सामने रखा। चीन की एक पुरानी कहावत है कि अगर तुम्हें अपनी दुकान में कभी कुत्ते का गोشت बेचना हो तो दुकान के सामने बकरे की खलड़ी जरूर लटका लो। हमारे साथ जो उस ने किया है उससे इस पुरानी कहावत को दुरुस्त करके बता दिया है। जहाँ तक पाकिस्तान का ताल्लुक है, मैं समझता हूँ कि पाकिस्तान में अभी हमारे साथ, हमारी सेना का, मुकाबिला करने की शक्ति नहीं है, लेकिन मेरा पूरा विश्वास है और यह विश्वास इस नाते और भी पक्का हो जाता है कि पाकिस्तान के मौजूदा डिक्टेटर फील्ड मार्शल अय्यूब खाँ को मैं—एक ही पलटन में कई वर्ष दिन रात साथ रहने के नाते—जाती तौर पर अच्छी तरह जानता हूँ और मैं बड़े विश्वास और दृढ़ता के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि अगर पाकिस्तान के मौजूदा हुकमरानों को यह थोड़ा सा भी यकीन हो जाय कि वे हम पर हमला कर के हमें जीत सकते हैं तो वे हम पर हमला करने में मुबह से शाम नहीं करेंगे।

इसके बाद मैं अपनी सेना की बाबत चन्द बातें आप के सामने पेश करना चाहता हूँ। बेशक, हमारी आजादी आये हुए थोड़े वर्ष हुए हैं, मगर जो इंडियन आर्मी है, हमारी जो सेना है, उसका बड़ा लम्बा और बड़ा शानदार इतिहास है। हमारी आर्मी ने दुनिया के बड़े बड़े मुल्कों की फौजों के साथ पिछली दो लड़ाइयों में—वर्ल्ड वार नम्बर वन एंड नम्बर टु में—कंधा ब कंधा रह कर लड़ाई की है और दोनों का इसे काफी तजुर्बा है। इनकी लड़ने की शक्ति दुनिया की किसी कौम की फौज से कम नहीं है। पैट्र्याटिज्म—देशभक्ति—किसी फौज को बड़ी से बड़ी कुर्बानी देने की प्रेरणा देती है, लेकिन जिस वक्त हमारी फौज में पैट्र्याटिज्म का कोई नाम नहीं जानता था उस वक्त भी हमारी फौज दुनिया की जो फर्स्ट क्लास फौजें हैं उनमें से गिनी जाती थीं। आज जब कि हमारी फौज में देशभक्ति की

प्रेरणा, नई स्पिरिट, भरी जा रही है तब मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर हम अपनी आर्मी को ठीक हथियार दें, उसकी ठीक सिखलाई रखें, उनकी सुख भुविधा का ख्याल रखें और उन पर और खर्च करें तो हमारी फौज हर मैदान में हर फौज के मुकाबिले में बाजी मार सकती है। लेकिन मुझे एक खतरा है। अगर हमारी फौज ने हमारी उम्मीदों के मुताबिक काम नहीं किया तो कसूर हमारा होगा हम जो इबर बैठे हुए हैं। इस सिलसिले में मैं एक मिसाल आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। वर्ल्ड वार नम्बर टु के शुरू होने से पहले अंग्रेजी सियासतदानों ने अपनी फौज को जर्मन फौजों के मुकाबिले में तैयार नहीं किया। जर्मन जैसी फर्स्ट क्लास फौज के सामने ब्रिटिश जैसी फर्स्ट क्लास फौज थर्ड क्लास हथियार देकर यूरोप में धकेल दी गयी—वह ब्रिटिश जिन्होंने कि १९१६ में टैंक्स ईजाद किये थे और लड़ाई में पहली दफा इस्तेमाल किए थे, वह आर्मी, वह फौज, ब्रिटिश एक्सपेडिशनरी फोर्स के रूप में जर्मन टैंकों के सामने बगैर टैंक के धकेल दी गयी। और मिस्टर होर वेलिश जो उस वक्त वार मिनिस्टर थे, उन्होंने हाउस के सामने एक बयान दिया जो किस कदर झूठा था वह, आप सोच सकते हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि.

“The British Expeditionary Force is armed and equipped with the latest and the most modern weapons.”

उन्होंने यहां तक कहा कि :

“Our Army is second to none.”

अगर यह ठीक होता तो लड़ाई छः वर्ष न चलती और जितना ब्रिटेन ने सफर किया, जितना उन्होंने नुक्सान उठाया वे न उठाते। यह बात कहने से मेरा किसी खास मन्त्री साहब

[श्री मोहन सिंह]

की तरफ कोई इशारा नहीं है, मगर एक बात जरूर है कि अगर हम चाहते हैं कि हमारी फौज लड़ाई में कामयाबी के साथ दुश्मन की फौज पर गालिब आए तो हमें अपने होने वाले दुश्मन को मुख्य रख कर, उसके इरादे और फौज की तैयारी को मुख्य रख कर, अपनी फौज को तैयार करना होगा, वरना हाउस के सामने बड़ी बड़ी बातें छोटी छोटी फौज की तैयारी की कमजोरियों का नहीं छपा सकती।

(time bell rings).

हम इस देश में मारल वेल्यूज की बड़ी बड़ी बातें करते हैं। मैं बड़े अदब के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि:

"Not to prepare your Army and the nation for any emergency is itself a grave moral sin and an unpardonable moral crime on the part of those who happen to be in power."

इस वास्ते हमें अपनी फौज की तैयारी करते वक्त अपने दुश्मन की फौज, और उसके इरादों को कभी नजरअन्दाज नहीं करना चाहिये। चीन ने पंचशील मान कर हमारे साथ दोस्ती का ऐलान करके और फिर कोई बारह हजार मील इलाका हड़प कर के अब सिक्किम और भूटान और काश्मीर के बारे में एक नया खैया अख्तियार किया है, नयी शरारत शुरू की है और अब पाकिस्तान और चीन की दोस्ती बन रही है। मूझे नहीं समझ आता कि ये पुराने दोस्त पहले किधर छिपे हुए थे? कहां पाकिस्तान और वह बेसिक डिमोक्रेसीज और कहां चीन और कम्युनिज्म—यह दोस्ती कब तक चलेगी? वह बात सच हो रही है कि "जैसे को तैसा मिले कर कर लम्बे हाथ।" पता नहीं, ये पहले एक दूसरे को क्यों नहीं मिले? तो अब इनकी दोस्ती बन रही है। चीन ने तिब्बत पर हमला करके, उसकी आजादी छीन कर दुनिया के सामने रखा हुआ है कि तिब्बत लिबरेट हो गया है। पता नहीं, वह किस मुख्य को कब लिबरेट करने का विचार रखता है और हमारे देश की बाबत क्या सोच रहा है? सुना जाता

है कि उनके दृष्टिकोण के मुताबिक हमें अभी लिबरेट होना है। मैं हाउस को यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी आर्मी चीन की आर्मी से किसी तरह कम नहीं है। जाती तजुबों से कह रहा हूँ। मैं चार वर्ष उनके दरमियान घूमता रहा हूँ। हमारी आर्मी चीन में जाकर कई दफे अंग्रेजों के नाचे लड़ चुकी है। और मैंने देखा, नहीं सी मुट्ठी भर जापानी कौम ने दस वर्ष तक चीन की क्या हालत की। हमारी आर्मी में स्पिरिट है, जबानी है, जोश है। वह बहादुर है और लड़ाई के लिये जो गुण चाहिये वह उसमें है। अगर हमारी आर्मी कमजोर रह गई तो कसूर हमारा है और हमें मानना पड़ेगा।

(Time bell rings.)

मैं एक मिनट में खतम करता हूँ। मैं सारी बातों को स्पष्ट रख कर अपने सुरक्षा मन्त्री और वित्त मन्त्री साहबान की खिदमत में बिनती करूंगा कि हमें अपने यूथ में एक नयी स्पिरिट भरनी चाहिये, हमें स्कूलों और कॉलेजों में, खासकर कॉलेजों में, कम्पलसरी ट्रेनिंग यानी लाजमी फौजी ट्रेनिंग शुरू कर देनी चाहिये और देश में जो छोटी छोटी बीमारियाँ हैं—फिरकापरस्ती, सूबा-परस्ती, जुवानपरस्ती ये छोटे छोटे रोजम र मोरचे लगते हैं, दंगा फसाद होते हैं—इनको मिटा कर एक नयी कौमी स्पिरिट भरनी चाहिये और स सिलसिले में अगर कोई और भी रुपया चाहिये, जिससे कि हम अपनी कौम को बिल्ड कर सकें, तो मैं समझता हूँ हमारी कौम खुशी से उसको बर्दाश्त करेगी।

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT (Delhi):
Sir, I rise to give my whole-hearted support to the Budget presented by the hon. Finance Minister and I would like to say a few words about certain items. The Budget is very good and I am very happy that there is some emphasis on machine-building as also on not wanting to encourage deficit financing. Our Budgets not only at the Centre but also in the States have

been resorting to deficit financing and I have always been very nervous about that. But I am glad that this time the desire of the Government is not to go on with deficit financing.

Firstly, I take agricultural production in the country. While it has not been keeping pace according to our expectations due to climatic and other reasons, I feel that one of the main reasons is that we have not so far gone ahead very successfully, or successfully in the sense of relationship to the production that we expected, due to our inability to control floods or our inability to give irrigation facilities to all those areas which have been needing them. We may lay emphasis on the provision of better implements, better manure, better quality of seeds, etc., etc., which is a part of the Community Projects programme, but unless the irrigation scheme is carried out extensively and successfully and the floods are also controlled successfully, the community projects too remain partially successful. If the irrigation problem is not tackled, each year we will have to face the same problem of climatic conditions by which crops fail in this or that part of the country and the problem remains there.

Another thing which is known to practically all the Members of the House and especially to our Government is that there is so much talk about fixing minimum prices for agricultural products. This has been talked about for a long time and has been considered with much seriousness but I am very sorry to say that we have never really brought ourselves to decide that we should have minimum prices for agricultural products. This is known to everybody, this is not a new thing, that the farmer produces agricultural products, he puts his heart and soul into his work. After six months of hard work, he gets a good produce and goes to the market but he knows that at each harvest season the prices are low and he has to sell his products cheaply. He is financially in a difficult situa-

tion and has to get rid of his stocks. So he sells them at low prices.

He always lives on a marginal level of subsistence. Therefore, he has to throw away his produce into the market and go home with a few chips in his pocket. He starts his next crop with the same sense of hope and despair. He hopes that it will be a good crop and thinks that if he cultivates sugarcane or some other crop, it will bring him a good price.

But at each harvest season the same story is repeated. Unless we ensure minimum prices for agricultural produce our farmers will remain in a state of uncertainty and doubt, and they will always be fleeced or exploited, or they will not be getting a fair deal that is their rightful due; and it is just fair and our duty to go to their rescue. I would request very humbly that our Government should not delay this matter of fixing minimum prices for agricultural produce any further. It has been delayed for years and years and years and feel that to give some security to our farmers Government should fix minimum prices for agricultural produce, and if their stocks are not sold in the market, the Government should buy them so as to ensure minimum prices. The All India Farmers' Forum is probably one of the few big forums for the farmers and agriculturists, and that also has been considering this issue for some time, but no results have been achieved so far in taking a decision and in implementing it. So my humble request is that this should be done quickly because our farm population should be given a sense of security and a word of encouragement, and when their produce is ready, they should be sure of getting so much money for their produce. Unless they have that sense of security, I think the whole work that they are doing is frustrating to them. I would not say anything more on this point.

My second point is about the Plans themselves. I have never felt that*

[Kumari Shanta Vasisht]

our Plans are very ambitious or too ambitious or very grandiose. There has been a certain amount of propaganda that has gone on against the Plans, and ■this is something to which we would strongly object. These are not very grandiose Plans. They hardly meet the needs of our people in these times. Actually the progress or improvement should be even more marked. My humble submission is this. These Plans are extremely good. The intentions of our planners are very good. Their sincerity is beyond doubt and their devotion to duty and hard work are of course known to everybody. So also our Ministers' intentions are most admirable and we have great respect and admiration for them and for their ideas and plans. But when they come to the stage of execution, the Plan does not work so well. The Plans are excellent and admirable. But who are the people who execute them? I am sorry to say that at all levels various people, even very highly placed people, who are even in the Central Ministries and so on, they say that the machinery or the bureaucratic machinery sometimes does not co-operative so much, or does not carry out the work so nicely, or does not carry it on in the same spirit of faithfulness and sincerity, etc., which is absolutely necessary for executing the Plans. Unfortunate—our experience in the last about nine years in Delhi, both when it was Delhi State and later when it became the Union Territory of Delhi, has been that year after year, all these nine years, as the two Plans have gone on, the money allotted to Delhi has been lapsing; it has not been spent. Sanctions did not come from the Government of India in time year after year, so that a lot of money lapsed. The schemes were not pushed through. The same sanctions had to be asked for the following year, which again took about six months or so to be given, and the result has been that the schemes have lagged behind considerably. They have not been able to meet the needs of the people here, whether it was in ■the construction of schools or hospitals or roads or transport vehicles or anything

else. Therefore something special should be done, a special department or section may be set up which would expedite these sanctions to be received from the Government of India by the Union Territories. I may also state that the officers do not take their work so seriously. I am very sorry to say this because of this machinery with which we have to work, with which the Ministers have to work, and if they do not faithfully discharge their work with a sense of urgency, then some day we will get up and find that our work has not gone as well as it should have and we may be caught unawares. I have seen some of the heads of departments, some very high officials, who make the plan or make the estimate but work without sincerity. The estimate first made changes within fifteen minutes as I shall tell you immediately by citing an example. This is not an uncommon example, it is a very very common example. Some officers planned for a school building and estimated the cost at about Rs. 80,000. Within two minutes they changed and estimated the cost at, say, Rs. 2 lakhs. Within two minutes again they say it will cost Rs. 5 lakhs. To these heads of departments or to these very high officials it does not seem to make any difference, whether the sum is Rs. 5 lakhs or Rs. 80,000. It was Government money and could be wasted like water. To them it appears that it is nobody's money and nobody's property. They seem to think, 'We can play with the money in our hands, we can play with the resources placed in our hands, we can waste them and let them go down the drain, it does not matter.' How can you ever estimate for a school building where the estimated cost may vary so widely, from Rs. 5 lakhs to Rs. 80,000? If we were to plan for our own homes or manage with our family income, would we really be so blind and so reckless and so thoughtless that we would criminally waste our available resources? It would not be so in our personal affairs. It would not be done so with our personal money. But Government money is really nobody's money. It

is something which can be exploited by everybody and need not be taken care of by anybody, and I feel very strongly that if our officials continue to feel and act in this spirit the country cannot progress as much as we want it to progress, as much as our planners hope for and plan for. Your Plans have to be executed with a greater sense of urgency and sincerity. Otherwise we shall be playing with our money, we shall be playing with our people and we shall be playing with our Plans.

Apart from this I would make a few observations about industrialisation and the great emphasis we are placing on industrialisation. I do not know about this subject except as a very lay-man. I do not know whether we want to go ahead as a very highly industrialised country. Are we going to follow the same stages of the Dark Age, and of mass production and then look for markets, etc., and follow the same pattern which the western countries are following? Or are we going to adjust it somehow to our social conditions, to the conditions of our people? And what are we going to do about the other concomitants of quick industrialisation, and all the other troubles which come with it, for example, large-scale delinquent children, people with no homes, old people with nobody to take care of them and also families where there are *too* many members to be looked after but few-getting employment? Are we going to face this problem of the labour troubles coming in on account of the condition of the labour population, on account of there being not many employment opportunities for those seeking them, or are we going to provide, along with our high industrialisation, all the facilities which must go with industrialisation? Only industrialisation without taking notice of the social pattern changing, without the other facilities coming in, namely, children's homes, delinquent children's homes, provision for old people uncared for by their kith and kin on account of their inability or otherwise, provision for smaller families where there are

other *members* who cannot be looked after with the meagre earnings of the smaller families, is no good. There has also to be social insurance or public assistance. There are various other categories of people who should get aid from Government, the dumb, the blind, the crippled, the mentally deficient, the handicapped in our population, the one who is unable to look after himself—he may be an able bodied but unemployed person or a handicapped person. How are we going to look after them? What provision do we have for them? Today we are not able to look after any of them. And when we are going to have these problems on our hands on a far larger scale what are we going to do-about it? That will remain a very big problem, it seems to me.

Then the prices are rising, as the Finance Minister's speech also indicates. It is known to everybody, and already the people are feeling the pinch of it, specially the lower income group and the middle income group, and the tax on tea, kerosene and betel-nut, I think, are going to hit them a little hard, and I feel that something might be done about it. Many Members have suggested Excess Profits Tax, etc. I also feel that the higher income group should have been more taxed, not the poor people. The poor people or even the clerical class are today in the unfortunate position that they cannot afford to drink milk themselves or even to give it to their little children or even to the pregnant women in the family. And tea has become the substitute for milk, and if we are going to tax even that tea, I am afraid we are going a little too far—I am sorry to say that, and I think that these levies are very hard' on the poor people. We might as well have shifted this burden to some other category. Of course I do realise that people not only in the countries behind the Iron Curtain but people in England also and also people in general in Europe have been forced to* tighten their belts for years and years and years. They have done that even in respect of essential commodities. They have lived on rations for fifteen'

[Kumari Shanta Vasisht] years getting two eggs per week and standing in queue for hours together to get these two eggs per week, or even an ounce of sugar, or something like that. It is necessary that we should cut down all these luxury items completely. There are some items which have already been cut down. We should not spend so much on consumer goods. Let us do away with all these things. We will have to prepare our people to do away with consumer goods and produce more wealth and more such things like machinery and other productive things. Sir, these rising prices are not really helping the person who produces these things. Only the middle men are benefiting from the rising prices and the producer himself is not getting so much benefit from these rising prices. They are rather hitting the poorest people of our country a little too hard. Actually we should mop up the revenue elsewhere.

Then, Sir, I feel that we should concentrate better on border areas, on means of transport and communications. We should spread our industries for reasons of security all over the country and over those towns which are not already covered by industries or factories and so on, so as to give employment to those areas which have remained backward so that there is no concentration in particular areas. It is necessary for reasons of security as well as to help backward areas. At the same time we should take particular care of border areas.

I may mention a few words about law and order. Law and order is not in a very happy situation. The state of affairs is not so happy as we would like it to be. I think we should think seriously about taking steps to have compulsory military training for all young people. We should make military training compulsory for our *young men*. We should also have national service compulsory for young people. If our young men, who come out of their colleges, devote one or two years in rural areas, they will

become more practical. They will know what the life in rural areas is. They will know what the v. on whom responsibilities have to come, have to do. They will know what they have to do for the reorientation of conditions, particularly in rural areas, in their country. Also they should have a sense of discipline. If they are given one or two years of compulsory service in rural areas or any other kind of service, it will make them more realistic and practical and instil in them a certain amount of discipline. Apart from other things, discipline will have to be, inculcated in them through these means.

I would say just a word or so about ■ a very small problem, namely, about the Corporation of Delhi. The members of the corporation have many handicaps. Their powers are so limited and they are so helpless that they cannot help the public at large. There is so much frustration among the Mayor and members of the Corporation as they are ineffective in helping the people and the public at large is frustrated because it can get no redress from the Corporation. I would humbly submit before the Government that something should be done to do away with the frustration of the common man. Finally it is the common man who matters in this age of common man. Therefore, no matter what else is there or is not there, or what political set-up is there—that is not the crucial point—something should be done to enhance the powers of the Corporation in Delhi on which lakhs and crores of rupees are being spent so that the members of the Corporation are able to contribute something for the welfare of the people whom they represent; and the common man should feel that he is getting something from the Corporation. The public is universally dissatisfied. They cannot get a thing done there. Files are not traceable. Their applications are sent to the Corporation but nothing is heard about them for years and years. This is not a happy state of affairs and I would like something to be done to improve the situation and functioning of the Corporation. There

is nothing wrong with the Corporation or its members. There is nothing wrong with the Councillors or with the officers of the Corporation as such; but the functioning of the Corporation is very inadequate and very unsatisfactory. We cannot allow this dissatisfaction and frustration amongst the people to continue. They must have an efficient government; they must have less corruption. They must have more efficiency everywhere.

I may say one word about the Defence Ministry. Our hon. friend, Dr. Kunzru, has criticised the promotions in this Ministry and has suggested that merit-cum-seniority should be the guiding principle in the Defence Ministry. I may state that all the Ministries including the Defence Ministry are guided by this principle. I know well enough about the Defence Ministry at least. They are guided by merit-cum-seniority rules which are the usual principles guiding all the Ministries and all the departments of the Government of India, and I am sure his information is not correct about it "because this is the principle followed from top to bottom and there is no exception to this. As a matter of fact, the officers and men are very happy the way the Ministry of Defence functions and at the personal interest our Minister has taken in the Ministry, the men and officers. It has raised the morale of our men as well as officers. It has inspired tremendous amount of confidence in them. I can only have a word of praise for the work that they have done. A reorientation and a new outlook have come to the Defence Ministry. Our Army is one of the best in the world, if I may say so, and our work is excellent. With these words I support the Budget and I thank you very much.

SHRI K. L. NARASIMHAM (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, we have completed two Five Year Plans and we are on the threshold of the Third Five Year Plan. This is the first Budget of the Third Five Year Plan. As I carefully studied the Speech of the hon. Finance Minister and examined the Budget proposals, I

have to say in one sentence that the main features of the Budget are: (i) an attack on the standard of living of the common man; (ii) great concessions to big business and (iii) an invitation to foreign capital into our land.

Sir, the Finance Minister himself summed up his proposals as follows on pages 34-35 of Part B of his Speech:

"The changes in customs duties will yield an additional revenue of Rs. 29.27 crores. Excluding the amount of Rs. 2.3 crores transferable to the States, Union Excise duties will bring in Rs. 28.6 crores. The minor changes in Income Tax and Corporation Tax are expected to yield an income of Rs. 3 crores. As a result of these proposals, an additional revenue of Rs. 60.87 crores will accrue to the Centre."

By this way he wants to remove the deficit and shows us a surplus in the Budget.

Sir, the fresh or [enhanced] levies embrace 41 items under Customs duties and 32 under excise duties. It will be seen that out of the additional duties and taxes amounting to Rs. 63.17 crores, it is the incidence only of Rs. 3 crores, that is, roughly 4.75 per cent of the entire fresh burden that directly falls on higher income groups and big business. Excise duties, that is, taxes on goods of daily consumption of the mass of the people have all along constituted the single biggest source of revenue for the Central Government besides the people being burdened with Sales Tax etc. by the State Government.

The Government has raised the rates of duty in respect of 14 commodities already subject to levy and have decided to impose duty on 18 new commodities, thus taxing the people through excise duties alone to the tune of another Rs. 28.6 crores.

Then, Sir, the disparities between indirect and direct taxation have been already pointed out by hon. Members. I have only to stress further that these

[Shri K. L. Narasimham.] disparities are continuing in such a way that they work against the common man. Now, see the present taxation proposals, *i.e.* the tax burden on commodities which are very essential for the daily needs of the common man. Tea and coffee, tobacco and cigarettes and betel-nuts, matches and kerosene, cotton and woollen fabrics and hosiery, utensils and vegetable products, all these will cost more than before, affecting the poorest of the poor homes, raising further the cost of living and depressing an already depressed living standard.

Of all the additional indirect taxation of Rs. 60.17 crores, 80 per cent to 90 per cent will have to be borne by the poorer and lower middle classes in towns and the countryside. The effect of these taxation proposals is seen in the market where the prices of these necessities of life have gone up. Sir, if you look at the papers for the last three days, you will find that the Committee of Tea Association of India have pointed out that the prices of tea sold for consumption within the country will also increase. The betel-nut prices in Bombay have registered a sharp rise of about Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 per 20 kilo after the announcement of the proposal.

Paper traders are of the view that the decision to raise the excise duty on paper and boards may lead to moderate rise in domestic prices. Then Sir, the Indian pharmaceutical industry is contemplating to raise its prices of patent and proprietary products by about 8—10 per cent.

In the cloth market you will find that the basic duty only on medium (A) grey fabric cotton has been raised by 25 per cent. The production of medium (A) grey fabric cotton in the country is about 2200 million sq. yards. The mill industry believes that it can easily pass on the additional burden to consumers. Sir, I think it will be appropriate if I read out some portion from the editorial that appeared in The

Hindu, a moderate paper, on this particular problem. It is stated there:

"It would be extremely naive to assume that the ultimate effect of increases in customs and excise duties on retail prices will be limited to the increase which the duties cause at the point where they are levied. Most commodities whether imported or indigenously manufactured, pass through a number of hands before they reach the ultimate consumer and in the process they are subject to additional charges and State levies like the sales tax. The result is that the ultimate effect of a rise in import duty or excise-duty is very much more than what is indicated by the Central levy."

And the editorial concludes with these words:

"It has been estimated unofficially that the net effect of the new levies on urban cost of living may be more than 5 per cent for people belonging to the middle and low income groups. Such a steep rise is bound to have adverse effects on the morale of employees".

So we find that even persons coming from Andhra Pradesh where they produce tobacco for the manufacture of cigars and cigarettes, they are hit. That is a hit on the agriculturists. So also the person using diesel oil for his agricultural operations will have to pay more and that is also another hit on the agriculturists. So you will find that the main trend of these budget proposals is a direct attack on the standard of life of the common man.

At the same time, Sir, we find that the price spiral is going up and these proposals will set in motion a rising spiral of present prices. This indirect taxation at a time when the general price level is already on the upward trend will set in motion a rising spiral of prices. Hon. Members who spoke before me have pointed out the rise in the price level today. The all-India consumer price index number

during 1956-60 period has gone up. If you examine the figures, you will find that it has gone up by 25 per cent., compared to the 1939 level. You see the effect of that on the budget of the poor man and the common man, either in the factory or in the fields in the rural areas. And so this will increase the spiral of prices and these budget proposals will further hit him.

While doing this on one side, the Finance Minister has been giving concessions to big business. Big business and the higher income groups will go scot-free with only three crores of additional direct taxation. New concessions have been given to them as the reduction of the tax on new bonus issues by companies from 30% to a mere 12i% Sir, doing everything to make the poor poorer and helping the rich to grow richer at the expense of the people and the nation is the actual policy reflected in this Budget.

It does not stop there. The Budget proposals further reflect a policy which is dangerous to the whole country. It is an invitation to foreign private capital to come into our economy. Worse is the solicitude that is shown in the Budget to the foreign private investors. In para 95 of the Budget speech it has been mentioned:

"The present rate, inclusive of income-tax and super-tax, comes to 63% Which, it appears, is higher than the rate in any other country." try."

Arguing that this "high rate of tax" was borne in the last analysis by our own industry to secure "technical collaboration on more favourable terms" the hon. Finance Minister announced that after March 31, 1961, this tax would be reduced to 50 per cent, from the present rate of 63 per cent. Who has analysed this and who has asked for this concession? All these years, the foreign monopolists have been asking for it and they wanted favourable conditions to invest private capital here and now they are getting it by these proposals. The Finance Minister further ends up

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by saying that his Government would no longer impose a higher tax on inter-corporate investments from outside than on similar Indian investments. Thus the door is opened wider for foreign private capital to come into the country and capture more decisive positions in the economy. True the Government has been saying that there is no danger in this. But we cannot agree with that point of view. This policy opens the gates of India for the penetration of further foreign private capital, which is already entrenched in our economy. If you examine the figures you will find that this has increased during the last ten years. Added to that you have the loans by the P.L. 480 agreement and there is also this American private capital that comes in in the form of collaboration with Indian big business. It is the Indian monopolist who collaborates with foreign private capital and so in this way it is going to do great harm to our economy. It is linking up our industrial economy with that of the Western World which is already crisis-ridden and sinking day by day. So we do not know what further dangers this will impose on us.

At this stage, I may be permitted to read out from the speech of Shri J. R. D. Tata, made at the Annual General Meeting of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, on October 6, 1960. He said:

"In this context, we welcome the shift in our country's policies towards foreign participation in industry. We have gone a long way from the days when such participation in industry was looked upon with suspicion and discouraged and this is obviously to the good."

Sir, this was said on 6th October, 1960 and now we see the Finance Minister following this up in actual practice.

I come to my next point, Sir, and that is about the so-called aid from outside which is but another name for the import of capital for economic

[Shri K. L. Narasimham.] exploitation. It also helps the economics of the imperialist countries. This, I submit, runs counter to our Industrial Policy Resolution and it is a departure from the policy laid down by the Government and is a reflection of the policy which the Government of India is going to pursue in the coming years.

When we examine the Budget proposals it is but proper that we examine also the results of our experience during the last two Plan periods. During the last ten years, from 1931 to 1960, the national income, it is stated, has increased by about 42%, the per capita income by 20% and the per capita consumption by about 16%. This is stated in the Draft of the Third Five Year Plan. Production has gone up. Industrial production has gone up and there is increase in agricultural production also. But at the same time we must examine who is actually gaining from all this prosperity and what is the share of the common people, of the worker, in all this vast additional wealth that is being created. I submit, Sir, it is mostly going into the hands of a few persons and the vast majority of the people are daily deteriorating in their condition. If you examine the position in detail, you will find how the common man is feeling the pinch. Take this question of disparity. Our leaders have been saying that by means of these Plans we will see to it that disparity is bridged and we will also bring about a socialist state of society. But what is the result of the last two Plans? It is obvious that the common man's standard of life has not improved. I do not want to take more time of the House by referring to many reports, but I may say that in the recent report of the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee, conducted in 1956-57, it has been pointed out that *even* the working days and the earnings of the agricultural labourer have gone down and also his per capita income. The vast mass of the poor peasants have insufficient land

and their indebtedness is also increasing. Tens of thousands of tenants have been evicted from their land and they are at the mercy of the landlords. At the same time what is the index of profits in all the industries? In 1955 it was 1508 and in 1958 it is 168-7. Statistics show that the profits have increased, but the real wages of the workers have decreased. The Worker is still at the 1939 level. If we examine the report of the census of manufacturing industries since independence, we will see that the workers have been increasingly producing more value for the employers. In 1947 the worker added to the value by Rs. 1578 and the value added as percentage of workers' wages was only 237-7. That was in 1946-47. The value added in 1956-57 per worker was 2,792 and the value added as a percentage of the workers' wages is 239. For one rupee that he gets, he is producing nearly three rupees' worth of goods. This value is taken by the employer and by the industrialists, bigger businessmen who have business organisations spread over the entire country.

Coming to land reforms, Sir, it is a sorry state of affairs. Our economy is mainly an agricultural economy and you would find it to be a stagnant economy. It is crisis ridden and dependent upon weather. The vast majority of the agricultural population is today undergoing many difficulties. According to the Report of the Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee, 304 per cent, of the rural population is agricultural labour with no land. Among the land owners, 53 per cent, of the households possess less than five acres. Thus, a vast section of the agricultural labourers and poor peasants are underemployed or unemployed for several months in a year. Waste and fallow lands amount to 32-5 per cent, of the total cultivable land. You find thus a picture with two aspects, one unemployment and underemployment of a vast number, people idling away, and two, a big percentage of the cultivable land remaining waste and fallow. We

are not able to harness these things and put them to proper use. The rural household in India consists, on an average, of 5.21 persons. Out of this 28.1 per cent, are earners, 16.6 per cent, are earning dependents and 55.3 per cent, are non-earning dependents. If you further examine the pattern of land ownership, you would find that in the vast majority of cases people own less than 5 acres. This is the picture that is before us. The two Plans have benefited only a very few persons and have deteriorated the conditions of the others. By this I do not mean to say that the Plans have not done anything good to the country as a whole. They have stabilised the base of our industrial economy; they have reduced our economic dependence and they have taken us forward. We are having big steel plants and we are producing machineries of which we are all proud and we want development in that direction to continue. Here, Sir, I have to say one thing. I do not agree with the hon. Member who spoke on behalf of the Swatantra Party that because of the Plans we have come to this pause. He described this as a grandiose Plan, and said that because of the bigger size of the Plan with so much of investment, the Finance Minister was compelled to impose taxation. We do not agree with that proposition; we cannot agree with persons who think on those lines. We want the Third Plan and we want the country to prosper by developing industry. Then naturally comes the question as to how resources should be raised. Some Hon'ble Member argue in the following way. Is it not necessary that you should have resort to taxation? When you cannot have the capacity, the internal capacity, what should be done? Else, we must depend on borrowings. We must depend to a certain extent on deficit financing. Taxation is inevitable. This is the policy laid down by the persons in charge of Government. We do not agree with that point of view either. Resources can be made available through the adoption of different measures and not by hitting

the common man. I would just read out the few suggestions that I have got. In order to augment resources for national reconstruction, certain industries and undertakings should be nationalised, for example, coal mining, plantation, foreign trade in the principal commodities. Secondly, a ceiling should be imposed on the profits and the profits in excess should be taken over as compulsory loan. There should be heavier taxation on corporation profits. Payment of compensation to landlords should be postponed. Hoarded wealth of the Princes should be requisitioned as compulsory loan. There should be State trading in foodgrains. We should go in for land reforms in the interests of the peasants. There should be an energetic drive against evasion of Income Tax and Corporation Tax and there should be full realisation of these. There should be a drive against wastage in projects and Government undertakings. There should be a ban on the import of private foreign capital. We disagree with the policy of Government which, in the name of resources, invites foreign private capital into India. This policy also gives concessions to monopolists and hits the common man.

Sir, you would find that regional disparities are growing under this policy. I would just read out a sentence from the speech of a gentleman, not belonging to the Party to which I belong but the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, a gentleman who comes from the ruling party. He said talking about regional disparities as follows:

"The *per capita* investment in the industry is Rs. 10.68 against Rs. 46.1 of Bombay, Rs. 65.29 of West Bengal and Rs. 26.80 of Bihar. The contribution of State income by factory industries in Andhr* Pradesh is only 2.8 per cent, as against 7.8 per cent of All India figure. These factors have naturally resulted in certain lopsided development and inequitable distribution of the benefits of the Plan".

[Shri K. L. Narasimham.] This is the statement of Mr. Sanji-vaiah, the present Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. There is no mention of any industrial project to be set up there by the Centre. Even now it is not too late and I hope Government would think of setting up some plants there.

I will conclude by saying one sentence. The Finance Minister said in his Speech that "New dynamism in economy is visible". He described the economy and the experience of the two Five Year Plans and stated that "New dynamism in the economy is visible". I would put it this way: 'Now dangers are visible by this Budget'.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR (Madras): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise to congratulate the Finance Minister for having introduced a Budget which is at once wonderfully intelligent, honest, bold, broad-based and far-reaching.

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

It is intelligent because it has not belied intelligent anticipations. It is honest because it reveals no anxiety to hide the deficit but every effort to cover it. It is bold because in this very year of test and trial, Government ventures upon new measures with courage, candour and confidence before it goes to the country. It is broad-based because it attempts to reach everybody and yet hits nobody. And, above all, it is far reaching because, thanks to the optimum implementation of the First and Second Five Year Plans, the machinery has been carefully geared towards the take-off stage in our national economy and now this thousand-crore Budget gives a propulsion to that economy to go to a very far-reaching stage which I can very well call a self-generating economy, setting momentum to the mighty movement of our 400 millions of India in their onward march towards the Socialistic Pattern of Society. 2 P.M. Believe, me, Mr. Vice-Chairman, if we look back upon the glorious achievements that the

nation has made during these thirteen years of our freedom, It is no surprise to any one of us that even such authorities of cold logic as the World Bank should have come to give commendable praise for the marvellous achievements that this country has attained. When we reflect upon the glorious destiny which freedom has conferred upon us, I feel that we should be overwhelmed with the deepest sense of gratitude, not to our Finance Minister, not to our Planning Commission, not to our Prime Minister, not even to the architect of our freedom, Mahatma Gandhi, but to that most wonderful and most powerful individual who seems to loom so large in all the debates in this Parliament and in the Assemblies and in the Councils of India, whom God in His infinite mercy, with the advent of freedom, has placed on the highest pedestal, as His Mysterious Majesty the Common Man of India, before whom sceptre and crown have tumbled down and at whose altar the powers that be burn incense every day and to whose court all the political parties offer their obeisance and make their final appeal. Well, he is waiting for the day of reckoning. He is watching all our deliberations. Indeed he is everywhere. He is within you, within me and within every one of the four hundred millions of India. And almost every speaker here has been so freely indenting on the goodwill of the common man. But what does that common man think of this Budget? You may take it from me that time and again the hon. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has been thundering in this House in the name of the common man, but he, the common man, is not bamboozled by Mr. Bhupesh's bombastic blandishments every day. He understands much better the real interests of the country than the hon. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and his tribe and he is not so much dazzled by the fruits which they dangle before him but is puzzled at the roots of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and his tribe. He fears where their loyalty lies. Particularly he knows much better than many of us here do, the nocturnal flirtations of the Com-

munist Party across the borders of India and verily he has come to realise it. And I am sure he is going to give him the answer on the day of reckoning that he considers the Communist Party of India as the sappers and miners for the communist imperialism of China.

Now, Members of the Swatantra Party have also freely used the common man in their onslaught against the Budget that is now before the House. But when the hon. Mr. Dahyabhai Patel frets, fumes and fulminates against this Budget, almost against every act of this Government, the common man understands him much better than we do. He understands that behind all his thunder and fury it is the cry of the vested interests. And he knows that that party is wooing the Maharani by night and cooing the Maharaja by day and surely what is boom for the Maharaja is doom for the common man. Definitely we shall know where he and his party will stand on the day of reckoning.

Now, Sir, I am myself amused sometimes over the affairs of the P.S.P. and the common man seems to understand the P.S.P. much better than I do, because he has been listening to their endless debates. He has been peeping into their affairs and has been wondering how a party of five intellectuals has got six opinions on every issue. Believe me, after all is said and done, the common man is a very shrewd man, a very calculating man. He is wise and generous and he understands what really should be the future of this country. He knows who has nursed him right through the years, in the struggle for freedom, and who has been trying to consolidate the gains of that freedom. Therefore, I am sure one need not be so much worried about the common man. That common man is going to record his confidence and most wonderfully well in favour of the Congress Party, because here is a Budget which gives conclusive proof, if proof is necessary, that we are approaching him with a balance-sheet, with a re-

cord of our achievements and potentialities which we want to explore and exploit in order that the lot of the common man shall improve. One need not have so many apprehensions about the common man. He knows who is actually safeguarding the interests of the common man in this country. But I should rather appeal, in the larger interests of the implementation of the Third Five Year Plan, that the hon. Finance Minister should with equal courage also try to see that ways and means are evolved to economise and reduce the cost of administration, because there is a general impression in the country that our administration is getting very top-heavy and with the numerous paraphernalia that have now come by way of officialdom, we feel sometimes rightly too that we are having an administration which in many respects is redundant and superfluous and, therefore, needs to be pruned. We feel that we can effect much bigger economy and probably even the deficit might very well turn into a surplus this year as well, if only we could see that the Finance Minister takes effective measures to streamline the administration.

Now, with regard to taxation proposals, let me tell you that the common man, of course, has got his own grumble. He grouses sometimes, but even in the course of his fault finding, he has got that calculating mind to be fact finding as well. When he looks into the prospects that are now held in store for him in the years to come, and not only for him but for his children and for his children's children, he will find that history is going to place on record and posterity will express its deep debt of gratitude to our generation for having called for so much of sacrifice in order that the future shall be happy, in order that India shall live for ever. With this thousand crore Budget, which has got so much of accent on indirect taxes, indeed the common man, who bears the brunt of that indirect taxation, it might be said, has now become

[Shri N. M. Anwar.] our Kamadhenu. After all I cannot understand how there are friends still living in the country who imagine that there are quite a good number of rich men and that we have got to make further inroads into their prosperity. In a socialist pattern of society, which we are now evolving, every man, woman or child has got to realise, in order to raise the standard of living, not of the few that are rich but of the many, the 400 millions of India, who are poor that it is by way of service and sacrifice, by way of sweat and toil, blood and tears that we can be worthy of the progress and prosperity that we have planned for the future. That the common man realises better than the hon. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and his party and he realises that infinitely much better than the Members of the Swatantra Party or the Socialist Party.

SHRI P. A. SOLOMON (Kerala): Your common man is in the heaven, not on the earth.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: I think that When you are getting in there, you are not going to get him into heaven.

PROF. M. B. LAL (Uttar Pradesh): They are obliged to you for your benediction.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, there are many things in respect of which Government have to go a long way in order to see that we attain the objectives that we have in view. Particularly in the field of education I feel that I have got to express with a sense of regret that we have not been able to discharge the obligations that have been imposed upon the Government by the Constitution that within ten years of the inception of the Republic we should have to provide free and compulsory education up to the age of 14. That is only to remain a distant ideal. I quite realise the immensity of the problem, the magnitude of this responsibility, but here I would wish to recall to your

notice the glorious example of the State of Madras which I have the honour to represent in this House. There the Government have been able over the years now to mobilise public co-operation under the auspices of the School Improvement Scheme, and within 30 months they have been able to enlist public contributions to the extent of Rs. 375 lakhs for school improvement in every village. I only want that that School Improvement Scheme should spread all over the country in order that we can provide the amenities of school life in ever so many Villages which are still denied of them.

Again I have to refer to that Government for having this year announced in their Budget proposals provision of free education for the poor up to the pre-university course. That I believe is a marvellous announcement, and I only wish that every State Government could rise to the occasion and that the Central Government also could encourage that movement here.

References have been frequently made to lopsided development. I must only say that—not that I am going to speak for this or that State—there are certain States in our country which have come forward very boldly and very admirably to launch upon schemes of prohibition which had involved such a drain on their revenues. But when it comes to a question of allocation, the Centre has been giving absolutely no consideration, no special recognition for such of the States like Madras which have been trying to place prohibition as one of the highlights of their administration.

I have also to say one thing. In the Economic Survey which the Government have furnished I see that a reference has been made to the enormous rise in the earnings of foreign exchange from hides and skins. That is a contribution which the tanning industry has made from South India to the national exchequer, an industry which I have

the honour to represent. It has been contributing annually over many years Rs. 300 million towards the national exchequer by way of foreign exchange and this year it has registered a phenomenal rise of another Rs. 150 million of foreign exchange. But actually that industry is now in the doldrums, and it is like the goose that lays the golden eggs for the National exchequer whether individual tanners earn or lose. But they are able all the time to contribute towards the foreign exchange. That industry now looks to the Central Government to see that every encouragement is given by way of export promotion to save that industry from the imposition of the sales tax which has accumulated over years for that industry. I appeal to the Finance Minister to use his good offices to see that either the sales tax from whose impediments that industry is now suffering in the State of Madras is remitted or that a subvention or a contribution is made to the State Government in lieu of the sales tax which they expect from this industry.

I would like to say one more thing. I am happy to see that the Government have already constituted a Committee to have a probe into the distribution of the national income. I believe that the entire country would really wish to see that the inequalities and disparities are reduced as far as possible, and in that direction what is really causing sometimes annoyance is that while prosperity has been on the increase, while so much of agricultural and industrial production has been on the rise and the national income too, the income per capita has not registered that rise to an equal degree. Naturally the nation expects to see how this distribution could be effected equitably so, that we can be worthy of an egalitarian society. Believe me, Sir, that the glorious record which the popular Government has been able to establish within these years of our freedom and particularly during the period of the two Five Year Plans augurs well for

the future, and it is bound to enjoy the confidence of the common man. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the third General Election will be held in 1962. The hon. Finance Minister has not cared for the Congress Party but in the very first year of the Third Plan a sincere and impressive effort has been made by him to implement the bigger Plan to secure a happy future. The criticism voiced in the House that the Finance Minister has favoured the rich and ignored the common man in his new taxation proposals is not justified *Prima facie* it appears that some concessions have been given, but in the formative stages of the building up of rapid industrialisation of our country any Finance Minister will have to be alive to the realities of the situation. In the country there is not much capital, and hence there is not much investment. The Government has to encourage capital formation, indigenous or foreign, by providing incentives, and as a practical and wise man the hon. Finance Minister has done so. Unless there is capital formation investments and savings will not increase and industries will not be built up. Unless there are industries we cannot provide employment out of nothing. Hence encouragement to the industries in the initial stages of our economy is essential as we want the same to be self-sufficient, self-generating and self-sustaining.

One of the salient features of the Budget is the reduction of deficit financing. The Finance Minister has skilfully avoided inflation and thereby a steep rise in prices. Deficit financing as a means of economic development calls for constant vigilance based on an intelligent awareness of the fundamental factors affecting the price level in the country. This is evident ever since he has taken charge of the Finance Ministry. Instead of resorting to deficit financing which is a major economic evil, the Finance Minister has come out courageously with a lesser and unavoidable measure*

[Shri K. S. Chavda.] of new taxation which means sacrifice on the part of the people. And that is why, as a measure of keeping down prices, it is to be tolerated with a spirit of national duty.

It is proposed to levy an excise duty on mill-made cotton yarn which does not bear any duty at present. The handloom industry has undoubtedly occupied a very important place in the economy of our country by reason of its employment potential. Every year handloom cloth worth about Rs. 6 to Rs. 7 crores is exported. I think that it is for this reason that the hon. Finance Minister has proposed to exempt cotton yarn of counts 11 to 40 used in weaving on handlooms if used in hanks. For the same reason, I would urge upon him to exempt cotton yarn of counts 8 to 10 used in weaving on handlooms also.

Sir, in 1959-60, the amount spent as grants-in-aid for the welfare of the Backward Classes was Rs. 4,79,00,000 odd. In 1960-61, provision has been made for a sum of Rs. 7,35,00,000. In 1961-62, that is in the present Budget, a provision of nearly Rs. 10 lakhs has been made. May I know why there is so much difference between the amounts provided in 1960-61 and 1961-62? Sir, our Constitution has recognised the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes as two particular groups and as the weaker sections of the community. Under article 339, the President has already appointed a Commission for the Scheduled Areas and the Scheduled Tribes. It is expected to review comprehensively the progress of work done for the improvement. In the condition of the Scheduled Tribes, I would urge that such a review should be attempted in the case of the Scheduled Castes also, so that we can know where we stand so far as the welfare of the Scheduled Castes is concerned.

Sir, it is a matter of satisfaction that it is mentioned in the Budget Speech that on the basis of results of oil

exploration in Gujarat, It has been decided to set up a large refinery there which will be financed from the Soviet credit. This will give rise to a number of petro-chemical industries which will gainfully employ a large number of people and strengthen the industrial base there. It will also solve, to some extent, the problem of fuel in Gujarat.

Thank you.

SHRI SURESH J. DESAI (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Budget which the hon. Finance Minister has presented to the House is an intricate piece of art. The fabric of economy which he has described has bright patches and also some dark patches. But I think it is a pleasing picture which he has presented. There is no doubt, Sir, that our economy is progressing. In a developing economy, difficulties are inherent. It is a tremendous task to uplift the standard of living of 400 million people. The stresses and strains are natural. We have to see that those stresses and strains do not give any great shock to our economy. The hon. Finance Minister in his masterful survey which he has given has also drawn our attention to several danger spots. One of the danger spots is the question of foreign exchange. Our foreign exchange earnings have been rather low because our imports have been much more than our exports. Our imports are not for luxury goods. Our imports are mostly for industrial raw materials and machinery. But still, the adverse balance of trade runs to about something like Rs. 450 crores every year. There is a discrepancy in the figures given by the various government publications about our adverse balance of trade. While the adverse balance of trade as given, in the Economic Survey, 1959-60, has been Rs. 464 crores for 1956-57, Rs. 609 crores for 1957-58 and Rs. 470 crores for 1958-59, the adverse balance of trade according to the Reserve Bank of India Bulletin of December, 1960, has been only Rs. 229 crores for 1956-57, Rs. 400 crores for 1957-58 and Rs. 229

crores for 1958-59. In other words, while the adverse balance of trade for these three years of the Second Plan has been Rs. 1,544 crores according to page 10 of the Economic Survey, 1959-60, this balance, according to the Reserve Bank of India Bulletin of December, 1960, page 1873, has been only about Rs. 859 crores. Whatever it is, assuming that the average adverse balance of trade is to the tune of about Rs. 450 crores per year, it raises a very difficult problem. The hon. Finance Minister in his Budget Speech has mentioned that

"One of the weaknesses from which our industrial economy suffers is that, with the exception of a few industries like jute, cotton textiles and tea, most industries look to the vast domestic market and do not export themselves to sell abroad."

The Finance Minister has further stated:

"It is essential that every industry which depends on imports should endeavour to earn at least part of the foreign exchange it spends by selling its products abroad."

He has also announced a reduction in the tea export duty with a view to increasing the exports of tea. To my mind, Sir, those measures are belated. Most of our industries have got a sort of virtual monopoly because as soon as the industries are started and begin working, imports are immediately cut. Moreover, the existing industries also have got a sort of virtual monopoly. They are making large profits and there is no reason why Government should not expect them to divert part of their production to export earnings. Of course, it will create a shortage within the country also. But in a developing economy, when we have got a planned economy, we have got to tighten our belt also and if we force our industries to export by some way or the other, I think that will be a very desirable measure. On this question of export. I may also men-

tion that at times, there is a wrong policy that the Government is pursuing and that puts as unnecessarily to a loss of foreign exchange. Take the question of our raw jute exports last year. It is a highly unsatisfactory matter. The Forward Markets Commission fixed the prices of raw jute in India as low as possible, although there was a shortage of raw jute both in India and Pakistan. What happened was that Indian jute was smuggled into Pakistan and exported from Pakistan to foreign countries and the large earnings went to Pakistan and not to India, so much so that the ridiculous position was reached where the price of Indian jute manufactures was less than the price of an equivalent weight of raw jute of Pakistan. The price of Indian manufactured jute should have been something like Rs. 750 more per ton than the price of equivalent raw jute of Pakistan. Instead of that it was Rs. 250 less per ton than the price of raw jute of Pakistan. This deprived our Bengal agriculturists of a lot of earnings. It deprived our jute mills of a lot of earnings, and the country also lost foreign exchange to the tune of about something like Rs. 100—150 crores, all because a wrong policy was pursued for months together, rather, for well nigh a year, by the Forward Markets Commission. Now, Sir, because of the shortage of foreign exchange we have got to depend on foreign aid. The hon. Finance Minister has announced certain concessions, a reduction of duty on inter-corporate dividends of minority share holdings of foreign companies, royalties, and also concessions to foreign technical personnel. These are very welcome measures, and coupled with the new Investment Centre which the hon. Finance Minister inaugurated a few days, back I hope, Sir, that foreign equity capital will also be flowing into this country in a large measure than heretofore. In the years 1956, 1957 and 1958—I refer to the calendar years—foreign equity capital has been coming at the rate of about Rs. 38 crores, per year. Governmental aid

[Shri Suresh J. Desai.] is coming at the rate of about something like Rs. 260 crores per year. I do not see why foreign equity capital also should not rise to something like a Rs. 100 crores if a proper climate is created for the same. I hope, Sir, the Investment Centre which the hon. Finance Minister opened a few days back will create that necessary climate which will attract more and more foreign equity capital into this country so that our foreign exchange requirements may be met to a certain extent by foreign equity capital,

The second point I would refer to is the question of public enterprises. I am for expanding, as much as possible, the public sector, so that the public sector can serve as a base on which the private sector can also develop. There is immense scope for the private sector to develop in the country, and to my mind there is no conflict between the public sector and the private sector. At times some people take it as a sort of conflict between the private sector and the public sector. Actually the public sector is the base, and there are innumerable consumption articles and intermediate articles which the private sector can take upon itself. There is no reason why there should be a conflict between the private sector and the public sector. But the public sector must put itself on a very efficient basis. On several occasions I have mentioned in this House that our public sector enterprises should be run on commercial lines; they should be commercial propositions. Why should they be merely considered to be a sort of some luxury article, that they spend money in whatever manner they like just to produce something and show, 'yes, we have been producing something.' To produce something is not the end but to produce something at an economic rate must be the aim. The public enterprises must be run on a commercial basis. They must show even more profit and efficiency than the private sector. Then only

they can justify their existence, and that is why I feel that the public sector industries must be run on a very efficient basis. In the Explanatory Memorandum it is mentioned for the year 1959-60 that on a total investment of Rs. 505 crores the earnings will be only a little more than a crore of rupees, and the percentage of profit will be '2 only. The percentage of profit for 1961-62 is only -5. I will refer in this connection, Sir, to the note which Professor Galbraith submitted some time back to the Government of India. Professor Galbraith is an eminent economist and he may be coming to India as the American Ambassador also. Professor Galbraith says in his note:

"I venture the view that the public sector has reached the point where its organisation requires a great deal of attention. India has a kind of post office socialism which is out of date and which is working for less well than it should and must."

Professor Galbraith further says in his note:

"In both the capitalist and the communist countries, investment is in very large measure from the earnings of the industrial enterprises. These accumulate surplus which becomes available either for their own expansion or elsewhere."

I have been emphasising in this House before also that the policy of the Government both in the public sector and the private sector should be such that the industries should be earning profits and these profits should be ploughed back for their further expansion, or for the starting of new industries. Our public sector should be put on an absolutely efficient basis and should be run like commercial propositions so that they can plough back their profits for their own expansion as also they can start new industries. The Fourth Annual Report on the working of the Companies Act has been recently publish-

ed and has been placed on the Table of the House yesterday. This Report has some very adverse comments to make on the working of the Government companies. Two points have been mentioned in particular, 'the absence of an efficient internal accounting system and organisation' and 'the lack of an internal costing system and organisation which has resulted in inadequate budgetary planning, ineffective control on budget and insufficient use of essential cost data in the formulation of the companies' policies'. This, Sir, requires a lot of attention, because the public sector is a growing sector. Gradually the investment is rising to several thousand crores of rupees and unless we put the public sector on a sound commercial basis, I think the economy as a whole cannot be helped.

Then, Sir, coming to the Budget proposals as such, I feel that the receipts 'have been under-estimated. In fact this seems to be a sort of systematic practice with the Government of India for the last so many years. In 1950-51 the surplus was estimated at Rs. 71 crores. Actually it came to be Rs. 59 crores. In 1951-52 the surplus was estimated at Rs. 25 crores. Actually it turned out to be Rs. 128 crores. In 1952-53 the surplus was estimated at Rs. 3 73 crores. Actually it came to be Rs. 38-93 crores. In 1953-54 the surplus was estimated at Rs. 45 crores. Actually it was Rs. 8'50 crores. In 1954-55 the deficit was estimated at Rs. 14-21 crores. Actually there was a surplus of Rs. 3351 crores. In 1955-56 the deficit was estimated at Rs. 8-47 crores. Actually there was a surplus of Rs. 40-45 crores. In 1956-57 the deficit was estimated at Rs. 17-68 crores. Actually there was a surplus of Rs- 89 crores. In 1957-58 the surplus Was estimated at Rs. 44-43 crores and it was actually Rs. 42 crores. In the current year also the revenue deficit is now assessed at Rs. 33 67 crores as against the estimated deficit of Rs. 60-70 crores. The overall deficit was estimated at Rs. 153 crores but now,

in the revised estimate, it has been assessed at Rs. 15 crores only. In the 1961-62 Budget proposals the revenue is expected to be Rs. 962-92 crores. From the present taxes, revenue receipts are estimated to be Rs. 39-2 crores and from the new taxes, they are expected to be Rs. 60-87 crores. To my mind, this is a clear underestimate. For years together we have been seeing how the receipts have been under-estimated in the Budget proposals but when the Revised Budget and the actual assessment are seen, there is a surplus. There is no point in under-estimating the receipts. It will be better if the receipts are shown correctly. I do not at all mean to suggest that there should be no new taxes. In a developing economy, especially in a planned economy, there are bound to be new taxes. But at the same time more surplus will be available for developmental expenditure if the budgetary position is mentioned more clearly.

Sir, I would not refer to the various commodities since the time at my disposal is very short, but on the ' question of excise duties on kerosene, import of machinery and component parts I would offer some remarks. As far as the excise duty on kerosene is concerned, though it is on the superior quality of kerosene, I beg to submit that it would affect a large part of our population.

As far as the manufacture of new machines in the country is concerned, the duty on components will increase the price of the machines produced within the country by making components more costly. Some of these machines are exported also, and if we go on increasing the price of these machines, the exports will be affected. Moreover, by increasing the duty on components and machinery, we cannot stop the import of surplus machinery. After all, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, before giving licences, find out whether the machinery is manufactured in the country or not. If the machinery is manu-

[Shri Suresh J. Desai.] factured. in the country, licences are not given. The licences are issued only when the machinery is essential and not manufactured in the country. Of course, the hon. Finance Minister has some economic thinking behind each of these proposals. I admit that. But at the same time I do not agree with him that these excise duties on machinery and components will stop the import of unnecessary machinery. On the other hand, it will, to my mind, unnecessarily increase the cost of machinery for Indian companies at a time when new development is taking place.

Coming to my last point, Sir, the hon. Finance Minister has stated that the Budget is an instrument of economic policy. To my mind, it is also an instrument of social policy. There are several imbalances in our economy which have got to be corrected by proper application of the taxation proposals and by seeing that there is no lopsided development, or the economic gains of the developing economy do not go to a few particular sectors only. For instance, there is an increase of 42 per cent in the real national income during the last ten years and there has been an increase of about 20 per cent in the per capita income. Now, the urban sector is increasing in importance in our national economy due to emphasis on industry- Though we have spent about Rs. 1,700 crores in the rural sector by way of agricultural improvements, village industries, education and community development, at the economic gains in the rural sector have not been evenly spread out. I do not say that the aggregate rural income has not increased. Of course, a number of benefits have come to our rural sector also. The index of agricultural production, with 1949-50 as the base, has gone up to 135 in 1960" 61. Foodgrains production has increased from 52.2 million tons in 1950-51 to 75 million tons in 1960-61-The consumption of fertilisers has increased by four times. Consumption

of improved seeds is likely to be 15.9 million tons during the three years, 1956-59. So many other benefits, we see, have also gone to the rural sector. Consumption of foodgrains has increased by 10% according to the estimate of the National Council of Applied Economic Research. The consumption of cloth has increased by about 25 per cent. Consumption of tobacco and vegetable oils has also increased. There is more consumption of sugar, finer cloth and even bicycles. When I go to the country side I see some cultivators having even radios. I do not at all deny that benefits have accrued to the rural sector. But the question is, to which particular class of the rural sector have these benefits gone. The aggregate rural earnings have certainly increased but have the earnings of agricultural labour increased? That is the question.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Desai, your time is up.

SHRI SURESH J. DESAI: Just a few minutes, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : You have already taken ^ six minutes more-

SHRI SURESH J. DESAI: I shall just finish. The second Agricultural Labour Enquiry has pointed out that the wages of agricultural labour of all classes have decreased absolutely.

Similarly, Sir, in the urban sector it is the lower middle class which is suffering. The business people and the working classes have got certain benefits, but the fixed income groups the middle and lower middle classes have been suffering. Therefore, we have to see that the economic gains are evenly spread out and not that they are confined to certain sectors. This imbalance requires to be removed- This is also to be seen in the light of the new taxation which has been levied in the Budget proposals.

श्री पा० ना० राजभोग (महाराष्ट्र) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय आयोजना का अन्तिम तथा तृतीय पंचवर्षीय आयोजना का यह प्रथम अर्थ संकल्प होने की वजह से महत्वपूर्ण है।

हमारे आयोजना के दस वर्ष पूर्ण हो रहे हैं और इस दृष्टि से देखा जाय तो हमने सारे क्षेत्र में तरक्की की है, इस बात में कोई सन्देह नहीं है। हमारी प्रगति तथा हमारा स्तर ऊंचा करने के लिये हमने जो प्रथम आयोजना चलाई थी उसको दुगुना बढ़ा कर द्वितीय आयोजना बनाई और यह अन्दाजा है—जैसा कि माननीय वित्त मन्त्री जी ने अपने भाषण में कहा है कि यह आउट-ले ४,६०० करोड़ रुपये तक जायेगा। इससे हमारा औद्योगिक उत्पादन ६६ प्रतिशत बढ़ा है। और खेती का उत्पादन ३३ प्रतिशत बढ़ा है। एक दृष्टि से यह चीज बतलाती है कि हम औद्योगिकरण के रास्ते से चल रहे हैं और शीघ्र गति से चल रहे हैं लेकिन हमारे देश में खेती में प्रगति नहीं हो रही है। हमारा भारत देश खेती प्रधान होने से और जनसंख्या बढ़ने की वजह से अनाज की समस्या हल करने के लिए खेती पर जोर देना बहुत आवश्यक है। जब-तक हमारे सामने अनाज उत्पादन का प्रश्न है तब तक यह मालूम होता है कि इस साल यह उत्पादन पिछले साल से ५ प्रतिशत से कम हुआ है और अनाज के लिये हमें आयात करना पड़ा। १९६० में हमने ५० लाख टन अनाज का आयात किया और यह संख्या देखते हुए हमें अफसोस होता है कि एग्रीकल्चर सेक्टर में जितनी तरक्की होनी चाहिये थी उतनी नहीं हो रही है। यह आशाजनक है कि खरीफ की जो फसल आने वाली है वह बहुत ही अच्छी है। यह अन्दाजा लगाया गया है कि चावल का उत्पादन करीब ३१० लाख टन होगा जो कि पिछले साल से २० लाख टन ज्यादा है। किन्तु जब तक भूमि का पुनः वितरण नहीं होगा, भूमिहीन मजदूरों को और किसानों को जमीन खेती

करने के लिए नहीं बांटी जायेगी तब तक यह प्रश्न और बेकारी का प्रश्न हल नहीं हो सकता है। इसके साथ ही साथ हमारे देश की आर्थिक समस्या भी बगैर एग्रीकल्चर में तरक्की किये हुए सफल नहीं हो सकती है। यह बात अच्छी है कि महाराष्ट्र और गुजरात में सीलिंग लगाया जा रहा है। लेकिन साथ साथ कोऑपरेटिव आन्दोलन का काम शीघ्र गति से नहीं चल रहा है। सहकारी तत्व से खेती के उत्पादन की घोषणा कांग्रेस के नागपुर अधिवेशन में की गई थी और हम यह चाहते हैं कि वह नीति अतिशीघ्रता से और जोर से हाथ में ली जाये। वेस्टेड इंटरेस्ट के दबाव से पीछे न हट जाये। वही बात अनाज के व्यापार के राष्ट्रीयकरण की है। गत वर्ष अनाज के दाम १४.५ प्रतिशत १९५६ से बढ़ गये। चावल के दाम ७ प्रतिशत बढ़े तथा गेहूं के दाम १८ प्रतिशत कम हुये। लेकिन जैसा कि वित्त मन्त्री जी ने पृष्ठ ६ पर कहा है :

“The rising trend in prices has persisted almost throughout the Second Plan. It should, however, be our aim to ensure that in the period of the Third Plan, the prices of the essential goods that enter into the common man's budget remain relatively stable.”

तो यदी आप ब्लेक मार्केटर्स से और अनाज दबा के रखने वालों से बचना चाहते हैं और दाम भी काबू में रखना चाहते हैं तो मेरी प्रार्थना है कि अनाज के व्यापार का राष्ट्रीयकरण आवश्यक है। हमारे पास २० लाख टन से ज्यादा अनाज जमा है और पी० एल० ४८० के मुताबिक भी अनाज आता है तो यह नीति स्पष्ट होनी जरूरी है। पी० एल० ४८० के मुताबिक गेहूं आने से पंजाब में १ लाख ८० हजार टन गेहूं जमा हो गया है और वहां की सरकार को नुकसान हुआ। साढ़े पन्द्रह रुपये मन के हिसाब से कोई भी व्यापारी वह गेहूं लेने को तैयार नहीं। इस सिलसिले में और भी बात बताना चाहता हूं और वह यह है कि न्यूयार्क टाइम्स में शिकायत

[श्री पा० ना राजभाज]

की गई है कि अमेरिका से जो गेहूं भारत में आया उसमें यहां के व्यापारियों ने लाखों डालर्स कमाये हैं। तो मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इस बात में असली क्या पोजीशन है, वह स्पष्ट की जाये।

अनाज के दाम के बाद में जो टैक्स लगाये गये हैं यह, अर्थसंकल्प में, उसके बारे में कहना चाहता हूं। मैं वित्त मन्त्री जी को इस बात पर मुबारकवाद देता हूं कि उन्होंने बहुत धैर्य से ६०-८७ करोड़ रुपये के टैक्स लगाये हैं। इससे अगले पांच साल कौन से प्रकार का प्रयत्न करना होगा, वह मालूम होता है। मैं वित्त मन्त्री जी से सहमत हूं कि :

"We have set ourselves the onerous task of raising the standard of living of our people and of speedily building up a self-sustaining economy. We are doing this with the willing consent of the people through democratic processes. There can be no respite from sweat and sacrifice."

और कोई भी प्रकार के बलिदान के लिये हमारी जनता पीछे नहीं रहेगी। ये हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाई, सोशलिस्ट भाई अपना पोलिटिकल कैपिटल कर रहे हैं। ये कुछ न कुछ बुटियां निकालते हैं, दोष निकालते हैं और हमारे वित्त मन्त्री जी के ऊपर कई प्रकार के आरोप लगाते हैं। लेकिन हमें अपने देश में हर प्रकार की मुविधा बढ़ाने के लिए जो भी कुर्बानी की आवश्यकता पड़े उसके लिए तैयार रहना चाहिये। किन्तु परेशानी जो होती है वह फिजूल दाम बढ़ाने की वजह से। आप टैक्सेशन प्रॉपोजल देखिये। मैं इस हद तक तो नहीं कहता कि टैक्स लगे हैं, इसकी वजह से काफी कम पिस्रो और वह भी मिट्टी के कुल्लड़ में पिस्रो, क्योंकि शीशे के बर्तन, कप और रकबी मंहये हो गये हैं। एक के बाद एक ऐसा चैन स्मोकिंग करो क्योंकि माचिस की काड़ी बच जायगी। मैं इस हद तक नहीं जाता, लेकिन यह कर लादने की वजह से दाम इतने बढ़ गये हैं कि यदि

सरकार कड़ा शासन नहीं करेगी तो यह पैसा व्यापारियों की जेब में जायेगा। आपको कुछ उदाहरण देता हूं :

चाय के पैकेट पर १ किलोग्राम पर १ नये पैसे की ड्यूटी लगी है, लेकिन चाय का कप दो आने से १५ नये पैसे बन गया है। कॉफी पर १४ पैसे प्रति किलो ड्यूटी लगी है, लेकिन २० पैसे की काफी ३० से ४० पैसे कप में मिलती है। ड्यूटी के हिसाब से देखा जाये तो एक कुटुम्ब में जहां महीने में २०० कप काफी बनती है वहां २० पैसे से ज्यादा खर्चा नहीं बढ़ना चाहिये, लेकिन दाम बढ़ने की वजह से काफी का बिल बढ़ गया है। माचिस के बारे में देखिये। ड्यूटी के हिसाब से ५० काडियों का बाक्स ५ नये पैसे होता चाहिये और ६० का ६ नये पैसे। लेकिन ६० का दाम ८ पैसे बन गया है। मार्केट में ५० काडियों का बाक्स आ भी जाये तो यह दाम कम नहीं होंगे। वैसे ही बात केरोसीन की है। एक टीन का दाम साढ़े आठ रुपया हो गया है और फाइन और क्रूड, इस भेदभाव से जनता में कन्फ्यूजन हो गया है। इसका नाजायज फायदा दुकानदार उठा रहे हैं। तो यह बातें मध्यम वर्ग और गरीबों को तंग करती हैं। तो इसका फिर विचार होना जरूरी है। केरोसीन पर जो टैक्स लगाया है उसका पुनर्विचार होना चाहिये, क्योंकि मध्यम वर्ग के लोगों के लिये यह लग्जरी नहीं है बल्कि नेसेसिटी बन गई है। कोयला की शार्टेज से उसके दाम भी बढ़ गये हैं। लकड़ी कोयला जो कि महाराष्ट्र में ज्यादा इस्तेमाल होता है वह ६ से ११ रुपये मन हो गया है। पत्थर का कोयला भी ३ से ४ रुपये मन हो गया है। देहातों में भी मिट्टी का तेल बत्ती जलाने के लिये इस्तेमाल होता है। वहां के लोगों को भी स्टोव की आदत लगानी चाहिये ताकि नेचुरल फ्यूअल कम जलाया जाये।

तो आप इस समस्या पर अधिक ध्यान दें। हमारा ध्येय आयोजना यशस्वी करके समाज-

वादी समाज की स्थापना करने का है और जो वीकर सैंकशंस हैं उनको बढ़ाने का है। हमारा यह प्रयत्न होना चाहिये कि देश की विपत्तियाँ जल्दी से नष्ट हो जाये और टैक्स का बोझ जो कंधा उठा सकता है उस पर ही पड़े बलिदान करने के लिये लोग तैयार होंगे तब उनको उसका फल निश्चित रूप में दिखाई पड़ेगा।

कर बढ़ाने की जरूरत है। ६१ करोड़ रुपया जिन चीजों पर रखा है, वह चीजें जीवन के लिये अत्यन्त आवश्यक नहीं हैं। मुपारी, टुवैको बगैरह पर ज्यादा कर लोगों से लेने में, इसका भार सर्वसाधारण पर कम पड़ता है।

टैक्स से भारी बोझ सामान्य लोगों पर पड़ता है, ऐसी बात किसी टाइम कुछ अपोजीशन के माननीय सभासदों ने कहा है। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इसके बिना बजट का कैसे बैलेंस होगा? डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग करके, ज्यादा नोट नासिक सिक्युरिटी प्रिंटिंग प्रेस से निकालने से कैसे काम चलेगा?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): We shall make you "Krishi Pandit."

श्री पा० ना० राजभोज : बाहर के या देश के लोग खाली कागज पर क्या हमेशा भरोसा करेंगे? इसलिये टैक्स से इंकम बढ़ाना जरूरी हो जाता है। त्याग बिना जनता लाभ नहीं उठा सकती। हमारे विरोधी भाई त्याग करना नहीं चाहते। वे गाली देना चाहते हैं, गवर्नमेंट को दबाना चाहते हैं, गवर्नमेंट के खिलाफ प्रोपेगण्डा करके अपनी पार्टी का कैपिटल बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। वे खाली अपनी दुकान का ही मान बेचना चाहते हैं और दूसरे का माल देखना नहीं चाहते हैं। तो त्याग के बिना जनता लाभ नहीं उठा सकती। योजना पूर्ण करने के लिए पैसे की जरूरत है और बाहर से कर्जा हमेशा ले के देश बढ़ेगा नहीं।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, the hon. Member seems to be reading his

speech. It may be placed on the Table of the House.

श्री पा० ना० राजभोज : देश में अधिक उत्पादन, अधिक काम, अधिक बचत, अधिक कैपिटल फार्मेशन और अधिक इन्वेस्टमेंट कि बगैर गरीबी, बेकारी, दुःख हटेगा नहीं। इसलिये फाईनेंस मिनिस्टर को मैं बधाई देता हूँ कि वे देश की नाड़ी अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं। लोग क्या दे सकते हैं, इसकी जानकारी उनको है। इस लिये वे बड़े चतुर व्यवहारवादी ढंग से काम करके सब लोगों में विश्वास की हवा पैदा करते हैं ताकि सब लोग अपनी जगह पर से देश का काम, सेवाभाव व त्यागपूर्वक व परिश्रमपूर्वक करें।

सरकारको गाली देने से काम नहीं होगा।

3 P.M. हमें भी अपने पांच के ऊपर खड़ा रह कर देश की उन्नति करना है। देश के औद्योगीकरण के लिये जो कंसेशंस दिये हैं वे ठीक हैं और उनका देना जरूरी है लेकिन हमारी एक प्रार्थना है कि हमारे यहां चमड़े का एक बहुत बड़ा उद्योग है और उसके बारे में मेरी एक विनती है कि एक लेदर बोर्ड बनाया जाये। जिस तरह से आपने काफी बोर्ड, खादी बोर्ड बगैरह बनाया है उसी तरह से एक लेदर बोर्ड बनाने की आवश्यकता है। यह इंडस्ट्री सेंकेंड टू टेक्सटाइल इंडस्ट्री है। तो इसमें लगे हुए लोगों की आर्थिक उन्नति के लिये एक लेदर बोर्ड बनाना चाहिये, यह मेरी प्रार्थना है।

तीसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हाउसिंग, एजुकेशन और एम्प्लायमेंट ये तीन बातें हैं जिनसे हमारी उन्नति हो सकती है। अन्न-वस्त्र के साथ ही साथ ये तीन चीजें हैं जो कि हमारी आर्थिक समस्या को दूर करने के लिये आवश्यक हैं। हमारे ज्यादा से ज्यादा विद्यार्थियों को एजुकेशन मिलनी चाहिये और उन्हें ज्यादा स्कालरशिप देना चाहिये। ज्यादा मकान बनाना चाहिये और स्लम क्लीयरेंस की जो बात है उसको करना चाहिये। हमारे गरीब लोगों को मकान

[श्री पा० ना० राजभोज]

के लिये मदद होनी चाहिये। अभी जो नेशनल इनकम कमेटी बनी है वह नेशनल इनकम के बारे में बतायेगी और हमारी सरकार गरीबों के लिये बहुत कर रही है लेकिन फिर भी चीजें अमल में ठीक तरह से नहीं आती हैं। हरिजन और आदिवासियों का सवाल बहुत बड़ा है और जब तक हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की उन्नति नहीं होगी तब तक तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना सफल नहीं होगी। हरिजन ६ करोड़ लोग हैं और आदिवासी २ करोड़ लोग हैं और इनकी उन्नति के लिये शिक्षा के बारे में, मकान के बारे में और काम मिलने के बारे में कुछ होना चाहिये। जो लैंडलेस लेबरर्स हैं, भूमिहीन लोग हैं उनको जमीन मिलनी चाहिये। इसी वास्ते मेरी वित्त मंत्री जी से प्रार्थना है कि तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में इन लोगों के लिये जो १०० करोड़ रुपया मंजूर किया है उसको २०० करोड़ रुपया कर देना चाहिये। आप यह कर सकते हैं, आप मालिक हैं। आप व्यावहारिक हैं और व्यावहारिक दृष्टि से सब का भला होना चाहिये। सब को भलाई होने में ही हमारी भलाई है। मैं जातीय दृष्टि से नहीं बोलता हूँ। जातीयता बहुत बढ़ रही है और वह खत्म हीनी चाहिये। पहले मैं जातिवादी था और पहले कुछ और ढंग से बात करता था लेकिन आज बात यह है कि देश का भला होने में हमारा भला है, देश के हित में हमारा हित है। यह भावना हम लोगों में पैदा हो रही है।

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

उपसभापति महोदय, हमारी यह प्रार्थना है कि आर्थिक, सामाजिक, शैक्षणिक और सांस्कृतिक दृष्टि से जो दबे हुए हैं, गिरे हुए हैं उनको आगे बढ़ाने के लिये सब प्रकार की कोशिश करने की आवश्यकता है। स वक्त बजट पर बोलने के समय सर्विसेज पर भी कुछ कहता हूँ। यहां जो सेक्टरेरियट के लोग हैं वे बड़े हुए हैं, उनकी भी हम लोगों

पर दया करने की जरूरत है और वे बहुत कुछ कर सकते हैं। हरिजनों के लिये रिजर्वेशन है, इसलिये जो उनकी जगहें हैं उनको पूरा करना चाहिये। इस ओर ध्यान रखें। आपने मूझे बजट पर बोलने का मौका दिया, इसके लिये धन्यवाद देता हूँ। वक्त नहीं है, इसलिये और बातों के बारे में न बोल कर अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN (Kerala): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise to express my feelings of satisfaction for the provisions that are made for the year 1961-62. Considering the great achievements that we have made in the past years, and especially in the last year, we can easily say that we are moving forward. In a developing economy, we cannot but introduce taxes on various new items. According to me, the taxes that have been announced for the year 1961-62 are nothing but bitter pills that have been prescribed by a physician for a serious disease. So, when we consider the progress on the various fronts made in the last so many years of independence, we have every reason to be proud of our achievements. On the industrial front, as the hon. Prime Minister stated on the floor of this House, even the World Bank has expressed the view that we have had spectacular development in that sector. Industries in the basic sector and in the small-scale sector have advanced to a great extent and we can easily claim that we are in a position to avoid the import of manufactured materials that we had been importing for the last so many years. Still, for sometime more, we will have to depend on the manufactured articles of foreign countries. Sir, we notice that production in the industrial sector, even though it is satisfactory and is giving us proper encouragement, is almost an imitation type of improvement. We had been importing many articles from foreign countries for our consumption but the same items are now manufactured with the aid of foreign firms or foreign collaborators, changing the trade mark

but the specification and other details remaining the same. Here again, Sir, the materials that are required are almost alike the foreign goods that are now imported. In fact, for increasing the production in the various sections of our industry, we would have to depend on the fundamentals that are invented and that are followed by the foreign countries. From the development in the industrial sector, I am led to believe, Sir, that we do not have yet the originally just to chalk out the plans, schemes and specifications for our need. Sir, much attention would have to be paid to the research and scientific section and much money would have to be spent in that line so that we might have our own plans, schemes and specifications according to our needs. Hitherto we were having a means of administration which is claimed to be our own. Even though we are following a socialistic pattern of society, we claim to retain our own method of administration and we stick to peaceful means for the establishment of a socialistic pattern. In the same way, for industrial development also, we would have to concentrate much on the original development of industries. It is true that we are having basic industries and other industries established in our country; formerly, we were importing manufactured goods into this country but now we are importing machinery for the manufacture of these materials. So, I invite the attention of the Government to the fact that attention is to be paid for establishing original ways and means of developing our industry. Sir, when we speak of industries in our country we notice that when we establish industries regional parity is not maintained. Much amount is spent for developing industries and much progress has been achieved during the past so many years and crores of rupees have been invested as capital for the industries in our country in the public sector as well as in the private sector but in establishing industries region-wise or rather in doing justice to the various regions we have failed.

1084 RS—5.

For the public-sector industries we have been spending hundreds of crores of rupees. In the Second Five Year Plan I think for the public-sector industries alone we have spent nearly Rs. 675 crores out of which Kerala which is always faced with the problem of unemployment in the educated as well as in the uneducated sector gets only less than three-fourths of a crore. We can understand that the money that was spent for the public-sector industries during the Second Five Year Plan was mainly invested in the basic industries that are absolutely essential for the development of industries in our country and those basic industries can be established only in those places where the necessary facilities like raw materials, transport, etc. are available, but even when we establish other industries, industries which can be set up in any part of the country, due regard is not paid to maintain regional parity.

For instance, as far as licensing of rubber factories is concerned, Kerala is the place which produces 95 per cent, of the rubber in our country and in licensing rubber factories generally care is not taken to give licences to give those persons who would establish the factories in Kerala. On the other hand in big cities where the concentration of industries has almost suffocated human life already, more and more industries are established. So concentration of industries in one and the same place should be discouraged and decentralisation should be encouraged.

Coming to the question of development of agriculture, we have been concentrating our attention on stepping up food production in the country. Improvement in food production is absolutely necessary so that we may become self-sufficient as far as food is concerned but, Sir, food production cannot be taken up in those places where we can produce cash crops. For instance, Kerala is a place that is deficit in food production but it is producing cash crops like rubber, pepper, cardamom, coconut, cashew nut and

[Shri Joseph Mathen] other things Coconut is the main wealth of Kerala and it is after the name of coconut that even the State is named. Even that is not given importance and support either in the agricultural sector or in the industrial sector. Sir, coconut requires at least ten or twelve years for yielding some profit out of its cultivation and the short-term and medium-term loans under the Reserve Bank scheme and the scheme of the Government cannot be availed of because these loans cannot be repaid within the time because of the delay that occurs before the yield materialises. Again we have a committee for the development of coconut plantation but not even one per cent, of the coconut planters is affected by the activities of that committee. That committee is to look after the disease in the coconut plantation but still there are thousands of acres in the districts of Alleppey and Ernakulam which are now yielding practically nothing, where a single tree used to yield hundreds of coconuts per year. In such places where the trees have been attacked by the disease replantation will have to be done and the Government will have to undertake to give the planters replantation loans as they are doing in the case of rubber plantations.

When we consider the question of industries, there is a fishing industry which is completely ignored by our Government and that is the fishing industry. We have so many thousands of miles of coastal strip in the country and our sea is rich in fish but whatever we have done in this connection has not affected even one per cent, of the fishing population in the country. The fishing population in our country is the most downtrodden and they need the immediate attention of the Government. Even after the Norwegian project or the deep sea fishing project that, we are introducing is completed successfully, I do not think we shall be able to serve more than a microscopic minority of the fishing population.

tion. So here also we have to pay much more attention.

Again I wish to bring to the notice of this House the trend that is now developing in the educational system of our country. To me it is like aiming at the construction of the Tower of Babel. The Tower of Babel was constructed with the best of intentions to step into heaven from the top of the tower. It so happened that at a time the construction took such a turn that the people at the top could not make the people down below understand what they meant and the people down below could not make the people at the top understand what they meant. So there was a lot of confusion and they had to give up the construction of that tower and the Tower of Babel stands for confusion. In the same way here in India we are tackling the problem of education. Only the other day the Education Minister, stated at some public meeting that it was a shame that we were still depending on English for our education. Sir, I do admit that it is a shame for us to depend on a foreign language for our education, but how are we to solve the problem? We have decided that each State will have its own regional language as the medium of instruction in its region. After ten or fifteen years when the people in the States are educated in their own regional language and when they assemble together as Indians in some corner of the country, the same situation that obtained at the time of the construction of the Tower of Babel will be confronting us. We cannot make each other understand and there will be great confusion. So if at all we have to change the medium of education from English, according to me it should be switched on to Hindi which is our national language. But you should not be hasty. Even those persons who support my suggestion are not always supporting what I am going to say. You will have to teach Hindi to all Indians and make them understand that it is our national language. Before introducing Hindi as the medium of instruction through-

But the country we will have to create a Hindi atmosphere throughout India. Then only we may be able to successfully implement our educational schemes. Sir, we also find that we are building up two types of citizens through our educational system. We are building up what we call the public school system of education whereby the children of the big guns and big officials of the Government are educated and they come out as smart energetic young men and they think that they are born to administer the country. At the same time for the common masses we have what we call the basic education whereby we turn out second class people with a particular type of training who are definitely inferior to those who are educated in the public schools. So, either we will have to adopt the public school system throughout the country or we will have to give up the public school system and extend basic training to all children, irrespective of their caste, creed or position.

Thank you.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, the Finance Minister has designed his tax proposals with great clarity and he has got no doubt in his mind as to what he wants to achieve. And he will certainly achieve it. Many friends of the Opposition are almost shocked that he has not, even in a pre-election year, exhibited restraint. That only goes to show the courage of the hon. Finance Minister. Secondly, he wants to impress on the people of India and abroad that the Government takes the Third Plan very seriously and it is going to stand by it. It does not matter what difficulties we have to face. And with his doughty efforts at taxation, he will surely have created a certain impression at home and abroad, and when the assisting countries meet in Washington next month, they will go with the full knowledge that India is doing her best to raise her internal resources. For this we certainly congratulate the hon. Finance Minister. I am one of those people who do not believe that taxa-

tion should not be there. Whatever form of Government we follow, taxation is most essential for the development of our country. Every class of society, whether rich or poor has to contribute to the country's development. When the rich or the poor contribute, it does not go into the pockets of Mr. Morarji Desai, but as any other Finance Minister, he is taking the money to be returned to them in the form of national development. I am sure that all of them, whether rich or poor, will pay their taxes conscious of this fact, unless friends like Mr. Bhupesh Gupta are going to excite the common man with uncharitable views in this matter. I hope he will not do it and that he will make the common man understand the correct perspective with which the taxation has been made. Whether it is direct or indirect, I am not going to talk much about taxation here or the specific tax proposals. But one thing I feel certainly is that the impact of the taxation has fallen a little more on the poor man, on the middle and lower class, than on the rich. I have no objection to taxing the poor at all. I feel that it is right that you tax the poor. But he has not taxed the rich enough, up to the abilities or the responsibilities which they have. In this connection there are two things which I want to mention. One is kerosene. Many people have mentioned kerosene, but as the hon. Finance Minister has explained, the tax is not on the inferior quality. It is only on the superior quality. So, I do not think the poor people will be affected very much. Matches and medicines affect everybody. If not on any other grounds, at least on human and humane grounds, he should see that there is a revision of the taxes in respect of matches and medicines.

More than the tax proposals, I would like to say a few words on the policy of the Government, the philosophy of the Government and on their approach to the economic development of the country. We have belief in our socialistic pattern of society, and I for one

[Shrimati Yashoda Reddy] be deve that any amount of taxation is not going to solve the problem of our nation. Our troubles are based more on social inequalities, administrative irregularities and executive inefficiency. These are the three important things on which the Government should concentrate a little more. Taxation, of course, is one method, but more important than that are these fundamental things. When I say social inequalities, I do not know whether I will be able to express myself properly in this short time. But the difference between the incomes which the highest in- the land get and the lowest in the land get today, should certainly be narrowed down. I do not say that you confiscate all the wealth. What I say is let us have certain standards. Let us say that beyond a certain level a person should not have a higher income or wealth. Beyond that, taxation should come in ruthlessly. All the extra money, which goes beyond the limitation set by Government, should go to national development. And when we fix the higher income, we must also see that the minimum wages are paid to everybody. Whether it is the agricultural sector or the industrial sector, whether it is the organised sector or the unorganised sector, this should apply. Otherwise, any amount of our trying to tax the people will not help. Unless these social inequalities are cut down, I do not think we will achieve much.

A lot of criticism was made by hon. Members opposite as to why the private sector should be given any liberal concessions. I for one feel that we believe in a mixed economy and any liberal concessions given are welcome. But as long as liberal concessions are given and as long as we allow them to make extra profits, they should be diverted back to national development. Then, some taxes have been suggested by one of my hon. friends, Shri Khandubhai Desai, for example, the excess profits tax, the capital gains tax and an increase in the rate of the estate duty. I do not say that you

should not give them liberal concessions. Give them, but see that the extra capital produced because of these liberal concessions comes back to national development. Many of my friends talk about incentives. They say that if more direct taxation is made, then the incentive is not there. I do not understand the meaning of incentive. Incentive does not mean only money. It means more than that. The psychological reaction of the masses is important. They should feel that for what they work they get back their due. It is not enough that a hundred people at the top level should feel that they have the incentive, but the hundreds of millions of workers should feel that they get back their due for what they work, which is more important. So, when people talk about incentive, it is not only in the form of money. There are other kinds of incentives.

Another thing I want to say is about the administrative irregularities. Many people have pointed out that there is a lot of wastage. Wastage is bound to happen in a vast country like India, when so many departments are working. I do not say that everybody can be perfect. But certainly we could do better. Wastage does not mean only in terms of money. Time is as precious as money. The time taken for the conception of a thing and its execution is important. The delay itself is money. Why cannot we do it a little faster? Why should there be so many people taking so much time to execute a thing which we have accepted? This is what I say. The hon. Minister does not need much advice from me. But this is the general feeling. One feels that waste and unnecessary expenditure. As somebody pointed out yesterday, there is unnecessary expenditure on your buildings. It is a very good point. I ask why should you do that when the common man in the land does not have even enough food to go round? Why should we think of prestige things?

A -JI ther point is about the administration. You propose the taxes and you try to give psychological satisfaction, but your taxation proposals are not completely fulfilled in the realisation of the money. I was reading in once of the Financial Memoranda that tax evasion to the extent of neariy Rs. 250 or Rs. 300 crores had been going on from the year 1954. If all this money ls collected by the Government, I feel that the difficulties we are facing, as far as money is concerned, will not be there.

Now, take the public sector. Though our policy today is a mixed economy, we ultimately believe in taking more and more things in the public sector. Though we are doing well in the public sector, I feel that we are not doing very well. The Government administrative officers are very good for civil administration. But when it comes to State enterprises, in which the economics of production and the i philosophy of production come in, I feci that they are not coming up to the mark. This should be considered b;/ the hon. Finance Minister.

The most important thing I want to say is the question of population. I have said once or twice on the floor of this House that any amount of increase in your national income or your production is not going to have any effect unless you have some very drastic methods of controlling your population. I do not want to say much on this and everybody' knows . . .

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: How to control it?

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: If you ask that, then I would say that there must be compulsory sterilisation for people beyond a certain limit, say, after they have two or three children. I do also know that many may not like it.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: No, No.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: I am sorry that Members of this HJUB could misunderstand this. Anyway, I am not ashamed to say that beyond a certain limit there should be con'rol of population. If Government does this instead of wasting money on propaganda and advising people, it will be more economical to the exchequer and it will also be more beneficial. If the hon. Member wants some more information, he could come to the lobby, and I will give him any amount of information. My time being limited, I*would not like to do that here.

We have a rare opportunity for having a democracy and a planned development. Unlike the capitalist and the Communist contries we cannot think of going in only one way. For us social welfare is as important as economic growth. For us more than speed in development social welfare should be the guiding policy of our philosophy. After all when everything is said and done, to the common man it is not so much the crops you have or the number of industries you build that count. The civilisation of a country does not mean the number of industries or the number of crops. It means the kind of contented man having confidence in the Government and feeling that for the work he has put in he got the return. That sort of psychological situation the nation should have. Unless the fundamental things of food, clothing and housing are given to the common man, he will not be satisfied. The history of all nations is nothing but a record of man's quest for food and clothing.

One' more thing I will say which is more personal. I want to say one word about the regional distribution of money as far as the public sector Ls concerned. Coming fom Andhra Pradesh, I would like to say that the Government of Andhra Pradesh has been for so many years trying to impress upon the Central Government that industrially it is backward. Andhra Pradesh, as everybody knows, is rich in mineral resources like coal,

[Shrimati Yashoda Reddy.] manganese, limestone, mica, copper, and many other things which I do not want to enumerate here. If you want, I can give a list of it. This State is essentially agricultural in character and produces raw materials from agriculture and also forest products such as tobacco, sugarcane, groundnut, castor seed, cotton, bamboo, teak, and so on. There are also the advantages of a large coast-line, a network of rivers which are useful both for an abundant supply of water and transport and availability of labour. In spite of all this, there has been so much pressure only on the agricultural side and there is no relief on the industrial side at all. These are some figures of allotment in the first two Plans: Madhya Pradesh Rs. 380 crores; West Bengal Rs. 390 crores; Orissa Rs. 365 crores; Punjab Rs. 22 crores; Madras Rs. 73 crores. But Andhra Pradesh gets only Rs. 15 crores. One of the biggest States of India producing the greatest amount of agricultural products has been treated like this, and you are talking of regional balance. When it comes to a question of allocation for industries, we are not given a fair deal.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: What about prohibition? You don't lose revenue by prohibition.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: If you are interested in that, I will tell you, but I do not think you are interested to know whether we have prohibition or not.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: I am for total prohibition. Look at Madras.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: Sir, there are two more things I would like to say before I sit down. For the last few years the Government of Andhra Pradesh has been trying to impress upon the Government of India the necessity of its have an iron and steel plant. Now that the Central Government is thinking of having one more steel plant, the

site which has been suggested by the Andhra Pradesh Government, that is between Rajahmundry and Bhadrachalam, should be taken into consideration. Then, the Government of India has proposed to establish in the Third Plan period in the public sector heavy electrical plants, and it is understood that it has definitely decided that one such plant should be in the South. Just as there is regional imbalance between the North and the South, there is imbalance between the States in the South. This thing should be taken into consideration and, if not for any other reasons, at least for the few reasons which I am going to cite favourable consideration should be given for having a plant in Andhra Pradesh. Apart from other factors favouring the location of this plant in Andhra Pradesh, these are some of the important factors in its favour:

- (a) It has a moderate climate all round the year.
- (b) It is centrally situated and therefore ideally suited for any heavy industry whose products have to be distributed throughout the country.
- (c) Availability of necessary facilities such as temporary office accommodation, land, water, power and communication.
- (d) Training facilities for apprentices can be provided at the Polytechnics in or near Hyderabad to the extent of 600 persons a year.
- (e) Building materials for construction are available in plenty and at comparatively cheaper rates.

The location of this industry in Andhra Pradesh will not only give the much needed push to industrialisation but—and the most important thing from the political point of view, I do not want to say what it is—it will do good for the Centre to consider this favourably.

SHRI RAMGOPAL GUPTA (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, the Finance Minister has again presented the same old type of medicine in a new flask, but only the dosage is a little stronger. The Budget is bluntly aimed at increasing the tax burden on the middle class, the lower income group and the common man, and will effectively squeeze the last naya paisa of savings from their pockets. All conceivable commodities essential for the day to day existence of the people have been brought into the purview of this Budget. The imposition of the new taxes is a measure that would deprive the people of any attempt at a decent living..

The Budget is in conflict with earlier assurances of the different Ministers of the Government of India.

Only six months ago, our Commerce and Industry Minister said on the floor of the House that the cloth prices would be brought down, and appropriate measures were taken to see that the people did not suffer for want of this commodity. But now the Finance Minister has done all he could to increase the cost structure of the textile industry, and cloth will definitely cost more. The Commerce Minister said that the industry and labour could join hands to increase exports. Now with the increased taxation on textiles the export of this commodity will be hampered. If things like cloth and other necessities of life cost more, the food allowance basis will go awry and that will again add to the cost structure. This is a general view of the situation.

I might say here that, according to all indications, the textile industry has become a pawn on the political chessboard, although after food it is the second most important commodity for the man in the street.

Then take the case of industrial raw materials. Caustic soda, soda ash, etc., and also coal-tar dyes have been very heavily taxed, and it is bound to affect

the general trend of the cost structure of different industries. A lower cost structure and greater production increases are the only way to help exports so vital to the very existence of the nation's free economy.

At the end of the Second Plan, we have a balance of payment deficit of more than Rs. 2,000 crores and outflow in interest on, and repayment of, loans will average Rs. 100 crores each year. The Third Five Year Plan envisages a further increase of borrowings to the tune of Rs. 2,600 crores. And by 1965 we may have to pay interest on more than Rs. 3,000 crores of loans. The country is becoming heavily indebted every year, and it will take the earnings of generations to effect repayments, if we cannot improve on the export front, and the Budget strikes another blow on this front also. The income from heavy taxation will be largely used on wasteful administrative expenditure which should and can be drastically pruned.

In the next five years, the number of unemployed may swell to 200 lakhs. Why is it that we have been unable to make a dent in the unemployment problem? It is because the savings are not sufficient to help the small and big enterprises to expand and give more effective employment. After all, the generation of more wealth at the hands of the private sector will naturally expand production and economy at a much quicker pace than now. This has been amply proved by the private sector in the last decade. With all their avowed democratic intentions, I am afraid, without regimenting the country thoroughly it will not be possible for the Government either at the Central or at the State level, to give full employment so long as they continue to pursue the present policy. Proper use of manpower and financial resources, proper safeguard of employees' and employer's relations are the prerequisite of improvement and prosperity for all classes of people.

[Shri Ramgopal Gupta.]

Reverting to cotton textiles, let me state that cotton, yarn and C-oth industries have had continuous bad time; for long periods and need some respite from heavy taxation for years to come. It is otherwise necessary also so that the industry can generate its own resources to finance its rehabilitation for which Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 crores are needed every year.

The jute industry, for example has been making big profits. But it has not occurred to our Finance Minister to levy an excise duty on jute products and reduce the burden elsewhere.

Public sector enterprises are big money losing institutions foisted on the nation by the Government. We know that the State Trading Corporation acts as commission agents. But by the time the State Trading Corporation has added its commission on export-import deals, the prices of the commodities go up beyond international prices, and it is mostly the other countries who profit from our loss.

The three Government steel plants have gradually come into production but have developed a monopolistic tendency with the result that small, medium and big-scale light engineering industries will have to bear the consequences of the increased price trend in steel. As it is, this will add to the cost structure of such factories and their competitive capacity in foreign markets will be jeopardised to a great extent. Unfortunately to show increased profits in the public sector, all monopolistic methods are used which is a very undesirable method of exploitation.

Cannot the public sector enterprises be run efficiently and properly to yield legitimately reasonable profits to add to the national coffers? Of more than Rs. 500 crores invested in Government enterprises, excluding of course the Railways, the estimated profits in 1981-62 are just 364 lakhs of rupees, working out at half a per

cent, return. Bharat Electronics has absorbed an investment of around live crores of rupees but no profit is expected in this Budget year. Hindustan Cables is expected to give a profit of two per cent., which perhaps is considered handsome by those in authority. Indian Telephone Industries are to give a profit of 2½ per cent. In working out the Third Plan, the Commission expects public enterprises to yield more than Rs. 400 crores. What an incredible expectation! The sooner an inquiry is made into the working of all these State enterprises the better. And I hope the Parliamentary Committee for this purpose will be at work soon.

I can assure the hon. Finance Minister, Sir, that the people in our country will not hesitate to make sacrifices in the cause of the betterment of the country but they do expect that the monies so entrusted to the Government bear fruitful results.

While it is not possible for me within the short time that I have at my disposal to give details of the manner in which public funds have been mishandled and misused, I would only refer to the various Reports of the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament which have thrown ample light on the wasteful and infructuous expenditure incurred in the several State-managed projects involving huge financial losses. If the Finance Minister gives serious attention to this matter, I am sure he will be able to save a considerable amount of money to balance his Budget without any extra burden on the people.

In the end, Sir, I would like to emphasise that in view of the increasing danger of Chinese aggression against India, it is supremely important that we should provide adequate funds for strengthening our defences in the border areas. The people of the country would indeed welcome a move from the Finance Minister to effect economies in civil administration.

non and augment the resources required for improving our defence potentialities.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE (.West Bengali): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I welcome the Budget proposals of our Finance Minister and I congratulate him on his courage of conviction and also on his balanced views in taking an overall picture of the country's economy while framing his proposals. Especially this year being the election year, some of my friends from the opposite side have mentioned that people outside expected that this year's Budget would not contain any taxation proposals.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Who said that?

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar): On the Railway Budget, your Party said it.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE: I shall come to you later on, not at this stage.

While welcoming the Budget proposals, first of all, I want to take up the question of planning. Except one Member, all the other Members from the opposite side have welcomed the size of the Plan but they have disagreed over some of the taxation proposals or here and there they have criticised some aspect of our administration. One thing that I would like to bring to your notice is that most of the Members in the opposition were a party to the Congress Resolution for setting up a Planning Commission during the days of our struggle for independence. At that time, everybody, whoever was engaged in this struggle for freedom, thought that after the achievement of independence, to develop this country so economically backward we would require a huge effort and for that we must have some planning before us. Therefore, planning is not a new thing. It was already there during

the period of our struggle for freedom. After achieving independence—the credit goes to our Prime Minister—in spite of much opposition, he set up the Planning Commission to plan for the development of the country. Sir, now the question that arises is this. If we are to develop such a backward country and if we are to bring up the standard of living to a stage where it can be favourably compared with that of the other countries, from where are we to get the requisite capital and also the technical know-how? Now, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's quarrel is this. India has created such an international position by its domestic affairs that the people in other countries say that India is a vast field where you can go and invest safely and you can collaborate with them. He says that you cannot borrow from other countries. Now we find ourselves in the position that without borrowing or without having foreign collaboration we cannot get on. Practically we have no foreign exchange, and whatever was there has been already spent. Therefore we need foreign collaboration, we need foreign technical know-how. We also at times need foreign borrowing.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: And foreign love also.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE: Mr. Gupta, you had more than an hour, and you must remember that I have got only fifteen minutes. Within that one hour you could develop your points and emphasise them. I have seen an emotional outburst in your Budget speech this time, but I could not find out any logic behind it. That is my grievance against you.

Now, Sir, if we have created that confidence among the nations of the world, 'Yes, India is a safe place for investment', that must go to the credit of this Government. That must go to the credit of the people who have made that effort to create that posi-

[Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose.] tion. One should not grudge it. I was surprised to hear the other day, during Question Hour, when my friend was trying to create an impression that India's position is not so high. That was the impression created in my mind the other day during Question Hour. When he suggested, "Had I been in that position I could have given a better reply". There are other Members in this House. They also can say that had they been in his position they could have made a better Budget speech this year.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Does it mean that you cannot say what you want to say because you are not in my position?

SHRI SUHENDRA MOHAN GHOSE: I simply said that because I know that during the struggle period he was in the struggle. He suffered so much and he sacrificed everything. He is appreciated by those people who know him personally. Therefore they expected a much better speech from him. He is patriotic no doubt. He is emotional, and there was an outburst. But then he forgot that he could not make out any case by what he was saying. The thing is that such speeches only create confusion, do not help us much when he also wants a Plan of this size or even of a much bigger size. But he also knows that we have not got sufficient resources at our disposal. The only thing that was suggested from that party was, 'Nationalise all these industries.' God save us from such suggestions because, if we accept their suggestion today, there would be nothing to be done hereafter. The confidence of the people would be so much shaken and broken to pieces that no effort can be made if today we nationalise all the industries of the country.

(Interruption)

There were some suggestions from your Party, 'Nationalise this industry, nationalise that industry', and a long list was given.

Now, Sir, I come to congratulate our Finance Minister. The other day he inaugurated the Investment Centre. Sir, in this House, on previous occasions, I have spoken about it, and now this will go a long way to really help us in building up our national industries, etc., with foreign collaboration.

The next thing, Sir, is the problem of my own State, and the first and foremost is the problem of educated unemployment. I only want to say just one thing, that the Central Government should make a much greater effort to go to the aid of the State Government to solve this problem. Otherwise this will reflect on our entire administration all over the country. In Bengal, whatever little scope there was formerly for the educated people to secure some jobs, is no longer there. Formerly some Central Government offices were there and some of these educated unemployed got employment in them. Now we see a trend to shift some of the remaining offices at or near Calcutta to other areas. That will not help in solving the unemployment problem but simply will add to the problem.

There is another thing and that is the small industries which can really help in tackling the problem to some extent. In this regard I find in the papers advertisements, very encouraging and attractive also. High hopes are raised in the minds of the people that if they would go to the State Bank or if they approached the Government offices for the purpose they might get some real help to take to some small industries. But when they actually approach them, the same old dilatory process is going on there. I am speaking from personal knowledge. The State Bank of India advertises, 'You come to us, we will give you credit against your raw materials and against your stock, and we shall help you to purchase the machinery, etc. by advancing about 80 per cent, of the money required for it.' But when the actual approach is made?—I do not say of the Head

Offices, but about their branches—it is ■ the same thing everywhere and questions are put, 'What is your security, ' what is your guarantee?' and the like. Even depositing the raw materials in the godown of the State Bank is not sufficient. They say, "where is the guarantee that you will use these raw materials?" and all such questions are put. Then why do you advertise in such a nice way? My point is that these policies of the Govern- ! ment must be liberally interpreted by the local officers who are directly ■ concerned with it.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR BASU (West Bengal): May I interrupt you for a second just to narrate an experience of mine? Quite recently come young men, an M.A. and other educated young men, had started a small rubber factory on a small-scale industry basis, and they asked for assistance from the Central Government, ■ a sum of about Rs. 12,000 or so, for the purpose of getting some machinery. They applied for it and -within one month they got the sanction from the Central Government.

SHRI-BHUPESH GUPTA: Ask him "to follow that procedure.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE: Now I come to another burning problem of my State, rehabilitation of the East Bengal displaced persons. There are two aspects of this question. One is rehabilitation of those who have decided to settle and practically settled in West Bengal itself. The other is those who are in the refugee camps and are to be taken to Dandakaranya for their rehabilitation. It has been reported in the papers that recently it was said in the State Legislative Assembly that the Government had asked for a sum of Rs. 50 crores for the complete rehabilitation in West Bengal of those who have decided to settle in West Bengal itself. There are some people who got partial rehabilitation benefit but not complete rehabilitation facilities. So for the complete rehabilitation of all those who were to be re-

habilitated in West Bengal they have asked for Rs. 50 crores to be spread over five years.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Who?

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE: The West Bengal Government have asked for Rs. 50 crores to be spread over five years for the complete rehabilitation of those who are to be rehabilitated in West Bengal. And the other party is those who are to be taken to Dandakaranya. Now, Sir, unless we accept the proposal of the West Bengal Government that Rs. 50 crores be given to them for the complete rehabilitation of these people things will be delayed, as we are noticing. I do not find 4 P.M. much improvement in the* removal of people from the camp to Dandakaranya. In my opinion it is due to the fact that the West Bengal Government and the other people, who have had some concern in this affair, think that if the camp refugees are taken away to Dandakaranya, others will be left uncared for and nobody will take notice of them. Therefore, the problem remains where it was. So, a speedy decision for helping the West Bengal Government with this sum of Rs. 50 crores has to be taken; otherwise as long as it is delayed, more money ultimately shall have to be paid, because the continuance of this problem is costing too much.

Sir, then I come to the Farakka Barrage which point has been referred to by another honourable friend of mine. Although provision has been made for it, it has to be realised that on the completion of this barrage depends the future of West Bengal as a whole, especially of Calcutta. Unless this barrage is completed, Calcutta is going to be a ruined city. That is the information which we got from different sides of the House. In this connection I would also like to draw the attention of our Minister for speeding up the work on Haldia,

[Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose.] Then, I come to another point. That is also in connection with the refugees. Some of them got some loan at a very initial stage from the Government as rehabilitation loan. Now, as the hon. Finance Minister knows very well, due to circumstances beyond the control of the Government expts., schemes of help were pre-perly utilise this money. That money was given in instalments which really could not help them. On the report of experts, schemes of help were prepared for some industries. In the case of industries where a lakh of rupees were required, when it came ultimately to giving the sanction, only a lump sum of Rs. 50,000/- was sanctioned. I shall not go into the details as to how this sum would be utilised. There are a number of cases like that. Therefore, the refugees are in a very precarious condition today. On the one hand, certificates are being issued to recover the loan, on the other hand they themselves have not been able to rehabilitate themselves. Therefore, some of them have already approached the Government with suggestions to waive the interest accruing on the previous loan. They have requested for time to enable them to pay off that loan in instalments. I would recommend that some fresh loan may be given to them after being satisfied that they have got adequate means to utilise that loan for building up some industry or some business. I would, therefore, appeal to the hon. Finance Minister to look sympathetically to this side of the question.

Then, Sir, only one point more and I have done. I would emphasise the promotion of exports as far as possible. Before I sit down, I would like to draw the attention of the Government to a thing which my friend, Mr. Basu raised yesterday as also some hon. Members, who drew the attention of the Finance Minister, raised today. It is that the Budget really suffers not from over-estimation or anything like that but from underestimation. Considering all these suggestions which are coming from different sides of the House, it might

be considered whether it is possible to reduce some of the taxes which have been levied, especially the duty on betelnut, tea, coffee, etc. Thank you, Sir.

श्रीमती कृष्णा कुमारी (मध्य प्रदेश) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर महोदय ने सदन में जो बजट रखा है उसे देखते हुये ऐसा लगता है कि वे सब चीजों को भूलते हुये भारतीय सभ्यता को भी भूल गये हैं। यह बड़े ताज्जुब का विषय है कि उन्होंने न यह बात सोची और न समझी कि हमारे देश की कन्यायें, विवाहित स्त्रियां जो सधवायें होती हैं, हाथों में कांच की चूड़ियां पहनती हैं। इस बात को हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी क्यों भूल गये ? शायद उनकी निगाह मदों के हाथों पर गई जो आज कल लोहे के कड़े पहनते हैं और इसी की देखकर उन्होंने चूड़ियों पर टैक्स लगा दिया है। लेकिन उन्होंने यह नहीं सोचा कि हमारे देश की गरीब, औरतें सधवा औरतें न सोने की चूड़ियां पहन सकती हैं और न चांदी की ही चूड़ियां पहन सकती हैं। रिवाज के अनुसार शीशे की सस्ती चूड़ियां पहनने के सिवाय और कोई साधन ही नहीं है। उस पर भी अब उन्हें ज्यादा पैसा खर्च करना पड़ेगा। बजट द्वारा जिन चीजों पर कर लगाया गया है उसका असर आम जनता पर पड़ने वाला है, यह एक चिन्ता का विषय है। जब हम भारत वर्ष की जनता को देखते हैं और दिन प्रति दिन बहुत हुये दामों की तरफ देखते हैं तो हमारे चारों तरफ अंधेरा ही अंधेरा छा जाता है। यही हालत देश की अधिकांश जनता की भी है। वे लोग कर के भार से दबे चले जा रहे हैं। आज हमें सरकार की दुरंगी नीति जो है वह समझ में नहीं आ रही है। एक तरफ तो वह इपि प्रदर्शनी करती है, अनेक प्रकार की मशीनरी दिखावाती है, लोगों को उत्साहित करती है कि वे खेती में तरह तरह के औजारों को प्रयोग में लाये जिससे देश में अन्न उत्पादन में बढ़ोत्तरी हो और दूसरी तरफ वह हर एक चीज पर टैक्स बढ़ाती ही चली जा रही है।

हमारे देश में ८० प्रतिशत जनता गांव में रहती है और हमने उन लोगों के लिये क्या छोड़ दिया है ? सब कीजों पर तो टैक्स लगा दिया है ? वे लोग साल में पांच महीने काम करते हैं और सात महीने खाली बैठे रहते हैं । क्या हमने उनको कोई दूसरा काम देने की बात कभी सोची ? आज हम नगरों के उत्थान के लिये सब कुछ कर रहे हैं लेकिन गांव की तरक्की की तरफ हम ध्यान नहीं दे रहे हैं । आज मत्स्यपार और दूसरी चीजों की तरक्की की बात करते हैं लेकिन गांव वालों की तरक्की के लिये कुछ नहीं कर रहे हैं । गांव वाले पिछले १३ सालों से उसी हालत में हैं जिस हालत में वे पहले थे । मैं आपके सामने एक मिसाल देना चाहती हूं । आज आप कहते हैं कि हम दवा के लिये इतना खर्च कर रहे हैं और विकास कार्यों में इतना खर्च कर रहे हैं लेकिन गांव वालों को इससे क्या फायदा हो रहा है, यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है । आज गांव वालों को दवा की कोई सहूलियत नहीं है । वे लोग आज भी भूत प्रेत के ऊपर ही विश्वास करते हैं और उन्हें दवा के कोई साधन उपलब्ध नहीं हैं । सरकार द्वारा मशीन पर टैक्स लगाया गया है, वह तो गनीमत है, लेकिन डीजल और पावरीन पर भी टैक्स लगा दिया गया है जिसका असर गांव की जनता के ऊपर पड़ता है । अगर आप पेट्रोल पर टैक्स लगाते तो इससे नगरों में जो मोटरे दौड़ती हैं वे कम दौड़ती, लेकिन आप ने डीजल के ऊपर टैक्स लगाकर गांव वालों द्वारा जो मशीने खेती के उपयोग में लाई जाती हैं उन पर ज्यादा भार डाल दिया है । एक तरफ तो सरकार कहती है कि ज्यादा अन्न-उत्पादन करना चाहिये, दूसरी तरफ वह इस तरह के टैक्स लगा देती है तो किस तरह से भारत वर्ष में खेती के उत्पादन में तरक्की हो सकती है ? इस तरह से तो हम सारे देश में कस्तूरजैत पैदा करेंगे । वित्त मंत्री जी ने प्रत्यक्ष और अप्रत्यक्ष कर जो भी लगाये हैं उनका भार जन साधारण पर ही पड़ने वाला है । आज

आप अच्छी तरह से देख सकते हैं कि जब कभी शहरों में कोई पार्टी होती है तो उसमें चाय, मिठाई, रसगुल्ले आदि सब तरह की चीजें दिखाई देती हैं, लेकिन गांव वाले जो थोड़ा बहुत पान, तम्बाकू और सुपारी पाटियों के अवसर पर प्रयोग करते हैं उस पर भी टैक्स लगा दिया गया है । आज गांव वाले इन करों से संतुष्ट हैं ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : (बिहार) : गांव वाले भी दूध पीते हैं ।

श्रीमती कृष्णा कुमारी : गांवों का दूध सब नगरों में चला जाता है । वे लोग दूध कहां से पियेंगे ? आप भी किस तरह की बातें कर रहे हैं ? मैं भी उत्तर प्रदेश की रहने वाली हूं । आप बिहार के हैं और वहां के बारे में भी मुझे खूब अच्छी तरह से मालूम है कि वहां दूध का उत्पादन कितना होता है । अब दूध का जिक्र तो छोड़िये, दूध और घी के नाम पर डालडा खाइये । यह तमाशा देखिये कि तीन रुपये सेर डालडा मिल रहा है । मैं सन् १९४० की बात कह रही हूं, जब रुपया सेर घी शुद्ध और प्योर मिलता था । आज तीन रुपये सेर डालडा मिलता है । अगर बहुत ज्यादा आपके पास पैसा है तो आप दे दीजिये और आधा डालडा मिला हुआ घी खाइये । आज हालत यह है कि सब का दिमाग खराब हो रहा है, पैसा पैदा करने के लालच में । कहां से गांव वाले टैक्स दें ? अब देखना यह है कि बेचारे जो मजदूर थे, वे सुपारी और पान खा नहीं सकते थे क्योंकि उनके पास इतना पैसा हो नहीं था । वे केवल तम्बाकू और चूना खाते थे । मैं दूसरी जगह की बात नहीं कहती हूं । मैं मध्य प्रदेश की बात बता रही हूं । वहां इतना चूना खाते हैं कि गांव ही पीत लिया जाये । तो वे चूना और तम्बाकू खाते थे और उस तम्बाकू पर भी कर बढ़ गया है । मांभों में बिजली नहीं है । जब करबों में बिजली नहीं है, तो गांवों में कहां से होगी ? अब आपने मिट्टी के तेल

[श्रीमती कृष्णा कुमारी]

पर भी टैक्स जगा दिया है। गांवों में जो फूस क झोंपड़ियां हैं वे कैसे प्रकाशित होंगी? इसकी तरफ भी आपको ध्यान देना चाहिये। बजट बनाते समय हमारे माननीय मंत्री महोदय को हमेशा यह सोचना चाहिये कि आम जनता के लिये हम क्या कर रहे हैं।

आज भारत वर्ष को १४ साल आजाद होये हुये, पर मेरी समझ में नहीं आया कि उन ८० फीसदी लोगों को, जो कि हमारे पीछे खगे हुये हैं, जो गांवों में रहते हैं और भ्रष्ट पैदा करते हैं, उनका अनाज तो सस्ते भावों में ले लिया जाता है, लेकिन उन्हें न कपड़ा मिल रहा है, न दाल मिल रही है और न भर-पेट खाने को मिल रहा है। गनीमत यह है कि हमारे माननीय मंत्री महोदय नमक को भूल गये, यह हम लोगों के लिये बहुत अच्छी चीज है —नहीं तो शायद नमक पर भी कर लगाने से नहीं चूफते। पर मैं सोचती हूं कि जब तक गरीब जनता को राहत नहीं मिलेगी तब तक हम लोग आगे बढ़ ही नहीं सकते। कितना ही हम प्रयत्न करें, पर पीछे वाली जो हमारी टुकड़ी है वह हमारे पैरों को पकड़ कर ऐसा खींचेगी कि हम गिर पड़ेंगे और हमारे दांत टूट जायेंगे। यह असत्य हो नहीं सकता, क्योंकि अभी से इस बजट को देख कर लोगों के दिमाग में इतना उद्वेग मच गया है कि वह हृदय से ज्यादा है। मैं गांवों की हालत आप से बता रही हूं। जब यह बजट पेश हुआ, तब पन्चीसों आदमी उठ करके मेरे पास आये। उस समय इति-फाक से मैं एक गांव में पहुंच गयी थी। उन लोगों ने मुझ से कहा कि बाबा, यह क्या किया आपने? हाथ उठाने के लिये आप लोग पहुंच गये हैं और हम लोग यहां भर रहे हैं। आप बताये कि इस पर क्या जवाब दिया जाये, क्या कहा जाये? यह सही है, इसमें दो रायें नहीं हैं कि जब हम किसी विकास के कार्य की ओर आगे बढ़ते हैं तो जन की आवश्यकता होती है, पर हमें यह भी देखना चाहिये कि

हमारी चादर कितनी बड़ी है। बगैर उसे देखे हमें इतने लम्बे पैर नहीं करने चाहिये। मैं दोनों के खिलाफ रहती हूं। मैं यह चाहती हूं कि भारत का सम्मान हमेशा बना रहे और ऊंचा रहे। पर भूखों मर कर ऐसा नहीं हो सकता है। एक आदमी के यहां ११ माह का खाना था। उसने सोचा कि ११ माह का खाना है, एक माह का नहीं, तो पहले ही हम लोग एक महीने का ब्रत कर लें, फिर बाद में चकाचक खायेंगे। उस एक महीने के ब्रत में हुआ यह कि वे सब समाप्त हो गये। तो उसी ढंग से अगर इतना बड़ा सहलका मचाया जायेगा तो हमारा जो विकास कार्य आगे जाने वाला है, उसका फायदा बहुत दिनों में दिखाई देगा और उससे गांव वालों को क्या फायदा होगा? अगर गांवों को लेकर के हम चलते और शुरू से ही हम छोटे छोटे कार्यों को करते आज भारी से भारी टैक्स वे सहन कर सकते थे। जब हमने उनके लिये गांवों में कोई काम नहीं किया है और कोई भी विकास कार्य वहां पर शुरू नहीं किया है, तो हम उनको आगे चलायेंगे कैसे ?

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : आप अपने गांव की बात कह रही हैं या सारे प्रांत की ?

श्रीमती कृष्णा कुमारी : हिन्दुस्तान वास्तव में गांवों में ही बसा है। शहर और कस्बे तो थोड़े से ही हैं।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : आप अन्धकार में हैं।

श्रीमती कृष्णा कुमारी : मैं अन्धकार में नहीं हूं। हमारे मेम्बर साहब तनिक निगाह उठा कर देखें। वे केवल पार्लियामेंट की गद्दीदार सीट के सम्बन्ध में न सोवें। वे उधर की भी हालत सोवें जहां भजदूरी करने के लिये गरीब लोग हंसिया और खुर्पा ले कर कड़ी धूप और पानी में भी मेहनत करते हैं। उनके लिए हमने क्या किया है ?

दिन भर काम करने के बाद भी वे नंगे रहते हैं और उनको भर पेट खाना नहीं मिलता है ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : आपने चूड़ी से शुरू किया । यही हमारी सम्मता है ।

श्रीमती कृष्णा कुमारी : चूड़ी हमारा आभूषण है, चूड़ी हमारे लिए मुख्य चीज है । मैं महिला हूँ, इसलिए चूड़ी के सम्बन्ध में कहना मेरे लिए स्वाभाविक है । शर्म आपको आनी चाहिये । आपको चूड़ी का नाम नहीं लेना चाहिये । चूड़ी और सिंदूर, ये दोनों हमारे शृंगार हैं ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : औरतों का सतीत्व शृंगार है, आभूषण नहीं ।

श्रीमती कृष्णा कुमारी : दूसरी तरफ हमारे यहां जो शिक्षा चल रही है, वह भी नीचे स्तर की चल रही है । आज कल इतनी अनुशासनहीनता चल रही है, फिर भी उसके सम्बन्ध में कोई सुझाव नहीं दिया गया है । इसके अतिरिक्त जहां कहीं पर स्कूल खुले हैं, उन स्कूलों में कहीं पर मास्टर नहीं हैं, कहीं पर सामान नहीं है । फिर हमारे भारत वर्ष में औरतों की शिक्षा नहीं के बराबर चल रही है । इस और भी ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है । कैसे गाड़ी खिचेगी, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता । जब गाड़ी के दोनों पहिरे मजबूत होते हैं, तभी वह खिंची जा सकती है । अगर एक पहिया मजबूत हो और एक पहिया कमजोर हो, तो बीच में ही गाड़ी टूट जाती है, यह हम लोगों को नहीं भूलना चाहिये । हमारे भाई और हमारे पिता बहुत बलिदान हुये, पर जब तक हम महिलाओं ने साथ नहीं दिया और हम बाहर नहीं आईं, तब तक हमें आजादी नहीं मिली । यह एक मुख्य चीज है जिसे हमें सामने रख कर चलना चाहिये, किन्तु इस और अभी कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है । जहां की महिलाएं इतना पीछे हों, वहां हम कोई भी विकास कार्य करें, कोई भी स्कीमें बनायें, उससे

हमारा काम नहीं चलता; क्योंकि जब तक महिलाएं पूर्णरूप से सहयोग देने के लिए तैयार न हो जायें तब तक वह अधूरा ही काम रह जायगा । इसके लिए आवश्यकता यह थी कि पहले हम स्त्री-पुरुष दोनों बराबर होते और बराबर ढंग से चलते और बराबर शिक्षित होते जब हमें आजादी मिली तो हमें सब से पहले गांवों की तरफ जाना चाहिये था और गांवों में विकास कार्यों को करना चाहिये था । अगर हम पहले गांवों में विकास कार्य करते, तो आज हमें अधिक परेशानी न उठानी पड़ती । वहां आज भी बहुत सी ऐसी जगहें पड़ी हैं जहां पानी पीने के लिए भी नहीं मिलता है । एक जगह ऐसी है कि चार साल से लिखा पढ़ी करते हुये भी अभी तक न वहां कोई कुव खोदा गया और न एक झरने को बढ़ा कर वहां तक लाया गया, जिससे कम से कम लोगों को पीने के लिए पानी तो मिल जाता । ऐसी अवस्था में मेरा विनम्र निवेदन है कि हमारे मंत्री महोदय इस और अवश्य ध्यान दें और बजट पर एक बार फिर गौर करके आम जनता को राहत देने का प्रयत्न करें ।

इतना कह कर मैं समाप्त करती हूँ ।
धन्यवाद ।

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJEE (Uttar Pradesh): I have nothing much to say about the Budget although, as regards the taxes, I wish they had been put on the monied class. It would have been better that way. I shall not say much about the Budget because hon. Members have spoken on the points which I wanted to speak on but I would like to touch upon one point which has not been referred to so far in this House. That refers to a subject which is very vital for this country.

Sir, I wish to bring to the notice of the House a publication of the Government of India, which was presented to the President and the Prime Minister, on the Independence day, I mean the History of the Freedom Movement in India written by Dr.

[Shri J. C Chatterji.]

Tarachand to which the hon. Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs has added a foreword.

While browsing through this book, a statement caught my attention. I found on page 352, the following sentence: "The national movement in India was an expression of the conflict between the middle classes of the two countries, one aspiring for wealth and influence, the other already, in possession of them." That is to say the Indian middle class deprived of the loaves and fishes of office, started the national movement which culminated in our independence. To any such assumption, I emphatically and unequivocally protest, even though it may represent the view of the present Government. Sir, I am an old revolutionary, representative of a band of dedicated persons whom the Britishers labelled as anarchists and terrorists, but never stooped so low as to impute such ignoble motives for our activities, which has now been done by this historian, who seems to be enjoying perpetual government favours, if not patronage.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: He is a Member of this House?

SEW J. C. CHATTERJI: I know that. I am not saying anything about him as a Member of this House but only as a historian, the writer of the History of the Freedom Movement.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: Sometimes, ignorance is bliss.

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJI: The Congress or revolutionary fighters had different motives and objects. But, nowhere was the object as has been depicted in this book.

Sir, at the end of the book, there is an errata slip pasted. There we find that on page 214 line 17: "Por "Panini's Kaumudi", one should read "Panini's Ashtadhyayi and Kaumudi". The corrected statement should now read: "Panini's Ashtadhyayi, Kaumudi and Amarakosha". Thus we learn that Panini was the author of three

books, namely, Ashtadhyayi, Kaumudi and Amarakosha. In the next paragraph we find a matching howler, namely: "In Bengal, the treatises Raghunandan and Jimutavahana were studied". The great scholar has taken scrupulous care to print Raghunandan and Jimutavahan in italics so that there can be no doubt about the fact that he takes these as names of books and not of persons, and one cannot say that due to the printer's devil a proposition is missing.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What has all this to do with the Budget?

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJI: It is the correction issued.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What has this got to do with the Budget? You may differ from the views expressed therein.

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJI: These are all names of persons and they have been represented as names of books.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Maybe; it may be a mistake. You may have your own different views but what has that got to do with the Budget?

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJI: This is a history book for the entire country and the writers are so very neglectful that they do not distinguish between a person and a book.

Sir, I have not the time here but I hope you will find some suitable opportunity to explain to Dr. Tarachand and the hon. Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs the implications of this farrage of nonsense, and they may also be told that 'riff does not mean erotics, as we find on page 221 of this book.

Sir, I have not enough time at my disposal, so I shall content myself by presenting another gem from this ¹ Golconda of historical wisdom, the very first sentence of this work, namely: "In the eighteenth century India passed under the sway of Britain". That this conclusion is the result of deliberate cogitation is prov-

ed by another statement of Dr. Tara-chand in the third paragraph of his preface, namely: "As a result of the British intervention in the eighteenth century, India lost independence, but under British tutelage which lasted for two centuries, it gained freedom".

Sir, if you would permit a momentary digression, I would like to point out that Dr. Tarachand and the hon. Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs would have been better advised to present a "treatise" with such sentiments not to the President and the Prime Minister of India, both of whom, unlike Dr. Tarachand, struggled for Indian independence without the benefit of British tutelage.

However, Sir, the two sentences which I have just quoted leave us with the impression that India, not Bengal, but the whole of India, lost her independence two hundred years ago in the 18th century. The Marathas may have struggled up to 1818, the Sikhs may have fought gallantly till the middle of the 19th century, but Dr. Tarachand says that they lost their independence more than half a century or a century earlier.

Sir, a speech lasting for hours will not suffice to bring out the innumerable mistakes one comes across in this publication.

I would, however, like some of the economists . . .

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI (Andhra Pradesh): Why do you read that book with so many mistakes?

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJI: There are newspaper criticisms as well and I know that from the Head of the Calcutta University also something has come to the Government.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He is asking why you read such books; Otherwise he will be reading them.

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY: It is a Government of India publication.

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SHRI J. C. CHATTERJI: Lakhs and lakhs of rupees have been spent over this. Year before last when I put a question in the House, I was told that more than Rs. 3 lakhs had already been spent on this.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now I hope Dr. Gopala Reddi understands why he reads this.

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: Let us hear more about the book.

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJI: I would, however, like some of the economists sitting in this House to explain as to how Adam Smith can be quoted in support of mercantilism—it is there on page 228—and I should like someone to find out the authority for stating that . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You must write to Dr. Tara Chand about these things.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, Sir, this is a Government book.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There may be a difference of opinion.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It does not matter. Any Government publication can be discussed in the course of the Budget. I never read this sort of books published by them but since the hon. Member has taken the pains to read it, let us hear him and let us share the light of knowledge.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think he has brought out sufficiently what he has got to say.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATE! (Gujarat): He is pointing out how our money is being wasted.

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJI: I have got many more things. I should like someone to find out the authority for stating that wives could be sold by auction in England, presumably in the 18th century. This is on page 259.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Can you give me a copy of that book? I am most thrilled.

SHRI J. C. CHATTEBJI: I purchased it from our Notice Office. I have got the copy here.

I think I have given enough examples—if necessary I can give more—to prove how utterly worthless this book is and to show that publication of such books is not only waste of public money but constitutes a public danger in so far as it propagates wrong history both as to facts and conclusions. This book should, therefore, be withdrawn from circulation forthwith . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Who pays the compensation?

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJI: . . . and further writing and publication of the History of Freedom Movement in India should be suspended till the Government succeeds in selecting a better historian. That is my suggestion.

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY: Two more volumes will follow.

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJI: That is what the hon. Minister declared in this House last year.

Sir, one point more. I understand that the hon. Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, not content with this feat of historical publication—and may I inform the hon. Minister that the 3rd battle of Panipat was not fought on January 26th, as he assumes but on January 14th—is arranging an Asian Historical Conference, presumably under the guidance of Dr. Tara Chand and his like. Sir, the present book, I fervently hope, will not travel beyond the confines of our shores, but why call an international conference and present to the world the poor standard of our official scholars? Therefore before this scheme develops further I would place before the Government through this hon. House that such a conference under such circumstance!

would be definitely harmful to our country's cause. This is about the History of the Freedom Movement in India but at the same time . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But according to that have we gained freedom?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: At least he has succeeded in writing a history,

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJI: Sir, I was the convener in December 1958 of a conference of Indian revolutionaries in Delhi and in that conference a single resolution was passed. I can say this much that that conference had the good wishes of our President and also our late lamented Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant who was one of the Defence Counsels in the Kakori conspiracy case was good enough to inaugurate that conference. Our Prime Minister also had the kindness to call all the delegates of that conference to his residence but after all this when it placed before, the Government the single resolution that there should be a History of the Revolutionary Movement in India and also there should be some memorial raised for the revolutionary martyrs, a meeting was arranged, under the direction of Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, under the chairmanship of Mr. B. N. Datar in his chamber in the Secretariat.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Is it a fact that they kept in the old Delhi jail the delegates when they came?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I was only making an enquiry.

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJI: In that meeting consisting of officials and non-officials it was decided that a memorial in memory of the martyrs of the Hardinge Bomb case should be erected in front of the jail gate. And I submit-

ted later on an estimate, a sketch and also a model made by a top artist of India for this purpose. After all these things, the Government decided that no such individual memorial could be erected but that there may be a national memorial for the martyrs. Similarly, as regards the writing of the History of the Revolutionary Movement in India also we have not received a sympathetic attitude from the Government. It is most regrettable that they are going to publish a book through their official historian but have not allowed others to do the same thing unofficially. Even this morning we had a discussion about the Archives Legislative Committee. The material collected in the National Archives are not open to the general public or even to the scholars and historians. Sir, I am astonished that a book has been published under the guidance of the Government and that book has been the object of criticism throughout India. That is all I want to say.

SHRI S. C. DEB (Assam): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise to congratulate our Finance Minister on presenting a courageous Budget. In the beginning of his Speech, in para 3, he mentions: —

"... unless we accelerated the tempo of development, it would not be possible to lift our people out of poverty."

That, I think, is the basic policy of our Government. Criticisms are coming from this side as well as from that side, but our policy is to uplift the poorer sections of our society to a higher level. That is what is meant by a socialist pattern of society.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: First squeeze them dry.

SHRI S. C. DEB: The other day some of the Members opposite were criticising our presenting this Budget and asked what will be the nature of the socialist pattern of society.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Tha Treasury Benches. You do not present it unfortunately for us.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him go on.

SHRI S. C. DEB: Some Members from the Opposition said, and he was also mentioning, that Members of the Congress Party were also making some criticisms. It is open to every Member, whether he belongs to this party or that party, to give his honest opinion on the Budget and the policy that we are following. It is not a question of class struggle as one Member was expressing. We must place our viewpoints, whatever they may be, on the points made in the Budget.

Now, Sir, regarding the taxation policy, some criticism has been made. Our Government have set up a Committee to see how far the increase in national income has been equally distributed among all the sectors of the people. That is the intention and purpose with which the Government is moving. I am waiting for the report of the Committee. Before that, I would like to say on this taxation policy that it should not be the aim to unduly tax some items to balance our Budget. The Tax structure should be such that every strata of society is equally taxed. Not only the poorer section of the society should be taxed much, but also the upper strata of the society should be taxed much. If the benefit of the income is to go to the citizens of India, it should go equally to all, to the benefit of all. Because of this sentence, I make bold to say that the policy of our Government is for raising the poorer class of the people to a higher level so that it could be compared equally with the upper strata of society.

Now, Sir, it has been stressed by our Finance Minister that our indus* trialists and businessmen should take such a view of their industrial policy that our exports will be at a higher level, so that our Budget can be

I Shri S. C. Deb.] balanced. But we generally find that our upper strata of the society is not taking that national viewpoint. That is our grievance. We like that the poorer class should also contribute their mite for the development of the country and for their benefit. We do not grudge it. But the upper strata of the society should also have that feeling and they should equally contribute. In that respect I am in full sympathy with the viewpoint expressed by our hon. friend, Shri Khandu-bhai Desai. I do not like to repeat all those things.

Now, coming to agriculture, there are many problems. Unless our agricultural output is increased or balanced in such a way that we do not import food, we cannot expect much. Here we find that we are borrowing from other countries and we are importing articles of food in order that there may not be a hue and cry in the country and in order to check the inflationary tendencies. But that will not solve our problems. The problems will have to be dealt with at the village level. Agriculturists should be taught to use improved agricultural implements, improved seeds and the benefits of irrigation. Also, the agriculturist should be taught to run the service co-operatives efficiently. Unless our villagers and agriculturists are given that impetus, not only impetus but they are trained in that direction, we cannot improve. Of course, we are having Panchayat Raj and Community Development programmes. But it requires time to see how these fruits will be achieved. Unless sufficient organisation is made at the village level, and also training is given to the people for better and improved agriculture, mere import of foodgrains from foreign countries will not solve our food production. And from the reports we see that we are not progressing much. The other day our Minister of Agriculture was saying that we had surplus sugar, but we could not export it because of the cost. Why cannot we export sugar when we have surplus sugar? That

question must be gone into. If we want to improve our exports, if our export programmes are to be fulfilled, we must go into the details. Mere promotion of exports will not do. Particularly the industrialists must be taken to task as to why there is so much of expenditure and as to why there is defect in management. In this connection I would like to say that in our public sector I am proud of the Hindustan Machine Tools Factory. It is doing good work. That is an ideal enterprise. Similarly in the public sector other basic industries are being developed. As regards Durgapur, a study team has gone there to see how the work is going on there, how the administration or the management is functioning there. Their remarks are there. I invite the attention of the Government to see what the drawbacks are and how they can be rectified. When we are extracting money from the poor class of people, we must see that every pie of it is usefully and profitably utilised.

Sir, many Members have spoken of our administrative machinery. It is a fact that we cannot realise how backward our people are and what efforts we are making, the Government are making or our national leaders are making to improve their economic standard, their living standard. The administration must realise that. Otherwise no efforts will yield any result. Government must have the courage to tone up their administrative efficiency, and if there are lapses, they should be strictly dealt with.

Sir, I could not take part in the discussion on the report of the University Grants Commission. But one thing I would like to stress. Unless you make good arrangements for imparting instruction to students in some technical or other directions, you cannot bar them from having higher education. But that you will create more unemployment, more frustration in people. Frustration is there already among the educated

men. So, in this respect the educational policy should not be such as to bar any person from acquiring knowledge and getting education.

Sir, our big industries are there for our national development. But if you are to tackle this unemployment problem, small industries should be developed, and all facilities should be given for their development. In this respect also there are many lapses, and I am not citing them because it will take much time. Particularly in backward areas big industries cannot be there but small industries can be there. For the establishment of those small industries and cottage industries improved methods are now required at the present stage, and all these facilities should be there. In every part of the country the small-scale industry or the cottage industry should be developed at least for tackling this problem of unemployment. Even if you have improved agriculture, you cannot employ every agriculturist there. There is already the charge that we are not giving a fair deal to agricultural labourers. That problem is there. By your land reforms scheme that problem will not be solved. There should be some other solution by way of establishing small-scale or cottage industries.

Sir, I am coming from a backward area, and it is the creation of our Central Government. It is a creation of partition. Cachar district in Assam, Tripura, Manipur, Mizo Hills, all are pockets created by partition. So I request our Government very humbly to make a programme of development for that area. Unless that area is developed, unless its economy is made sound, unless a study team goes there to find out what can be done for the economic and industrial development of the people of that area, the problem will be there. There are already many problems. Communication difficulties are there, and transport difficulties are there. Goods are moving there through Pakistan. All these difficulties are there. I humbly ask

our Government to see whether any well-planned scheme can be taken up for the development of that area, for improving communications, for developing industries, for making power available, and other things. My humblest appeal to our Finance Minister is that that area should be developed. It is some thirteen years since independence, and that area is suffering economically. Frustration is there, and unless people are organised on the economic plan for their development and day to day living, there is no hope for that area. I humbly ask our hon-Minister to draw up a scheme for the improvement and economic development of the area comprising Tripura, Manipur, Cachar and Mizo Hills. That area is a compact area for all practical purposes of an economic plan, and can be developed.

SHRI B. P. BASAPPA SHETTY (Mysore): Mr. Deputy Chairman, while placing the Budget before this House, the Finance Minister has displayed his political courage for budget-balancing by imposing fresh taxes to the tune of Rs. 60 crores odd. He always follows the dictates of his conscience and never swerves from his principles, being at the same time most uncompromising in his stand. No doubt these are some of his qualities to be admired by the public. But at the time of framing the Budget he should have taken into consideration the low living standard of the common folk, the middle class people, the labour classes, and so on, and imposed taxes on certain items. The picture of the life of the 5 P.M. rural areas is still very sad in spite of the increase in our national income or wealth. They say that the per capita income has increased. If it is so, may I ask where that increase in the national wealth has gone? We still see our villagers wearing torn clothes, suffering from want of nourishing food, living in thatched houses not fit for human habitation. Considering all these points of view, a Committee has been constituted at the suggestion of our

[Shri B. P. Basappa Shetty.] Prime Minister to find out and report as to whether this increase in the national income has been equally distributed among all sections of the people or not. Until this Report is submitted, all the items on which taxes which really hit hard the people in the villages have been imposed could have been avoided easily and those items of dire need should have been exempted from the point of view of public interest. Most of the hon. Members have referred to these items of importance from the point of view of public interest. I think I too will have to lay stress on these important items because when all the Members really stress these items, the Finance Minister will have to respect their wishes and see that these items are not taxed and that the taxes sought to be imposed on them are abolished. That is why I also want to lay emphasis on these items.

I take items like kerosene, areca-nut, tea, coffee, matches, etc. Sir, in short, the prices of commodities of daily consumption are already mounting up as a result of the introduction of this Budget. The business community has grabbed the opportunity to exploit the common man to the maximum extent possible. Unless the Government makes bold to deal with these unscrupulous business men with a firm hand, the common man will have to go abegging. Sir, people in the villages have to pay numerous taxes such as irrigation cess, education cess, local cess, land revenue and house tax and they are already oppressed by the burden of these taxes. In addition to these, they have now to pay fresh taxes on essential commodities of daily use. In Bombay, the oil companies have already raised the prices of kerosene oil. The price has gone up by 14 naye paise per gallon. In Bangalore also, the price of kerosene oil has shot up. Prior to 1st March, 18 litres of kerosene oil cost Rs. 5 50 and now it has gone up to Rs. 6-21. In his Budget Speech, the Finance Min-

ister has given an assurance that the increased duty on superior kerosene oil will not affect the common people. But the actual fact is quite different. Due to the exorbitant prices of firewood and charcoal, the vast majority of the middle-class and the poorer sections of the people have been compelled to use kerosene stoves for their cooking purposes. These stoves need not the yellow inferior variety of oil but the superior white kerosene oil. I may also state in this connection that even in the villages they now buy only the white kerosene oil for burning lamps in their homes because the less costly yellow kerosene oil is no longer to be imported. Of course, I speak subject to correction. Therefore, this increased tax on kerosene oil has caused great hardship to the poorer and middle-class people who have to depend on kerosene oil for cooking their food and also to the villagers who have to use this oil for their lamps. This tax is most unjustified and indefensible.

Next, I come to the most important item of commodities, that is, areca-nut. Areca-nut industry was given full exemption from the levy of excise duties as there was a great agitation by the consumers. It is an article mostly used by the common people such as the agricultural classes and the labour classes in villages whose annual income ranges from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 per year. This is an article extensively used by the low income groups. So, it pains me to see the pitiable and miserable condition of the rural folk whose income is stagnant in spite of the figures which show an increase in our national income and this imposition of a tax on areca-nut is really a great burden on the rural population. The people in our constituency will surely curse us for this. In this age of democracy, we have to respect popular wishes and try to adjust the principle of taxation also accordingly. I appeal to the hon. Minister to reconsider the matter and see that this tax is completely abolished.

Sir, coffee and tea are the other two important commodities which are used on a large scale all over the country. The price of coffee powder per lb. has increased by 31 naye paise. Similarly, the price of tea also has gone up. To add to this, these commodities are not available in the market. Agriculturists and labourers in the villages do not go to the fields without drinking a cup of coffee or tea. Agricultural operations do not generally commence without these people taking a cup of coffee or tea every morning. This imposition of 33 1/3 per cent, excise duty on coffee has caused great hardship to the consumers and the growers.

SHRI N. M. LINGAM (Modras): So according to you, it will affect food production?

SHRI B. P. BASAPPA SHETTY: There were representations made earlier to reduce the excise duty on coffee to give relief to consumers and growers of coffee and we are surprised at the proposed enhancement of duty by 33 1/3 per cent. Owing to the production drive launched by the Government of India through the Coffee Board, the production figure which was 30,000 tons is now 60,000 tons. But the consumption of coffee in the internal market is only round about 25,000 tons and this surplus of about 50 per cent, has to be exported to stabilise the market. Owing to over-production of coffee in the world, the buffer stock has drastically declined compared with previous years and we are even forced to sell coffee at prices far below the cost of production. Even when offered at low prices, the coffee that is offered for export is not moving fast and at every export auction, the Coffee Board is forced to withdraw large quantities of coffee because traders do not come forward to bid at the auction because of the low prices in the foreign markets. All the Coffee Houses in India have been closed as the Government wants to export more and more coffee and earn foreign exchange. Neither is there any home market for our coffee nor is there

any external market. The export prices are lower than those obtaining in the internal market. The Indian consumer is already over-taxed **and** the cost of living is high and the consumption of coffee also has fallen. It will fall further if the enhanced duty is given effect to. The heavy loss incurred in the export market has to be at least reimbursed by the internal market prices. The price got by the grower is far below the cost of production and most unremunerative. If this state of affairs were to continue, I am afraid that the expansion scheme will be really affected. Also in view of the **fact** that other countries such as West Germany are putting import restrictions on our traditional foreign-exchange-earning commodities like tea and coffee, there is a fear in the minds of the coffee growers that the over-production of coffee will either have to be thrown into the sea or burnt to stabilise the prices. As coffee is grown mostly in the Western Ghats, in the Malnad area, where transport facilities are very meagre and no railway lines are laid, I appeal to the hon. Minister to reconsider the question in all its aspect and see that this enhanced duty is abolished. Is it possible to hold the price line of a number of essential commodities of daily consumption? If the Minister thinks it is possible, then controls will have to be reintroduced to check the rising prices, and everyone knows the evils of control. Also we cannot say that the rise in prices is temporary; I am sure it will continue and play havoc on consumers.

Lastly, Sir, I should like to suggest one or two methods to enhance the annual income of our country. About the first one, of course the Members may feel surprised, and it is in regard to the policy followed by the ruling Party as regards prohibition. They know the policy adopted in that connection but still I should like to say, and I am compelled to say that the policy of prohibition scheme **has** proved a thorough failure. The first thing I should like to suggest is:

[Shri Basappa Shetty.] Scrap this prohibition. This prohibition scheme has proved a thorough failure, since the consumption of illicit liquor, which is injurious and also poisonous to the health of the nation, is on the increase. Every other village has now taken to manufacture this illicit liquor, which is nothing but a mixture of boot polish and various kinds of spirits. Formerly, at least our people were drinking the natural liquors, and they were hale and healthy. Now the general health condition is deteriorating and the longevity of the people also seems to be decreasing. Corruption as a result of the present policy of prohibition is rampant since manufacturers of this illicit liquor are allowed to go scot-free even when caught by the police people. And many a time I have seen the police people themselves in a drunken state. And the country has lost a huge income in crores of rupees on account of this prohibition. So this prohibition scheme should be put an end to as early as possible and prohibition abolished.

i

Sir, there is a feeling in the country that the administration is top-heavy.

(Interruption).

In the rural areas you have to go and see. You people do not go to villages and see how their condition is, how illicit liquor is being manufactured in a number of houses in the rural areas. Even the police people see the villagers carry bottles of liquor and yet they allow them to go scot-free. They will not challan them since it has become a source of income to the police people themselves, I can dare say.

Now, Sir, there is a feeling in the country that there is top-heavy administration. I suggest that a committee of Parliament Members and some experts on administration be constituted to go into the question and report early suggesting ways and means of retrenchment. By these 'two' methods, Sir, we can save crores

of rupees which can be used for the economic development of the country.

With these few words, Sir, I resume my seat.

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो बजट हमारे सामने पेश किया है उसके लिये मैं उनको धन्यवाद देता हूँ। कर विरोध के संबंध में इस हाउस में बहुत सी तकरीरें हुईं और मैं समझता हूँ कि बहुत से लोग इस कर वृद्धि के खिलाफ हैं। लेकिन गत बार भी मने बजट का समर्थन करते हुए कहा था कि जब हम आजादी की लड़ाई में बड़ी बड़ी कुर्बानियां करते थे तब आज जब कि हमारे देश की सरकार का समाजवादी समाज का लक्ष्य हो रहा है तो उसमें सिर्फ अमीर ही नहीं बल्कि जितने भी छोटे बड़े तबके के लोग हैं, वे सब कुछ आहूति दें। इसलिए चाहे वह सुपारी खाने में हो, पान खाने में हो, चाहे वह करोसीन आइल की बात हो, कर वृद्धि तो होगी ही। मैं समझता हूँ कि कर बढ़ाई की जरूरत है। अभी हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने भी कहा कि अब हमारी तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना चल रही है, उसके लिये हमें बहुत सा रुपया जुटाना है। यहां पर बहुत से लोगों ने कहा कि जो मिडल क्लास के लोग हैं, गरीब लोग हैं उनके ऊपर टैक्स का भार हो गया, लेकिन इसको नहीं देखते हैं कि अभी हमको कितने सौ करोड़ रुपये और लेने हैं। हमारे भाई खंडूभाई देसाई ने कहा कि बड़ों बड़ों पर भी कारपोरेट टैक्स होना चाहिये, कैपिटल गैन्स टैक्स होना चाहिए। तो उनको एक वर्ष और प्रतीक्षा करनी चाहिए। एक वर्ष में हमें अपनी योजना के इतने वर्षों के लिए रुपया लेना है। तो ये जो अमीर लोग हैं पंजीपति लोग हैं, उनको अभी से होशियार होना चाहिए कि वे भी इतिजारी करें। हमारी वित्त मंत्री जी से गुजारिश है कि बड़े लोगों से भी खूब टैक्स लेना चाहिए।

इसके साथ साथ, श्रीमन्, चाहे हम कितने ही टैक्स दें, प्लानिंग करें, आयोजना करें, लेकिन

जो हमारी बेकारी की समस्या है, अनइम्प्लायमेंट है और चाहे जो हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना है, उसमें हम कितने ही लोगों को, ८५ लाख या एक करोड़ आदमियों को भी पंचवर्षीय योजना में नौकरी दे दें, लेकिन जिस रफ्तार से, जिस तेजी के साथ हमारा जो होम फ्रंट है वह मजबूत होता जा रहा है, हमारा कृषि फ्रंट उतनी तेजी से मजबूत नहीं होता, और होम फ्रंट में इतने लड़के पैदा हो रहे हैं, इतनी मूर्तियाँ हम पैदा कर रहे हैं कि हमारी सब योजनाएँ, हमारी सब कर वृद्धि जो हो रही है, वह सब हमारा काम बिगाड़ दे रहा है। इसलिए मेरी वित्त मंत्री जी से अपील है कि जैसा हमारी बहिन अमृत कौर जी ने अच्छा सजेशन दिया कि शादी पर भी टैक्स लगाना चाहिये, लेकिन उसके साथ साथ बच्चे जनवाने पर भी टैक्स लगाना चाहिए। अभी बहिन जी ने कहा कि कुछ उम्र के बाद भर्षों को बंद कर देना चाहिए, स्ट्रलाइज कर देना चाहिए। मैं उसका भी स्वागत करता हूँ; क्योंकि जब तक आप यह चीज नहीं करते हैं तो हमारी योजनाओं के लिये कहाँ से रुपया लायेंगे? आबादी पर रोक लगाना बहुत जरूरी है। यह भी ठीक है कि दो लड़के होने के बाद जितने लड़के पैदा हों उन पर ग्रैजुएटेड टैक्स लगा दिया जाना चाहिए। आर्थिक स्थिति के अनुसार बड़ों पर ज्यादा और छोटों पर कम टैक्स लगे। शादी पर भी टैक्स लगाना चाहिए, बच्चे जनाने पर भी टैक्स लगाना चाहिए और इसके साथ साथ यह कोशिश होनी चाहिए, जैसा कि अभी हमारे पूर्ववक्ता ने कहा और हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी...

SHRI HARIHAR PATEL ((Orissa):
If he hands over his children to the Government?

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE:
That will not help the Government.
तो अभी जो मेरे पूर्ववक्ता ने कहा, मैं भी वही कहता हूँ कि यद्यपि मैं प्रोहिबिशन के खिलाफ नहीं हूँ तथापि उस संबंध में हमारी जो पॉलिसी है वह टोटल फोलयर है। उस से कोई सफलता नहीं मिल रही है। और

हम उन राज्य सरकारों को धन्यवाद देते हैं कि जो हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार की बात न मान करके अपने राष्ट्र को विभंग नहीं बनाने जा रहे हैं। मैं जानता हूँ कि किन्हीं जगहों में—गुजरात में और मद्रास में—कुछ सफलता मिली है। लेकिन सारी जगहों में हमें सफलता नहीं मिली है। इसकी बदौलत आंध्र में एक कान्स्टेबल की इनकम मद्य निषेध से डेढ़ सौ, दो सौ रुपये माहवार हो गई है। इससे घूसखोरी भी ज्यादा बढ़ गई है। जहाँ तक यह कहा गया कि लोगों की हेल्थ खराब हो रही है, वह ठीक ही कहा गया। पीने वाले पीते हैं, आप की नजर में नहीं हैं, हमारे फाइनेन्स कमिश्नर साहब को मालूम नहीं है, हमारे भाई खंडूभाई देसाई को मालूम नहीं है। लेकिन यह वस्तुस्थिति है, हकीकत है कि पीने वाले पी रहे हैं। घर घर में शराब की भट्टी खोल दी है, उससे हमारा नुकसान भी है। प्रोहिबिशन की हमारी पालिसी के रहते उन्होंने बहुत ही अच्छी बात की है कि शराब पर टैक्स लगाया, लेकिन चाहे वह कंटीमेड शराब हो, या फारेन मेक की हो, दोनों पर उतना ही टैक्स लगा दें। जो बड़े बड़े लोग हैं वे शराब पीना होगा तो जरूर पियेंगे और उससे हमारी आमदनी होगी और गरीब लोग नहीं पियेंगे; क्योंकि उनके पास पैसा नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान में हालत ऐसी है कि लड़के की मृत्यु की मार लोग बर्दाश्त कर लेते हैं लेकिन पैसे की मार बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकते। ऐसी कहावत है। इसलिये हम मद्य निषेध की दिशा में शराब पर जितना ज्यादा से ज्यादा टैक्स लगायेंगे, कई गुना लगा दें, तो उस सम्बन्ध में हमारी जो नीति है वह भी कुछ कामयाब हो सकती है। इसके साथ साथ हम को मुल्क के कामों के लिये पैसा भी ज्यादा मिलेगा। हमारी जो आर्थिक हालत है, फाइनेंशियल कंडीशन है, उसके खूब अच्छी तरह से सुधारने के लिये हमें इस तरीके से प्रोहिबिशन करना चाहिये। लेकिन अभी जिस तरह से प्रोहिबिशन चल

[श्री शीलभद्र थाजी]

रहा है, म समझता हूँ, उसमें हमें पूरी तौर से कामयाबी नहीं मिल रही है, जैसा कि हमारी मंशा है।

जिस तरह से हर साल हम अपने वित्त मंत्री जी से अपील करते हैं कि शराब पर ज्यादा टैक्स लगाया जाना चाहिये, उसी तरह से आज भी हम फिर अपील करते हैं कि वे इस चीज पर खूब विचारें और सोचें और जहां तक हो सके देसी और विदेशी शराब पर ज्यादा से ज्यादा टैक्स लगायें। अगर राज्य सरकारें प्रोहिबिशन की पालिसी पर नहीं चलतीं तो वह अलग बात है और न ही हमें इस बात का ख्याल करना चाहिये कि हमारे कांस्टीट्यूशन में इस बारे में डाइरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल दिया हुआ है। वह चीज अपनी जगह पर अलग से है। लेकिन यह कहना और जबर्दस्ती सारे मुल्क में प्रोहिबिशन करना एक तरह से देश के लिये नुकसान-दायक साबित होगा। इसलिये मेरी आप से यह प्रार्थना है कि आप शराब पर दुगना, तिगुना एक्साइज ड्यूटी लगा दें, ताकि उससे हमें ज्यादा से ज्यादा रुपया मिल सके।

अभी हमारी बहिन ने चूड़ी और दूसरी कई बातों के बारे में कहा, तो मुन कर बड़ा ताज्जुब हुआ। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि इस समय देश के गांवों में तरक्की के कोई भी कार्य नहीं हो रहे हैं और न ही किसी तरह के विकास कार्य ही हो रहे हैं। एक संसद् सदस्य होने के नाते उनकी अनाभजता पर बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ जबकि रोज ही सदन में कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स और दूसरे विकास कार्य जो आजकल गांवों में हो रहे हैं, चर्चा की जाती है। इस तरह से पार्लियामेंट के सदस्य को देश के विकास कार्यों की अनभिज्ञता होना और चूड़ी तथा गहने की बात करना अच्छा मालूम नहीं देता है।

हम ने देश की आजादी के लिये तरह तरह की कुर्बानियां कीं और आज जब हम

अपने देश में समाजवाद की स्थापना करने जा रहे हैं जिसमें करोड़ों रुपये की आवश्यकता होगी इस तरह की बातें शोभा देती हैं? आज [हम अपने देश में समाजवाद की स्थापना करने जा रहे हैं। जिससे देश में विषमता खत्म होगी। यह चीज तब ही हो सकती है जब हर एक सदस्य चाहे वह किसी भी पार्टी से ताल्लुक क्यों न रखता हो—चाहे वह इधर की पार्टी का हो या मुखालिफ पार्टी का हो—उसे सरकार की टैक्सेशन पालिसी का समर्थन करना चाहिये। इस तरह की बातें नहीं करनी चाहियें कि यहां पर विरोधी सदस्य डेढ़ घंटे तक इलैक्शन स्टंट की बात बोलते रहें, गरीबों के नाम पर छाती पीटते रहें और घड़ियाल के आंसू बहाते रहें। इस तरह की पालिसी ठीक नहीं है और न इससे मुल्क में समाजवाद की ही स्थापना होगी।

MR. DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: Shri Ratanlal Kishorilal Malviya.

SHRI RATANLAL KISHORILAL MALVIYA (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, I want permission to speak on Monday.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can begin today and continue on Monday. There are seven minutes more.

SHRI RATANLAL KISHORILAL MALVIYA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I support the Budget proposals. Because of my special interest in the production of minerals, especially coal, I would like to put before this House the difficulties which are being experienced by the industry. As a result of that difficulty the workers, who are no less than four lakhs in coal industry alone, are tremendously suffering.

I will refer especially to the movement of coal from the collieries to the factories and the production of coal as a whole. The House is aware that we had fixed the target of 60 million

tons of annual production of coal for the Second Five Year Plan. So far as the industry is concerned, it has almost fulfilled the target. It has reached the target to the extent of 54 million tons or so, and I am sure that by April next, the industry with the speed with which they are moving, will be able to fulfil their target. But the whole difficulty is with regard to the movement of coal. Daily we have been reading in newspaper reports from practically every State about the shortage of coal, Saurashtra is very badly suffering; they are not getting sufficient coal to run their industry. There is the report from U.P. They are not getting coal though they are very near Jharia and Raniganj. From other States also there is a cry for supply of coal to the industry.

Sir, the plea which has been given by the hon. Railway Minister in his speech during the discussions on the Railway Budget was that he would be able to improve the wagon supply position in July next. With the experience that I have at my command with regard to the coal industry and the movement of wagons, I can assure the House that I am not convinced with that argument. I feel that there is something somewhere seriously wrong.

So far as the number of wagons is concerned, it has increased tremendously and I am told—I have not got the figures with me at present—that the number of wagons supplied to the coal industry is sufficient to move

the coal produced by the country. But, Sir, the wagon movement appears to be very defective. I will cite the case of Madhya Pradesh from where

I come. I am told and I know for certain, that the wagon movement in Madhya Pradesh has been affected by certain factors, one of the factors being that wagons have been shifted from one area to another area and the supply has been reduced to that area. The Ahmedabad mills, the Saurashtra mills and the Bombay mills are the three areas which have been getting their supply of coal from the Madhya Pradesh coalfields. Sir, on the one hand we are thinking of increasing our targets to a great extent in the Third Five Year Plan, on the other we are not able to supply the number of wagons which may be needed to remove the coal which is being produced by the country. So we have to look at things very objectively, and if there is any difficulty in the supply of wagons, in the construction of new lines, top priority may be given to them because if this is not done in time, the target of the Third Five Year Plan for the production of coal will fail and then the industry as a whole will greatly suffer.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can continue on Monday.

The House stands adjourned till

A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at half-past-five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 10th March, 1961.