713 Budget (.General), 1957-58- [RAJYA SAPHA] General Discussion 714 Hydrogen bomb tests off Christmas Island in defiance of world public opinion.' '

The motion was negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

18. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely: -

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that development of ports and coastal shipping are not given proper attention.' "

The motion was negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The' question is:

19. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely: -

'but regret that the Address does not reflect the grave anxiety in the country and the world on continued H'bomb tests nor does it voice the universal demand of immediate end to these tests and a destruction of all the stocks of Atom and Hydrogen bombs.""

The motion was negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That an Address be presented to the President in the following terms: -

'That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both the Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 13th May, 1957.'"

The motion was adopted.

THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1957-58-GENERAL DISCUSSION-

Rajkumari AMRIT KAUR (Punjab): Sir, I rise with very great diffidence to speak on a subject on which I consider myself very unsuited in more ways than one to speak. Also, it is the first time since independence, political independence, came to India that I am able to stand on the floor of Parliament and offer some criticism, not destructive I hope, of the proposals of the Government. I only hope I shall not be misunderstood and that my erstwhile colleague, the Finance Minister, will extend to me the same sympathy and understanding as he did when I was privileged to work with him.

Sir, we are all aware of the need for fulfilling our commitments as far as the Second Five Year Plan is concerned. I am sure everyone is also willing to sacrifice to the nth degree for the cause of the country, a cause which must override all individual, communal, provincial or even party political considerations. Money has to be found and found primarily within our own borders for, in the long run, a nation has to stand on its own strength. The Finance Minister has therefore, rightly said that everyone, rich and poor, has to shoulder the great burden if we are to achieve our aims and objectives. But while everyone is and must be willing to put his shoulder to the wheel, he can only do as much as is commensurate with his strength. Has that strength been appraised aright and what will be the consequences if the burden is more than any sector can bear?

The cost of living has gone up considerably. We are told that prices have gone up because the purchasing power of the people has increased. Has the purchasing power of the people increased pari passu with the rise in prices? I doubt it very much.

I am not an economist but I did learn that deficit financing will always cause inflation, and if that is so, the more we go in for deficit financing the higher will soar the prices of commodities. Women are said to be poor financiers. As a woman, I admit that with the large majority of my sex, I know nothing in regard to the theory of high finance. But as a woman I also have to meet household expenditure and I am not at all sure that women do not know how best to make two ends meet but I fear that the present proposals are going to make it very very hard and in fact may make life impossible for those that are poor, and the large majority in this country are poor. I am glad to read in the papers that kerosene oil has been left out of the tentacles of Finance Minister the but he is taxing heavily such other things as the poor man needs like matches, sugar, tea, coffee, etc. They are not commodities whose prices can be sent up without touching the poor man's purse. Talking of tea, I wonder if something tangible could be done to stop its adulteration instead of asking the poor housewife to pay a little more than she does today for it. Now, food cannot continue to be doled out to the poor for ever with promises of subsidy whether by the Rs. 25 crores which the Finance Minister is going to put aside for supplementing the food needs of the nation or by fair price shops. Production in every only answer but an undersphere is the nourished person can never produce. Why has the lowest income rate for taxation been lowered to the extent of making life still poor man? harder for the I think everybody who has anything to do with expenditure today realises that Rs. 250 per month for a family is nothing at all. Take a man who has got to feed himself, his wife and or four children and perhaps his three father and mother who are dependent on How can he possibly pay taxation on him. this small income? The price of the post card-again the poor man's only means of communication-has been

raised. Why? The rise in railway fares too is going to hit him. The poor, Sir, should be made less poor. That should be the objective of every Government but I fear greatly that the present Budget proposals are going almost the other way in many directions on the chimerical assumption of the fulfilment of a plan which might itself indeed break on the rock of finance.

Sir, I have said I do not believe in destructive criticism or, at any rate, I said I would offer some constructive criticism. Now, there is no one but sympathises with the Finance Minister in his efforts to raise money but will be willing to listen to other ways and means which will not hit the poor man quite so hard.

Instead of raising the post card rate, why cannot the price of the stamped envelope be raised from 13 naye paise to 15 naye paise? I would not mind even if the cost of the reply post card was raised to 12, but I object strongly to the cost of the single post card whether local or internal being increased. I do not know what the yield from such a measure, that is, raising the cost of the envelope from 13 naye paise to 15 naye paise, will be but I imagine it will not be less than from the tax on the post card.

I believe I am right in saying that our civil aviation rates are less than any in the world. The aeroplane up to date is the rich man's means of conveyance. Why cannot air fares be raised rather than railway fares?

Sir, I may be pardoned for saying so but we as a people have a habit of clinging to slogans and we very often forget that slogans like, shall I say, slang words in any language, come and go and their significance at the time is entirely lost in another age and a succeeding generation knows nothing at all about them. Now, as a housewife I maintain that the poorest of the poor will not feel I it if rock salt which sells at nine J pice a seer, is raised to ten pice a seer

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[Rajkumri Amrit Kaur.] and if the finer element which sells at 12 pice is raised to 15 pice. Gandhiji spoke in parables and his actions were nearly always symbolic. We have been apt, again and again, to take him too literally. I think the Union Government will be well-advised to raise a levy on what today is no longer symbolic of bygone days. No family—I am taking the family as six or eight souls as a rough reckoning—consumes more than a seer of salt a month and the infinitesimal extra will yield, I am sure, a rich dividend. I would like the Finance Minister to probe into this suggestion if he will have the courtesy to do so.

Now, I come to another suggestion which may raise a furore from some of the members of my own party. But I feel that truth has to be adhered to at all costs and he who pursues it has ever to turn the searchlight inwards and to stand for it whatever the consequences. Can the Congress Governments in the States who have tried out this policy and the members of the Union Ministry here at the Centre lay their hands on their hearts and affirm that the policy of prohibition has been a success? I say to you, it has been a dismal failure and will continue to be so. Human nature is the same the world over. Russia tried and failed: Turkey tried and failed. The United States tried and failed. I was in New Zealand the other day. There, the women of New Zealand and also of Australia, had asked that no drink may be served after 5 o' clock.

SHRIMATI SAVITRY DEVI NIGAM (Uttar Pradesh): But the Indian conditions are quite different from those of other countries.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR: Those very women today are asking for that law to be rescinded because they find more drunkenness before the hour of five than before. Australia has j rescinded the measure and New

will probably Zealand follow suit. The conditions in India are different, very, very, very, few people drink. The number of addicts, if a survey were to be taken, would probably be less than 1 per cent., and the actual people who even touch any wine would probably be less than 10 per cent. What is happening is that money which should come into the Exchequer is being taken by bootleggers and today I am told that they are the biggest protagonists of prohi-The administration has been bition. corrupted and people are encouraged daily to resort to lying and deception. Smuggling takes place. One State has prohibition and its neighbour has not. Smuggling must go on. Now, Gandhiji's name is exploited in this as in so much else. I often wonder how far away we have gone from his teachings but we forget that his greatness lay, Sir, in acknowledging an error and retracing his steps. I claim humbly to say that if he were alive today and if I were to go and tell him that this is happening in every State, where there is prohibition by law, that there is corruption in the administration, that there is bootlegging, that there is more drinking, that wine is flowing more freely and further that illicit distillation is increasing, then he would say, "Abolish it and try out other ways and means".

I submit that there are far better ways of weaning the people from drink than legislation. I in my young days profited from the wisdom of Plato and later I learnt more than ever at Gandhiji's feet to believe that that country is governed best which is governed least. I am not sure but we seem to excel others in legislation and even high judicial luminaries have told me that they can scarcely keep pace with all the legislation that the Government of India goes in for.

Now another suggestion. Education which ought really to be the birthright of every citizen is becoming almost a luxury which few can afford. We seem to regret it but presumably we cannot alter this at the moment. But what about a small health cess? I had mooted this question to be discussed at the next meeting of the Health Council, and I trust that my successor will keep this issue alive. That again, I think, would help to subsidise and expand medical aid and relief and the people will more readily come forward to give a few Naya Paise for medical aid and relief as a health subsidy for themselves and for their families than they will towards an increase in the price of sugar or of the other daily necessities of life.

Finally, Sir, the Finance Minister himself said that he is exploring uncharted seas, as it were, when he is asking for an expenditure tax. I do not know how it is going to work out, and also the one of capital levy. Well, I have no antagonism against the rich paying more that they do, willingly paying more than they do, so that those who have not should have, but again he says that many of his proposals were submitted with a view to getting rid of the tax-evasion that to-day exists in the country. I very humbly submit that I am not really sure if he is not opening out very many more ways of tax-evasion. I finally do plead with the Finance Minister to reconsider the exemption from tax on personal effects, personal effects* including furniture, cars, jewellery, etc. up to a maximum of Rs. 25,000. Now, Sir, the value of Rs. 25,000 is very very little, and far too small a sum has been fixed as the maximum. That apart, all the time I have the feeling that the poor should be lifted, rather upliftment should be the order of the day, upliftment of standards, not always a lowering of standards. I shudder to think of the harassment which will be caused and caused to my sex in particular. Now who will examine the clothes, etc. and find out the correct value? It may be that some men will go round and examine clothes in our wardrobes, and jewellery, and put on them such value as they like. It

: will all result in harassment to the | people, and I think it is an impracti-I cable suggestion. I would like him to leave out entirely clothes and jewellery. The latter is not a paying proposition to-day because if, for example, you bought a ring for Rs. 500 some ten years ago, probably it would not fetch even a hundred rupees to-day and also nobody is going in now-a-days to invest in jewellery; jewellery is out of date for investment purposes but so long as women are alive they do want to put on nice clothes and a few ornaments. This has been the case from earliest times and women will continue to be the same. In this country the moment a girl is born or for that matter the moment a boy is born, the mother thinks of buying a good sari from out of her hard savings, tries to purchase it cheaply or a pair of ear-rings for her daughter or a ring for her son or a pair of churis to give to her daughter at the time of her daughter's marriage or to her daughter-in-law when she comes newly to her house. On the one hand we are asked to save but thrift is surely not for the purpose of being taxed. The Indian woman saves something with great difficulty so that when actually the time comes for her daughter's wedding she can say to her husband with some pride. "I have bought this pair of churis . already. I bought this or that out of savings over a number of years. You need not spend money on that account." But now by your tax policy you are going to kill all' this wisdom.

Now a person is delighted to have a little work of art as an ornament in his house. If you go to a foreign country you like to buy something and to bring it back to your country and keep it in your house as a little souvenir. Time and again your friends give you a little souvenir. You are now going to be taxed for all these things. A picture which you would like to live with, that too will be taxed, and heaven alone knows how this tax will be organised and how it will be manoeuvred, but [Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.] there will certainly be terrible harassment that the housewife will have to bear. So I do beg of the Finance Minister to think twice before he takes this step.

We want to encourage handicrafts. We want to encourage artistic wares of every kind which are things of joy and beauty. Who will buy them in such circumstances? We want to encourage Khadi. Now how can I afford to buy Khadi when these measures come along? I will naturally turn to buy mill-made cotton saris at a a cheaper price because I won't be able to buy Khadi. You are going to kill the very things which bring joy in the lives of people and the enhancement of income in the case of the poor artisans. Now art, music and drama are encouraged by those who spend on it. I say, Sir, that those who spend also do a service. Money circulates. But why should they now spend? Indeed why should anyone save? I have a feeling that what is given with one hand is taken away with the other, that is the way we seem to be following.

I have spoken with frankness and with sincerity. We want a contented people, a land where there will be plenty, a land where there will be security. I have to say with great. concern that there does not seem to be in the minds of most people any sense of security. Everybody asks: Where are we going? Government has a right to ask for and has a right to expect willing co-operation from its citizens. But I would like Government not to close their eyes to their own duty, primarily to the corruption that exists. Corruption is not going to be abolished by committees and legislation, and if it has to be abolished, Government itself has to take stringent action. I know that Government can reduce overhead expenditure. As a matter of fact, in my Ministry I formulated a scheme which. I hope, continues to be alive or at any rate will be looked into by my successor whereby on an aver-

age we might be able to save five lakhs of rupees per year. We always talk of reducing administrative expenditure. We used to criticise the British when they were here and used to say that enormous amounts were being spent on overhead expenditure. Of course it was a foreign administration. But I would like to know how much is being spent on our administration now, taking into consideration of course also that the work has greatly increased since independence. But it can be minimised, and I feel that a much stricter account should be kept and stricter supervision of what is being spent. For example, Member after Member of the Opposition says that money is being wasted in our community projects, in our N.E.S. Blocks, indeed everywhere. I feel that much greater supervision should be exercised throughout to see that every bit of our money is put to use and not wasted. I know there is bound to be a certain amount of wasteful expenditure, a certain amount of losses when you enter into a great enterprise, into a great venture, but I feel that enough supervision is not exercised. I would like to bring here to your notice. Sir, for example, when I used to call meetings of the Councils of Health, of Ministers of .Health or other Ministers at some place, while we from the Centre used to go with a bare minimum of staff, I found one Minister coming for only one day to attend three day meetings with two officials, two chaprasis, two personal servants, etc. I remember another Minister coming with eight chaprasis and P.A's, and God alone knows what not, with no work < for any of them. They simply went from north to south so that they could have a look at the south. These are things that can save the Government lakhs of rupees and I think that we should be very much more careful as to how our Ministers at the top act so that they may be a model for others to follow. Trust alone begets trust, Sir, and I am sure that even the business world whom

we go to without any compunction when we want funds for our elections or anything else to give us money, will come to our help. Ask them, trust them; don't think that they are all bad, for Government also has to be human to understand human problems and the reactions of human beings.

श्री ह० प० सक्सेना (उत्तर प्रदेश) : बहुत खरी खरी वार्ते कर रहीं हैं ।

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR: Sir, I have put my reactions as a lay person, merely as a human being and a woman, and I hope they will receive some consideration from the Finance Minister.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We now adjourn till 2 o'clock. Tomorrow and day after there will be no lunch interval.

The House adjourned for lunch at one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

श्री गंगा शरण सिंह (बिहार) : जनाब डिपुटी चेयरमैन साहब, कब्ल इसके कि मैं बजट के संबंध में कुछ निवेदन करूं, एक दो बातें कह देना चाहता हूं जिससे इस सदन के हमारे मित्र ग्रौर सरकारी बेंचों के लोग उस भावना को, उस स्पिरिट को समझ सकें जिस में मैं बोलने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूं।

आज इस बजट पर आलोचना के रूप में अगर मैं कुछ कहना चाहता हूं तो वह इसलिए नहीं कि यह एक रस्म है, रिवाज है और चूंकि आज हम लोग सरकार में नहीं हैं, कांग्रेस की सरकार है । विरोधी दल के रूप में या रस्मे के रूप में या शिष्टाचार के रूप में बजट की आलोचना करने या उसका विरोध करने के लिए मैं नहीं खड़ा हुया हूं । आपको शायद मालम हो, इन मित्रों के साथ, जिनके हाथ में आज सरकार है, २७ वर्ष तक रहने और काम करने का मौका मझे मिला है और इसलिए यह मेरे लिए कोई बहुत सूख की बात नहीं थी, कोई बहुत प्रसन्नता की बात नहीं थी कि हमें उनका साथ छोड़ना पड़ा, और इसलिए ग्राज जो ग्रालोचना करनी पड़ती है, वह सिर्फ ग्रालोचना के लिए नहीं करना चाहता और न उस आलोचना में कुछ सुख मिलता है। जब मैं ने ऐसा अन्भव किया कि हमारा उनका रास्ता दूसरा है और हमारे वे साथी गलत रास्ते पर जा रहे हैं, तो बहत दूख के साथ, नीति का मतभेद होने पर, कार्यंकम का मतभेद होने पर, मुझे उन साथियों से अलग होना पडा । इसलिए आज जब मैं कोई आलोचना करता हं, कोई मतभेद प्रकट करता हं तो सिर्फ मतभेद प्रकट करने के लिए नहीं बल्कि उसी दुष्टि से, उसी दुख के साथ, उसी वेदना के साथ करता हं जिसके कारण हमें अलग होना पड़ा । मैं समझता हं कि जो नीति ग्रपनायी जा रही है वह सही नहीं है, जो नीति चलायी जा रही है उससे देश को नुकसान होने वाला है । इसलिए मैं जो हमारे मंत्रीगण हैं, उनसे, सदन से, ग्रौर जो दूसरे सदस्य हैं उनसे, यह निवेदन करूंगा कि मैं जिस भावना से, जिस स्पिरिट से, ग्रपनी बातें कह रहा हं उसी भावना में, उसी स्पिरिट में बे भी समझने की चेष्टा करें, उसे एकमात्र विरोधी दल के म्रादमी की राय न समझें।

श्रीमन, मैं तो इस सदन के लिए एक नया सदस्य हूं, इस तरह से कि मैं ग्राया तो पिछले साल, लेकिन एक वर्ष तक, जो मेरी जिम्मेदारियां थी पहले की, उनके चलते जितना हिस्सा लेना चाहिये था उतना हिस्सा मैं सदन की कार्यवाही में नहीं ले सका ग्रौर इसलिए एक नए मेम्बर की हैसियत से ही मैं सदन के सामने कुछ बातें कहना चाहता हूं—-उनमें ग्रगर गलतियां होंगी तो ग्राप ग्रौर सदन के ग्रन्थ सदस्य मुझे क्षमा करेंगे, यह समझ कर कि इस काम के लिए मैं एक नौसिखिया हूं। [श्री गंगा शरण सिंह]

श्रीमन्, यह जो बजट हमारे सामने पेक हम्रा, यह सरकार की एक नीति का परिणाम है---सरकार की जो नीति है उसी नीति के रूप में हम इस बजट को पातें हैं। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि हर विषय में अगर कोई स्पष्ट नीति होती ग्रौर उस नीति से हमारा मतभेद होता तब तो उतना नुकसान नहीं होता लेकिन मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि कुछ मामलों में कोई एक स्थायी नीति सरकार की शायद है नहीं। मैं यह मानता हूं कि यह संसार परिवर्तनशील है, मैं यह मानता हूं कि दुनिया में चीजें स्टेटिक नहीं हैं । ग्रगर कोई पार्टी या सरकार या व्यक्ति इस विकासशील युग में स्टेटिक होगा तो उसका ग्रंत हो जायगा लेकिन इसके साथ ही जो कंटीन्युइटी है, जो परम्परा है---समाज की, सरकार की----उसे कायम रखने के लिए हमारी नीति में भी एक कंटीन्यइटी की, एक परम्परा की, एक कड़ी की आवश्यकता होती है और उस कड़ी का हम यहां इस बजट में ग्रभाव पाते हैं। इसके संबंध में सरकार की जो नीति है, मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि कुछ मामलों में तो नीति का बिलकुल अभाव है। कुछ मामलों में जो नीति बनती है ग्राज, वह कल को बदल दी जाती है और फिर दूसरी नीति बनती है। इस तरह से हम बार बार कभी पीछे हटते हैं श्रौर कभी झागे बढ़ते हैं, कुछ ऐसा लगता है । मैं कुछ उदाहरण देकर भी इसके संबंध में निवेदन करूंगा, सिर्फ बाहर से देखकर मैं यह बात नहीं कह रहा हं, घटनाओं के ग्राधार पर मैं ने यह राय बनायी है ।

मुझे कभी कभी ऐसा लगता है कि जिस नीति की घोषणा होती है उस नीति का पालन भी नहीं किया जाता है—-घोषणा कुछ होती है मौर पालन के समय उसका रूप दूसरा होता है। कई ऐसी बातें घाज हैं, पहले भी हुई कि---भोषणा एक तरह की हुई और उस पर अमल मा व्यवहार दूसरी तरह का हुग्रा। इसलिए मैं सरकार से यह निबंदन करना चाहंगा कि

जिन मामलों में नीति की घोषणा की जाती है कम से कम उस नीति को ठीक तरह से चलाने को चेष्टा की जाय, उस पर ग्रमल करने की चेष्टा की जाय । जब ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य था, तब से लेकर ग्राज तक---कुछ घोषणाएं पहले हुई थीं ग्रीर कुछ घोषणएं जब हमारी अंतरिम सरकार थी उस समय हई थीं----घोषणाएं उसके बाद होती ग्रा रही हैं, लेकिन व्यवहार ठीक उनके अनुकुल नहीं हो पाता है । ग्राज हमारा देश यह समझ नहीं पा रहा है कि हमारी सरकार की नीति, भिन्न-भिन्न मामलों में क्या है ? उदाहरण के तौर पर एक विवरण की वात ला कर मैं ग्रापको बतलाऊं । ग्रापको शायद मालुम है कि मैं जिस सुबे से झाता हं---बिहार-वहां ग्रौर यू० पीं० में हिन्दुस्तान के चीनी के कारखाने सबसे ज्यादा हैं और चीनी हमारे यहां एक बड़ी इंडस्ट्री है, एक बड़ा उद्योग है । ग्रापको शायद याद होगा कि ब्रिटिश राज्य के जमाने में जो टैरिफ कमीशन बैठा था, जान मथाई साहब के सभापतित्व में, उसने यह सिफारिश की थी कि बाहर से ग्राने वाली चीनी पर टैक्स लगाया जाय, ग्रौर टैक्स इसलिए लगाया जाय कि जिससे गन्ने के उपजाने वाले जो किसान हैं, उनको फायदा हो । सबसे मस्य बात उसमें यह रखी गई थी। उसी टैरिफ कमीशन की सिफारिश पर बाहर से म्राने वाली चीनी पर टैक्स लगाया गया ग्रौर उसके बाद हिन्दुस्तान में चीनी की मिलों की संख्या में वृद्धि हुई उसी टैक्स के फलस्वरूप। उनके साथ यहां की चीनी का कंपटीशन न हो इसलिए उन पर टैक्स लगाया गया था ग्रौर उसते हमारे देश के चीनी के व्यापार को सहारा मिला। लेकिन आज हम क्या पाते हैं कि बाहर की चीनी पर टैक्स लगाकर जो काम शुरू हम्रा था ताकि गन्ने के उत्पादकों को फायदा हो, उससे किसको फायदा हुआ ? चीनी की जो मिलें खलीं उनसे गन्ने के उत्पादकों को कुछ थोड़ा सा पैसा मिला लेकिन उससे कहीं ज्यादा फायदा उन लोगों को हन्ना जिन्होंने मिलें खोलीं । उसके बाद यह हुआ कि चीनी की कीमत, चीनी का दाम

तय हो गया कि अगर गन्ने का यह भाव होगा, मजदूरों को इतना देना पड़ेगा और दूसरी तरह के इतने खर्च करने होंगे तो उसी अनुपात में चीनी की कीमत होगी—-२७ रु० से लेकर २५ रु० कुछ श्राने मन भाव तय हुआ। उसके बाद से चीनी की कीमत बढ़ा दी गई है, लेकिन पिछले कई सालों में क्या उससे गन्ने के उत्पादकों को पैसा उसी हिसाब से मिला है ? पैसा बीच में कहां रह गया है. उसका पता नहीं चल रहा है ।

इसी तरह से सबसे ज्वलंत प्रश्न जो म्राज देश के सामने है वह है खाद्य समस्या का । उसके बारे में कई बार ऐलान हथा । कहा गया, "वार फूटिंग" म्रर्थात् युद्ध के स्तर पर इस मंकट का समाधान किया जायगा । जहां तक मुझे याद है ''वार फ़टिंग'' पर जो सबसे बड़ी कार्यवाही हुई, युद्ध के स्तर पर सबसे बड़ी कार्यवाही जो ब्रटिश के जमाने से भ्राज तक हुई बह यह हुई कि एक जमाने में फौज के शायद किसी मेजर जनरल को हमारे फुड एंड एग्रि-कल्चर डिपार्टमेंट का सेक्रेटरी बना दिया गया । दूसरी चीजें युद्ध के स्तर पर ये हुई कि हमारे यहां प्रोपेगेंडा किया गया, प्रचार किया गया कि ग्रपने बागों में, ग्रपने लानों में, ग्रपने गमलों में ग्रन्न उपजाग्रो ग्रौर टेपियोका----उत्तर भारत के लोग जिसे जानते तक नहीं हैं---वह लोगों को खाने को कहा गया, जो भ्राज तक उत्तर भारत में उपलब्ध नहीं है ।

खाद्य के प्रश्न पर जब मैं सोचता हूं तो मुझे एक पुस्तक की याद प्राती है । वह संस्कृत की पुस्तक है और उसका अनुवाद दूसरी भाषाओं में भी हुआ है । उस पुस्तक का नाम ''बैताल पच्चीसी'' है और उसमें २५ कहानियां हैं । कहानियां इस तरह की हैं कि बैताल एक पेड़ की डाल पर लटका हुआ है और बिकम उसे कंघे पर लेकर चलते हैं रास्ते में बैताल सवाल करता है । सवाल का जवाब मिलने के बाद बैताल फिर पीपल की डाल पर वापस चला जाता है । इन चौबीस कहानियों में, हर

कहानी के बाद बैताल सवाल का जवाब पाकर पीपल के वृक्ष पर जालटकता है। इसी तरह से खाद्य की जो समस्या हमारे देश में है, उसके बारे में भी बार बार यही होता है ग्रौर यही कहा जाता है कि समस्या का समाधान हो गया है, समस्या का भ्रन्त हो गया हैं । किन्तु हम यह पाते हैं कि यह समस्या जहां की तहां पड़ी हुई है। हमारे देश की खाद्य समस्या को सुलझाने में बड़े बड़े महान ग्रौर श्रनुभवी नेता लगे हैं, ऐसे नेता लगे जिन्हें हम देश के गौरव और गरमा की वस्तु मानते रहे हैं। लेकिन फिर भी यह समस्या सुलझती नजर नहीं आ रही है । इसका कारण यह है कि हमारी सरकार की नीति इसके सम्बन्ध में स्पष्ट नहीं है। ग्राज यह समस्या इतनी बड़ी हो गई है कि जब तक सरकारी तौर पर या बड़े तौर पर कुछ नहीं किया जाता तब तक इसका समाधान नहीं हो सकता । खाद्य के मामले को हम भाज भाग्य के भरोसे पर, प्रकृति के भरोसे पर ग्रौर परिस्थितियों के भरोसे पर नहीं छोड़ सकते। इस तरह से सरकार नहीं चल सकती है, कोई देश नहीं चल सकता है । अगर मुझे ठीक याद है तो हम लोगों ने एक जमाने में, जो बाहर राजनीतिक काम करने वाले झादमी थे, एक नारा दिया था कि देश की खाद्य समस्या को हल करने के लिये ''लैण्ड श्रामीं'' होनी चाहिये। जिस तरह से फौज होती है और उसका कार्य देश की रक्षा करना होता है, उसी तरीके से हमें खाद्य की समस्या को हल करने के लिये स्वयंसेवकों की भर्ती करनी चाहिये, सैनिक भर्ती होने चाहियें ग्रौर बडे पैमाने पर ऐसी जमींन को जो खेती के योग्य नहीं है, बंजर है, उसे खेती के योग्य बनाना चाहिये । इस तरह की जमीन बनानी चाहिये, जिसमें श्रन्न पैदा किया जा सके। मुझे खुशी हुई थी कि उस समय के खाद्य मंत्री श्री मुंशी ने इस विचार का समर्थन किया था । किन्तु उनके विचार विचार ही रह गये, नीति ही नीति रह गई श्रीर उस पर अमल भ्राज तक नहीं किया गया। मैं फिर श्रादर के साथ कहना चाहता हं कि खाज्ञ

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[श्री गंग शरण सिंह] समस्था को परमात्मा के भरोसे, प्रकृति के भरोसे या परिस्थितियों के भरोसे, प्रकृति के भरोसे या परिस्थितियों के भरोसे पर छोड़ने से काम नहीं चलेगा, इसको बड़े पैमाने पर हाथ में लेना होगा । मैं जिस सूबे से ग्राता हूं, बिहार से, वहां पर दामोदर बैली कारपोरेशन का काम हो रहा है, नहर निकाली जा रही है, श्रीर कई तरह से सिचाई का प्रबन्ध हो रहा है । बोकारो में बिजली का बहुत बड़ा प्लाग्ट लगा है । इस तरह से ग्रीर भी कार्य किये जा रहे हैं । बेकिन आज छोटा नागपुर प्रासाम ग्रीर दूसरी जगहों में ऐसी वंजर जमीन पड़ी हुई है, जिनमें खेती नहीं होती है, जिस जमीन में झाड़ियां हैं, जो जमीन समतल नहीं है, इन जमीनों को बगैर आबाद किये हुए खाद्य की

जमीनों को बगैर श्रावाद किये हुए खाद्य की समस्या हल नहीं हो सकती है । इन जमीनों को श्रावाद करना किसी एक व्यक्ति, किसी एक कोश्रापरेटिव सोसाइटी या किसी गैर सरकारी संस्था का कर्तव्य नहीं हो सकता— श्रौर न यह उसके बूत्ने की बात हो सकती है— उसके लिए तो सरकार को बड़े पैमाने पर श्रादमियों को रखना होगा, साधन देने होंगे, मधीनरी देनी होगी श्रौर जब जमीन काम लायक हो जाये, खेती लायक हो जाय, तब उसे खेती करने वालों में बांटना होगा।

समस्याओं में सिर्फ खाद्य की समस्या ही नहीं है और भी समस्याएं हैं। लेकिन खाद्य की समस्या जीवन को कायम रखने के लिए सब से मुख्य समस्या है। लेकिन में ग्रापको बतलाना चाहता हूं कि इस समस्या का सामना करने के लिए सरकार वैसा ही काम कर रही है कि भ्रगर कोई कपड़ा फट जाय तो उसमें पेबन्द लगा दिया जाता है। चाहिये तो यह था कि उस कपड़े को नये सिरे से बदल दिया जाय और नया कपड़ा दिया जाय । मगर सरकार ध्राज यह कार्य कर रही है कि भ्रगर एक हिस्सा फटता है तो उसमें वह पेबन्द लगा देती है और दूसरा हिस्सा फटता है तो दूसरा पेबन्द लगा देती है। उर्दू में एक शेर है: "सीते थे गरेबान धास्तीन फट गयी' । वही हालत घ्राज हो गई है । इस तरह से हमारी खाद्य समस्या का या दूसरी समस्याघ्रों का हल नहीं होगा मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूं कि इस खाद्य समस्या को राजनीतिक स्तर पर या पार्टी स्तर पर नहीं बल्कि राष्ट्रीय स्तर या देश के स्तर पर सुलझाया जाना चाहिये । इसके लिए हमें घ्राज से ही एक "लैण्ड धार्मी" की भर्ती शुरू कर देनो चाहिये । सारे देश की जमीन का सर्वे करने का काम हाथ में लिया जाय धौर फिर इस खाख समस्या को हल किया जाय । मैं देखता हूं कि इस बजट में इस तरह की बात का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है ।

दूसरी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता ह वह यह है कि हमारी कोई भो नोःत स्पष्ट नहीं हैं, हम उसमें आगे पीछे जाते रहते हैं । श्राप सब लोगों को मालूम है कि हमारे देश मैं प्लानिंग का काम चल रहा है, देश की गरीबी कैसे दूर हो, उसके लिये काम किया जा रहा है । लेकिन इसके साथ ही साथ हम यह तय नहीं कर पाते हैं कि गरीबी को दूर किस तरह से किया जायेगा । मैं झापसे कहना चाहंगा कि हमारा एक गरीब मुल्क है । हम भ्रमेरिका की नकल करके या दूसरे देशों जैसे---रूस, इग्नैंड इत्यादि की नकल करके तरक्की नहीं कर सकते हैं। आज अगर हम उन्नति कर सकते हैं तो अपने ही तरीके से कर सकते हैं । जिस तरह से हमने अपने ही तरीके से स्वतंत्रता हासिल की उसी तरीके से हम अपने देश का विकास और गरीबी को दूर कर सकते हैं। हमारा तरीका सब से घलग तरीका होगा और वह तरीका यह होगा कि हमको गरीबो ग्रौर भ्रमीरी का भेद खत्म करना होगा। हमें अपनी प्लानिंग की दिशा निर्धारित करनी होगी और साथ ही साथ घ्रचने सोमित साधनों के बल पर इस कार्य को जनता के सहयोग के साथ आगे बढ़ाना होगा । दिल्ली में श्रशोक होटल जैसी शानदार इमारत बनाई जाती है और प्लानिंग के नाम पर टैक्स

731 Budget (General), 1957-58 [20 MAY 1957] General Discussion 732

गरीब आदमी देता है । दूसरे देश में जहां 'लानिंग हुआ है, उनके साथ आप हमारे देश का मुकाबला करें तो आपकों मालूम होगा कि हमारे यहां ज्यादा खर्च तो पैराफर्नेलिया के ऊपर हो जाता है । असल में जिस चोज के लिये खर्च मुकर्रर होता है उसमें तो खर्च कम होता है, उस काम के करने वाले कार्यकर्ताओं के ऊपर ज्यादा खर्च हो जाता है । अगर आप देश के अन्दर जॉय तो आपको मालूम हो ज.येगा कि किस तरह से इन कार्यों में कार्य की अपेक्षा, उसके करने वालों के ऊपर ज्यागा खर्च किया जा रहा है ।

भ्राज भ्राप देश के जन्दर पायेंगे कि जिन स्कूनों की बिल्डिंग बनकर तैयार हो गई है. उन्हें भागे चलाने के लिए खर्चा नहीं है क्योंकि जो कुछ भी खर्चा इन चीजों के लिए रखा गया था वह सब बिल्डिंग बनाने में खत्म हो गया । इसी तरह से घ्रस्पतालों की इमारतें बन जाती हैं; मगर उनमें डाक्टर, नर्स और बैड्स के तिए कोई इंतजाम नहीं होता। पुना में एक अस्पताल की बिल्डिंग बनकर तैयार खडी है मगर उसको आगे चलाने के लिए कोई इंतजाम नहीं है। इसी तरह से हमारे सुबे बिहार में भी बहुत सी बिल्डिंगें बन गई हैं मगर उनको आगे चलाने के लिए खर्च नहीं है । इस तरह से ग्राज हमारे देश में प्लानिंग का काम हो रहा है । प्लानिंग के सिलसिले में हमारे देश से बहत से डे नीगेशन चीन, भ्रमेरिका, रूस, ब्रिटेन और कई दूसरे मुल्कों में गये और उन्होंने वहां के ग्रन्भव प्राप्त किये। कल एक मित्र से मेरी मुलाकात हुई जो मुझे बताय। रहे थे कि अमेरिका में किस तरह से योजनाओं पर कार्य होता है। ये मित्र अमेरिका के कैली-फोनिया शहर के एक कारखाने में शुगर टैक्नोलिजिस्ट थे । उन्होंने मुझ बतलाया कि इस कारखाने को इमारत और उसमें काम करने वालों के लिए मकान सन् १५४९ से १९०९ तक केवल काठ के हो बने थे। उन्होंने मझे बतलाया कि वहां पर प्रारम्भ में रहने झौर दूसरी चीजों पर बहुत कम खर्च किया जाता है। इस तरह से वहां 19 R.S.D.-4.

पर लोग बहत कम खर्च पर प्लानिंग के कार्य को पूरा कर सके हैं। लेकिन हमारे यहां आप किसी प्रोजैक्ट में चले जाइये तो सब से पहली चीज जो की जाती है वह यह है कि उस कार्य को करने वालों के लिए बढिया से बढ़िया बिल्डिंग बनाई जाती है, एयर कंडीशन किया जाता है, लान बनाये जाते ग्रीर इस तरह से हजारों लाखों रुपया खर्चा किया जाता है । इस तरह से बाहरी चीजों पर ही ज्यादा खर्च कर दिया जाता है और जो खास चीज होती है उस पर ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है। मैं ग्रापके सामने अपने ही प्रान्त बिहार का जहां दामोदर व्हैली कारपोरेशन बनाया गया है, उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं। जब यह कार्य शुरू किया गया तो पहले वहां रहने वालों के लिए बड़े बड़े बंगले ग्रौर मकान तैयार किये गये । जब वहां पर काम खत्म हो गया तब इन मकानोंको बंगाल ग्रौर बिहार की सरकारों के हाथ सस्ते दामों पर बेच दिया गया । हमारे देश में जितना भी काम हो रहा है, वह गरीबों के पैसे से किया जा रहा है और उसका इस तरह से ग्रपव्यय होता है। चीन भी ग्रपने यहां कई तरह के प्ल निंग के कार्य कर रहा है। वहां पर बांध बनाये जा रहे हैं, उनका अपना एक ग्रलग तरीका है। लेकिन वे रहने और दूसरी ची जों पर इतना खर्च नहीं कर रहे हैं जितना कि हमारे यहां किया जा रहा है ।

ग्राज मकान बनाने पर हज़ारों ग्रौर लाखों रु पया खर्च किया जा रहा है। दिल्ली में तो, मकान इतने बनाये जारहे हैं जिससे मुझे लगता कि शायद मकानों की शान व शौकत में दिल्ली दूसरी राजधानियों से बाजी ले जायेगा। मैं ग्रभी हाल में राजस्थान ग्रौर नागपुर की तरफ गया था, तो मैं ने वहां पर काफी खाली मकान पड़े हुए देखें जो कि सस्ते ग्रौर मुफ्त मिल सकते हैं। दिल्ली में ग्राप गरीब लोगों के पैसों से महल बना रहे हैं ग्रीर उनमें ग्राफिसों को रख रहे हैं। क्यों नहीं ग्राप इन जगहों पर जहां पर कि इतने मकान खाली पड़े हैं, इन ग्राफिसों को ले जातें? [श्री गंगा शरण सिंह]

ग्राज हमको ग्रपना कोई बजट बनाने से पहले अपना दष्टिकोण साफ करना होगा कि हम विकेंद्रित समाज चाहते हैं या केंद्रित समाज चाहते हैं। अगर हम समझते कि दोनों तरह की चीजें चल सकती हैं ग्रौर सेंट्रेलाइज्ड ग्रौर डिसेंट्रेंलाइज्ड के दोनों तरीकों चलाने पड़ेंगे तो यह निर्वारित हो जाना चाहिये कि म्रमुक चाज रहेगी केंद्रित और अमुक चीज रहेगी विकेंद्रित । उदाहरण के लिये मैं बतलाऊं कि खादी ग्रामोद्योग बोर्ड स्वयं सरकार का कायम किया हुआ है। जहां तक मुझे ज्ञात है, खादी ग्रामोद्योग बोर्ड के लोग इस पक्ष के हैं कि जहां तक कुछ कपड़े का सवाल है, खाद्यान्न का सवाल है, उसके लिए मिलों से काम न लिया जाय। लेकिन में क्या पाता हं ? ग्राज बिहार में ग्रौर दूसरी जगहों में, गांवों में, बिजली जा रही हैं। ठीक है, गांवों में बिजली जानी चाहिये, लेकिन वहां विजली का कोई उपयोग नहीं हो पाता है। ग्राज देहात के ग्रादमी ऐसी ग्रवस्था में नहीं हैं कि वे विजली के पंखें चलायेंगे या बिजली की रोशनी करेंगे। बिजली के लगाने में जो खर्चा पड़ता है, उसी को वे बर्दाश्त नहीं कर पाते हैं । बिजली के लगाने पर और उसके पैराफर-नेलिया पर ग्राज लाखों रुपया खर्च हो रहा है, लेकिन देहात के लोगों को उसके उपयोग के साधन नहीं बताये गये हैं। म्राज हजारों ल।खों रुपया तार के खंभों पर खर्च किया जा रहा है, लेकिन खाली इसी से काम नहीं चलेगा ग्राज ग्रगर पता लगाया जाय तो मालूम होगा कि आज भी देहातों में चावल, तेल आदि की मिलों के लाइसेंस दिये जा रहे हैं जब कि खादी बोर्ड यह कहता है कि डिसेंट्रेलाइजेशन हो और यह सारा कार्य ग्रामोद्योग में होना चाहिये । इसलिए सरकार की ग्राज की नीति कोई स्पष्ट नहीं है ।

अब प्रोहिविशन के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहूंगा। शुरू से मैं भी कांग्रेस में था ग्रौर उस वक्त से आज तक प्रोहिविशन के बारे में, नशाबन्दी के बारे में कांग्रेस की एक नीति रही है। लेकिन क्या हम कलेजे पर हाथ रख कर कह सकते हैं कि नक्षाबन्दी करने वाली जो सरकार शुरु में कायम थी वही ग्राज भी कायम है, फिर भी क्या दिल्ली में शराब कम हुई है ? मैं तो कहूंगा कि दिल्ली में शराब का खर्चा बढ़ा है जैसा कि विनोबा जी ने कहा था कि दिल्ली में शराब की नहर बहती है, शराब की नदी बहती है। तो इस तरह की हालत है।

दूसरो बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे जीवन में एक तारतम्य होना चाहिये, एक सिलसिला होना चाहिये। हम एक राष्ट्र हैं, हम एक नेशन हैं। तो हमारा रहन सहन ऐसा होना चाहिये जो देश का सिम्बल हो, देश का प्रतीक हो । क्या ग्राज दिल्ली को देखने के बाद कोई भारतवर्ष की कल्पना कर सकता है ? क्या कोई समझ सकता है कि यह भारतवर्ष की राजधानी है। ग्राज दिल्ली को देखने के बाद यह बात नहीं मालुम होती है। ग्राज दिल्ली न हमारी संस्कृति का प्रतीक है, न हमारी परंपरा का प्रतीक है, न हमारी गरीबी का प्रतीक है और न हमारे देश की ग्रात्मा का प्रतीक हैं। स्राज जो दिल्ली का रूप है, वह एक कृत्रिम रूप है। ऐसी कृत्रिम चीज बन्द होनी चाहिये । हमारी राजघानी ऐसी होनी चाहिये जो कि हमारी प्रतीक हो और जो हमारे देश को रेप्रिजेंट कर सके। हमको म्राज सोचना चाहिये कि हम रूस के साथ प्रतिद्वंदिता करके या ग्रमेरिका के साथ प्रतिस्पर्द्धा करके पार नहीं पा सकते हैं क्योंकि हमारे पास उतने साधन नहीं हैं ग्रीर दुर्भाग्य से वैज्ञानिक ग्रनुसंघान में **ग्रौर ग्रौद्योगिक उन्नति में हम बहुत** पीछे रह गये हैं। लेकिन इन सब चीजों के पीछे होने के बावजुद भी जिस तरह हमने अपनी लगन से और अपने ढंग से आजादी हासिल की, उसी तरह से हम देश को एक नया रास्ता भी दिखला सकते हैं। मुझे यह कहीं पढ कर बडी प्रसन्नता हई कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने यह कहा कि माज हमारे देश में जो डेमोकेसी है, म्राज हमारे देश में जो प्रजातंत्र है, उसका प्रयोग

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तीसरी वे समस्याएं हैं जिनमें हमारा ग्रौर ग्रापका मतभेद है। ठीक है, मतभेद है, लेकिन में इस स्तर तक जाना नहीं चाहता कि जो मतभेद है उसके भीतर कोई बेईमानी है। मैं समझता हं कि दो ईमानदार आदमियों में मतभेद हो सकते हैं। मैं जानता हं कि पहले जिनको हम लिबरल या उदार दल के नेता के नाम से प्रकारते थे, उनके प्रति हमारे दिलों में बड़ी श्रद्धा थी। उनके व्यक्तित्व के लिए, उनकी ईमानदारी के लिए और उनके कैरेक्टर के लिए आज भी मझ को श्रद्धा है। हमारे देश के एक वयोवद्ध नेता श्रीनिवास शास्त्री जी थे। एक बार मुझे उनके घर पर जाने का सौभाग्य हुग्रा और उस दिन उनके व्यक्तित्व का जो ग्रसर मेरे ऊपर पड़ा, वह ग्राज तक मेरे पास घरोहर है। उन लोगों के साथ हमारे मतभेद थे, छेकिन उनके व्यक्तित्व ग्रीर उनकी ईमानदारी के बारे में मुझे शक नहीं था। उसी प्रकार दो ईमानदार ग्रादमियों में मतभेद हो सकता है और मैं आपसे कहना चाहंगा कि अगर हम विरोध करते हैं, अगर हम मतभेद दिखलाते हैं, तो यह मत समझिये कि हम बेईमान हैं या सिर्फ विरोध के लिए विरोध करते हैं। हम विरोध मजबूर हो कर करते हैं। जब हम देखते हैं कि मुल्क जहन्नुम में जा रहा है, ग्राप मुल्क को गलत रास्ते पर ले जा रहे हैं, तब हम विरोध करते हैं ।

इसलिए जो मुख्य चीज प्लानिंग की हमारे सामने ब्राती है, उसके लिए मेरा पहला सुझाव यह होगा कि काम में ब्राप ज्यादा खर्च कीजिये बौर उसकी तैयारी में कम खर्च कीजिये । दूसरी चीज यह है कि ब्राप यह तय कर लीजिये कि हमारा गरीब मुल्क है और हम गरीब तरीके से सारी चीजें करेंगे । अमीरों के तरीके से काम करने के लिए जो ब्रापने ज्यादा पैसे के खर्च का इन्तजाम किया है, उस खर्च को कम करने की चेप्टा कीजिये ।

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लेकिन इसी के साथ साथ मैं यह भी मानता हूं कि अगर हमारा देश सही रास्ते पर चले तो बहुत कुछ कर सकता है । अभी तो हमने अपने संविधान में ग्रमेरिका ग्रौर इंग्लैंड की नकल करके कुछ बातें रख ली हैं। लेकिन यदि हम मिल जुल कर प्रयत्न करें, तो हम प्रजातंत्र में एक बिल्कूल नया दुष्टिकोण, एक नया तरीका, एक नयी पद्धति दुनिया को दे सकते हैं। मैं कहना चाहंगा कि झाज हमको झपने देश को बनाने के लिए अपनी समस्याओं को तीन हिस्सों में विभाजित करना पड़ेगा । पहली समस्याएं ऐसी होंगी जिनके बारे में हमको और आपको समझ लेना होगा कि समस्या का समाधान परिस्थिति पर निर्भर है। जैसे मैं बताऊं कि बहुत सी बातें जो गवर्नमेंट ने की हैं, उनसे मैं सहमत नहीं हूं, लेकिन ग्राज काश्मीर के ही मामले में जिस परिस्थिति में ला करके हमको रख दिया गया है, उससे मैं समझ नहीं पा रहा हूं कि इस समस्या का कैसे समाधान हो सकता है। मैं कहना नहीं चाहता हूं लेकिन मैं मानता हूं कि बहुत सी गलतियां हुई हैं और आज ऐसी परिस्थिति उत्पन्न हो गई है कि मैं स्वयं समझ नहीं पाता हं कि इस समस्या का समाधान क्या हो सकता है। इसी प्रकार की और बहत सी समस्याएं हैं जिनका ग्राज समाधान नहीं हो सकता है। मैं विरोधी दल के एक जिम्मेदार मैम्बर की हैसियत से कहने को तैयार हंकि जितनी ऐसी दूसरी समस्याएं हैं, जिनका समन्धान राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर हो सकता है, किसी एक पार्टी, किसी एक दल या स्वयं सरकार के बल पर नहीं हो सकता है, जिनके हल के लिए सरकार और जनता दोनों का सहयोग नितांत आवश्यक है, ऐसी समस्याएं हम और आप साथ बैठ कर तय कर सकते हैं कि कौन कौन हैं। मैं अपनी तरफ से और दूसरे उन मित्रों की तरफ से, जिनको आप विरोधी समझते हैं, यह कहने के लिए तैयार हूं कि ऐसी राष्ट्रीय स्तर की समस्यात्रों का समाधान करने में हमारा पूरा सहयोग प्राप्त होगा।

अभी बिल्कूल नया है। मैं भी यह मानता हूं,

[श्री गंगः शरण सिंह]

ग्रब मैं कुछ नीतियों के बारे में बता दूं। कुछ ग्रथुरी नीतियां हैं। देश में जमींदारी का एबालिशन किया गया ग्रौर बहुत सी चीजों का राष्ट्रीयकरण हम्रा । जहां तक राष्ट्रीयकरण का सवाल है, जहां तक जमींदारी के खात्मे का सवाल है, ग्राज कोई भी किसी विचार का जो प्रगतिशील व्यक्ति है, शायद इसके खिलाफ नहीं होगा । लेकिन इससे देश में एक वैक्त्रम, एक शुन्यता किएट की गई है। जमींदारी खत्म होने के बाद हमारे देश की कृषि नीति क्या होगी, हमारी लैंड पालिसी क्या होगी, इसके बारे में हमने कभी निश्चित रूप से कुछ नहीं बतलाया। यही कारण है कि ग्राज जमींदारी समाप्त हो गई है, लेकिन जमींदारी की समाप्ति के बाद खेती में काम करने वालों में जो प्रेरणा आनी चाहिये और देश का उत्पादन बढना चाहिये. वह ग्राज नहीं हो रहा है। ग्राज ह ग्रा क्या है ? जमींदारी के एबालिशन के ढोल पीटे जा रहेहै. लेकिन ऐग्रीकल्चरिस्ट्स के सामने जो बाधा पहले थी वह ग्राज भी कायम है। सिर्फ जमींदारी को हटा करके सरकार स्वयं जमींदार बन गई है। जो जमींदारों का ग्रमला था, जो जमींदारों के काम करने वाले थे, वही झाज सरकार की तरफ से काम कर रहे हैं। मैं कहता हं कि जमींदारी नहीं हटाई गई है. सिर्फ जमींदार हटाये गये हैं । जमींदारों के हटने के बाद जो ग्रविकार जमोंदार के थे, होना यह चाहिये था कि वे अधिकार जनता को, खेतिहर मजदूर को ग्रीर किसान को मिलते, लेकिन यह नहीं हग्रा है । ग्राज भी मालगुजारी वसूल करने का वही तरीका है । इतना ही नहीं है, जमींदारो खत्म होने के बाद कई जगहों में मालगजारी बढा दी गई हैं। कहीं कहीं लगान बढ़ा दिया गया है। इसलिए मैं ग्रापसे बहुत ग्रदब के साथ निवेदन करूंगा कि शायद यह कह दिया जाय कि यह मामला प्रांत का है, लेकिन प्लानिंग कमीशन के सिद्धांत के मुताबिक जो आज हमारे देश की ग्रवस्था है, उसमें सिर्फ यह कह देने से काम नहीं चलेगा कि यह प्रान्तीय विषय है ग्रीर इसमें हम दखल नहीं दे सकते । मैं इस विषय में जाना नहीं चाहता, लेकिन सिर्फ इतना कहना चाहंगा कि हमारे सामने ऐसे उदाहरण मौजद हैं कि जो ब्रिटिश राज्य के जमाने में बहुत से प्रान्तीय विषय थे, वे धीरे धीरे केन्द्र के हाथ में ग्रा गये हैं। हमारे संविधान में ऐसे बहुत से बिथयों का जित्र है जो कांकरेंट लिस्ट में हैं या जो प्रांत के हाथ में हैं, लेकिन जब श्रापने चाहा है वे ग्रापके हाथ में ग्रा गये हैं । इसलिए ग्रगर इनीशियेटिव हो, तो मझे विङ्वासहै कि इस बारे में सब कुछ हो सकता है। हमारा देश कृषि प्रधान देश है, बल्कि यह कहना चाहिये कि खेतिहरों का देश है। लेकिन ग्राज सब से नेगलेक्टेड, सब से उपेक्षित कोई क्षेत्र है, तो हमारा वही क्षेत्र है । इसलिये में ग्रापसे कहना चाहता हं कि दोनों में सामंजस्य कीजिये। ग्राज तक ग्रापने जो कुछ किया, उसमें देखिये कि कहां कहां गड़बड़ है और ग्रगर गड़बड़ हुई है तो उसको मानिये। मैं तो यह मानता हं कि जीवन में गलती को मानना चाहिये ग्रौर फिर उससे प्रेरणा लेनी चाहिये और उसी तरह से अगर कोई सरकार या कोई संस्था अपनी पहले की गलती को महसस करे ग्रौर उसके ग्राधार पर ग्रपनी नई नीति बनाये, उसमें परिवतंन करेतो यह एक फख की ग्रौर गर्वकी बात होती है। इसलिये मैं ग्रापसे निवेदन करूंगा कि ग्रापने जो कुछ पहले किया है उसको एक बार फिर देखिये ग्रौर उसकी लाइट में ग्रपनी नीतियों में परिवर्तन कीजिये । इस बजट को देखने से पता चलता है कि पिछनी गलतियों से आपने कुछ सीखा नहीं है। क्षमा करेंगे, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब मैं इस सिलसिले में ''ग्राप'' कहता हं तो मेरा इशारा ग्रापकी तरफ नहीं है, मेरा इशारा सरकार की तरफ है, मैं यह कहता हं कि सरकार में ग्रीर जो सरकार के जो सलाहकार है, उन्होंने पिछली गलतियों से, पिछले अन्भवों से कुछ सीखा नहीं है।

इसलिये सब से पहले---बजट की चीजों को लेने से पहले---मैं चाहंगा कि हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब, हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब सरकार की जो नीति है, उसकी पूरी तस्वीर हमारे सामने रखें। उदाहरण के लिये डिफेंस का मामला है, सूरक्षा का मामला है। ग्राज परिस्थिति यह है कि जिस तरह से ग्रन्य देशों में इसमें उन्नति हो गई है, उसकी वजह से आज भारत अमेरिका और दूसरे देशों का मुकाबिला नहीं कर सकता है; लेकिन यह भी ठीक है कि ग्राज हम खाली हाथ भी बैठे नहीं रह सकते हैं। तो उसके बारे में हमारी एक नीति होनी चाहिये कि हम क्या चाहते हैं । हम हथियारों की दौड़ में शामिल नहीं हो सकते हैं,इसलिये मैं कहना चाहुंगा कि ब्रान्तरिक सुरक्षा के लिये, साधारण सुरक्षा के लिये जितनी चीजों की ग्रावश्यकता हो उतनी ही रखनी चाहियें । कूछ अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय परिस्थिति पर,कूछ संसार की नैतिकता पर और जो बहुत सी दूसरी बातें हैं उन पर भी भरोसा रखना चाहिये और हमें सोचना चाहिये कि सिर्फ हथियारों के बल पर आगज सुरक्षा नहीं हो सकती। मुझे लगता है कि इंग्लैंड जैसा मुल्क जो कि एक जमाने में शायद इस विषय में संसार का नेता था, वह ग्राज शायद इस दौड़ में पीछे पड़ रहा है। इसलिये हमें उस मामले में एक नीति तय करनी चाहिये कि हमारे डिफेंस का जो एक्सपेंडीचर है वह किस दुष्टि से होगा। हम किसी पर एग्रेसर नहीं होना चाहते, हम किसी पर हमला करने नहीं जा रहे हैं, हम किसी पर धावा बोलने नहीं जा रहे हैं, यह स्पष्ट है। तो फिर ऐसी हालत में हमें किस तरह पर खर्च करना है । हमारा मुल्क एक गरीब मुल्क है और आज इस मद के खर्चे में जो वृद्धि हो रही है उसे वह बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकता है। हम अपनी सुरक्षाकी बातों को जानते हैं, ग्रगल वगल जो पारिस्थि-तिया हैं उन सब को भी जानते हैं और उन सब बातों को जानने के बाद ही पूरी जिम्मेदारी के साथ मैं अपनी बात कह रहा हूं।

अब यह बजट जिस नीति का परिणाम है उस नीति के सम्बन्ध में भी कुछ थोड़ी सी

बातें मैं बतलाना चाहता हूं। हो सकता है कि हमारे दूसरे मित्रों ने पिछले सालों में इन बातों की स्रोर सरकार का घ्यान स्राकॉषत किया हो । लेकिन मैं उस समय था नहीं इस-लिये यदि कोई पुनरुवित होती हो तो मुझे क्षमा करें।इतिहास के एक साधारण विद्यार्थी की हैसियत से मुझे जो पता है उसके आधार पर मैं कहता हूं कि ग्राजादी मिलने के कुछ महीने बाद ही हमारी सरकार ने जो कर-नीति अपनाई है उसकी वजह से हमारे बडे ग्रादमियों को करीब करीव १७ करोड़ रुपये की छुट मिली। फिर दूसरे साल जो कैपिटल गेन्स टैक्स था, वह समाप्त कर दिया गया, खत्म कर दिया गया । मैं एक एक वाक्य में जो घटनायें हुई हैं--जहां से हम यहां झाज तक पहुंचे हैं--वह बतला देना चाहता हूं।

SHRI C. P. PARIKH (Bombay): How?

SHRI GANGA SHARAN SINHA: Sir, I am sorry that perhaps I am not able to make myself understood.

डा० द्वार**० बो० गौड़ः** ''जबाने यारे मन तुरकी व मन तुरकी नभीदानम'' की बात है।

श्री व्य० कृ० ढगे : (मुम्बई) : क्या खुब !

श्री गंगा शरए सिंह : सब से पहली चीज तो यह हुई है, इस नीति के अनुसार कि जो इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज हैं वे तो धीरे धीरे बढ़ा दिये गये हैं और उसके साथ साथ डाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज में कमी होती गई है। I am open to correction में तो इसका कोई विशेषज्ञ नहीं हुं, लेकिन जो कुछ ग्रखवारों में ग्रीर पुस्तकों में लिखा है ग्रीर सरकार से जो चीजे मिली हैं. उनको मैंने पढ़ा है और उसके ग्राधार पर में कह सकता हं कि १९४४-४५ में जहां यह डाइरेक्ट टैक्स ४५ प्रतिशत था वहां यह १९४३-४४ में २४ प्रतिशत हो गया है। कुछ ऐसी चीजें भी की गई हैं जिनमें, जैसा कि मैंने कहा, पूरी बातें नहीं समझी गई हैं, जैसे कि इस्टेट ड्युटी लगाई गई लेकिन शायद हमने उसके इम्पू-लीकेकंस को पूरी तरह से नहीं समझा और

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उसमें जो सब से बड़ी त्रुटि हुई, वह यह हुई कि गिफुट्स के लिये और अन्य तमाम चोजों के लिये हमने कोई प्राविजन नहीं किया । इसलियेंमैं जानताहं कि कुछ लोगों ने इस्टेट डयुटी बिल से नाजायज फायदा उठाया ग्रौर वह पूरी तरह से जैसे लागू होना चाहिये थावैसे लागूनहीं हो सका। जो टैक्स हम लगाते हैं उसके बारे में एक चीज का ग्रौर खयाल रखा जाना चाहिये और वह यह कि वह टैक्स किस तरह से व्यवहार में ग्राता है, किस तरह से उसकी वसूली होती है, किस तरह से वह काम में लाया जाता है और कहीं ऐसा तो नहीं होता है कि उसके वसुलने में जितना खर्च होता है, उसके हासिल करने में जितना लगता है, आमदनी शायद उससे बहत ज्यादा नहीं हो पाती है। कभी कभी ऐसा भी होता है कि शुरू में वजट बनाते समय सरकार उस से काफी सोच विचार कर नहीं बनाती है। यह ठीक है, हमारे यहां पहले कहा गया है कि साधारण आदमी से सौ गुना ज्यादा बुद्धि चोर की होती है ग्रौर चोर से सौ गुना ज्यादा बद्धि राजा की होती है । इसलिये मैं मानता हूं कि हम कैसा भी कोई कानून बनायें तो भी ऐसे ग्रक्लमंद लोग हैं---जो चोरी करने वाले लोग हैं उनको पैसे के बल पर ग्रक्ल प्राप्त है---कि वह उसमें कुछ न कुछ लूपहोल हूंढ ही लेंगे, उसमें कुछ न कुछ छिद्र ढुंढ ही लेंगे ग्रौर वे चोरी करेंगे लेकिन हमें जान बुझ कर तो ऐसा मौका नहीं देना चाहिये।

बहत सी बातें ऐसी हैं जो कि कामन मैन के लिये, ग्राम जनता के लिये, कही जा रही हैं लेकिन उनका व्यवहार जो होता है वह दूसरी तरह से होता है। मुझे एक टैक्स बार बार याद ग्राता है जो कि हमारे यहां सेल्स टैक्स के नाम पर चला है। सेल्स टैक्स के माने होते हैं बिकी का टैक्स लेकिन यह हो गया है परचेज टैक्स। यह उसका नाम मिसलीडिंग हो गया है। जब शुरू शुरू में सेल्स टैक्स चला तो उसके बाद जो खरीदने गया उसी के माथे

पर वह टैक्स पड़ा। बहुत बार भिन्न भिन्न मामलों में ऐसे टैक्स लगाये जाते हैं जिनके लिये कहा जाता है कि वह ग्राम जनता पर नहीं पड़ेंगे लेकिन वे पड़ते उन पर ही हैं। मेरा खयाल है कि हमारे फानेंड्स मिनिस्टर साहब इस बारे में ज्यादा जानते हैं कहा गया है कि जो एक्साइज डय्टी है वह कैपिटलिस्टों पर उत्पादन करने वालों पर, जो पैदा करने वाले है, मिल मालिक हैं उन पर पड़ेगी लेकिन वह व्यवहार में उपभोक्ताग्रों को, जो उन चीजों का उपयोग करते हैं उनको देनी पड़ी है। इसलिये इस बारे में भी मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हं कि इस बात का ध्यान रखा जाय कि जो टैक्स वह लगाना चाहते हैं वे ऐसेन हों कि अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से जाकर गरीबों पर पड़ें, उपभोक्ताओं पर पड़ें ।

श्री ज०रा० कपूर (उत्तर प्रदेश)ः उदाहरण स्वरूप ?

श्री गंगाशरण सिंह : बहत से टैक्स एक्साइज डयूटी के नाम से लगाये जाते हैं, जैसे कि चीनी के मामले में श्रौर दूसरी चीजों के मामले में। उसका नतीजा यह हम्रा है कि कहा तो यह जा रहा है कि यह टैक्स मिल वालों के ऊपर लगाया जा रहा है, लेकिन चीनी के भाव २८ रु० मन से ३२ रु० मन बढ़ गया है और शायद ३५ रु० मन तक भी हो गया है।

श्रो दे∵क नन्दन न.रायरण (मुम्बई) : ऐसा कोई टैक्स बताइये जो कि गरीबों पर न पडे ग्रौर सिर्फ कैपिटलिस्टों पर ही पडे।

एक मननीय सदस्य : इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्स न लीजिये, डाइरेक्ट टैक्स लीजिये ।

श्री गंगाशरए सिंह : सब से पहले इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्स में ग्राप कमी कीजिये ग्रौर डाइरेक्ट टैक्स में जितना हो सके, उतना बढ़ाइये। उससे स्पष्ट रूप से पता लग जा गा कि किसको क्या देना है। इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्स जब लगायेंगे तो होगा यह कि जो होशियार हैं वे बच जायेंगे और जिनके पास मकल नहीं है, जो संगठित नहीं हैं, उन्हें ज्यादा देना पड़ेगा। मैं यह निवेदन कर देना चाहता

हूं कि मैं फाइनस का कोई विशेषज्ञ नहीं हूं लेकिन मैं मोटे तौर पर यही समझता हूं कि ग्रगर गरीबों को बचाना है तो ग्राप इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज को कम कीजिये, नहीं तो वह गरीबों से ही लिया जायगा क्येंकि वे समझ नहीं पाते हैं। इसी लिये म कहता हूं कि जो उसका ग्रनुपात है, वह देश के गरीबों के लिये ठीक ग्रनुपात नहीं है।

श्वरं ज ३ रा ३ कपूर : मैं यह समझना चाहता था कि चीनी पर इनडाइरेक्ट रूप से एक्साइज न लगा कर डाइरेक्ट रूप से कैसे टैक्स लिया जाय, जिससे कि गरीब बच जायं। ग्रापने फरमाया कि चीनी पर एक्साइज लगाने से वह गरीबों को देनी पड़ी तो एक्साइज चीनी पर न लगा कर डाइरेक्ट टैक्स किस रूप में लगा दें कि जिससे गरीब कंज्युमर के ऊपर जा कर वह न पड़े।

श्री गंगा शरए िंतहः मैं तो चीनी के टैक्स पर ग्रा ही रहा हूं। यह कोई वात नहीं है कि हर चीज पर टैक्स हो, दूसरे विषयों पर ग्राप टैक्स, डाइरेक्टर टैक्स, लगा सकते हैं। चीनी के बारे में ग्रौर दूसरे विषयों पर मैं ग्रा ही रहा हूं। कैरोसिन पर टैक्स उठा दिया है, सो ग्रच्छी वात है लेकिन ग्रभी चीनी ग्रौर दियासलाई पर है.....

श्वो ज० रा० कपूर : मैंने तो चीनी के बारें में पूछने का इसलिये साहस किया कि जब मैंने पूछा था ''उदाहरणस्वरुप'' तो ग्रापने बताया कि जो इन डाइरेक्ट टैक्स लगाते हैं वह गरीबों पर पड़ता है ग्रौर ग्रापने उस समय चेनी की बात बताई । तो मैं यह जानना चाहता था कि चीनी के ऊपर किस रप में टैक्स लगाया जाय कि वहगरीबों पर किसी तरह न पड़े ।

श्वोगंगा शरण सिंह : चीनी पर कर लगाया न जाय। ग्रगर ग्रापको थोड़ा सा घीरज होता तो मैं चीनी के बारें में कुछ कहने ही जा रहा था, उस पर मैं ग्रा ही रहा था। चीनी पर नहीं जजाना चाहिये, उस पर ग्राप क्यों लगाते हैं, ग्रीर भी बहुत सी ऐसी चीज हैं श्रो ज० रा० कपरः मैं यह जानना. .

Mr. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him go. Go on Mr. Sinha.

श्री गंगा शरए सिंह : तो हमारे सामने यह जो बजट ग्राया है इसमें इन्कम टैक्स की जो सतह है वह नीची की गई है, इसके बारे में मेरी समझ में नहीं ग्राता है। ग्राज परिस्थिति यह है कि जहां एक ग्रोर हम देखते हैं, हमारे गृह मंत्री ने कहा, हमारे दूसरे लोग भी कह रहे हैं कि कास्ट ग्राफ लिविंग बढ़ रहा है चीजों के दाम बढ़ रहे हैं ग्रौर ऐसी हालत में यह जो इन्कम टैक्स के बारे में कदम उठाया गया है, इससे मेरी समझ में कुछ नहीं ग्राया । एक ग्रोर तो लेविल नीचे किंग गया ग्रौर दूसरी ग्रोर ऊपर के लोगों को छुट दी गई है। ये दोनों बात मेरी समझ में नहीं ग्राती हैं ।

दूसरी चीज यह है कि जो अनअन्ड इन्कम है श्रौर जो ग्रन्ड इन्कम है, उसके बारे में हमको ग्रपनी नीति साफ करनी चाहिए । मुझे नहीं मालूम कि प्रिन्सेज के जो प्रिवो पर्सेज हैं कानूनन उनकी क्या ग्रवस्था है। मुझे किसी विशेषज्ञ ने यह बताया कि उन पर इन्कम टैक्स तो नहीं लग सकता है,लेकिन इस्टेट डयुटी लग सकती है, शायद लगती भी हो। लेकिन मैं कहुंगा सरकार से कि म्राज इस प्रिवी पर्स के संबंध में भी हमको ग्रौर ग्रापको सोचना चाहिए क्योंकि इससे देश में एक एसा दल बनता है, एक ऐसा वर्ग तैयार होता है जो ग्राज भी काम किये बगैर मौज की जिन्दगी बसर कर सकता है स्रौर हमारे सामाजिक जीवन में गंदगी भी पैदा कर सकता है। इसीलिए इस संबंध में मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहंगा कि सरकार सहानभूति के साथ इस प्रश्न पर विचार करे और इसका हल निकाले कि इस तरह बिना कमायी सम्पत्ति का जो उपयोग हो रहा है उसको कैसे रोका जा सकता है, कैसे बंद किया जा सकता है। हमारी डिमोकेसी के साथ, हमारे प्रजातंत्र के साथ, हमारे देश की गरीबी के साथ ग्राज इन प्रिवी पसेंज का मुझे कोई सामंजस्य नहीं

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745 Budget (General), 1957-58 [RAJYA SABHA] General Discussion 746

[श्री गंग.शरण सिंह] दीख पड़ता है। इसीलिये मैं फिर निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि इस बारे में सरकार को कड़म उठाना चाहिये।

ग्रब मैं ग्रापको बतलाऊं कि क्लाथ कपड़े पर, जो एक्साइज ड्यूटी लगी थी,* उसका थोड़ा सा रूप जो मैंने बाहर देखा उससे मुझे यह लगा कि व्यावहारिक रूप में उससे कपड़े के जो उपभोक्ता थे, उन बिचारों को घाटा हुग्रा ग्रौर बीच के लोगों को ज्यादा लाभ हुग्रा ग्रौर उनके पाकेट से सरकार के पास कुछ नहीं पहुंचा ।

ग्रभी मुझे खुझी हई यह पढ़ कर कि केरासीन पर जो टैक्स हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने लगाया था, वह शायद कांग्रेस पार्टी की मीटिंग में या मीटिंग के बाद घोषणा करके उन्होंने हटा लिया है । मैं ग्राशा करता हं कि इसी तरह की सुबुद्धि ग्रागे भी होगी और दूसरी ऐसी ही चीजों पर से टैक्स की छट होगी । व्याबहारिक दष्टि से जहां देखने की जरूरत हो वहां प्रेस्टीज या मान सम्मान के प्रश्न को बीच में नहीं रखना चाहिए । स्राज दियासलाई पर टैक्स लग रहा है, खाने वाले तेलों पर लग रहा है । इस तरफ भी देवने की जरूरत है। चाय के बारे में भी में कुछ कहना चाहंगा । यह ठीक है कि ग्राज चाय देहातों में बहुत जगह ---शायद बीच के भीतर के, इलाकों में न पहुंच पायी हो-- लेकिन वह गरीबों की चीज हो गयी है। चाय के बारे में मैं बहुत तफसील में नहीं जाना चाहता और न मैं जा सकता हूं। लेकिन चाय का जो थोड़ा बहुत पता मुझको है मैं कभी जब असम जाता हंतो मुझे मित्रों से बात करने का मौका मिलता है ---उसके आधार पर मैं कह सकता हूं कि शायद चाय का रोजगार ही ऐसा है, जिसमें सब से ज्यादा मनाफा होता है, सब से कम खर्च करने पर भी। इसे जानने के लिए सरकार ज्यादा इसके बारे में पता लगा सकती है, वह ज्यादा समझ सकती है। मुझे तो लगता है उसके बारे में सरकार को ऐसा करना चाहिए

कि चाय की कीमत बढाये बगैर भी, चाय के उपभोक्ताको, चाय के पीने वाले को जो पैसादेना पड़ता है उसका एक अरंश चाय पैदा करने वालों की आमदनी से बसुल करे. जो उनको भारी मुनाफ की शक्ल में मिले। यह काम सिर्फ एक डिपार्टमेंट से, एक विभाग से शायद नहीं हो सकेगा, उसके लिए भिन्न भिन्न विभागों का एकीकरण करना होगा, उनका सामन्जस्य होगा । यहां में यह कहना चाहंगा कि मेरे पास उतने ग्रांकडे उपलब्ध नहीं हैं जितने गवर्नमेंन्ट के पास हो सकते हैं। लेकिन इसमें शक नहीं है कि हर रोजगार में, हर क्षेत्र में ग्राज उपभोक्ता को जितना देना पड़ता है, वह उस बस्तू की उचित कीमत से अधिक है। किसी चीज की कीमत के क्या माने हैं ? उसके माने यह हैं कि एक आदमी किसी व्यवसाय में जो पूंजी लगाता है और उसके साथ जो मिहनत लगती है --- मिहनत मैं सब की गिनता हं --- जो कुछ उपादान उसको बनाने में लगता है, सबका खर्च जोड़ कर जो ग्राता है वही मूल्य है। लेकिन होता यह है कि जितना उत्पादन में लगता है, उसके हिसाब से कई गूना उपभोक्ताओं को मूल्य देना पड़ता है । इसलिए सरकार को इस ग्रोर चेष्टा करनी चाहिए कि उत्पादकों को ज्यादान देनापडे

डा० द्रार० **बो० गौड़**ः साफ साफ कहिए, <mark>अंग्रे</mark>जों का मुनाफा लीजिए, राष्ट्रीय-करण की जिए चाय का ।

श्री गंगा शरण सिंह : मैंने शुरू में चर्चा की थी कि चीनी की मिलों में आप जाकर देखिए, उनका हिसाब लगाकर देखिए कि कितना मुनाफा उनको मिलता है । अधिकांश भारतीय चीनी की मिलों में जितना पैसा लगा था, मुनाफे से वह सब खर्च मिल मालिकों का वसूल हो गया । लेकिन आज चीनी के उपभोक्ताओं को ज्यादा पैसा देना पड़ रहा है । जो बीच के कमाने वाले लोग हैं वे चीनों से ज्यादा मुनाफा कमा रहे हैं । उसी तरह से प्लांटेशन में है, भिन्न भिन्न क्षेत्रों में है, सब जगह एक सा हाल म्राप पाइयेगा । खैर, यह भी एक विवाद का विषय हो सकता है, कि जो पूंजी लगी वह पूंजी क्या थी, जो कैपिटल लगा वह कैपिटल क्या चीज थी वगैरा। वह विवाद छोड दोजिये। मैं तो यह मानता हं कि वह कैपिटल जो लगा उसमें भी कोई सैंकटिटी नहीं थी, पवित्रता नहीं थी कि उसको छग्रा नहीं जा सकता, वह भी नाजायज कमायी होगी। आपकी इजाजत से मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि झाप विचार कीजिए कि जब लोगों ने भिन्न भिन्न उद्योगों में ग्रपनी जितनों भों पूंजी मगायी वह मुनाफे की शक्ल में सब की सब वसुल हो गई, उसमें मिहनत मजदूरी जो थी वह भी काट लो, मैनेंजिंग डाइरेक्टर डाइरेक्टर या कर्मचारियों का खर्च भी निकाल लिया, फिर भी उनको पैजी से भी कई गुना बसूल हो गया, तब भी ग्रगर सरकार उनको मौका देती है मनाफा करने का श्रीर उनको जनता श्रीर सरकार के बीच में स्टैंड करने देती है

श्व**े ज**∘ रा० कपूर ∶तो क्या बिना दान दिये ही उसको ले ले ।

को गंगाशरण सिंह : जी सब नहीं । बहुत से। चीजें ऐसी हैं, जिनका ग्राप राष्ट्रीय-करण कर सकते हैं ।

श्री ज⇒ रा⇒ कपुर ः जैसे ?

अये गंगाझ ःण सिंहः जैसे प्लांटेशन ही है।

अशे ज के रा० कपूर : शुगर मिल्स के लिए क्या सजेशन है ग्रापका ?

ओ गंगाशरण सिंह : उनको भी नेशन-लाइज कीजिए । उनको ग्राज पैसा देने की जरूरत नहीं है क्योंकि जितना पैसा उन्होंने लगाया, उससे ज्यादा पा चुके हैं । तो मैं कह रहा था कि उनसे ग्राप हिसाब मांगिये, बे साबित करें कि किम चीज में कितना खर्च होता है, किम में कितना कमाते हैं । ग्रामदनी ग्रोर खर्च के हिसाब से चीजों के दाम में एक

ग्रनपात, एक प्रोगोशन रहना चाहिए । लेकिन ग्राज हम क्या पाते हैं ? कोई अपनपात नहीं है, कोई प्रोपोशन नहीं है, कागज पर कुछ रहता है होता कुछ और है। हम तो यह देखते हैं हर क्षेत्र में चाहे कहीं भी देख लीजिये उदाहरण के लिये एक तरफ तो ऐसा है कि लोगों के लिए हाउसिंग प्राब्लम है दूसरी तरफ कलकत्ता, बम्बई या दिल्ली में बड़े बड़े मकान बनते जा रहे हैं, बडे बडे महन बनते जा रहे हैं. लाखों रुपये खर्च हो रहे हैं। ये मकान उन लोगों के बनते जा रहे हैं जो चलाने वाले हैं उन उद्योगों को उन फैक्टरियों को, उन मिलों को । दूसरी तरफ उसी शहर में ग्राप यह भी पाते हैं कि फुटपाथों पर रहने वाले लोगों की तादाद बढती जा रही है । इसके भीतर रहस्य क्या है । कारण क्या है ? यह वह सोशलिस्टिक प्रोग्राम नहीं है, जिसक(ध्येय गरीब ग्रीर धर्मार के भेद को हटा देना है । यह जो विषमता है उसको दूर होने के बजाय. हमारी सरकार की नीति के फलस्वरूप बढती जा रही है।

डा० आर० बो० गौड़ : एव्हरेज सोशलिज्म ।

श्वे गंगाश रण सिंह : मैने बताया कि आज आप फुटपाथों का सबें करायें कि कलकत्ता और बम्बई में फुटपाथों में रहने वालों की तादाद पहले से कम हुई है या ज्यादा हुई है । इसके अलावा ग्राप यह भी देखें कि जो बड़े बड़े मकान आज बन रहे हैं, पहले के मकानों से उनकी कीमत कितनी ज्यादा है । अधिकतर आप शहरों में यह देखेंगे कि पूंजीपति लोग इस डर से कि अगर हम दूसरी चीजों पर पूंजी लगायेंगे तो इल्कम टैक्स वालों को हिसाब देना पड़ेगा, इसलिए मकान बनाने में रुपया इनवेस्ट करते हैं क्योंकि मकान के वारे में सही हिसाब नहीं बतलाया जा सकता है कि कितना रुपया उमको बनाने में खर्च हुआ ।

इस प्रकार ग्राप देखेंगे कि न तो हम भोजन का प्रबन्ध कर पा रहे हैं, न रहने का. प्रबन्ध कर पा रहे हैं । उसका कारण यह है कि

748.

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(श्री गंगाशरण सिंह]

हम कोई निश्चित दिशा में कदम नहीं रखपा रहे हैं। कभी उत्तर जाते तो हैं कभी दक्षिण— कभी रूस की खोर देखते हैं, कभी चीन और अमेरिका की तरफ देखते हैं। इस कारण हम ग्रागे नहीं बढ़ पाते हैं।

इसलिए मेरा सब से मुख्य निवेदन यह है कि ग्रपने देश की नीति निर्धारित करते समय सब बातों की तफसील तय करनी चाहिये श्रीर देश को भी तफसील के साथ ग्रापको बताना चाहिये कि ग्राप क्या करने जा रहे हैं। तब हो देशवासियों को प्रेरणा होगी जिससे कि वे ग्रपनी समस्याओं को हल करेंगे।

बजट में जो टैक्स लगाये गये हैं, उन्हें वसूल करके हम देश की समस्याओं को हल नहीं कर सकते हैं । आज हमारे देश की समस्याएं ऐसी हैं कि जिनका समाधान करने के लिए जनता को सहायता की बहुत आवश्यकता है ।

ग्राज जो बजट हमारे सामने पेश किया गया है, उस बजट में भी हम उसी चीज को पाते हैं, जिसका उल्लेख हमारे जीवन में पिछते कई सालों से रहा है । इसलिए मैं सरकार से यह निवेदन करना चाहंगा कि बजट को तय करने से पहले भिन्न भिन्न विषयों और भिन्न भिन्न विभागों के सम्बन्ध में हमारो नीति पहले से ही निश्चित होनी चाहिये । जब इस निश्चय के ग्राधार पर हमारे सामने बजट झायेगा तब ही हमारा देश ग्रागे बढ़ सकता है और हम कुछ कर सकते हैं । जिस स्टैटिक तरीके पर हम चल रहे हैं ग्रगर वैसे हो चलते रहेंगे तो हमारा देश तरक्की नहीं कर पायेगा। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं ग्रपना भाषण समाप्त करता हं। धन्यवाद ।

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: The magnitude of the present proposals is so great that it will not be possible for any Member to give qualified of unqualified support without offering criticism and suggestions thereon. We must realize that we have to carry out the Plan which we have passed and the Plan which we have passed is for Rs. 4,800 crores and for that resources were allocated and what resources were allocated for raising by way of taxation, I will point out. In the Plan it is specifically...

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJEE (Nominated): You have to add Rs. 500 crores more.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: I will add. My responsibility is there but you must have patience.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJEE It refers to . . .

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: I quite understand whatever you say and I will add to it but you must have patience. What I want to point out is in the plan of Rs. 4,800 crores, the only Plan which this House and the other House have approved, the additional tax thought fit to be levied was for Rs. 450 crores and out of that Rs. 225 crores was to be raised by the Centre and Rs. 225 crores by the States. The allocation on fifty-fifty basis was there and that is what we have passed. Over and above that, there was a gap of Rs. 400 crores and it was specifically mentioned that it was to be met by additional taxation and from profits on public undertakings. Considering the profits on undertakings to be Rs. 25 .crores on account of the gap our resources of additional taxation which we have to secure would have been for Rs. 600 crores. So total Central allocation of raising additional taxation was Rs. 600 crores throughout the Second Plan period and that is the Plan that Parliament has passed. Since then there has been an increase of Rs. 600 crores-Rs. 400 crores by way of rise in prices of imported goods, Rs. 200 crores on account of Railway allocation-and another change in the Plan is effected that the deficit financing should not be resorted to the extent of Rs. 1,200 crores but only to the extent of Rs. 800 crores. So the total net obligation of the Plan has been changed by Rs. 1,000 crores.

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Regarding the way of finding resources, I consider that in the present stage of monetary of the country as well as the conditions monetary conditions of foreign countries except America, we shall not be able to raise any more amount by domestic borrowings and I think we will be lucky if we raise the amounts which we have accepted because the rate of interest which is prevalent in our country is far out of tune with the rate of interest at which the Government desire to borrow. We should not lose sight of that. It is however necessary that we must help Government and carry out the Plan to the maximum extent possible but when we are having this intention it must not-be forgotten how we shall be able to carry it out and consider whether we are indulging in fajse promises or vain hopes. We must realise this and we must understand what we are doing. At present the Finance Minister has put his" proposals forward, on account of the changing structure of the Plan formulated by the Planning Commission, and the Cabinet Ministers assisted by the Economists. The main thing is, that we should raise the resources for the Plan. Now let us understand what we did last year. We had levied taxation at the Centre to the tune of Rs. 80 crores and that will give Rs. 400 crores for the Second Plan-80 crores multiplied by 5. According to the Plan which we have passed, only Rs. 200 crores more will have to be raised and to raise it in 4 years, we should have the average of Rs. 50 crores per year or Rs. 25, Rs. 35, Rs. 45 and Rs. 55 crores each year. It is however no use levying the burdens all at one time. I wish to point out that the difficulty is all the greater prices in because the the country are rising. We are looking to our index figures but they are based on different principles and notions, namely, those prevalent in 1920, 1930 and 1940. The notions of the index of living have definitely changed, entirely changed in the country and the cost of living which is represented in the consumer index does not include the items e.g. education expenses etc.

which an average common man now desires to incur and which he has a right to incur in a democracy and in a democratic Government which we have established after great efforts. These indices are there. We have to gauge the public opinion as to what is the average will of a man at present and what is his idea of the mini-! mum standard of living which he should have at any cost, whatsoever may be the Government proposals, whatsoever may be the plans of Government to ameliorate the conditions of that very man in some distant future and whether one is prepared to sacrifice at present for what he is to gain in the future. I think that position has to be understood very well. Now I may again say that the present taxation proposals are in an atmosphere and at a moment which is least suited for having such proposals because there has been a clamour all-round the country of a rise in prices not only of food articles but of many other commodities and that rise is existing without the present levy. Let us remember that. Now I will point out what is the present levy?

SHRI SHRIYANS PRASAD JAIN (Bombay): You were an advocate of all this.

SHRI C .P. PARIKH: I am still the advocate for all this but at least prudence has to be exercised in every matter, as to have to levy and when to levy the tax. If these had been levied in a judicious proportion from 1952, I think this situation would not have arisen. I think Mr. Jain will be satisfied. I have been advocating all these taxes since 1952.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): This is only a family quarrel between you.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: But the quarrel between you and myself will always be there.

Now I come to this that the States have also to raise by taxation Rs. 225 crores according to the Plan frame. The allocation is given in the report [SHRI C. P. Parikh.] of the Second Five Year Plan that the sales tax revenue shall have to be procured to the extent of Rs. 112 crores. Fifty per cent, of the additional taxation which the States will have to raise will be by sales tax.

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That will mean a further indirect taxation on commodities. Let us now understand the cumulative effect of all these taxes on the common man and let us examine whether his purchasing power has correspondingly increased in one year. Let us understand the problem in its magniture. The whole point is this: The Finance Minister has come forward with additional taxation of Rs. 77 crores during this year. I want to elucidate that figure. This is now the middle of the year and if the whole of the financial year is taken into account, then the amount will be Rs. 90 crores instead of Rs. 77 crores. Further, expenditure tax is thought fit to be levied which will yield not less than five crores of rupees. The proceeds will come next year but it will be operative from this year. So, the total amount is Rs. 95 crores. Over and above this there is a sum of Rs. 14 crores on account of the Railways. So, the levy is about 109 crores for the whole of the financial year. This levy is also an under-estimate. For a whole year the figure is Rs. 109 crores and last year we had Rs. 80 crores. So, in a period of fourteen months, the levy is about Rs. 190 crores You see the magnitude of the burden now. As I explained to Mr. Jain, if we had started such a levy in a graded form two or three years earlier and if we had managed our taxation by spreading over every year, the present position would not have arisen. My point is that you cannot do everything in one year. The whole proposal has to be understood from that angle. Especially when the burden is coming in a cumulative form in one year, it becomes very heavy. This is not the only thing. The Finance Minister is sticking to his Plan and in explaining his proposals,

he has said very clearly that these taxes are not sufficient and that he will have to levy further taxes next year and the year after because of our requirements. The Plan expenses last year were Rs. 750 crores, this year the expense is Rs. 900 crores and it will rise to Rs. 1,100 crores and Rs. 1,300 crores. If this levy is there, I will ask any Member of this Houser any economist, Members of the Cabinet at the States or in the Centre, whether there will not be any steep rise in prices on account of this. (Interruption.) There may or may not be a steep rise but the point is whether the cost of living index which is at present 420 will not rise to 440 within one year. I want an assurance on that. I will consider and approve of all the proposals if the cost of living index remains at 420. The present cost of living is pretty high but if it shoots up, I think it will be difficult.

DR. R. B. GOUR: I think the profit index should be at 420 not the cost of living index.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: I will come to the profit index later on. You need not be worried about that. I have noted everything. I will explain later on as to what the effect of all these levies will be on prices but in my introductory remarks, I do not want to explain them. When each point comes up, I will try to explain. I want to make it very clear that if the prices rise, the present estimate of Rs. 5,400 crores will go up to Rs. 6,600 crores. If prices do not rise above 420 index there will not be any rise. I think, Sir, no one will be bold enough to imagine that prices will not rise. A rise in the wages is inevitable in the next three years, industrial wages, wages of teachers, of clerks and others who are low paid. That is inevitable and the agriculturists also will have to pay for hired labour higher wages for cultivation. It is a vicious circle and I think we will not be able to prevent such a rise, however we may try and whatever may be our desires. Standards of living cannot rise without a

rise in prices. I quite understand that but what does the National Sample Survey say about the family incomes in India? Fifty per cent, of families in India have an annual income of Rs. 600 and below; twenty per cent, have an income from Rs. 600 to Rs. 1,200. Now, these persons are living already at a sub-subsistence level and I think, Sip, any rise in prices will be a burden to them because they would say that they are already living in a miserable condition. In a democracy, without any rise in the costs they are entitled at present to additional wages to meet their wants. We may raise wages and may raise everything but the point is whether at present the fixed income groups, the low income groups, will be able to meet in a period of one year all these demands of higher prices. I think, Sir, everyone can examine his own home budget and find out what it was costing him twelve months back, what it will cost six months hence and so on. Regarding minimum requirements, Sir, I have already said that new wants are there, especially of educating children and in a democratic State, in a state of political independence that we have gained everybody thinks that he must have a minimum income and if he is denied the minimum income related to the cost of living then the agitation will be so great that it will be impossible for any person to withstand it. That should not be lost sight of. Consequent on the budget proposals, inflationary pressures are bound to prevail and we will not be able to arrest them.

I will now come to the proposals regarding direct taxation. First of all, I will *say*, Sir, that the direct taxation proposals which are laid down here are of the order of Rs. 25 crores and the additional expenditure tax -will bring five crores of rupees thus making a total in the taxation proposals in the matter of direct taxation of Rs. 30 crores. I do not say as Mr. Jain said, that this should not be there. I advocate that these proposals should have been there for the last four years but I do not advocate that these should be levied in one year without allowing for adjustment by society and this is very material.

I will first of all take up taxation on individuals viz. income-tax. Only two years back, we increased the minimum from Rs. 3.000 to Rs. 4.200 and now in our revised wisdom we have reduced this and brought it to the old level of Rs. 3,000 even though during the last two years prices have gone up. It is argued that in this category a married man could very well pay Rs. 18 or Rs. 20 and an unmarried man about Rs. 60 and this I am told, is not much. As regards the unmarried persons, I understand that many persons remain so because they consider that they are unable to support a wife and children and that in the initial stages they must have savings. Persons like Mr. Govinda Reddy will be one in a thousand but at least everybody desires to marry. At present, on account of the higher standard of living and on account of other things such as the inadequacy of a man's income to meet the family requirements, a man first wants to save for five years and then marry. Let this factor be not lost sight of. I think, Sir, this reduction in the lower limit is not suited to the circumstances although you may ask persons to make sacrifices. Now, let us understand one main item which does not at present enter into the cost of living index and that is the cost of education. Educating one's own children is the primary responsibility and that responsibility or that consciousness is daily growing in the poorer and middle classes. Let us understand that those persons who have an income of Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,200 are all poorer and middle class persons, persons who are the backbone of society and only they have assisted us and the present Government in getting political independence.

If the sacrifices of the middle-class who have an income of Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 4,000 were not there, this independence would not have been achieved.

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[Shri C. P. Parikh.] Let us understand that. I don't say they may be altogether exempted, but let me tell you that this is the most intelligent section of the community in India. The middle-class are more intelligent and their combined intelligence is greater than the intelligence of many of us. The collective intelligence of the middle-class in the understanding of problems of the country is much greater.

AN HON. MEMBER: Sacrifices too.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: They have made and are still prepared to make sacrifices for the country. At least they know what the sacrifices should be and they can also teach us where the sacrifices will be. I think, Sir, Members would not have forgotten the questions that had been asked at public meetings, at the election meetings, and that conciousness of demanding their own rights in their own ways is still there. I do not however despair on that account. I say, Sir, it is the duty of the leaders to convince and persuade the middle-class, the common man, more so the students 50 per cent, of whom are from middle-class families that we have to make sacrifices, and in doing so we shall understand the whole position. Either they are wrong or we are wrong. This is a democracy, where 50 per cent, of the community consists of the intelligent class, students and the middleclass; if you are not able to carry them with you, Sir, democracy will not flourish and the opposition parties who want to make capital out of that will thrive. This is the writing on the wall; that can be seen. We want to make sacrifices, everybody wants to make sacrifices, but at least we must impress on the people that these sacrifices are demanded for their future benefit, and unless and untill we are able to convince them, unless and untill our proposals meet with their approval, Sir, we must proceed in a halting -and tardy manner. If they reciprocate then only we may

proceed faster. It is the test of our ability to convince them and that is the main thing, and unless they are convinced it is no good our forcing sacrifices from them. We cannot expect those days when everybody followed Gandhiji blindly. Sir. in the present circumstances of the country the middle-class and students 50 per cent, of whom are coming from poor families are not prepared to follow us blindly. The whole position has changed. We must realise that. Opposition forces are also working and we must not underestimate those forces. Therefore I say that this levy of reducing the exemption limit from Rs. 4,200 to Rs. 3,000 is not appropriate at the present moment. Of course we must find additional and alternative sources of revenue and if you want me I can suggest a hundred sources of revenue. But there is no time for doing so. Give me time and I will give you.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: He, may be given time, Sir.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You cut out the other portion and come with your class. Let us see where you are.

SHRI C. P. FARIKH: Now, Sir, I will take up the number of the income-tax assessees. There are 5,25,000 income-tax assessees in the country. Out of them 4,700 having income of one lac and over are contributing 64 per cent, of the revenue.! Then 26 per cent, revenue is further contributed by 51,000 persons whose income is from Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 1,00,000. So 90 per cent, of the revenue is contributed by 55,000 persons in the country...

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHARAO (Andhra Pradesh): How much of the property is in their hands?

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: Now with regard to 1,06,000 assessees, having income over Rs. 10,000 they contribute 6 per cent, of the total income-tax revenue, and the big bulk of 3,75,000, having income of Rs. 4,200 they contribute only 3£ per cent, of

the total income-tax revenue..So only 55,000 persons in the country have an income of Rs. 20,000 and over, and of them 5,000 are companies. So 50,000 individuals only with an income of Rs. 20,000 and above ...

SHRI V. K. DHAGE: What about the corporation tax?

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: I am coming to that, Sir, later.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What about the tax-evaders?

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: I will come to that also, Sir. I will come to all the points that Members are raising and I have noted them even before they are asking me.

Now, I take up tax evasion. According to foreign experts as well *an* according to our former Finance Minister tax evasion ranges from 10 crimes to 30 crores of rupees. So I am saying that if the present Finance Minister looks into the matter carefully and examines only 50,000 cases I am sure, Sir, he will realize 10 crores of rupees more revenue. There is no doubt about it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How much?

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: 10 crores.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Then nothing will come to the Congress election fund.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH; The Congress is able to take care of itself; you need not worry on that account.

Now, Sir, what I am pointing out is that the former Finance Minister in 1955 raised the slab from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4.200 on the simple ground that it did not yield the money that was commensurate with the extra administrative labour involved. If you concentrate your efforts on getting

the full revenues from 50,000 big cases, contributing 90 per cent, of the revenue, you will be able to realise more.

Then, Sir, the Finance Minister has also made out that he has reduced super-tax on individuals and that the incidence of incometax is now less. As regards those persons whose income is from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 40,000' the incidence is of course less, but on the unearned income of Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 1,50,000 he has raised the tax, which he has not said in his budget speech and which rise Prof. Kaldor has also opposed. He has given an impression that there is all-round decrease in incidence but I think. Sir. in this income-group from Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 1,50,000 in which there is a small number of earned incomer, and married persons, there is a definite increase, which could be seen on page 204 of the Explanatory Memorandum. The figures are there. It is however very happy to note, Sir, that he has made a distinction between unearned and earned income. It is also happy to note, Sir, that he has made a scientific distinction between the incomes of married persons and unmarried persons. All this is; good. The only point I take objection to is that this exemption limit should not have been brought down' to Rs. 3,000. Now, Sir. . .

SHRI H. D. RAJAH (Madras) r Could you tell us how many people will be affected by this reduction.' from 4,200 to Rs. 3,000?

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: Four lacs. As I said the Finance Minister in 1955 himself said that the administration was overburdened and would not be able to cope with the work, and that the income-tax receipt from Rs. ^4,200 to Rs. 3,000 income groups was not commensurate with the cost on staff that would be required to handle it. He said that he wanted to lessen the burden on the staff on this account so that they could pay more attention to 50,000 cases of bigger income groups.

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PANDIT ALGU RAI SHASTRI (Uttar Pradesh): It would provide more employment opportunities.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH; YOU cannot pick up income-tax staff in the market. They should have knowledge of the income-tax law and capacity to administer the law well. Incometax staff has to be trained and after receiving their training they are appointed examiners and then officers. So Shri Algu Rai Shastri will please remember this.

Now I come to the tax on companies. With regard to the tax on companies I would make it very clear by giving a satis-tical picture of companies in our country. There are 30,000 companies in India, out of which 10,000 are not assessable to income-tax, or their capital is below Rs. 1,000. So 20,000 companies in India are assessable to income-tax. Out of these 20,000 companies, at present, if you see the income-tax assessment figures you will see that only 10,000 are able to pay income-tax and the other 10,000, that is 50 per cent of the total companies, are not paying income-tax since they are not earning Rs. 4,000.

SHRI B. B. SHARMA (Uttar Pradesh) : There is stealing.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: You please examine the figures. It is no argument to say every now and then and in season and out of season that stealing is there. Let me tell my hon. friend that those persons who are engaged in the industrial activities of the country are rendering service to the country and if you decry them every now and then, I think, Sir, our industrial expansion is doomed.

DR. R. B. GOUR: Service to their purse.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: It may be worse according to your theory, the theory imported from Russia. But this democracy is based on quite different principles.

Now, Sir, let us understand this.

(Interruption.)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Also in excise duties.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: They have invited Birla to Kerala.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: They will try to invite everybody to help them in their foul means, I must add that also. These twenty-thousand companies are assessable to income-tax. Let us understand that out of these twentythousand companies, ten thousand companies are engaged in manufacturing activities and ten thousand companies are engaged in nonmanufacturing activities. That can be seen from the Taxation Enquiry Commission's Report, where these figures are given. Now, I want to point out what profits the companies make. There are 100 companies in India out of these twenty-thousand which make a profit of Rs. 20,00,000 and over. And out of those 100 companies let me tell you that 33 per cent, of the companies are foreign-controlled to whom the concession of inter-corporate tax is given by the present proposals. Let us understand what prosperity is existing in India and what ability and intelligence are available in India-if you want to have your progress through Indians which everybody wants and which the hon. Member who interrupted me also wants.

(Interruption.)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Take over the foreign concerns.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: We shall not take over the foreign concerns, but we shall invite still more foreign capital. If we wish to industrialise the country at the speed at which we desire we will have to do so and Mr. Bhupesh Gupta or his party will not be able to prevent that position.

Now, Sir, coming further I say that 600 more companies are i making profits from Rs. 5 lakhs to Rs. 20 lakhs. So, 700 companies make a profit of more than Rs. 5 lakhs. That

is our prosperity and let us understand that 25 per cent of the big companies are foreign-controlled.

Then, there are further 300 companies which make a profit of Rs. 3 lakhs to Es. 5 lakhs and 1,000 companies make a profit from Rs. 1 lakh to Rs. 3 lakhs. So, about 2,000 companies of these 10,000 companies are making a profit of Rs. one lakh and over. That indicates the volume of our prosperity. You must understand what limited manpower and finance exist in the country to handle our problems. You must understand that and not minimise the situation by slogans, or by all the insinuations and all the allegations that may be hurled against businessmen who are carrying on their activities. There will be blacksheep as there are blacksheep in any political party and blacksheep in a political party are or may be of a worse nature owing to the possession of power. Let us understand that we shall have to make the best use of the business talent that is available in the country and for that I want to emphasise this. As regards burden on non-manufacturing concerns, which are ten thousand in number, I will not expand my arguments, because it will take the time of the House, and I will leave it to the hon. Members concerned to judge things for themselves. With Tegard to the ten thousand concerns which are engaged in manufacturing activities, we want to expand and develop and gain additional production that is 90 much in demand. I think in the present Plan also the main aim is to industrialise the country at a fast rate, before the clouds on the international horizon disturb us. Time is material. If you want to industrialise the country, then we have to be very cautious and proceed in such a way that industrial expansion or development is not discouraged. Now, somebody will ask, how is it discouraged? Let me, again, give you the picture. Out of ten thousand companies engaged in manufacture, the position is that only 250 companies are able to pay tax-free dividend of six per cent

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and over to their shareholders and are able to carry small amounts to reserves. The rest of the companies in India will have to pay the additional tax and will not, therefore, be able to carry anything to reserves and this will be borne out by the statistics that have been published by the Government of India. Let us understand what is the present position? What are the present taxes? The taxes on income in companies have been raised by five per cent, from 25 to 30 per cent. Corporation tax has also been raised from 17 to 2Q per cent with a surcharge of 5 per cent. And further there is a wealth tax on the companies which is half per cent, which will add to the burden of the companies by a further five per cent on the average. So, the total additional burden on the companies by the present taxation proposals which are thought fit to be levied is to the extent of 13 per cent. The present burden is 43 per cent. of the income which is assessable. Now, from 43 per cent, it is raised to 56 per cent, a rise of 13 per cent., in other words, a demand of 30 per cent, more than the present taxation. Instead of 43 per cent., he wants 56 per cent. I will not deny that in times of national emergency and in order to help our Plan to be put through, we must make sacrifices. But let me repeat that only 200 companies will be able to pay this 56 per cent, tax, and pay six per cent, tax-free dividend .to the shareholder? and carry forward a small amount to the reserves. What will be the real position? Some companies over and above these 200-and I can calculate they will be about 300 in number- will be able to pay six per cent tax free dividend without carrying anything to the reserves. Now Sir, reserves are such an important item in the development and expansion of a manufacturing company that without reserves no company can thrive, because the reserves are meant for expansion and emergencies, because there are good and bad times. And if we look to the liquidation of the companies that had taken place during the last so many years, the

[Shri C. P. Parikh.] necessity of reserves will be properly understood, because in equity capital one may lose heavily. Now, lion. Members would be asking about the necessity of the tax-free return of six per cent, on capital and reserves. I will tell you about that. The present borrowing rate of the Government is over $4\pounds$ per cent, and the scheduled banks are advancing loans at 6 per cent.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: 7\ per cent.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: Sir, I have given a modest figure, so that it cannot be challenged. I know my responsibility. To come to the point, businessmen who have capital and who are intelligent understand that at present preference shares and debentures which are considered gilt-edged securities are paying interest about 8 per cent. These shares yield 8 per cent, taxable. So, 8 per cent, is the prevailing rate of interest on gilt-edged securities which you also get on mortgage. Will you deny that this return should not be given to the manufacturing companies? And does the present situation in the country warrant that we can raise this tax from 43 per cent, to 56 per cent? I crave a favour from the hon. Finance Minister, which he should concede- and I am making a suggestion which is of a constructive nature-that all undistributed profits should bear no additional levy, and this amount will not be more than Rs. 25 crores involving a loss of three crores in taxation. Do not have this levy, because Rs. 25 crores undistributed profits are meant for expansion, for development and for lowering the cost of production by modernisation etc. That is most material. The cost of production in the country will not be reduced until there is modernisation or expansion. Now, Sir, to deny this concession arguments will be bwmght forward-I anticipate the arguments also-that the development rebate is there. You are giving a 25 per cent, development rebate. That was given in 1955 by the then Finance Minister

and he was very wise to foresee that without such a development rebate the industrial expansion of this country would not take place at the pace which we desire. And I think that the present industrial production index which has gone up from 100 to 145 in such a short period can be attributed mainly to the development rebate that is being given to the companies to encourage them in buying machinery, modernising their machinery, reducing the cost of production by buying machinery at five to ten times the price at which they used to buy in 1939. This fact cannot be denied. This we understand. I, therefore, ask for a concession in order that we may not go against the very policy of the plan by levying burdens on undistributed profits of the company, which is most material.

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Now, Sir, what I want to say further in this respect . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Undistributed profits go into speculation.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you are not aware of what is happening in the country. You are not aware of the compulsory deposit system which is existing. No profits can now go for speculative purposes.

SHRI P. D. HIMATSINGKA (West Bengal): He does not want to know.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: He does not understand. He cannot know it. Now, Sir, when this is the position, let us understand, that when we are assigning to the private sector a role of development of a big magnitude, such a vital role will not be carried out by those who are engaged in business unless there is a proper return. By denying a return which is less in comparison to the return that one should have in view of the prevailing rates of interest, we shall be retarding our industrial expansion to our great peril.

Sir, the Finance Minister when he was Minister of. Industries was so enthusiastic about the industrial

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development of the country that he left no stone unturned to help industrial development at any cost. At present his unfortunate position is that this is the expanded Plan and some think that it has to be carried out. But when you are carrying out the expanded Plan, what damage you are doing to the industrial economy of the country must not be underestimated. On that account I am pointing out these factors. Now, Sir, he may say this thing may not happen and your fears are imaginary. But I will ask him to remember that persons in business, who are engaged in trade, commerce and industry are more intelligent than the economists or those who offer advice to the Government. Their collective intelligence is'much greater. They have also their own economists and they understand their problems. Their own economists 'are both practical and theoretical; they are not only reading books. Therefore, I say, Sir, that immediately you insist on levying these taxes, all the companies will charge them as an item to the cost of production. Certain charges which you levy will have to be charged to production. Immediately this wealth tax or other tax is levied, everybody in his calculation will put it down as his additional cost. There is great harm in doing so. Is it meant that the man will invest in an industry only to forego the return which, he will otherwise elsewhere earn? When his capital is equity capital, let us understand the problem in its magnitude. Therefore, I again appeal to the Finance Minister that this problem of levying any burden on the undistributed profits and the wealth tax on the companies should be considered with great care and caution if he wants to carry out the very object of the Plan, the very object which he has said in his own speech.

AN HON. MEMBER: Object of profits.

SHRI C. P. PABIKH: Profits, as I have told you, are already curtailed, and out of 20,000 companies in India only 250 will be able to pay these imposts. That position should not be forgotten. My hon. friend might not have understood when I explained and expounded that proposition. Now, Sir, this unnerving influence in the business and industrial community is further aggravated by the statement in the Budget speech that there shall be a further levy of taxes. I think, Sir, in matters of direct taxation on individuals and taxation of profits of companies we have reached the saturation point. You cannot levy them to any great extent whatever may be your desires and whatsoever may be the sacrifices you expect. The law of diminishing returns will apply.

Sir, I have spoken about corporate enterprises. Now I will speak about tax on big individuals. I will not oppose levy of taxes on such individuals because it is necessary in order to reduce inequalities of wealth in the country. I will support the wealth tax on individuals and I will also support the expenditure tax with all my strength. I say, Sir, if you want to industrialise the country, do not tax directly or indirectly undistributed profits. That is my main argument. If you want to remove inequalities, you shall have to levy tax on expenditure, you shall have to levy tax on wealth. I also think that before any indirect taxation is levied, levy of all direct taxes should be fully explored.

PROP. N. R. MALKANI (Nominated) : Give us some alternatives. Give us some "do's" and not "don'ts".

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: I have already given it. The alternative is a judicious levy of taxation on individuals. You can carry it to a higher pitch, if necessary, but do not have it on undistributed profits of a company which are "required for industrial development, for encouraging Indian capital and preventing foreign capital from making inroads into our country. Remember these two things.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA; If undistributed profits are invested in direct channels of investment, would it not

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] help the industrial development of the country?

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: If he understands the scheme of compulsory deposits which has been passed by this very House which he has also endorsed, he will understand all these things.

DR. B. R. GOUR: The hon. Member is confused.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: Your confusion is greater than mine. Now, Sir, I have said that this is very important because, if persons engaged in industry will not earn their legitimate prevalent rate of interest in the country, the cost of all industrial goods which they produce will go up, because they will charge it as an item of cost, and it is a vicious circle that when one item increases in cost other items also increase. Suppose you levy a tax on ten items, the immediate result of that will be a rise in fifty other ' items at the same time. Suppose the 'dhoby' has to pay more for the essential things which he requires for his family. He will immediately demand higher charges of washing. The same principle applies to those who sell milk and so many other things. It is no use going into all this ' levy unless you understand what the result will be.

Now, Sir, Mr. Malkani asked me for alternative suggestions. First of all I may say that motor cars used by companies, if they are more than 14 h.p., should be taxed 50 per cent, ad valorem. Companies are having luxurious cars which are quite unnecessary.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: Why don't you ban the import of such cars? That is something better.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: You must understand that in this democracy we do not want any man not to enjoy the luxury which he demands, but I think we should make the man pay through his nose. That is the main thing. Therefore, from now onwards all cars which are existing in the country whose horse-power is above 14 should bear an *ad valorem* duty of 50 per cent. The total income in this way will be not less than Rs. 2 crores. At present in the companies initial depreciation allowance is given on the cars to the extent of 20 per cent; that should also be withdrawn.

I will next come to the dividend tax. Regarding dividend tax I have to make a suggestion that the economists of the Government have not still realised how the dividend tax can be scientific and how the prices of securities rule. The prices of securities are governed by what is existing as capital, and also by what is existing as reserve in a company. Everybody demands his return on capital as well as reserves in the company and when such a return is not considered, then, Sir, the structure of dividend tax is not scientific. As regards bonus issues, the. tax is raised from 12i to 30 per cent. I completely endorse the rate of increase in this taxation because I know that a number of companies have accumulated reserves in order that the individual shareholders in management may not have to pay super-tax. The reserves were not utilised for expansion by many companies but were allowed to accumulate and invested in shares or in Government securities. I think instances of this nature can be multiplied. Now, Sir, it is very well that the Finance Minister has closed this loophole in that respect. Either you expand industry. distribute dividend

or pay compulsory deposit.

I will now come to the wealth tax. Although I have endorsed it for individuals, I have to offer certain suggestions in respect thereof because no one can give unqualified support to a proposal without understanding it. First of all he has levied the tax on the companies, that is the wealth tax. I think that should not be done. If you choose

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to levy the tax on the manufacturing companies, the whole burden will be passed on to the consumer. The next day the manufacturer will charge it to the cost of

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production because he definitely knows what wealth tax he has to pay. It will mean raising correspondingly the cost of all our industrial production. If you at all desire to levy this tax in spite of all arguments which I have adduced, then only profit-making companies that are able to carry fair reserves should only be made to pay this tax. It is no use asking a marginal company or anew company to pay this. If you desire to do this, the consequences will be adverse.

Further if you at all levy this tax, in the calculation of the debts of the companies, the capital which is subscribed by individuals should be included, because persons have contributed to capital to build the assets. It is a legitimate deduction and should be made. With regard to individuals who are to bear the wealth tax, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Shri Rajagopalachari have sounded a note of warning in the matter of assessment of jewellery, furniture, utensils, etc. In the first place, I say that the incometax officers who will be there to assess the value are incompetent to do the job; and the valuation will have to be in some such hands. Even the best merchants are unable to evaluate jewellery because the estimates and the market values considerably differ. I do not know what loopholes, what corruption there will be in assessing the value of jewellery, furniture, utensils ete.

AN HON. MEMBER: Nothing is safe in our country.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: Whatever may be, my only point is this. Accept the valuation of the existing jewellery, furniture, precious metals, utensils, etc. at the assessee's own figures or ignore them. I mean to say, you can ask for a tax payment, but harassment and consequent corruption should be avoided. I think corruption will be rampant to a degree that will demoralise the whole income-tax administration. I will state this hard fact; let. us see what we are doing.

As regards the jewellery which is bought from now onwards I think it is very wise that it should be treated as an expenditure to be spread over five years. I congratulate the Finance Minister in this connection. In regard to the purchase of jewellery, he says that he would allow the amount to be distributed in five years and would not allow it as a capital. Purchase of jewellery will be discouraged by this bold measure of the Finance Minister and I congratulate him on this measure because, I think, the less we invest in jewellery and ornaments, the better for us and the greater good to the country. (Interruption.) The hon. gentleman does not understand how this could be done. The details of purchase will appear every year in the expenditure statement. The revenue side is there, and the expenditure side also is there and people cannot easily conceal anything. The second great feature which he has made in the Expenditure Tax is that the exemption in the case of the wedding of a dependant will be to the limit of Rs. 5,000. That is again a great feature which' we have missed for so many years. We know of persons having an expenditure on weddings of Rs. 50,000 or Rs. 1 lakh and over. Now, all additional expenditure over Rs. 5,000 will be disallowed, and a man will have to pay a prohibitive tax, if he is spending more on weddings. I do not resent at all individual taxations, but as regards imposts that will retard industrial development, I resent it with all the force at my command.

I again say that, with regard *o expenditure tax, there should be' no harassment. I want to make it clear. That expenditure tax is paid by those persons whose income is greater than Rs. 60,000. These persons should be asked to maintain accounts and get them audited and the income-tax officer should not go into the bona *fides* of the accounts, unless he has a positive proof to suspect them. Small pinpricks and harassment will lead only to corruption.

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[Shri C. P. Parikh.] In this connection, I want to say that the appellate authority should be established on a very strong and impartial basis. Now, the appellate authority of income-tax is not as impartial as it should be, because the promotion, extension and so many other factors are always governed by the same departmental head. They should be independent just like the judiciary if they are to be valuers and assessors of items which are of great value. We should prevent harassment and corruption. That is the main argument which I want to advance.

SHRI P. D. HIMATSINGKA: How many individuals have an income of over Rs. 60,000?

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: I have got those figures—about seven thousand persons. 2,100 persons have an income of one lakh of rupees. If he wants an exact figure I have a statement which I will show to. my hon, friend.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: Only two thousand?

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: That is the poverty of our country.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: Out of 36 crores!

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: Out of 36 crores of people, 2,100 have an income of over one lakh of rupees. We only get jealous. That is the only thing. We are over-estimating what is existing in the country.

Much has been said about wasteful expenditure. Unfortunately, I have to go into this because those remarks are appearing in the Presidential Address and also in the Finance Minister's speech, that we should avoid wasteful expenditure. In the first place, this Vote Recorder in our House is a wasteful expenditure. Can we not sit for 30 minutes more in order to save this amount of Rs. 8 lakhs or something like that? Whatever we spend on it, goes to a I

foreigner. I think we are able to devote more time here, but, at least, an expenditure of this nature is not necessary.

AN HON. MEMBER: Rs. 8 lakhs.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: I do not know the exact figure. But even if we spend Rs. 1 lakh over it and give that amount to a foreigner, I think, in the present situation, of the country, it is not right.

Now, I come to another point. The Finance Minister has very well imagined that the cost of a wedding should not exceed Rs. 5,000, and that the exemption for such expenditure will be only Rs. 5,000. So, at means that, in a democracy where we want to reduce inequilities, the expenditure should not be of an ostentations nature. Cabinet Ministers and State Ministers are invited and State Ministers are invited to weddings where ostentation and pomp are of a degree which is not palatable and which is resented by the common man. Therefore, I have to make a suggestion that where there are more than 500 electric lights in a wedding reception, the Minister should not attend the function. With such a refusal he would be able to impress a great deal. If at receptions attended by Ministers ostentation and pomp are less, it will create a great impression on the people.

DR. R. B. GOUR: But that expenditure is from undistributed profits.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH I will come to cars of the Ministers, which are of 14 h.p. and over and which are at the expense of the State; I think this should not be allowed and the expenditure of buying a more expensive car should be shared by the Minister to the extent of half, (*Interruptions.*) Mr. Shah, I am making this remark with all the sense of responsibility. And I have also knowledge of certain facts which I want to place before the House. If the Ministers bear half the additional cost, that should not matter. It will also save petrol. I also make a further remark that only the Chief Ministers who have to receive foreign dignitaries, must be provided with luxurious cars. Let us understand that distinction.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH Only by giving them luxurious cars?.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: I say, it is because we want to preserve the dignity of India; we have to create an impression upon the foreign dignitary.

The third suggestion which I would like to make is about electric and water charges which are borne by the State on account of Ministers. A statement about these was placed on the Table of the House and we have found that Ministers have been incurring a cost of Rs. 600 to Rs. 800 by way of these charges.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: Per month or per year?

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: Per month. You can read the statement yourself.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: Shocking.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: They may do whatever they like, but half the cost should be borne by the Ministers "themselves, if water and light charges exceed Rs. 100. And let me tell you, Sir, that this amount is not also added in the perquisites of the Ministers who are enjoying these benefits. In the case of other persons who are enjoying these facilities such things are added as perquisites. As far as my knowledge goes, Sir, this is not added in the perquisites in the case of Ministers, and that is not fair. If we want to criticise wasteful expenditure, let us criticise it on all fronts with all the frankness and sincerity at our command and let us face facts which are existing. Then, Sir, there is one mora thing. Railway saloons are attached when there is overcrowding in our railways. They are attached .even when journeys are not long.

SHRI B. B. SHARMA: What about officers?

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: I mean to say, Sir, that no person should be allowed these railway saloons; they should be reserved only for foreign dignitaries. Persons can travel in a four berth compartment in the air-conditioned coaches.

SHRI B. B. SHARMA: What aboiA officers?

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: When I say 'Ministers', officers are automatically included. There should be no use of saloons by Indians.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: What about General Managers?

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: No Indian should be allowed to use these saloons. I think that covers all these things.

SHRI D. A. MIRZA (Madras): Are they not fit to use them?

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: They are fit to use them, but not at the cost of the exchequer of a poor country.

(Interruptions.)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: Then, Sir, the staff cars which are existing in the Central Government are of more than 14 h.p. and they are seen at the railway station carrying luggage and chaprasis. Therefore, Sir, I submit that we should try to understand these things and minimise the wasteful expenditure also at the Government level. I think if we economise expenditure and improve efficiency, we can save about Rs. 15 crores in respect of civil administration both at the Centre and in the State (Interruption.) Sir, those persons who are living in glass houses should not throw #tones at others, and I think, Sir, the Members of Parliament are also not free from.

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[Shri C. P. Parikh.] such criticisms. We are making demands on the Government for getting every year Rs. 200 more this way or that way. I am just pointing out that if we want to avoid wasteful expenditure and improve efficiency let us economise on all fronts. If this is done, we shall be saving, in my opinion, Rs. 15 crores.

.Then, Sir, I come to the civil expenditure both at the Centre and in the States. Let me tellyou that I have to make some distinction, because some States are administered with great efficiency and with the least cost. Why can't the other States copy them? Can one State not copy whatever good is existing in the other States? If we do that and economise our expenditure, I repeat that we shall be able to save Rs. 15 crores in the civil administration both at the Centre and in the States. That way we can also eliminate corruption. When we say that austerity and efficiency must be there, I think we can practise such measures in respect of all the departments which are existing in the country, whether in the States or at the Centre and also on the projects which are run by the Centre. If we do that, I can say, Sir, that we can save about Rs. 15 crores.

Now, Sir, what I am suggesting is not so easy to achieve. The hon. Minister has fulltime work and therefore he is unable to devote his time to these things. Therefore my suggestion is that there must be an economy officer attached to each Ministry whose only job will be to find out how economies can be effected in respect of the various items of expenditure...

SHRI SHRIYANS PRASAD: JAIN: This is already there.

SHRI C. .P. PARIKH: Sir, it is not already there. Mr. Jain, if any officer *is doing any work of this nature, it is only one-sixth of his total

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work. He is not giving his full time. That economy officer should have no other work. He should be given that duty only. He should be independent of even the principal Secretary and he must have connection only with the Minister, and then only we can effect some economy. Sir, I am pointing out these things because we are living at the crucial time in the history of India. We want to progress, and progress in a short time in order that we may count in the comity of nations -That is our ambition and our hope, and therefore it is no use minimising what we have got to do.

I will next come to the manpower problem of our country. We have an embitious plan, but have we got enough manpower in the country to handle the Plan? Have we made enough efforts to have enough manpower recruited and trained, enough to the extent that we may not have to import foreign technicians in a larger and larger degree? I mean to say, Sir, that if hon. Members were to examine the situation existing in the country, they will find that the technical schools and colleges that are existing in the country are quite inadequate, and Sir, many students who are willing to pay for their education beyond their capacity are refused admission; students having first class university distinctions are also refused admissions for higher technical training in the colleges where technical education is imparted. That thing has to be properly handled. Here also I would like to suggest to the hon. Finance Minister that a technical manpower committee should be appointed in order that we may be able to go into this problem and have sufficient manpower trained in the country for our requirements, because the manpower that is actually required is ten to fifteen times more than what we are having at present. But this is not enough. We find that many technicians in this country are unemployed and at the same time in some departments we cannot get technicians. Therefore I suggest, Sir, that an institution should be created where we should impart technical training at a cheap cost to a person in a job which he does not know and refresher training courses should be opened at important centres in all the States in order that those technical persons ivho are at present unemployed . . .

SHRI H. D, RAJAH: Have you enough teachers?

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: I have already suggested that we should have a survey made of the manpower of India and how our problems can be solved, because without technical education, teachers, and expansion of industry, we will not be able to lift the burden from the agricultural population and we shall not be able to provide full employment in the country which is our desire.

Now, Sir, I will come to the food prices about which a lot has been said here and about which so many arguments have been advanced. I fail to understand, Sir, why, at the end of each season, if we want to keep the food prices at an economic level for the producer, we are not having the system of prescribing the minimum and the maximum food prices. As regards minimum prices, Sir, they should be remunerative to the cultivator looking to the cost of living index that is prevailing in the country and at the minimum prices the State should be prepared to buy all the foodgrains that are offered. That is most necessary and without that we shall not be able to do anything, because only two years ago we know that the food prices had collapsed.

Now with regard to the maximum prices, the charge is made that on account of hoarding there is a rise in the prices. But who is encouraging this hoarding in the country? Has not the Government power enough to stop this hoarding and see that the hoarders are penalised? If you prescribe the maximum price,. then I think, Sir, some law must be there to the effect that each godown is licensed and whoever is holding; more than a certain quantity which is enough for his family requirements, such additional quantity will be requisitioned at the maximum price,; irrespective of . . .

SHRI J. S. BISHT (Uttar Pradesh): Did such a law work out in the war time?

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: Sir, as long as. we have food shortage, we shall have to resort to this law, because in war time we had the system of levy. I am simply saying that if hoarding is there, requisitioning of food at the maximum prices which we have prescribed . .

DR. R. B. GOUR: Similarly, are you going to allow your profits to be mopped up?

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: Sir, I pay little heed to his interruptions because-those interruptions are not intelligent.

Now, Sir, as regards food prices, we must have stocks to the extent of 5 per cent, more than the demand. In other words, we should have stocks to the extent of 105 tons if the demand is to the extent of 100 tons, and there must be storage arrangements for those stocks. And i< we want to bring down the prices of foodgrains and essential articles we must also have an adequate number of fair price shops for cereals and foodgrains, and for other commodities we should also have a number of chain stores in the country. Now I come to the question of foreign exchange difficulties. Our imports have to be curtailed, because we have imported far too much during the last three years. There was a very liberal policy of imports during the last three years, and I think we are paying for it today. We have now to, reverse our position. We have lost

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[Shri C. P. Parikh.] foreign exchange to the extent of Rs 200 crores in one year. In fact, this policy should have been followed ' long ago in order that we could have built up some reserve. 1 want to make one point perfectly clear. All raw materials imported for the production of luxury goods should be reduced at least by half. Especially the import of Egyptian Karnac cotton should be restricted to 75,000 bales of 400 lbs. We are reducing it, and I think we should not import expensive cotton in the country in order that we may have to pay for that cotton three times the price of our cotton and produce piecegoods which are used only by the more fastidious classes.

Now, as regards exports, we say that we want to encourage exports. Jute, cloth and tea are our only principal commodities of export. With regard to the jute industry, if you see the balance sheet of the jute industry, you will find that the industry is having losses. The foreign companies which are running jute mills are not making profits, and 60 per cent, of the jute industry is solution is that the jute mills are working in a combine under the Jute Millowners' Association, which says that nobody should work a second shift or a third shift. The cost of production of the jute mills is therefore high.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND (Andhra Pradesh): Can a Member take more than one hour? Is there no limit?

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: I would wind up soon.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have already taken one hour and ten minutes.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: With regard to the jute industry, if some better method of reducing their cost of pro-

duction by providing advances to them for renovation and making them work two shifts could be found, a lot could be done. At present, according to the rules of the Jute Millowners' Association, nobody can buy a jute mill, unless he agrees to work one shift. If any outsider buys, he has to agree that he will work only one shift. I think this is hardly the way to encourage the export of this important commodity.

Now, with regard to the bill marketing system, the scheduled banks are making advances to the extent of Rs. 700 crores, and the bill market system in my opinion is not fuBy availed of by them. Persons who borrow Rs. 20 lakhs and Rs. 50 lakhs are not compelled by the banks to take recourse to the bill discounting system. Such advances are to the tune of Rs. 400 crores. Now, if 25 per cent. of these borrowers are asked that they should discount their bills to the extent of 25 per cent, of the limit of their loans, I think we shall be able to make available to the scheduled banks Rs. 100 crores and more. Every borrower of more than Rs. 5 to 10 lakhs should be compelled to discount bills to the extent of 25 per cent, of his borrowing.

Now, I come to indirect taxes which are existing in the country today. On this many Members will be speaking, and so I would say a few words only about sugar and matches. Now, if we want to develop the small units in the villages for manufacturing matches according to the policy of the Planning Commission and the Village Industries Board, then we will have to levy this duty. WIMCO accounts for 75 per cent, of our production.

DR. R. B. GOUR: Why not nationalise WIMCO?

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: We want to make their profits less. We know how to handle them in a better way than the one suggested by the hon. Member.

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With regard to the sugar factories, the duty is there, but I suggest to the Finance Minister that the duty should be according to the volume of production of each unit. The cooperative sugar factories which are being erected now should not be made to pay the same rate of duty as the bigger units producing 1000 tons and more. If we want the small units to thrive, the rate of duty should be according to the volume of production .as in match industry.

With regard to the postal levy, I submit that you should not increase the price of the postcards. With regard to telegrams, registered articles, etc., you may increase the •charge, but the postcards which are the means of communication of the common man should not be charged anything extra.

In regard to the railways, there also the common man, *i.e.* the third class passenger, should not be asked to pay any increased fares irrespective of distances. You may charge the second and first class passengers more, but you should not ask the third class passenger to pay more than he pays at present. They are already travelling in over-crowded compartments and it is no use asking them to pay increased fares. This is the minimum that you should do for them.

Then, I come to iron and steel. It is the cheapest in our country, and therefore this duty can be levied. As regards cement, half of the cement is bought by Government, and at present cement is not available to the common man who wants to buy just two or three bags. No duty should therefore be levied on this. If you go to the city of Bombay or Calcutta, you will find that people have to pay double and treble the price. It is still worse in rural areas.

Now, a word about employment. Your capacity to increase the purchasing power of the common man depends upon your providing additional employment in the country.

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Lakhs of persons in the country are unemployed or under-employed. If we are not alive to this problem, we may be able to raise the standard of living of some people only. If we are not able to ameliorate the conditions of those who are unemployed and underemployed, I think we shall not succeed in our democracy. Fifty lakhs of people are unemployed in the country. I think that for providing full employment and enabling people to earn at least twelve annas a day, the Ambar Charkha is the last and only weapon. I think that organisations should be developed in the country to see that all those who desire to work can earn twelve annas a day by working the Ambar Charkha.

These are the suggestions that I have to make. I thank you, Sir, for giving nje so much time, but I want to submit that this Budget is very important and the time of three days for discussif% it is too little. We shall be able to carry this to the people in the constituencies only if we are convinced of the necessity for these measures, and we will be convinced only if we exchange our views. Unless we are ourselves convinced, we cannot convince the electrorate and it is perhaps not prepared to listen to us at present in this matter. I think therefore that enough time should be given for the arguments and suggestions which each one of us can give, and it is no use restricting the time. After all, we are going to collect Rs. 190 crores in a period of twelve months or fifteen months. That is all that I have got to say.

श्री कृष्ण मोहन प्यारे सिंह (बिहार) : मा॰ उपसभापति जी, अभी बहुत लम्बे भाषणों के बाद ग्रापने मेरा नाम पुकारा ग्रौर मुझे बोलने की ग्राज्ञा दी है, इसके लिए मैं क्रापका क्राभार मानता हूं। लेकिन मेरी परेशानी कुछ बढ़ सी गई है प्रजा समाजवादी दल के ग्रध्यक्ष का ४० मिनट तक भाषण हुआ ग्रीर १ घंटा २० मिनट तक पारिख साहब का। ऐसा लगता है, सदन के सदस्य [श्री कृष्ण मोहन प्यारे सिंह] मजा तो ले रहे थे लेकिन ऊब भा रहे थे, स्रीर इन दो भाषणों के बाद मुझे ग्राज्ञा मिली है अपने विचारों को व्यक्त करने की।

ग्राज से चार, पांच दिन पहले मेरे दक्षिण भारत के एक मित्र ने सुझले पूछा "Mr. Sinha, what is your reaction on T. T. K. Budget?" मैंने उनसे कहा "It is a case of mixed reception". उन्हीं मिश्रित भावनाम्रों को व्यक्त करने के लिए मैं आज यहां खड़ा आ हूं। एक ओर में देखता हूं इस १६४७– १८ के आय व्ययक में ऐसी चोजें हैं जो भावा-त्मक हैं, जो सराहनीय हैं, जो हमारे हौसले को बढ़ाती हैं। किसी भी देश के लिए योजना श्रावश्यक चीज हैं । हमारे देश ने भी योजना बनायी है। एक पंचवर्वीय योजना समाप्त हो गयी है, दूसरी पंचवर्वीय योजना के प्रथम वर्ष को हम समाप्त कर चुके हैं ग्रौर दूसरे वर्ष में प्रवेश कर रहे हैं। मैं यह मानता हूं कि योजना बना लेता ही पर्याप्त नहीं है, योजना बना लेने के बाद उसके टागेंट को पहुंचने के लिए, योजना को पूरा करने के लिए लगन चाहिए और साधन चाहिएं। मैं टी० टी कृष्णमाचारी महोदय को इसके लिए केवल धन्यवाद नहीं देता हूं, व मेरे ग्रादर के पात्र बन गए हैं, इसलिए कि मैं इस ग्राय व्ययक में लगन पाता हूं और यह भी पाता हूं कि किस तरह से योजना को पूरा किया जाय, इसके लिए साधन भी निकालने की उन्होंने चेष्टा की है। लेकिन चेष्टा करते समय कहीं वे बहुत दूर तक चले गए हैं, और कहीं वे यह भूल भी गए हैं कि भारतवर्ष संसार में सबसे गरीब देशों में से एक देश है और फिर उसकी गरीबीके अनुपात से जो कर भारतवर्ष पर औसतन लगे हुए हैं वे सबसे अधिक हैं। मैं यह मानता हूं कि हमने जो संसार के और उन्नत देशों की तरह अपने देश को भी समृढ करने के लिए, सुखी और सम्पन्न बनाने के लिए योजना बनाई है उसके लिए

हमें कुरवानी करनी होगी, त्यांग करना होगा, बलिदान करना होगा ।

इस ग्राय व्ययक में जो सम्पत्ति कर की बात आई है, एक्सपेंडिचर कर की बात आई है, मैं अमझता हू कि वह व्यक्ति जिसमें देश के प्रति प्रेम है, जो चाहता है कि मेरा देश अन्य देशों के मकाबले में आ जाय, वह इन करों का सहर्ष स्वागत करेगा। साथ ही साथ मैं यह चाहंगा कि जो कर पहले से लगे हए हैं उनकी वसूली के बारे में न मुझे श्रीर न किसी को सन्तोव हो सकता है। उस स्थिति का मुझ को पता है----ग्रीर पता में समझता ह गलत नहीं है। आज जहां यह कहा जाता है कि इस मुल्क में ग्रौसतन प्रति व्यक्ति पर सब से अधिक टैक्स लगा हुब्रा है, वहां पर यह भी कहा जाता है कि दुनिया के सभी देशों में इवेजन आफ टैक्सेस, कर न देने की प्रवत्ति, छिपाने की प्रवत्ति, जैसी कि इस देश में है, सम्भवतः वैसी किसी दूसरे देश में नहीं है । विलायत में मैंन सुना है, वहां टैक्स इवेजन करने वाले को सोशल किमिनल मानते हैं। में ऐसा समझता हं कि आपको आंकड़े मिल जाते हैं और उन आंकड़ों से आपको सन्तोष हो जाता है। लेकिन हकीकत यह है कि ग्रापके यहां के बड़े बड़े व्यवसायी लोग ग्राये दिन अपनी आय छिपाते हैं। आपके खजाने में टैक्स का रुपया नहीं पहुंच पाता है और व्यवसायी दिन दूना और रात चौगुना मुनाफा कमाते हैं। आप मुझे माफ करें, अगर मैं इस बात को कहने की हिम्मत करूं कि इस मुनाफे के बहुत बड़े हिस्सेदार ग्रापके इन्कम टैक्स के कर्मचारी व ग्राफिसरान होते हैं। ग्रगर श्राप पतालगाने की कोशिश करें, होडेंड वैल्थ खोजने की चेष्टा करें, तो ग्रापको यह बात मालम हो जायेगी। क्या ग्रापने कभी यह पता लगाने की कोशिश की है कि आयकर के जो आफिसरान हैं, वे १० या २० साल में कितने पैसे बना लेते हैं ? उनके अर्ग्ड० टी० ग्रोज०, इन्सर्पेक्टर्स, उनके क्लाकुंस, सब लोग पैसा बनाते हैं । ग्रापको सुन कर ग्राश्चर्य

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होगा कि मैंन अपने यहां एक ग्रंजुएट को यह कहते सूना कि मुझको इन्कम टैक्स आफिस में चपरामी बना दीजिये, मैं सब-मजिस्ट्रेट होना पसन्द नहीं करूंगा। इस तरह से यह पैसा देश का चला जाता है, सरकार का चला जाता, है, फिर भी ग्राप इस चीज को नहीं रोक पति हैं। देश के बड़े बड़े व्यवसायी लोग इन्कम टैक्स वालों से मिल कर ग्रंपने एकाउन्ट वर्गरा, खाते वगैरा, गलत दिखा कर टैक्स से बचते हैं ग्रीर इन्कम टैक्स के कर्मचारी मालामाल हो जाते हैं। जब इस तरह से सरकार का पैसा कम हो जाता है तभी ग्राप नये नये रूल्स, करदर टैक्सेशन के लिए निकालते रहते हैं। में समझता हूं, ग्रगर सच्चे मानों में, ईमानदारी के साथ आपके कर्मचारी काम करें, आपका टैक्स सही सही वसूल करें तो सम्भवतः ग्राय व्ययक में ये जो नये टैक्स झापने लगाए हैं इनको लगाने की ग्रावश्यकता न पडें।

में यह मानता हं कि देश का निर्माण हो रहा है, देश में योजनाएं बन रही हैं, इन योज-नाओं की पूर्ति होना ग्रावश्यक हैं। ये देश के लिए जरूरी हैं। ऐसी हालत में भारतवर्ध के हर नागरिक का यह कर्त्तव्य हो जाता है कि कह इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ न कुछ कंट्रीब्युशन करें। लेकिन गरीब आदमी किस तरह से देश के निर्माण में ग्रपना कंट्रीब्युशन दे सके, इसके लिए रास्तः आपने श्रीर राज्य सरका**रों ने** निकाला है कि वह ऐसा कर सकते हैं। गांव में बसने वालों को पूरे साल काम रहता है, ऐसी बात नहीं है। जब गांव वाले अपने फालन समय में बैठे रहते हैं, उनके पास कोई काम नहीं रहता है, उस समय वे श्रमदान देकर ग्रापनी सहायता कर सकते हैं। ग्रापने इस तरह के कार्य को सामुदायिक विकास क्षेत्रों में और राष्ट्रीय विकास खंडों के क्षेत्रों में चलाया भी है ग्रीर गरीब किसानों से श्रम लिया है। गांव के लोग जो पैसा दे सकते हैं. वे पैसा देते हैं ग्रौर जो ग़रीब वहां के पैसा नहीं दे सकते ग्राप उनसे श्रम लेते हैं। मैं समझता हं कि उस श्रम देने के पीछे जो उनके हौसले हैं,

जो उनके मनसुब हैं उससे वे हमारे झादर के पात्र बन जाते हैं और सिर्फ इतनी हैं। हम उनसे उम्मीद कर सकते हैं। उन ग़रीबों के पास पैसे कहां हैं जो आपको इंडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेशन के रूप में दे सकें । हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने कहा कि इंडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेशन की चर्चा बहत होती है लेकिन वह बिलकूल माजिनल टैक्स है। मैं उनसे बहत विनम्र भाव से यह ग्राग्नह करूंगा कि उनकी नजरों में, उनके विभाग के लोगों की नज़रों में ही नहीं, हमारी नजरों में भी जो मार्जिनल टैक्स है वह हिन्दूस्तान में ग्राम तौर पर बसने वाले ग़रीबों के लिए पहाड है। हमारे मित्र माननीय गंगा शरण जी ने कहा था कि चाय चाहे किसी जमाने में लक्जरी की चीज रही हो, लेकिन ग्राज वह ग़रीबों की चीज़ हो गई है । मैं इस मामले में उनसे अपनी पूर्ण सहमति प्रकट करता हं । मैं इस मामले में उनके साथ मुत्तफिक राय हूं। मैंने अपनी आंखों से पूर्निया जिले के ग़रीब मजदूरों को चाय पीते देखां है। उनके पास दूध नहीं है, उन के पास चीनी नहीं है, उस पर वे चाय पीते हैं । इस तरह चाय छोटे से छोटा पीता है और यदि उस पर आप कर लगाते हैं तो उसका उन ग़रीब मज़दूरों पर क्या ग्रसर होगा, इसको ग्राप ठंडे दिल से सोचें। इस सदन की पिछली बैठक में मार्च के महीने में जो इंट्रीम ग्राय व्ययक पेश हग्रा था, उसमें जो हमारे एक माननीय सदस्य ने बडे जोर से यह कहा था कि थई क्लास कम्पार्ट-मेंट में बड़ी भीड़ होती है, लोग भेड़ बकरियों की तरह घुसते हैं, इसलिए ग्रापने जो थर्ड क्लास के मुसाफिरों को कंसेशंस दे रखे हैं, उन कंसेशंस को आप उठा लें और थई क्लास का किराया बढ़ा दें, उस पर मैंने विनम्रतापूर्वक प्रार्थना की थी कि घर्ड क्लास के किराये का बढ़ना सून कर मेरे रोंगटे खड़े हो जाते हैं, इसलिए उसकी चर्चा न करें। मैंने यह भी कहा था कि यदि प्री वार डेज से रेल के किराये से आज के किराये को मिला कर आप देखें, तो आपको [श्री कृष्ण मोहन प्यारे सिंह]

पता लगेगा कि दूना किराया तो जरूर हो गया है और कुछ रेलवेज में तिगना भी किराया हो गया है। हमारे मित्र राजेश्वर प्रसाद नारायण सिंह जी की तरफ जो रेल चलती है, उसका किराया तिगुना हो गया है । छोटी छोटी लाइन्स जो हैं, लाइट रेलवेज, उनका किराया तिगुने से बेशतर हो गया है । उसके बाद फिर किराया बढाने की चर्चा हई और उस पर रेलवे मंत्री महोदय ने यह कहा कि मैं इसकी चर्चा अपनी तरफ से नहीं करूंगा । यह भार मैंने वित्त मंत्री जी पर डाल दिया है । वे जाने कि किराया बढायेंगे या नहीं और जब चीज ग्राई तो लोगों ने सुना ग्रीर देखा कि वह किराया बढ़ने जा रहा है ग्रीर उसमें थई क्लास के पैसेंजरों का भी किराया बढाया जायगा । यह एक ग्रजीब सी बात मालम होती है। जिस तरह मैंने आपसे कहा कि अगर पूरा पूरा इन्कम टैक्स वसूल हो जाय तो सम्भवतः आपको इस ढंग के फर्दर टैक्सेशन की आव-श्यकता न पड़े, उसी तरह मैं यह कहता हं कि स्पेशल चेकिंग के कारण लोग कुछ सतर्क हये हैं यह सही है. लेकिन उसके बाद भी ग्राज ग्रापके देश में जो टिकेटलेस ट्वेल की प्रथा सी चल गई है ग्रौर फिर जो टिकेटलेस टैवलर्स होते हैं वे इसकी परवाह नहीं करते कि वे थई क्लास में टैवेल करें, जब टिकट नहीं देना है तो वे ग्राराम से सिकेंड क्लास में घमते हैं ग्रीर कभी कभी फर्स्ट क्लास में पैसेंजरों को भी तंग किया करते हैं, इसलिए अगर आप पूरी मस्तैदी से इस टिकेटलेस ट्रैवेलिंग को रोक सकें तो सम्भवतः ग्रापको इसकी ग्रावश्यकता नहीं पडेगी कि ग्राप रेल का किराया बढायें। ग्रगर बढाना ही है तो आप फर्स्ट क्लास का किराया बढायें ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Railway Budget is coming later on, Mr. Sinha. We are on the General Budget today. Only taxation.

श्री क्रुष्ण् मोहन प्यारे सिंह : बजट में ही रेल का किराया बढाने की बात ग्रा गई है । MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But you are speaking about I class, II class and III class.

DR. R. B. GOUR: Railway fares are also part of the taxation proposals.

SHRI KRISHNA MOHAN PYARE SINHA: I am finishing in twominutes.

तो फस्टं क्लास जिसमें पुराना सिकेंड क्लास का किराया लगता है और जिसमें वही सब सहूलियतें हैं, उसका किराया ग्रापको बढ़ाना चाहिये और थर्ड क्लास जिसका किराया दुगुना और तिगुना हो गया है उसका किराया बढ़ाने की ग्राप चेघ्टा न करें।

एक बात और मैं कहंगा। आशा है कि मंत्रीगण मुझ को माफ़ करेंगे ग्रगर मैं यह कहं कि सरकारी ग्रांकडों पर मझको विश्वास नहीं है। मेरे इलाके में एक बहत बडा गांव है जिसका कोई पांच हजार बीघे का रकबा हैं ग्रीर उसमें चार हजार प्राणी बसते हैं। वहां के एक देहाती किसान ने मझ से एक प्रश्न किया ग्रौर पुछा, मेरे घर का नाम लेकर उसने कहा, लाला बाबू आप यह बतायें कि सरकार के पास हमारे खेतों में जो पैदा होता है उसके ग्रांकड़े कहां से चले जाते हैं ग्रौर ग्रगर नहीं जाते हैं तो ये सारे हिन्दुस्तान के ग्रांकड़े कि इतना गेहं, इतना चावल, इतना बाजरा, इतनी ज्वार, इतनी मकई ग्रौर क्या क्या फसलें पैदा हई हैं, ये कहां से चले जाते हैं । मैंने समझाने की चेष्टा की कि सरकारी कर्म-चारी यत्र तत्र घमते हैं. हिसाब लगाते हैं और उस पर ग्रौसत पैदावार निकालते हैं ।

उसने कहा कि इस इलाके में सबसे बड़ी बस्ती हमारी है, सबसे ज्यादा जमीन की पैदावार हमारे यहां है, सबसे ज्यादा लोग इस गांव में बसते हैं। लेकिन मेरा दावा है कि कोई कर्मचारी हमारे गांव में कभी यह जानने नहीं ग्राया कि इस गांव में फसल कैसी होती है, क्या ग्रीसत पैदावार इस गांव की होती है। तो ऐसे ग्रांकड़ों पर ग्राप पैदावार की वृद्धि की चर्चा करते हैं ग्रीर कहते हैं कि हमारे देश

में ग़ल्ले को पैदावार बढ़ रही है । यह जरूर कहा गया कि बिहार ग्रौर यु० पी० के कूछ हिस्सों में स्केयरसिटो है, ग्रन्न का कमो है ग्रौर मैं इसके लिये ग्रापको धन्यवाद देता हं । बिहार और यू० पो० हो सही, झापने यह कहा तो। जहां जहां ग्राप ग्रन्न की कमी पा रहे हैं, जहां जहां स्केयरसिटी पा रहे हैं, वहां वहां म्राप ग़ल्ला भेज रहे हैं, फेयर प्राइस शाप्स खोल रहे हैं लेकिन ग्राप जिन ग्रांकड़ों पर विश्वास करके यह समझ बैठते हैं कि साहब देश में इतनो पैदावार होगो, वे झांकडे झापके ग्रलत निकलते हैं । मुझे बड़ा ग्राञ्चर्य हुम्रा जब आज इस सदन के एक बहत बड़े तजुबेंकार सदस्य श्रो पारिख जो ने होडिंग को चर्चा को । मैं ऐसे किसानों को जानता हूं जिनके पास १० या १५ हजार मन गल्ला पैदा होता था, इस वर्ष दो सौ, डेढ़ सौ मन ग़ल्ला मुश्किल से उनके हाथ लगा । ऐसे साल में ग्राप होडिंग को चर्चा करते हैंतो एक अजोबसी बात मालूम होती है। इस मामले में मैं भाई गंगाशरण जो से सहमत नहीं हूं कि देश में कुछ हुन्रा ही नहीं यह सौभाग्य को बात है कि मैं और श्री गंगाशरण जी दोनों ने एक साथ ग्रसहयोग किया था, हम मुद्दत तक एक साथ कांग्रेस में रहे, लेकिन शायद कांग्रेस छोड देने के बाद घीरे घीरे उनकी तबियत इतनी ऊब गई है, वे इतना क्षुब्ध हो गये हैं, हम से इत्तना दूर हो गये हैं कि हम में उनको कोई चेज अच्छी नहीं लगनी है। मैंने देखा है कि भाई गंगाशरण कों के गांव में ही कुछ ऐसी जमीन थीं जो बिल्कुल बेकार जमीन कही जातों थी और जिसमें उनको अपनो जमोन भी शामिल थीं, वहां ग्रब ट्यूबवैल लग गया है झौर द्युबवैल के बाद मैंने उन खेतों में लहलहातो। हुई घान को फसल देखी है। इसलिए ऐसी बात नहीं है कि कुछ नहीं किया है ।

डा० झार० बो० गौड़: उन्होंने यह कहा भी नहीं कि कुछ नहीं किया।

श्री कृष्ण मोहन प्यार सिंहः लेकिन यह म मानता हं ग्रीर उनके साथ इस मामलें में में

सहमत हं कि ऐग्रीकल्चर प्रोडक्शन को सही माने में प्लान करके बढ़ाना सरकार का कर्त्तव्य हो जाता है। मैं किसी जमाने का जमींदार और ग्रब एक किसान परिवार का व्यक्ति हुं ग्रौर मैं इतना कहने को हिम्मत करता हं कि सामु-दायिक विकास योजना के क्षेत्रों में, राष्ट्रीय विस्तार सेवा खंड के क्षेत्रों में, जहां इंटेसिव काम कर रहे हैं उन क्षेत्रों में ग्राप पटवन का, ग्राबपाशी का पूरा पूरा प्रबन्ध कर दें, खाद का प्रबन्ध कर दें ग्रीर फिर पांच साल के लिये औसत पैदावार निर्धारित कर दें और जब सारी सहलियत आवपाशी की, पटवन की, खाद की दे दें तब वैसी हालत में ग्रगर कोई किसान ग्रौसत के बराबर पैदा न करता हो तो ग्राप उसको जमीन ले लें, लेकिन यह उसो हालत में कर सकते है जबकि आप इरोगेशन वगैरा का पूरा पूरा प्रबन्ध कर दें । कम से कम में ग्रापसे यह कहंगा कि ग्रभी छोटी छोटो चीजों पर टैक्स न लगायें । ग्रभी यहां इन-डाइरेक्ट टैक्सेशन की बात ग्राई है । चाहे ग्राप इसको न माने और कहें कि नहीं साहब, इन-डाइरेक्ट टैक्स होना ही चाहिये, गरीबों को भी पैसे के जरिये से अपना कंट्रीब्यशन देना ही चाहिये---उनके श्रम से ही काम नहीं चलेगा । लेकिन मैं ग्रदब के साथ एक बात जरूर कहंगा कि इसके लिये ग्रापने एक बई। मनहस घड़ी सन् १९४७-४८ का साल चुना है। एक अगेर देश के ग्रधिकांश हिस्सों में ग्राप धीरे धीरे स्केयर सटी एरियाज डिक्लेयर कर रहे हैं---एलान कर रहे हैं---वहां झाप गल्ला भेज रहे हैं ग्रौर गल्ला सबसिडाइज्ड रेट पर देते हैं, अपनी तरफ से उसम आप पैसा मिला कर देते हैं, इतना हो नहीं स्केयरसिटी एरियाज में आप लोगों को रिलीफ का काम दे रहे हैं ग्रौर यह समझ कर दे रहे हैं कि उनके पास त्रय-शक्ति नहीं है----जो ग्राप १४ या साढ़े १४ रु० मन सबसिडाइज्ड रेट पर गल्ला देते हैं उसको भी खरीदने के योग्य वे नहीं ह ग्रौर ऐसी हालत में ग्राप उनसे रिलीफ का काम लेते हैं, उनसे हाई मैन्ग्रल लेबर का काम लेते हैं जिससे कि उनकों मजदूरी मिले

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[श्री कृष्ण मोहन प्यारे सिंह] श्रीर उस पैसे से वे गल्ला खरीद सकें---तो

आर उस पस स व गल्ली खराद सक~~ता एक ओर ग्राप ये सहूलियतें दे रहे हैं ग्रीर दूसरी ओर उनकी छोटो छोटी चीजों पर, तेल पर, चाय पर टैक्स लगा रहे हैं, और एक गरीब से गरीब ग्रादमो जो कि एक चिट्ठी लिखने के लिये केवल पोस्टकार्ड ही लेता है उस पर दाम बढ़ा रहे हैं, तो ऐसा करके कम से कम इस वर्ष तो ग्राप ग्रन्थाय कर रहे हैं, ऐसा मुझको महसूस होता है । इतनी बड़ी स्कैयर-सिटी हो ग्रीर उसके बाद भी गरीबों पर छोटी छोटी चीजों के जरिये से टैक्स लगाना, इंडाइरेक्ट टैक्स लगाना, इसमें मेरी समझ में कोई हिसाब बैठता नहीं है ।

डा० ग्रार० वोज गौड़ः हिसाब क्या है, -सब खत्म हो गया है।

श्रो कृप्ए मोहन प्यारे सिंह : जिस प्रकार उदारतापूर्वक माननोय वित्त मंत्री ने एलान किया है कि वह कैरोसिन पर टैक्स नहीं लगायेंगे उसी प्रकार यदि कम से कम इस वर्ष इन छोटो छोटी ची जों पर वह कर लगाय तो मैं समझता हूं कि देश उनका ग्राभारी होगा ग्रौर गरीब लोग उन्हें को सने के बदले उनकी सराहना करेंगे । इन शब्दों के साथ ग्रपने भावों को श्यंक्त करते हुए मैं ग्रापसे बिदा लेता हूं । धन्यवाद ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am afraid I will have to continue my speech tomorrow, and I hope our speakers will not be cut because we have been called at this stage of the debate, assuming that the House adjourns at 5 o'clock.

I listened to the speech of that hon. Member opposite with great interest. I have in mind Mr. Parikh, the champion of the undistributed profit, and he has distributed a lot of theories— not all of them are contravening or unacceptable to us. But quite a lot of what he has said would not justify acceptance by any sensible section of the People. But that is of course Jikely to be the case with our capitalist friends because they are in a state of crisis today. I congratulate the hon. Rajkumari for the delayed action bomb she held in her cupboard for ten years, which she has now dropped in this House. Not that I agree with everything she said, but many of the points she made in the course of her instructive and illuminating speech would find support from this side of the House. It again emphasises the point that once you are out of the Ministry you somehow develop a kind of mentality which brings you closer to the people and enables you to talk in the accent of the people. I do not know when the other Ministers will be liberated in order to find themselves in such a position, td acquire the language of the masses.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, since the hon. the Finance Minister presented his budget proposals to the country, the whole country has been in uproar. Everywhere in India today there are loud protests against some of his budget proposals and, I think, for very valid reasons. I' shall therefore deal with the taxation proposals that he has made in the course of his budget speech, but before I say anything, let me state it very clearly that there is no departure from the conventional retrograde tax policy which had been pursued in this country even though he, in his wisdom, has thought it necessary to impose two new taxes, I mean, the tax on wealth and expenditure tax, but that is more or less a kind of smoke-screen to enable him to get away with the booty that he wants to take away from the people.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, violation of Congress election pledges has by now become a habit with the ruling party and we are not surprised today if a pledge is violated, but I find that it has hardened into being a second nature and as far as the hon. the Finance Minister is concerned, he has outdistanced all his predecessors and he has so soon violated a pledge so solemnly given to the electorate only two or three months ago. Here is, you see, the Congress Election Mani-

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festo written, I think, by Prime Minister Nehru in his characteristic hazy but eloquent style, and this Manifesto says at page 11: "The pace of progress depends upon the resources that are available or that can be raised. While help from any friendly source must be welcomed, the principal burden of finding resources must inevitably fall on the people of the country. This burden has to be borne. But, it should be spread out in such a way as to fall chiefly on those who are in a better position to shoulder it." Now mark the words, "in a better position to shoulder it." "The structure of taxation is being reconstructed with this object in view."

Now, I accuse the Congress Government and the ruling party opposite of violating this election pledge given to the millions of our electorate when they approached them in the last general elections, for the simple reason that the tax falls on the shoulders which are in the least position to bear it. That is the point. Of course some taxes have been imposed on the rich, to which I shall come later but, by and large, the burden has been put on the shoulders of the common people who today need no additional taxation; if anything; definite they deserve tax relief.

I Now, I know

many theories have been woven and the Finance Minister who is quite a smart person and has been somewhat of an outdated salesman of his policies would realise that his theories will not work today because he has showed his hand in this matter quite clearly for anyone to see—that they intend to finance the Second Five Year Plan by fleecing the people. This is what I wish to tell the House.

I think it is not merely a question of putting more burdens on the people aggravating their economic suffering and misery; it has also become the problem of the Plan itself because, if you go about in this way fleecing the people, before long you will find

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the entire people arrayed against the Plan.

And the Plan shall then be endangered that way. Therefore, my fear is that unless and until the Congress Government retraces the steps, ther« will be every danger for the Plan in the coming days. Yet, we want the Plan to be fulfilled and in time without any abridgement or curtailing the targets. We stand for the completest fulfilment of the Plan. For that resources have to be found from alternative sources, and not the resources the Finance Minister has proposed.

Now, take these taxation proposals. I think, since he made his proposals the price of a cup of tea has gone up; the price of sugar has gone up; the price of matches has gone up. The price of almost everything that the people buy goes up that way. Now, he has attacked the people on all sides. Today the consumer is under his attack from all sides and that is the main complaint that I make. A theory has been sought to be made out that the people are in a position to buy more. Therefore, the consumption should be a little less. He wants to restrict consumption. Am I to understand that the people of our country live about the subsistence level, so that they can forgo some of the essential necessities of life? I do not get that indication from the report of the First Five Year Plan, which clearly says that the calorific quota required for an average man is not yet available to our consumer. That is stated in the report of the Plan. Today we consume less sugar than we ought to consume; today we consume less cloth than we require; today we do not get enough food that the people so vitally need. And yet at this hour, the hon. Finance Minister wants to restrict the consumption of the people and touches the items that affect their normal living standard and items very vitally important to the life and health of our countrymen. Therefore, it is a burden nol only on the present generation, but

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[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] is a burden on the future generations. Therefore, I say that these taxes he has imposed have got to be condemned on all hands. I have in mind these excise duties for the time being. And simultaneously he has reduced the taxable minimum to carry on his raid on the homes of the middle class people. People who were given exemption when the prices were not so high as today, no longer would enjoy the exemption. Now, on what grounds have you reduced the minimum limit when actually the cost of living, even according to the official statistics, has gone up? This is something I ask the Finance Minister to explain when he replies to the debate

Now, an impression is sought to be created as if he is going after the rich. This is a bluff and I think there is a lot of things that can be called bluff in this regime.

Now, I realise that some of the taxes are there—personal wealth tax and the tax on expenditure. We who have been supporting such taxes naturally welcome them. But according to us these are inadequate and are liable to evasion, because the tax collecting machinery is -much too leaky to operate these measures. 1 shall come <c that point later.

But here even according to his proposals, he is going to raise, he has imposed an additional tax of Rs. 100 crores or so for a whole year. In the remaining part of the year-we are in the middle of the year-he proposes to raise Rs. 77 or Rs. 78 crores. Now, I have calculated, it is a rough calculation, that out of that Rs. 100 crores for thj whole year, about Rs. 70 to Rs. 80 crores will have to be found from the people. That is to say, one way or another, the incidence' of such taxes would fall on the common man, who should not be taxed in the situation today. Now, even if I take Rs. 70 or Rs. 80 crores, I again find that about Rs. 63 to Rs. 65 crores would come from the same people, that is to say, the common man. Here

it is not merely a question of indirect taxation in the form of excise duties which ordinarily fall on the common man. Here also is a question of direct taxes. By lowering the exemption limit of income-tax, he has brought within the range of his operations people who are justified in demanding and enjoying exemption from income-tax.

Then, again, there is the surcharge en rail fares. Railway fares are already high and it is the common people who would be made to pay most of the fare, and the third class passenger, you know, constitutes the overwhelming majority of those who travel in our railways. The postal rates and telegraphs rates will hit the common man. This is how he has been attacking the' common people. Now, I leave it to the electorate and the people to judge for themselves as to what they should do with those people who once they are placed in power violate election pledges, attack the people at a time when the people need relief, at a time when there is famine and scarcity prevalent in the country, at a time when unemployment stares us in the face, at a time when the cost of living has become unbearable for the common man. I leave it to them to judge. But from the point of view of policy I assail these measures because they not only cause suffering to the masses, but they jeopardise the Plan itself. I do not know how long they can go this way, because the country is not the Congress Party. I know the Congress Party itself is in trouble. Mr. Feroze Gandhi is feeling dizzy, yet another is protesting to Government, and Mr. Krishnamachari has been asked to make a public speech, to tell his Congress adherents as to how to approach the population with these new taxation proposals at a public meeting. I should very much like to hear the hon. Finance Minister speaking at the Ramalila grounds in defence of his taxation proposals. Let him do a bit of public speaking outside, so that he can feel the temper and the mood of the people and

reconsider his proposals. But at the same time, I would suggest to the hon. Minister that he has brought such proposals which require consideration not merely in this House, but also in conferences. I request him to call immediately a conference of all Opposition parties and the representatives of the ruling party, so that these measures could be gone into again and a revision brought about. Otherwise, I see a critical situation looming ahead of us.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, during these past five or ten years of Congress rule, the excise duties have been constantly increasing in this country. Excise duties rose in the First Five Year Plan from Rs. 67 crores-I mean Union excise duties----to roughly about Rs. 170 crores. Then, again, they went up and today we find that the Union excise duty has, according to the budget proposals, reached, a level of about Rs. 209 crores or so in one year. It seems there has been a constant increase, whereas the direct taxes remained more or less constant in the First Five Year Plan at Rs. 173 crores. Now, there has been a slight increase in these taxes. What I want to say in this connection is that the Government has been pursuing a retrograde tax policy in our country by allowing the direct taxes to remain more or less static, while increasing systematically the Union excise duties, the incidence of which generally falls on the common man. We thought that after the general elections and having got the beating in the elections they would re-think about this matter and change the taxation policy. But it seems that two general elections are not good enough to drive home certain lessens to our Treasury Benches.

In the seven years since the beginning of the First Five Year Plan the direct taxes, I think, rose by about Rs. 41 crores only taking into account the current taxes that are proposed including the wealth tax and the expenditure tax; whereas in the same period the indirect taxes have risen by Rs. 142 crores. You can see the difference. This is the difference between the two positions the Government is taking with regard to these taxes. Tobacco, sugar, matches, kerosene, vegetable products, and so on. have already been heavily taxed. I think in the First Plan period taxes on these commodities moved up from Rs. 58.29 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 95.70 crores in 1955-56, tbat is to say, the last year of the First Plan.

Then, again, I should also mention that in the five years of the First Plan the Government collected a total of Rs. 580 crores as Union excise duties, whereas for the same period we find that in the States the total tax came to Rs. 1600 crores the incidence of which again fell on the masses because most of the State taxes affect the living standards of the masses.

Therefore, the entire tax policy of the Government so far has been how to get money from the poor people, how to get money from those who are in the least position to bear the burden of taxation. When I say this thing, I do not for one moment suggest that the people should not make their contribution to the reconstruction of our country. Indeed the peasants and workers are making their utmost contribution to the reconstruction of our economy and our land, while the millionaires and the landlords are flourishing on the fat of the land. This is the reality. But what [say here today is that in order to ' create labour enthusiasm, in order to make them feel that planning means better life for them, in order to make them realise that as the Plan progresses the economy of the country advances and their condition also moves up, it is essential to shift the economic burdens that become unbearable for them on to the shoulders of the rich who have been exempted from such burdens in a big way. This is why we demand a change in the taxation policy, but the Govern-I ment has not done so. Here I would

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[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] also like to mention that today you cannot create labour enthusiasm that is so essential for nationbuilding tasks when at every point they are made to feel that planning means attack against their lives, planning means a dark future for their children, planning means less sugar and less tea for their families, less everything. This is a'position which one should avoid, and we expected that the Government would avoid this position. They have taken exactly the opposite path.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, this is about the Union excise duties against which we have got very strong things to say. I think that this policy has and changed. I got to be reconsidered realise the difficulties of the Government, and I shall make my suggestions as to where to find the money from foj the resources of the Plan, for I am not one of those who stand for whittling down the Plan targets. I know that when the resistance of the people grows against these taxes, there will be gentlemen opposite and in other places also outside the House who will demand that since the people are not in a position to pay, "let us curtail the Plan targets". We shall hear that voice, it has already been raised. I warn the country against these voices, and I think the Government is responsible for it, I do not know to what extent deliberately, but it is clear that the '-Government's policy will lead to a position when either the people will be made to pay through the nose for the Plan when they cannot afford to do so, or they will be confronted with the proposition to accept the cuts in the targets of the Plan, and we shall be between the devil and the deep sea, and the Government is leading us into that position. I say that the Plan has to go on, not by making the kind of speech the hon. Minister made from the All-India Radio the other day, but by wholly recasting the policy of the Government with regard to the resources of the Plan.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, when the hon Minister has been so harsh, unkind and brutal as far as the people are concerned, he has been bounteous and generous to his big money friends, because he has given a large number of tax concessions to them. Let us not forget these tax concessions just because he has put some new taxes like expenditure taxnobody knows when it is coming into force-and the tax on personal wealth which will yield very little revenue because his figures show that in the next few months of the year he takes credit only for Rs. 5 crores. But here you see how he has given tax relief to the rich. With an earned income of Rs. 1 lakh a person is now paying a tax of Rs. 55,026. According to the latest budget proposal he will be paying only Rs. 51,408, that is to say, Rs. 3,618 less than what he is paying now. Those with an earned income of Rs. 2 lakhs who are now paying a tax of Rs. 1,44,604 will again due to the generosity of the hon. Finance Minister be paying, if these proposals were accepted, Rs. 1,28,000, that is, Rs. 16,604 less. Those whose income is Rs. 2,50,000 and who are paying Rs. 1,90,541 as taxes, will be paying under the new scheme of things Rs. 1,66,908, that is to say, Rs. 23,633 less. This is the picture. Now, at the top income brackets he has given exemption and he himself states in his Budget speech that he has done so. He says: "I now propose a revised schedule of these rates and introduce a new scheme of surcharge levy which will mean that the total of the incometax, super-tax and surcharge for the highest slab will be brought down from the existing level of 91 8 per cent, to 84 per cent, for unearned and 77 per cent, for earned incomes."

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: What will be the profits earned by the capitalists by this process? What is the loss to the Government as revenue?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That you will say later when you speak. All that I ask is, why this reduction? He

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will say that he is offering incentive to the millionaire friends of the Congress Party. You have given enough incentive to them. The moment you came into office you abolished business profits tax. Tax on bonus shares was there. You abolished it. You gave enough incentive and you have seen the result: blackmarketing, profiteering, speculation, hoarded wealth, and so on. Today again, without learning any lessons from the past, you are offering a bunch of tax concessions to those people whose money has got to be mobilised so that the nation can prosper, so that our national reconstruction can advance without hitting right and left the common man. I accuse the Government of pampering the rich. I accuse the Government of increasing the taxes on the people on the one hand and of reducing the taxes on the rich on the other. This has a demoralising effect, demoralising not merely from the point of view of certain economics but from the point of view of social ethics. Government is answerable to the charge of demoralising the masses, and this

is another point that I want 5 P.M. to make. Now, he expects

to get about Rs. 5 crores by taxing those whose income per month is Rs. 250. There will be

many people here working in the Parliament Secretariat whose income would be about Rs. 250 or so. I would ask how many of them get a decent living? I would ask: how many of them can make both ends meet? I would ask: how many of them are in a position to save money so that the hon, the Finance Minister can enter their houses and run away with the cash that they have got? Mr. Deputy Chairman, the whole system of taxation has been considered in an undemocratic way without any regard for the interests of the people. I say, this is something which requires the strongest condemnation on the part of any one who stands for fairplay, social justice and for the defence of even the Second Five Year Plan.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You may continue tomorrow.

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

The House then adjourned at five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 21st May 1957.

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