

Pradesh, (vii) West Bengal, (viii) Ajmer (ix) Coorg for the period 1945-47, and for (i) Bombay, (ii) Madhya Pradesh, (iii) Madras, (iv) Orissa, (v) Punjab, (vi) Uttar Pradesh, (vii) West Bengal, (viii) Ajmer for 1947-50, and (i) Bihar, (ii) Bombay, (iii) Madras, (iv) Punjab, (v) Uttar Pradesh, (vi) Saurashtra, (vii) Travancore-Cochin, (viii) Ajmer for 1950-53. The reviews will be compiled as soon as information from all the States becomes available.

(b) The review for 1936-39 has already been completed.

ELECTRIC GENERATING STATION USING NUCLEAR ENERGY AS FUEL

252. MOULANA M. FARUQI: Will the PRIME MINISTER be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government propose to build any Electric Generating Station in India using nuclear energy as fuel; and

(b) if so, where and at what cost?

THE PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU): (a) and (b). The matter is under the consideration of the Government.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

NOTIFICATIONS PUBLISHING AMENDMENTS TO THE COFFEE RULES, 1955 AND THE TEA RULES, 1954.

THE MINISTER FOR COMMERCE (SHRI D. P. KARMARKAR): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (3) of section 48 of the Coffee Act, 1942, a copy of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry Notification S.R.O. No. 455[15(17) Plant/55], dated the 20th February, 1956, publishing certain amendments to the Coffee Rules, 1955. [Placed in Library, see No. S-75/56.]

I also beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following Notifications under sub-section (3) of section 49 of the Tea Act, 1953:-

(i) Ministry of Commerce and Industry Notification S.R.O. No. 1262, dated the 17th April, 1954, publishing certain amendments to the Tea Rules, 1954.

(ii) Ministry of Commerce and Industry Notification S.R.O. No. 229, dated the 22nd January, 1955, publishing certain amendments to the Tea Rules, 1954 [Placed in Library. See No. S-76/56 for (i) and (ii)]

Sir, with your permission I may add—I owe it to the House—that under the Tea Act we are required to place all the amendments to the Tea Rules on the Table of both Houses of Parliament as soon as they are made. There has been considerable delay in respect of Notification S.R.O. No. 1262, dated the 17th April 1954. Sir, I have gone into the matter and I am satisfied that it is absolutely due to an oversight.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hereafter you will be vigilant.

DR. RAGHUBIR SINH (Madhya Bharat): What about No. 229? He said that he has only investigated the first one. In respect of the second....

MR. CHAIRMAN: The same explanation holds.

BUDGET (GENERAL), 1956-57—GENERAL DISCUSSION—continued.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA (Mysore): Mr. Chairman, yesterday I joined with the other hon. Members in welcoming the budget proposals. That our finances are sound, I do not think, needs any arguments for me to advance in favour of it. There are certain principles by which we can judge the soundness of our finance. The strength of our currency abroad is one such, and judged from that standard, I feel today that our currency commands as much credit as any other

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currency abroad. There is also another criterion and that is with regard to our capacity to raise loans and also resort to deficit financing. Sir, as our experience has shown, every loan that we have floated has been a great success. Likewise, such deficit financing as we have resorted to these few years, has not resulted in any inflation. One has only to compare the strength of our currency with the currency of some of our neighbouring States which have won new-found freedom. It is only then that we can appreciate how strong our currency is. The budgeting as well as the Plan are to be judged by the social objectives that we have before us. It is only to the extent that these estimates and the plan of which they form a part serve that great social objective that it deserves our commendation or approbation. Now that we have had First Five Year Plan almost at the stage of completion and we are on the threshold of the Second Five Year Plan. I think it is a very opportune time for us to assess exactly the results and also to plan for the future. Before I do that, I would like this House to remind itself of exactly what the Finance Minister has said with regard to these things. He has cautioned us against any kind of over optimistic expectations either in regard to the question of standard of living being raised on account of this plan or with regard to the increase of *per capita* income. I think it would be good if I just quote his words which are found in his budget speech. This is what he says:

"It is only after we have fulfilled, shall I say, the Third Five Year Plan that we shall see a marked and unmistakable improvement in living standards all round and in the capacity of the country to go ahead more rapidly on its own momentum."

So, if there are critics here who do not see in the completion of the first Five Year Plan a perceptible, a great rise in the standard of living, I think it would not be very justifiable on

their part to have such an expectation and even with regard to the Second Five Year Plan. I think the Finance Minister is very correct when he says even that may not disclose a very perceptible rise in the standard of living. Secondly, with regard to the *per capita* income, there has been criticism on the floor of this House as elsewhere that from such rise as there is in production and in consequence a rise in the total national income, it would be altogether wrong to think that all is well merely on the basis of calculations of the *per capita* income. This is again what he says with regard to this subject:

"The problem is not merely one of raising the statistical average of *per capita* incomes which could easily be a will o' the wisp; it is one of raising the lowest incomes and of opening out to the younger generation avenues of growth and advancement that will bring out the best in them."

So it is a fact that when we examine the results of the First Five Year Plan from that angle viz., whether it has actually raised the standard of living of these lower income groups, we are faced with a rather dismal look. All that it claims to do as per the Finance Minister, is that it has laid the foundations well and truly for a massive super-structure. Even if that much is done, it is certainly a matter for congratulation. My friend Shri Kunzru yesterday, I believe, said that unless we have a picture of the First Five Year Plan both as regards the targets that we had and the actual results as also as regards the ways and means, the resources for the same, we may not be able to come to a correct decision or appraisal of the present proposals. Undoubtedly there is much truth in that. This point is not new to this House. Because last time when the subject was referred to, the hon. Minister seems to have felt that it is not possible at the time of the framing of the budget estimates to have a complete picture of the results of planning and development during the year because the figures come much later and because always the report

of the planning comes much later and it was open to the House to discuss the plan at that time and make any suggestion that they choose. But I think even as they frame the revised estimates so far as the Budget is concerned, it should be possible for the Finance Minister to give us an idea of how exactly the plan has functioned during the year in question as also during the earlier years of the plan. Therefore, I feel that the hon. Finance Minister will consider that suggestion sympathetically and see what best could be done in order to give us an idea of the working of the plan even at the time of the Budget estimates themselves. Anyway the Finance Minister has given us an assurance and I believe, the hon. Prime Minister has also said the same thing *viz.*, that this plan frame is only a frame and that at the end of every year there will be a review of the whole position and it will be possible for us to effect such changes as are necessary with a view to get the best out of it. If that is so, before final decisions are taken by the Government on such a review, would it be too much for us to expect that the Finance Minister will take this House into confidence and place all the materials before the House? That means that it will enable to consider as not only how far implementation of the plan has gone on during the year but also what resources were available for the purpose and especially to what extent deficit financing had to be resorted to.

Sir, this question of variations between the Budget estimates and the revised estimates on the one hand and of the actuals on the other has been referred to in the past. This again is a matter which was some-what elaborately dealt with last time by the Finance Minister. He referred to the international circumstances and conditions that were prevailing then, the Korean situation and how greatly it affected the world situation and how India could not be any exception. He also referred to the other very significant fact, namely, that the machinery for implementing the plan had not

been fully geared up to meet the situation. Therefore these variations were there and he hoped that in the years to come, at any rate, these variations would not be very large. Also, having regard to the volume of the operations involved, these variations have not been very substantial. After all, it would be far better to budget for a little surplus expenditure than the reverse of it. I quite see that the present generation should not be taxed more than is quite necessary, for the sake of the future generations. Yet, I do not think, when we have got to plan ahead, it is too much of a sacrifice, even should it be that we have to tax ourselves a bit more than need be, for the present. It is for the good of the country as a whole. I quite see, having some idea of budgeting, that sometimes we do provide on the expenditure side a little more than we need to, and under-rate the receipts on the revenue side. I cannot now lay my hands on all the figures, but I may refer to one by way of illustration. Take, for instance the amount of loans that we have got to give to the Industrial Finance Corporation. During the year under question, the amount that was sanctioned by the Industrial Finance Corporation was to the tune of about Rs. 4.68 crores. That is the amount that was sanctioned. But the amount that was actually disbursed came to only Rs. 2.32 crores. When we have that as a measure of the volume of business that the Corporation had transacted during the course of this year, would it be justifiable for the Finance Minister to provide as much as Rs. 6 crores for the year 1956-57? I am doubtful whether all this Rs. 6 crores would be used. Therefore, I say, there is a tendency to provide a little more on the expenditure side.

The other very important question that is agitating the minds of men is the one regarding deficit financing. On this also, Sir, there has been ample discussion and I do not want to give an elaborate answer to this question. The main point raised is, when we have got a big plan before us, when the Second Five Year Plan provides for

[Shri H. C. Dasappa.] deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 1,200 crores, whether this will not give rise to inflationary tendencies. I may point out that inflationary tendency is a thing which arises where the supplies are not enough to meet the demands. Naturally when there is more money pumped into the public and we have not got enough supplies of consumer goods, then there is necessarily inflation. But where we can equalise the supply and the demand, I cannot conceive that there will be any kind of an inflationary tendency.

SHRI J. S. BISHT (Uttar Pradesh): Then why do we find the prices rising?

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: I am telling the House that if there is a rise it must be due to the fact that the supplies are not enough to meet the demands. There may be a rise I quite see the fact. But do we really think that there will be an all-round rise? Take for instance the case of the agricultural crops. In order to stabilise the prices, because there is a likely tendency of a fall in the prices of foodgrains, the Government have today chosen the policy of purchasing foodgrains in the market. Why have they done so? It is to prevent the tendency of the prices to fall. So, my hon. friend Mr. Bisht does not present the facts correctly.

SHRI J. S. BISHT: But wheat prices are rising. The Government is selling wheat in the market, but it has had no appreciable effect on the market price.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: I think so far as the prices of foodgrains are concerned, where there has been this kind of State trading or operation by the State, it has had a perceptible effect and a desirable effect in stemming the rise in prices. I think, far better than give my own rather lay views, I would do well to quote the words of the Finance Minister himself on this subject of deficit financing. This is what he said in reply to a

similar suggestion made in this House, last year:

"Deficit financing has, at this stage, a positive role to play, provided it is linked to a well-balanced plan. What worries the hon. Member is not the extent of deficit financing needed, but our limited capacity to apply it effectively to the furtherance of the Plan. In other words, our principal problem is not finance at all but organisation and the training of the technical personnel."

I think this ought to be sufficient answer to those friends who are apprehending danger in resorting to deficit financing.

Let us also remember what after all, are the demands of the average Indian? Eighty per cent. of these demands, as the sample survey has shown, consist of food, raiment and shelter. As regards food, we have had it from the Deputy Minister that there is a rise of 7.5 per cent in rice production. So there is ample supply of food. As regards cloth also there need be no difficulty for even if for any reason the handlooms fail, the mills are there always ready to expand their production without any great effort. On the subject of adequate shelter, that is a matter about which the Government has to be careful and I have got my own grievance that not sufficient is being done in this respect. I will, however refer to this a little later when I deal with the question of how the rural areas have been dealt with in the Plan.

There is another point to which I may refer and that is with regard to the balance of payment. The Finance Minister has said that very much less has been drawn from the sterling balances and there has been a substantial increase in the balance of payment, in favour of India. That is due to the fact that we have imported no foodgrains and so on. Of course, it is a very good thing to have a favourable balance of payment. That of course, is due to reduction in the

import of foodgrains and so on. But I would like to submit in this connection that if we have got a big capital programme, and we need capital goods from abroad, I don't think we should flatter ourselves that the balance of payment is in our favour by denying ourselves the capital goods. I would much rather that in these critical days when we are trying to develop our country we resort to having all the capital goods that we need for our purposes, care being taken to see that the balance of payment does not become unfavourable to us.

There is another point to which I would like to refer and that is the need for economy and avoidance of wastage, to which also reference has already been made by some members. The Finance Minister has not left a single matter of importance without due consideration. Sir, from my point of view, economy is as good as earning; as good as income. Therefore, it is very necessary to see that there are no leakages, no loopholes for wastage and every bit of money is put to the best use.

12 Noon

He has got his economy unit and there is a continuous watch maintained but in addition to that, the Finance Minister has proposed the constitution of a high power committee which no doubt is a welcome feature and I hope that it will function effectively not only with regard to the Centre but also with regard to any wastefulness in the projects in the States. I am glad its field of operation is wide enough and it covers the States as well. But I have got another question which is equally, if not more, important and that is, what is the remedy left to us if the States or any of the States do not implement the Plan as agreed to by them and divert the funds on unproductive expenditure. I see that the hon. Finance Minister has not thought fit to provide for such a contingency as that though last time in reply to criticism here he said that the matter would be very carefully

watched and suitable advice would be sent to the State Governments. I am not talking in the air. I have got very specific instances and there are certain States which did not very much care to adhere to the various projects which they had agreed to in the beginning and diverted the funds to other rather fanciful and spectacular items.

The last plan had, in my opinion two defects. The first thing was, it did not provide sufficiently for industries and the second thing was it did not provide sufficiently for solving the problem of unemployment and also I think of the rural areas. To a large extent, these defects have been made up in the present plan. It provides for a fairly reasonable amount for the development of large scale industries, particularly the iron and steel industry. To this extent, I must say that it should be greatly welcomed. Equally so is the provision for heavy electrical industry, the fertiliser factory and so on.

There is also another feature which is equally welcome and that is the provision for village industries. I believe that this time they have taken it up quite seriously. I wish to say one thing in regard to this. It is quite easy to start a factory costing about ten or even hundred crores of rupees because it is concentrated at one place. In the case of village industries however, to be spread over five or six lakhs of villages in India, it is not going to be an easy job unless we draft the proper personnel and unless rural co-operatives are organised to manage these industries. Unless we do all these, it is going to be, I am afraid, only big talk with no results forthcoming.

There is another point which I am fond of repeating—I think I have done last year also—and it is this, namely, while we are thinking of starting big industries, basic or key industries by the Union Government and while we are also thinking of these village

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industries, we have not provided sufficiently for industries which the States at their level could undertake. I feel, Sir, that this is a great lacuna in the whole of the Five Year Plan. There are very good examples for us to follow and I see no reason why the various States should not launch on their own industrial schemes either fully state owned or participating in capital along with the public. Whether at the Centre, as also for the States it is not necessary that the whole of the capital should be invested by the Government. If we could have a 51 per cent. share, that is more than enough; it will enthuse confidence in the public and with half the money, we may be able to launch out on twice the number of industries. I see no reason why it should not be done. I am informed that there was such a suggestion from the Commerce and Industry Ministry which has been turned down; whether it is a fact or not, I would beg of the Finance Minister to accommodate that Ministry to the extent of say 25 crores of rupees as a beginning and I am sure they will be able to tap at least hundred crores of rupees from the public.

Then as regards the rural bias of the plan, there is something heartening in the present plan so far as that is concerned and I hope that this is a prelude to much greater things to follow. I am glad to refer to the acceptance by Government of the major recommendations of the Rural Credit Survey Committee. I do not want to deal with this thing in detail but I only hope that they are applying their mind to this. Facilities in regard to credit, marketing, warehousing and so on are sure to change the face of rural India. I hope that this will be done with a sufficient amount of zest and enthusiasm and that they will enlist the wholehearted co-operation of the people in the rural areas.

When I come to this question of rural needs and requirements, there are a number of things to which I

am tempted to refer but there is one very important thing to which I must draw the attention of the House and that relates to rural housing. So far as rural housing is concerned, there are about 54 million houses in the villages most of which, may be 90 or 99 per cent., require reconditioning and rebuilding. What is the amount that they have provided in the next plan? Out of Rs. 120 crores, which is not much from my point of view, they have provided a paltry sum of five crores of rupees for five years for rural housing. It is almost, I think, an insult to the people that out of Rs. 120 crores, this item could get only five crores of rupees for 85 per cent. of the people in India. I am surprised and staggered by such a proposal as that. Let it be known and I want this House clearly to understand, that it is not merely this 115 crores of rupees that go into urban housing; there are the various other schemes such as the schemes sponsored by the Rehabilitation Ministry—not that I grudge these—the Defence Ministry, the Labour Ministry and the construction programme of the C.P.W.D. Apart from all these, Rs. 115 crores go to the urban areas. This imbalance should be set right. Possibly because the rural people have not much voice they are keeping quiet.

Let us then take the question of education. You have all got the figures of literacy and I do not want to weary the House. In the urban areas the percentage is as much as 34.6 because there are more educational institutions there whereas in the rural areas it is just 12.1 and if you take the women as a whole, it is just 7.9. Are we going to build up an ideal modern democracy with such material? Do we expect them to appreciate all the good things that we are doing and co-operate with us? Can we expect them not to be misled by people who can corrupt them? I feel that a lot more than has been provided should be provided. What is it that they have provided for? From the Centre, for primary education, it is 7 crores of rupees. Is that enough?

Then, Sir, there is another subject which is very important from the national point of view and that is the propagation of Hindi and the encouragement of Hindi. I am glad my friend, Mr. Gupta, yesterday pleaded for the non-Hindi speaking areas. I am greatly indebted to him because there are very few like him who plead for these non-Hindi speaking areas.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): We all do.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: I am grateful to you, but I want results here in the Budget. After seven or eight years of continuous—I won't say bombardment—pleading, what have we got for all the non-Hindi speaking areas? For about, I suppose, 20 crores of such people we have got Rs. 8 lakhs. Is it that they are playing jokes with this important subject by providing only Rs. 8 lakhs? Andhra, Tamilnad, Kerala and Karnataka, these have got 10 crores of population, and Rs. 8 lakhs for 10 crores of people? Is that a serious business, I am asking.

SHRI SHRIYANS PRASAD JAIN (Bombay): It is ridiculous.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: There my friend says 'ridiculous'. I am not accustomed to harsh words and harsh words do not break bones, but I do urge that my hon. friend's suggestion may be taken up. I do not want to say much about education in general, but I feel that it is easiest to learn a different language when a child is very very young. So instead of teaching the Devanagari script when a child reaches adolescence or becomes bigger, it is better we start right from the primary schools, and it is quite easy for them to learn then. Among our great educational experts—I have got a great educational expert in front of me; I do not want to say anything about them but—there are some who send their own children to the convents, who start learning English and begin to lisp in English. Cannot our children, the same children learn Hindi? This is quite easy, but they want a certain amount of motive force, I

mean, there must be a special inducement and encouragement. We give our children sweets and other things in order to induce them to go to school. Now his suggestion was that there may be at least a payment of Rs. 2 per month for every primary school boy taking Hindi. Now I do not even go so far; I will say: Supply them with all the books and the literature free at least. Is that too much to ask? What revolution it will make! And when once we start them on Hindi in the first few classes, we need not bother when they go up, for they will take the course themselves. So I plead for a better treatment to the non-Hindi speaking areas from this point of view. Personally I have got some complaints. I do not want to refer to my own institutional needs, how my papers never move in spite of my own prodding. Dr. Shrimali has promised that they will move and I hope that will be done.

Then, Sir, one of the important problems relates to the prices of agricultural produce. I would like, Sir, an expert committee to go into this question, how far the price levels of all other products except foodgrains have gone up and how there is the attempt to keep down food prices or rather to keep the prices of the agricultural crops down. My friend, Mr. R. M. Deshmukh,—not Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh, not Dr. Chintaman Deshmukh—referred to this very important question and said how when the cotton prices, just tried to mount up and it was possible for the growers to make some money a ceiling was clamped down on the price. I consider this is an extremely unfair thing to the agriculturist and I only say this that to the extent the level of prices of his other primary requirements—I qualify them as 'primary requirements' of the agriculturist—goes up, to that extent the prices of foodgrains also must be allowed to go up.

Then, Sir, I wish to say something on the question of indigenous medicines. Now out of several crores of rupees, I think this time the amount

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of money for medical services has gone up from about 1 crore and odd to 4 crores. They have provided Rs. 14 lakhs for indigenous medicines in which are included Ayurveda, Unani, Nature Cure, Homeopathy, etc. This is the kind of direction that the plan proposes to give to this country. How long are we to wait for an appropriate direction? Sir, people who have any experience of Ayurveda and Unani know how efficacious they are and even to this day what a large section of the Indian population take to them.

Then a word on forests and research in forestry. Forests occupy an important place in what is known as current economy. It is not bucket economy or the reservoir economy like minerals which soon disappears by exploitation, but forests which go on for generations to come by regeneration. No doubt there is a research institute in the north at Dehra Dun, a very efficient and a very good one, but in the whole of the south of this sub-continent there is not a single one. I would request the Government to consider setting up a good forest research laboratory in the south.

Then with regard to electricity schemes, that also comes under current economy, especially hydro-electricity, and it must be possible to harness the power that is going to waste. Well, I was told that Barapole in Coorg, had a chance but it is now relegated to the future and when it will be taken up, nobody knows. Here is the Karve Committee pleading for electrification of rural areas. Now why should we not take up such hydel schemes, as can generate power, almost at the cheapest price? It won't go more than a thousand rupees per kilowatt. Honnemaradu has been taken up, but Barapole does not take more than a thousand rupees per kilowatt, and I think they ought to take up that project.

One of the last things I come to is this, or rather two things more. There

are huge differences between the scales of salaries obtaining at the State levels and at the Union level. Now some of the States have better scales than others. With the integration of the various linguistic groups—I do not want to talk about this linguism—you have got to bring the different parts together. That means that there has got to be an upgrading of scales in all places where there has been a low level of scales. How are they to do it? How can they run the administration? I think a high-power committee at the Centre should be constituted to go into the question of bringing about some kind of a parity—I do not say complete parity—between the various scales of salaries

Then the last thing is the question of family planning. I am surprised at the levity with which some members take this subject. What is it that we see to-day? The plan, no doubt, is excellent, but it cannot catch up with the increasing population. To make our plans more effective, is it not better to regulate reproduction at that end? In what sector of our people is there this large growth of population? Not the well-to-do in which case the children would be well looked after, but the people in the streets, the vagrants, the anti-social elements, the poor. Is it not a menace to society to develop this large class of vagrants in India? This is a very important matter and I hope the better minds of the country will think of solving this problem. It is better that we get hold of the children who are in the streets and give them some education. There are certain institutions for the purpose and I hope such institutions will be multiplied.

In conclusion, Sir, I say that there is something distinctive about our great land. It is not all made up of rupees, annas and pies, and if we simply plan to go the way the West has gone, I think we will not have gained much in the end because we here in India think of the spirit and

the soul of India, the most distinguished representative of, which is here, Sir, in your good self. I want a happy union of this spirit and the soul of India with what Shri Chintaman Deshmukh represents, the economic and material development of this country. That is my dream, and that, I think, is the dream of all my friends here.

SHRI K. MADHAVA MENON (Madras): Mr. Chairman, the Budget more or less is an acrobatics of figures for laymen like me and I expected some sort of elucidation from experts like Mr. Bhupesh Gupta on this side or Mr. Chandulal Parikh on the other side.

But Mr. Chandulal Parikh said that there is a distinct note of socialism in the budget proposals and that the new taxes would substantially help to reduce inequalities. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta said that the Budget is pampering the monopolists and the capitalists. Between the two I think the Finance Minister, since he cannot satisfy both the extremes, has taken a step which would satisfy a majority, and people like me get consoled that it is a good Budget.

Sir, I do not want to go into every item in the Budget. I want mainly to speak only on one or two points concerning my area in particular. I entirely agree with Mr. Dasappa, with my little experience that I had, that the consideration given for education in this Budget is neither satisfactory nor sufficient. If we really want to implement some of the directive principles given in the Constitution—to have free and compulsory education within a period of 15 years and things like that—the States will have to be very liberally helped by the Centre. The States by their own resources—I had been in charge of education in practically a major province for some time and I know this—cannot implement even such a very essential thing as compulsory elementary education within the period prescribed, unless the States are very liberally helped

by the Centre and unless the Centre does not interfere with the work of the States in managing their own affairs. Sir, I do not want to say anything more on that.

Regarding taxation, some increase is inevitable. We have to tighten our belts if we want to find money to meet the expenditure under the Second Five Year Plan and to fulfil all our ambitious desires. But in imposing new taxation my only appeal is that care may be taken to see that the hardship does not fall on the poor man. The comparatively small producer and the consumers in general should be saved wherever it is possible. I have no complaint about the increase in super-tax which is personal taxation. There is no harm at all in increasing it to 91·9 per cent. to those whose income is above Rs. 150 lakhs. I do not mind even reducing the limit further, that is, that 91·9 per cent. should be the tax even for those people who get an income of a lakh of rupees and above. But I doubt very much the wisdom of increasing the excise duties on some articles which affect the poor consumer very much.

Sir, the customs duty proposed on flashlights, I am afraid, will affect the poor people very very heavily. The people who use these small torches are not rich people but it is the comparatively poorer people who use such torches. In the Kerala area where we have plenty of forests and all that, you take any poor man, you will find a torch with him. So I doubt very much the wisdom in increasing the customs duty on these flashlights.

But my more serious objection is to the inclusion of coconut oil in the category of non-essential vegetable oils and subjecting it to excise duty. Sir, coconut is the wealth of my province; the very name Kerala comes from coconut. That is the wealth if at all there is any wealth in that province. That is perhaps the poorest State in India, though perhaps most thickly populated. If at all we have

[Shri K. Madhava Menon.]
any wealth, it comes out of coconut. I have seen recently the explanation given by the Government to clear what is meant by non-essential oils and I want to tell the Government that coconut oil is not a non-essential oil at all as far as we are concerned. In Malabar, Cochin, Travancore and other areas coconut oil is the ghee of the poor man. Next to rice, the largest item of consumption for him is this coconut oil. And the coconut trees or coconut plantations are not generally owned by large capitalists. Practically, every homestead—maybe the poorest of the poor—will have a dozen or half a dozen coconut trees. Almost every person owns one or two coconut trees. As such, a duty on coconut oil will affect the entire economy very badly. The coconut oil industry is already struggling for its existence and it is evident from the fact that it is producing much less than the installed capacity. Already the cess imposed by the Indian Central Coconut Committee and the respective marketing committees is hanging heavily on the industry and this will be the last straw on the camel's back. The proposed excise duty will certainly increase the price of coconut oil but there will not be a corresponding increase in the price of the coconuts because as I said these coconuts are grown more or less by small homesteads. Comparatively richer merchants come and take the coconuts from the poor people. These merchants would want to make up for the increased duty and they will naturally reduce the price of coconuts. The coconut price is already very low. Therefore this excise duty on coconut oil or this inclusion of coconut oil as non-essential vegetable oil will considerably affect the economy of Kerala and I would appeal to the Finance Minister to consider this matter very carefully.

Sir, one other matter and I am done. That is about the smuggling of gold. Recently, in some districts of Malabar there has been a haul of

smuggled gold worth about Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 lakhs. It is said that the small country crafts bring the gold from Arabia and other places. I asked a supplementary question the other day as to why we have kept the price of gold so high as to be profitable for these smugglers. After all, these smugglers cannot get the gold for nothing. Evidently in Arabia and other places gold is cheaper than in India. Sir, I have not been able to understand why the price of gold is kept so high in India and when I asked a supplementary question the answer was that gold was not allowed to be imported into this country. The reason for the price being kept high was not given. Why should we make it profitable for a smuggler to bring gold from outside? Why should we keep its price so high here?

THE MINISTER FOR REVENUE AND CIVIL EXPENDITURE (SHRI M. C. SHAH): To save foreign exchange.

SHRI K. MADHAVA MENON: Sir, I am a layman but I want this question to be examined. Otherwise, no amount of our hauling up a smuggler here or a smuggler there is going to stop this, unless we make it not so profitable for the smugglers. That is all that I have to say, Sir.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE (West Bengal): Sir, the sigh of relief with which the Budget has been received by the country, especially by the business community—in spite of the unfortunate leakage of the budget proposals,—appears to me particularly in the context of the colossal tasks which the fulfilment of the Second Five Year Plan will entail, the measure of the failure of the Finance Minister in relation to this Budget. What I mean would become more clear when I come to a discussion of the taxation proposals, but in the meantime I should like to place certain facts before you for your consideration. Dr. Kunzru had reverted to the charge of loose budgeting by the Finance Minister which was made last year, I believe, by Shri Jain. The facts of the case are against the Finance Minister.

When that charge was made last year, he had said in extenuation of the position that (a) special circumstances such as the Korean war and its aftermath made calculations of revenues difficult; and (b) the lack of organisation in regard to expenditure, were responsible for the differences in the estimates and the actuals. It appears that either those conditions are still continuing or the calculations are still going wrong. I am sure that the deficit this year would also, on present indications, be found to be not there when the Budget is presented next year for two reasons. One, the revenues have been underestimated in certain categories. For example, if you take excises, no provision has been made for the expansion in production. The estimates for the next year in regard to most of the excise duties are the same as they were in the current year. Secondly, if you take the capital budget, the provision next year is about Rs. 317 crores. Last year in the Budget it was about two hundred and some odd crores and the revised is only about Rs. 170 crores, so that we have provided for nearly one hundred per cent. increase in the capital expenditure. I am sure that that is not going to be realised. Sir, I would not have placed much importance to this matter if the Finance Minister had not made certain other observations in this context. He said that so far as the Budget was concerned, his objective was that current expenditure should be met by current taxation. And he explained last year by saying that hon. Members must not run away with the impression that heavy taxes had been imposed on the public for the sake of implementing the plan. That would be a wrong idea. Sir, I do not understand the implication of that proposition, because certainly the financing of the plan is one of the objects that we have in view. Resources must also be raised through current taxation. I can understand probably what the Finance Minister meant—although he did not make it clear—was that outlay on investment expenditure

should not be met through taxation, that so far as current expenditure was concerned, both for revenue and developmental purposes, that should be met by current taxation.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

But the outlay on investment expenditure might be met through borrowing and other ways. That has not been made quite clear in this statement where he said that heavy taxes are not being imposed for the sake of implementing the Plan.

Now, that brings me to the question of the form in which the Budget is presented. The traditional method of presenting the Budget is not quite appropriate today when we have a plan in hand. Formerly, the Budgets were only statements of revenue and expenditure and we could make our observations on the Budget and the likely economic effects the taxation proposals would have. But today the Budget is not something separate. It is an integral part of the Five Year Plan. What we have is instead of an annual Budget a five-year Budget and every year's Budget has to be fitted in in the plan that we have accepted or are going to accept. Now, if that is the position, then the information that we need for examining the Budget is certainly different from what is presented in the budget papers. I have said that so far as the Budget is concerned of any year, the direction, the content and the broad outline are already stated in the Five Year Plan. The Budget cannot divert broadly from the objectives as stated in the plan. Of course, there may be minor modifications. Now, if that is conceded, then the information that we should need is, on the revenue side, the effort made to get the resources that are necessary for implementing the plan. For instance we have stated in the Second Five Year Plan that Rs. 800 crores would be needed by way of additional taxation. We should know, each year, as to how much of that is being found through taxation. If we take the figure of Rs. 800 crores for the whole of the country and say that fifty per cent. will be accounted for

[Shri B. C. Ghose.]

by the States, then the Centre's share would be about Rs. 400 crores, over a period of five years, of additional taxation. How much of that Rs. 400 crores shall we be able to raise during the first year? The figures are not given in that form. But I believe it will not be more than Rs. 35 crores or Rs. 40 crores. But anyway I should like, along with the traditional presentation of the Budget, information also on such items as to what are the amounts being obtained each year under the different heads of resources presented in the Five Year Plan, for example, under the head of taxation, under the head of borrowing, under the head of foreign assistance. For example, under foreign assistance we have taken account of Rs. 160 crores a year in the plan and the provision in the current Budget is Rs. 85 crores. I do not say that the shortfall is any serious, because it may be stepped up in later years. But in order that we may understand the Budget in its relation to the Five Year Plan, which is the most important thing, we should be provided with informations that are necessary for that purpose. And, therefore, these things—the amount of resources that are being raised in relation to the target set in the Five Year Plan and the expenditures also that are going to be incurred in relation to the target of the Five Year Plan—should be given. I do not say that the Finance Minister can give us all the information relating to the Centre and the States as well at the same time; but certainly he can give us the information in regard to the Centre, Centre's expenditure on the plan every year. And probably he can also give us the expenditure that has been incurred by the States in the previous year. That would give us some idea as to how the plan has been functioning or working. In the same context, I should like to say that it is unfortunate that we have not been presented with the progress reports on the Five Year Plan. The last progress report, I believe, was presented in September 1954. Since then no

progress report has been placed before us and we do not know, excepting that we have a certain rough idea, as to how the plan has been going forward. Probably, as everybody knows, there would be a shortfall of about ten to fifteen per cent. in the plan expenditure, that is, on the side of the finances. There is also the question of the actual results obtained. During the last budget discussion the Finance Minister had given an assurance that the "Planning Commission has at present in hand a survey of various programmes under the First Five Year Plan, showing the progress made, as far as possible, in physical terms." Now, the point has also been made often in this House that we should not be given figures only of the plan expenditure that has been incurred, but we should also be given some idea of the work that has actually been done and the Finance Minister had promised that last year.

And he said that this survey was expected to become available in the course of the next two months or so. But that survey or the results of that survey are still not available. I do hope that in future years, we would be given all adequate information that we need for examining correctly the position of the Budget and its effects on the implementation of the Five Year Plan.

I would also like to mention here a point that I urged some years ago about national income statistics. We were told about two or three years ago that they were still being prepared and that they would take some time. But five years have passed since we embarked on the plan and it is unfortunate that even in regard to national income statistics, the latest figures we have got are for 1953-54, which again are only preliminary in character. Unless we get the national income statistics, we do not know how the various sectors in the economy are operating. I hope, therefore, that the Government will take steps to bring this information up to date and furnish us with the details in proper time.

Before I go on to a discussion on the achievements of the plan, I might first say a word about the High Power Committee which the Government intend to set up for keeping a check on public expenditure. I would like to congratulate the hon. Finance Minister for acceding to the demands that have been made so often in both Houses for keeping a check on public expenditure. I should also like him to examine the fact that the cost of collection of tax revenue has been increasing. For example, if it was about 3·3 per cent. in 1948, it is 3·6 per cent. now. That is also a point which I hope he will have under examination.

So far as the achievements of the plan are concerned, I do not want to say anything much, because the proper time would be when we shall have the progress report of the plan here for discussion. But the Finance Minister has referred to certain things as satisfactory indicators of the economic situation in the country today *e.g.*, the national income has increased; production has increased and the balance of payments position is satisfactory, although the unemployment position continues to be extremely unsatisfactory.

Now, there is no dispute over the facts that the national income or industrial production has increased. Unfortunately, we have no figures relating to years prior to that when the plan was taken in hand, of national income statistics, so that we might have compared as to what has been the growth of national income during the plan period compared to what it was before, because it is sometimes suggested that we have been having a very rapid economic development. That we are having some measure of development, I do not deny. Whether that development is very rapid, I am not quite sure. For example, if you take even the national income figures, say, at current prices, there was an increase of about 11·2 per cent. between 1948-49 and 1951-52, that is, before the plan was really put into operation. The increase in 1953-54 at

current prices was only by 11·5 per cent. So, at current prices, that is not a very great increase. If you take the 1948-49 constant prices, then in 1953-54, the increase over 1948-49 was only about eight per cent., even if you take the figures which have been given in the Second Five Year Plan that there has been a 10 per cent. increase in the *per capita* income. In actual practice, it means a twenty-five rupee increase over five years. So, what we have achieved is Rs. 5 per year in the *per capita* income in this country. Sir, is that very astounding or extraordinary that there has been a continuous increase in the *per capita* income in this country of, say, about six and a half annas per month? That is a continuous figure. Every year, there has been an increase of six and a half annas per month. Is that anything very substantial? Now, the target was to double the *per capita* income in 22 years' time. Now, what we expect to achieve even at the end of the Second Five Year Plan would be an increase of about 29 per cent. at constant prices of 1952-53.

There is another difficulty. We get different figures on different bases. One is 1948-49 and another is 1952-53. One is current prices. I wish that we are given comparable figures based upon any particular year. That would help comparison.

As I was saying, it would mean at the 1952-53 prices, at the end of the Second Five Year Plan, an increase of 29 per cent., 71 per cent. would still remain to be increased, if we want a doubling of the *per capita* income within 22 years. I do not say that it is not possible that in later years, the national income will not rise more than proportionately. But hon. Member should realise the measure that we have achieved and the extent of work that still remains to be done if the modest target set before ourselves is to be fulfilled—the modest target of doubling the *per capita* income in 22 years' time.

Then, take industrial production. It is true that industrial production has been increasing from year to year.

[Shri B. C. Ghose.]

But if you take the annual figures, they do not reveal a very large increase during the plan period. For example, if you take the increase in industrial production in 1951 over 1950, the increase was 11·4 per cent. In 1952 over 1951, when the plan had not really been set in motion, the increase was 10·2 per cent. If you take 1953 over 1952, the increase is only 4·6 per cent. If you take 1954 over 1953, it is only 8·1 per cent. So, the progressive increase in industrial production has not as yet been very much extraordinary. It is not my purpose to decry the measure of success that we have attained. But I am only trying to provide a perspective to our achievements.

Then, our balance of payments position has been satisfactory. That is really very good. But it also indicates that the calculations that we had made in the First Plan had gone wrong, because we were expecting a deficit of Rs. 180 to 200 crores, whereas what we have is probably a surplus. But, even though the balance of payments position is satisfactory, the future is not without anxiety, particularly as our chief export commodities—tea, jute and cotton—are subject to severe competition. It is good that the hon. Finance Minister has given some relief to the tea industry by reducing the tax on a particular slab. But I believe that in the interest of the tea industry, it may be necessary to give some further relief, if tea has to maintain its international position, particularly if there is no international agreement for the restriction of production. Then, whatever may have been our achievements, everything pales into insignificance when we come to the unemployment position, because what is the object of having a plan and trying to improve the conditions of the people, if unemployment, instead of improving, shows signs of deterioration? That is a serious matter, but it has been so much discussed that I do not want to dilate on the question. I should like the point that was made by my friend, Mr. Dasappa, to be seriously

considered by the Government that, unless you do something about the population problem as a whole, it will be extremely difficult for this country to achieve the increase in *per capita* income that we all desire. In this context, the Finance Minister was very unkind last year to people who were not aggravating his problem and I hope that he will still give them some incentive not to be a burden on him in future.

Now, I come to the taxation measures. In coming to that, the first thing that strikes me is the somewhat new theory which the Finance Minister has propounded in his speech about progressive taxation. He has defined a progressive taxation system as a system which augments the taxation yields proportionately or more than proportionately to the increase in national income. Now, we, the students of economics, know progressive taxation only in relation to personal income. If the idea is that it becomes progressive when a proportionate or more than proportionate increase takes place in taxation yields in relation to the national income, then it might conceivably turn out in practice to be a very regressive system, because the larger proportion of tax revenues may have to come from people with very modest means. I do not say that it will necessarily follow, but it might follow, if we want a larger share of the national income, since the largest proportion of the national income is contributed by the largest number of poor people, people with moderate means. Therefore, I do not think that this definition can be accepted without serious qualifications.

Before I come to an examination of the taxation measures, I might offer a suggestion to the impecunious Finance Minister for augmenting his resources, a suggestion which was made by an industrialist Member of this House. He asked the hon. Minister for Revenue and Civil Expenditure as to why there has been a shortfall in Estate Duty collections. To that, the hon. Minister replied with sorrow that his

estimates of deaths in the appropriate categories were not fulfilled, and therefore there was a shortfall.

SHRI M. C. SHAH: Not in sorrow, but in actual fact.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: That industrial Member also made a suggestion which the Finance Minister might consider. The suggestion was that an enactment might be passed to the effect that for purposes of the Estate Duty, people in the appropriate categories would be deemed to be dead at attaining the age of, say, 65.

SHRI M. C. SHAH: A good suggestion.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: That will have a very good effect, because it will remove the uncertainty about the yield from this source of taxation.

SHRI M. C. SHAH: We will have to change the terms in the Estate Duty Act. Death-cum living.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: With the aid of legislation, you can do almost anything.

Now I come to the actual taxation proposals. My complaint against the proposals is that there is unequal distribution of burdens, and therefore it is anti-socialistic, whatever we might say of the socialistic stand of the Finance Minister and the Government. The largest slice is coming through what we call indirect taxes. So far as direct taxes go, I am in complete agreement with what Mr. Parikh has said. I do not think that they will do any harm to the private sector. Apart from the arguments which Mr. Parikh had already advanced. I do not see how the proposed dividend limitation will have any effect on savings. I do not see how it will have any adverse effect, because, if we take the yields even on securities or stocks and shares, the yield is generally not over 6 per cent., so that the investor is not really getting more than six per cent. on the money that he has invested. What

the effect of this change may be is that the present holders of shares may be affected. The present holders will be affected both in regard to the yield that they will get and also in regard to the capital value of the securities and shares, but so far as the future investors are concerned, I don't think that they are affected because the shareholders as a general rule do not get more than 6 per cent. If we do not take into account the market value of the shares but confine ourselves to the paid-up value, the Reserve Bank examination shows that the average rate of dividend is not more than about 7.3 per cent. but that includes also some of the very high dividends paid.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: May I know whether he justifies the levy?

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: Yes, I am in favour of it.

SHRI M. C. SHAH: He said that you were opposing it. I said that you were supporting it.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: In addition to the arguments which Mr. Parikh had advanced, I added some other arguments in support of the levy as regards dividends.

My objection particularly is to the fact that the Finance Minister is trying to get about Rs. 26 crores by indirect taxes as against Rs. 8 crores from direct taxes. I am not opposed to indirect taxation as such. I realise that we shall have to depend more and more on the excise duties but at the same time it is necessary that those who pay direct taxes should also bear their share of the burden. Is it the contention of the Finance Minister that he had exhausted all avenues of increasing direct taxation? If it is, then of course the policy that he pursues would be justified, but that is not true. All the avenues of direct taxation have not yet been exhausted. Even the Taxation Enquiry Commission had pointed out that there were other sources

[Shri B. C. Ghose.]

that could be explored for collecting revenues. They said that additional taxation on a wide range of luxury and semi-luxury products at fairly substantial rates could be imposed. They also pointed out that restriction on the consumption of higher income groups must of course be greater than in the case of the lower income groups. Now, has this been satisfied? Levy on total wealth or on the expenditure of the higher income groups is not a new proposal. Such proposals have already been made. At least there could have been taxes on luxury commodities at a higher rate. There is no justification as to why the Finance Minister should not have imposed them. The fact that this is an election year Budget does not carry much weight, because I do not think he would have lost in popularity by imposing certain taxes on luxury goods. He would have gained in popularity with the masses.

1 P.M.

As the Finance Minister knows, the wide disparity in consumption levels is having a demoralising effect on the large masses of the people. Therefore I say that the Finance Minister has not done his duty in this regard. I am also opposed to the increase in the postal rates. There was really no justification for that. There was no justification because I do not believe that each department of the Posts and Telegraphs section should be self-sufficient by itself. There are four main departments—Posts, Telegraphs, Telephones and Broadcasting. I find that Posts, Telegraphs and Broadcasting reveal a deficit. There is a surplus in the Telephone department which makes up the deficit in the other sections. So I feel that there is no reason why additional taxation should be imposed to make the other departments self-sufficient when, taking the whole P. and T. Department there is no deficit, and it is in the fitness of things that the telephones should bear higher charges because the service which the telephones department provides is

taken advantage of by people who are comparatively rich and by people belonging to the business community. Therefore it was in the fitness of things that they should subsidise any deficit in the other departments. I said when I started out that the Finance Minister had failed in this Budget. He has failed because there was an expectation in the country that the taxes would be higher both by the people at large and by the business community and he has not availed himself of that opportunity. The country was prepared for heavier sacrifices and the Finance Minister has not taken advantage of that. In the course of the peroration in his Budget speech, the Finance Minister had said that "Our people have throughout history been known for their infinite patience and perseverance", I entirely agree. He also added that "Given the leadership, they have never failed to respond in more than adequate measure." Again I entirely agree. But the tragedy of this country appears to be that the leadership has been failing. The leadership has failed to rouse the people by the adoption of bold, imaginative but nevertheless realistic measures to the desired pitch of enthusiasm to undertake the colossal task and be willing to share the necessary sacrifice entailed in the fulfilment of the Second Five Year Plan for both of which they appear to have been psychologically ready and prepared. The Finance Minister has missed a golden opportunity.

SHRI LALCHAND HIRACHAND DOSHI (Bombay): Sir, the country heaved a sigh of relief when the budget proposals were made known to the public.

DR. R. P. DUBE (Madhya Pradesh): When they leaked out?

SHRI LALCHAND HIRACHAND DOSHI: I am not concerned with the leakage. Because the rumours that were prevailing indicated that a very high taxation Budget was going to be presented and when they saw that these high taxes have not come, they

certainly felt considerably relieved. The present taxation is very high compared to the income that the people are earning in this country and it is high not only with regard to indirect taxation but it is high with regard to direct taxation and any effort to increase direct taxation will result in stagnation and a sort of incentive that is necessary for effort will be killed. In this respect I should like to draw the attention of this House to the prevailing conditions in the two countries of the world which have now adopted the pattern of "thirty-six" for their ideologies—the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Both of them have got different ideologies and they look at this question from different angles. In U.S.A. they encouraged the profit-motive and so far as profits are concerned, to them sky is the limit. In U.S.S.R. they had a different outlook and they thought that anybody making high profits ought to be taxed heavily and after 1917 when the revolution was brought about in that country, they removed all those high income people and put very heavy taxes on direct income. Gradually they realised that that was putting the clock back, and the incentive was being killed and gradually the direct taxation on incomes was steadily reduced so much so that today we find that U.S.S.R. is the leading country in keeping direct taxation the lowest. That has been their experience and in this country who have had rather a late start in industrialisation, we must take the experience of other countries as a guide for our development so that our objective will not be missed. America and also the U.K. who had an earlier start with regard to industrialisation encouraged people to start industries and kept this taxation low so that they could have sufficient incentive to organise more and more things which in return created more employment, more wealth and that led to prosperity.

In the last two years, I find in these budget proposals a slightly contradic-

tory tendency. In one year we want that the entrepreneur should plough back his profits into his industry. And again they come with new proposals whereby, when the man tries to plough back these profits into the industry, they tax all those investments also. I am particularly referring here, Sir, to the "23A Companies" about which the first indication was that they should, as much as possible keep back their profits in the industry. They were advised that they should not distribute more than 60 per cent. of the profits. And when they accumulated all these reserves, now they are told, "If you do not distribute more, you will be again taxed." I am referring to the penal assessment with regard to the "23A Companies." I submit, Sir, that this is not desirable. On the one hand you are forcing the companies to distribute as much as possible from the profits and when they distribute that, then on the other, you again put additional tax on these dividends. These are contradictory things and they are going to affect the working of various companies.

Sir, I believe the whole Budget revolves round the Second Five Year Plan that the Government and the country want to follow. In my observations on the Railway Budget, I drew the attention of the hon. Minister for Railways that we have not been able to observe from the data made available to us that the Railways were carrying more goods or passengers during the period of the First Plan. From the figures I pointed out that so far as the passenger traffic was concerned, it had hardly increased by more than 2 or 3 per cent. So far as goods traffic was concerned, during the five years' time, it had hardly increased by more than 10 per cent. While rail traffic had not increased much, the other means of transport also had not contributed anything towards the movement of goods. Presumably, the suggestion is that the goods were not produced, because the road transport also has not increased much. From the figures of registration of

[Shri Lalchand Hirachand Doshi.]
vehicles we see that there has not been any appreciable increase; instead, there has been rather less of transport by roads. So transport also has not shown any improvement. One therefore, feels rather sceptical as to whether we have really been successful in the First Plan.

Let me cite another illustration. This one relates to housing. We find that in the urban areas as also in the rural areas, construction of houses has been terribly lacking and this process has been very much lagging behind. In cities like Bombay where it is suggested that annually at least 20,000 tenements should be built, we find that even 3,000 tenements are not being constructed, and even here the bulk of the money has to come from the public funds. In other words, the people are not in a position to build houses with their own money. This should not really be the economic condition of the people, because hitherto whatever houses were being constructed, they were being constructed by the people themselves. It may be that the landlord constructed the houses and then offered them out on lease or for rent. After all, the people themselves did it. But today, the Government is coming forward with subsidies and yet there is no construction worth the name. And what is true of Bombay is equally true of other cities. In rural areas and particularly in the villages, you hardly find any new construction. There were at least mud houses in the villages. But today, if you make a tour of these villages, even those mud houses would not be seen coming up. And the old ones are cracking badly. The population is increasing steadily year by year and adequate houses are not built. Therefore, it will be extremely difficult to house our people properly. At present, in towns where good localities existed, there you find slums coming up, they are degenerating into slums. Therefore, it is important that these people should be encouraged, not by means of grant of subsidies, but out

of their own resources, to build more houses. And the people generally must be able to consume the commodities and use the services made available in the country with their own money and thus enjoy the benefits of the country's prosperity.

Sir, we are developing what has been termed the socialist economy. Has that economy succeeded anywhere? An hon. Member from the Opposition remarked that the progress that has been made in countries like Italy and Germany is much more spectacular than what has been achieved in this country. Why is that? It is a fact that Germany, in spite of the effects of the last war, has shown far greater progress than was anticipated.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA (Bihar): Was there any capital levy there?

SHRI LALCHAND HIRACHAND DOSHI: No, they did not have any capital levy there. If the hon. Member wants to know how they did it, I may tell him that they gave the people greater scope for private enterprise to make progress. Italy started with communistic influences and then found that life became miserable and the people made up their mind to oppose that kind of a thing and have now come out much more successful in increasing the production in the country and they are far better off than they would have been under a controlled economy. Sir, we are told that the U.S.A. and U.K. took much longer time for developing their economies. But if we really look at the progress made by these countries, especially after the world war, we will find that their progress largely depended on industrialisation and the encouragement of private enterprise.

It was not that controlled economy was practised there. Every effort was made to encourage the businessmen to put in more and more money into their enterprises so that not only did they make profits but they created conditions whereby more goods were produced, more services were rendered and the community as a whole got

the advantages. What is the position in this country? The other day, the Minister for Commerce and Industry, in his speech before the University students, described the condition of Indian businessmen. He described himself as the superintendent of the jail and the businessmen as the prisoners in that jail. The businessman is bound hand, foot and mouth and cannot do anything that he likes; he has to carry out what the Government wants him to do. When you put more and more of direct taxes, when you restrict his capacity to plough back his profits into the industry by heavy taxation, it will be impossible for him to do justice to the job which he is anxious to do and which I am quite sure any proper thinking country would like him to do.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: He nevertheless does it.

SHRI LALCHAND HIRACHAND DOSHI: He has not done it before. He has not had the opportunity to do it.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: I would like to ask a question of the hon. Member. In spite of all these difficulties, why do the private capitalists complain when a restriction is sought to be imposed? Why do they still want expansion in production of textiles, coal etc.

SHRI LALCHAND HIRACHAND DOSHI: I could not quite catch the point.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: My point is, if the private capitalists find it so extremely difficult to function under the present conditions, with taxes going so high, why do they, whenever there is a proposal by Government for putting a restriction on their production, complain and want more quotas to be given to their sector?

SHRI M. C. SHAH: Yes, he is right.

SHRI LALCHAND HIRACHAND DOSHI: I hope I have understood his point. The question is if there are so

many restrictions on the businessmen, why are the businessmen trying to do more. I mean, it boils down to this.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: Yes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Why do you want more mills and more spindles in spite of so many restrictions?

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: When there are no profits.

SHRI M. C. SHAH: The worry is more.

SHRI LALCHAND HIRACHAND DOSHI: The main reason is, businessman I am, I am anxious to do more and more for the country. You may laugh at that but the whole basis of private enterprise is this.

SHRI M. C. SHAH: Is there no profit motive?

SHRI LALCHAND HIRACHAND DOSHI: Yes, there is the profit motive.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH (Bombay): With the Minister, it is.

SHRI LALCHAND HIRACHAND DOSHI: He knows that he is working for the sake of profit but at the same time while he is making a profit, he is prepared to.....

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR (Uttar Pradesh): Perhaps service of the country is itself profit.

SHRI LALCHAND HIRACHAND DOSHI: It is because, what is it that we want to do in the service of the country? We want to render more service and we want to produce more goods that the country needs. The businessman knows full well that there are problems and difficulties in whatever he is trying to do and yet he is prepared to take the risk and he expects more profit where the risks are greater. You may be knowing that there are different kinds of capital; one is equity capital, the other is preference capital, then there are the debentures, Government securities

[Shri Lalchand Hirachand Doshi.]

and so on. In each, the element of risk is less or more and yet the businessman expects more profit from that kind of capital where there is great risk. The ordinary man who does not want to take any risk says, "All right, I will put my money in Government securities. I am quite happy with the 3½ per cent. or 4 per cent. that I will be earning from the Government securities but it is safe all the time." By all means, it is all right but the other man is prepared to take a risk and here is the time when we must take risk in order that production may increase much more rapidly. If you are hemmed in with all kinds of restrictions, as the Government servants have to face every time, one cannot do much work and the initiative and enterprise will be handicapped. This happened in Russia and they realised that any heavy taxation on income would curtail and dampen initiative which is most important for the development of a country to be accelerated.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do you want this Government to adopt the same method in other spheres also? Do you want this Government to follow the Russian example in other matters also?

SHRI LALCHAND HIRACHAND DOSHI: I do not approve of the Russian economy. What I am saying is that two countries which started their life in probably diagonally opposite ways of thinking have come to the same conclusion that heavy taxation and direct taxation is a damper of initiative and enterprise and therefore, that sort of taxation should be discouraged. This is my feeling. If you want to adopt the Russian philosophy, by all means you will have the vote and perhaps you will carry the day but that will not lead to progress particularly when you are determined to observe democracy in this country.

SHRI KANHAIYLAL D. VAIDYA (Madhya Bharat): You are not for democracy; we are for it.

SHRI LALCHAND HIRACHAND DOSHI: If you are for democracy, for the sake of democracy encourage initiative, enterprise and adventure. You cannot put in restrictions and put the man who is prepared to take risks for the benefit of the country into jail, as the Minister for Commerce and Industry mentioned the other day.

While the Budget of the Government of India was being presented, the Budgets of the various other States also were presented to their respective Legislatures. I was surprised to find that there was no mention of any increase in taxation in most of the Budgets. In this Budget also, the proposals are for Rs. 35 crores only. So far as the plan frame is concerned, we are told that in the five years of the Second Plan, Government will need Rs. 450 crores out of which, it is expected that about Rs. 225 crores will be raised by the Central Government and Rs. 225 crores by the State Governments and yet, though the Central Government have come forward with an additional burden of Rs. 35 crores, I was wondering how it is that the State Governments have not come forward with any proposals for additional taxation. As a matter of fact, in one State, in spite of a deficit of more than Rs. 7 crores, there is no effort to balance their Budget by additional taxation. So are they not going to raise any more money by additional taxation? After all, the Five Year Plan is a joint effort of the Union Government and the State Governments and I am wondering whether it is only the Union Government that is going to adopt this policy of additional taxation or whether the State Governments also are going to do that.

Then, Sir, I was wondering why there is no reference to the performance of the private sector. What are we expected to do? The draft outline of the plan that has been circulated to us makes reference to the spending of Rs. 4,800 crores in the public sector, but there is no mention

at all as to what the private sector is expected to do. If I understood rightly, at some other place they have mentioned that the private sector is expected to spend about Rs. 2,300 crores. If that is to be added to the Rs. 4,800 crores, the total comes to Rs. 7,100 crores, which is a colossal figure, and my question is, having taken away so much money from the people, where is the private sector going to find money for carrying out its own responsibility?

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: That is what we wonder.

SHRI LALCHAND HIRACHAND DOSHI: Well, I am anxious to know that.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: But you do find all the same.

SHRI LALCHAND HIRACHAND DOSHI: We will try to. That is our work. We are out to overcome the problems while you, with a socialistic attitude, are prepared to say, "All right, cannot be done, cannot be done." That is what ultimately results when you have a socialist outlook, while a private enterpriser is not stunned by problems. He sees the problems there are, but it is his business to overcome them. He will certainly, but I want to know from the Government as to whether they have given consideration to this question and are they going to help the private man to carry out his responsibility, which they expect him to carry out. If you bind him down and shut his mouth, well, it will be extremely difficult for him to do that and in spite of his best efforts he will not be able to do it. You will have to help him in doing that and it will be helpful for the private sector to know how they are going to find all this money.

Sir, I am in industry and it has been my experience that day after day it is becoming increasingly

difficult to find more capital for the private sector for starting new industries or for expanding the old ones. The next five year programme is ambitious but if we discourage private enterprise and take away all the resources for the public sector, it will be difficult for the private sector to carry out its responsibility.

Sir, I do not wish to take more time of the House, but certainly the consideration that the Finance Minister has shown in not raising the taxation too much but keeping it at a reasonable level at this stage is praiseworthy and I do hope that he will not resort to heavy taxation and fall a prey to the propaganda of the leftist elements.

مولانا ایم - فاروقی (اُتر پردیش) :

قپٹی چیبمین صاحب - آنریبل فائننس منسٹر کی اسپیک کے بعد آج تین دن سے اس سال کے بجٹ پر لوگ اپنی رائے ظاہر کر رہے ہیں اور ہر شخص کو وقت کی کمی کا شکوہ ہے - یہ بجٹ بھی نہیں کہ سنہ ۱۹۵۶-۵۷ کا بجٹ ہے بلکہ بقول ہمارے دوست مسٹر گھوش کے یہ بجٹ پورے پانچ سال کا بجٹ ہے اور یقیناً اسے ہونا چاہیئے - اس لئے کہ اس سال جو ہم دوسرے پانچ سالہ منصوبہ کا ایک نیا پروگرام شروع کر رہے ہیں اس کی بنیاد اس بجٹ سے پڑتی ہے - اس لئے اس بجٹ کی جو اہمیت ہے وہ اپنی جگہ پر دوسرے بجٹوں کی اہمیت سے زیادہ ہے -

اب تک جن حضرات نے اس بجٹ

پر تقریریں کیں ہیں ان میں بڑے بڑے اقتصادی ماہر ہیں تھے - خاص طور

[مولانا ایم - فاروقی]

سے ہمارے مسٹر پارکھہ جنہوں نے بہت معلومات سے بھری ہوئی تقریر فرمائی۔ اس کے بعد اقتصادیات پر کسی طرح کی روشنی ڈالنے کی نہ ضرورت ہے اور نہ وقت ہی ہے۔ ہم تو جو بجٹ سامنے رکھتے ہیں اس کو ایک خاص پس منظر کے ساتھ اور ایک خاص بیگ گراؤنڈ کے ساتھ سامنے رکھتے ہیں اور وہ ہمارے اس پورے آئندہ سالوں کی ترقیوں کا بیگ گراؤنڈ اور پس منظر ہے جو کہ ہم نے اپنے فائنل منسٹری کے سایہ میں آج تک کئے۔

آپ کو یاد ہوگا کہ جس وقت ہمیں آزادی ملی تھی اسوقت ہندوستان کی اقتصادی ساکھ تمام دنیا میں ختم ہو چکی تھی۔ ہندوستان برباد ہو چکا تھا۔ لڑائی کے زمانہ میں جو جو کارخانے کھلے تھے وہ سب بند ہو چکے تھے۔ بیکاری عام تھی۔ غلہ کی قلت تھی اور کپڑے کی کمی تھی۔ نہ پہلے کو کپڑا ملتا تھا نہ کھانے کو غلہ ملتا تھا۔ ایسی صورت میں بھی لاکھوں کی تعداد میں باہر سے لوگ آگئے اور ان کے لئے بھی کپڑے، کھانے اور رہنے کا انتظام ہمارے سپرد ہوا۔ جب پہلا بجٹ بنایا گیا اس وقت یقین جانیئے کہ کافی قلت ہمارے فائنل دیپارٹمنٹ کو پڑی ہوگی۔ اسوقت سے لیکر اسوقت جیسا کہ آنریبل فائنل منسٹر کی اسپیچ سے ظاہر ہے ہم نے دنیا کی اقتصادیات میں ایک خاص جگہ پیدا

کر لی ہے۔ آج ہم یہ فخر سے نہہ سکتے ہیں کہ ہمارا بجٹ ایک بیلنسڈ بجٹ ہے۔ لیکن جناب والا ہم اس بجٹ میں ایک ایسی چیز ضرور دیکھتے ہیں جو ہر وقت دل میں کھٹکتی ہے اور کھٹکتی بھی چاہیئے۔ ہم اس میں قریب چار سو کروڑ کی ایک ایسی رقم پارہے ہیں جو کہ حقیقتاً ہماری انکم کی رقم نہیں ہے ہماری پیدا کی ہوئی نہیں ہے جو ہمارے پروڈکشن سے نہیں آئی ہے بلکہ باہر کی ایڈ سے آئی ہے یا لون اور قرض سے۔ یقیناً باہر کی ایڈ سے یا باہر کے لون سے کوئی بھی قوم بلند نہیں ہو سکتی اور نہ ترقی کر سکتی ہے۔ اسوقت چند ضروریات کے پیش نظر ہم نے یہ قبول کیا ہے۔ اور چند مجبوریوں میں جنکی وجہ سے ہم نے اسکو قبول کیا ہے۔ یہ ضرور ہے کہ گذشتہ سال چار سو کروڑ کے قریب جو رقم ہمیں ملی ہے اس میں سے ابھی کچھ باقی بھی ہے اور آئندہ بھی اور ملے گی۔ اس کو ہم نے پینچ سالہ منصوبہ میں لگایا ہے اور اپنے کلسٹرکٹیو کاموں میں اس سے مدد لی ہے۔ ہم فیکٹس اور فیکٹریس کے ساتھ یہ نہیں کہہ سکتے کہ اس میں کس حد تک کامیابی حاصل ہوئی ہے اور نہ میں اس بات میں یقین چاہتا ہوں۔ مگر ان آئندہ برسوں میں جو ہم دیکھتے ہیں وہ یہ ہے کہ ہندوستان کے ایک ایک چھہ میں اور ایک ایک حصہ

میں بے پناہ ترقیاں ہو رہی ہیں، سڑکیں بلانی گئی ہیں، پروڈکشن بڑھ گیا ہے، انڈسٹری میں ترقی ہو رہی ہے اور ہماری بڑی بڑی سکیمیں چل رہی ہیں۔ اس کے پہلے ہم ایک بھی انجن نہیں بنا سکتے تھے لیکن ہمارا آج چترنجن میں اتنا بڑا کارخانہ موجود ہے۔ اس طریقہ پر سینکڑوں اور کارخانے ہیں جو کہ آپ کا کام کر رہے ہیں۔ ہم پہلے باہر سے کھانے لگاتے کرتے تھے اور اس کے لئے ہمارا بہت سا روپیہ باہر چلا جایا کرتا تھا لیکن اس کے لئے بھی قریب زمانہ میں ہم مستغنی اور بے پرواہ ہو جائیں گے اور ہمیں باہر سے ملکانے کی ضرورت نہیں رہے گی۔ اسی طریقہ سے کپڑے کے سلسلہ میں بھی آپ بے نیاز ہو چکے ہیں۔ لیکن اس کے باوجود بھی ہمیں اس پر غور کرنا ہے کہ ہم کس طریقہ پر اس ایڈ کے بار سے اپنے کندھوں کو ہلکا کریں۔ آپ دیکھیں گے کہ قرض کے اوپر کوئی شخص اپنی زندگی بسر نہیں کر سکتا۔

قرض کی پیتھ تھ سے اور یہ کہتے تھے کہ ہاں رنگ لائے گی ہماری فاقہ مستی ایک دن

آج ہم سر اونچا کر کے ہلدوستان کے باہر جاتے ہیں اور اپنی نیوٹرالیٹی اور بے تعلقی کا اعلان کرتے ہیں۔ ایسے موقع پر یہ پہلو نہایت خطرناک ہے کہ ہم اپنے کندھوں کو دوسرے ملکوں کے

ایڈ یا لون سے وزنی اور بوجھل رکھیں۔ ٹیکس کے ذریعہ یہ یا جس طرح بھی ہو جلتا کو پوری تکلیف برداشت کر کے اس بوجھ کو اپنے سر سے اٹھانا ہے۔

جناب والا۔ میں مجلس کی توجہ خاص طور پر اس امر کی جانب دلاؤں گا کہ اس وقت جو انٹرنیشنل اور بین الاقوامی سیاست دنیا میں چل رہی ہے اس میں نیوٹرل ہونے کی وجہ سے ہماری پوزیشن ایک بڑی پیچیدہ سی ہو گئی ہے اور دنیا میں جو گروپس بن گئے ہیں ان میں ہماری پوزیشن بڑی نازک سی ہوتی جاتی ہے۔ یقیناً ہماری یہ پالیسی صحیح ہے کہ ہم نیوٹرل رہیں اور علیحدہ رہیں لیکن یہ کہاں تک چلے گی۔ اس کے بارے میں کچھ نہیں کہا جا سکتا۔ مگر اس وقت چند چیزیں جو دنیا میں پیسے آئی ہیں وہ نہایت خطرناک ہیں۔ سب سے پہلی اور سب سے بڑی چیز جو دنیا میں اس وقت پیسے آئی ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ مڈل ایسٹ کنٹریز کو عام طور سے لوگ ہتھیانا چاہتے ہیں۔ اور اس میں اپنا اپنا کام کر کے ایک خاص ننگا پیدا کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ اس سلسلہ میں بغداد پیکٹ ایک خاص اہمیت رکھتا ہے۔ اس کے بعد ایک اس سے بھی زیادہ سخت چیز آچکل پیس آرہے ہیں۔ ابھی کل کی تقریروں کو آپ نے پڑھا ہوگا۔ لوگ ساوتھ ایسٹ ایشیا کے ڈیفنس کا محاذ بنا رہے ہیں۔ آچکل ساوتھ ایسٹ

مولانا ایم - فاروقی]

ایشیا ڈیفنس آرگنائزیشن کی کونسل کی میٹنگ ہو رہی ہے - وہ کوئی معمولی چیز نہیں ہے - اسے آپ کو پورے طور پر غور سے دیکھنا ہے - ان تمام چیزوں کی روشنی میں میں آپ کے ذہن کو ایک خاص چیز کی جانب منتقل کرنا چاہتا ہوں وہ ڈیفنس کا بجٹ ہے - ہمیں تو یہ دیکھ کر ہوا تعجب ہوا کہ اس میں آپ نے قریب قریب ۱۸ کروڑ کی کمی کر دی ہے - ہم نے تو یہ سمجھا تھا کہ اسکو اور بڑھایا جائے گا - اس میں نقطہ نظر یہ نہیں ہے کہ بجٹ اس لئے بڑھایا جائے گا کہ ہم کسی سے لڑنا چاہتے ہیں یا ہم یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ ہمارے اوپر کوئی حملہ کریگا یا کوئی دوسری قوم اگر مضبوط ہو جائیگی تو وہ ہمارے لئے مضر ہوگا چاہے وہ پاکستان ہو یا کوئی دوسری حکومت ہو - اس سے کوئی اثر نہیں پڑتا - ہماری جو پالیسی ہے وہ تو اپنی جگہ پر برقرار رہے گی - لیکن ایک چیز سمجھنے کی ضرور ہے اور وہ یہ کہ کبھی کوئی کمزور آدمی یا کمزور حکومت یا کمزور ملک دوسری جگہ پر جانکر صلح اور اخلاق کا پرچار بھی نہیں کر سکتا جبکہ اس کے ہاتھ خون بھی مضبوط نہ ہوں - اس لئے میں آنریبل منسٹر کی توجہ اپنے ڈیفنس کی بجٹ کی طرف ضرور دلاؤں گا - اور میرا تو یہ خیال ہے کہ اسوقت جو انٹرنیشنل حالات ہو رہے

ہیں ان کے اعتبار سے ہمارے ڈیفنس کو اور مضبوط ہونا چاہیئے -

ایک عجیب چیز کی جانب میں آپکی توجہ دلاؤں گا کہ آج دنیا کے تمام ملک پیس پیس کی پکار کر رہے ہیں - مگر حقیقتاً صلح کا پیام - امن کا پیام اور ایسا پیام جسکے پیچھے حقیقت بھی ہو جسکے پیچھے عمل بھی ہو وہ اگر بلند ہوتا ہے تو آپکے محبوب پرائم منسٹر جواہر لال کی زبان سے اس کی ایک قیمت ہوتی ہے کیونکہ ان کے پشت پر ڈیفنس کا بجٹ ہے جس میں بجائے زیادتی کے کمی ہو گئی ہے - لیکن آج دوسرے لوگ جو اعلان کرتے ہیں چاہے وہ واشنگٹن سے اعلان کریں، چاہے ڈاوننگ اسٹریٹ سے اعلان کریں، چاہے ماسکو سے اعلان کریں، یا کراچی میں بیٹھ کر اس چیز کا اعلان کریں کہ ہم پیس چاہتے ہیں اور دنیا میں صلح چاہتے ہیں اور انکے جیون میں متحدہ متحدہ جنگ ہو ایک ڈیفنس پیکٹ ہو یا بغداد پیکٹ ہو تو اس میں صلح کی صدا کی کوئی حقیقت نہیں ہے - اس میں صرف الفاظ ہیں - اگر حقیقت ہے تو اس میں ہے کہ ہم آج فخر سے اور سر اٹھا کر کہہ سکتے ہیں کہ ہم اس نے لئے برابر کام کر رہے ہیں اور ہماری کوئی نیت ایسی نہیں

ہے کہ ہم کسی کے اوپر حملہ کریں گے کیونکہ ہمارا عمل بھی اسی کے مطابق ہے۔ سب سے اہم چیز ہمیں اس وقت انٹرنیشنل پالیٹکس میں یہی غور کرنے کی ہے۔ یہ جو ہماری پالیسی ہے وہ یقیناً صحیح پالیسی ہے۔ ہم کسی سے لڑنا نہیں چاہتے لیکن اس کے ساتھ ساتھ یہ بھی یقینی ہے کہ ہمیں مضبوط ہونا چاہیئے اور ہر طرح سے مضبوط ہونا چاہیئے۔ آج ہم فائبر پلان کے سلسلہ میں اپنی اقتصادی حالت کے جس طریقہ پر مضبوط کر رہے ہیں جس طریقہ پر انڈسٹریلائزیشن کر رہے ہیں جس طریقہ پر رورل ایڈیا کے ترقی دے رہے ہیں اسی طریقہ پر ہمیں ڈیفنس کو بھی مضبوط کرنا چاہیئے۔ کیا آنریبل منسٹر اس مسئلہ پر غور کریں گے کہ آج ہندوستان میں کمپلسری ملٹری ایجوکیشن کر دی جائے۔ اور اس کے لئے طرح طرح کی سہولیتیں پیدا کی جائیں تاکہ ہمارے نوجوان تھوڑے دنوں کے لئے چھ مہینہ یا سال بھر کے لئے جتنا بھی ہو اتنے دن کے لئے ٹریننگ لیں اور اس کے بعد اپنے دوسرے کاموں میں مشغول ہوں۔

دوسری چیز جو مجھے بہت کھٹکتی ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ آپ نے ایجوکیشن کے سلسلہ میں جو بجٹ دکھا ہے وہ بہت ہی کم ہے۔ میرے

ایک دوست نے یہ کہا کہ خاص طور پر ٹیکنیکل ایجوکیشن کی جانب بالکل توجہ نہیں کی گئی ہے۔ انہی دوست نے یہ بھی فرمایا کہ یہ تو صوبوں کے سپرد کر دینا چاہیئے۔ نہیں ایسی بات نہیں ہے اسوقت سب کے سب صوبے اس کے محتاج ہیں کہ آپ انہیں کچھ گرانٹ دیں انہیں ایڈ دیں اور ٹیکنیکل ایجوکیشن کے لئے ان کی مدد کریں۔ تو آنریبل منسٹر کو اس جانب توجہ کرنی چاہیئے کہ ایجوکیشن کے بجٹ میں اور اضافہ ہو۔ اور آپ ہر صوبے کو ٹیکنیکل ایجوکیشن کے لئے کوئی نہ کوئی مدد ضرور دیں یقینی بات ہے کہ اسوقت جو سب سے بڑا سوال ہے جس کے بارے میں میں آئیندہ عرض کروں گا وہ بیکاری کا سوال ہے یعنی یہ کہ لوگ مفلس ہیں، بھوکے ہیں اور انہیں کھانے کو نہیں مل رہا ہے۔ ان کے پاس کوئی کام نہیں ہے یہ ایک بڑا سوال آپ کے سامنے ہے۔ اگر یہ سوال کچھ حل ہو سکتا ہے تو ٹیکنیکل ایجوکیشن سے ہی حل ہو سکتا ہے۔ آپ ایسے لوگ پیدا کریں جو بی۔ اے اور ایم۔ اے نہ ہوں بلکہ کوئی نام جانتے ہوں تاکہ آپکے ہندوستان کے پروڈکشن میں بھی اضافہ ہو آپ کے ہندوستان کی پیداوار میں بھی اضافہ ہو۔ آپ کے ہندوستان میں جو چیزیں پیدا ہوں ان میں ترقی ہو اور لوگوں کو کام بھی مل سکے۔ اسوقت بڑا سخت اور بہت اہم مسئلہ بیکاری کا ہے جو کہ

[مولانا ایم - فاروقی]

تمام چیزوں کی بنیاد ہے - اس سے ریولوشن بھی پیدا ہو سکتا ہے - اس سے حکومت سے بے اعتدالی بھی پیدا ہو سکتی ہے - اس سے ایک کڑبڑی بھی پیدا ہو سکتی ہے اس سے بد اخلاقیات بھی پیدا ہو سکتی ہیں - اس سے چوری میں بھی اضافہ ہو سکتا ہے - اس سے جرائم ترقی کر سکتے ہیں اور اس سے کرمینلس بھی زیادہ ہو جائیں گے - غرضیکہ بیکاری کا مسئلہ ایسا ہے کہ ہر ایک کی توجہ کی چیز ہے اور اس کو حل کرنے کے لئے سب سے اہم چیز یہ ہے کہ ایجوکیشن ڈیپارٹمنٹ اس سلسلہ میں ایک خاص پالیسی لے ڈالوں کرے تاکہ جتنے لڑکے اسکولوں سے تعلیم حاصل کر کے نکلیں وہ کارآمد نکلیں - لڑکے ایم - اے پاس کرتے ہیں اس کے بعد ان کو کلریکل لائن بھی نہیں ملتی جہاں پہلے سو سو لڑکے ایک صوبہ سے انٹرمیڈیٹ یا بی - اے پاس ہوتے تھے وہاں اسوقت ہمارے صوبہ میں گذشتہ سال ڈھائی لاکھ لڑکے صرف میٹرک میں بیٹھے تھے اور ۵۵ فیصدی نتیجہ ہوا تھا - اب آپ خود غور فرمائیں کہ کتنے لڑکے میٹرک پاس ہوئے جو کوئی کام نہیں کر سکتے تھے سوائے اس کے کہ وہ کلرک ہو جاتے - اب جب ان کو نوکری نہیں ملتی تو وہ قس اپوائنٹ ہو جاتے ہیں - دنیا میں ادھر ادھر مارے مارے پھرتے ہیں

اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوتا ہے کہ پوری معاشرت اور سوشل حالت خراب ہو جاتی ہے اس وجہ سے ایجوکیشن پر پوری توجہ ہونی چاہئے -

اب اس کے بعد میں آنریبل منسٹر کی اس جانب بھی توجہ دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ جو کورس بلے ہوئے ہیں وہ اتنا زیادہ بوجھل ہوں کہ کوئی شخص کوئی لڑکا اپنی صحت کو برقرار رکھ کر یا کوئی لڑکی اپنی صحت کو برقرار رکھ کر اس میں اچھے نمبر نہیں پا سکتے - اس غرض سے کورس کی کمیٹیاں بلائی جانی چاہیں اور ان میں ایسے ماہر لوگ ہونے چاہئیں کہ جو پہلے کے حالات کو چھوڑ کر نئے سرے سے اور بجلی اس مسئلہ پر غور کریں - مشکل یہ ہو جاتی ہے — یہ خاص غور کرنے کا مسئلہ ہے — آپ نے کبھی توجہ کی ہوگی کہ جب کوئی بیل گاڑی چلتی ہے تو ایک دھت سا پیدا ہو جاتا ہے کچھ راستہ میں - دیہات میں تو زیادہ تر بیل گاڑی اسی دھت پر ہو کر چابیگی کسی طریقہ سے ادھر ادھر نہیں جا سکتی - تو سو برس سے ایجوکیشن کے متعلق ہمارے یہاں ایک لائن بن گئی ہے - ہم نے اسی طرح تعلیم پائی ہے اسی طرح غور کرتے ہیں اور اس میں سے نکلنے میں زحمت ہوتی ہے - اس لئے اس پر غور کرنے کی بہت ضرورت ہے اور ایجوکیشن

مستری کو ایک ایسی پالیسی لے
ڈاون کرنی چاہئے تاکہ ان مصیبتوں
سے نجات ملے۔ ایک مختصر سی
تعلیم ہو۔ کارآمد لوگ اسکولوں سے
نکلیں۔ تو میرے نزدیک ایجوکیشن
کے سلسلہ میں آپ کی خاص توجہ
کرنے کی ضرورت ہے۔

پھر اس کے بعد دو چیزیں ہمارے
سامنے ہیں ایک تو ٹائون ایریا کا
ڈیولپمنٹ اور دوسرے رورل ایریا کا
ڈیولپمنٹ۔ ہم نے یقیناً رورل ایریا
میں کافی ترقی کی ہے۔ کیونکہ
انگریزوں کے زمانہ سے یہ چیز ذہن میں
ہے کہ ہندوستان ایک زراعتی ملک ہے۔
اس لئے ہم لوگ رورل ڈیولپمنٹ کے
اوپر یقیناً زیادہ توجہ کر رہے ہیں۔
اس میں دیہاتوں کی ترقی کا جہاں
تک سوال ہے کہ ہم مکانات وہاں
بنائیں وہاں کی سڑکیں درست کریں
یہ بالکل ٹھیک ہے۔ لیکن جہاں تک
یہ سوال ہے کہ ان دیہات والوں کا
اقتصادی حل بھی نکالا جائے یہ ذرا
مشکل سوال ہے۔ جب تک کہ
ہندوستان پوری طور پر انڈسٹریلائزڈ
نہیں ہوگا اسوقت تک اس کا کوئی
حل نہیں ہو سکتا۔ دیہات بھی ہم
درست نہیں کر سکتے۔ جذبات والا۔ آپ
دیکھئے جو دیہات انڈسٹریز کے قریب
ہیں وہاں کی حالت زیادہ اچھی ہے
بہ نسبت ان علاقوں کے جو صرف کاشت
پر بسر کرتے ہیں اور اسی پر منحصر

ہیں۔ ابھی فوڈ اینڈ ایگریکلچر کی
مستری نے کافی رویہ دیکر غلہ خریدا
تاکہ غلہ کی قیمت بڑھ جائے۔ یہ
کہوں آخر اس لئے کہ غلہ زیادہ ہو گیا
اور جب غلہ زیادہ ہوگا تو سستا ہوگا
اور اس سے کسان کی اقتصادیات پر
خراب اثر پڑے گا۔ تو میں خاص طور
پر انریبل مستر کی توجہ اس پر
دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ بجائے اس کے کہ
زراعت کے اوپر زیادہ توجہ دی جائے وہ
تو کھانے بھر کو کسی نہ کسی طریقہ پر
مل ہی جائیگا کیونکہ اس میں کافی
ڈیولپمنٹ ہو چکا ہے۔ ہمیں اس سے
زیادہ انڈسٹری پر زور دینا چاہئے اور
بڑے بڑے انڈسٹریز ہم کو دیولپ کرنے
چاہئیں۔ اور اس میں بھی خاص
طور پر میں توجہ دلاؤں گا کاتھ
انڈسٹریز یعنی گھریلو صنعتوں کی
جانب کیونکہ بڑی بڑی ملیں بھکاری
کو اتنا دور نہیں کر سکتیں جتنا کہ
گھریلو صنعتیں۔

اب ایک مسئلہ یہاں پر خاص طور
سے بھکاری کا ہے۔ اس کو حل کرنے کے
لئے ہمارے پاس کئی طریقے ہیں۔
ہمارے پاس تجارتیں ہیں۔ ہمارے
پاس مزدوریاں ہیں۔ ہمارے پاس
کاشتکاریاں ہیں اور سرکاری ملازمین
ہیں۔ جتنے لوگ پڑھتے ہیں ان کا
نقطہ نظر یہ ہوتا ہے کہ سرکاری ملازم
ہو جائیں۔ مجھے افسوس کے ساتھ
ایک حقیقت کی جانب آپ کی توجہ

[مولانا ایم - فاروقی]

دلانی ہے اور خاص طور پر پوری گورنمنٹ کی توجہ دلانی ہے کہ ایک آب و ہوا سی پیدا ہو گئی ہے پورے ہندوستان میں کہ ہر شخص جو پڑھ لیتا ہے وہ یہ امید کرتا ہے کہ اسے کوئی سرکاری ملازمت مل جائے۔ اس سلسلہ میں خاص طور پر میں اس پوائنٹ کی طرف آپکی توجہ دلاؤں گا کہ جو اقلیت فرقے ہیں عام طور سے ان کے دلوں میں یہ شکایت ہوتی ہے کہ انہیں سرکاری ملازمتیں کم ملتی ہیں۔ حقیقتاً چاہے یہ واقعہ ہو یا نہ ہو۔ ممکن ہے ان کی تعداد نے لحاظ سے زیادہ ملتی ہو۔ لیکن یہ حقیقت ہے کہ ہمارے ملک کی جو اقلیتیں ہیں مسلمان، ہیں عیسائی ہیں پارسی ہیں انکو یہ شکایت ہے۔ سکھوں نے تو ابھی تھوڑے دن پہلے ایک ریپریزنٹیشن بھی کیا اور بہت شور بھی مچایا کہ ہمیں ملازمتیں نہیں دی جاتیں۔ مسلمان لڑکوں کو بھی عام طور سے شکایت ہوتی ہے کہ ہمیں ملازمتیں نہیں ملتی۔ اسوجہ سے اکثر یہ ہوتا ہے کہ وہ ادھر ادھر مارے مارے پھرتے ہیں۔ کوئی تو مڈل ایسٹ میں چلے جاتے ہیں کوئی پاکستان چلے جاتے ہیں اور ایذا ملک چھوڑ دیتا پڑتا ہے۔ اس سے سخت گڑبڑ پیدا ہوتی ہے۔ مسلمانوں کی معاشرت اور ان کی ڈیریلو زندگی میں انتہائی گڑبڑ پیدا ہوتی ہے۔ یہ

حقیقت ہے اور ضروری بات ہے اور اس کو ظاہر کرنا چاہئے۔ جو یہ بیکاری کا مسئلہ اس وقت ملک کے سامنے ہے اس پر غور کرتے وقت ہمیں پوری طور پر اقلیت اور اکثریت دونوں کو مطمئن کرنا چاہئے۔ تو اس کے جانب گورنمنٹ کو خاص توجہ دینی چاہئے اور ایک ریالیسی لے قانون کرنی چاہئے۔

ہیلتھ منسٹری کے سلسلہ میں بھی مجھے تھوڑا سا عرض کرنا ہے۔ آپ کو اور ہم سب کو معلوم ہے کہ ہندوستان میں ایک خاص طرح کی آب و ہوا ہے۔ یہاں کی آب و ہوا کے لئے کچھ خاص طریقے کار علاج ہیں جو کئی ہزار برس سے یہاں رائج ہیں۔ ان کو ہم آیورید اور طب کے نام سے یاد کرتے ہیں۔ یہاں کی جڑی بوٹیاں یہاں کی دوائیاں ہیں۔ اس طریقہ کو قدیم زمانے میں مذہبی لوگ کیا کرتے تھے جنکو وید اور حکیم کہا کرتے تھے۔ اور یہ سب مفت کرتے تھے۔ بعد میں انہوں نے دنیا اور روپیہ کے لئے کرنا شروع کر دیا لیکن جب بعد کو مغربی تہذیب آئی تو ڈاکٹروں کا پیشہ ہونے لگا۔ اور فیس لی جانے لگی پہلے ہمارے یہاں کا خاص رواج تھا کہ طبیب یا وید اگر کوئی فیس لیتا تھا تو اس کا وہ لیدا ناجائز سمجھا جاتا تھا۔ وہ اسے خدمات خلق سمجھتے تھے اور اس سے خوف کیا کرتے تھے۔

یہی وجہ تھی کہ اس کام کو زیادہ تر پنڈت اور حکیم لوگ کیا کرتے تھے - لیکن جب سے مغربی تہذیب آئی علاج کرنے کے کام کو ایک پیشہ بنایا گیا - اس طرح سے مغربی تہذیب کے جو ڈاکٹر ہیں ان کا علاج زیادہ مہنگا پڑتا ہے بنسبت اس کے جو دیسی علاج کرنے والے ہیں - یہ بھی حقیقت ہے - بہت سے دوست ڈاکٹر صاحبان یہاں موجود ہونگے وہ سب کہ اگو ریکارڈ دیکھا جائے تو یقیناً باوجود اس کے کہ ہر طرح کی مدد مغربی علاجوں کی کی جاتی ہے ہر طرح کی ایڈ دی جاتی ہے ان کے ڈاکٹروں کے پاس دوائیاں بھی اچھی ہوتی ہیں - ان کے پاس زیادہ روپیہ بھی ہوتا ہے - لیکن پھر بھی دیسی علاج کرنے والوں کی زیادہ تعداد آپ کو دیہاتوں میں خصوصیت سے ملیگی اور وہ لوگ اس سے کافی فائدہ حاصل کرتے ہیں - اگر پورا ریکارڈ دیکھا جائے تو معلوم ہوگا کہ یقیناً آیوروید اور طب سے فائدہ اٹھانے والے لوگوں کی تعداد زیادہ ہوگی اور اگر زیادہ نہ ہوگی تو کم سے کم مغربی علاجوں کے برابر تو ضرور ہی ہوگی - میں یہ نہیں کہتا کہ علاج کے سلسلہ میں جو باہر کے طریقے ہیں انہیں آپ نہ اپنائیں - انہیں آپ رکھیں - لیکن مقامی جو چیزیں پیدا ہوتی ہیں فطرت اور نیچر نے کچھ انہیں ایسا بنایا ہے کہ غیر معمول کارآمد اور فائدہ مند ہوتی ہیں - حقیقتاً ان

سے فائدہ ہوتا ہے - لہذا انکو نہ چھوڑنا چاہئے اور انکی مدد کرنی چاہئے - لیکن مجھے ہیلتھ منسٹری سے یہ شکایت ہے جو اور لوگوں کو بھی عام طور پر ہے کہ خاص طور سے آیوروید اور طب کی جانب جتنی توجہ کرنی چاہئے اتنی نہیں ہوتی - جتنا زیادہ روپیہ اس پر خرچ ہونا چاہئے اتنا نہیں ہوتا - میں یہ توجہ دلاؤں گا کہ آپ اس کا ضرور خیال کریں کہ ایسی سکیمیں بنائی جائیں کہ آیوروید اور طب بھی یہاں ترقی کرے - ایک چھوٹی سی چیز ہے کہ آپ نے ہومیوپیتھک کے اوپر اتنا روپیہ خرچ کیا میں اس پر کوئی حملہ نہیں کرتا میں اس کو بھی ایک طریقہ علاج سمجھتا ہوں - لیکن جو چیز جہاں کی بنی ہوئی ہے جہاں سے اسکی دوائیاں بن کر آتی ہیں وہاں اگر دیکھا جائے تو اس کے علاج کرنے والے بہت کم ہیں - وہاں بھی ایلوپیتھک کا ہی علاج ہوتا ہے - لیکن تجارت کو بڑھانے کے لئے ہندوستان میں ہومیوپیتھک شروع کی گئی ہے اور اس کے لئے آپ کافی مدد کرتے ہیں اور ہمارے دیسی طریقہ علاج پر اعتبار نہیں کرتے - اس لئے میں خاص طور سے آپ کی توجہ دلاؤں گا کہ آیورویدک اور طب کی فلوں کو بڑھایا جائے اور ان کے لئے خاص آسانیاں پیدا کی جائیں اور ساتھ ساتھ ہی اچھے طبیب اور وید پیدا کئے جائیں - وہ ہمارے علاج کے لئے سستے اور بہتر بھی ہونگے -

[مولانا ایم - فاروقی]

اس کے بعد میں زیادہ وقت
لیکر آپ کا شکریہ ادا کرتا ہوں کہ
آپ ایک نہایت معقول اور نہایت
بیلنسڈ بجٹ ہمارے سامنے پیش کیا
ہے - مجھے امید ہے کہ یہ ہمارے
اقتصادیات کو اور ہمارے ملک کو ترقی
دینے کے لئے غیر معمولی طور پر
مفید ہوگا -

†[مولانا ام. فاروقی (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहब, आनरेबल फाइनेंस
मिनिस्टर की स्पीच के बाद आज तीन दिन
से इस साल के बजट पर लोग अपनी रायें
जाहिर कर रहे हैं और हर शरू को वक्त
की कमी का शिकवा है। यह बजट यही नहीं कि
सन् १९५६-५७ का बजट है बल्कि बकौल
हमारे दोस्त मिस्टर घोष के यह बजट
पूरे पांच साल का बजट है और यकीनन
इसे होना चाहिये। इसलिये कि इस साल जो
हम दूसरे पंचसाला मनसूबों का एक नया
प्रोग्राम शुरू कर रहे हैं उस की बुनियाद
इस बजट से पड़ती है। इसलिये इस बजट की
जो अहमियत है वह अपनी जगह पर दूसरे
बजटों की अहमियत से ज्यादा है।

अब तक जिन हजरात ने इस बजट पर
तकरीरें की हैं, उन में बड़े बड़े इक्तसादी
माहिर भी थे। खास तौर से हमारे मिस्टर
पारिख जिन्होंने बहुत मालूमात से भरी
हुई तकरीर फरमाई इस के बाद इक्तसादियात
पर किसी तरह की रोशनी डालने की न जरूरत
है और न वक्त ही है। हम तो जो बजट सामने
रखते हैं, इस को एक खास पसमंजर के साथ
और एक खास बैकग्राउण्ड के साथ सामने
रखते हैं। और वह हमारे इस पूरे आठ सालों
की तरक्कियों का बैकग्राउण्ड और पसमंजर

है जो कि हम ने अपने फाइनेंस मिनिस्ट्री
के माया में आज तक किये।

आप को याद होगा कि जिस वक्त हमें
आजादी मिली थी उस वक्त हिन्दुस्तान की
इक्तसादी साख तमाम दुनिया में खत्म हो चुकी
थी। हिन्दुस्तान बर्बाद हो चुका था। लड़ाई
के जमाने में जो जो कारखाने खुले थे, वह सब
बन्द हो चुके थे। बेकारी आम थी। गल्ले
की दिक्कत थी और कपड़े की कमी थी।
न पहिने को कपड़ा मिलता था न खाने को
गल्ला मिलता था। ऐसी सूरत में भी लाखों
की तादाद में बाहर से लोग आगये और इन
के लिये भी कपड़े, खाने और रहने का इन्तजाम
हमारे सुपुर्द हुआ। जब पहला बजट बनाया
गया उस वक्त यकीन जानिये कि काफी
दिक्कत हमारे फाइनेंस डिपार्टमेंट को पड़ी
होगी। उस वक्त से ले कर इस वक्त तक जैसा
कि आनरेबल फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर की
स्पीच से जाहिर है हम ने दुनिया की इक्तसा-
दियात में एक खास जगह पैदा कर ली है।
आज हम यह फख्र से कह सकते हैं कि हमारा
बजट एक बैलैन्सड बजट है। लेकिन जनाब वाला,
हम इस बजट में एक ऐसी चीज जरूर देखते
हैं जो हर वक्त दिल में खटकती है और वह
खटकनी भी चाहिये। हम इस में करीब चार
सौ करोड़ की एक ऐसी रकम पा रहे हैं जो कि
हकीकतन हमारी इन्कम की रकम नहीं है।
हमारी पैदा की हुई नहीं है जो हमारे प्रौडक्सस
से नहीं आई है बल्कि बाहर की एड से आई है
या लोन या कर्ज से। यकीनन बाहर की एड से
या बाहर के लोन से कोई भी कौम बुलन्द नहीं
हो सकती और न तरक्की कर सकती है।
इस वक्त चन्द जरूरियात के पेशनजर हमने
यह कबूल किया है। और चन्द मजबूरियां हैं
जिन की वजह से हम ने इस को कुबूल किया
है यह जरूरत है कि गुजिस्ता साल ४ सौ
करोड़ के करीब जो रकम हमें मिली है
उस में से अभी कुछ बाकी भी है और आयन्दा
भी और मिलेगी। इस को हमने पांच साला
मनसूबों में लगाया है और अपने कन्स्ट्रक्टिव
कामों में इस से मदद ली है। हम फैक्ट्स और

फिगर्म के साथ यह नहीं कह सकते कि इस में किस हद तक कामयाबी हासिल हुई है और न मैं इस बात में पड़ना चाहता हूं। मगर इन आठ बरसों में जो हम देखते हैं, वह यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान के एक एक चप्पे में और एक एक हिस्से में बेपनाह तरकियां हो रही हैं, सड़कें बनाई गई हैं, प्रोडक्शन बढ़ गया है, इण्डस्ट्री में तरक्की हो रही है और हमारी बड़ी बड़ी स्कीमें चल रही हैं। इस के पहले हम एक भी इन्जन नहीं बना सकते थे। लेकिन हमारा आज चित्तरंजन में इतना बड़ा कारखाना मौजूद है। इस तरीके पर सैकड़ों और कारखाने हैं जो कि आप का काम कर रहे हैं। हम पहले बाहर से खाद मंगाया करते थे और उस के लिये हमारा बहुत सा रुपया बाहर चला जाया करता था लेकिन इस के लिये भी करीब जमाने में हम मुस्तगनी और बेपरवाह हो जायेंगे और हमें बाहर से मंगाने की जरूरत नहीं रहेगी। इसी तरीके से कपड़े के मिलसिले में भी आप बेनियाज हो चुके हैं। लेकिन इस के बावजूद भी हमें इस पर गौर करना है कि हम किस तरीके पर इस एड के बार से अपने कर्धों को हलका करें। आप देखेंगे कि कर्ज के ऊपर कोई शख्स अपनी जिन्दगी बसर नहीं कर सकता।

कर्ज की पीते थे मय और यह कहते थे कि हां रग लायेगी हमारी फाका मस्ती एक दिन ॥

आज हम सर ऊंचा कर के हिन्दुस्तान के बाहर जाते हैं और अपनी न्यूट्रैलिटी और बेताल्लुकी का एलान करते हैं। ऐसे मौके पर यह पहलू निहायत खतरनाक है कि हम अपने कर्धों को दूसरे मुल्कों के एड या लीन से वजनी और बोझल रखें। टैक्स के जरिये से या जिस तरह भी हो जनता को पूरी तकलीफ बर्दाश्त कर के इस बोझ को अपने सर से उठाना है।

जनाब वाला, मैं मजलिस की तबज्जह खास तौर पर इस जानिब दिलाऊंगा कि इस वक्त जो इन्टरनेशनल और बैनल अकवाभी

सियासत दुनिया में चल रही है उस में न्यूट्रल होने की वजह से हमारी पोजीशन एक बड़ी पेचीदा सी हो गई है और जो ग्रुप बन गये हैं उन में हमारी पोजीशन बड़ी नाजुक सी होती जाती है। यकीनन हमारी यह पोलिसी सही है कि हम न्यूट्रल रहें और अलहदा रहें। लेकिन यह कहां तक चलेगी। इस के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा जा सकता। मगर इस वक्त चन्द चीजें जो दुनिया में पेश आई हैं वह निहायत खतरनाक हैं। सब से पहनी और सब से बड़ी चीज जो दुनिया में इस वक्त पेश आई है वह यह है कि मिडिल ईस्ट कन्ट्रीज को आम तौर से लोग हथियाना चाहते हैं। और इस में अपना अपना काम कर के एक खाम दंगा पैदा करना चाहते हैं। इस सिलसिले में बगदाद पैकट एक खास अहमियत रखता है। इस के बाद एक इस से भी ज्यादा सख्त चीज आजकल पेश आ रही है। अभी कल की तकरीरों को आप ने पढ़ा होगा। लोग साउथ ईस्ट एशिया के डिफेन्स का महाज बना रहे हैं। आजकल साउथ ईस्ट एशिया डिफेन्स आर्गेनाइजेशन की कौंसिल की मीटिंग हो रही है। वह कोई मामूली चीज नहीं है। इसे आप को पूरे तौर पर गौर से देखना है। इन तमाम चीजों की रोशनी में मैं आपके जहन को एक खास चीज की जानिब मुन्तकिल करना चाहता हूं—वह डिफेन्स का बजट है। हमें तो यह देख कर बड़ा ताज्जुब हुआ कि इस में आप ने करीब करीब १८ करोड़ की कमी कर दी है। हम ने तो यह समझा था कि इस को और बढ़ाया जायगा। इसमें नुक्तेनजर यह नहीं है कि बजट इसलिये बढ़ाया जायगा कि हम किसी से लड़ना चाहते हैं या हम यह समझते हैं कि हमारे ऊपर कोई हमला करेगा या कोई दूसरी कौम अगर मजबूत हो जायगी तो वह हमारे लिये मुजिर होगा चाहे वह पाकिस्तान हो या कोई दूसरी हुकूमत हो। इस से कोई असर नहीं पड़ता। हमारी जो पोलिसी है वह तो अपनी जगह पर बरकरार रहेगी। लेकिन एक चीज समझने की जरूरत है। और वह यह कि कभी कोई

[मौलाना एम० फारूकी]

कमजोर आदमी या कमजोर हुकूमत या कमजोर मुल्क दूसरी जगह पर जाकर सुलह और इखलाक का प्रचार भी नहीं कर सकता जब तक कि उस के हाथ खुद भी मजबूत न हों। इसलिये मैं आनरेबिल मिनिस्टर की तवज्जुह अपने डिफेन्स की बजट की तरफ जरूर दिलाऊंगा। और मेरा तो यह ख्याल है कि इस वक्त जो इन्टरनेशनल हालात हो रहे हैं उन के ऐतबार से हमारे डिफेन्स को और मजबूत होना चाहिये।

एक अजीब चीज की जानिब मैं आप की तवज्जुह दिलाऊंगा कि आज दुनिया के तमाम मुल्क पीस पीस की पुकार कर रहे हैं। मगर हकीकतन सुलह का पयाम, अमन का पयाम और ऐसा पयाम जिस के पीछे हकीकत भी हो, जिस के पीछे अमल भी हो वह अगर बुलन्द होता है तो आपके महबूब प्राइम मिनिस्टर जवाहरलाल की जबान से, इस की एक कीमत होती है। क्योंकि इन के पुस्त पर डिफेन्स का बजट है जिस मे बजाय ज्यादाती के कमी हो गई है। लेकिन आज दूसरे लोग जो ऐलान करते हैं, चाहे वह वाशिंगटन से ऐलान करें चाहे डार्टनिंग स्ट्रीट से ऐलान करें चाहे मास्को से ऐलान करें या कराची में बैठ कर इस चीज का ऐलान करें कि हम पीस चाहते हैं और दुनिया में सुलह चाहते हैं और उन के जीवन में मुतहद्दा मुहाजे जंग हो, एक डिफेन्स पैकट हो या बगदाद पैकट हो तो इस में सुलह की सदा की कोई हकीकत नहीं है। इस मे सिर्फ अलफाज हैं। अगर हकीकत है तो इस में है कि हम आज फथ से और सिर उठा कर कह सकते हैं कि हम इस के लिये बराबर काम कर रहे हैं। और हमारी कोई नियत ऐसी नहीं है कि हम किसी के ऊपर हमला करेंगे। क्योंकि हमारा अमल भी इस के मुताबिक है। सब से अहम चीज हमें इस वक्त इन्टरनेशनल पोलिटिक्स में यही गौर करने की है। यह जो हमारी पौलिसी है वह यकीनन सही पौलिसी है। हम किसी से

लड़ना नहीं चाहते। लेकिन इस के साथ साथ यह भी यकीनी है कि हमें मजबूत होना चाहिये और हर तरह से मजबूत होना चाहिये। आज हम फ्राइव-इयर-प्लान के सिलसिले में अपनी इक्तसादी हालत को जिस तरीके पर मजबूत कर रहे हैं, जिस तरीके पर इण्डस्ट्रिय-लाइजेशन कर रहे हैं, जिस तरीके पर रूरल एरिया को तरक्की दे रहे हैं, उसी तरीके पर हमें डिफेन्स को भी मजबूत करना चाहिये। क्या आनरेबिल मिनिस्टर इस मसले पर गौर करेंगे कि आज हिन्दुस्तान में कम्पलसरी मिलिट्री एजुकेशन कर दी जाय। और इसके लिये तरह तरह की सहूलियतें पैदा की जायें ताकि हमारे नौजवान थोड़े दिनों के लिये छः महीने या साल भर के लिये जितना भी हो उतने दिन के लिये ट्रेनिंग लें और उस के बाद अपने दूसरे कामों में मशगूल हों।

दूसरी चीज जो मुझे बहुत खटकती है वह यह है कि आप ने एजुकेशन के सिलसिले में जो बजट रक्खा है वह बहुत ही कम है। मेरे एक दोस्त ने यह कहा कि खास तौर पर टैक्नीकल एजुकेशन की जानिब बिल्कुल तवज्जुह नहीं की गई है। इन्हीं दोस्त ने यह भी फरमाया कि यह तो सूबों के सुपुर्द कर देना चाहिये। नहीं ऐसी बात नहीं है! इस वक्त सब के सब सूबे इस के मुहताज हैं कि आप इन्हें कुछ ग्रान्ट दें, इन्हें ऐड दें, और टैक्नीकल एजुकेशन के लिये इन की मदद करे। तो आनरेबिल मिनिस्टर को इस जानिब तवज्जुह करनी चाहिये कि एजुकेशन के बजट में और इजाफा हो और आप हर सूबे को टैक्नीकल एजुकेशन के लिये कोई न कोई मदद जरूर दें। यकीनी बात है कि इस वक्त जो सब से बड़ा सवाल है जिस के बारे में मैं आग्रह अर्ज करूंगा वह बेकारी का सवाल है। यानी यह कि लोग मुफलिस हैं, भूखे हैं और उन्हें खाने को नहीं मिल रहा है। उनके पास कोई काम नहीं है। यह एक बड़ा सवाल आपके सामने है। अगर यह सवाल कुछ हल हो सकता है तो टैक्नीकल एजुकेशन से ही हल हो सकता

है। आप ऐसे लोग पैदा करें जो कि बी० ए० और एम० ए० नहीं बल्कि कोई काम जानते हों ताकि आप के हिन्दुस्तान के प्रोडक्शन में भी इजाफा हो। आप के हिन्दुस्तान की पैदावार में भी इजाफा हो। आपके हिन्दुस्तान में जो चीजें पैदा हों उनमें तरक्की हो और लोगों को काम भी मिल सके। इस वक्त बड़ा सख्त और बहुत अहम मसला बेकारी का है जोकि तमाम चीजों की बुनियाद है। इससे रेव्यूल्ಯशन भी पैदा हो सकता है। इससे हुकूमत से बेएतमादी भी पैदा हो सकती है। इससे एक गड़बड़ी भी पैदा हो सकती है। इससे बदइखलाकियां भी पैदा हो सकती है। इससे चोरी में भी इजाफा हो सकता है। इससे जरायम भी तरक्की कर सकते हैं और इससे क्रिमिनल्स भी ज्यादा हो जायेंगे। गरज कि बेकारी का मसला ऐसा है कि हर एक की तबज्जुह की चीज है और इसको हल करने के लिये सब से अहम चीज यह है कि एजुकेशन डिपार्टमेंट इस सिलसिले में एक खास पौलिसी ले डाउन करे ताकि जितने लड़के स्कूलों से तालीम हासिल करके निकलें वह कारआमद निकलें। लड़के एम० ए० पास करते हैं। उसके बाद इनको क्लेरिकल लाइन भी नहीं मिलती। जहां पहले सौ सौ लड़के एक सूबे से इन्टरमीडियट या बी० ए० पास होते थे वहां इस वक्त हमारे सूबों में गुजिस्ता साल द्वाइ लाख लड़के सिर्फ मैट्रिक में बैठे थे और ५५ फ्रीसदी नतीजा हुआ था। अब आप खुद गौर फरमायें कि कितने लड़के मैट्रिक पास हुए जो कोई काम नहीं कर सकते थे। सिवाय इस के कि वह क्लर्क हो जाते। अब जब उन को नौकरी नहीं मिलती तो वह डिसअप्रायंट हो जाते हैं। दुनिया में इधर उधर मारे मारे फिरते हैं। इस का नतीजा यह होता है कि पूरी मुआशरत और सोशल हालत खराब हो जाती है। इस वजह से एजुकेशन पर पूरी तबज्जुह होनी चाहिये।

अब इस के बाद मैं आनरेबिल मिनिस्टर की इस जानिब तबज्जुह दिलाना चाहता हूं

कि जो कोर्स बने हुए हैं वह इतने ज्यादा बोजल है कि कोई शस्स, कोई लड़का, अपनी सेहत को बरकरार रख कर या कोई लड़की अपनी सेहत को बरकरार रख कर इस में अच्छे नम्बर नहीं पा सकते। इस गरज कोर्स की कमेटियां बनाई जानी चाहियें और इन में ऐसे माहिर लोग होने चाहियें कि जो पहिले के हालात को छोड़ कर नये सिरे से ओरीजनली इस मसले पर गौर करें। मुश्किल यह हो जाती है, यह खास गौर करने का मसला है। आप ने कभी तबज्जुह की होगी कि जब कोई बैलगाड़ी चलती है तो एक रहट सा पैदा हो जाता है। अच्छे गम्ते में देहात में तो ज्यादातर बैलगाड़ी इसी रहट पर हो कर चलेगी किसी तरीके से उस से इधर उधर नहीं जा सकती। तो सौ वर्ष से एजुकेशन के मुताल्लिक हमारे यहां एक लाइन बन गई है। हम ने इस तरह तालीम पाई है, इसी तरह गौर करते हैं और इस में से निकलने में जहमत होती है। इसलिये इस पर गौर करने की बहुत जरूरत है और एजुकेशन मिनिस्ट्री को एक ऐसी पालिसी ले डाउन करनी चाहिये ताकि इन मुसीबतों से नजात मिले। एक मुस्तसर सी तालीम हो। कारआमद लोग स्कूलों से निकले। तो मेरे नजदीक एजुकेशन के मिलसिले में आप को खास तबज्जुह करने की जरूरत है।

फिर इस के बाद दो चीजें हमारे सामने हैं। एक तो टाउन एरिया का डेवलपमेंट और दूसरे रूरल एरिया का डेवलपमेंट। हम ने यकीनन रूरल एरिया में काफी तरक्की की है। क्योंकि अग्रेजों के जमाने से यह चीज जहन में है कि हिन्दुस्तान एक जरायती मुल्क है। इसलिये हम लोग रूरल डेवलपमेंट के ऊपर यकीनन ज्यादा तबज्जुह कर रहे हैं। इस में देहातों की तरक्की का जहां तक सवाल है हम मकानात वहां बनायें, वहां की सड़कें दुरुस्त करें, यह बिल्कुल ठीक है। लेकिन जहां तक यह सवाल है कि इन देहात वालों का

[मीलाना एम० फारूकी]

इकतसादी हल भी निकाला जाय यह जरा मुश्किल सवाल है। जब तक कि हिन्दुस्तान पूरे तौर पर इंडस्ट्रियलाइज्ड नहीं होगा उस वक्त तक इस का कोई हल नहीं हो सकता। देहात भी हम दुस्त नहीं कर सकते। जनाबे वाला, आप देखिये जो देहात इन्डस्ट्रीज के करीब हैं, वहां की हालत ज्यादा अच्छी है बनिस्बत उन इलाकों के जो सिर्फ काश्त पर बसर करते हैं और उमी पर मुनहसर हैं। अभी फूड एंड एग्रीकल्चर की मिनिस्ट्री ने काफी रुपया दे कर गल्ला खरीदा ताकि गल्ले की कीमत बढ़ जाय। यह क्यों? आखिर इसलिये कि गल्ला ज्यादा हो गया और जब गल्ला ज्यादा हो गया तो सस्ता होगा। और इस से किसान की इकतसादियात पर खराब असर पड़ेगा। तो मैं खास तौर पर ग्रानरेबिल मिनिस्टर की तबज्जुह इस पर दिलाना चाहता हूं कि बजाय इस के कि जरायत के ऊपर ज्यादा तबज्जुह दी जाय वह तो खाने भर को किमी न किमी तरीके पर मिल ही जायेगा क्योंकि इस में काफी डेवलपमेंट हो चुका है। हमें इस से ज्यादा इण्डस्ट्रीज पर जोर देना चाहिये। और बड़े बड़े इण्डस्ट्रीज हम को डेवलेप करने चाहिये। और इस में भी खास तौर पर मैं तबज्जुह दिलाऊंगा काटेज इण्डस्ट्रीज यानी घरेलू सनतों की जानिब। क्योंकि बड़ी बड़ी मिलें बेकारी को इतना दूर नहीं कर सकती जितना कि घरेलू सनतें।

अब एक मसला यहां पर खास तौर से बेकारी का है। इस को हल करने के लिये हमारे पास कई तरीके हैं। हमारे पास तिजारतें हैं। हमारे पास मजदूरियां हैं, हमारे पास काश्तकारियां हैं और सरकारी मुलाजमीन है। जितने लोग पढ़ने हैं, उन का नुक्ता नजर यह होता है कि सरकारी मुलाजिम हो जाय। मुझे अफसोस के साथ एक हकीकत की जानिब आप की तबज्जुह दिलानी है और खाम तौर पर पूरी गवर्नमेंट की तबज्जुह दिलानी है कि एक आबोहवा

सी पैदा हो गई है पूरे हिन्दुस्तान में कि हर शख्स जो पढ़ लेता है वह यह उम्मीद करता है कि उसे कोई सरकारी मुलाजमत मिल जाये। इस सिलसिले में खास तौर पर मैं इस प्वाइंट की तरफ आप की तबज्जुह दिलाऊंगा कि जो अकलियत फिरके है, आम तौर से उन के दिलों में यह शिकायत होती है कि उन्हें सरकारी मुलाजमत कम मिलती है। हकीकतन चाहे यह वाक्या हो या न हो। मुमकिन है कि उन की तादाद के लिहाज से ज्यादा मिलती हों। लेकिन यह हकीकत है कि हमारे मुल्क की जो अकलियतें हैं, मुसलमान हैं, ईसाई हैं, पारसी हैं उन को यह शिकायत है। सिक्खों ने तो अभी थोड़े दिन हुए अपना एक रिप्रजेन्टेशन भी किया और बहुत शोर भी मचाया कि हमें मुलाजमतें नहीं दी जाती। मुसलमान लड़को को भी आम तौर से शिकायत होती है कि हमें मुलाजमतें नहीं मिलती। इस वजह से अक्सर यह होता है कि वह धधर धधर मारे मारे फिरते हैं। कोई तो मिडिल ईस्ट में चले जाते हैं, कोई पाकिस्तान चले जाते हैं और अपना मुल्क छोड़ देना पड़ता है। इस से सख्त गडबड़ पैदा होती है। मुसलमानों की मुआशरत और उन की घरेलू जिन्दगी में इन्तहाई गडबड़ पैदा होती है। यह हकीकत है और जरूरी बात है। और इस को जाहिर करना चाहिये। जो यह बेकारी का मसला इस वक्त मुल्क के सामने है इस पर गौर करते वक्त हमें पूरी तौर पर अकलियत और अक्सरियत दोनों को मुतमयन करना चाहिये। तो इस के जानिब गवर्नमेंट को खास तबज्जुह देनी चाहिये और एक पालिसी ले डारून करनी चाहिये।

हैल्थ मिनिस्ट्री के सिलसिले में भी मुझे थोड़ा सा अर्ज करना है। आप को और हम सब को मालूम है कि हिन्दुस्तान में एक खास तरह का आबोहवा है। यहां की आबोहवा के लिये कुछ खास तरीके का इलाज है जो कई हजार बरस से यहां राज है। इन को हम आयुर्वेद और तिब के नाम से

याद करते हैं। यहां की जड़ी बूटियां हैं, यहां की दवाइयां हैं। इस तरीके को कदीम जमाने में मजहबी लोग किया करते थे जिन को वैद्य और हकीम कहा करते थे। और यह सब मुफ्त करते थे। बाद में उन्होंने दुनिया और रुपया के लिये करना शुरू कर दिया लेकिन जब बाद को मगरबी तहजीब आई तो डाक्टरों का पेशा होने लगा। और फीस ली जाने लगी। पहले हमारे यहां का खास रिवाज था कि तबीब या वैद्य अगर कोई फीम लेता था तो उस का वह लेना नाजायज समझा जाता था। वह उसे खिदमत खलक समझते थे और इस से खौफ किया करते थे। यही वजह थी कि इस काम को जायादानर पंडित और हकीम लोग किया करते थे। लेकिन जब से मगरबी तहजीब आई इलाज करने के काम को एक पेशा बना लिया गया। इस तरह से मगरबी तहजीब के जो डाक्टर हैं उन का इलाज ज्यादा मंहगा पड़ता है बनिस्बत इस के कि जो देशी इलाज करने वाले हैं। यह भी हकीकत है। बहुत से दोस्त डाक्टर साहिबान यहां मौजूद होंगे वह सुनें कि अगर रिकार्ड देखा जाय तो यकीनन बावजूद इस के कि हर तरह की मदद मगरबी इलाजों की की जाती है। हर तरह की एड दी जाती है, इन डाक्टरों के पास दवाइयां भी अच्छी होती हैं, इन के पास ज्यादा रुपया भी होता है, लेकिन फिर भी देशी इलाज करने वालों की ज्यादा तादाद आप को देहातों में खसूसियत से मिलेगी। और वह लोग इस से काफी फायदा हासिल करते हैं। अगर पूरा रिकार्ड देखा जाय तो मालूम होगा कि यकीनन आयुर्वेद और तिब से फायदा उठाने वाले लोगों की तादाद ज्यादा होगी और अगर ज्यादा न होगी तो कम से कम मगरबी इलाजों के बराबर तो जरूर ही होगी। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि इलाज के सिलसिले में जो बाहर के तरीके हैं उन्हें आप न अपनायें। इन्हें आप देखें। लेकिन मुकामी जो चीज पैदा होती है, फितरत और नेचर ने कुछ उन्हें ऐसा बनाया है कि नैर मामूल कारआमद और फायदामन्द

हैं। हकीकतन इस से फायदा होता लिहाजा उन को न छोड़ना चाहिये उन की मदद करनी चाहिये। लेकिन मुझे मिनिस्ट्री से यह शिकायत है जो और लोगों को भी आम तौर पर है कि खास तौर से आयुर्वेद और तिब की जानिब जितनी तवज्जुह करनी चाहिये उतनी नहीं होती। जितना ज्यादा रुपया इस पर खर्च होना चाहिये उतना नहीं होता। मैं यह तवज्जुह दिलाऊंगा कि आप इस का जरूर खयाल करें कि ऐसी स्कीमें बनाई जायें कि आयुर्वेद और तिब यहां तरक्की करें। एक छोटी सी चीज कि आप ने होम्योपैथी के ऊपर इतना रुपया खर्च किया, मैं इस पर कोई हमला नहीं करता मैं इस को भी एक तरीका इलाज समझता हूँ, लेकिन जो चीज जहां की बनी हुई है, जहां से उस की दवाइया बन कर आती है, वहां अगर खा जाय तो इस के इलाज करने वाले बल्लत कम हैं, वहां भी एलोपैथिक का ही इलाज होता है। लेकिन तिजारत को बढ़ाने के लिये हिन्दुस्तान में होम्योपैथी शुरू की गई है और इस के लिये आप काफी मदद करते हैं और हमारे देशी तरीके इलाज पर ऐतबार नहीं करते। इसलिये मैं खास तौर से आप की तवज्जुह दिलाऊंगा कि आयुर्वेदिक और तिब की फनून को बढ़ाया जाय और उन के लिये खास आसानियां पैदा की जायें। और साथ ही अच्छे तबीब और वैद्य पैदा किये जायें। वह हमारे इलाज के लिये सस्ते और बेहतर भी होंगे।

इसके बाद मैं ज्यादा वक्त न लेकर आप का शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ कि आप ने एक निहायत माकूल और निहायत बेलसड बजट हमारे सामने पेश किया है। मुझे उम्मीद है कि यह हमारी इकसादियात को और हमारे मुल्क को तरक्की देने के लिये गैर मामूली तौर पर मुफीद होगा।]

2 P.M.

PROF. A. R. WADIA (Nominated):
Mr. Deputy Chairman, we have had

[Prof. A. R. Wadia.]

the privilege of listening to many long speeches on the Budget. The one, impression that is left on my mind—and it must be on the minds of others as well—is that this House is absolutely at one in accepting the idea of Welfare State whether one be a Communist or a so-called Capitalist. We all recognize that the modern State, to justify its existence, must be a Welfare State.

A Welfare State is a very costly proposition, and therefore, we have to recognize that there will be increased taxation. And we were prepared for a much more stringent Budget than the one that has been actually presented by the Finance Minister. In fact, I want to say that it is much less frightening than we were led to expect and, to that extent, we are grateful to the Finance Minister.

There are just a few points which I should like to make. There is a very small item of Rs. 50 lakhs by way of additional taxation that the Budget provides in the form of excise. Now, it seems to me that the items taxed might as well have been left alone, especially the tax on flashlights and flashlight cases. One object of this tax might be to increase the revenue. But in the Explanatory Memorandum, the Finance Minister has made it very clear that he has recourse to this tax mainly to encourage the indigenous industry.

Now, it is a fact that the indigenous industry in this line is particularly weak and for all practical purposes, we have to go in for foreign flashlights and these lights have ceased to be luxury articles. They are being used by practically all of us, even by our *chowkidars*. Even they fight shy of the kerosene oil lamps and therefore, a higher tax will only tend to increase the price of these flashlights. And it will be a hardship to the poorer sections of the people.

Equally unhappy is the increased excise on soap. Sociologists recognize

that an increased use of soap is a marked characteristic of an advanced civilization. And I think that we in this country suffering from a hot perspiring climate, are all the more in need of soap and we ought to increase the use of soap all the more. Anything that tends to increase the price of soap is undesirable from the standpoint of our common people.

Coming to Income-Tax, I do not propose to quarrel with the Finance Minister about his desire to increase it because we have grown accustomed to it. But the super-tax on dividends above 6 per cent. makes us pause a little. This 6 per cent. is calculated on the basis of the paid-up capital; that means on the face value of the shares. But anybody who is acquainted with the share market knows that this does not represent the actual value of the shares. In many good companies, people have to buy their shares at a very heavy premium and forcing a super-tax on all dividends above 6 per cent. of the paid-up capital. I am afraid, in practice will work out extremely unfairly to the normal investors. It has been recognized that the normal investors are not necessarily multi-millionaires. These are middle-class people who have saved a little bit and who have invested their savings in these various shares even at a high price. It is worth while considering whether the Finance Minister would not be justified in revising his opinion on this point and make this super-tax more equitable, I would say, to the average investor.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH: Would it not be better if it is calculated on the paid-up capital and reserves?

PROF. A. R. WADIA: Well, Sir, Mr. Parikh has much more experience in this direction than I have. If he thinks that it would be more equitable, then I have no objection.

I am not to quarrel with anybody over the increase in the postal rates for registration and telegrams. But I

do submit that in the light of the criticisms that we had made last year the Finance Minister should have found it possible to reduce the postal rate on book-post. It is really a hardship. On the one hand, the Government is anxious to increase literacy in the country. It is anxious to spread education in the country. Therefore there should not be any heavy rate on book-post, whether it is newspaper or magazine or book. A book costing Re. 1 has to pay heavily at the present postal rate. That is a hardship that we pointed out last year and one would wish that the Finance Minister even now—it is never too late to do a good thing—will somehow reduce the existing book-post rate.

There are one or two suggestions which I should like to make on the administrative side. Those institutions which have the privilege of receiving grants from the Central Government find that these grants are received far too late in the year. It creates a certain amount of uncertainty and since the Budget is there and the items have all been fixed, I think that it would be much better if these grants were to be spread over the year, so that the institutions getting these grants would get their amount once in a quarter at least. I know that there are a number of institutions which do not practically know as to what they are going to get and having got that information in March, by the end of March—before the end of the financial year—they will get the grants. It creates a great hardship to the institutions concerned. I am told that the Finance Department sits very tight over sanctioning these grants. I wonder if it is not possible to devise a really better system. The various Ministries know what their requirements are and they put up their suggestions and it is for the Finance Minister to accept or reject or modify them and finally present those demands in the form of the Budget that is before us. Once that is done, I think that it will be much better if the Finance Ministry loosens its hold on the different Ministries as to how

they should spend on this or that item. The Ministries are the best judges; they know their real requirements. It is hardly worth while somebody sitting in the Finance Ministry and saying that this shall not be given and this shall be reduced by 25 or 50 per cent. It is very unfair. Within the sanctioned grant, full liberty should be given to the various Ministries to spend the amounts. I know that the Finance Ministry practically serves as a sort of bottleneck. Things are very inequitably done. Of course, if the Ministries abuse their authority, that is to say, if the amounts have been sanctioned for certain items and they spend more than the allotted amount or spend it on other items which have not been sanctioned, it is perfectly justifiable for the Finance Ministry or the Auditor General to sit tight on them and bring them to book. But assuming that the Ministers in the other Ministries are responsible individuals—responsible to us, the Parliament and the public at large—we may reasonably take for granted that they will be careful as to how they spend their money and their discretion should be trusted in this matter. There is another little point which is creating considerable hardship. Years ago when income-tax was much lower than it is now, the assesseees were given reasonable notice. They were asked to pay their taxes within a month or sometimes even two months. The present practice seems to be to spring a surprise on the assesseees and call upon them to pay within seven days. Nowadays the income-tax is a very respectable amount in four figures and even in five figures. To give a man just seven days' notice, when the amount is so big, and then to threaten him with dire penalties if he does not pay up, seems to be a real hardship. I think that the Income-tax Department in the collection of taxes should be more human and a little more businesslike and take into consideration the difficulties to which an ordinary income-tax payer is subjected. Often, it may be that he is out of station. His clerk might have received the notice or somebody in the

[Prof. A. R. Wadia.]
family, might have received it. He may be returning only after a fortnight and find that the seven days' time has elapsed. I do hope that the Finance Minister will issue instructions to the Income-tax Department to be a little more equitable and a little less "efficient" in their methods.

Mr. Bhupesh Gupta launched, as usual, a very strong attack on foreign investments in our industries. There is a common presumption that indigenous capital would be forthcoming and that there is no real need for foreign investments in our industries. I have no doubt that indigenous capital would be forthcoming, but we have to recognise the painful fact that indigenous capital has become shy, and the reason for the shyness is not entirely the fault of the people who have a little money to spare but the fault lies with the Government. They do not know their own mind. The Damocles' sword of nationalisation is always hanging in the air. If only the Central Government were to make up its mind as to what industries it would nationalise and when, and stick to it, there would be more confidence in the investing public and they would not be so shy in investing their money in the creation of industries. I think that is a very desirable thing. Even assuming that there is capital, we do not always have the technicians necessary for starting new industries, and to that extent we may have to depend on foreign assistance. Personally it seems to me that there is nothing wrong in the development of our industries even with foreign capital. After all, the foreign capital is invested in our own country, industries are created and so many persons find employment there, and why should we fight shy of it, seeing that we are planning for more employment opportunities in our country? Whether it is skilled labour or unskilled labour or whether it is technical labour, every industry established in our country is one step forward towards the reduction of unemployment, and

from that standpoint, it is extremely desirable that even with foreign capital we should start industries. If necessary, we should get the assistance of foreign technicians. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, in challenging this policy, conveniently forgets that even Russia in the beginning of the Communist revolution had to go in for an immense amount of technical knowledge from America. They did not fight shy of paying fabulous salaries to the American engineers and technicians, and Russia has reaped the benefit of it. She has reaped rich dividends. I do not see why, as an Indian, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta should grudge this policy of the Government, which is necessary at the present stage of our development.

I come to the Defence Services. On the one hand, we say that they take away a tremendous proportion of our total revenues. On the other hand, we feel that we are still not strong enough to stand up to any first-rate power or even a second-rate European power. My friend, Dr. Kunzru, complained that the officers in the Defence Academy are not paid enough. I think that one friend from the other side complained that the jawans are not paid enough, that they are recruited at the age of 18 and are retired at the age of 30 and have nothing to fall back upon. These are very serious problems indeed, but if we spend more, it means that we will have to spend an increased proportion of our total revenues on the Defence Services. One thing is certain that however much we may talk of non-violent methods, we have to be prepared. We have to adopt the common-sense policy of keeping our powder dry. In a world which is wedded to violence, we cannot afford to be entirely non-violent; though we shall certainly be prepared to do the best we can by not attacking other countries, we have to be prepared against foreign attacks, and from that standpoint, even at the cost of increasing the amount spent on the Defence Services, it would be desirable to spend a little

more to get a contented soldiery and to get an efficient official class in our military ranks.

Yesterday, I understand that a full-scale attack was launched on the Education and Health Ministries. I did not have the pleasure or the displeasure of listening to those attacks, but I understand that the chief reason advanced for abolishing these two Ministries was that they are not doing any good work, especially as both the subjects of education and health belong to the States and therefore, there is really no room for the existence of these Ministries at the Centre. While there is something to be said for this reason, I am not prepared to come to the same conclusion as my hon. friend. It has always been very strongly felt by me that in the last days of the British Government as well as in the present situation, Education has not been made stronger at the Centre as it should have been made. I for one feel that the Education Ministry at the Centre should have been given much greater control over the universities all over India. In view of lack of control, each university seeks to go its own way and creates problems which the country as a whole has to face. The universities produce our leaders, and if our leaders are to be real Indian leaders, they will have to develop a very broad-minded Indian patriotism and an Indian outlook. Therefore, it is very desirable that these two Departments, especially the Education Department, should not only continue but should be strengthened. I would like to strengthen the hands of the Education Minister and enable him to discharge his functions much more efficiently than he has been able to do so far—not for lack of will—by giving him increased powers. I know that the States will resent this, but the States are in the habit of resenting everything. Once having tasted power naturally they would not like to give it up. But in the larger interests of the country and for the purpose of co-ordinating university education and perhaps to a lesser extent secondary

education, the Ministry of Education needs strengthening. I would like to repeat our thanks to the Finance Minister in having produced comparatively a conservative Budget but a very well-balanced Budget—a Budget which does not frighten people too much although it may not please the extremists on the other side.

SHRI J. S. BISHT: Mr. Deputy Chairman, in studying this Budget, the most prominent feature that strikes me and frightens me is the dimension or the magnitude of deficit financing. I have noticed that in the three days' debate that has been going on in this House, as much importance has not been attached to this most prominent feature as should have been attached. It seems to me that by a slow process, we are getting addicted to this particular drug, so much so, that we are feeling too complacent about it. There was a remark in a very long speech delivered by Mr. Parikh running over one and a quarter hour about it. He dismissed the whole subject in practically two lines at the tail end of his speech but even so, coming as it does from a gentleman of the fraternity of the capitalist class in issuing a warning to the Finance Minister about the dangers, it has got some value because the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and other commercial bodies have been crying hoarse for going the whole hog with deficit financing. I will point out the authorities on this subject. Here is first the Bernstein Commission Report. I will just quote a small passage. It has said:

"In the long run, the resources for development—and development is a long run problem—must come from taxes or savings out of the current income of the people, or they must come from resources provided from abroad. The problem of inadequate resources must be faced and met."

[Shri J. S. Bisht.]

"That is to say, they themselves, when they were specially summoned by the Government of India to enquire into this problem, strongly recommended that deficit financing should not be exceeded beyond a certain limit and that was something like 33½ crores a year or something to the extent of the money that we could draw from the Sterling balances. Since then we were supplied with the Report of the Central Board of Directors of the Reserve Bank of India. It is the Report for the year ending 30th June 1955 and it says:

"There is nevertheless, a limit to the pace and extent of economic development possible that is set by the real resources available. With un-utilised real resources capable of being harnessed to national development, a measure of deficit financing is not only desirable but may be essential for economic stability. Deficit financing, however, provides no easy substitute for sustained and substantial efforts to mobilise resources for development. It is a double-edged weapon which may be employed, within limits, to help development, but may hinder it, if used to excess. It is desirable, therefore, to set our targets of development on a realistic assessment of available resources while making the fullest efforts to maximise such resources."

This is a very valuable warning coming as it does from a very independent source. Apart from this, I find another report—a memorandum prepared by the Panel of Economists of the Planning Commission for the second Five Year Plan and I will just quote this another authority which comes practically to the same view. It says:

"For a year or two, deficit financing at a rate of Rs. 200 crores or so is safe—and even necessary. But, continuous deficit financing on this scale for a number of years is cer-

tain to generate inflationary pressures. A bolder plan with an emphasis on employment and heavy industry has inevitably a large inflation potential. We should like at this stage to caution against any tendency to undue optimism as regards the extent to which the use of deficit financing may avoid the awkward necessity of a deliberate endeavour to mobilise resources, as a result of the apparently large budgetary deficits of recent years not having produced adverse consequences."

This is an important point because this is one consideration that has brought about this feeling of complacency. They say:

"Firstly, the deficits have not been as large as originally envisaged in budget proposals. Secondly, there has been an unexpected—if not entirely adventitious—increase in foodgrains production. It is impossible to forecast the total national and international economic situation at this stage. We cannot therefore say with certainty that the situation will remain equally favourable throughout the plan period. The undertaking of deficit financing may itself change the situation unless counteracted by a rapid pace of development or by international conditions. We feel it necessary to suggest therefore, that the strictest watch be kept on the situation."

Thereafter we also received the draft of the second Five Year Plan and the Planning Commission itself has said the same thing. It says:

"Nevertheless, a developmental programme cannot be abandoned or slowed down at the first appearance of difficulties or bottlenecks. A measure of risk has to be taken. There has to be corresponding preparedness to adopt the necessary controls, and these controls have to form a fairly integrated system if they are to succeed."

All this comes and on the top of it we have here the budget speech of the Finance Minister. In Part B he has said the same thing. He says:

"The road to inflation is easy enough, but it opens floodgates which it would later be impossible to close. We are, in fact, taking a measure of risk with the deficit financing proposed for 1956-57 and we shall have to watch its effects carefully and adjust subsequent programmes in the light of these effects."

Now, as I have pointed out from the Bernstein Commission Report to the Finance Minister's speech, all along, there is absolute agreement on this point that deficit financing is a risky business. In fact if I remember correctly, the Finance Minister in his budget speech last year or the year before last, said that this is a thing which should be taken like a medicine and not like food and that he would always keep a strict watch on the situation. But now in this particular Budget he has plumped for a deficit financing of the magnitude of 390 crores. If this is not food, I don't know what else is food because the total budget of the Government of India in 1952-53 was of the magnitude of Rs. 400 crores. Here we are budgeting for the creation of money—deficit financing as it is euphemistically called, as it is nothing more than printing of notes, to the tune of nearly Rs. 400 crores and there is no doubt a very great risk in this matter because this is the key-stone of the arch. If inflation runs away and gets out of control then all this planning will come to nothing at all. That is quite certain and the Finance Minister also made a promise last year that the moment he saw the red sign on the horizon, he would take steps immediately to control the situation. This year we have seen that the price of wheat has been rising. Now the Government and the Food Minister and everybody went about the country and said that they were going to bring it down and in all the strategic markets they opened

shops and released stocks. It is two months now but there has been no impression on the market at all and I submit that the wheat price is in fact the king-pin of the prices. When wheat prices go up, sympathetically other food-grain prices go up and when they go up of course the wages go up and then the cost will go up and then all this cost of Rs. 4,800 crores for the plan may go to Rs. 8,000 or Rs. 9,000 crores and we shall be as far off from realising the plan as we are today. Therefore in our hurry we have to take great precautionary measures and I have therefore very grave doubts about the magnitude of this plan, when we see the signs of inflation already on the horizon. Last year I made a special request when I was speaking on this point that at least the hon. Finance Minister should give us an idea as to the mechanism of the plan which he has got by which he will immediately control the whole situation. We would expect from a General when he is facing a situation, when we know that the enemy is very tough, that he has some plans of retreat and at least his army should know how he is going to retreat so that they may have some measure of confidence and some measure of security. In the lower strata of society there is already this anxiety, this insecurity that there may again be inflation which we had during and at the end of the second World War, and which could be overcome only after a long time. It only makes the rich richer and it means windfall profits for the capitalists while it makes the vast sections of the people, especially those with fixed incomes, the wage-earners and the poor people even more poor than they are at present.

At the same time we have to carry through this development programme as fast as we can. And this should be done with stability. If we are determined to work out this programme, this plan of the magnitude of Rs. 4,800 crores, to me it seems there are only three alternatives that we can adopt. The first is to be very cautious and in a conservative way

[Shri J. S. Bisht.]
spread out the Plan over a period of six years. If we cannot find the real resources to cover the Plan within five years, the heavens will not fall if we extend the period to six years. I know in this matter of deficit financing, there is sharp difference of opinion even among economists. There are some who say there is no danger in it and there are others who say that there is danger.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. P. SUBB-
ARAYAN) in the Chair.]

In such a situation we can only adopt one method, that is to say the method of playing for safety, the method of caution. And it would be in keeping with that method to spread over six years this plan instead of over a period of five years. My calculations show that if we put the plan through in five years we would be spending something like Rs. 960 crores a year on this development programme, whereas, if we spread the thing over six years, we would have to spend about Rs. 800 crores a year. This will greatly curtail the magnitude of this deficit financing. That is one method.

If that method be not acceptable, the only other alternative that you can adopt is to adopt the method recommended by the Taxation Enquiry Commission. They have recommended that excise duties must be levied and these should go down to almost all the essential commodities. This is what they have said:

"Mere taxation of articles of luxury would not produce sufficient revenue and for commodity taxation to produce substantial receipts with appreciable restraint in consumption, it will be necessary to extend excise and sales taxation to the consumption of lower income groups and of goods commonly classed as necessities. There was not sufficient logic in the exemption of certain essential goods from taxation. As an alternative to inflation which might involve an even larger cut

in the current consumption standards of the weaker sections of the community, a systematic scheme of taxation of the essentials would be preferable."

I wholeheartedly and entirely agree with this recommendation of the Commission that excise duties and sales taxes should be quite broad-based and should cover all the essential articles, because if we really want certain development programmes to be got through within a certain period of time, it is very essential that everybody, from the lowest to the highest, should contribute towards that development. It is no good crying: "Soak the rich" because the rich are already very much soaked and even if they are soaked more, that is not going to bring in anything like the amounts that we need for our development programmes. Therefore it is necessary that these taxes should be brought on almost all. There is however, a feeling in the country that if we bring on these sales-taxes and excise taxes to affect even lower levels, there will be a certain amount of unpopularity for the party in power. To this also the Taxation Enquiry Commission has given a reply. They have pointed out:

"It would not be incorrect to state that taxable capacity shrinks with impecunious and unpopular policies and ineffective governance, and expands with beneficent and competent administration."

So, if our administration is beneficent and competent, there should be no such danger of any unpopularity. In fact, we have got the examples of even totalitarian States before us. Russia, when that country went about its development programme and when it wanted to hurry it through, it did not merely print more money and have deficit financing. There they clamped down the controls very rigidly and controlled all consumption. Therefore, if we are not prepared to adopt even the second alternative that I have suggested, then we should adopt the alternative which the Plan-

ning Commission had recommended even in connection with the First Plan, namely, clamp down physical controls from A to Z, that is to say, on all articles. All articles should be controlled and rationing introduced. After all, there is no easy way, there is no royal road to development at such a quick pace, if the thing is to be done with stability and safety. And it is of paramount importance that the Indian Rupee must retain its respectability, its reputation and its value.

Sir, leaving this question, I shall now proceed to draw the attention of the House to a subject to which I drew its attention last year and that relates to certain aspects of Defence. This year we are lucky that the hon. Minister for Defence is present here now in this House, although he now seems to be very busy reading through certain files.

THE MINISTER FOR REVENUE AND DEFENCE EXPENDITURE (SHRI A. C. GUHA): But he is still hearing.

SHRI J. S. BISHT: I am very thankful. Sir, firstly, in the matter of Defence, I enquired from the Defence Ministry whether they were taking any steps with regard to the provision of barracks and permanent residential quarters for the Army that is there on the Western Front, namely, right from Kashmir down to the Rann of Kutch. Sir, it is now nearly ten years that they have been there, exposed to sun and rain. I can understand that when there is a war on, the Army is expected to live in discomfort and to undergo trials and privations. But when there is no war on, we find that all these ten years, when the boundary also has been permanently fixed, from Jammu right down to the Rann of Kutch, there is no earthly reason why there should not be permanent accommodation, some permanent barracks built for these men. I have gone to these areas and I have seen for myself, right from Suchetgarh which is some 16 miles from Jammu, down to Pathankot, in all these places.....

THE MINISTER FOR DEFENCE (DR. K. N. KATJU): Pardon?

SHRI J. S. BISHT: I was saying that the bulk of our Army on the western front has been there for the last ten years. No war is going on. Of course, when a war is on, the Army is expected to live in discomfort. But in peace time, the Government is expected to provide suitable accommodation for them, to enable them to live in quarters. But right from Jammu down to the Rann of Kutch, they have been living with nothing above except, the sky, in tents, in sun and rain, and the Government have taken no steps to provide them with permanent accommodation. Last year a reply was given by the Finance Minister, on behalf of the Defence Ministry, that this was a matter which was under the consideration of Government. So I should like to know now what steps have been taken, how many quarters have been provided during the current financial year and how many are proposed to be built in the coming financial year.

Another point which I wish to bring to the notice of the Defence Ministry is this. The hon. Minister for Defence must have come across the controversy going on with regard to the expenditure that has to be incurred by the officers, especially the junior officers, in maintaining these officers' messes. I think the hon. Minister has been good enough to make a tour of many cantonments and many military establishments. So he must have seen—as I myself have seen—that many of these officers' messes are very good institutions and it would be sheer vandalism to wind them up. But at the same time, with this increased cost of living and the low salaries that are paid to these people, it has become impossible for them, especially for the junior officers, to subscribe for the maintenance of these officers' messes. In fact the monthly bill comes to Rs. 40 or Rs. 50. It is high as it has to be paid even when an officer is living apart from the mess with his family in his own quarters.

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Therefore, I would suggest to the Defence Ministry that part of this expenditure should be met by the Ministry itself, that is to say, the expenditure on the maintenance of the mess building, cutlery, crockery, linen, electricity and water and the offices should be met by the Ministry. Even if a part of the expenditure is met, which it ought to do in the interests of the efficiency of the Army in the officer cadre, a great relief would be afforded to these officers.

The third point which I wish to bring to the notice of the Defence Minister is this. I saw in the papers that there was a committee of Generals going about making enquiries as to the scale of pay of the officers and the expenditure that they have to incur. From personal experience, I could tell you that the scale of pay that is offered to the officer cadre of the Army is very low as compared to the scale of pay offered on the civil side where there is no risk of life, where there is no disturbance of the family life, where there is no separation and where there are no difficulties in regard to the education of one's children. The Defence Minister is aware that an officer may be transferred from Kashmir right down to Trivandrum and his family and children may have to be sent home thus making him meet extra expenditure on the maintenance of his family and children at one establishment and his own establishment at the transferred place. This is a very difficult situation and I do not know whether the Defence Minister or the Ministry is fully aware of the financial circumstances of these officers. Unfortunately the higher cadre, the top level of the officer cadre, belongs to what is called the King's Commissioned Officers and these people enjoy a scale of pay much higher than that of the Indian Commissioned Officers. Therefore, those people do not feel the pinch and it is not possible for them to realise the difficulties that the Indian Commissioned Officers, especially of the junior rank, who happen to be mar-

ried and have children, are undergoing. This is a matter which should be looked into very carefully if the Defence Ministry desires that the suitable type of young men should go into the Army and it is highly desirable that such young men should go in for the Army. Therefore, I hope that the Defence Minister will look into this problem and do his utmost.

I also endorse the recommendation made by many hon. Members here that there should be some increase in the overall expenditure on defence especially when we know that there is the Baghdad Pact comprising a whole series of States right from Karachi to Constantinople that are welded together and are being fully armed and equipped. In such circumstances, we should not expect that our sons should go to war, if there is a war which God forbid, with obsolete weapons, without proper equipment and without proper training. It is the paramount duty of a State, whatever be the cost—even if we have to cut down expenditure on other items, even expenditure on development—to maintain a fully equipped and trained army fit to meet all eventualities. We will be striving for peace; we wish that there should be peace and we have no aggressive intentions but there is no reason why we should not be fully prepared to defend ourselves because weakness always excites the lust of other powers and it was because we were weak in the past that we were invaded by a handful of Afghans and a handful of Moghuls who ruled over us for hundreds of years. I hope that this lesson has gone home, especially in the Hindu mind, and that they will never take risks with regard to defence merely on account of monetary considerations.

I now come to the question of the Posts and Telegraphs Department. I also endorse the opposition that has been voiced here in regard to the increase in the rates for telegrams and registration. The fact is that this Department is not paying and is running at a loss mainly due to the fact

that too many post offices are being opened in various parts of the country which are very uneconomic merely to provide a certain number of post offices. Whether there is need for it or not, whether it will pay or not, a post office is opened. I think that if they are very careful in all these things and if they open post offices only in such places where the need is there and where these post offices are likely to pay, there will be no loss and this sort of deficiency will not arise. Of course, a post office may be needed in a place where one man is living in a jungle, but what you have to see is whether there is sufficient number of people to take advantage of the facilities, whether there is sufficient custom forthcoming. This is the paramount consideration because, if we go on this assumption that the public utilities ought not to pay and that we should provide railway lines even for ten people and a post office even for one man, you will soon cease to be solvent. We cannot go on like this. Therefore, I submit that these rates should not be increased at all.

I must here also ventilate my grievance with regard to the telephones. Wherever there is the dial system, it works well; where there is no dial system, it is very difficult to get any connection. The operator system is not good at all. If you go to big cities like Lucknow, Moradabad, etc., one has to wait for more than half an hour before one could get the desired number and it is time there was some shaking up. Proper training should be given to these operators. There is some sort of training in Delhi. We see only in Delhi, what they call "Good manners Week" but you do not see it anywhere else in India. In fact, if you escape insult apart from not getting the number, you are lucky.

Lastly, I have to say something about education. My hon. friend, Mr. Saksena, said yesterday that the Ministries of Education and Health should be abolished. I am sorry he

made that remark. There is one lesson that we learnt especially after the release of the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission and that is that—education, both secondary and University including higher education, should be completely centralised. If you allow this freedom to the States and they go in for their own languages even in regard to University education, then very soon, our grand-children will not be able to talk with each other, understand each other. We are now able to talk with each other and understand each other because through the medium of English we have learnt not only the *lingua franca* but a certain way of life and a certain cultural attitude so that we feel at home wherever we may be in India, in Poona, in Bombay in Calcutta or in Madras. If a boy from Madras comes here, after learning everything in Tamil, right from the primary to the University stage, he will not be able to understand a boy from Delhi. The same thing will happen in the case of a boy from Bengal who would have learnt everything in Bengali. We do not know what education they will be stuffing into the minds of these boys. Very soon we will become strangers like the Russians and the Germans or the Germans and the French. Therefore, it is high time that education, secondary and University, is centralised and one particular type of education is given, one particular type of mental attitude created, one particular type of living and one particular cultural attitude is taught and at least one language taught compulsorily throughout the length and breadth of the country. If Hindi could take that place, it is well and good but if our Southern brethren about whom Mr. Dasappa is always very anxious, about ten crores of them, have some grave objection to it let it be English. Unity is much more essential than mere quarrel about language. Whatever it is, there should be one *lingua franca* which should be made compulsory in the secondary stage and in the University stage. There is no use talking about linguism if you want to avoid India being broken up into pieces.

[Shri J. S. Bisht.]

With regard to the health schemes, all that we need is a co-ordinating agency to control diseases that may be moving about from State to State. This does no more than that.

Lastly, Sir, I have to make one request with regard to the State of Uttar Pradesh and I must say it very bluntly. Nowadays, in Parliamentary circles at least, it is said that U.P. dominates. The result is that the Ministers who come from U.P. and the Members who come from U.P. get frightened and they are unable to open their mouths in the interests of their U.P. and all the money is swept away into other States. Therefore it is high time that we speak a little for U.P.—that much maligned State. I am very glad to find that a very big allotment has been made in the next Five Year Plan for the heavy industries, but with regard to U.P. there was not a single heavy industry put in there in the First Five Year Plan, nor is it proposed to be put in in the Second Five Year Plan.

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU (Madras): You are already heavy.

SHRI J. S. BISHT: There is no heavy industry there. The only industry in Kanpur is the textiles. Beyond that there is no heavy industry. We are going to have three steel plants, one at Rourkela in Orissa, Bhilai in Madhya Pradesh and Durgapur in West Bengal. We are having Bhakra-Nangal in Punjab, the D.V.C. in Bihar, the Hirakud in Orissa and the Tungabhadra in Madras and in all these places big industries like the construction of dams, the production of electricity and so on are going on.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: How many coal and iron mines has U.P. got?

SHRI J. S. BISHT: Coal and steel are not the only heavy industries. There may be other industries that

you can put in there, the manufacturing of machines and other things. You have put in that penicillin factory in Poona, coach-building in Perambur, the fertilizers in Sindri and all sorts of things at other places. Let U.P. also have something, say, coach-building or something. I say this seriously that a big part of the country with a population of 6 crores....

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh): I extend no co-operation to my friend, Mr. Bisht, in this begging business.

SHRI J. S. BISHT: A big part of the country with a population of 6 crores deserves well and you should seriously think with regard to giving them a good heavy industry. Otherwise there will be unemployment going on on a very large scale there. They cannot live on agriculture alone and the land that is available there is very little. No amount of ceiling will do. One Commissioner's Division, the Gorakhpur Division, for example, has got a population which is equal to the population of the whole of Australia. Now the land available to an average peasant there is $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 acres of land. It is utterly impossible for him to live on it unless you give him some industry.

Lastly, Sir, one appeal I shall make which I have been always making and will go on making, and that is that the Government of India, in all its plans, has been neglecting the Himalayan region. It is the region from Kumaon to Kashmir inhabited by nearly seven million people. The two million Akalis have organised themselves in such a manner and they are making such a noise in all India that everybody has to listen to them, but to the seven million people living in this Himalayan region nobody listens. You don't provide them with any railways; you cannot. You don't provide them with air services because you cannot. At least—I have been pleading for this all these years—provide a national

highway connecting Kumaon up to Kashmir along the hill line, and that is the only way by which you can open communications there and thus, to some extent, you can relieve the poverty that is there, the poverty that you see in Maharashtra, you see on a greater scale in this region, namely, in the Kumaon Hills and the Kashmir Valley. Of course in the Kashmir Valley the Kashmir Government is doing something and that for strategic and military reasons, but the other region is completely neglected. Therefore I would again strongly plead that a national highway should be seriously considered and should be implemented in the Second Five Year Plan.

I am very thankful to you, Sir, for the time you gave me.

DR. R. P. DUBE: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I join all those Members who have congratulated the Finance Minister for bringing out this very good and kind Budget. I say 'kind' because people were expecting some drastic taxations, but fortunately for them, the financiers and the capitalists, well, they have not been rudely shaken and have not been heavily taxed and he rightly deserves their congratulations also. I am perfectly certain that if the taxing authorities are a little more vigilant, careful and honest, we will find that a good amount of revenue will be collected. I am not very fond of dabbling in these budget figures, because I am not habituated to it. So I will leave it to other people and as so many hon. Members have already spoken on the various figures of the Budget and other aspects of the Finance Bill, I will confine myself to certain Ministries and give a few comments and suggestions on them.

The first and the foremost Ministry that I want to talk about is Education and I think I can link Education and Health together. These are the two Ministries that have a shortfall. If

you look at pages 16 and 17 of the Memorandum which has been given to us, you will find that there is a shortfall in both these, and these two Ministries are really very important Ministries and I cannot understand how there has been a short-fall. It is because, I personally feel, these Ministries are only advisory in character; both these subjects are transferred subjects and the States have full autonomy over them. I have said many a time here, during the Question Hours, that these Ministries should take a little more power. Unless they do that, I do not think they can ask the States to follow their advice or their recommendations. In a country like India, where you want to have a welfare and socialist State, education and health are two very important subjects and unless they are properly administered and unless there is all round one plan and policy, I personally think that nothing much can be achieved. You may go on doing all sorts of developments in the country, but if the people are illiterate and the diseases are rampant, I personally do not think that much good can be done. I therefore suggest to our trusted leaders, who are in charge of these Ministries, to try to do something, try to amend the Constitution, and I am perfectly sure that the Parliament here will help them, so that these two Ministries could be strengthened in their dealing with the States and because the States are not following their advice, I think they should be made to do so in these two matters. That is my view. I do not know, may be that other hon. Members differ from me and certain States may differ from my view, but I personally feel that, for the welfare of the country, if you want proper and good development of this country, these two Ministries must have a little more power and this, I think, can be done only by amending the Constitution.

Now I think I can talk a little on Defence. This is another Ministry

[Dr. R. P. Dube]

which has had a shortfall, and why? It is because they could not get the supplies; the orders which they placed could not be executed and the stores supplied. But, may I ask the Defence Minister why he is so fond of ordering only from two countries, the U.K. and the U.S.A.? There are other avenues; there are other countries. Why not tap other avenues from where they can get their armaments and other supplies, because, as far as I can see, U.K. and U.S.A. supplies first go for their home consumption and then they have got a pact to supply to our great neighbour. After that they supply to some other countries of their fold, and if they have any more surplus, then only they turn to India. Why should we depend on only these two countries?

3 P.M.

Let us get our stores from whichever place we can because we want that our defence should be properly looked after. It is perfectly true, as one hon. Member said, that we are wedded to non-violence but we still want to exist and we do want to exist well. So far our defence, for our very existence, for carrying out the development plans that we are having to increase the wealth of this country, and for this country to have its proper place in the comity of nations, I personally think that it is very essential that we should have proper armament and enough armament for our defence. We do not want to fight with people; but we want that other people should not come and invade us.

In the papers I read—I hope that it is not correct—that the Government of India was thinking of buying an aircraft carrier for Rs. 30 crores. That may be wrong but that was what I read in the papers. If it is correct I personally think—I may be wrong—that there is no need for that at present. We have not big ocean-going vessels or convoys for which aircraft carriers are necessary. I think that amount could be better

utilised for having more factories for explosives, aircraft and tanks. In fact we will have to have all these things produced in our country as early as possible so that we become quite independent. It is just possible—God forbid such a thing—that a war may break out and if it should happen we are blocked. We cannot get anything. So it is high time that we had these factories installed in our own country and started making our own tanks, aircraft and explosives. I think that the Defence Ministry and our Defence Minister, who is much better experienced than I am, will look into this.

Now, we have got something under Defence which is civil, and that is cantonment. I want to say something about these cantonments. They are 56 in number in our country and they are all very sadly neglected. They are Centrally administered and the States say that because they are Centrally administered, they cannot look after the cantonments. They are still being ruled by the ordinances passed by the Governor-General in 1836. We find that they are treated as untouchables. The British Government treated us as untouchables and the same practice still continues. I personally think that something must be done as regards these cantonments. In the year 1952 an amending Bill was brought in Parliament. It was purely an eye-wash and it was very severely criticised in the other House where Shri Majithiaji promised that a comprehensive Bill would soon be before the House. It is now nearly four years and after some time—about ten months—the life of this Parliament will be over and that Bill has not yet seen the light of the day.

Sir, there are other things that can be done without the help of the Legislature and that is about the land policy in the cantonments. Shri Mahavir Tyagi, Minister for Defence Organisation, had called a conference in March 1953. His idea was to democratise the cantonments. Some discussions went on and some relief was

given to the civil area. But they were just mere crumbs. It was only a flea-bite, if I may use that word about that relief that was given to the residents of the cantonments as far as the administration of those areas was concerned. Later on when some hon. Members approached Tyagiji, he formulated a scheme of land policy. It was purely an administrative policy—a policy that had really been formulated by the British Government in 1936, when the Civil Area Committees or the Bazar Committees were formed. The Chairman of Civil Area Committee used to be and still is the vice-President of the Cantonment Board. Since the Executive Officers were British people, they did not want to serve under the Chairman of the Bazar Committee and they started another department separately called the Military State Department which was formerly being looked after by the Executive Officers, and all the lands—A-1, A-2, B-3 and B-4 lands—were taken over by them. Now, anybody who has seen a cantonment will find that **there is a small bungalow** around which there are a few acres of land, all vacant. There is so much of land with them. A-1 land is the land where military barracks for officers and other things are there. A-2 land is the land that has been kept for future use of the military. B-3 land is the bungalow area and B-4 land is the land where there is agriculture. Now, I cannot understand why the Government want to keep so much land with them—land which will never be used by the military. Now a scheme was formulated and approved by the M.D.O., the Military State Officer, the Defence and by the Finance and I thought that that scheme would be implemented soon. But now it is 18 months since that scheme was formulated, and I do not know what actually is happening. I had a talk with the Defence Minister who very kindly said that he would implement the scheme very soon but again six or eight months have passed since that assurance was given to me. I would therefore earnestly request

the Defence Minister to kindly see—I know he is a very kind and religious person—that it is implemented. He will receive the blessings of the cantonment residents if he implements this land administration scheme which does not require any legislative support. It is purely an administrative scheme. I will now join with those hon. Members who have talked about the increase in the registration fee on postal articles. I think the Postal Department is a utility department. And even if the Government spends a little more money or if there is a short-fall or small deficit in it, well the Government should not mind it. The registration fee used to be 2 annas, it was raised to 4 annas, and then it went up to 6 annas, and now it has gone up to 8 annas. I think 8 annas for registration is very hard on the middle class and poor people who really send these registered letters. It is perfectly all right for Government servants in Government business because they put service stamp and they do not feel it, but any ordinary man, a middle class man feels it. If he wants to send a registered letter, he has to pay 8 annas registration fee and 2 annas for the letter. That means 10 annas. I think our Finance Minister who has been so kind in drawing up this Budget, such a nice Budget, will see that this two annas increase in the registration fee is at least reduced. Thank you very much, Sir.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is our first Budget for the Second Plan period, and we expected that our Finance Minister would not be timid, but would be bold to bring forward and present to this House bolder taxation proposals. The country was prepared for bigger taxation measures. But I am sorry that the glimpse that has been given to us of the socialist society, through this Budget, is not very encouraging. At high levels, in the Planning Commission and other official places, various proposals were discussed like the

[Shri Rajendra Pratap Sinha.] capital levy, the wealth tax, ceiling on income, and all these discussions led us to believe that we shall be having a more Socialist Budget than what has been presented by the Finance Minister. I am told that it has now been practically decided—and it is good that it has been decided—that we are going to have a ceiling on land in the rural areas. Now, I think that we cannot have a ceiling in one sector of the economy and not have a ceiling in the other sector. I am sure the pressure that will be generated from the rural side of the economy will not permit you to overlook the fixation of ceiling in the capitalist sector. I would therefore, urge upon the Finance Minister that he should consider the two economies at the same level. And when we are thinking of a ceiling on land in the agriculture section of the society, we should also have a ceiling in the other forms of income and wealth.

Now, Sir, I find that we are going to have a very big dose of deficit financing in this budget year. I find that the Finance Minister proposes to have deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 390 crores, as against Rs. 240 crores he had last year, that is, 1955-56. You will find that the Draft Plan has made a provision for deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 1200 crores, that is to say, an annual deficit financing of Rs. 240 crores. As against that the Finance Minister has thought it fit to have deficit financing, in the first year, of Rs. 390 crores. You will also find that it is expected that additional taxation will be raised during the course of the next five year period and the Centre is expected to raise about Rs. 225 crores in five years by way of additional taxation which works out that the additional taxation annually will be of the order of Rs. 45 crores. As against this we are going to have an additional taxation of Rs. 34.15 crores. Now, you will find that we will be having a greater dose of deficit financing as proposed in the Plan

and lesser degree of additional taxation as envisaged in the Draft Plan. It may be quite correct for the Finance Minister to have taken this approach, because I find that we can only develop our economy if we resort to deficit financing. I have found that in other countries also the economy has been developed by such measures. And with the rising economy he will be in a better position to gather more taxes. So, probably it is in the mind of the Finance Minister to first pump in more money to develop the economy and then to increase more progressively, probably steeply, the additional taxation measures. I would like to have an inkling of the mind of the Finance Minister as to whether that is what he thinks to do. This is what I presume from his budget speech, that he would like to start with a higher dose of deficit financing, which probably he will go on decreasing in the later years—and probably in the later periods of the plan you will have more and more taxation. The Draft Plan has also pointed out the dangers that are involved in a high rate of deficit financing. It says that up to a point it is safe, even necessary, but beyond a point deficit financing is inflationary. Now, we would like to know what is this critical point? Up to which point you can go on safely resorting to deficit financing and beyond that it may not be safe to do so, which will involve greater risks? I am sure the Finance Minister will say that there are various factors, various indicators which we have to keep an eye on.

Sir, so far as the Finance Minister is concerned, I am convinced that he is a very astute economist, rich in experience and practical wisdom. The proof of the pudding is in eating it. He has managed our economy so well during the past five years that it gives me every hope that he will manage the deficit finance in the coming years as well, with equal efficiency and with greater experience. But if our minds are exercised over this point, there is nothing

wrong in it. We would like to know from the Finance Minister what are the factors that he has in view by which he thinks or concludes that the deficit finance of this year to the extent of Rs. 390 crores will not involve any risk. We would like to know his reasons and arguments on this score that we will be going in for a safe economy in this matter.

Now, you will find that last year, we had a deficit finance of Rs. 240 crores and there was a rise of 10 per cent. in prices since June last. You will also see that money supply has also risen from Rs. 1,988 crores in June 1954 to Rs. 2,115 crores in January 1956. The other day, Pandit Kunzru quoted an article from the Reserve Bank of India bulletin which analyses the situation and which has said that this rise in prices may be partially due to the inflationary pressure. All that we want to ensure is that this inflationary pressure would not work in such a manner that it may bring misery to us. I concede that rising prices are a necessity for any developing economy. As a matter of fact, we desire a rise in prices when the prices of agricultural commodities fell rather steeply and we have found that the economy can be stabilised only when there is a rise in the prices of agricultural commodities. But, as I said, I would like to know how the Finance Minister has come to the conclusion that there will not be an inflationary pressure with a deficit finance of Rs. 390 crores this year, because, I find that there is a steep rise of Rs. 150 crores as compared to last year in deficit financing.

Various questions also rise in this respect, as to what are the assumptions of the Finance Minister. What shall we have by way of gap in our foreign trade in the ensuing year? I find that the financial journal "the Eastern Economist" has calculated that, if there is going to be an adverse balance of trade of Rs. 150 crores, then the net effect of deficit financing in the year 1956-57 will be the same as it was in the year 1955-56.

I also find that they have got an equation. It is a technical equation to me, but it is an economic equation, and the conclusions which they have drawn from that economic equation are these:—

"The equation in fact suggests that for every 10 per cent. rise in money supply, when production is constant there would be a 7 per cent. rise in wholesale prices. Again it would suggest that for every 10 per cent. increase in real output, money supply being constant, there would be a three per cent. fall in wholesale prices. In other words, the Indian economy is highly sensitive to money supply additions and not so sensitive to real output additions."

They have come to the conclusion that in deficit financing, more than Rs. 240 crores will have a very great amount of inflationary pressure. That is how they conclude. The article says: "In effect any deficit financing in excess of Rs. 240 crores is likely to be inflationary."

Now, the Finance Minister is going to resort to a deficit financing of Rs. 390 crores. We would like to know what are his reactions to the conclusions of this financial journal and his expectations of the real output.

Here again, what I feel is this. A large portion of our output cannot be accurately judged because agricultural production, to a large extent, depends upon monsoon. Now, the Finance Minister can come if he has the figures and tell us that the rate of progress will be maintained in regard to agricultural production in spite of the monsoon because the multi-purpose river valley projects, other irrigation projects and the "Grow More Food" campaign have given us definite results by which there can be no setback in our agricultural production. Then it will be a hearty thing to us that in spite of the monsoon failing in the Budget year, we shall not have any undue rise in prices.

[Shri Rajendra Pratap Sinha.]

The other point that I would like to know from the Finance Minister is this. As a result of these developmental plans and other factors, what percentage of the non-monetised section of the economy has come under the monetised sector, with the opening of rural areas and with more production of agricultural commodities? I am sure that the agricultural surpluses will find their way into the market. What are his estimates? Now, if there is going to be an appreciable decrease in the non-monetised sections of the economy, the inflationary pressure will not be felt so much. These are the points that I would like to know from the hon. Finance Minister.

Another point is that the Finance Minister has provided about Rs. 100 crores to be raised as public loans. Now the total provision in the plan period is to raise about Rs. 700 crores from public loans. Now, we have also got to pay back large sums of money which will fall due for payment during the next four years. I anticipate that during the next four years, we shall have to raise much more than what we expect to raise by this Budget. Suppose that another Rs. 50 crores will be raised by the States and so Rs. 150 crores by way of public loan would be raised in the Budget year. I find that in 1954-55, we have raised Rs. 112.3 crores. As against this, we have now put Rs. 150 crores, probably Rs. 100 crores for yourselves and Rs. 50 crores for others. I find that there is good room for getting more money by way of public loans when you are increasing the size of your deficit financing by so much. Now, the question was raised by my hon. friend over there, Mr. Doshi, as to how the private sector will be able to get the resources which are now being asked from it. I thought that in order to justify his fears, he would give some figures to support his stand. I think the best way is to judge the performance of the private

sector in the First Five Year Plan. I have been trying to find out as to how the private sector has behaved in the First Plan. The only figure that I could get in the Second Draft Plan is this. It is at page 110. Out of a total allotment of Rs. 383 crores which was expected of the private sector, they have been able to put in Rs. 340 crores. Thus I find that they have been able to a very large extent to fulfil their part of the commitment. I also find that the index of production has been going up. In 1951 it was 117.2. In November last year it was 165. These figures I have taken from the budget papers. Their production also has gone up. They have in some cases surpassed the targets fixed for them. The increase in their profits—taking 1946 as the base year at 100—in 1951 their profit was 135. In 1952, with the recession in prices, it went down to 83. In 1953 it was 112. In 1954 it was 114 provisional. I guess there have been much better profits in 1955, and the index will not be less than 115. Now, with this rise in profits and with the rise in production, I do not see why he is afraid that the private sector will not be able to raise Rs. 520 crores, which it is asked to raise. Now, in the Draft Plan you will find that Rs. 300 crores is to be raised through industries; Rs. 80 crores by way of new capital. If they cannot find this 80 crores as against about Rs. 500 crores small savings and Rs. 1,000 crores public loan in the public sector, it will show that they are incapable of raising any money. And then, Rs. 80 crores is the Managing Agents' share, and Rs. 60 crores is to be the contribution to the private sector through the Finance Corporations and other Government institutions by way of advances. So, I have no doubt that the private sector will be able to get the resources that it has been asked to obtain at the taxation level that is proposed by the Finance Minister.

Regarding the other taxation measures, I would like to take some

other opportunity to speak, but before I sit down, on one or two points I would like clarification from the Finance Minister. Various considerations are taken into account in making grants to the States. One of the standards accepted is the matching grant, i.e., 50 per cent. will be contributed by the States and 50 per cent. will be given by the Centre. The rich States can raise this 50 per cent. and then they will get the contribution of the Centre also. This is rather invidious, because it is the poor and backward States which need more attention in the field of education and so on. If they cannot raise 50 per cent., they cannot get anything from the Centre. So, some other criterion should be followed, so that the richer States may not become richer and the poorer States still poorer.

The other point is this: The original plans as submitted by the States to the Planning Commission were to cost Rs. 5,741 crores. Now, the Planning Commission has decreased this, but I find that even with this revised allotment, there has not been any decrease in the targets. Anyway, the reduction in the targets is not at all commensurate with the reduction in allotment.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

How is it that four-fifths of the original targets could be fulfilled with about half of the original allotment? I would like the Finance Minister to say a few words on this point.

THE MINISTER FOR FINANCE (SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH): There are no targets connected with the figure of Rs. 5,000 odd crores. They simply sent up their proposals. They did not connect them to any targets.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: Is that so?

Then, there is one other point. The Karve Committee recommended that Rs. 260 crores should be made available for village and small-scale

industries. Now, this has been reduced to Rs. 200 crores. We all know that this is the sector which will provide maximum employment in the country. Instead of making a cut in this, the cut could have been applied in the case of the bigger industries, in the interest of more employment.

Thank you, Sir.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJEE (Nominated): Sir, it is not expected that constructive suggestions can be made from outside for any alterations in the budget proposals or changes in appropriations which may affect the equilibrium, the equipoise and the balance of that highly delicate, technical and difficult undertaking, the preparation of the Budget for a vast country like India which will meet the expanding requirements of its people, out of its disproportionately inadequate resources. India's Budgets, repeated year after year, only present the sorry spectacle of her continued poverty which has attracted international attention. Recently a mission of the International Monetary Fund which investigated the economic conditions of India in its different parts, reported to the Government of India in the following words:

"The standard of living of the people of India is among the lowest in the world. The standard of living of the lower income groups leaves almost no margin for reducing their consumption without impairing their health and efficiency. The people are incapable in this poverty of making the effort necessary to carry out the Plan. A further reduction in the consumption of the lower income groups for the purpose of providing resources for the Plan will not make for its success. Investment in the health, strength and will of the people is as important for the economic progress of India as investment in plant and equipment."

[Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee.]

Now, Sir, I wish only to briefly refer to certain facts about the important necessities of life. How do the people stand with reference to food and clothing? So far as statistics of food consumption are available, I speak from figures for 1953, I find that in point of calories whereas the U.S.A. average diet of an individual in terms of calories amounts to 3,088, and U.K. 3,058, India can show only 1,683 calories and although the Finance Minister is taking credit for the fact that the food situation has improved, I am afraid that probably he has to go deeper into the matter to understand how it is so. From the strictly scientific point of view of the nutrition that is required for the physique of the people, I find that India is sadly lacking in those articles of food which will make for health. India shows an over-abundance of the production of cereals also pulses but India is sadly lacking in the protective foods which are worth having and therefore the Second Draft Plan rightly insists that in the field of food production, more attention should be given to the production of protective foods. Now in point of cereals, whereas U.S.A. gets in terms of calories only 23 per cent. of the calories required, India gets 68 per cent. That is to say, India is getting the food that leads to such diseases as diabetes, blood pressure or heart disease. Similarly in regard to pulses, U.K. gets 1.7 per cent. but India gets 12 per cent. As regards milk, India is the poorest. U.S.A. gets 13 per cent., U.K. 11 per cent. and India 6 per cent. Now in point of clothing, I do not know what the average consumption of cloth falls to an Indian now. I believe it is not over 15 yards per annum. So this is the situation. Now, how are we to apply the remedy to such a desperate situation? The whole economic system must rest upon two factors—the growth of our national income and the growth of the proportion of saving to income. So far as that matter

is concerned, I find that there is a tendency towards optimistic calculations. The Finance Minister says in page 3 of his budget speech that he assumes an increase in the rate of investment, which is taken at the present level of about 7 per cent. of the national income, to something like 12 per cent. Now as regards the national income itself, I find that the figure is somewhat misleading. Now the national income, I find, for 1950-51 amounts to 91 abjas which rose to 103 abjas in two years—showing therefore an annual increase roughly of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Now between 1950 and 1954 the net national output increased by 12 to 13 per cent. but rate of capital formation was only 6.2 to 6.8 per cent. The per capita net output increased by about 2 per cent. per year—equal to 8 per cent. in four years, according to the statement of the Minister of Planning Shri G. L. Nanda but against that, the Finance Minister assumes that there will be 12 per cent. increase instead of 8 per cent. Now we may also note in this connection that.....

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH: 12 per cent. at the end of the next Five Year Plan.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJEE: But in the last four years, as Mr. Nanda states, the per capita net output increased by about 2 per cent. per year and therefore I say that we should really make our calculations on a modest basis. Now in that connection I would like to say that some of the countries of Western Europe don't show more increase. For instance Germany shows an increase of 2.8 per cent. Canada 2.6 and Australia 2.5 per cent. So what I mean to say is this that I am not sure whether we would be justified in assuming what counts most viz., the ratio or proportion of saving to income. Now as a fact it is 7 per cent. but whether it can be taken as double the figures, that remains to be seen but the conditions don't appear to be very favourable. Certainly we must apply ourselves

to the actual remedy that is required and we must try to raise the level of saving in proportion to the national income but in this connection I would like to place as a humble student of economics, certain suggestions which are inspired by the ways and means by which West Germany was able to achieve its economic recovery in quite a record time i.e., as soon as possible. Now in this connection I should like to say that Germany has been able to achieve her economic recovery in quite a different method. In the first phase of her great struggle after the national disaster, German economic recovery was effected by making tax reductions, reductions of both direct taxation and indirect taxation thus giving encouragement to formation of new capital in the shape of undistributed profits and new investments by extending tax exemptions for replacements. So in that way, by lightening the burden of the cost of living, Germany was able to produce in the country sufficiently large capital which was ready for investment for achieving the economic welfare of that country.

AN. HON. MEMBER: That means in the private sector.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJEE: There is no "private" and "public" there. The whole country was girding up its loins in order to bend all its efforts towards economic recovery. As the hon. Member knows, Germany suffered most in the last war, being completely shattered by Anglo-American bombing. Therefore the recovery of West Germany was something very difficult of achievement.

The next phase was to raise consumer taxes and reduce non-taxable allowance for reinvestment. This is the usual method. If you really limit consumption you thereby create enough for the growth of saving and capital. But about the first phase, I

would like the Finance Minister to kindly consider whether that kind of economic planning might not be resorted to to some extent in India. We may explore the possibilities of the effects of reduction of taxation upon national savings. After all, the whole pivot of the economic edifice rests upon this proportion of saving to income.

"Reductions in taxes led to increase and improvement of wages and consumption, and generally to economic activity with increase of net incomes as a result of tax reduction."

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH: This was in 1936?

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJEE: No, in 1953. I am quoting from the book called "Germany Reports", pages 163 and 164. And I may also quote from the Report of the Bank Deutscher Lander, 1953, page 5. Of course, this is the first phase. And as I said, the second phase is the usual phase, that is to say, make judicious increases in taxation. The main point was that the scope for saving of the individual consumer would be given proper encouragement.

And to quote again from an international document.

"In spite of this minimum per capita national income India's tax rates are among the highest in the world."

I myself was not prepared for this kind of a sweeping statement, that India's tax rates are among the highest in the world. Now, the result will be that since there is shortage of food and clothing and since the common man is both under-clothed and under-fed, any savings that may be effected by all these means will be first absorbed in raising the consumption of food. According to the calculations of Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, with regard to the Second Five

[Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee.] Year Plan, the monthly expenditure on consumer goods amounted to Rs. 22 per head in India. And two-thirds of this income will have to be spent on food, according to his calculations. Also he says that the rate of national income's increase during these years is only about 3 per cent. and the ratio of savings to income is only 7 per cent.

The main points that I have been trying to emphasise are these, that we must attend to the primary factors of economic welfare, that is to say, we must have higher rate of saving for the people and we must also have a higher proportion of savings to income.

Another point to be noticed in these Budgets that are being presented year after year is that revenue has not really expanded, especially in regard to the main sources like customs, excise and income-tax. This you can verify easily by studying the various figures for the different years.

As regards the appropriations, I think that the military budget should have been probably a little more expanded, in view of the military environments that surround India, as a result of the American military aid to Pakistan. I believe the first symptoms of that we are seeing in the border raids which are being attempted as a sort of experiment by the Pakistan people in the use of the new military equipment which has been supplied to them by the U.S.A. If this is really a symptom of the new military situation that has developed in Pakistan, I should think that India's military budget should not have remained stationary as it is now.

As regards the appropriations for the Navy, I find that the same neglect is visible. I am very glad to see here the hon. Minister for Defence.

When I put him some time ago a question about an aircraft carrier, he roundly asked me: "What is the use of an aircraft carrier?" I believe he has now changed his mind....

DR. RAGHUBIR SINH (Madhya Pradesh): Are you sure about it?

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJEE: Yes, on account of the great inspections that were carried out by the Prime Minister; for he must have some business in his mind before agreeing to the inspections.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA (Uttar Pradesh): The Defence Minister also accompanied the Prime Minister.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJEE: So far as the naval equipment of this country is concerned, it is **very** very miserable. I find that whereas we have one cruiser Pakistan has probably none and that is the only one point where we score.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA: They have recently purchased a cruiser and four destroyers.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJEE: I was giving the statistics I had. Then we have 3 destroyers and Pakistan has three. So here we are equated. And three destroyers we have got on loan. We have five frigates and Pakistan has four. We have six mine sweepers and Pakistan has four.

DR. RAGHUBIR SINH: What about the coast line?

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJEE: I am not explaining the manoeuvres of these vessels. I am only trying to find out the extent of our naval equipment. As regards an aircraft carrier, the naval authorities must know that it can carry 40 to 100 aircraft and therefore such a ship is practically a mobile airfield. And what is most important is that supposing we agree now to go in for an

aircraft carrier, still it will require some five years for training the necessary technical personnel who may be able to make full use of this great engine of warfare.

Now for some other and minor details. I find that the Education Budget has been dealt with by many hon. Members and I do not want to repeat their remarks. I find that the appropriations for Education are not very generous and in that connection I would like to say that even in the United Kingdom in their recent Budget, the educational appropriation has amounted to Rs. 340 crores and as against our Central appropriation of Rs. 20 crores together with the different States appropriations the educational appropriations may probably total, say Rs. 100 crores. But consider the size of the two countries.

4 P.M.

In fact, real educational reform cannot be undertaken except on the basis of necessary finances.

Now, if you examine this Budget from the point of view of incentives to saving and incentives to the formation of capital—in this matter, of course, I am a layman—I do not know whether the new proposals of taxation in regard to corporations will quite act as an incentive or as a disincentive to the formation of capital. It seems that there is increase in the tax on registered firms; there is considerable discouragement to distribution of dividends and there is a tax on bonus shares and I have calculated that between these three proposed increases in taxation, the average inducement to investment will be decreased by a fourth and the proposal amounts to something like a double taxation. Therefore, I think that the incentives to saving have not been properly strengthened in this Budget. Of course, I am not in a position to suggest any kind of constructive ways and means by which this situation could be remedied but I

just want the Finance Minister to kindly bestow some attention upon this view on the Budget, namely, to what extent it acts as an incentive to saving as a source of the capital of the country.

I do not think I need prolong my remarks. I do not like to tread on the ground already covered in the speeches of my predecessors.

श्री ज० रा० कपूर : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय
यदि बहुत बार बधाई देने से बधाई का मूल्य और महत्व न घटता हो तो मेरी भी इच्छा, वरन् प्रबल इच्छा होती है कि वित्त मंत्री जी को हार्दिक बधाई दूं, इस सुन्दर बजट प्रस्तुत करने के लिये, और विशेषकर उस सुन्दर व्याख्या के लिये, जो बजट के साथ साथ उन्होंने हम लोगों के लिये प्रस्तुत की है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वित्त मंत्री विशेष रूप से बधाई के पात्र इस कारण हैं कि जनता बहुत दिनों से इस बात के लिये करीब करीब तैयार सी हो गई थी कि अब के वर्ष के बजट के समय, उस के ऊपर जो कर का बोझ लगाया जायेगा वह इस समय लगे हुए कर से कहीं अधिक होगा। निश्चय ही जनता को इस बात को देख कर बहुत सुख और सन्तोष हुआ है कि इस साल के बजट में जो कर लगाया गया है और लगाये जाने का प्रस्ताव है, वह अधिक नहीं है और अधिकतर जनता से उन्हें समर्थन प्राप्त होगा। लेकिन दो चार कर इस प्रकार के अवश्य हैं, जिन के ऊपर विचार करना चाहिये क्योंकि वे उपयुक्त प्रतीत नहीं होते।

सब से पहले मैं जिस कर-वृद्धि की चर्चा करना चाहता हूं वह तरल सोने के बारे में है। तरल सोने पर जो कर-वृद्धि करने का प्रस्ताव किया गया है वह बहुत अधिक मात्रा में है। तरल सोने के ऊपर ३१ १/४ फीसदी से एक दम ६२ १/२ फीसदी कर वृद्धि का प्रस्ताव किया गया है। यह कर इतना भारी होगा कि इस से आगरा जिले में स्थित फिरोजाबाद

[श्री ज० रा० कपूर]

नगर में, जो सारे हिन्दुस्तान के लिये शीशे की चूड़ियां बना कर भेजता है, व्यवसाय एक तरह से ठप्प जैसा हो जायेगा। नहीं जान पड़ता कि इस कर को लगाने के समय, जिस का भार अधिकतर जनता, हमारी महिलाओं के कोमल कलाईयों पर पड़ेगा, उन्होंने ने इतना क्रूर हृदय क्यों कर लिया। मुझे विश्वास है कि संसद की सभी महिलायें एक स्वर से इस कर-वृद्धि का विरोध करेंगी। मैं तो यह भी समझता हूं कि इस कर-वृद्धि का विरोध वित्त-मंत्री महोदय के घर के अन्दर भी होगा और श्रीमती देशमुख भी इस कर का विरोध करेंगी कि इतना कर चूड़ियों पर न लगाया जाय। चूड़ियां हिन्दू महिलाओं की शोभा को ही नहीं बढ़ाती बल्कि उन की सुहाग की भी निशानी है। चूड़ियों का व्यवसाय फिरोजाबाद में बड़े पैमाने पर होता है और तरल सोने का प्रयोग इन चूड़ियों को बनाने के लिये अत्यन्त आवश्यक होता है। इस के बिना अच्छी चूड़ियां बन ही नहीं सकती हैं। सारे देश को वहां से चूड़ियां बन कर जाती हैं और उन पर इतनी भारी कर-वृद्धि का मतलब यह होगा कि चूड़ियों की कीमत ज्यादा बढ़ जायेगी और वहां का यह व्यवसाय ठप्प सा हो जायेगा क्योंकि इतनी कीमत बढ़ने के बाद बाहर से भी चूड़ियां आने लग जायेंगी। इस बजट में इस बात का कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं किया गया है कि बाहर से आने वाली चूड़ियों पर कुछ कर-वृद्धि होगी। तो आप यह देखें कि इस कर-वृद्धि के कारण बाहर से सम्भवतः चूड़िया आने लगेंगी और यहां की इतनी बड़ी काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज (घरेलू उद्योग) जो है, वह नष्ट-प्राय हो जायेंगी। इस बारे में मेरा वित्त मंत्री जी से नम्र निवेदन है कि वे विशेष रूप से इस बात की ओर ध्यान दें।

यह कहा गया है कि इस देश में जो तरल सोना बनाया जाता है उस को प्रोत्साहन देने के लिये यह बात की गई है। लेकिन अगर थोड़ा विचार करें तो प्रत्यक्ष हो जायेगा कि

इस देश में तरल सोना बहुत कम मात्रा में बनाया जाता है और जो बनाया भी जाता है वह इतना अच्छा नहीं होता जिस से काम चल सके। इस खराब तरल सोने से अच्छी किस्म की चूड़ियां नहीं बन सकती हैं। यदि ऐसा नहीं होता, तो बाहर से तरल सोना क्यों मंगाया जाता? होना तो यह चाहिये था कि सरकार इस बारे में मदद करती, अनुसन्धान-शालाओं में प्रयोग कर के तरल सोना बनाने में उन्नति करती जिस से जल्द से जल्द हमारे देश में उच्च कोटि का तरल सोना बनने लगता। इतनी बात तो समझ में आ सकती है कि प्रोत्साहन तब मिलेगा जब कि बाहर से तरल सोना आना बन्द हो जाय। यदि बाहर से तरल सोना कम आया तो फिर कर-वृद्धि से सरकार को क्या लाभ हो सकता है। अगर बाहर से तरल सोना नहीं आयेगा तो आप की आय नहीं बढ़ेगी और यदि आया तो देशी बने माल को क्या लाभ हुआ? इस तरह की कर-वृद्धि द्वारा देशी तरल सोने को प्रोत्साहन नहीं मिलेगा और न सरकार की ही किसी तरह से आय में वृद्धि होगी। अगर आप दोनों दृष्टिकोणों से इस बात को देखें तो आप को मालूम पड़ेगा कि तरल सोने में कर-वृद्धि उचित नहीं है। मैं इस बात का समर्थक हूं कि इस बात की कोशिश की जाये, घोर प्रयत्न किये जाय कि हमारे यहां तरल सोना उच्च कोटि का बने।

इस के बाद, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे कपड़े के ऊपर जो कर लगाया गया है, उस की चर्चा करनी है। मध्यम श्रेणी के कपड़े के ऊपर जो दो पैसा गज कर लगाया गया है, उस के विरोध में मुझे कुछ कहना नहीं है, लेकिन जहां तक मोटे कपड़े के ऊपर कर लगाया गया है, वह मुझे उचित प्रतीत नहीं होता है। मोटा कपड़ा, गरीब लोगों के काम में आता है, दो पैसा फी गज कर बढ़ाने से उनके ऊपर काफी बड़ा बोझ पड़ेगा। इस सम्बन्ध में, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं निवेदन करूं कि यदि

यह कर मोटे कपड़े पर न लगाया जाय तो इससे सरकार को १.५७ करोड़ की कमी होगी। आप इस देश में एक समाजवादी समाज का ढांचा बनाने जा रहे हैं तो आप महीन कपड़े के ऊपर बजाय दो पैसा प्रति गज के, एक आना प्रति गज कर-वृद्धि करें। इस लिये फाइन कपड़े के ऊपर, अच्छे कपड़े के ऊपर आप ने दो पैसा प्रति गज कर-वृद्धि का सुझाव रखा है, उस के बजाय आप एक आना प्रति गज कर-वृद्धि करें। यदि आप देश में सोशलिस्टिक पैटर्न आफ सोसाइटी बनाना चाहते हैं तो ऐसा आप को करना ही होगा। जिम से इस कर के भार को अमीर आदमी सह सक और आप की आमदनी बढ़ाने का उद्देश्य भी पूरा हो जाय। अगर आप ने मेरा सुझाव मान लिया और फाइन और सुपर फाइन कपड़े पर दो पैसे प्रति गज के बजाय एक आना प्रति गज कर-वृद्धि कर दी तो उससे आपको सुपर फाइन कपड़े से सवा करोड़ की और फाइन कपड़े से २.७८ करोड़ रुपये की आय में वृद्धि होगी। इस प्रकार जहां आप की आय में १.५७ करोड़ की कमी होगी वहां मेरे सुझाव को स्वीकार कर लेने से उस आय में साढ़े तीन या चार करोड़ रुपये की वृद्धि हो जायेगी। तो मैं समझता हूं कि इस पर वित्त मंत्री महोदय विशेष रूप से ध्यान देंगे। यदि आपने सुपर फाइन और फाइन कपड़े के ऊपर दो पैसे के बजाय, एक आने की कर-वृद्धि करने का निश्चय किया, तो मुझे विश्वास है कि सदन के सभी सदस्यों का समर्थन आप को प्राप्त होगा।

इसके बाद मैं आपका ध्यान हाथ से बने साबुन की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूं। यह कर-वृद्धि नहीं होनी चाहिये। इस कर-वृद्धि से आप को भी कुछ लाभ नहीं है। केवल २० लाख रुपये की आय, यदि मैं गलती पर नहीं हूं तो, इस से आप की होगी और यह कोई इतनी बड़ी आय नहीं है जिस की वजह से आप इस कर को लगायें और इस घरेलू उद्योग धंधे के ऊपर इतना बड़ा भार डालें। इस सम्बन्ध में यह बात भी स्मरण रखनी चाहिये कि बिना

हाथ के बने हुए साबुन पर यह कर न लगने पर भी कुछ न कुछ इस कर का भार उन पर पड़ जायगा क्योंकि जिस तेल का वह उपयोग करेंगे उस तेल पर भी आप ने कर-वृद्धि की है। हाथ से साबुन बनाने के काम में जो तेल आयेगा उस के लिये आप ने स्पष्ट कर दिया है कि उस तेल के ऊपर कर-वृद्धि का भार होगा। इस प्रकार हाथ से बनाये जाने वाले साबुन पर दो भार पड़ेंगे, एक तो तेल का भाव बढ़ने से और एक यह नया कर बढ़ने से। तेल पर कर-वृद्धि का एक ही भार उम पर रहने दीजिये और दूसरे भार को उसके ऊपर न लगाइये, जब कि केवल बीस लाख रु० की ही आमदनी आप की इस में होगी।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कर लगाना ठीक ही है, जब कि हमें रुपयों की आवश्यकता है। अगले वर्ष और भी कर अवश्य लगेंगे और कुछ मिनटों बाद ही मैं सुझाव दूंगा कि कहां कहां कर लगाने की बात आप सोच सकते हैं। आप ने बहुत ठीक ही हम लोगों से पूछा है कि हम सलाह आप को दें कि कौन कौन से और कर लगाये जा सकते हैं, इन करों के अलावा या इन करों की जगह। लेकिन इसके पहले कि मैं कुछ कहूं, मैं यह अवश्य निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि आप को मितव्ययता की ओर विशेष प्रयत्न करना चाहिये। इस समय चारों ओर हम देखते हैं कि बहुत बड़ी मात्रा में फिजूलखर्ची हो रही है। इस का पता लगाने के लिये कोई जांच करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। जहां आंव उठा कर देखें, वहां फिजूल-खर्ची दिखाई देती है। दूर क्यों जायें, आप यहीं देख लीजिये। मैं नहीं जानता कि हमारे सामने जो कागज रखे जाते हैं उन के पीछे आखिर इस पीले कागज की क्या जरूरत है। क्या बिना पीले कागज के पट्टे के यदि कागज हमारे पास रखे जायें तो हमें तकलीफ होगी? यह पीला कागज रोज फेंक दिया जाता है। चीज बहुत छोटी सी है लेकिन इस स मालूम पड़ता है कि हमारे यहां मितव्ययता की

[श्री ज० रा० कपूर]

भावना कहीं भी नहीं है। जिस तरफ देखिये फिजूलखर्ची ही फिजूलखर्ची है। यदि हम इस फिजूलखर्ची को रोकने की कोशिश करें तो बहुत बड़ी मात्रा में हमारे पास धन बच जायगा। यह तो मैं ने बहुत छोटी सी बात बताई। इस फिजूलखर्ची के बारे में मैं विशेष रूप से कुछ बातें करना चाहता हूँ। भिन्न भिन्न डिपार्टमेंट्स में जो रुपया खर्च करने के लिये दिया जाता है, जब साल का अन्त होने लगता है तो आखिरी तीन महीने में या आखिरी महीने में जितना रुपया बचा हुआ होता है उस को किसी न किसी तरह से फूंक कर खर्च करने की कोशिश की जाती है। उन डिपार्टमेंट्स को यह ख्याल नहीं होता है कि यदि हम सुचारु रूप से उस रुपये को खर्च नहीं कर सके हैं, तो वह देश का धन है, अगले वर्ष कामों में खर्च हो जायगा। वे किसी न किसी रूप से उस रुपये को खर्च कर देना चाहते हैं। कभी कभी इस प्रकार का फर्जी हिसाब किताब, जिस में बेईमानी नहीं है, वे करते हैं कि सामान ३१ मार्च के बाद भले ही आये लेकिन ३१ मार्च तक वह रुपया दे दिया जाय। तो मैं चाहूंगा कि यह स्पष्ट नियम कर दिया जाय कि किसी डिपार्टमेंट को किसी काम के लिये जो रुपया दिया जाता है वह साल के चार हिस्सों में करीब करीब बराबर खर्च किया जाय। अंतिम तीन महीनों में और विशेषकर साल के अंतिम महीने में यह देख लिया जाय कि बारहवें हिस्से से ज्यादा खर्च न किया जाय। यदि यह आप ने किया तो आप की बहुत सी फिजूलखर्ची बच जायगी।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने यहां तो नहीं लेकिन और किसी स्थान पर कहा था कि हमारे देश में कर-भार उठाने की शक्ति बढ़ गई है क्योंकि प्रति व्यक्ति की आमदनी १५ या १७ फीसदी बढ़ गई है और उस १५ या १७ फीसदी बढ़ी हुई आमदनी का कुछ अंश यदि हम उन से करों के रूप में वापस ले लें

तो उन के ऊपर कोई नया भार नहीं होगा बल्कि बढ़ी हुई आमदनी का कुछ अंश ही हम उन से लेंगे। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह ला आफ ऐवरेज का जो हिसाब है यह बड़ा विचित्र हिसाब होता है। इस सम्बन्ध में मुझे एक कहानी याद आती है जो मेरे एक मित्र कहा करते थे। एक सज्जन थे जिन्हें औसत लगाने का बड़ा चस्का था। एक बार जब नदी में बाढ़ आने लगी तब वे अपने घर वालों को ले कर उस को पार करना चाहते थे। नदी में पानी कितना है, इस का उन्होंने ऐवरेज निकालना शुरू किया। कहीं पर दो फिट पानी था, कहीं पर एक फिट पानी था, कहीं पर छः फिट पानी था, कहीं पर दस फिट पानी था और इस प्रकार उन्होंने ठाई या तीन फिट का ऐवरेज निकाल लिया और फिर हिम्मत से कहा कि हम इस नदी को पार कर लेंगे क्योंकि इस में ठाई फिट औसत पानी है। उस के पश्चात् जब मझाधार में दस फिट पानी में उन के बाल बच्चे डूबने लगे और वे खुद डूबने लगे तो वे हाथ उठा कर चिल्लाये कि मामला क्या है। वे कहने लगे कि "मैं ने औसत लगाया यों, तो कुनबा डूबा क्यों।" इस प्रकार हमें औसत के ऊपर नहीं चलना चाहिये। यह मैं मानता हूँ कि हमारी आमदनी बढ़ी है, चाहे प्रति मनुष्य की आमदनी बढ़ी हो या नहीं, कुछ की अधिक कुछ की कम, हमें तो नये कर अपने देश की उन्नति करने के लिये लगाने ही हैं। लेकिन इस तरह लगाने चाहिये कि उन का भार साधारण जनता, गरीबों को, खले नहीं। इन नये करों के सम्बन्ध में मैं यह सुझाव उपस्थित करूंगा कि सब से पहले आप नमक पर कर लगा दें। इस सम्बन्ध में पहले एक-दो बार भी मैं कह चुका हूँ। और मैं इस समय भी अधिक नहीं कहूंगा क्योंकि मुझे कुछ और बातें कहनी हैं।

इस नमक-कर के सम्बन्ध में आप ने अपने फाइनेन्स एक्ट में इस बार लिखा है कि एक वर्ष तक यह नहीं लगाया जायगा। यदि आप देश की उन्नति के लिये नमक-कर

जग दंतो इस में कोई हर्ज की बात नहीं होगी ।
वेश आप के साथ रहेगा ।

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA Never.

श्री ज० रा० कपूर : मेरे माननीय मित्र सक्सेना साहब समझते हैं कि सारा देश इन्हीं में केन्द्रित है, लेकिन आप को नहीं मालूम है कि इस समय देश हर प्रकार की कुर्बानी करने के लिये तैयार है । एक निगोटिव फार्म में नमक-कर ने हमें स्वतन्त्रता दिलाई, एक रूप में नमक-कर ने हमें स्वतन्त्रता दिलाई, तो दूसरे फार्म में, दूसरे रूप में, यही नमक-कर हमें, आर्थिक स्वतन्त्रता दिलाने में भी सफल होगा और सब प्रकार से इस को इस का गौरव मिलेगा । पहले इस को स्वतन्त्रता दिलाने का गौरव मिला और अब इस को इस प्रकार से भी गौरव मिलेगा । इस कर को लगाने से पांच वर्ष में सवा सौ या डेढ़ सौ करोड़ रुपये आप को मिल सकते हैं और मैं ने हिसाब लगाया है कि यदि पौने चार रुपये की बढ़ी हुई दर से भी कर लगाया गया तो भी प्रति व्यक्ति के ऊपर इस कर का भार एक महीने में केवल दो पैसा पड़ेगा । इतना थोड़ा कर दे कर भी उस को हर समय इस बात का अनुभव होगा कि इस कर को देकर वह देश की वृद्धि में, देश की उन्नति में सहायक हो रहा है ।

दूसरी बात मैं यह निवेदन करूंगा कि शराब के ऊपर भी कर लगाइये । शराब के ऊपर कर दो तरीके से लगा सकते हैं, जिस का कि सुझाव मैं समझता हूँ कि प्राहिबिशन इन्क्वायरी कमेटी ने भी दिया है । एक तरीका यह है कि इस के लिये जो विज्ञापन होंउन के ऊपर कर लगायें । अम्प इन पर ५० फी सदी यह कर लगा सकते हैं । दूसरा तरीका यह है कि सार्वजनिक स्थानों में जो शराब पी जाती है उस के ऊपर कर लगायें । दिल्ली में हम इस का नित्य प्रति प्रदर्शन देखते हैं । होटलों में या जहाँ कहीं रिसेप्शंस

होते हैं वहाँ हजारों रुपये की शराब पी जाती है । यदि ऐसे स्थानों पर उपभोग की हुई शराब के ऊपर सौ प्रतिशत कर भी आप लगा दें तो ये लखपति और करोड़पति लोग जो कि वहाँ शराब पीते हैं, उस को आसानी से दे देंगे । मुझे मालूम है, दो चार जगह के रिसेप्शंस को मैं ने भी देखा है और वहाँ तीन तीन या चार चार हजार रुपये की शराब एक रिसेप्शंस में पी गई, तो यदि इस पर शत प्रतिशत टैक्स भी लगा दें, तब भी ये लोग इस को देंगे और उन के ऊपर कोई ज्यादा भार नहीं होगा और अगर उन के ऊपर भार भी होता है तो होने दीजिये ।

एक और सुझाव है । वह इस्टेट ड्यूटी के सम्बन्ध में है । आपने कहा है कि जितनी आप्र का आपने अनुमान किया था उससे कम आय हुई । क्यों कम आय हुई ? कारण यह है कि जो धनी लोग हैं वे मृत्यु-कर से बचने के लिये अपने जीवनकाल में ही अपने सम्भव उत्तराधिकारियों के लिये गिफ्ट डीड कर देते हैं और अपने कुटुम्ब का बंटवारा कर देते हैं । इसके लिये आपको कुछ उपाय सोचने होंगे । एक उपाय मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ । आप यह कर सकते हैं कि जो लोग इस कर से बचने के लिये अपने उत्तराधिकारियों के हक में गिफ्ट डीड और पार्टीशन डीड करे, उनके ऊपर आप प्रचुर मात्रा में स्टाम्प ड्यूटी लगा सकते हैं । यह स्टैम्प ड्यूटी केवल उन गिफ्ट डीड और पार्टीशन डीड पर लगेगी जो कि इस्टेट ड्यूटी से बचने के लिये उत्तराधिकारी के लिये की जाती है ।

SHRI J. S. BISHT: But that is a provincial revenue?

श्री ज० रा० कपूर : प्राविशियल रेवेन्यू हो या कोई रेवेन्यू हो, रुपया चाहे स्टेट में जाय, प्रदेश में जाय या कहीं जाय । आप नहीं कर सकते हैं तो कम से कम आप सुझाव तो दे ही सकते हैं । रुपया चाहे यहां रहे या वहां रहे, वह देश के ही तो काम में आयेगा ।

श्री ज० रा० कपूर

आप ने जो खर्च का ब्योरा दिया है उस के सम्बन्ध में भी दो बातें मुझे निवेदन करनी हैं और वे बातें मैं कुछ शोक और चिन्ता के साथ कह रहा हूँ। एक बात तो यह है कि आप ने गत वर्ष रक्षा के लिये जो रुपया रखा था उस में से साढ़े सत्तरह करोड़ के करीब रुपया आप खर्च नहीं कर सके हैं और उस का कारण यह है कि रक्षा के लिये और सेना के लिये जिन साधनों की जरूरत है, जिन सामग्रियों की जरूरत है उन को आप खरीद नहीं सके हैं। हमारे भाई डा० मुकुर्जी ने और दूसरे भाइयों ने यह कहा कि रक्षा के ऊपर आप और धन खर्च करें परन्तु उस के बरअक्स हम यह पाते हैं कि गत वर्ष इस के लिये जितना रुपया रखा गया था उस को भी आप नहीं खर्च कर पाये हैं। यह खेद की बात है कि आप रुपया इसलिये नहीं खर्च कर पाये कि जो सामान आप खरीदना चाहते थे, वह आप को नहीं मिला, अर्थात् वह सामान विदेशों से नहीं मिला। विदेशों से रक्षा के लिये हमारे देश को सामान न मिले, इस का अर्थ यही है कि लोग इस सम्बन्ध में हमें सहायता नहीं करना चाहते दुनिया में तो सामान की कमी नहीं है। इंग्लैंड में, अमरीका में, विदेशों में कहीं भी सामान की कमी नहीं है। और जगहों को सामान दे सकते हैं, पाकिस्तान को दे सकते हैं, मुफ्त या उधार या सस्ते दामों पर दे सकते हैं लेकिन रुपया देकर भी हम लेना चाहते हैं तो भी हमें नहीं मिलता है? हमें इस ओर विशेष रूप से ध्यान देना चाहिये। यह एक बहुत गम्भीर बात है और हमारा प्रयत्न यह होना चाहिये कि यह सब सामान हमारे देश में ही बन सके। निश्चय ही हमारी सरकार इस पर ध्यान दे रही है लेकिन उसे और ध्यान देना चाहिये और इस का पता लगाने की भी कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि कौन सा देश हमें ऐसा मिल सकता है जो कि हमारे प्रति मैत्री-भाव रखता है और हम यह सामान दे सकता है।

इसी तरह से आप ने एजुकेशन के ऊपर, विद्या प्रचार के ऊपर, तीन करोड़ रुपया कम खर्च किया है। जो रुपया इस विभाग के लिये आप को दिया गया था उस में से तीन करोड़ रुपया कम खर्च किया है। माननीय डाक्टर मुखर्जी ने कहा कि और रुपया दिया जाना चाहिये। काहे के लिये दिया जाना चाहिये? इसलिये कि साल के आखीर में बचा दें? मैं तो कहता हूँ कि जितना रुपया दिया गया है उसे ही आप खर्च कीजिये। और ठीक से खर्च कीजिये। और मिले तो बहुत अच्छा है लेकिन खर्च न करने के क्या मानी हैं? क्यों नहीं आप खर्च कर सके? इस मंत्रालय में कहीं न कहीं कोई कमजोरी अवश्य मालूम पड़ती है कि रुपया होते हुए भी आप खर्च नहीं कर सके। इस सम्बन्ध में, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक निवेदन करूंगा कि जिस के बारे में मेरी पूरी निश्चित राय है कि आप बहुत रुपया विश्वविद्यालयों के ऊपर खर्च करते हैं, सेकंडरी एजुकेशन के ऊपर खर्च करते हैं और प्राइमरी एजुकेशन के ऊपर खर्च करते हैं लेकिन प्राइमरी एजुकेशन के ऊपर आप एक पैसा भी खर्च नहीं करते हैं। आप का कथन है कि सरकार की जिम्मेदारी इस तरफ नहीं है। मेरा नम्र निवेदन है कि जहां आप प्राइमरी एजुकेशन के ऊपर कुछ नहीं खर्च कर रहे हैं, वहां यदि उस के ऊपर अधिक रुपया खर्च करेंगे, तो आप को युनिवर्सिटी एजुकेशन और सेकंडरी एजुकेशन के ऊपर अधिक रुपया खर्च करने की आवश्यकता नहीं होगी क्योंकि यदि आप बच्चों की नींव को पक्की कर देंगे तो आप का समाज एक बहुत अच्छा समाज बन जायेगा और जो भ्रष्टाचार हम इस समय समाज में देख रहे हैं, जिस के कारण करीब ५० करोड़ रुपया व्यर्थ हो रहा है वह बच जायगा। यदि हमारे देश के छोटे छोटे बच्चे अच्छे होंगे तो उस के बाद जब वे नौजवान होंगे और बड़े हो कर नौकर हों तो यह जो भ्रष्टाचार चल रहा है जिस की वजह से यह सब फिजूल-खर्ची हो रही है वह सब आप ही बच जायगा।

इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि आप प्रिप्राइमरी एजुकेशन की ओर विशेष रूप से ध्यान दें। मांटेसेरी स्कूल्स और पूर्व प्राथमिक शिक्षा की ओर आप को विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये। मैं देख रहा हूँ कि मेरी बहनें इस बात को उत्पुक्ता से सुन रही हैं और वह अवश्य ही इस बात का समर्थन करेंगी कि ऐसा अवश्य होना चाहिये।

और एक बात कह कर मैं इस विषय को छोड़ता हूँ कि यदि आप समाज में एकता लाना चाहते हैं तो कम से कम केन्द्रीय सरकार को तो इस बात का निश्चय कर ही लेना चाहिये कि वह किसी साम्प्रदायिक संस्था को, किसी एजुकेशनल इंस्टीट्यूशन को जिस का कि नाम साम्प्रदायिक हो या जिस का कि प्रबन्ध साम्प्रदायिक हो, एक फूटी कौड़ी भी नहीं देगी। यदि आप ने ऐसा किया तो आप देश को एकता के सूत्र में बांधने में बहुत कुछ सफल हो सकेंगे। केवल जुबान से कहने से और ढोल पीटने से कि जातिवाद नष्ट होना चाहिये, कम्युनलिज्म नष्ट होनी चाहिये, आप को सफलता नहीं मिलेगी। जो लोग रात दिन यह कहते रहते हैं वही उन संस्थाओं से, जो कि साम्प्रदायिक संस्थायें हैं, अपना सम्बन्ध रखते हैं। मैं खुले दिल से यह कह सकता हूँ कि हमारे कांग्रेस के सदस्यों में भी जो रात दिन यह कहते हैं कि साम्प्रदायिकता हट जानी चाहिये, उस को समूल नष्ट हो जानी चाहिये, शायद बहुत ही कम ऐसे होंगे जिन का कि इन साम्प्रदायिक एजुकेशनल इंस्टीट्यूशंस से घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध न हो। उन का यह कर्तव्य है कि वे एक स्वर से, कमर कस कर के, यह कह दें कि वे उन से सम्बन्ध नहीं रखेंगे। यदि वे ऐसा कह दें तो ये संस्थायें अपना नाम भी बदल देंगी और वहां से साम्प्रदायिकता भी हट जायेगी।

मेरा समय शायद खत्म होने पर ही आ रहा है इसलिये अंत में मेरे पास बैठे हुए मित्र श्री बिष्ट ने जिस बात की चर्चा की थी

उस की ओर मैं भी आप का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ और विशेष रूप से इसलिये ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जब उन्होंने ने वह बात कही तो लोग हंस पड़े, जैसे कि वह बहुत हल्की सी बात कह रहे हों, जिस का कि कोई आधार और मूल न हो। वह बात यह है कि हर बात में उत्तर प्रदेश की उपेक्षा की जा रही है। जब मैं यह कह रहा हूँ तो कुछ जिम्मेदारी के साथ कह रहा हूँ और जैसा कि पहले भी मैंने एक बार कहा था कि हम लोगों को पहले इस का अनुभव नहीं था लेकिन जब से पनिक्कर महोदय ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में यह लिखा है कि उत्तर प्रदेश कितना पिछड़ा हुआ है, शिक्षा में कितना पिछड़ा हुआ है, व्यापार में कितना पिछड़ा हुआ है, उद्योग में कितना पिछड़ा हुआ है और ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में भी कितना पिछड़ा हुआ है, तब से हम लोगों की आंखें खुलीं कि आखिर हम लोग किस अंधेरे कोठरी में थे और समझ रहे थे कि हमारे यहां तो सब बात ठीक ही है। जहां पनिक्कर महोदय के इस कथन को यहां सारे लोग चिल्ला चिल्ला कर हमारे सामने रखते हैं कि उत्तर प्रदेश का तो बड़ा प्रभाव है, वहां पनिक्कर महोदय ने जिन बातों को लिख कर के हम लोगों की आंखों को खोला है उन्हें भी वे न भूल जायें। पंचवर्षीय योजना में भिन्न भिन्न राज्यों के लिये आप ने जो रुपया रखा है, उस में से आप ने उत्तर प्रदेश के लिये केवल ११ प्रतिशत रखा है, जब कि उत्तर प्रदेश की आबादी हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी का १६ या १७ प्रतिशत है। आबादी के हिसाब से यदि आप देना चाहें, तो १६, १७ फीसदी उस रुपये में से आप को देना चाहिये। लेकिन जो पनिक्कर महोदय कहते हैं कि वह पिछड़ा हुआ क्षेत्र है, इस दृष्टि से यदि देखा जाय तो १७ या १८ परसेंट से भी अधिक उस को दिया जाना चाहिये। अभी दो, चार दिन हुए जब कि समाज कल्याण बोर्ड की रिपोर्ट हमारे पास पहुंची। यदि उस में आप देखें समाज कल्याण के लिये भिन्न भिन्न राज्यों में जो रुपया बांटा गया है, उस में भी आप को

[श्री ज० रा० कपूर]

पता चलेगा कि केवल १०, ११ प्रतिशत हम को मिला है, जब कि हम इतने पिछड़े हुए हैं। समाज कल्याण के काम के लिये हमें कम से कम १७, १८ प्रतिशत तक मिलना चाहिये था।

बिष्ट साहब ने कहा कि हमारे यहां उद्योग धंधों की कमी है.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is time. You have taken more than half an hour.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: I am just closing, Sir.

तो उद्योग धंधों के सम्बन्ध में एक तरफ से यह आवाज निकली—शायद मेरे माननीय मित्र श्री गोबिन्द रेड्डी साहब ने कहा कि आप के यहां कोयला कहां, खनिज पदार्थ कहां! ठीक है, उस का अच्छा जवाब श्री बिष्ट ने दिया कि कोयला और खनिज पदार्थ न होने पर भी और उद्योग धंधे हो सकते हैं। लेकिन मैं आप की यह बात मानता हूं कि बिना कोयले और खनिज पदार्थ हुए हम किस मुंह से कहें कि हमारे यहां बड़े धंधे स्थापित कीजिये। तो कृपा कर के विन्ध्य प्रदेश के हमारे जो भाई चिल्ला चिल्ला कर कह रहे हैं कि उत्तर प्रदेश में हमें शामिल कर लीजिये, वहां खनिज पदार्थ भी हैं, कोयला भी है, उन को हमारे साथ मिल जाने दीजिये। इस से हमारे यहां खनिज पदार्थ भी हो जायेंगे, इस प्रकार उत्तर प्रदेश की भी उन्नति होगी और आप को यह शिकायत करने का अवसर नहीं रहेगा।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You reserve all these observations when the States Reorganisation Bill comes up.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: That will be too late, Sir. Then everything will be an accomplished fact.

मैं अब समाप्त कर रहा हूं। विन्ध्य प्रदेश के लोग जब स्वतः यह चाहते हैं तो कोई कारण नहीं कि आप उन्हें हमारे

पास न आने दें। मैं नहीं चाहता कि जबर्दस्ती हम उन्हें अपने साथ मिलायें। लेकिन अपनी इच्छा से यदि वह अपने हित में आना चाहते हैं, तो क्यों नहीं आप उस की रजामंदी देते? विन्ध्य प्रदेश की स्थिति उस सुन्दर महिला की सी मालूम पड़ती है, जिस के हाथ लेने के लिये कई लोग खड़े हुए हैं। मध्य भारत चाहता है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : मध्य प्रदेश ?

श्री ज० रा० कपूर : मध्य भारत और मध्य प्रदेश अब दोनों मिल कर एक हो जायेंगे। तो मध्य प्रदेश उस को, वहां के लोगों की इच्छा के विरुद्ध जबर्दस्ती अपनी ओर खींचना चाहता है; जब कि वह अपनी इच्छा से उत्तर प्रदेश के घर में आना चाहती है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप सब के अधिकारों की रक्षा के लिये यहां बैठे हैं, आप ही बतायें कि क्या यह जबर्दस्ती मध्य भारत और मध्य प्रदेश को करने दी जाय जब कि आज स्वेच्छा से विन्ध्य प्रदेश रूपी महिला हमारे यहां आना चाहती है? उसे हमारे यहां आने दीजिये। मेरा समय, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, समाप्त हो गया इसलिये मैं आप को घंटी बजाने का कष्ट नहीं देना चाहता हूं और अपना स्थान ग्रहण करना चाहता हूं।

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHARAO (Andhra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, after a spell-bound speech by my friend and after so many bouquets that are offered by my friends on the other side, I am wondering whether they are facing the realities or not. Because after the budget announcements almost all the economic papers in the country have come out with praise for the Finance Minister, not because he has given any relief to the common man, but because he has not taken up cudgels enough against that class, which they have been threatening all these years. I mean the richest class where there is a concentration of wealth. Well, many of my friends on the other side have spoken

about the increase in national income. I do not deny that. I only want more increase. But where I differ respectfully is that a Welfare State is measured not merely by the increase in wealth, but also by its proper distribution. But when I see the facts I am rather pained to find that after so much talk of a socialist pattern, the main lever of socialism, that is the working class, is forgotten. When I see, on the one side, the production figures of these four years, the mounting profits of these four years and when I see, on the other side, the wages of the workers, the emoluments that they receive and the so called benefits that are showered upon them after taking some payment from them, I find there is a wide gap. And if this is the kind of 'socialism' that is going to be offered, I want my friends to think again, whether their objectives are fulfilled in this.

Well, the other day I saw the budget number of one of the leading bourgeois economic journals, the "Eastern Economist", with the heading "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde". It was accusing the Finance Minister that he was playing the dual role. In part it is right, because the Hyde part he is playing is I think in relation to the working class. With this I would like to examine the budget proposals because when my friend the other day gave certain figures there was an uproar from a certain section of the House that it was misrepresentation or misquotation. I would like my friends to bear with me when I point out their production figures and those that are given by so many capitalists today that have got a relation to the productivity of the working class. And when I see the production figures, it is 43 per cent. higher than what it was in 1950. The profit figures also, when compared with the wage bills, are far more. But when we see the wage increase it is only 15 per cent. I want to know why they did not come out with a labour policy, straightway

declaring a 25 per cent. wage increase when they know that wage increase is related to productivity. When we were expecting all these things and some kind of relief to the common man, here comes straight the indirect taxation. However much my friends may say that it hits the capitalist class, it falls straight on the consumers, namely, the common man. They say that taxation on the cloth is only on fine and superfine cloth, but I do not know where they will draw the line, because every cloth that the common man buys today is termed as "fine". If we go to the market, we see the prices there have risen up. Then there is tax on edible oils, what are called 'non-essential' oils are taxed. Again the common man is cheated in the name of taxation. If you add up all these things, the burden is more and more on the common man.

Sir, I do not want to just criticise because I know my friends will think that we are against certain taxation. I do not object to the indirect taxation as such. I do not say that deficit budgeting is not necessary. I do admit that it is necessary in a country where there is under-developed economy. Also I do admit that it is necessary that we should resort to some sort of indirect taxation. But it has also to be seriously considered on whom the burden of taxes falls. Then, there are other proposals which many of my friends on this side as well as on the other side have approved. We welcome the new features in the Budget, namely, the tax on bonus shares—of course, we on this side from the beginning were raising a protest even at the time the Companies Bill was being considered here, when the reserves were allowed to be frittered away in the form of bonus shares—the tax on dividends, and the withdrawal of the rebate of one anna in the rupee on undistributed profits. Well, Sir, when we demanded the total prohibition of bonus shares, some of my friends on the other side said that

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the bonus shares were sacrosanct. They argued that these reserves, which have been distributed in the form of bonus shares, are there and they are sent back as capital into the industry.

I fail to understand this. I have studied the balance sheets of certain mills and I have closely followed some of the mills to find out whether, up to the time of distribution of bonus shares, there has been any increase in employment or expansion of the industry. I found later on that the distributed bonus shares were not ploughed back as capital, but remained only as book transactions. It is a kind of magic. Well, I take a particular mill where they distributed bonus shares to the extent of Rs. 24 lakhs from the reserves. I found that after their distribution retrenchment was resorted to though the production had gone up, working hours saved, profits had gone up, but workers' emoluments were same as before. I would like to know whether this is where the so-called socialistic ideal is going to lead. Well, I straightway ask my friends who believe that we have some progress. Let them think. Why do you allow these shares to be frittered away? Even taking for granted that these are reserves, I would like these to be ploughed back into the economy of the country.

I would ask the Finance Minister to seriously ponder over this question. There are certain industries, for example, tea, jute and others where, I think, there is no need for further expansion up to a particular period. Why not you take these reserves into a common investment pool? Why should you not appeal to the industrialists, "Well, your industry can wait for some time." Nation's requirements need certain sectors to develop first. Nation's requirements need that such and such new industries have to be taken in hand. Well, if these amounts and these reserves instead of being sent inside are sent

to a common investment pool to be administered by a wing of the Government in consultation with the Planning Commission, I think that there is hope of getting more money and planning our industries.

I come to the question of dividends. It is another knotty problem. We are not satisfied with mere taxing. When the question of Company Law came up, we pointed out that there should be a limit on dividends—a percentage limit. It should be at a stage based on the reports of the various companies. I know certain companies who have declared dividend to the tune of 25 per cent. What are these dividends and how are they used? Why do you allow this money to be frittered away in this way for consumption?

Well, we want a ceiling on dividends. It has been our stand all along. Why should there be an increase? Mere taxation will not solve the problem. My friends will argue that there will not be much encouragement to invest their money. In such a case, they will invest their money in other industries where they can get some more. They can get dividends as well. They will expand the industry. They will look to new avenues and will help the national economy to a great extent.

So, on this point also, we feel that mere taxing the dividend is not enough and there should be a ceiling on dividend. One may ask, "Why?" When the capital formation in our economy is not proper and enough, it is almost a sin to allow the capital to be frittered away. These dividends never go into production in many cases and they go for consumption purposes. So, we have to consider this case very seriously.

I remember one of the leading economists suggesting in a recent journal, "Why do you go in for all this taxation on dividends and other things when you want to get money?"

A situation has been created in the country—I do not say as emergent as it is during the war period. But it is all the same emergent that we have to take quick steps for development. Well, why not resort to excess profit tax?" I think that the case for excess profit tax is particularly appropriate now, when an inflationary pressure is likely to be generated on account of the deficit finance and it is also a safety measure against inflation. So, I would like the Finance Minister to consider this also seriously. I do not think that the country will lose much and I feel that there will always be a safety measure against inflation and the investor will not be so greedy as he is today to increase the dividend.

I come to the second aspect of the income-tax question. Though belated, we welcome the decision of the Government to open the cases of income-tax evaders. But I cannot but remind the Government that there are many laws which were invalidated by the Supreme Court. But all the same, Government have found it necessary to bring them out in some shape again. In the case of income-tax evasion also, they should bring in some kind of Act to validate the Income-tax Investigation Commission Act. When I read Mr. Parikh's note which was submitted to the Planning Commission or a summary of it, I found that dubious ways are adopted to evade taxation. Well, we must have some kind of a machinery to vigorously check income-tax evasion.

We are very happy that on the eve of the Budget the Government have come forward with their decision to nationalise insurance which is really a tool in the hands of big businessmen in the country. We have our own misgivings of course. But we hope that they will not be there when the Insurance Corporation Bill comes up. But we cannot but appreciate the stand taken by the Finance Minister.

I come to the question of taxation on personal wealth. When this question is posed, many of my friends on the other side—if not many, at least some—are worried. Why taxation? Is it not enough that there is a graded super-tax? Is not tax on incomes of about Rs. 75,000 sufficient? Why? You may ask. We know the huge amounts that certain officers are getting. Just consider for a moment a prominent scientist—one who gives many of his valuable suggestions—getting not more than Rs. 1,200. A general manager of an insurance company gets Rs. 6,000. Scientists like Mr. Bhabha usually get Rs. 1,200. But take the general manager or the manager in a company. How much do they get? Compare it with the emoluments of the eminent men of letters or of art. Well, I do not say that their emoluments should be lowered down. But what I ask is: Is it befitting the socialist pattern of society which we envisage, to keep them above your highest men to keep them above our greatest intellectuals, to keep them above the best men in your country. Please consider it for a moment. Please remember all the speeches yet made at the Amritsar Session; remember all the voluminous articles that you have written in your various journals; remember also what the Prime Minister speaks about every day. What I say is that the country was expecting, even the capitalist class, even those financial oligarchs were expecting that there would be taxes on personal wealth. I have been scanning through all the financial journals. They are all saying that they expected a bomb to explode but found only a cracker that did not explode. This is not a certificate to you. They have gone to the extent of asking why the Finance Minister has not stood by what he said before the Planning Commission. Why simply threaten people? Is this the way you are going to improve the conditions in the country? Is this the way you are going to fulfil your ideal of a socialistic pattern of society? Is this the way you are going to imple-

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ment all that you have promised to the people?

I do not want to tax the House much more. I would like my hon. friends on the other side also to take up these points seriously. We will be one with you when you come out with your big axe against these sharks who are responsible for the deprivation of our people.

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: Mr. Deputy Chairman, this is the sixth Budget of Dr. Deshmukh.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH: No, Shri Deshmukh.

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: Fifth Budget. I am sure this is not going to be his last.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: You will have many more from him.

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: I am sure the entire House feels that there will be many more of his Budgets.

The first reaction one gets after seeing this year's Budget is one of relief. Of course, the country expected very severe taxation this year being the beginning of the Second Five Year Plan. We find that very little changes have been made in the income-tax structure. After the Taxation Enquiry Commission's report, it was expected that there would be increasing reliance placed on excise duties. If I remember aright, last year, seven new items were added to the list of excise duties, and these seven items have brought in nearly Rs. 2 crores more than what was anticipated on this account. One would have thought that this would have given encouragement to the Finance Minister, and it was naturally expected that more items would be added to the list of excise duties to be levied this year, but we find that only two items are added to the list, viz., vegetable non-essential oils and all kinds of diesel and furnace oils. We find that the excise duty on mill cloth has been

raised. Last year the excise duty on mill cloth alone got us nearly Rs. 14.5 crores.

This levy of excise duties on vegetable non-essential oils and also on diesel oils will certainly affect the poor man. With regard to the high speed diesel oil, we all know that, so far as the agriculturists are concerned, it is this oil which is very much used by them to drive pumps in places where there is no electricity. We all know that not in all villages in our country have we electricity. Nowadays people do not very much rely on bullocks for drawing water from wells. In areas which are not irrigated either by rivers or by canals, the people mostly rely on wells. For drawing water from wells, they only use diesel engines. For these engines it is not the crude oil that is used but high speed diesel oil. We find that an excise duty of nearly 4 annas per gallon has been levied on this oil. I find that several States are resorting to this habit of levying excise duties on high speed diesel oils. We find that Madras has increased the duty by two and a half annas, from one and a half annas per gallon to four annas per gallon, and with this additional taxation of four annas per gallon by the Centre, the price of high speed diesel oil in Madras would jump up by six and a half annas, i.e. four annas plus two and a half annas, per gallon. An oil engine of nearly 6 to 7 H.P. if it is worked for nearly 6 to 8 hours a day, will consume about Rs. 5 worth of oil. Now, with this increase in taxation, it will cost about Rs. 8 per day. At any rate in my State, nearly 50 per cent. of the agriculturists use only high speed diesel oil for running oil engines, and I hope the Finance Minister will seriously consider whether or not it can be raised at all, not to speak of four annas per gallon.

Then this will also affect road transport. Nowadays petrol being very costly, most of the buses are being converted into diesel buses. This

is being done at a very high cost. Whereas a petrol-driven vehicle will cost about Rs. 15,000, a diesel vehicle will cost about Rs. 20,000. We find that the cost of the transport is much less because diesel-driving costs very much less. But with this increase on high speed diesel oil, road transport also will cost more in future. This will effect only the poor man, because it is the poor man who takes to bus travel.

Then, about the duty on vegetable non-essential oils. We find a press note being issued as to what is meant by vegetable non-essential oils. It would have been better if the Finance Minister had described it in his speech as vegetable essential oils. Whatever it is, I find that it will include every kind of oil that is required for human consumption, oil required for the manufacture of soap, vanaspati, etc. That means that, if this excise duty is levied, oil will cost one more anna per seer.

SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH: It is half an anna per lb.

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: It comes to the same thing. This is an unnecessary burden on the poor man. It is the rich men who can afford to have ghee. The poor men go in for oils only for their food, and now the price of this commodity will be increased.

Coming to textiles, we find that an excise duty will be levied at the rate of six pies per sq. yard on all categories of cloth except coarse dhoties and saris. It is true that the poor will not be affected very much because they consume only coarse dhoties and saris. But it is not correct to assume that the poor do not buy other types of cloth and purchase only coarse dhoties and saris. They usually get *gada*, coarse unbleached cloth, and then they make a dhoti or sari out of it.

Sir, I would very much wish that.....

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: Pyjamas also.....

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: Sir, I would very much like that coarse *gadas* are exempted from the levy of this excise duty because the poor man goes in only for *gadas*. He does not go in for coarse dhoties and coarse saris.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Are you finishing?

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: No, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What time will you require?

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: I will take another fifteen minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Not so much. All right, you can continue tomorrow.

There is a message from the other House.

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

THE LIFE INSURANCE (EMERGENCY PROVISIONS) BILL, 1956

SECRETARY: Sir, I have to report to the House the following Message received from the Lok Sabha signed by the Secretary of the Lok Sabha:—

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 133 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith a copy of the Life Insurance (Emergency Provisions) Bill, 1956, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 3rd March, 1956."

I lay the Bill on the Table.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at one minute past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 8th March 1956.