

certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the service of the financial year 1959-60 for the purposes of Railways, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That Clauses 1, 2 and 3, the Schedule, the Enacting Formula and the Long Title stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted.*

*Clauses 1, 2 and 3, the Schedule, the Enacting Formula and the Long Title were added to the Bill.*

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** I beg to move:

"That the Bill be passed".

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That the Bill be passed".

*The motion was adopted.*

12.18 hrs.

#### GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—contd.

**Mr. Speaker:** The House will now proceed with further general discussion on the General Budget.

Before Shri Eacharan continues his speech, I would like to make an announcement. We agreed that with a view to complete the business for each day, the time taken immediately after the Question Hour for miscellaneous work will be added on to the rest of the day.

Today we are starting at 12.20, and therefore we will continue till 5.20. Such time will be added every day so that the work of the day may be completed.

**Shri T. B. Vittal Rao (Khammam):** I have no objection to adding, but we should not add on days when there is

a half-hour discussion on the Order Paper.

**Mr. Speaker:** We shall try. Today we do not have a half-an-hour discussion.

**Shri V. Eacharan (Palghat):** Yesterday I was speaking about the agricultural producers. When we speak about this, we have to understand the conditions of the agricultural labourers also. They are the only section in the country who are not getting adequate and fair wages.

All the industries have revised their wage structure according to the cost of living index and profit margin, but the condition of the poor agricultural labourers who are producing food for the country has not changed. I think the Labour Ministry also has not thought of their problem.

The industrial labourers use to get all benefits. They have bonus, overtime, fixation of their wages, paid holidays, maternity benefits, machinery to settle their disputes etc., but the agricultural labourers have no such benefits.

All the industries have revised their wage structure according to the cost of living index and profit margin, when the prices of the agricultural commodities go up, the labourers are paid in cash, and when the prices of the agricultural commodities come down, they are paid in kind.

The Labour Ministry should understand the difficulties and the disparities in the wage structure of this section of the labourers also. According to the data published by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, the average wage rate of the agricultural labourer in India is 17.5 annas per man, and 10.8 annas per woman.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member may speak a little more slowly and a little more loudly and with confidence in himself.

**Shri V. Eacharan:** The conditions in some of the States are still worse. In Orissa, the average wage is 11.5 annas per man and 7.9 annas per woman. In Madhya Pradesh, it is 12.8 annas per man and 7.9 annas per woman. In South India as a whole, the average wage is 16.2 annas per man and 9.8 annas per woman. This is very low. Moreover, there is no housing scheme for the agricultural labourers as there is for the industrial labourers. The industrial labourers have got their housing schemes, and the management also used to provide them with houses. So far as the agricultural labourers are concerned, in my State, formerly, the landlords used to give some plots of land to these agricultural labourers for construction of houses. When the question of permanency of tenure came up, that practice has been stopped, and the agricultural labourers are not getting any land. I hope the Labour Ministry and the Works, Housing and Supply Ministry will look into this problem and see that some provision is made for providing houses to this section of the labourers.

Another point which I would like to deal with is in regard to the unemployment problem. The unemployment problem is still very grave and large in the country. There are a large number of people who have registered their names with the employment exchanges for getting jobs. The majority of them are for the clerical and other supervisory jobs. At the same time, we find that the technically experienced people are less in number. So, there must be adequate provision for providing adequate facilities to train people according to the necessities of the various industries and their technical requirements.

As regards the Defence Budget, the country is facing threats from outside and requires an adequate number of trained men and equipment for reinforcement whenever required. The Finance Minister has

pointed out in his speech that he will approach the House whenever an additional sanction of funds is required. I am sure the House will be ready to sanction any amount for the protection of our borders.

Regarding the taxation proposals, I have to make one observation, and that is in regard to the tax on bicycles. This is a poor man's vehicle, and as such, the burden on the cyclists should be reduced.

As regards my State, there is one irrigation scheme in my district, namely the Kanhirapuzha scheme in the Palghat district. This was investigated at the time of the First Five Year Plan itself, but it has not been taken up or included even in the Second Five Year Plan. This is a very useful scheme and will help to produce double the quantity of paddy produced in the district at present.

There are about ten lakhs acres of single-crop land in Kerala, which can be converted into double-crop land, if adequate facilities for lift irrigation, cheap electricity and chemical manures are made available. I request the Irrigation Ministry to provide large amounts for these lift irrigation schemes and thus help to produce as much quantity of paddy and other crops as possible.

Finally, I would submit that when the Third Five Year Plan is being finalised, special consideration should be given to the problems of Kerala, namely the problem of increasing food production and the problem of unemployment.

With these observations, I support the taxation proposals contained in this Budget.

**Mr. Speaker:** I would like to announce one thing to the House. As the day advances, I find that many hon. Members of the Opposition, whom I would like to call and to whom I would like to give opportu-

nities are not in their seats. There is a growing tendency in the House to dictate to the Speaker as to when he should call them. I condemn it.

**An Hon. Member:** They should forgo their chance.

**Mr. Speaker:** Yesterday, I looked at Shri D. A. Katti's seat, and I wanted to call him, but he was not in his seat. Similarly, I wanted to call Shri Vajpayee and many others also. He comes to me on the last day and then tells me, 'Sir, I must be called'. I want to give opportunities to every Group in the debate on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address, in the discussion of the General Budget and on the Finance Bill. I want every Group to be represented, of course, with differences in the matter of numbers, but every Group will have an opportunity to express its views. It is from that point of view that I would like to call hon. Members. But I find that those hon. Members want to dictate to me as to when I should call them, at what time I should call them, whether before lunch or after lunch, whether on the first day or on the last day and so on. I am not going to show that indulgence hereafter. I find it very difficult to adjust. I am calling two hon. Members from the Congress Party and one hon. Member from the Opposition and thus I am trying to balance, but they make it impossible for me to do so. Therefore, no such requests hereafter will be entertained by me, if the hon. Members do not care to be in their seats.

I would like to say also one other thing. Whichever hon. Member I call and give an opportunity to speak, as soon as he speaks, feels as if he has no more duties to this House to discharge, so much so, that at the end of the day when I have reserved for some hon. Members to be called, I find that there is no quorum. If hon. Members are not present in their seats after they speak, I would not call them at all. It is very wrong. Hon. Members must appreciate the

enormous responsibilities that they owe to the House and to the country at large. The House cannot be thin even in a Budget debate like this; I am rather surprised. I cannot but condemn this kind of indifference on the part of some hon. Members. There are other hon. Members who are continuously sitting here and who are not getting opportunities, but suddenly some hon. Member butts in and the moment he comes in, he feels that he must catch my eye; it is rather strange.

**Shri Rami Reddy (Cuddapah):** Those who are continuously present might be given more chances.

**Mr. Speaker:** I shall try to give a chance to the hon. Member as often as possible.

Now, let us proceed with the discussion. I would request hon. Members to bear all this in mind. They must show greater courtesy to this House and be present more often.

श्री स० ला० द्विवेदी (हमीरपुर) :

अध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने सन् १९६०-६१ के आय-व्यय के आंकड़ों से सम्बद्ध जो प्रस्ताव रक्खा है, मैं उसका स्वागत करता हूँ और उन्हें बढ़ाई देता हूँ। उन्होंने बहुत सोच विचार कर के कर लगाये हैं —

**Mr. Speaker:** I have here a provisional list of the names of five or six hon. Members whom I will call after the hon. Member concludes. But it does not mean that others can go away immediately. That is my difficulty.

**Shri V. P. Nayar (Quilon):** If you give out the names, that will inevitably happen.

**Mr. Speaker:** What happens is that if I give them notice saying that I will call them, the others go away; if I do not, then these hon. Members

[Mr. Speaker]

go away. It so happens that only someone sits in the Chair and the rest go away.

Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan  
(Coimbatore): I did not go away  
..... (Interruptions).

श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी : मैं अपने भाषण में वित्त मंत्री महोदय के सभी प्रस्तावों का समर्थन तो अवश्य करूंगा किन्तु साथ ही साथ मैं उचित समझता हूँ कि जनता की उन बातों को भी मंत्री महोदय के सामने रख दिया जाय जिससे कि वे इस सम्बन्ध में जानकारी प्राप्त कर लें और आयन्दा ऐसा सोच कर के बजट बनाया करें कि जिस से जनता का अधिक से अधिक ध्यान उन को रहे। मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय की बजट स्पीच का स्वागत इसलिए करता हूँ और बधाई उनके प्रस्तावों के लिए इसलिए देता हूँ कि इस परिस्थिति में और आज के बदलते हुए युग में जब कि हम निर्माण के समय के बीच में से गुजर रहे हैं, देश ने ऐसी महान प्रगति की है जितनी कि संसार के किसी अन्य देश ने नहीं कर पाई। उस बढ़ती हुई आर्थिक व्यवस्था के समय करों का लगाना मुनासिब हो नहीं है अवश्यम्भावी हो गया है। उस को बजह यह है कि यदि हमें अपनी योजनाओं को कार्यान्वित करना है, यदि देश की सुरक्षा और प्रतिरक्षा के लिये हमें ऊँचे दर्जे का प्रबन्ध करना है ताकि कोई भी शत्रु हमारी ओर आखें उठा कर न देख सके और साथ ही साथ यदि इस देश में उद्योगों की बड़ोत्थी करनी है ताकि हम दूसरे देशों के मुकाबले में जा सकें तो हमें अपने आर्थिक ढाँचे को बदलना होगा और उस के लिये करों का स्तर ऊँचा उठाना होगा।

मुझे इस बात का हर्ष है कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने ऐसी वस्तुओं पर कर लगाने की व्यवस्था की है कि जो छोटे से छोटे व्यक्तियों

और जनसाधारण पर अधिक असर नहीं डालतीं....

श्री ब्रजराज सिंह : (किरोजाबाद) :  
जैसे साइकिल है।

श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी : अभी मैं उस पर आऊंगा, जरा सावधान रहें। मैं साइकिल पर आऊंगा और अन्य सब चीजों पर भी आऊंगा और आप जब मुझे उनके बारे में सुनेंगे तो प्रसन्न भी होंगे।

इसलिये आजकल की योजना के सम्बन्ध में आवश्यक है कि हम अपनी अर्थ व्यवस्था ऐसी करें कि अधिक से अधिक स्वावलम्बी बनते चले जाय और ऐसी मिश्रित आर्थिक स्थिति के दिनों में यदि हम केवल विदेशों पर ही आश्रित रहे और अपनी अर्थ व्यवस्था को ठीक न करें तो इसके लिए दूसरे देश भी हमारी तरफ उंगली उठावेंगे और यह कहेंगे कि इस देश में लोगों पर बोझा कम से कम दिया जाता है और बाहर पर ही आश्रय लिया जाता है। मुझे हर्ष है कि मंत्री महोदय ने जो बजट प्रस्तुत किया है उसे उन्होंने बहुत सोच विचार करके प्रस्तुत किया है और इसमें कम से कम बोझ लोगों पर डाला गए हैं। हाँ इतनी बात का ध्यान अवश्य रखना चाहिये था कि योजना पर जो व्यय हो रहे हैं, बड़े बड़े निर्माण कार्य पर जो व्यय हो रहे हैं, उनका नियंत्रण ठीक नहीं है और इस नियंत्रण के न होने के कारण धन का अपव्यय हो रहा है। हमारी बहुत सी धन की राशियाँ चोरी से जाती हैं, जो काम किया जाता है उसमें धोखेबाजी और दगाबाजी की जाती है और गलत तरीके से काम किया जाता है और लोग ठगो कर रहे हैं। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि सारे देश का कर्मचारी मंडल या अधिकारी वर्ग भ्रष्ट है, ठेकेदारों के भ्रष्ट भी यह वृत्ति है, और जितना काम देश में हो रहा है उसमें धांधले से अधिक रुपया इस तरह से



बरबाद चला जाता है कि जिसकी देखरेख होने की आवश्यकता है। मैं जानता हूँ कि यदि उचित देख-रेख का प्रबन्ध किया जाए या कुछ जनता के प्रतिनिधियों का विश्वास किया जाए और उनसे कहा जाए कि आप भी देख-रेख करें और बतलाएं, और अगर हम बतलाएं तो उसकी आप तुरन्त ही जांच पड़ताल करके सीधी कार्रवाई करें, तो हमें भी इस बात का सहारा मिलेगा कि हमने जो बात जांच की है उस पर आपने शीघ्र ही कार्रवाई की है। लेकिन आज स्थिति यह है कि पटवारी से लेकर उच्च से उच्च कर्मचारी की बात चाहे कितनी भी गलत क्यों न हो, सरकार उस पर अधिक विश्वास करती है और जनता के प्रतिनिधियों पर वह उतना विश्वास नहीं करती।

**श्री बजरज सिंह :** आप तो उलटे हो गए। क्या कहना चाहते थे और कहाँ चले गए ?

**श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी :** देखते जाइए। जहाँ मैं बजट की प्रशंसा करता हूँ वहाँ मेरे कुछ रचनात्मक सुझाव भी हैं। इसके अलावा जितना खर्च हो रहा है उसमें जो गड़बड़ियाँ हो रही हैं वह अगर हम आप तक नहीं पहुँचाएंगे तो किस प्रकार आप उनको दूर कर सकेंगे। कल राज्य-सभा में मंत्री महोदय ने बतलाया था कि किस प्रकार भ्रष्टाचार में हमारा रुपया जा रहा है और किस प्रकार करों की वसूली ठीक तरह से नहीं होती, इनकम टैक्स के अधिकारी और दूसरे विभागों के कर्मचारी जो करों को वसूल करने वाले हैं वे इतना भ्रष्ट हो गए हैं कि वे अपने छोटे से स्वार्थ के लिए बड़े बड़े पूंजीपतियों को छोड़ देते हैं और हम आये दिन देखते हैं कि इनकम टैक्स के अप्सर लोग पूंजीपतियों और बड़े बड़े सरमायेदारों और उद्योग-पतियों की कारों में मुफ्त में सैर किया करते हैं

और उनके पैसे से अपने घरों को भरते हैं और इसकी कोई जांच पड़ताल नहीं होती। यदि कोई आदमी उनको रिश्वत नहीं देता है तो उस पर इनकम टैक्स बढ़ा दिया जाता है। पर अगर कोई इनकम टैक्स अधिकारियों को लाभ पहुँचाता है तो उसका टैक्स इतना कम कर दिया जाता है कि उसका अनुमान भी नहीं लगाया जा सकता। और इस प्रकार का भ्रष्टाचार एक दो शहरों में नहीं सारे देश में फैला हुआ है। मैं जानता हूँ कि अगर टैक्स वसूली ठीक प्रकार से की जाए तो देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था चौगुनी अच्छी हो जायेगी और जो कर भार आप बढ़ाना चाहते हैं वह आपको बहुत कम बढ़ाना पड़े या बिल्कुल ही न बढ़ाना पड़े। मैं ने देश भर में भ्रमण किया है और स्थिति की जांच की है।

एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ आपने जो कर इस वर्ष बढ़ाए हैं वे अपनी दृष्टि से ठीक बढ़ाए हैं। लेकिन आप ने इस बात का ध्यान नहीं रखा कि करों की मोटी रूप रेखा के बारे में जनता के प्रतिनिधियों को बिठाकर उनसे सलाह मशवरा किया जाए। साल के लिये आप बजट लाते हैं लेकिन आज से ही अगले बजट की आप तैयारी करने लग जाते हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि कम से कम हमको कुछ ज्ञान तो हो जाए कि आगे जो कर लगने वाले हैं उनका ढाँचा क्या होगा। मैं देखता हूँ कि जो चीजें देहाती और छोटे वर्ग के लोग उपयोग में लाते हैं उन पर टैक्स लगा दिया जाता है और जो चीजें बड़े लोग काम में लाते हैं या जो शहरों में काम में लायी जाती हैं उन पर उतना टैक्स नहीं लगाया जाता। उदाहरण के लिए साइकिलें हैं। उन पर टैक्स लगाया गया है। बड़े बड़े लोग और जो उद्योगपति हैं वह तो सदा मोटरकारों पर चलते हैं। लेकिन जो छोटे लोग हैं और जो देहात के लोग हैं उनके पास इतना पैसा नहीं है कि वे कार खरीद सकें। उनका एक मात्र साधन साइकिल है।

[श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी]

छस पर टैक्स लगाया गया है। इसके प्रतिरिक्त देहातियों के पास ट्रेक्टर हैं, पनचक्कियां हैं, छोटे पम्प हैं जो कि डीजल माइल से चलते हैं, आपने डीजल पर टैक्स नगा दिया है। फिर आपने टिन प्लेट पर टैक्स लगाया है जिससे बाल्टियां और बक्से बनते हैं जिनको ग्रामीण काम में लाते हैं। आपने टिन प्लेट पर टैक्स लगा दिया। इस के कारण अब देहातियों को अपनी बाल्टियों के भी ज्यादा दाम देने होंगे। फिर आपने पिग आयरन पर टैक्स लगाया है जिससे हल, टायर और ग्रामीणों के काम में आने वाले दूसरे इम्प्लीमेंट्स बनते हैं। इसके प्रतिरिक्त आपने एल्यूमीनियम पर टैक्स लगाया है जिसके बेतली, पतेली आदि बरतन बनते हैं जिनको देहाती काम में लाते हैं। अब उनको उनका भी दाम अधिक देना होगा। आपके यहां तो स्टेनलेस स्टील के बरतन होंगे, पर गरीब किसान तो एल्यूमीनियम के बरतनों से ही अपना गुजारा करता है। इस प्रकार उस पर यह टैक्स पड़ेगा। आपने छोटे छोटे मोटरों पर टैक्स लगाकर छोटे उद्योगों पर भी टैक्स लगा दिया। एक तरफ तो आप कहते हैं कि हम छोटे उद्योगों को बढ़ाना चाहते हैं और दूसरी तरफ आप छोटे मोटरों पर टैक्स भी लगा रहे हैं जो कि छोटे उद्योगों में काम में आते हैं। इन टैक्सों को देख कर मुझे तो ऐसा मालूम होता है कि किसी ने विचार कर उन चीजों पर टैक्स बढ़ाया है जो कि देहाती दुनिया में काम में लायी जाती है। आपने इसी तरह से फुटवियर पर टैक्स लगा दिया है जिससे छोटे छोटे चमारों पर असर होता है जो कि जूते बनाते हैं। देहात में ज्यादातर लोग रबड़ के तले के या रबड़ की एड़ी लगे जूते पहनते हैं। वह ज्यादा तर कैनवास के जूते पहनते हैं जिनमें रबड़ का सोल होता है या जिनमें रबड़ की हीलें होती हैं। वह चमड़े के जूते नहीं पहन सकते। तो

आपने इस तरह से ग्रामीणों के जूतों पर टैक्स न लगा कर देहाती जनता के जूतों पर टैक्स लगाया है।

इसी तरह से मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि आपने बैटरियों पर टैक्स जो लगाया है उसका असर देहात पर बहुत पड़ने वाला है देहातियों को खबरें जानने का साधन भखबार नहीं है बल्कि रेडियो है जो कि वहां बैटरी से चलता है। इसी प्रकार उनके ट्रेक्टर में भी बैटरी काम में आती है। पर आपने बैटरियों पर भी टैक्स लगा दिया। मुझे लगता है कि ग्रामीण जनता पर हमारी सरकार का यह प्रहार है और शहरी जनता को किसी न किसी प्रकार से बचाने का प्रयत्न किया गया है।

बहरहाल मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता हूं कि चाहे केन्द्रीय सरकार हो या राज्यों की सरकारें हों, इन सब का आज दारोमदार और आश्रय देहाती दुनिया पर है। अगर आप देहाती जनता की अपेक्षा करेंगे तो आप अधिक दिन तक पनप नहीं सकेंगे। हमें ग्रामीण जनता की तरफ अधिक झुकना पड़ेगा। उनकी सुख सुविधाओं का स्टैंडर्ड हमको बढ़ाना होगा। आप देखें कि कृषि की पैदावार जो कि पहले दस रुपए मन बिकती थी अब आपको दिल्ली में २० रुपए मन मिल सकती है। इस प्रकार देहात की पैदावार की महंगाई दुगुनी हुई। लेकिन उनके मुकाबले में और चीजों की कीमतें चौगुनी, पंच गुनी और छः गुनी हो गयी हैं। इसलिए देहात का आदमी अपनी आर्थिक स्थिति को ठीक करने में असमर्थ हो रहा है और उसका बोझ बढ़ता चला जा रहा है जिसको कम करने की आवश्यकता है। मैं चाहता हूं कि आप ऐसी व्यवस्था करें कि जिससे सब के बीच में बराबरी हो ताकि हम समाजवादी समाज व्यवस्था की ओर बढ़ सकें। लेकिन अभी तो हम देखते हैं कि एक वर्ग को ऊंचा

बढ़ाया जा रहा है और नीचे वर्ग को गिराया जा रहा है। आप चाहते हैं कि योजना के साथ साथ रोजगार बढ़ता जाय और लोगों की आमदनी का स्तर बढ़ता जाय लेकिन आप टैक्स इस तरह लगाते हैं कि एक आमदमी की आमदनी बढ़ती चली जा रही है और दूसरे पर टैक्स का बोझ बढ़ता चला जा रहा है। आपको उन पर उतना ही कर लगाना चाहिए जितना वह सह सकें। एक कवि ने कहा है :

“तेते पैर पसारिये जेती लांबी सौर”

जिसकी आपकी चादर लम्बी हो उतने ही आपको पैर फैलाने चाहिए। कल राज्य-सभा में वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने बतलाया था कि हम ने साइकिल पर केवल १० रुपये टैक्स बढ़ाया है। लेकिन वह इस बात को भूल जाते हैं कि भ्रष्टाचार के जमाने में जापानी साइकिल १८ रुपये में बिकती थी और आज कोई भी साइकिल १६० रुपये से कम में नहीं मिल सकती। मैंने स्वयं जापानी साइकिल १८ रुपये में खरीदी थी।

एक माननीय सदस्य : खिलौना होगा।

श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी : जी नहीं, वह खिलौना नहीं था। उस समय हरकुलीस साइकिल ३५-३६ रुपये में मिलती थी। मैंने स्वयं खरीदी है। आज उसके दोनों रिम भी १८ रुपये में नहीं मिल सकते। मैं कहता हूँ कि यदि अधिक लोग साइकिल चलाते हैं तो इस में आपकी क्या हानि है। अगर दो करोड़ भी साइकिलें चलने लगें तो उससे क्या हानि है। वह उद्योग बढ़ेगा और अधिक आमदमियों को उन में काम मिलेगा। आज भी साइकिल उद्योग में लाखों आमदमी लगे हुए हैं। मानता हूँ कि इससे आपके आयत में कमी हो गयी है और जो आपको पहले दो करोड़ आयत साइकिलों पर मिलता था वह अब केवल ५० लाख रुपये हो गया है। ठीक है, आप ने आर्थिक व्यवस्था सुधारी है, अपने करोड़ों लोगों को रोजगार दिया है, लेकिन

अब आप उस को कम क्यों करना चाहते हैं? मैं जानता हूँ कि आप गांधीवादी व्यक्ति हैं, जिन की गांधी जी पर बहुत अधिक भावना है। जो बजट श्री जान मयार्ड ने बनाया, जो बजट श्री सी० डी० देशमुख ने बनाया, या किसी तीसरे वित्त मंत्री ने बनाया, उन सब की रूप-रेखा यह थी कि साधारण आमदमी का हनन किया जाय और एक वर्ग-विशेष को ऊंचा उठाया जाय। आप ने उन सब वित्त मंत्रियों के बजटों पर छाप लगा दी है और कुछ और प्रागे बढ़े हैं। मैं आप की सराहना करता हूँ कि आप ने प्राहिबिशन यानी मद्य-निषेध किया है और मद्य के ऊपर आप ने कुछ टैक्स लगाये हैं। हम इस का स्वागत करते हैं। आप ने रेशम पर कुछ टैक्स लगाया है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्य “आप ने” नहीं, “इन्होंने” कहें। मैंने कुछ भी कुसूर नहीं किया है।

श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी : मेरा मतलब वित्त मंत्री से है।

Acharya Kripalani: (Sitamarhi) in Hindi “Aap” means ‘He’.

श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी : हिन्दीमें “आप” को “ही” के लिए भी इस्तेमाल किया जाता है। मैं यह कह रहा था कि गांधी जी की नीति थी कि . . . .

आचार्य कृपालानी : कि प्रागे बढ़ो।

श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी : . . . विकेन्द्रीकरण हो। उन की यह भी इच्छा थी कि मद्य-निषेध हो और नमक पर कर न लगाया जाये। आप की ये बातें हम स्वीकार करते हैं। आप ने सिल्क पर कर लगाया है, उस को भी हम स्वीकार करते हैं, लेकिन बाकी चीजों पर आप ने ध्यान नहीं दिया कि और कर-वृद्धि कैसे हो सकती है गांधी जी कहते थे

[श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी]

कि पांच सौ रुपया महीना तन्स्वाह भ्रामदमी के लिए बाकी है।

श्री बजराल सिंह : यह बात मत कहिये।

श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी : अगर आप समझते हैं कि महंगाई चौगुनी हो गई है, तो दो हजार रुपये की सीमा बांध दीजिये और उस के ऊपर तन्स्वाह न बढ़े। अगर केन्द्रीय सचिवालय और मंत्रियों की तन्स्वाह घाघी कर दी जाये, तो सारे का सारा कर इकट्ठा हो जायगा और आप काम चला सकेंगे। ( *Interruptions* ) सात लाख भ्रामदमी आप के यहां नोकर हैं। ( *Interruptions* ) दो हजार की तो सीमा मैं ने बताई है।

वित्त मंत्री (श्री मोरारजी देसाई) : माननीय सदस्य मैथेमैटिक्स नहीं जानते हैं।

श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी : लेकिन उन की तन्स्वाह कम नहीं होगी और भत्ते बढ़त जायेंगे। हम देखते जा रहे हैं कि हमारी नीति जनता के पास नहीं पहुंच रही है। जब हम जनता को बहुत समझाने की कोशिश करते हैं, तो वे कहते हैं कि बताओ हम किस तरह चलें। आज हमारे सामने एक समस्या खड़ी हो गई है कि हम सरकार की नीति का समर्थन करते हैं और पूरी ताकत से समर्थन करते हैं, लेकिन जब तक हमारी नीति में अन्दर से सच्चाई नहीं है, जब तक वह ठोस न हो, पब्लिक उस को सुनने से इन्कार करती है, जिस का नतीजा यह है कि दिन-प्रति दिन हमारे ऊपर पब्लिक की आस्था कम होती जा रही है। आज का भारत दस वर्ष पहले के भारत से कुछ ज्यादा सम्पन्न नहीं हो गया है। मैं मानता हूं कि कुछ सम्पन्न हो गया है, उस की स्थिति सुधरी है और कुछ भ्रामदमी बढ़ी है, लेकिन कर का भार बढ़ने के अनुपात से उस की स्थिति नहीं सुधरी है। कर का भार जितना बढ़ा है, उस के मुकाबले

में स्थिति नहीं सुधरी है। उस की भ्रामदमी दुगुनी हो गई है, लेकिन कर चार पांच गुने हो गये हैं। महंगाई पांच छः गुनी हो गई है। आज से दस बारह साल पेश्तर सोने का भाव बीस रुपये तोला था और आज वह बाजार में १२५ रुपये तोला बिक रहा है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : १३२ रुपये तोला।

श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी : १३२ रुपये तोला बिक रहा है। इस से आप अनुमान लगायें कि कीमतें कहां जा रही हैं।

एक माननीय सदस्य : सोना किस काम का है ?

श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी : आप के रुपये का मूल्यांकन सोने की कीमत से होता है। अभी कल इस सदन में बताया गया कि इंग्लैंड से हम सोना मंगाते हैं ७०, ७२ रुपये तोला . .

वित्त उपमंत्री (श्री ब० रा० भगत) : साढ़े बासठ रुपये।

श्री म० ला० द्विवेदी : . . . साढ़े बासठ रुपये तोला और यहां पर हम उस को १३२ रुपये तोला बेचते हैं। इस से अन्दाज हो सकता है कि अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय सोने के भाव में हमारी क्या स्थिति है और इंग्लैंड के मुकाबले में हमारे भावों में कितना अन्तर है और हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था में और कीमतों में कितना उतार-चढ़ाव हो रहा है। आप ने सामाजिक अर्थ-व्यवस्था को सुधारने के लिए, देहात के लिए बड़ी बड़ी योजनायें बनाई हैं, ब्लाक बनाये हैं और प्रखंड विकास चल रहा है। आप को तो प्रखंड विकास को देखने का अवसर नहीं मिला होगा, लेकिन मुझे मिला है। वहां पर ब्लाक डेवेलपमेंट आफिस की इमारतें खड़ी की जा रही हैं। उन के दरवाजे के सामने फूल लगे हुए हैं और उन के अन्दर चाय पीने को मिलती है, लेकिन आप देहात में जाइये—उसी गांव में, जिस में

ब्लाक बना है, तो कोई भी देहाती खुशहालत नहीं मालूम होता, वहां पर कोई उद्योग बिलाई नहीं देते, वहां पर कोई नहरें नहीं खोदी गई हैं। ग्रामीणों ने श्रमदान से जो दो फ़रलांग सड़क बनाई है, वह भी पक्की नहीं हो सकी। इस का क्या कारण है? क्या वित्त मंत्री महोदय के पास सूत्र नहीं हैं कि वह इस की जांच कर सकें? हम सूत्र हैं। आप हम पर विश्वास कीजिये और हम आप को नित्य-प्रति खबरें दिया करेंगे कि कमचोरी कहां है। लेकिन आप रुपये की मन्जूरी देते जा रहे हैं सामुदायिक विकास मंत्रालय को और हर किस्म के मंत्रालयों को और वह रुपया नाली के घाट उतर जाता है। भारतीय जनता का भविष्य बड़ रहा है। इसलिए मैं इस बजट के अवसर पर यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप आखें खोलें और आखें खोल कर फिर से इस बात पर विचार करें कि अगर हमें सही मायनों में योजना को कामयाब बनाना है, तो योजना का एक एक रुपया काम में लगे। जनता आप के साथ है। वह श्रमदान देने के लिए तैयार है, अपना खून-पसीना बहाने के लिए तैयार है। लेकिन यदि रुपया ठेकेदारों, कर्मचारियों और अधिकारियों की पाकेट में जायगा और यदि रुपये का दुर्व्यवहार और अपव्यय होगा, तो कोई आप का साथ देने के लिए तैयार नहीं है।

यह चेतावनी देकर मैं अपना आसन ग्रहण करता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि इस साल और अगले साल के दौरान मैं आप अपनी वित्त नीति का ऐसा निरूपण करूँगे कि जिस से जनता में आप लोकप्रिय बन जायें और हम को जनता के सामने खड़े होने का अवसर मिल सके।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आप को बधाई भी देता हूँ और चेतावनी भी देता हूँ।

**Shri Mahanty (Dhenkanal):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, after many many years, this House had the pleasure of listening to a Budget speech which did not set the Yamuna river on fire; and,

for that one should really be thankful to the Finance Minister.

Before I come to the more fundamental aspects of this General Budget, namely, the economic background and the landscape that has been delineated in the economic survey, I would first invite the attention of this House to two routine aspects of this Budget, namely, revenue and expenditure.

Sir, speaking objectively, the crop of indirect taxes which have been proposed is really inconsequential. Whatever objections might be raised are merely hyperbolic. In fact, the Taxation Inquiry Commission had recommended the imposition of excise duty on a number of articles like sewing machines, woollen textiles and what not. The present Budget is merely a lengthening of this list. The fact has to be remembered that as production grows and imports are restricted, the excise revenue has to grow; and, therefore, there will be the necessity and the inescapable necessity of levying excise duties on the various kinds of goods which are produced in this country. There can be no escape from that fact. Therefore, I do not attach much importance to the various excise duties which have been imposed on bicycles etc.

But, having said that much, I would like to know from the hon. Finance Minister, what has happened to the recommendations of the Taxation Inquiry Commission for increasing the incidence of direct taxes and for imposing new direct taxes.

Currently, there has been a thinking in this country that there is no further scope for direct taxation, that the incidence of direct taxation in this country is the highest. But, if we compare the tax-take in India with the tax-take in western countries like the U.K. and the U.S.A., we will find a great difference. According to my information, the tax-take in the U.K. is of the order of 30 per

[Shri Mahanty]

cent, and in U.S.A. it is of the order of 40 per cent. In 1956 the tax-take in India was of the order of 7 per cent. And, according to a calculation made by the Planning Commission, in 1957-58, the tax-take in India was of the order of 7.6 per cent. Therefore, taking that 7.6 per cent is the level of tax-take in India, certainly, there is further scope for direct taxation. Certainly, there is scope for revising the incidence of taxation, not only for increasing resources but also to achieve the more fundamental purpose of a socialistic state, namely, to lessen the ostensible disparity between man and man.

**Shri Raghunath Singh** (Varanasi): Is it a comparison of the national income? What is that comparison?

**Shri Mahanty:** Tax-take. Therefore, I am more at one with the Finance Minister for the crop of indirect taxes he has proposed. But I would certainly like to know from him in all humility what has happened to the various recommendations of the Taxation Inquiry Commission so far as direct taxes are concerned. I maintain there is scope for more direct taxes and there is no escape from it; if we want to plan we have to pay for it. Therefore, while I support him so far as his indirect taxes are concerned, I will certainly ask him to tell us what has happened to the direct taxes.

There is another kind of dangerous feeling that has been gaining momentum in this country's economic thinking that while the urban sector is already over-burdened with taxation, the incidence of direct taxation must now shift to the rural sector. Therefore, in the various papers which are now being produced by the working groups of the Planning Commission on resources, recommendations are made to enhance the incidence of land revenue and betterment levy. With all respect, I submit that this most unscientific and

prejudiced thinking should be abandoned so that there is a balanced development. According to the Planning Commission's calculations, non-agricultural production in this country is growing at the rate of 7 per cent a year whereas agricultural production is growing at the rate of 5 per cent. If we have an objective basis in considering this incidence of taxation, emphasis should certainly shift to the urban sector as against the rural sector.

Having said that much about revenue, I would like to invite the attention of the House to the expenditure side. Time and again, this House has heard eloquent exhortations from the Treasury Benches for bringing down the non-development expenditure. The Finance Minister also reaffirmed this basic objective in his Budget speech. But what is the pattern that has been unfolded before us in his speech? The expenditure next year is estimated at Rs. 980.35 crores, Rs. 97.75 crores higher than the revised estimates for the current year. Out of this sum of Rs. 97.75 crores, the debt services account for an increase of Rs. 9.45 crores more, community development and social services, for Rs. 27 crores more, corresponding credits under PL 480, for Rs. 15 crores more and ad hoc grants to States to compensate them for loss in their share of income-tax, for Rs. 28 crores more. Thus out of the Rs. 97.75 crores increase, only Rs. 79.50 crores are accounted for. It has been said that the rest of the increase are spread over other heads of administration for which no explanation has been given in the Budget speech. This only indicates how in an unhindered way the non-development expenditure has been increasing while development programmes are languishing away for lack of resources and projects like the coal and steel are being pruned under the plea that not enough resources are available. The travesty of the situation becomes more evident when one takes into

account that while next year we are making a total provision of Rs. 889 crores for implementing the Plan, a total sum of Rs. 708·9 crores is being spent under the civil heads for administration purposes. The ratio between the development and non-development expenditure is maintained at 100 : 100. This is an imbalance and a situation which needs urgent correction.

In this context, I may remind the House that the Taxation Enquiry Commission had made a very valuable recommendation to the Government that a high level committee should be appointed to lay down an expenditure policy for the Government of India. It was said that the Government had accepted most of the recommendations of the Taxation Enquiry Committee.

While it comes to the question of new taxes and proposing new imposts, the authority of the Commission is invoked. The hon. Finance Minister would kindly let us know why the Government have paid no attention as yet to the appointment of a high level committee to lay down an expenditure policy for the Government, as suggested by the Taxation Enquiry Committee.

I come to the Defence side. Rs. 272·26 crores will be spent on the Defence Forces which is Rs. 28·56 crores higher than the revised estimates. I do not know whether with all the disturbing developments which have taken place on the northern frontiers this paltry increase will be of any avail. As one who is opposed to all kinds of militarism, nothing could have been a matter for deeper personal regret to me than this increased expenditure on our Defence Services. It is a tragedy unparalleled in the history of India that while we needed ever increasing resources for our peaceful reconstruction, we had an occasion where we had to spend money for sterile purposes like war.

But having said that much, I should also say that the defence of this

country is almost defenceless. Every time the Prime Minister is throwing his mantle of protection and saying that God is in Heaven and everything is all right in the world. I am constrained to say that the defence of this country is absolutely defenceless; the Prime Minister defends it on the floor of the House and perhaps God defends it outside. While we shall have occasion to examine this aspect more thoroughly in the course of the discussion on the Demands, I may perhaps say that it is high time that the Prime Minister did something about his Defence portfolio. The country would like to know why our Armed Forces are not deployed in as full a manner as one would have expected in the northern frontiers which were violated and subsequently occupied by the Chinese. I know our Armed personnel are in the fittest of the mettle and if they had been asked to do the job, they would have done it. But some unseen hand had restrained them and allowed our borders to be manned by the border forces who are mere stagglers. What equipment had they when they were attacked and subsequently captured by the Chinese? I once again repeat that it is high time that something is done about the defence portfolio. Otherwise, Government will have no moral sanction in asking the House to grant them ever-increasing expenditure on Defence. After all we are not maintaining the Armed Forces for quelling the labour strikes in cities like Calcutta or Jamshedpur or to suppress the civic disturbances in this country or for the purpose of ornamentation. The Army must have to do the job. For that it is necessary that the Prime Minister does something about the Defence portfolio without throwing his mantle of protection against the many acts of omission and commission of the Defence Ministry..... (Interruptions).

Coming to the other and more important aspect of the Budget, I will

[Shri Mahanty]

refer to the economic situation as presented in the Economic Survey appended to the General Budget. Unfortunately, this Economic Survey which is a well-written document, gives us only a bundle of riddles without offering any answer to them. For instance, we find the phenomenon of price. The industrial production has been rising at a rate faster than the previous years. In the ten months of 1959, the average index of production was 149·4, that is, an increase of 7·4 per cent over the corresponding period of the previous year. Similarly, agricultural production has been rising and the index rose from 114·6 in 1957-58 to 131 in 1959-60. Similarly, the balance of payments position in 1959-60 was comparatively much better than in the previous year. In spite of these obvious symptoms of a healthy economy, the prices and the cost of living index have been rising. I am sorry, the Economic Survey has thrown no light on this mysterious phenomenon. This only shows the low margin of our economy on which we are operating. I also do admit that there can be no solution to this except more production. But, Sir, it is high time somebody should say, why these prices have been rising. After all, it should be remembered, planning is not an abject surrender to certain chaotic economic forces. Planning, after all, means controlling these chaotic economic forces which are operating in the market.

13 hrs.

Sir, this brings me to the painful conclusion that there is more anarchy, that there is more chaotic thinking in the Government than probably among the people. The fact has to be remembered—that is a basic fact—that ours is a democratic country, and in this country we have been trying to reconcile between the dictates of planning and the concept of our democratic constitution. These being two irreconcilable concepts we are trying to arrive at a synthesis,

and that synthesis can be brought about if we bring about a psychological atmosphere in this country where voluntary co-operation is forthcoming for implementing the Plan, ever bigger and bigger Plans. I do not want that our people should build like the pyramid builders or the Fellaheens under the Pharaoh of Egypt. I want that our people should build in their full dignity, build ever and ever bigger plans. I am not fighting shy of Plans. What I am insisting is that there should be a psychological atmosphere for building Plans on a voluntary basis. Had it been a totalitarian country a big whip would have done the job; but, Sir, under the Constitution and the politics we have been practising in this country, there is no scope for big whips. So, if the big whips are eliminated, there should be a psychological atmosphere in the country where the people will be enthused to suffer and sacrifice so that the objectives are attained.

For that, Sir, we have been repeating that the food prices, prices of basic necessities like foodgrains and cloth should be brought to a minimum, so that the people do not suffer from a sort of cynicism and frustration, brought about by more production and more prices.

What do we find? We find that the policies pursued by the Government have worked towards a very contrary purpose. As I have indicated earlier, the wholesale price index has risen in spite of increased production. For instance, production of foodgrains in 1958-59 and 1959-60 have reached all-time records. Yet the index of wholesale prices for food articles in 1959 stood at 118·2, much higher than in 1956 which was a lean year for all practical purposes. The House can well remember that in 1956 there were famines in certain parts of India and, yet, in 1956 the wholesale price index for foodgrains stood at 99. In 1959, which is a surplus year, with all the increased production the



wholesale price index for food articles today stands at 118.2. Of course, I am not one of those who maintain that the free market and the traders are responsible for all this increase in the price of foodgrains. The uninhibited deficit financing that has been going on in this country during the First Second Plan periods has really created a vicious situation in which increased production is no solution until the production significantly increases.

But, Sir, as I said a little earlier, planning does not mean surrendering to certain chaotic economic forces. In this context, we had thought of State trading in foodgrains. Here one is reminded of the speeches that were delivered at the Nagpur Session of the Congress on State Trading in foodgrains. That scheme of State Trading in foodgrains is now being abandoned with that painstaking elaborateness with which it was propounded at the Nagpur session of the Congress. Now, it may be true that the Government had taken up State trading without much preparation. It may also be true that the half-hearted way in which State trading was given effect to, resulted in increasing prices to deficit areas while the producers in surplus States did not get a fair price. But, if State trading had been a failure, it should have been made a success. It was a challenge thrown to all.

But what do we find to-day? We find that the Government have now abjectly surrendered to the speculators who have been fighting against State trading. In this context, I should really congratulate the Swatantra Party on having won their first round of battle against the Congress without firing a single shot. Shri Rajagopalachari had been fighting for withdrawal of State trading in foodgrains. Now the Party in power have withdrawn State trading in foodgrains, not taking into account the opinions of State Governments like Orissa who had insisted that they

wanted to have State trading in foodgrains. Therefore, here is an occasion for me publicly to congratulate the Swatantra Party for having won their first round of battle.

**Shri Goray (Poona):** The Congress never joined the battle.

**Shri Mahanty:** I do not know.

**Acharya Kripalani:** As against China.

**Shri Mahanty:** At this stage I do not wish to go into the various issues connected with this as there will be ample opportunity provided for it in the course of our discussion on the Food Ministry's Demands. I would only like to bring to the notice of this House that the whimsical manner in which the food portfolio of this country is being administered should really be changed. At least some respect should be shown to public opinions, to commitments and to the opinions of State Governments. It is not enough that one behaves like a steam roller, steam rolling over all kinds of opinions, which have been also propounded by no less a person than the Prime Minister himself.

There is also another aspect to which I wanted to invite the attention of the hon. Finance Minister in particular. It will be remembered that the issue of selective credit against foodgrains was one of the reasons which led to speculation in foodgrains and which had all the elements of shooting up food prices. Therefore it was the decided policy of the Government to restrain the issue of credit by scheduled banks against foodgrains. The Reserve Bank also had issued necessary instructions to ensure this. But it will be seen from the *Economic Survey* that secured advances of scheduled banks for foodgrains in 1950 was Rs. 4 crores higher than in 1958. The secured advances against foodgrains in 1959 amounted to Rs. 14.33 crores as against Rs. 10.59 crores in 1958. It is perhaps needless to men-

[Shri Mahanty]

tion that this increased advance during the busy season only help the speculators to hold foodgrains at a bargain price and then disgorge those in the market at a price that suits their profits.

One may, perhaps, ask the Government to know why advances against foodgrains has been on the increase; while it has been sought to restrict monetary expansion why this increased advances have been granted against foodgrains. What else is this but indisciplined, chaotic and un-co-ordinated anarchy that has been going on in the name of planning in this country?

Sir, there are many other aspects to which I would have liked to invite the attention of the House, but since you have already rung the bell I do not wish to trouble you. With these remarks, Sir, I resume my seat.

Mr. Speaker: I gave him 24 minutes

Shri Mahanty: Thank you, Sir.

Shri A. C. Guha (Barasat): Mr. Speaker, Sir, this Budget had been characterised as a balanced and a sort of a Budget which has nothing much to en huse the people this side or that side. The Budget has to be considered in the light of the background of the Plan. That has been made clear by the Finance Minister himself and also by other speakers.

Sir, the Second Plan started with some misgivings. There were doubts expressed from many quarters about the capacity of the country to bear such a Plan, to fulfil and implement such a Plan. Now it can be said that almost the entire Plan is going to be fulfilled; not only in its financial target but also in the important aspects of its physical targets the Plan is going to be fulfilled. There have been many criticisms in this House about the taxation proposals and about many other things. But I think it is inevi-

table, under the present conditions, to impose fresh taxes almost every year. Some speakers preceding me have expressed themselves strongly against the imposition of some tax on some parts of cycles, which would add Rs. 10 to total cost of a cycle. I am sure that in spite of this tax the use of cycles will go on year after year. The cycle has gone to the remotest village. In every village you will find a cycle. If taxation is to be imposed, articles have to be selected which do not affect the barest necessities of the poorest elements of the country. From that point of view, I think the articles selected for fresh taxation in the budget proposals can be said to be unexceptionable. Of course, I admit that there must be some indirect effect of this tax on the cost of living or on certain articles, but that is more or less inevitable. But still, it can be said that the articles selected do not constitute the barest minimum necessity of the very poor section of the country. So, from that point of view on the social and equity grounds, I do not find anything much objectionable in the items selected for taxation.

Sir, this is the last year of the Second Plan which we are entering, and the atmosphere for the Third Plan has begun and this budget has to be considered also in the prospects of the Third Plan. The atmosphere for the Third Plan is quite favourable. There is not much doubt about the availability of funds for the Third Plan. I think the country can undertake a much bigger plan, say about Rs. 10,000 crores or something like that. But the Finance Minister has stated that the object of every economy is to build up a sort of stability and he has used the term "self-generating economy".

13.13 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

I think that should be the criterion for the soundness of the economy on

which any country should build its future. From that point of view, I do not feel confident about the soundness of the present economic condition of the country. It cannot be said that we have reached or that we are even going to reach in the near future, even in the Third Plan, a self-generating economic stage. If we look into the expenditure structure of the Second Plan, we find that we have not been able to provide money from revenue or from our earned savings.

In the October, 1959, issue of the *Journal of Industry and Trade*, the figures in respect of the financing of the plan outlay for the first four years—up to 31st March, 1960—have been published. The total outlay would be Rs. 3,360 crores, out of which the balance from current revenue and railway contribution would come to about Rs. 755 crores, and all else are unearned resources which the country has not been able to earn or save. Out of Rs. 3,360 crores, nearabout Rs. 2,900 crores have come from loans from the public, small savings and unfunded debt and miscellaneous capital receipts. Loans from the public amount to Rs. 611 crores; small savings amount to Rs. 289 crores and unfunded debts amount to Rs. 78 crores. Then there is external assistance amounting to Rs. 682 crores. Further, deficit financing amount to Rs. 1,245 crores. So, out of Rs. 3,600 crores in all, only about a little over Rs. 757 crores have been saved—the Government have been able to save only that much—from the Government resources.

This year also, a big amount has been left uncovered in the budget, and that is to be covered by deficit financing. The Finance Minister has tried to assuage the anxiety of this House by saying that in 1958 and 1959 Rs. 300 crores and Rs. 150 crores respectively of treasury bills have been funded. That is just a financial trick. That does not make much difference as regards the effect of treasury bills or deficit financing on the inflationary tendency of the country or on the unsoundness of the financial posi-

tion of the country. By funding the treasury bills nothing has been gained. Only, I think the Government has to pay a higher rate of interest to the Reserve Bank which of course will come back in the form of higher dividend from the Reserve Bank. But the funding of treasury bills also would mean the creation of new money.

Practically every speaker in this House and also in the other House has touched the point of inflation and the rising cost of living. From the last few years—I think from the beginning of the Second Plan—the *per capita* national income has not risen more than 9 to 10 per cent, but the cost of living has gone up more than that. It has gone much beyond that. I think it will be about 18 per cent, that is, the cost of living has increased during these few years by 8 per cent more than the *per capita* income. I am not so sure about the exact figure, but surely the cost of living has increased far more than the *per capita* income. Therefore, after these years of development, the ordinary man has become poorer by about 7 per cent as regards his personal expenses.

In this connection, I should refer to the position of the middle class, the low income or the fixed income group. They have been the hardest hit amongst all the communities. I can understand also the difficulties of the rural people, but I think they have at least got some relief. They have got improvement in the standard of living though there is no improvement in the standard of living of some in rural society as a whole. I think that even there, the landless labourers who constitute about 25 per cent of the rural population have not been able to improve their conditions much, as others have been able to do. But it is the difficulty of the middle class people, the low income group, which has not yet attracted the attention of the Government. Practically nothing has been done to improve their lot.

I can understand if the middle class is liquidated; it is a parasite commu-

[Shri A. C. Guha]

nity; it does not produce any wealth. So there is every logic to liquidate that class. But to keep it living with all the capacity and potentialities of creating mischief, is a dangerous thing for any society. They can even now inspire the people. They have the intellectual capacity. They have the drive and the urge to undertake suffering also. So, it is important for the Government that they should pay some attention to the middle class people. When I speak about the middle-class people, naturally I have to speak of the cost of living in urban areas. Government have not been able to put any control on the rise in prices. Recently in Calcutta, sugar was selling at Rs. 2 per seer. Due to profiteering in cloth, the prices of cloth have gone up all over the country much beyond the cost of production. But who have been reaping the benefits? It seems Government have been quite helpless to tackle with these profiteers and black-marketeers. But at the same time, I find collection from income-tax excluding corporation tax, has been going down year after year. For the last three years, there has been a consistent decline in the collection of income-tax. It means there must have been evasion in paying income-tax on personal incomes. Otherwise, how can the collection of personal income-tax excluding corporation tax go down year after year? As seen from the budget papers, for the last three or four years, this has been the position. I feel Government should take some steps to stop evasion and to mop up the profits made by profiteering and hoarding tactics of dishonest businessmen.

Coming to civil expenditure, year after year, we have been hearing of some assurance from Government to effect economy, but nothing has been done practically. This year, our civil expenditure is increasing by about Rs. 100 crores. Of course, they will say, the recommendations of the Pay Commission have to be given effect to. That is another thing which

Government should have considered earlier. The increase in salary for most of the people would be about Rs. 5, but they will also have to pay something more for Provident Fund, the benefits of which will be reaped in future. Considering the inflationary tendency that will develop out of the new taxes, I do not think the officials could have benefited much out of the recommendations of the Pay Commission. Government should have considered the question seriously before appointing the Commission. I quite understand there were demands from their own officials. But the Government should not be stampeded into hasty action, which can give no real relief to anybody. Under the present circumstances, I feel Government officials cannot get a much better deal. Whatever might have been the recommendations of the Pay Commission, I do not think it would have helped them much, because to implement the recommendations, there should be fresh taxation and that would have led to a rise in the cost of living. So, no real benefit could have come to the low-paid officials under the present context.

In 1949-50, the expenditure on civil administration was only Rs. 39 crores. In 1960-61, the budget estimate is Rs. 267 crores, which means a 700 per cent increase. I am sure the budget estimates of the next year will go up by a few crores at the end of the year. I do not think there is any justification for seven times increase in the civil expenditure of the Government of India during the last ten years. Year after year, it has been increasing rapidly.

Another thing to which I would draw the attention of the House is the Government's recourse to banking system and the increase in money-supply in the country. Every year, on an average, about Rs. 150 crores has been the increase in money-supply, maybe a few crores this way or that way in any particular year. Government have been borrowing from

the banks and that has also led to the inflationary tendency.

I come to another aspect of the Government policy, viz., borrowing policy. On a previous occasion, I raised this question in this House that Government should enact a legislation to entitle this House to have some control over the borrowing power of the Government of India. It was the intention of the framers of the Constitution—if we consider article 292—that an Act should be passed by this House to authorise this House to have some control over the borrowing power of the Government. But nothing has been done. I again request the hon. Finance Minister to consider the matter. He may be assured that there would not be any difficulty in their borrowing policy. Only this House should be taken into confidence and this House should know the full implications of the loan liabilities accruing year after year.

Apart from the internal loans, there is also the question of external loans. I know without external assistance, it is difficult or almost impossible for any under-developed country, in the present international context, to develop economically in a rapid step. So, it is necessary to have some foreign loans. But what is the difficulty in giving some authority to this House? The House has accepted the policy that foreign loans will have to be taken. But what will be the rate of interest, how the loans will be repaid, etc. should come before the House and the House should be given some authority over that.

Then, the interest charges of the Government of India are going up rapidly. In 1949-50, it was only Rs. 48 crores; in 1955-56, it was Rs. 62.65 crores. In 1960-61, it is Rs. 148.59 crores. I think I should remind the House that interest is to be paid from the current revenue and not from the capital budget. So, every year almost a quarter of the current revenue will have to go for paying interest on the loans. That is a charge on the Con-

solidated Fund of India and any such charge comes within the purview of this House. So, no such commitment should be entered into by the Government without the authority of this House.

I have a suggestion to make about the cost of living. The Tariff Commission appointed in 1950-51 suggested that there should be a consumers' council and also, there should be a tribunal to assign the prices of consumer commodities. The Tariff Commission has been constituted for a particular purpose and not for determining the fair price or economic price of the article produced internally. So, a consumers' council should be set up by the Government to see that the prices are fixed in consideration of the cost of living and also of internal trade and the consumer's capacity to pay. I think Government should appoint a consumers' council, according to the recommendation of the Tariff Commission.

Before concluding, I would like to make a reference to two other things. One is the talk about corruption. If Government are convinced that there is no corruption, the leaders of Government should not have indulged in talks in Press Conferences and other occasions about corruption. On any and every occasion—at least a dozen occasions I know—this has been discussed. Either you should accept the public demand or you should keep mum. I am sorry, I was not addressing you and through you. If they feel that there is no corruption, let them not talk about it. But they talk so much about it and they defend them and protest against it so much that the suspicion in the public mind grows more and more. It is not the question of only illegal or criminal activities that should be considered in this respect. There must be some code of conduct, because there may be something improper from the moral, political, social and ethical point of view but which may not be illegal or criminal under the statutes of the country. The administration should be not only legally

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right but also ethically and socially right, and that conviction should be produced in the minds of the people. If the confidence in the integrity of the administration goes down then it is a bad day for democracy.

I can say only one thing in this regard, and that is that nepotism is rampant in the administration. There might have been some check in the Central Secretariat, or in the Centrally controlled administration, but there are a number of corporations, autonomous bodies and subordinate or attached offices on which there is hardly any control from the Government. There is one case of an ordinary M.A. degree holder in Chemistry being appointed as an economic adviser on a high salary. Then, a professor who was getting Rs. 500 per month in a university, has been appointed in some attached office of Government in a post carrying the salary of Rs. 1,400 directly. This is the situation that is now obtaining in the Government.

Then, the All India Handicrafts Corporation, which has a paid-up capital of Rs. 10 lakhs, in the first one year could lose only Rs. 3,32,000 odd, which means that one-third of the capital has been lost in the first year of its working, and the Government was good enough to re-imburse almost the entire amount; they said, to be exact, Rs. 3,22,000. The Finance Minister has announced that when P. & T. is made a separate entity it would contribute a certain amount on the basis of the capital at charge, as in the case of the Railway Board. I would humbly suggest that these corporations should also be turned into commercial units on the same line—to contribute some fixed sum on the basis of the amount invested.

It has been stated that Rs. 780 crores have been invested in commercial concerns and commercial departments. Then, they have not been there only for two or three years. Some of them have been in existence for a number

of years. What is the return from them every year? Rs. 1.3 crores from an investment of Rs. 770 crores, about 1/7 per cent. Is this the way the Government money is being invested? About loans I have stated that still about Rs. 1,200 crores are uncovered, and these Rs. 770 crores are covered as interest bearing assets. That means that interest-bearing liabilities exceed by about Rs. 1,200 crores the interest-bearing assets of the Government. And these Rs. 780 crores invested in commercial concerns and commercial departments are giving only Rs. 1.3 crores of return annually. Is this the way in which the Government money, received on loan, is invested? How then is the interest to be paid? From taxes?

Lastly,.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member wanted an extra two or three minutes. But he has now taken two and three minutes.

Shri A. C. Guha: I shall now refer only to the Farraka barrage. I would make an appeal to the Government that if they have got any concern for the well-being and economic stability of West Bengal, this question should be given top priority. For the last eight years this has been under consideration and examination and I expect that in the Third Plan it would be taken up and, at the earliest, in the first year of the Third Plan it would be given effect to.

Shri Jhunjhunwala (Bhagalpur): We congratulate the Government for this budget. If we go through the Economic Survey of the Government, we find that there has been an increase in production, both on agricultural as well as industrial fronts. The question is whether this increase in production has been commensurate with the money invested, taxation imposed and sacrifices undergone by the common man. It is paradoxical that on one side we say that there has been an increase in production and, on the

other, we find there is inflation. Of course, there has been an increase in production. The economic theory is that whenever there is an increase in production there should not be such thing as inflation which will pinch the people. But we find that whereas the production has increased, on the other hand, inflation is rising to the great inconveniences and suffering people at large. I would like to know the real causes of such inflation. The stock-in-trade phrase is that in a developing economy there is inflation. I know it and I agree with this principle. But I would say that the production is not commensurate with our investment, with the money which we have brought from outside, which we have realised by taxation, the sacrifices which we have asked the people to undergo, and the sacrifices which the common people have undergone, particularly the lower-middle class people; as my friend, Shri Guha, has stated. All these things have to be explained by the Finance Minister. Merely saying that in a developing economy there is bound to be inflation and we have to undergo some sacrifices would not do. It lies on the part of the Finance Minister to explain to us whether we have not undergone sacrifices, whether the taxes imposed have not reached, so far as direct taxation is concerned, saturation point, as has been admitted by the Finance Minister himself.

Now the question that arises is what happens to these taxes? What happens to the money which is being realised? There must be something wrong somewhere. I would give only one instance to compare whether there has been unnecessary expenditure in our industries or not. One cement factory has been established in Saurashtra and another in Uttar Pradesh. Though the cost of putting up both the factories is the same, the capacity of the U.P. factory is half that of the Saurashtra factory. I have not got the figures with me but I think the construction cost was Rs. 4 crores in the case of both. But whereas the capacity of the Saurashtra fac-

tory is about 4 lakh tons, it is only 2 lakh tons in the case of the U.P. factory. If that can be taken as an index, we can very well come to the conclusion that there is something very very wrong so far as the economy and efficiency of our industries are concerned. The hon. Finance Minister has to give a reply to this question as to why it happens like that. My feeling is that it is all due to inefficiency and corruption at all levels. Just as my hon. friend, Shri Guha, said, if there is no corruption, why should our leaders go about saying that there is no corruption? If there is no corruption let us keep quiet. That is the best way. They also say that if there is any corruption it is not at the higher level, it is at the lower level.

**Shri Radhelal Vyas (Ujjain):** At some stage it is.

**Shri Jhunjunwala:** I say their contention is that fault lies at the lower level. When we go to the villages, when we go to the people, we tell them that there is so much corruption regarding control and other things, we go to the traders and the consumers telling them, "Why do you not help the Government in carrying out their policy of control so that you can be happy and the Government can feel satisfied and can proceed with other programmes whereby they can supply you cheaper goods?" The only thing they say is: "Well, what can we do? There is corruption everywhere. We cannot check it." So many dealers are indulging in black-marketing. Then the consumers are also at times indulging in black-marketing. But there is nobody to take steps against them. After great discussion we come to the conclusion that we cannot give a reply; we cannot face this challenge of theirs, namely, that there is no corruption. If we say that there is no corruption, they point out so many things in the Railways, in the Income-Tax Department and in other places. Of course there is no time in this short speech to dilate on all those points and give you the instances, but this is the sum and substance and the experience of us all that wherever we

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go, the first thing they bring about and talk is how will this corruption go. I told them that in order to remove corruption they themselves have to be truthful and have to bear the consequences for some time; then the corruption will go. If the people begin to find fault with the Government and the officials and if the officials find fault with the people, corruption cannot go. If the high level people say that corruption is at the lower level and if the lower level people say that it is all percolating from the highest place, in the organisation as well as in Government, it cannot go. The only thing that we have to talk when we go to our constituencies and other places is corruption. There is nothing but talk of corruption. They give so many instances showing these are the things. We feel ourselves helpless in helping them to remove it.

I was telling you regarding our industrial production. As I said, if we have production commensurate with the money we spend and if we have more production, there cannot be so much inflation. If the result or the income production is divided equally among all classes of people, that is, lower class, upper class and middle class, then even if there is inflation no body will grudge it. But what happens? In view of the money invested and the taxes imposed, I think production is not 50 per cent. At the most it can be 60 to 70 per cent. Of course, this can only be a guesswork because we have no figures with us. The Commerce and Industry Ministry has not given us a balance-sheet of the money invested in the public sector and has not pointed out to us that this is the result which they have got from the money invested. Then we can see the actual picture and locate the causes of inflation and try to remove the same. But, we can only judge by a few instances as to how money is being wasted at every stage.

Just as I said, so far as the lower level is concerned, they do not get proper distribution of the outcome or

the income which is produced in the country. As such, when there is no proper distribution of the wealth among the people, this inflation touches most and pinches most the common man—the poor classes. This budget, as has been given out to us, shows that there has been no tax at all this time and everybody seems to be happy and that only indirect taxes are there.

**An hon. Member:** Not everybody.

**Shri Jhunjhunwala:** But these indirect taxes are not only indirect but they are directly indirect. They directly hit the poorest class at the bottom, if you will go deep into these things, as has been explained by previous speakers. I do not want to take time over it. The main thing to which I was coming is regarding corruption. What step is the Government taking in order to stop corruption? For the last six months this talk is going on everywhere, even in village corners. Everybody knows that corruption is rampant at the highest level. Whether it is true or false, I cannot say. Whether what Shri Deshmukh has said is right or wrong, I am not going to say; I do not know. But the talk is going on everywhere.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** The talk had been there long before this.

**Shri Jhunjhunwala:** That had been there, but it has given an impetus to more talk. There has been inflation in this talk also.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The ringing of the bell might not be drowned in this conversation.

**Shri Jhunjhunwala:** It has not been drowned. I was saying that if that is so I do not see any reason why we should hesitate in appointing such a body which will have the confidence of the people. So many machineries have been suggested. A tribunal, a statutory commission etc. These proposals should be studied and something should be done. I do not want to go into all the details and point out



that this is practicable or that is practicable. The only thing which has been said by our Prime Minister is that it will give a handle to others to say that in India there is so much corruption. Well, why should we be afraid of it? If there is such a thing we should face it. We, being the disciples of Mahatma Gandhi, should be the first to say that there is such a thing and we want to take such and such steps to remove it. I understand that while the Constitution was being framed some such thing was proposed by our Constitutional Adviser. But it was not put in the Constitution. I do not understand what harm there is if there is such a tribunal. If there is a tribunal, people would be afraid that they would be caught. Legally, of course, it is said: if there is corruption, bring the charges, go to the court and prove it. Legally it is all right. But can it be proved? At the same time, there should be some sort of propriety also, and the Ministers should set up traditions by their own conduct which the people can follow. If they do that, that will be a great check. If there is a tribunal, there will be some sort of check on them. But now, whenever it is said there is corruption, we are asked to bring the particular instance to their notice, then the matter is gone through, explained, and it is said nothing is proved legally. This may satisfy us, this may satisfy those in authority, but it will not satisfy the people at large.

One point more, and that is about small-scale industries. Shri Guha has said that there does not appear to be any chance of our economy being self-generating. It is so. What about the small-scale industry? It is not only not self-generating, but scant attention has been paid to it, I do not think there is any small-scale industry which is being protected against the big industries; and the Government helps it in that direction. If these industries are established anywhere, there is a danger of their being wiped away by the competition of the big industries. Another point is about agricultural production.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** When we are talking so much against corruption, taking more time than is due to the Members is also corruption!

**Shri Jhunjunwala:** That is generally no corruption, Sir, we believe everything should be scientific. We do not believe in the cowdung and bullock-cart economy. We despise it. They do not believe in animal husbandry. But I would say that it is so scientific that our authorities do not want to go deep into it and find out what part it plays in our agricultural production. Unless they take to that also side by side with their so-called scientific methods, I do not think there is any hope of our agricultural production going up.

With these words I congratulate the Finance Minister for having got so much ovation from the public because of buoyancy in the market. This is a very good Budget.

**Shri Goray:** That is not scientific!

**Shri D. A. Katti (Chikodi):** This Budget is described as a pleasant surprise. It is indeed a pleasant surprise, but to whom? To those who were emotionally prepared to pay more by way of direct taxes, but to those who were not emotionally prepared, it is not a pleasant surprise at all. The vested interests, the rich class, the big industrialists were all expecting some direct taxes, but the Finance Minister shocked them with this pleasant surprise by making them pay no more. But what is the reaction of the common man to this Budget? Is the Budget the same pleasant surprise to him also? No, it is not a surprise to him, for he knows he is cursed to be hit every year by some sort of indirect taxation. This year also he finds that his poor purse is again heavily taxed.

The common man was not emotionally prepared, he was expecting some sort of relief, but it is not his lot to get any relief. That is why I think

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the press has described the Budget as a rich man's Budget.

In his Budget Speech, the Finance Minister has given us an account of the progress made so far. He tells us that our economy is making advances in several directions, that there is a large increase in our agricultural production and that there is a marked recovery in industrial production. He also says that the investments undertaken during the last few years have begun to give results. The picture that is depicted by the Finance Minister seems to be very encouraging, but is this the true picture? This is not the true picture of the situation that is existing today.

The Budget is framed in relation to the Plan. Therefore, let us see what these Plans have done? The First Plan was over long back, and the Second Plan is nearing completion. The object of the Plans is to raise the standard of life, is to have plenty and prosperity, and therefore the people were asked to sacrifice and sacrifice more. The people sacrificed, they paid all the indirect taxes without any grudge. Of course, there are the tax-evaders, we must omit them. The people have done it in the hope that their lot will be bettered, that they will see some better days.

Over these two plans, hundreds of crores of rupees have been spent; over these two plans, nine years precious time has been spent; over these two plans a great deal of energy has been spent. But what is the result?

The success of the Plan is to be judged by the results only, and what is the result?

The result is, as the Finance Minister himself has admitted, there is a significant rise in the cost of living; the result is there is food shortage; the result is that there is terrific unemployment; the result is that the foreign exchange position is not satisfactory; the result is that there is

degeneration in the administration because of corruption. This is the result.

Take for example the food position. The Food Minister says that there is a large increase in food production, in agricultural production. But then I ask him, as many other Members have asked, why there is this inflation. Food prices have gone so high that in the villages the people are not able to get bare bread. I have seen it with my own eyes. A man earns twelve annas per day by toiling throughout the whole day, and he has to maintain his wife, his children and himself with twelve annas per day. And that too, he does not get the work regularly every day.

Not only the foodstuffs are costly, but even sugar is so costly that in my place I paid Rs. 2-8 for one lb.

14 hrs.

An Hon. Member: Rs. 2-8 per lb?

Shri D. A. Katti: Yes, Rs. 2-8 per lb. There is black-market. There is no sugar available in the shops; in the fair price shops, no sugar is available. So, I had to go to the other shop where this sugar was sold, and I paid Rs. 2-8 for one lb.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: That means Rs. 5 per seer?

Shri D. A. Katti: Yes, Rs. 5 per seer. This is the type of inflation that has come about. When we depend for our food on food imports, when there is such an inflation, it shows clearly that there is no increase in food production. The Food Minister himself had said some time back that our average yield per acre was only one-fourth of a ton, whereas in other countries, it was more than two tons per acre, that is, other countries produce more than eight times what we produce here. Therefore, we should not unnecessarily tell these lies, that the production has increased. This is a very big lie rather. Unless we solve this food problem, we cannot make any pro-

gress in any direction. During all these nine years, the time has been spent over these Plans; crores of rupees have been spent on irrigation, but with no effect. There is no increase in production. So, there is something basically wrong, and unless we remedy that wrong, it is impossible to increase food production. Now, the Food Minister has taken the responsibility of improving the position. We have to wait and see. But my suggestion would be that besides all these other remedies which are to be adopted, the waste lands which are lying waste, which are cultivable lands which are lying waste in the country, which come to about six crores of acres, have to be reclaimed. There are people prepared to work. Government are not required to give even any kind of help to them. They are prepared to work; in every village there is the land, and in every village, there are the people who can reclaim the land. If these lands are reclaimed, we shall be giving them employment, and at the same time, these lands will be brought under cultivation and there will be an addition to the food production. Government should move in this matter. I think they are doing something in this direction already. They called for information from all the States about these waste lands. I think some of the States have sent this information, while some others have not sent it so far. But this thing must be done, for, otherwise, it will not be possible to increase food production. This is the food position today.

Again what is the position about unemployment? The problem of unemployment is also very fierce. There is educated unemployment; there is also uneducated unemployment. There is open unemployment, and there is also hidden unemployment. And when people are unemployed, when they are not having any kind of work, the Finance Minister is asking them to work more. Where is the work? If people ask, 'Where is the work? Where can we go and work' there is no work at all. The prices have gone so high, and there is no employment. There-

fore, we can imagine what kind of lot the people might be facing.

So far as the employment exchanges are concerned, the jobs which are given to the people are simply sold. I have got information about some such cases, where people had to pay Rs. 200, or Rs. 300 or Rs. 500 or Rs. 1000 or even Rs. 2000 for getting a job. The jobs are being sold. This is the position today about unemployment. Government have failed to solve the problem of unemployment which the planners had promised to do before nine years. Today, we find that even after the lapse of nine years, Government have not been able to solve this problem, with the result that educated people are even begging today. This is the position.

Then comes the question of corruption. My hon. friend who spoke earlier has referred to this question of corruption. Corruption is rampant. So much corruption is there that even Milo's Rome might not have had experience of it. Such wonderful amount of corruption is there, it is there at the lowest level, at the middle level and at the top level nobody could say that there is no corruption. If instances are wanted, then I am prepared to point out how much corruption is going on. I have seen some such things. If anybody challenges that there is no corruption, then I am prepared to show him how corruption goes on. Corruption has to be condemned, but the tendency is that people say that there is no corruption at all. It is a big lie again. Again, some people say, responsible people from the other side say that the money that is taken by way of bribery remains in the country only, and they ask 'Where does it go? It does not go to any other country. So, why should you worry so much about it?'. This is what is said by very responsible people. If that is the case, why should they punish the dacoits. . . .

Shri Morarji Desai: Who said so?

**Shri D. A. Katti:** . . . who rob the wealth of the people? What right have you to punish them? . . .

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara):** The hon. Minister wants to know who that responsible man is.

**Shri D. A. Katti:** I do not want to mention the name.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** It is a lie that the hon. Member is saying. That is all that I would say.

**Shri D. A. Katti:** Many know who has said that, and even the common people know; it has appeared in the press also. I do not wish to give out the name.

**An Hon. Member:** The hon. Member does not know?

**Shri D. A. Katti:** I know very well.

This argument is very unhappy. Such arguments should not be advanced. It should be condemned outright and downright, but that is not done. Purity in the administration is one of the important conditions precedent to the successful working of democracy. If there is no purity, then democracy itself will be brought into danger. Because of this corruption, the very purpose of the Plan has been defeated; because of this corruption, justice is denied to the people, and because of this corruption, the purpose of the Plan has been defeated, and because of that, a grave situation has arisen now. These are the results of corruption. Corruption has somehow to be checked, if we want to have successful working of democracy. But I do not think Government will do anything in this matter.

Having said so much about corruption, I would say that there is not only corruption in the administration, but there is also arrogance. I would like to cite one example. During the recent disturbances at Belgaum on account of the border dispute, the

District Police Superintendent there deliberately, most deliberately, hammered a Member of the Assembly with his boots; he took him and he dashed him against a tree, and when he fell down, he took out his shoes and he hammered him. And this he did most deliberately; and the same man is now defended, and the same man has been given the President's Medal. The same man who has beaten an MLA there has been given this medal, and nobody has taken note of it. Nobody has said anything against it. If MLAs and MPs' could be beaten in this way, then democracy will be finished.

**Shri Goray:** He will get another award next year.

**An Hon. Member:** Was he given the medal before or afterwards?

**Shri D. A. Katti:** Prior to that. There was so much of arrogance, and he was so much proud of this medal that he did not care while beating the MLA.

**Shri Achar (Mangalore)** rose—

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Does Shri Achar want to say something?

**Shri D. A. Katti:** I am not referring to the merits or demerits of the border issue. I am simply referring to this isolated instance about the District Police Superintendent beating most deliberately and taking away the Member of a Legislative Assembly.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I must request the hon. Member that he should be aware of the procedure that we have adopted. If he wanted to refer to a particular instance and a particular officer, he ought to have given notice beforehand to the Minister so that he might have found out the facts, in order to enable him to reply to those allegations. If such allegations are made without notice, then, certainly, the Minister has no opportunity to find out the truth or otherwise of those allegations, and he cannot answer them, and if in the debate such allegations remain unanswered, that

might create an incorrect impression upon the reader.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** This was mentioned on an earlier occasion. So Government know about it.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** That does not give the option to the hon. Member to repeat it—just because it had been referred to earlier and it could not be answered then. Perhaps the Minister also left it there. Now again it is being referred to. He will have no opportunity of finding out what happened.

Then again I wanted to tell one thing to the hon. Member. Twice or thrice he has used the word 'lie', saying 'This is a lie' and 'That is a lie'. Some better word can be used. Though I did not rule it out, lie is always deliberate. Why should we impute motives? We can say, 'It is incorrect'. Instead of saying, 'This is a lie' and 'That is a lie', some better word could be used. If we repeat this again and again, it does not give a good taste.

**Shri Achar rose—**

**Shri D. A. Katti:** This is the position today.

**Shri Achar:** I would like to say a word. The other day also. . .

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Unless there is a point of order or some personal explanation to make, the hon. Member should not be interrupted.

**Shri Achar:** I have no personal explanation to make. I am not concerned with it.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Then the hon. Member should not be interrupted.

**Shri D. A. Katti:** Shri Achar should have condemned him. But he has not.

**Shri Achar:** May I rise on a point of order? The hon. Member has referred to a particular individual. Of

course, you were pleased to say that he was not right in doing that. But what I would submit is that in view of the fact that it is not relevant to refer to such things without giving notice to the Minister, that portion of his speech may be expunged.

**Shri D. A. Katti:** There is no point of order.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Has he not the right to raise a point of order? Why should others take objection to it?

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** You have already made it clear.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Unless I have heard him, how can I give a ruling on the point of order?

**Shri Achar:** My only submission is that that portion of the speech may be expunged.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. I have heard him. I do not feel inclined to expunge it. I think I have said enough about it, and it should remain as it is.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** May I suggest that the point of order raised by the hon. Member may be expunged?

**Shri Achar:** My point of order was that that portion of the speech itself is not in order. That portion must be expunged from the proceedings of this House.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Perhaps the hon. Member did not hear the decision I gave viz. that there is no need to expunge it. Let it remain as it is. I have done enough to remedy it.

**Shri D. A. Katti:** So this is the position today, and it is very serious. It seems the Government are not disturbed at all on account of these things and the situation prevailing today in the country. Rather the Government are living in an Ivory tower thinking that everything is all right. But under the existing circumstances, when the common man looks to the

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discrimination that is practised against him, when he looks to his sufferings—ever increasing sufferings—he feels that there is a sort of conspiracy to exploit him in the name of his well-being. The Plan has given him no hopes. There is no guarantee for him in the Plan that he would get his due share and, therefore, he is very much frustrated. But again, he is asked to sacrifice. He is prepared to sacrifice. But for what and for whose benefit? That is the question before him. In fact, there is no question of his sacrificing anything, because he himself is being sacrificed.

Today, Government for the people is more important to the people than Government of the people, and the Government here today by its rule have proved that they are not a Government for all the people, but a Government for the privileged few. This is the feeling amongst the people. Two Plans have failed to give the common man any benefit. On the contrary, every year his sufferings are doubled and re-doubled.

Therefore, people are losing faith in democracy. They feel that in a democratic set-up, the common man has no hope. The common man is in such a position that there is no possibility for him to get any better deal. He feels that everything is done in the interest of the privileged class and he is simply a beast of burden. This feeling is growing stronger. I would like to warn the Government that if this feeling continues for a long time, then Communist rule will find its way in. Now in Kerala, the Communists have been defeated by the Congress. Congressmen think that it is a great job that they have done. But I do not think the Communists have been disturbed on that account. They are closely watching the situation; they are closely watching this chaos and this confusion. If our Government refuse to be wise enough, if they refuse to change their policy, then one day they will find that the Communists have exploited the situation

and we have lost our democracy. That will be seen.

So in order to save democracy at least, the Government should be earnest in their purpose. Sometimes, the Prime Minister says that in a democratic rule, progress is slow. That can be understood. But here it is not a question of the progress being slow or rapid; there is no progress made. In this country, things are going from bad to worse and the same deterioration is being defended. This is not a very happy state of affairs.

Now, I come to indirect taxation. Our Finance Minister has said that there is no scope for additional direct taxation and if we want to finance the Plan, there should inevitably be an increase in indirect taxation or fresh indirect taxation. This year by the indirect taxes proposed, the Government are going to get only Rs. 22 crores. This amount would have been best collected by checking tax evasion or it could have been raised by lifting Prohibition. I do not know why the suggestion to abolish Prohibition is opposed. In Bombay State, there is Prohibition. I have seen how the law being enforced there and its results. Previously, very few people used to drink wine. Only men used to drink wine. But today, women drink, men drink and children drink—all drink. The worst type of stuff, even denatured spirit, is drunk. All these people are drinking. That is the result of the policy of Prohibition.

**Shri Rameshwar Tantia (Sikar):**  
Not all drink.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** If that is his experience, how can we stop it?

**Shri D. A. Katti:** All are drinking. Government have not been able to check it. On the contrary, on account of Prohibition, it has increased and Government have lost revenue worth crores of rupees. Therefore, Prohibition should be lifted.

**Shri C. K. Nair** (Outer Delhi): Are Buddhists against Prohibition?

**Shri D. A. Katti:** We are most practical. We want that democracy should function here successfully and it should not collapse here. The common man should not be massacred unnecessarily. But that is what we fear.

**Shri C. K. Nair:** They are more political than spiritual.

**Shri D. A. Katti:** Again, the tax on salt can be re-imposed. If salt is taxed, I think people will not feel any burden. By taxing salt and by removing Prohibition, I think Government will be able to get a good deal of money for the purpose of implementing the Plan. Instead of that, they are following these ways of levying indirect taxes.

Again, foreign aid can be taken. We have got nothing to say about foreign aid. Every under-developed country depends upon foreign aid. So it can be taken, Prohibition can be lifted and salt taxed. Tax evasion should be checked and more taxes collected. If these things are done, Government will get sufficient money. But Government should also not be more ambitious in their Plan.

First there was a big Plan; then, there was a bigger Plan; and now we are having the biggest Plan. But all these Plans have not brought any good or any relief to these people. The biggest plans are also going to increase the suffering and not going to give any relief.

If you take into consideration the items that have been proposed to be taxed, we can well understand that here the common man alone is taxed and he alone is exposed to suffering and the richer classes are not going to be affected by these taxes.

**An Hon. Member:** They use petrol for their cars.

**Shri D. A. Katti:** So, I strongly oppose these taxes.

**श्री नवल प्रभाकर** (बाह्य दिल्ली—रक्षित—अनुसूचित जातियाँ) : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष जी, भ्राय और व्यय के प्रस्तावों में से पहले मैं कर प्रस्तावों को लेता हूँ। कर प्रस्तावों में भी मैं सब से पहले साइकिलों के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। जैसा कि मुझ से पूर्व बक्ताओं ने कहा, मैं भी अनुरोध करता हूँ कि साइकिल एक ऐसी सवारी है जो कि जनसाधारण या दूसरे शब्दों में कहा जाय तो गरीबों की सवारी है और चारा नहीं मांगती है। थोड़े पैसे में काफी दूर तक जा कर आदमी काम कर के वापस आ सकता है। मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वे इस कर प्रस्ताव पर पुनर्विचार करें क्योंकि इस में प्रभावित होंगे वे मजदूर जो कि दूर दूर से जा कर के काम करते हैं, इस में प्रभावित होंगे वे ग्रामीण लोग जो कि गांवों से शहर में आते हैं और अपना कुछ सामान, सीदा मुलुफ लाते और ले जाते हैं। इसलिए मैं बहुत ही विनम्रता से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि वे इस पर पुनर्विचार करें। लेकिन यदि वे इस बात पर दृढ़ हों कि उन को इस पर कर लगाना ही है तो मैं इतना जरूर निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जो साइकिल के दो भाग हैं उन में से किसी भाग पर, चाहे फ्रॉन्टल पर चाहे रिम पर, कर लगा लें उन में से एक को छोड़ दें। इस से यह होगा कि कुछ भार उन लोगों पर बढ़ जायेगा और कुछ भार से वे गरीब लोग मुक्त हो जायेंगे। इसके लिए उन्हें प्रसन्नता भी होगी। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि आप इस पर बहुत ही सहानुभूतिपूर्वक विचार करेंगे और विचार करने के उपरान्त अपना निर्णय करेंगे, फैसला देंगे मैं समझता हूँ कि वह फैसला सही होगा।

इस के पश्चात् मैं जूतों के तलों के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। इसका मैं पूर्णतया समर्थन करता हूँ क्योंकि जो बिजली से चलने वाले बड़े बड़े कारखाने हैं, उद्योगपति हैं, वे बड़े समझदार होते हैं, हर कानूनी दांव पेंच को जानते हैं। जब पिछली बार टैक्स लगाया गया तो उन्होंने सोचा कि

[श्री नवल प्रभाकर]

उस से तो निकला जा सकता है और वे निकल बये किन्तु आप ने बहुत सोच कर के उन को पुनः पकड़ने की कोशिश की है। आप इस में सफल हों, ऐसी मेरी कामना है। मैं इस लिए प्रसन्न हूँ कि आप ने जो कहा है कि मैं मशीन से बने तलों यानी मोल और एड्रियां पर शुल्क लगा रहा हूँ और शुल्क मूल्य के अनुसार १५ प्रतिशत होगा और हर साल उस से २० लाख रुपये प्राप्त होगा, इस से उन लोगों को प्रसन्नता होगी जो कि घरेलू जूते बनाते हैं या घरों में बैठ कर काम करते हैं, जो कि काटेज इंडस्ट्री के नाम से कहलाती है। इस से उस गरीब जुते बेचने वाले को प्रसन्नता होगी जिस का जूता श्रृंखल बहुत कम दाम पर बिकता है और जिस में केवल अपनी उदरपूर्ति कर सकता है। इस कर से उसको उसके श्रम का सही मुआवजा मिल सकेगा उस के श्रम की उचित कीमत मिल सकेगी इस लिए मैं इस कर का हृदय से समर्थन करता हूँ।

मैं कटपीस के सम्बन्ध में भी कहना चाहता हूँ। पहले तीन तीन गज के टुकड़ों तक को कट पीस माना जाता था, अब उस को घटा दिया गया है। इस के बारे में मुझे कुछ सन्देह है। जब आप इस की परिभाषा बनाने लगे तो उस परिभाषा में यह भी देख लीजियेगा कि आप उसे लम्बाई के ऊपर ही घटा रहे हैं या चौड़ाई पर भी घटा रहे हैं क्योंकि जो दूसरे लोग हैं जिन के ऊपर यह टैक्स लगता है वे काफ़ी समझदार होते हैं। हो सकता है कि वह लम्बाई घटा दें और चौड़ाई बढ़ा दें।

अब रहा सवाल बिजली के पंखों और बल्बों का। आप बिजली के बल्बों के सम्बन्ध में टैक्स लगाइय किन्तु मैं उन बल्बों के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ जो कि पांच वाट के हैं, पंद्रह वाट के हैं या पच्चीस और चालिस वाट के हैं जिन को कि एक ग्राम मजदूर

भी अपने उपयोग में लाता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि जनसाधारण जिन बल्बों को काम में लाते हैं कुछ छोटें आप दे सकें तो बड़ी अच्छी बात होगी। इसी तरह बिजली के पंखों के सम्बन्ध में भी है। जो बड़े बड़े पंखे हैं उन पर आप टैक्स लगाइये, ठीक है लेकिन जो छोटे छोटे पंखे हैं, जिन को एक मजदूर घर में लगा लेता है, टेबल का पंखा है, जिस को मामूली आदमी घर में इस्तेमाल करते हैं, उस पर जो टैक्स पहले से लगा हुआ है उतना ही रहे तो कोई हर्ज नहीं है।

अब मैं शराब के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। इस के सम्बन्ध में मुझे बड़ा भारी एतराज यह है कि आप ने कहा कि इस पर सीमा शुल्क लगाया जाय जिस में देशी उत्पादन को हानि न पहुँचे। शराब पर तो, देशी उत्पादक हो चाहे विदेशी उत्पादक हो, टैक्स लगना ही चाहिये। मेरी मंत्री महोदय से विनम्र प्रार्थना है कि यदि आप वास्तव में नशाबन्दी को चाहते हैं तो यह कहना मुझे सही नहीं लगता है कि देशी उत्पादक को हानि न पहुँचे। मैं समझता हूँ कि आप इस पर फिर विचार करेंगे और निश्चय करेंगे कि देशी और विदेशी दोनों शराबों को समान रूप से समझा जाय। उन के साथ एक तरह का बर्ताव होना चाहिये। बुराई चाहे देशी या विदेशी, वह बुरी है। जिस चीज को देश सही नहीं समझता वह देशी हो या विदेशी, उस पर रोक लगाना चाहिये। यदि विदेशी शराब पर टैक्स लगाया जा सकता है तो देशी शराब पर भी टैक्स लगाया जाना चाहिये क्योंकि शराब एक ऐसी वस्तु है जो कि अनैतिकता की जड़ है। आप इस पर चाहे जितना टैक्स लगा दें, मैं समझता हूँ कि इस पर सदन प्रसन्नता ही प्रकट करेगा। यह बात हुई टैक्सेशन के सम्बन्ध में। मैं पुनः आप का ध्यान उन बातों की तरफ दिलाता हूँ जो कि मैं ने अभी कहीं हैं और



में भाषा करता हूँ कि आप उन पर सहानुभूतिपूर्वक विचार करेंगे।

सिनेमा की उतरी हुई फिल्मों के सम्बन्ध में आप ने जो टैक्स लगाया है उस के सम्बन्ध में मेरा सुझाव यह है कि जो प्रचार फिल्में होती हैं उन से हमें पैसा मिल सकता है। लोग अपनी वस्तुओं का प्रचार करने के लिये उन को सिनेमाओं में चलाते हैं। यदि आप उन पर भी इसी तरह का टैक्स लगा दें तो आप की आमदनी बढ़ सकती है और उस बड़ी हुई आमदनी से आप दूसरों को छूट दे सकते हैं, साइकिलों को छोड़ सकते हैं, बिजली की चीजों को छोड़ सकते हैं। मेरा सुझाव यह है कि जो प्रकार की फिल्में दिखाई जाती हैं, जिन के द्वारा लोग अपना विज्ञापन करते हैं, उन विज्ञापन वाली फिल्मों को आप इस में शामिल कर लें तो इस में कोई हर्ज नहीं है। मैं तो यहां तक जाने को तैयार हूँ कि जो फिल्में आज कल दिखाई जाती हैं उन में से कुछ को छोड़ कर आप सब पर टैक्स लगा लें। आज कल फिल्मों का बड़ा प्रचलन है। उन में से जो शिक्षाप्रद फिल्में हैं, जो डाकुमेंटरी फिल्में हैं, जो सूचना सम्बन्धी फिल्में हैं, उन को छोड़ कर जितनी भी फिल्में हैं उन के ऊपर यदि आप टैक्स लगायें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इस सदन में किसी व्यक्ति को भी एतराज नहीं होगा। जो प्रचार की फिल्में हैं, जिन का उद्देश्य अपने माल का प्रचार करना है, उस पर आप यदि टैक्स लगाने की सोचें तो उचित ही होगा।

यदि हम यहां दूसरे पहलू को लें तो उस में यह है कि प्रत्येक व्यक्ति की सब से बड़ी और पहली आवश्यकता खाद्य पदार्थ की है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार प्रयत्न करे कि जो भी उतार चढ़ाव हों, उन में जो मजदूर हैं, जो गरीब आदमी हैं या किसान हैं उन को परेशानी न हो। आप एक किसान को ले लीजिये, या किसान के नीकर को ले लीजिये, वह खाद्य पदार्थों के उतार चढ़ाव

में बहुत परेशान रहता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जो खाद्य पदार्थ हैं उन के मूल्यों में सन्तुलन रखा जाय और हो सके तो साल के प्रारम्भ में जो मूल्य हों साल के अन्त तक वही मूल्य रहें।

दूसरी चीज है वस्त्र। वस्त्रों के मूल्य भी संतुलित रहने चाहिए, खास कर वह वस्त्र जो कि जनसाधारण के प्रयोग में आते हों। मैं उन वस्त्रों के सम्बन्ध में नहीं कहना चाहता जो कि एक शोभा की वस्तु है विलास की वस्तु है। उन के संबंध में मैं नहीं कहना चाहता लेकिन एक जन साधारण और एक किसान क्या पहनता है, एक मजदूर क्या पहनता है और एक मध्यम वर्ग का व्यक्ति क्या क्या और कौन कौन से वस्त्र प्रयोग में लाता है, मैं उन वस्त्रों के सम्बन्ध में शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन वस्त्रों पर एक खास दृष्टि आप की होनी चाहिए। उन के मूल्यों के अन्दर उतार चढ़ाव नहीं होना चाहिए किन्तु देखा यह गया है कि पिछले कई वर्षों से निरन्तर मूल्यों के अन्दर वृद्धि होती जा रही है। अगर सन् १९३६ के मूल्यों को हम लें और आज के मूल्यों को लें तो मैं यदि प्रतिशतोक्ति नहीं करता हूँ तो उस में ८, ८ और १०, १० गुने की वृद्धि हो गई है जब कि आमदनी के अन्दर इतनी वृद्धि नहीं हुई है।

इस के उपरान्त मैं आवास की समस्या के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। आवास की, मकानों की समस्या एक ऐसी समस्या है, जो कि मुंह बाये खड़ी हुई है। एक व्यक्ति के लिए खाद्य वस्त्र और आवास यह तीन चीजें उस के लिए आवश्यक हैं। अब आवास की अवस्था यह हो गई है कि किसी भी शहर में आप चले जाइये, जमीन के मूल्य इतने बढ़ गये हैं कि जनसाधारण तो क्या मध्य वर्ग के लोगों की भी पहुंच से बाहर हो गया है कि वे वहां पर कोई जमीन खरीद सकें या वहां पर कोई मकान बना सकें। मैं इस सम्बन्ध में एक सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि और जगह की तो मैं

## [श्री नवल प्रभाकर]

नहीं कह सकता लेकिन दिल्ली के सम्बन्ध में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर हो सके तो यहां पर आप एक हाउसिंग कारपोरेशन बना दीजिये। वह आटोमस बोडी हो और उस को यह अधिकार हो कि वह लोगों से कर्जा ले ले। सरकार उस को रैकना-इज करे। उस में सरकारी लोग भी हों और जनता के लोग भी हों और वह व्यवसायिक दृष्टि से न हों। जनता उस में पैसा लगाये, कुछ सरकार उस में पैसा लगाये और वह लोगों के आवास का उनके रहने का इन्तजाम करे। उन के लिए जमीनें खरीदे, उनको मकान बनाने के लिए ऋण दे। मुझे आशा है कि आप इस तरह के आवास निगम को हाउसिंग कारपोरेशन को कायम करने के बारे में सोचेंगे जिससे कि यह जो बड़े बड़े शहर हैं उनके अन्दर यह जो आवास की एक समस्या है वह हल हो सके।

मैं दिल्ली के सम्बन्ध में भी कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। अब दिल्ली चूँकि केन्द्र से शासित क्षेत्र है और दिल्ली को केन्द्र शासित क्षेत्र माना गया है तो स्वाभावतः दिल्ली वालों को यह आशा थी कि केन्द्र से शासित होने से यहां पर उन्नति होगी और यहां के लोगों को कुछ राहत मिलेगी, संतोष प्राप्त होगा किन्तु मैं यह देख रहा हूँ और लोगों में भी यह भावना बढ़ती जा रही है कि जब से यह केन्द्र प्रशासित क्षेत्र हुआ है कुछ निरंकुशता शासन में आने लगी है और कुछ लोगों की ओर ध्यान कम दिया जाने लगा है। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि दिल्ली प्रशासन के पुनर्गठन के ऊपर पुनः जोर दिया जाना चाहिए और उस के लिए हो सके तो एक कमेटी बैठा दी जाय और उस के लिए सोचा जाय कि दिल्ली का प्रशासन किस तरह का होना चाहिए। मैं चाहता हूँ दिल्ली के प्रशासन के सम्बन्ध में आप बिचार करें।

अष्टाचार के सम्बन्ध में यहां बहुत कुछ कहा गया है। मैं पुनः उस को दुहराना नहीं चाहता किन्तु इतना मैं जरूर कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज देश में जनता का जो नैतिक स्तर है वह दिन प्रति दिन गिरता जा रहा है। सरकार को यह सोचना चाहिए कि वह नैतिक स्तर उनका किस प्रकार उठाया जाय और किस तरह से लोगों की भावनाएं बदली जायें, किस तरह से लोगों में अनुशासन रह सके। इसके लिए सोचना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। हम जब अष्टाचार की बात कहते हैं तब यह तो सभी मानते हैं कि अष्टाचार है और इस में कोई दो रायें नहीं हैं कि अष्टाचार नहीं है। छोटे से अधिकारी से लेकर बड़े अधिकारी तक यह फैला हुआ है। अष्टाचार कोई केवल प्रशासन में हो सो बात नहीं है वरन यह लोगों में भी फैला हुआ है। जब टैक्सों की प्रदायगी का प्रश्न आता है तब लोग दो, दो खाते बना लेते हैं और इनकम टैक्स की चोरी करने की कोशिश करते हैं और टैक्स से बचने के लिए अष्टाचार करते हैं। जैसे बगैर दोनों हाथ के ताली नहीं बज सकती ठीक वही बात अष्टाचार के सम्बन्ध में लागू होती है। अष्टाचार लोगों में और प्रशासन दोनों में मौजूद है। अष्टाचार के निवारण के लिए जितना अधिकारियों का कर्त्तव्य है उतना ही कर्त्तव्य जनता का है। अधिकारियों को तो सतर्क रहना ही चाहिए क्योंकि वह जो संसद् है वह कानून बना कर उन के हाथ में दे देती है और इसलिए प्रशासन का यह कर्त्तव्य हो जाता है कि वह सतर्क रहे और अधिकारी लोग अपने को निष्पक्ष रखें। किन्तु जो जनता के अन्दर एक गिरावट आती जा रही है वह भी एक देखने की बात है। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार ऐसा कोई प्रयत्न करे जिस से कि अष्टाचार को रोकने के लिए जो लोगों का नैतिक स्तर ऊंचा होना आवश्यक है उसको ऊंचा किया जा सके। उसके लिए जो

भी वह कर सकें, करें। मुझे कहना तो बहुत कुछ था लेकिन चूँकि मेरा समय समाप्त हो गया है मैं अब और कुछ नहीं कहूँगा।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It has been whispered into my ears—perhaps it is the desire of somebody from the Opposition. I want to know whether any of these groups that have not been represented are present here—Socialist, Jan Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha. I find they are not present. When their time comes, they will have their chance.

**श्री चांडक (छिंदवाड़ा) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कुछ समय आप ने दिया इसलिए मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ। मैं अर्थ मंत्री जो को धन्यवाद इसलिए देता हूँ कि उन्होंने एक बहुत सुन्दर और संतुलित बजट हमारे सामने पेश किया है। जब भी यह बजट पेश होने का समय आता है तो हर एक व्यक्ति एक प्रकार का जिसे हम स्पेंकुलेशन कहते हैं, वैसा एक स्पेंकुलेशन समाज में हुआ करता है। लेकिन उन सब को इस समय निराशा होना पड़ा और जो बजट इस समय पेश हुआ है कि हमारी द्वितीय पंच-वर्षीय योजना का अन्तिम वर्ष है और उसी कौन्टेन्समेंट में यह बजट पेश किया गया है तो यह सम्भव है कि उस में जो नये नये टैक्स लगाये गये हैं उन के सम्बन्ध में तो दो मत हो सकते हैं लेकिन जहाँ तक यह नये टैक्स, इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज जो लगाये गये हैं वे जैसे कि अभी कहा गया और बहुत सारे दोस्तों ने मित्रों ने और यहां हाउस में काफी चर्चा इस बात की हुई उनका लगना सवाभाविक ही है। मैं तो यह देखता हूँ कि जो भी टैक्स हो जब कि हमारी डेवलपिंग एकोनामी है जब कि मुल्क का सुधार हो रहा है, मुल्क आगे बढ़ रहा है, हम योजनाबद्ध कदम उठा रहे हैं और करोड़ों रुपया उसमें खर्च हो रहा है तो कुछ न कुछ ये टैक्सेज तो आने वाले हैं ही। जो भी टैक्सेज आते हैं वह आखिर मासेज पर आते हैं इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है। और जिस देश में अधिकतर लोग गरीब हों या देहातों में रहते हों तो उस टैक्स का

कुछ हिस्सा उन पर भी आ जाता है यह भी जरूरी बात है। कहा गया कि हमें बाहर से काफी मदद मिली है और मिलती जा रही है। इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है। लेकिन जो हमारे इंटरनल रिसोर्ससेज हैं उनको भी तो हमें मजबूत करना चाहिए, यह भी अत्यन्त आवश्यक बात है। अगर कोई इस दृष्टि से देखेगा तो वह टैक्सों का विरोध नहीं करेगा। लेकिन इन टैक्सेज के सम्बन्ध में मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। आपने डीजल आयल पर इलेक्ट्रिक मोटर्स पर टैक्स लगाया है। आज हम एग्रीकल्चरल उत्पादन पर ध्यान देना चाहते हैं और देहात में इस काम के लिए जो इंजिन और पम्प लगाए जाते हैं उनमें डीजल आइल का उपयोग होता है। इसी प्रकार किसान जो छोटी इलेक्ट्रिक मशीनें काम में लाते हैं उनमें इलेक्ट्रिक मोटर्स का उपयोग होता है। तो मैं अर्थ मंत्री जी से अनुरोध करूँगा कि जो चीजें किसान काम में लाते हैं उनको टैक्स से एग्जैम्प्ट रखा जाए।

यहां पर अप्रोजीशन की ओर से और दूसरे लोगों की ओर से भी इन्क्लेशन की काफी चर्चा हुई। हमने अन्दाजा किया था कि दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में १२०० करोड़ का डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग करना होगा और अर्थमंत्री जी ने स्पष्ट कहा है कि हमें इससे ज्यादा डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग नहीं करना होगा। यह खुशी की बात है। इन्क्लेशन का दर वहां ज्यादा रहता है जहां बड़े लोगों के हाथ में ज्यादा पैसा आता है। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि जो देहातों में और दूसरी जगहों पर काम हो रहा है उसमें ज्यादातर पैसा लोअर इनकम ग्रुप के पास जा रहा है। इसलिए यह नहीं कहा जा सकता कि इन्क्लेशन बहुत अधिक हुआ है और उसका हमें डर है। यह बात तो जरूर है कि जहां पर बहुत सारा सुधार करना हो, रिकंस्ट्रक्शन करना हो, वहां कुछ इन्क्लेशन तो होना निश्चित है। लेकिन इससे हमें डरने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है और अर्थ मंत्री जी ने इस सम्बन्ध में काफी

[श्री चांडक]

बैक रखा है और भागे भी वह रखेंगे ऐसी में उम्मीद करता हूँ।

अर्थ मंत्री जी के भाषण से और जो इकानमिक सर्वे हमें दिया गया है उससे पता चलता है कि एग्रीकल्चर और इंडस्ट्री दोनों क्षेत्रों में काफी प्रगति हुई है। काफी विकास हुआ है। उत्पादन बढ़ा है। यह निसंदेह बात है। लेकिन फिर भी हमें एक बात में सन्देह होता है, और वह यह कि इतना उत्पादन बढ़ने के पश्चात भी हम अन्न उत्पादन की दृष्टि से आत्म निर्भर नहीं हुए हैं। यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक चीज है क्योंकि कहा जाता है कि जब तक हम अन्न उत्पादन की दृष्टि से स्वयं पूर्ण नहीं होंगे तब तक हमारी दूसरी योजनाएं भी विशेषतः सफल नहीं हो सकतीं। हमारी द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना का यह आखिरी वर्ष है लेकिन हम अन्न उत्पादन की दृष्टि से आत्म निर्भर नहीं हो पाये हैं। यह देखा गया है कि पावर की दृष्टि से, बड़े बड़े उद्योगों में पूंजी लगाने की दृष्टि से हमने उन्नति की है और उस तरफ बहुत ध्यान दिया गया है। लेकिन खेती की तरफ उतना ध्यान नहीं दिया गया, ऐसा मेरा अनुमान और ख्याल है। यह सही है कि कुछ भाखरा जैसे बड़े बड़े डैम हमारे यहां बन रहे हैं, उनका पानी खेतों में पहुंचेगा और हमारा उत्पादन बढ़ेगा, यह हो सकता है। बड़ी योजनाओं की भी अपने स्थान पर आवश्यकता है, उनको मैं रूल आउट नहीं करता, लेकिन उनके साथ ही हमें छोटी योजनाओं पर भी ध्यान देना चाहिए। यह तो मानी हुई बात है कि बैंगर पानी और खाद के खेती का उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ सकता। अतः जहां पानी की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है वहां छोटे छोटे बांध बांध कर या छोटी छोटी योजनाएं बनाकर आप लिफ्ट इर्रिगेशन को विशेष महत्व देकर पानी पहुंचाया जाए। खाद की भी हमारे यहां कमी है। कहा जाता है कि भारटिफिकेशनल खाद की हमारे यहां इस वर्ष कमी

है। इसके लिए हर प्रान्त में छोटे छोटे कारखाने खोले जाएं और पानी की व्यवस्था की जाए तो हमारे यहां काफी सुधार हो सकता है और अन्न उत्पादन की दृष्टि से भी स्वयं पूर्ण हो सकते हैं। मैं तो इसके साथ साथ यह सुझाव दूंगा कि जैसे सूरतगढ़ का सरकारी फार्म बना है और प्रगति कर रहा है इसी प्रकार के बहुत से फार्म बम्बल की रेवीन्स में बनाए जाएं तो डाकुओं का डर भी कम हो सकता है और इससे हमारी अन्न की समस्या भी हल हो सकती है। वहां इतना स्थान है कि सूरतगढ़ की तरह के बहुत से फार्म बन सकते हैं।

कल अर्थ मंत्री जी ने राज्य सभा में अपना भाषण देते हुए यह विचार प्रकट किया कि हमारे यहां प्राहिबिशन की अत्यन्त आवश्यकता है। हम ने कांस्टीट्यूशन में इस बात को रखा है कि हम को अपने देश में कम्प्लीट प्राहिबिशन करना चाहिये। सामाजिक सुधार की दृष्टि से भी यह एक अत्यन्त आवश्यक चीज है। मुझे आश्चर्य होता है जब कुछ लोग यहां और राज्य सभा में इस को उड़ा देने की बात कहते हैं। कांस्टीट्यूशन बनाते समय इस चीज को हम ने सर्वसम्मति से स्वीकार किया था, और उस के बाद एक कमीशन भी बैठा। उस ने भी हम को यह सलाह दी है कि हम को प्रोग्रेसिव तरीके से प्राहिबिशन करना चाहिये। मैं नहीं समझता कि उस ओर हमारा पूरा ध्यान गया है। स्वराज्य प्राप्त हुए १३ वर्ष हो रहे हैं। हमारा कांस्टीट्यूशन बने भी दस साल पूरे हो चुके। लेकिन अभी तक हमारे यहां पूर्णतया प्राहिबिशन नहीं हुआ है। तो मैं यह निवेदन करूंगा कि यदि इस चीज को हमें पूरा करना है, इस कलंक को हमें हटाना है, और देहातों के और समाज के हित में इस चीज को करना है, तो उस के लिये देरी क्यों होनी चाहिये। केवल बम्बई और मद्रास में पूर्णतः शराब बन्दी की गई है। अन्य प्रान्तों में अभी उस तरफ कदम बहुत ढीले उठे हैं।

में प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इसीलिये इस तरह अधिक ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है और इस को हटाने की जरूरत है।

यहां सेल्स टैक्स और इतर टैक्सों के सम्बन्ध में बहुत कुछ कहा गया। सेल्स टैक्स के सम्बन्ध में मैं ने गत वर्ष भी निवेदन किया था और अभी कुछ शब्द कहना चाहूंगा। हर प्रान्त में एक ही प्रकार की चीजों पर अलग अलग तरह का सेल्स टैक्स लगा हुआ है। इस से काफी उलझन पैदा हो जाती है। आप ने कुछ चीजों पर सेल्स टैक्स हटा कर एक्साइज ब्यूटी लगाई है। इसी तरह से, मेरा निवेदन है कि कुछ अत्यन्त आवश्यक चीजों पर आप सोर्स पर ही सेल्स टैक्स लगा दें तो आज जो लोगों को दिक्कतें हैं वे काफी दूर हो सकती हैं और उन को सुविधा हो सकती है। उन के मार्ग में काफी दिक्कतें हैं वह इस प्रकार दूर हो सकती हैं और सरकार को पैसा भी ज्यादा मिल सकता है। इस और भी हमारे मंत्री जी ध्यान देंगे, ऐसी मैं आशा करता हूं। पिछले वर्ष यह बात छेड़ी गई थी, अर्थ मंत्री जी ने भी कुछ कहा था और चर्चा हुआ था कि इस प्रकार की योजना होनी चाहिये। यदि सेल्स टैक्स के सम्बन्ध में ऐसी कोई योजना हो कि सेल्स टैक्स हर चीज पर, हर एक प्रान्त में एक जैसा रहे और एक्स-सोर्स रहे, तो सरकार को काफी उत्पादन हो सकता है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : मेम्बर साहब जो कहना चाहते थे, वह उन्होंने ने कह लिया है। अब वह समाप्त करें।

श्री बांडक : डिफेंस के सम्बन्ध में जो बात यहां कही गई कि डिफेंस एक्सपेंडिचर जो हुआ है, . . . . .

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : वक्त गुजर जाने के बाद डिफेंस का ब्याल नहीं भाना चाहिये।

श्री बांडक : सैर, वह बहुत उचित है, आवश्यक है और योग्य है। मैं भर्त्स करना

चाहता हूं कि उस में कोई गलती नहीं की गई है और वह होना चाहिये था।

यदि मेरा समय हो गया है, तो इन दो शब्दों के साथ आप को धन्यवाद देते हुए मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूं।

Shri Morarka: (Jhunjhunu) Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I think the Finance Minister deserves the congratulations from all of us because in spite of the rise of expenditure on defence as well as the civil account, this is the first year in the second Plan period when the additional amount of taxation imposed is the least.

I wish to divide my speech into three parts. First of all I want to say something about the rise in prices; secondly, I want to place before the House, some facts about defence; and finally I would like to say something about the new tax proposals.

The main criticism against the Government this time is about the rise in prices. The criticism has been that deficit financing has been carried on and that has created inflationary conditions, consequently raising the prices. It is true that prices have risen and that the rise in prices has caused hardship to many people. It is also true that our economy has become so sensitive now that any additional investment in any sector is bound to create a further rise in prices and which is immediately reflected therein. But then let us not get panicky and run away with this idea, but let us examine who is responsible for this rise in prices. The basic facts are, we have a Plan which has fixed targets and the Plan, to achieve those targets, envisages certain investments. If we curtail the investments, to that extent our targets are reduced. We are not prepared for that. The shortage of foreign exchange has imposed upon us an obligation to curtail our imports, particularly of consumer goods. Similarly, the needs of foreign exchange require us to augment our exports and the export drive is there. In short,

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the position is, there is increased investment and less supply. That is, more demand and less supply of goods. It is an elementary principle of economics that in such conditions, prices are bound to rise. The only remedy, therefore, lies in more production of goods at home. It is true that the production has increased, but if you read the *Economic Survey*, page 3, the position would be clear. So far as the consumer goods are concerned, they have risen only by three per cent. Paragraph 10 of the *Economic Survey* says as follows:

"Consumer goods industries as a group registered an increase of about 3 per cent. The output of mill-cloth was about the same as in 1958; the offtake was distinctly larger partly on account of the revival of export demand."

In these consumer goods, even in this three per cent., the items which have registered an increase are vanaspati, coffee, sewing machines, electric fans, radio receivers, etc. But the production of salt, sugar, tea, etc., has actually gone down. From this, it would be clear that really speaking the production of those commodities which form part of the daily consumption of the people has not increased much but the production of other commodities, which are not of daily consumption even though they are called consumer goods, has no doubt increased.

The question is, when the production at home has not increased, at least not to the extent needed, when we have the export drive, when imports are not available, when investment cannot be curtailed, how we can check the rise in prices? An hon. Member here, a few minutes ago said, "controls". I think we have the experience of these controls. Controls presuppose a perfect apparatus in the Government, and a certain amount of conscience and honesty among the population. It is not for me to comment on either of these two, but I think we do not have yet that type of apparatus nor are we

prepared to lay out a big amount and create a big control machinery which in any case would add to the inflationary spiral in the country.

Now, the question is by the rise in prices, who benefits by and where does this rise go? The biggest rise in prices is registered in food articles and in other agricultural commodities which are the raw material for the industry. 70 per cent. of our population is said to depend on agriculture. It may be that this population does not get the full advantage of this rise in prices. The middleman is there. But one thing is clear, and that is, these producers would not sell all that they produce. They would at least keep enough for their consumption, that is what they need and only the surplus would be marketed. To the extent that their own needs are met by this production they are not affected by this increase in prices.

The Members opposite have been blaming the Government for the rise in prices. I shall give two examples to show how they themselves are responsible for the rise in prices and then they come here and blame the Government when the Government accepts their demand. You know, Sir, sometime back there was a big agitation for a rise in the prices of sugarcane. The Government resisted the demand. There was a strike in the sugar mills. Then ultimately the Government accepted their demand and raised the price of sugarcane by three annas per maund. That increased price of sugarcane, the industrial raw material, consequently increased the price of manufactured sugar. Both the indices showed a rise in prices. Today, they come and say that the Government is responsible and that it is not doing anything to check this rise in prices. I do not know how this rise in prices could be checked.

Yesterday a leader of the Opposition party blamed the Government for the rising expenditure on civil administration.

**Shri M. R. Krishna** (arimnagar—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Leader of which party?

15 hrs.

**Shri Morarka:** The leader of the P.S.P. He blamed the Government for rise in civil expenditure. If I remember correctly, it was a Member of his party who first demanded the appointment of the Pay Commission. The Pay Commission was appointed, it gave its award and its award was accepted by the Government. Even though it is not satisfactory to all Members of the Opposition, still it has increased the wage bill of the Government by about Rs. 55 crores. So I cannot understand how hon. Members can blame the Government for the consequent increase in civil expenditure.

Sir, then I want to make a suggestion about the index numbers. Our index numbers are now too old and out of date and they must be revised. I understand that the Ahmedabad index number of the working class includes a certain type of rice which not only the workers never consume, but even the millowners never get. It is high time that these 1949-50 index numbers were revised and made up-to-date. My second suggestion is the index numbers must be related to the year when our Plan begins. For the purpose of comparison, the beginning year of every Plan must be made the base year. That is the only way in which we can get a correct idea about the price and production.

Coming to defence, the present budget provides an increase of Rs. 28.56 crores for defence. Looking to the developments on the northern border, one cannot say that this provision is either unjustified or even excessive. But what surprises me is that while the expenditure on the army and the navy has increased, the expenditure on air force is reduced by Rs. 3 crores. I should have thought that in the

modern times, air force plays the most important role in the defence of any country. So, it surprises me how in the present conditions any expenditure could be curtailed or economised on the air force. I am sure those who are responsible for the security and safety of our country must have taken due precautions here.

Coming to the criticism against this Ministry, for sometime past, I think the Ministry has been following a policy of penny-wise and pound-foolish. It is particular, even stingy in small matters in curtailing and withdrawing some facilities enjoyed by our officers and men of the armed forces—small facilities like transport for going to their office and back, etc. No doubt in withdrawing such facilities, the Government make a small saving and they can say they have effected economy. But every such thing creates an irksome feeling in the mind of an officer and reduce the attraction which the officer has for the defence services. That is the reason why our armed forces do not attract young men and the best talent in the country. That is happening on one side and on the other, there is a huge wastage and extravagance in big matters.

It is a classical example of economy at home and extravagance abroad. Over-indenting, higher prices, excess payments, faulty deliveries, defective storage, loose inspection, careless drafting of contracts, etc., are matters of daily routine occurring very frequently in this Ministry. I do not want to say anything in my language. But if you permit me, I will take you through a few pages of the Audit Report presented to this House in August, 1959. On the very first page it says:

"But despite repeated exhortations by successive Public Accounts Committees and assurances given by the Ministry, these provisions continue to be disregarded by the administrative authorities. Fictitious financial adjustments intended to conceal lapse of grants or to

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cover up excesses over allotments were noticed in a number of Engineer Divisions."

A poor certificate, according to me, to the working of the Ministry. I do not wish to bother the House with small items. I would go straight to page 29, para 40 of this report. The heading is "Loss due to deterioration of stores". It says that camouflage nets worth about Rs. 73 lakhs had been rendered useless due to defective storage. Because they did not store it properly, the poor country lost an amount of Rs. 73 lakhs.

I come to another point which I regard as a little more important. That is dealt with in para 13 of this report. This concerns a contract for the supply of mechanical transport spares. What happened was, sometime in May, 1957, this Ministry contracted with a Canadian firm to purchase some spare parts worth about 12,63,324 dollars, i.e., more than Rs. 60 lakhs. This contract provided that the exact quantities would be adjusted later more or less according to the actual needs. After a few months, we wanted to cancel orders worth about 5,73,952 dollars. The company naturally did not agree to this and they insisted that they would supply the total quantity less a very small sum. One of the main reasons for entering into this contract was that this very firm would purchase from us our surplus spares about 4,250 tons at the rate of 110 dollars per ton. Not a single pound of this was purchased or ever taken delivery of by this firm. In 1952-53, our Washington Mission had said that this firm was in the habit of quoting higher prices. The Controller of Development, Vehicles, in the Army Headquarters said that prices quoted by this firm were fantastic and ridiculously high and in some cases shockingly absurd. Even after this, the order was placed on the firm . . .

**Shri Morarji Desai:** In which year?

**Shri Morarka:** In May, 1957 and the supplies came in 1958 or 1959.

**Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur):** Are you talking of history?

**Shri Morarka:** I know what I am talking; be a little patient. Don't provoke me to say anything.

The Defence Ministry examined some of these items and the price lists. They found that out of 370 items that they examined, in about 100 items, the prices quoted by this firm were about 500 per cent. more. In the remaining items, the prices were about 269 per cent. higher. I will give you a few examples of what we ordered. My main grievance is that small things which we can easily make in this country and which are available here were ordered and imported from there. What are those things? There is a small type of pin called pin hood hinge. We bought 2,000 units of this particular item. My information is that the total lot of 2,000 units would not cost more than 50 Canadian dollars in any case, and the price we have paid is 5,000 dollars. Take another example: ordinary canvas bags. We purchased 370 canvas bags, the total cost of which should not be more than 100 dollars. The price paid by us was 5,872 dollars. Then, we purchased ordinary blue cloth braded wire 32" long pieces, which are available here. Even in Canada, where the standard of living is very high, the price is not more than 10 cents each and, in any case the total price for the entire quantity of 8,600 units should not have been more than 500 dollars. The price we paid is 19,952 dollars. I do not want to tire your patience by multiplying these instances, but I can assure you that these are only a few illustrative examples of what is happening in this Ministry.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** My patience is being tired by the moving hands of the clock, not by the figures.

**Shri Morarka:** I hope you will give me a few more minutes, Sir.

**Acharya Kripalani:** He is saying some very interesting things. Give him more time.



**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The learned Acharya has already exhausted his time; otherwise, I could give it from his.

**Shri Morarka:** This Ministry functions largely in an area of secrecy. We do not get to know everything, or as much as we would like to know about it. I will give you a very simple example. I have myself seen Japanese jeeps belonging to this Ministry moving on the roads of this city as well as in Bombay. The name of the jeep is Toyota. I put a question to the Ministry: how many jeeps have been purchased, when were they purchased, what is the price and so on. The answer was "(a) No jeep has been purchased; (b) and (c) do not arise." The driver of the jeep, who was in defence uniform, told me that the jeep belonged to the Army. If only they had stated that this is a secret matter and they cannot give the information, I can understand it, but to say no jeep has been purchased . . .

**The Deputy Minister of Defence (Shri Raghuramiah):** I do not want to interrupt him, but may I say this? If my memory is wrong I would like my hon. friend to correct me, but I think the question was whether we have entered into an agreement for the manufacture of jeeps.

**Shri Morarka:** No.

**Shri Raghuramiah:** I want my friend to correct me.

**Shri Morarka:** I am correcting him. His memory is absolutely wrong. He answered the question only three days ago. The question was whether the Ministry of Defence purchased any Japanese jeeps and, if so, the number and price and the reasons for purchasing these jeeps when Indian jeeps are available. The answer was: "(a) No jeep has been purchased. (b) and (c) Do not arise". I do not want to say anything more about defence.

Now I come to the third point; new taxes. One of the main principles for levying new taxes in a country when it suffers from inflationary pressure is that you must collect the maximum revenue at a minimum cost. If the collection cost is substantial then, to that extent, the purpose of your levying new taxes is defeated. If you were to apply this criterion to the new taxes which have been levied, you will find that some of them do not satisfy this requirement, especially the tax on shoes and the tax on artificial silk. I do not say that these taxes are not necessary; they may be necessary, but these taxes will yield a very small revenue and, at the same time, will consume a large part of it by way of collection charges.

Then, the Finance Minister has imposed an extra excise duty on electric motors. The *Economic Survey* says that the production of electric motors is falling. Whatever one might say, the excise duty originally was designed as an economic instrument to inhibit consumption of some undesirable and harmful items like opium, liquor, tobacco and things of that nature. Even today these duties are bound to inhibit production to some extent. They reduce the demand and they reduce the production at least to some extent. When the *Economic Survey* says that the production of electric motors was already down, I think the Finance Minister should have considered more carefully before levying any excise duty on that.

Now I come to the much-discussed subject of duty on diesel oil and trucks. Last year when the Finance Minister imposed a duty on diesel oil he justified it on grounds of revenue and conservation of foreign exchange. But while the Finance Minister wants the public to use less and less of diesel oil, our railways, which are a Government department, are increasing the consumption of diesel oil more and more, so much so that we are having more diesel locomotives and we are even thinking of putting up a factory in this country to manufacture them.

[Shri Morarka]

I can understand the revenue motive of the Government, but if the conservation of foreign exchange is an equally important point, surely the Finance Minister must prevent the railways from using any of this diesel oil.

Then I come to the excise duties on pig iron and internal combustion engines and trucks. Many hon. Members have referred to double taxation. In this particular case I think it is treble taxation. First of all, there is a duty on pig iron which is used for the manufacture of this engine. When the engine is manufactured, there would be another 10 per cent. *ad valorem* duty on the engine and when this engine is assembled on the truck, there would be a third duty on the truck as a whole. This becomes still more ununderstandable when the Finance Minister in his budget speech has accepted the principle of giving abatement of duty on certain articles if they are used as raw materials for the manufacture of other commodities. For example, he has levied a duty of Rs. 500 per ton on aluminium sheets and Rs. 300 per ton on aluminium ingots. He has stated:

"Necessary adjustments will be made in the duty on circles, sheets, etc., when duty paid ingots are used in their manufacture."

So, when duty-paid aluminium ingots are used for the manufacture of aluminium sheets abatement is given, why can't they accept the same principle and give abatement of this duty for the trucks which use the engine on which the duty was already paid, twice in the sense of having used the pig iron on which the duty has already been paid? This is a point which must be given due consideration by the Finance Minister.

I wish to conclude with a word of praise for the Special Re-organisation Unit in the Ministry of Finance. This unit has done wonderful work, and

the few departments that this unit has examined have shown very good results. For example, in our High Commissioner's Office in London they have reduced the expenditure by about 36 per cent. and the staff by about 25 per cent. In the Coal Controller's office they have reduced the staff by 33-1/3 per cent. In other departments also they have effected economies, though to a smaller extent. While this department has done wonderful work, there is one thing to which all these things point, and that is this that there is tremendous scope for economy in all the departments which have not yet been examined by this unit.

**Shri Sampath (Namakkal):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, at the outset may I offer my congratulations to the hon. Member, Shri Jhunjhunwala for his outspoken speech, in which he gave free expression to the righteous indignation which his sensitive conscience must have felt at the awkward postures taken by his Ministers regarding the issue of corruption. In this connection I wish to state that the other day when the hon. Finance Minister was replying to the discussion on the Pay Commission's report, to an interruption from Shri S. M. Banerjee about the Deshmukh affair, he retorted, "Nobody in this world is an angel." Of course, it is a good retort as far as bazaar platforms are concerned, but coming as it does from a responsible hon. Minister it is very depressing and it makes one shudder to think of the future fate of the administration.

In this connection may I also draw your attention to a paragraph which appears in the Twenty-first Report of the Public Accounts Committee of the Second Lok Sabha. It refers to action taken on officials responsible for irregularities pointed out by the Public Accounts Committee. The paragraph reads:

"In a memorandum (Appendix XVII) submitted to the Committee, the Railway Board have now stated that the punishments awarded

to higher officers were equitable and in conformity with lapses on the part of each individual. It was, however, brought to the notice of the Committee that one of these officers who had been censured in January, 1958 in connection with this case was promoted to a higher post within six months of awarding the punishment. The Committee are distressed to learn this."

And the country is more distressed to learn this. When things are deteriorating in this fashion, the hon. Minister should not be hypersensitive to any charge of corruption at varying levels of his administration.

Before I proceed to say something in detail about the Budget, I wish to say that the obstinate stand taken by our hon. Finance Minister yesterday regarding the issue of the strike of the State Bank of India employees was rather unfortunate. Those in power should exercise some restraint when they deal with such matters. These are not issues wherein personal pride could be allowed to dominate the issues. Whatever may be the other issues at stake, the Government cannot with any justification ask the employees to withdraw their charter of demands. I hope the Government would not continue to maintain this stiff stand and cause the clientele of the State Bank of India to suffer ultimately.

The purpose of a modern budget is not mere financial accounting. It must result in solving of economic problems. It must create conditions of employment and conditions of development. It is but legitimate to expect that every budget should have a main aim or theme related to the current needs of our economy. The present budget, which we are discussing now, disappoints us deeply in these aspects. This budget is keen only on pleasing the barons of the share market and refuses to take note of the current needs of our economy and the lot of

our common people. It carries out the old maxim "Unto him that hath shall be given."

I do not want to weary the House with too many figures but I want to crave the indulgence of the House to take into consideration the figures of the Union revenue from indirect taxation from the year 1952-53, the first year of the First Five Year Plan, to the present Budget year. In 1952-53, the revenue from indirect taxes was Rs. 256.8 crores. At the end of the First Five Year Plan, that is, in 1956-57 it rose to Rs. 363.6 crores. Now it is budgeted for 1960-61 at Rs. 542.43 crores. Among this the Union excise duty alone, which was practically nil prior to 1947-48, was Rs. 50.25 crores in 1948-49. The incidence of this tax has gone on increasing since 1948-49. Now according to the present budget estimates it is Rs. 379.93 crores. I ask: Who is to bear this heavy burden of indirect taxation? It is the pathetic salaried middle class, working class and the common people living in villages, engaged in agriculture, who will bear the burden of this tax. The present introduction of tax on cycle parts, diesel oil, exposed cinematographic films, shoes and their component parts and other engineering products will certainly affect the common man to a very great extent. In addition to the enhanced taxation on diesel oil, the local sales tax levied by the State Governments will also add. That will increase the cost of transport for the common man. Fresh taxes on cycle parts will affect a large number of workers and middle class people and also the people who live in villages and who have taken to the use of cycles in a great amount.

Regarding the tax on exposed cinematographic films, I beg to submit that it will certainly create a crisis in the industry. About the South I can speak with some information. About 40 per cent of the total films produced in India is produced in the South. Their foreign exchange earning capacity is considerable and is on the increase. Moreover, the present estimated receipt of Rs. 75 lakhs is a very meagre

[Shri Sampath]

estimate. It is misleading. The Chairman of the film chamber of commerce of Madras, Shri Nagi Reddy said in a recent speech that according to him Rs. 1 crore will be collected from the South alone. But the Budget estimate is very meagre and misleading. I appeal to the hon. Finance Minister to consider the damage that would be done to this industry which has the potentiality of earning foreign exchange and also of giving employment to thousands of people. I would appeal to him to see whether he could at least reduce the rate of taxation if not totally withdraw it.

Then the ten per cent *ad valorem* duty on shoes and chappals and 15 per cent *ad valorem* duty on component parts of footwear will deal a severe blow to the common man. Again, I am afraid the estimated yield of Rs. 20 lakhs is very meagre. This is one side of the picture.

On the other side, if we take the corporation tax and the income tax in 1948-49, the total revenue was Rs. 158 crores. In 1956-57 it was about 130.85 crores. The estimate for 1960-61 is Rs. 187.95 crores. In spite of all sorts of expansions and developments these direct taxes on the rich companies and the industrial magnates remain more or less stationary. This explains as to who is bearing all the crushing burden of the so-called development and Plans and who is benefited by this. I do not think that the crisp comment given by an ex-veteran Congress leader that this budget can be described as an election fund raising budget for the Congress is an exaggerated view. My own feeling is that this budget in a way steals the thunder from the Swatantra Party, which was also voiced by some other hon. Member who preceded me. Quite rightly both in this House as well as in the other House many hon. Members have expressed their concern on the existing regional disparities in the developmental activities as a result of the Five Year Plans. Unless the Govern-

ment becomes aware of the mounting indignation of the people of the South—neglected South—and start doing something really and sincerely to countervail the ill-effects of the two Five Year P.ans, there will be serious political repercussions.

Yesterday, Shri Chettiar rightly pointed out that it is essential that a scheme for the expansion of the present Neyveli project with the present target of 3½ million tons of lignite per annum to that of 6 million tons per annum so that a steel plant could be established in that State should be considered. On constant pressure from the people and in a legitimate enthusiasm the Government of Madras had invited some East German experts, who have rich experience in erecting and running steel plants which work with low shaft furnaces using lignite. That this has displeased the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel here, was quite evident from the tone in which answers were given the other day by the Minister to the Starred Question regarding this matter and the subsequent supplementaries which arose.

This attitude is quite understandable and it is quite wrong, especially when we hear that the ore used in East German steel plants is of much inferior quality compared to the Salem ore. We must, therefore, really give due consideration to this proposal and make everything possible to speed up the establishment of this plant there.

We have lignite in Neyveli, and our steel requirements are increasing day by day. We have had already three steel plants in the north. Why not we launch on a steel plant project in the South? What is the reason for this delay?

Even as regards the aluminium industry, we do not quite understand the delay and the reluctance on the part of the Central Government to allow it to come up. At first, we expected

a bigger unit to come up in the public sector. It was said the electric power available in Madras was not cheap or up to expectations, and therefore the scheme had to be given up. Then, the Madras Government found themselves successful in persuading some private individuals to start the aluminium industry, though not on the big scale envisaged previously, at least on a moderate scale. Again the question of the cheapness of electric power came up. They also wanted power at the rate of Rs. 118, and finally it was agreed between the Government of Madras and the parties that power would be charged at the rate of Rs. 120, which is the Hirakud rate. There need not have been any further hitch, the industry should have been started a year ago, but it is delayed. Who is delaying it?

We hear the Planning Commission has stepped in and it seems the Commission is worried about the cheapness of electric power and is taking to task the Madras Government for agreeing to supply power at such a cheap rate incurring loss. In fact, there is no loss incurred by the Government either.

Such attitudes taken up by forces in the Planning Commission are quite common, and in the Cabinet also we fear there are certain forces acting in this manner. We feel that whenever some developmental scheme for the South comes up, there is a systematic sabotaging going on both in the Cabinet and the Planning Commission.

With all this, one does not understand the role of the Planning Commission in our body politic. They seem to wield immense power, but they do not have any responsibility whatsoever. They are accountable to none. The Planning Commission consists of men, some of whom have never faced an electorate even in a Panchayat elections.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Does he mean that the Planning Commission should be elected?

**Shri Sampath:** But they seem to wield immense power. The role of this undemocratic body should be properly defined.

In every Budget there is mention of austerity, but how far Government is sincere about it is doubtful. For example, we hear that the amount spent on publications, which includes cost of printing and paper, of all the Ministries of the Government of India during the year 1957-58 is Rs. 34,39,145 and in 1958-59, Rs. 31,85,588. This excludes the cost of the publications brought out by the Publications Division and the Information and Broadcasting Ministry. We find that very often in these publications costly foreign art paper is used. I want to know whom they are trying to impress—certainly not the Parliament Members. They are here to serve.

In war time we had many useful austerity measures which are even now being followed by certain Governments very implicitly and faithfully. Even now, as far as Madras is concerned, I know they stick to the method of economy slips which they paste on the used covers. But here at the Centre we see all sorts of waste indulged in, in a very pompous manner. The other day the Prime Minister admitted in this House that our propaganda is very weak in foreign countries; and amongst ourselves we are wasting a tremendous sum in printing all these things which are rarely read by any people here.

**Shri M. R. Krishna:** Even the Members of Parliament?

**Shri Sampath:** Yes, even.

Lastly, I want to mention one thing. In the other House much has been said about the resignation of a Madras Member from the Investment Committee of the LIC, and in the press also, many reports have appeared. So far, the Finance Minister has not sought to explain that. I would only request him to place the letter of resignation and the causes that led to

[Shri Sampath]

his resignation on the Table of the House so that we may be enlightened.

**Shri Radha Raman** (Chandni Chowk): Imposition of taxes, however innocent and necessary, are the most unwelcome feature of any national Budget anywhere in the world. In our country too, they are, by and large, not welcome. But in a democratic Government, in a country where the economy has to develop fast, the imposition of taxes has to be faced with cheer and grace. I therefore welcome the Budget that our shrewd Finance Minister has placed before the House.

It is a matter of gratification that he did not think it proper, in the present context of things, to include in his Budget any direct taxation which is likely to invite much more criticism from the people than indirect taxes. Not only that. He has even taken care to see that the items of taxation are selected from luxury goods, thus excluding from its effects the large masses of people who still live in poverty and are concerned mostly with consumer goods and their prices. The Finance Minister is therefore rightly congratulated by many sections of the House, because he did not bring in big surprise to the country as generally happens, and was cautious enough not to disturb the economic conditions prevailing in the country. I therefore congratulate him on his sagacity and skill in dealing with the finances of the country, providing resources for the expanding economy and increasing expenditure by such methods as would not cause any alarm or greater dissatisfaction among the people.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am afraid this infection of reading speeches is spreading.

**Shri Radha Raman:** Coming to a discussion of details, I find we are often negative in our approach to problems, and therefore our criticism takes us nowhere. I should therefore like, simultaneously, to make a few suggestions, and I hope the Finance Minister

and his colleagues will bear them in mind.

Everybody admits that our country is faced with a situation which needs rapid industrialisation. Accepting the principle of the public and the private sectors advancing hand in hand, it is inevitable that resources should be found to meet the huge expenditure involved, and the Finance Minister is charged with this difficult task. Wherefrom can he obtain these resources? To my mind, they can be obtained either by taxation or savings or borrowings or deficit financing.

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** Or by gifts.

**Shri Radha Raman:** Well, if you are able to get the Government gifts, all right.

There is to my mind no other way. Now let us examine the question of taxation. We find that the Finance Minister, in introducing the new taxes, has taken certain commodities, and it is admitted by most people in the country that direct taxation has already reached the saturation point.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** No, no.

**Shri Radha Raman:** The Finance Minister is therefore cautious enough not to resort to them. He has chosen, in my opinion, the lesser evil of indirect taxation. It is true that there is no indirect taxation which does not touch the consumer or the common man. But in the speeches that have been made here, most of the criticisms that have been made centre round the taxes either on the transport industry or on such goods as electric motors, or diesel oil. Now, the question which arises here is whether these taxes which have been proposed by the Finance Minister are actually harsh on the consumer or they are inevitable in the present circumstances. It will be admitted that they do not directly touch the basic requirements of the common man. Either the duty on cycle, or it is on electric motors or on

diesel oil. Of course, they certainly indirectly raise certain prices, as for instance in the case of electric motors, as a result of which their prices would rise. In my opinion, such taxes should be welcome. Leaving apart the duty on parts of cycles, I think that the taxes on motor spirit or diesel oil or on trucks or motor cars will only touch the upper classes or the richer classes; of course, there might be a slight increase in the fare on motor transport, and that might also indirectly or even directly benefit the railways, but it certainly helps in raising the resources.

15.43 hrs.

[SHRI MULCHAND DUBE in the Chair]

I, therefore, think that the Finance Minister was right in choosing such items as would bring him a certain amount of revenue without actually putting too much of hardship on the common man.

So far as the tax on cycle parts is concerned, the Finance Minister has proposed two taxes, one on the free wheel and the other on the rim. It is his contention that a cycle takes about twenty years to wear out. And if Rs. 10 are levied per cycle, then it comes to about Rs. 8 per year. I somehow do not agree with him about the life of the cycle.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** That comes to only eight annas per year.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** In this manner it will be eight annas only per year. But his contention seems to be that a cycle wears out in ten years only.

**Shri Radha Raman:** Anyway, even if it is ten years, it does not matter; actually, it is only five years.

**The Minister of Mines and Oil (Shri K. D. Malaviya):** Why not four years?

**Shri Radha Raman:** Actually, I have not seen a cycle which can last even for ten years.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** I know about cycles, because cycle was my symbol in the last elections.

**Shri Radha Raman:** Even if a cycle is to be taxed to the extent of Rs. 10, or in other words, even if the price is to be raised by Rs. 10 per cycle, let me suggest that it is not merely the cost of the cycle which counts, but it is the maintenance that counts very much. In this country which is so vast, where other means of transport are not available, the cycle is the only means by which the common man can go about, particularly, in the rural areas. I, therefore, feel that the Finance Minister might reconsider this question. There is a great demand all round, and in fact, it has been voiced by all sections of the House, that this must be done, because the taxes on the free wheel and the rim are going to hard-hit the common man, particularly, those who are living in the rural areas, and who have no other cheap and easy means of transport except the cycle. My hon. friend Shri Naval Prabhakar has already suggested that in case the Finance Minister is not willing to give relief in both the taxes, let him consider at least this much that in this year's budget, he may give relief either in respect of the tax on the free wheel or in respect of the tax on the rim, so that only one of them would be taxed, and the total cost of the cycle will not be increased, as is envisaged now, by Rs. 10.

The total amount of revenue expected from these taxes is about Rs. 23 crores. The deficit that remains uncovered has still to be adjusted either by windfalls or by some imaginary gains. I am of the opinion that if only our tax-collecting machinery in the country had been able to cope with the taxation structure and check the evasion and avoidance of taxation which prevail in the country, then the

[Shri Radha Raman]

Finance Minister need not have come to this House for this petty sum of Rs. 23 crores. It is my humble contention that the realisation of revenue which is envisaged in the Budget can be greatly increased, provided there is honesty on both sides. It is wrong to say that it is only the businessman or only the average man in the country who is evading or avoiding taxes. I have personal knowledge and I can say it with confidence that it is not merely the average citizen or the businessman who seeks to evade the taxes, but it is also the bureaucracy or the officers who are also responsible to a very great extent for this evasion and avoidance. I, therefore, submit that more measures must be adopted in order to get the benefit of the full taxes for Government.

In this connection, I would just cite one instance. Every year, the Finance Minister comes before the House with his Budget on the last day of February, but just fifteen days or twenty days before that, almost all the businessmen corner their stocks, and they corner in such lump sum quantity that the amount of tax recoverable on that will be huge, and nobody knows exactly what the total amount will be. Actually, Government can claim tax that is proposed to be levied, on that cornered stock also. But what happens is that the businessman takes away the cornered stock, and it is hidden somewhere and sold at a much higher price right from the date the Budget is announced, and he makes a huge profit on the cornered stock. Government have no machinery to find out what stock is hidden, and to levy a tax on that cornered stock. If Government could devise some machinery by which this cornered stock could be got and could be taxed, then, I am sure that the amount that is proposed to be realised by fresh levies could be realised by the taxation on the cornered stock. I would leave this point at that.

Coming to footwear, they were taxed at 10 per cent. *ad valorem* previously, but now, the Finance Minister has envisaged that it should be 15 per cent *ad valorem*, on soles and heels which are made of materials other than leather or wood. There are certain small factories here as well as in other places, where the footwear manufactured are of rubber, and they are mostly *chappals*. These *chappals* will be charged this duty *ad valorem* even when they are manufactured in a small cottage or in a small factory where only five or ten people are working. Already, they are being charged at 10 per cent *ad valorem*. Now, will they be charged another 5 per cent *ad valorem*? That point is not clear either from the Budget speech or from the other details available. I think there is a just reason for these cottage industry people coming to the Finance Minister and asking him what he thinks about it, for a *chappal* is only more sole with just a small strap over it. If you make it 5 per cent more costly, there is bound to be some hardship on these small cottage industry owners who are manufacturing this *chappal*.

I have one more point to deal with. There has been a lot of talk going on about corruption in the country. I have my own opinion about this matter. By talking day in and day out that there is corruption in the country, we have created a psychology in the country that there is too much of corruption. In the first place, I do not deny that there is corruption in the country. How can it be removed? Not by constituting a Tribunal nor by vigilance committee. It can be removed by creating a psychology on the other side that people are honest, that people want to actually live as nationalists patriots and they want to build up a new nation and new country. This corruption will certainly continue in an expanding economy, because unless production is sufficient



and compares favourably with consumption, it cannot actually be eliminated totally.

So I humbly submit that so far as the talk of corruption is concerned, we should talk less. But so far as action is concerned, I think we should do more. It should start with every individual. Let everybody start with a clean slate by himself. If he starts doing that and there is a psychology created or an atmosphere created, I think there will be less corruption in the country than imagined or talked about. As I said, so far as corruption is concerned, nobody denies that it exists, and we have to face it, rather fight it to the end so that there is less corruption or no corruption in the country. Without that, we cannot advance as rapidly as we would like to advance. But in order to meet this situation, in order to fight corruption, we have to try hard. We have to show it by example and by our own honesty and integrity rather than by simply talking about it in a loose way.

In the end I congratulate the hon. Finance Minister on his budget proposals.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** For this corruption?

**Shri Radha Raman:** I have only this request to make, that in respect of the one or two items I have mentioned, he will kindly give consideration to the suggestions I have made.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Pali):** Mr. Chairman, even though I have some very strong criticism to offer, I wish to mention—and I mention it with pardonable pride—that so far as the foreign, as well as, the economic affairs policies of this country are concerned, they are sound to the core. They are essentially sound, though, of course, I have my difficulties sometimes about their interpretation, and most of the time about their implementation.

I have referred to the foreign policy, particularly because it also has a very direct effect on our economic affairs. This is a fact more particularly regarding the aspect of foreign assistance. If you would just look through the Report of the Ministry of Finance you will find how almost all the countries all over the world—the USA (The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development), U.K., Canada, France, USSR, Czechoslovakia—have understood our policy and have fallen in line with us in the development of this country. This definitely is a reflection of the successful foreign policy which we have been pursuing.

Again, about economic policy, it is absolutely obvious that this country has decided to embark upon as ambitious a Plan within its reachable resources as possible to develop agriculture and parallel to it, heavy industry, the machine-making industry, and the small-scale industry, not ignoring at the same time the cottage industry and handicrafts. How this policy is being implemented has got to be taken into account.

The first thing which hits everyone and which has been talked about, which is uppermost in my mind, is the soaring prices. It is really unfortunate that we have not been able to arrest the rising prices. Only last month even the Governor of the Reserve Bank while speaking on this subject of economic affairs expressed grave concern about the rising prices in the country. I think that is the most vital problem which faces this country. We have certainly failed to bring about effective measures to control the soaring prices. I am not one who would work only for the stabilisation of prices. I definitely feel that some positive steps must be taken to cut down prices by 25 per cent. in any case. I definitely feel that a competent Government should be able to do that.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** That means the present Government are not competent.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** That definitely is my feeling. Some of the rise in prices is due to the artificial scarcities which have been created.

The other day we were talking about sugar prices. I say it is not so much the shortage of sugar as the maldistribution of it that is responsible for the high prices. You are just passing on sugar to hands where it is not wanted. Then it passes on to the black market.

Again it is incompetence, when we talk about the scarcity of steel, while under our very nose in Delhi, near about Jumma Masjid you can find any amount of steel selling in the black market. It is because we—the Administration—have been very loose, have been incompetent—and I say, sometimes impotent—in handling these problems that we have to face today this unhappy state of affairs.

Then the Pay Commission was there. I think the government servants would have been happier if this Commission's Report had not been implemented, if the benefits arising out of the Pay Commission's recommendations had not been passed on to the services, if only we could have been able to cut down prices by 25 per cent. They would certainly have been happier then. But we have failed to do anything in this respect, simply because of our incompetence again.

Take agriculture. They say agricultural production has not gone up. Why? Because most of the efforts are made in the offices here. They do not trickle down right into the field. Therefore, agricultural production has not marked that increase which it ought to have. My main charge against the Administration is about absolute incompetence and inefficiency. Even in the Cabinet, there is not that dynamism which is necessary. I do feel that something must be done about it.

As regards the indirect taxation, there is absolutely no need for it, only

if we could have, as a matter of fact, brought about the economy which is well within our reach. I have been stressing on the floor of this House all the time that civil expenditure could be cut down by at least 25 per cent. I mentioned it the other day. I feel absolutely reinforced in this conclusion when I go through the working of the SRU, to which I made a reference when we were discussing the Report of the Organisation and Methods Division. We could definitely cut down our expenditure by 25 per cent. That would give at least Rs. 100 crores of savings. Why do you want these taxes?

16 hrs.

My hon. friend Shri Morarka quoted the Coal Commissioner's office. They have saved about 33 per cent from that office. I go a step further and say that this Coal Commissioner's office should certainly be wound up. It could be abolished. There is no need for it. I discussed it with certain people who know about the working of the Coal Commissioner's office. The S.R.U. Division could not have gone further. There is enough coal in the country; we are producing coal. What is the Coal Commissioner's office doing? It is just allotting wagons. Out of 3,500 wagons which they allot in a particular section, 2,900 wagons go only to Government account. It can easily be done by a small wing in the Railway. This is simple duplication. The Railways give certain information to the Coal Commissioner and he does the work. The Coal Commissioner's office becomes a breeding centre for corruption. There is evidently much scope for economy.

It has been mentioned that we have not paid enough attention to agriculture. My hon. friend Shri Masani went all out to suggest that if this country is to be saved all our attention must be paid to agriculture.

think, in the First Plan, in the Second Plan and thereafter the Government is quite aware of the necessity to step up agricultural production. When Shri Masani was quoting figures he was only quoting exclusively what is being proposed for agriculture. He would not talk about irrigation. After all, the irrigation facilities are meant only to step up agricultural production. So, also community development. That is also intended for stepping up agricultural production. He said that we cannot do two things and that we should go ahead only with agricultural production. It means, in a sense,—and he is a very clever orator—that he just wanted to carry conviction in this House by saying that he is a great supporter of the agriculturist. But, what is at the bottom of all this? 'Please leave the industry to the private sector'.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** Yes; yes.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** That is the crucial thing which is at the bottom of it. He wants that the entire industrial sector should be left to the private sector. He said: 'You are just only playing with Government funds'. I say the soundest policy which has been followed by this Government is that we have these three steel plants. They are the foundations of the sound economy on which this country should be built. I, therefore, feel that we are going absolutely in the right direction and there should be no keeping back from it.

Certain hon. friends also mentioned about certain public enterprises. I have not the least doubt that a good number of public enterprises have given an impressive and good account of themselves. Let us see what the Hindustan Antibiotics have done. The price of penicillin has gone down tremendously.

Then we have the Hindustan Machine Tools. There we are manufacturing first-class machines which are sold in this country at much lower prices than those which could be

imported. Here we have got a private car manufacturing industry. We have given it tariff protection all these years. But what has happened? The cars are selling at abnormally high prices. But, on the other hand, here, you have got a public sector industry which is hardly 3 or 5 years old and we have been able to sell these machines at competitive prices. We have been able to do well after the Nahan Factory was taken over by Government. We know about the NEPA mills which was in the hands of the private sector. It has been salvaged and saved when it was transferred to the public sector.

As a matter of fact, this is just a scandalous propaganda which is being carried on against the public sector. We must realise that the public sector is just growing. It has its teething troubles. In spite of all these troubles and difficulties the public sector has given an impressively good account of itself. And, the policy which has been followed by this Government is absolutely sound. Of course, I must say that so far as agriculture is concerned, we have definitely ignored animal husbandry which is a very important part.

My hon. friend, Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava has been, year in and year out, on every occasion, stressed the importance of animal husbandry. Only last month, when the Prime Minister of U.S.S.R. visited Suratgarh, a highly mechanised farm, his main observation was that he could not speak of that farm without animal husbandry and that animal husbandry must be taken good care of. I hope, Sir, those remarks have also been conveyed to our Prime Minister and to all other people. If Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava's cry in the wilderness in this House might not have been heard, I hope they would pay some attention—and I am sure that will be paid—to the observations made by the Russian Prime Minister.

**An Hon. Member:** They cannot listen unless the Russian Prime Minister speaks.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** It is really unfortunate; but it is so.

Now, regarding taxation proposals. It has been my vain attempt to reconcile most of them but I have not been able to reconcile most of the present taxation proposals. Who has received these taxation proposals with a happy heart? It is only big business and it is only the Stock Exchange.

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** The Railways also.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** What has happened? If you just take account of what has been the reaction on this Budget of the 29th February, you will see this. I have got recorded before me the reactions of the Stock Exchange. This is about the Bombay Stock Exchange.

"In Bombay equities flared up in the post-Budget session of February 29, 1960 in the absence of any fresh imposts and closed with a buoyant note."

"On March 1, 1960, equities further advanced to record new peak levels after opening higher."

In Calcutta and Madras the same thing is repeated, because it was clear that the tax effort could have been in a very different direction, and they were all prepared and a climate had been created. I do not know whether it is really the triumph of the Swatantra lobbying which has consciously or unconsciously led us into this state of affairs.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** Congress-Swatantra axis.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** I stoutly oppose that. (*Interruption*). We can look for ourselves very well and we speak more frankly than the others. I definitely feel that its impact is there and it is only big business that has received it well.

Let us examine the taxation proposals and see if a different effort could not have been made. I do not

know why rayon had been left out. Everybody expected some tax on it. It is certainly not a commodity which is used by the poorer classes of people.

I would say that if the hon. Finance Minister wanted even Rs. 50 crores—not these Rs. 23 crores—he could have easily got this Rs. 20 crores if he had taken over the distribution of paper and sugar. By cutting out the middleman who is creating all the nuisance and trouble and who is bringing this administration into contempt—even if he had mopped up the middlemen's profit on these two commodities only—he would have been able to get Rs. 25 crores at least. That is my submission.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member should now conclude.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** May I know if I can have 5 minutes more?

**Mr. Chairman:** He may have two minutes.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** I can suggest any number, if I am satisfied. This country has never hesitated to contribute for the development of the country, for furthering the cause of the Plan. But, let us realise that.

Here I have a leaflet about the Ambar Charkha from which I am quoting. Whom are you taxing now? They say that twenty crores of people live on less than eight annas a day. It is these twenty crores of people who live on less than eight annas a day that you are taxing. Why cannot we tax in a different manner?

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Which of these taxes will be paid by them?

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** The burden of all these taxes will fall on them. The tax on diesel will fall on them, the tax on transport will fall on them, the tax on agriculture will fall on them and the tax on cycles

will fall on them....(Interruptions.)

**Shri Morarji Desai:** May I ask, Sir, if a man living on eight annas wage, travels in transport buses?....(Interruptions.)

**An Hon. Member:** He has to.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** How can he?

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** Is it the contention of the hon. Minister that these twenty crores of people are static?

**Shri Morarji Desai:** There is no twenty crores, in the first instance.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** I do not know. These are made available to Parliament Members through the Parliamentary information office and through your own Notice Office. I do not know if I can use these figures....(Interruptions). Whatever it may, is it not a fact that the present proposals are only hitting those people who are of Rs. 300-and-below-income-group. In the First Plan, a definite policy statement was made that there would be a common production programme which includes cycles also. They mention the various steps which must be taken to step up the cycle industry, and especially the smaller men in that industry. If necessary, they say, a cess should be levied on large-scale units. It is not on the large-scale units that the cess is levied; it is on all the units, on units assembling even 5,000 cycles. Even such units have got to pay all this. If you are not to give any support to smaller units, I do not know what for those policy statements contained in Plans I and II are meant.

I now come to the Reserve Bank which is the most important institution and which has a great deal to do in influencing our fiscal and monetary policies. How is it constituted? I was looking at the Reserve Bank of India Act of 1934. The Central Government nominates five persons on the Central Board. They have nominated: Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Shri B. M. Birla, Shri Shri Ram, Shri C. R. Srinivasan.

Shri J. R. D. Tata, Prof. D. R. Gadgil, Shri K. C. Mahindra, Shri D. N. Mitra, Col. B. H. Zaidi—I would not like to say anything against him and a lot has been said in this House. There is every capitalist. What are they supposed to do? They are supposed to represent the economic interests of the country. Are they identical with those of the capitalist group only? Now, we have also got the regional branches where the regional interests are to be represented. I will read out the names for the eastern area: Shri B. M. Birla, Dr. Bimala Churn Law, Shri D. N. Mitra, Shri B. P. Singh Roy and Mr. J. D. K. Brown. All these people are residents of Calcutta. Do I understand that the whole of the eastern region is represented by these few people in Calcutta? Is this top-most institution to be constituted like that? It definitely influences in a very great measure our fiscal and monetary policies. I wish that it is reconstituted.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member's time is up.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** I am afraid I have quite a few points to make but I thank you for the time you have given me and resume my seat.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** Mr. Chairman Sir, Yesterday, while the Finance Minister was replying to the debate in the Rajya Sabha, he referred to us, communists, as many-faced people. Probably he had the picture of Lord Brahma, the four-faced God and creator. He referred to us as the persons responsible for creating high prices in this country. I was not surprised to read his remarks in the Press because I am of the view, I have been and still am of the view that of all the Finance Ministers we have had since Independence, there is nobody inferior to the present Finance Minister in his understanding of either economic or financial matters. I feel, Sir, strongly, that the earlier he is substituted the better it will be for our country's finances.

Sir, the Budget papers which he has circulated to us reveal, to any

[Shri V. P. Nayar]

reader with some sense, an amazing degree of suppression of truth, a complacency which is not warranted and also a self-praise which I think only Shri Morarji Desai is capable of. To the Finance Minister everything seems to be sound. There is increase in production both industrial and agricultural, the stock markets are buoyant and foreign loans are likely to come more and more to our rescue. But, having heard the Finance Minister and read all the literature, on the budget, we cannot sit idle. We must also try to realise what are the actual facts which face us, and in this we have the help of many publications which the Government have given to us.

We had set to ourselves in the Second Five Year Plan only a very modest target of raising the national income by 25 per cent. Where do we stand now? What is the actual attainment of this target in the first four years? In the first four years of the Plan with only one more year now to go, what have we achieved? If I may be permitted, Sir, to give some figures, in the first four years our national income has increased only by 10 per cent. I am not quoting these figures from the original sources themselves because I may not have the time to quote them. So, the per capita income has risen during this time only from Rs. 273 to Rs. 290; that is, less than 6 per cent, and even in the report it is said that these figures are not indicative of the actual situation because there has been a rise in population which was not considered at that time. Therefore, when we have spent Rs. 4,500 crores or Rs. 4,800 crores and when we have set to ourselves only a very modest target of 25 per cent increase, the Finance Minister comes and says that everything is in a happy situation and we need not worry about anything.

Compare this with the progress recorded in some of the other countries which may not have such a planned economy as ours. Ceylon in

the same period had 4 per cent, Australia 4.7 per cent, Austria 6 per cent, Canada 8.1 per cent, West Germany 4.1 per cent, Israel 18.9 per cent, Japan 1.1 per cent and, if they like, China 10 per cent in 1959-60 as against the previous year, against our own 2.3 per cent. Sir, I am asking the Finance Minister whether he is satisfied with the rate of progress of 2.3 per cent last year. If he is satisfied, I have no criticism to offer.

What is the possible advantages to the people on account of such increase in production as in an expanding economy about which much is talked of? I heard my hon. friend, Shri Morarka also agreeing with what the Finance Minister said yesterday in the other House. I would very much wish my young friend, who is not here, to go back to the university and study economics once again before propounding theories on price rise. The Government claims that we are marching fast towards a socialist pattern. What are the figures which the Finance Minister himself has given us through his publications? The wholesale price index of all commodities has risen from 91.5 in 1955 to 116 in 1959, that is over 17 per cent. The consumer price index jumps from 96 in 1955 to over 120 in 1959, that is, over 20 per cent. Industrial profits also go up. I am sorry I cannot give the figures because the figures given in the publications are actually for the period prior to 1957 and we do not have the latest figures for the rise in industrial profits. But in the matter of real wages, Sir, I find from the figures supplied by the Director of the Bureau under the Ministry of Labour and Employment that in 1955 it stood at 113, in 1956 it came down to 107, in 1957 it went still further down to 105 and, I am told that in 1959 it will be only 100 calculated in terms of 1939-40.

Therefore, with all the increase in production, with all the increase in profits, with all the buoyancy in stock

market, with everything in a sound condition, what we find is that the vast numbers of our workers get real wages equivalent to what they were getting in 1939-40. Yet, the Finance Minister would have us believe that everything is all right here.

Then take the case of the policies pursued by the Government during all these periods. I heard many criticisms about the taxation. At the commencement of the Plan, the direct taxes amounted to Rs. 127 crores, while at that time, the indirect taxes were only Rs. 231 crores. Ever since that year, the direct taxes have almost remained stationary. For example, last year, in 1957-58, the direct taxes had risen only up to Rs. 153.36 crores while indirect taxes had jumped up to Rs. 462.18 crores, the increase is almost 100 per cent. Even then the Finance Minister said yesterday in the other House that direct taxes have reached the saturation point and that it is no longer possible to have any more by way of direct taxation with an expanding economy.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** May I say that it is again a misrepresentation? I never said that it has reached saturation point. I said "they are high".

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** He has said that we cannot raise more money by that. I have read his speech and I thought I understood his English also. He says that indirect taxes are a 'must' in an expanding economy. But should we be taxed like this? It has been 100 per cent more in the course of the last five years.

It is also significant that by about the same time, the industrial profits have risen by 30 per cent according to the figures supplied by Government. 50 per cent of the taxes levied, as was reported by the Tyagi Commission, are in arrears. The hon. Finance Minister has only to go through that report to find out how we can raise more money by direct taxation. It is not possible for me within my

limited time to give him all the points from that report.

The figures of Government further show little difference between tax revenue and non-tax revenue despite a fast expanding public sector. They are in the same proportion. Even now the proportion between the tax revenue and non-tax revenue continues to be as it was in the year 1950-51, though during the last eight to nine years we have had several projects in the public sector. I am not giving the break-up, because I am running against time. Now—would the hon. Minister be kind enough to hear me?

**An Hon. Member:** He is hearing you.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** He is not hearing me. I want him to be a little more serious. The second Plan was against a total outlay of Rs. 4,800 crores and the additional taxes already collected against a reduced outlay comes to about Rs. 975 crores, when the direct taxes have been more or less stationary.

There is another point also which has been worrying us all these years. That is about the position of foreign capital in this country. I will have to refer to certain agreements later on, by which we have taken loans also, and with that, I would finish. An analysis of foreign capital in our country reveals that from 1953 to 1957, India has received foreign capital to the tune of Rs. 144 crores against an outflow of Rs. 114 crores as profits. The net inflow, therefore, was only Rs. 30 crores, that is, Rs. 84 crores less than the profits taken out in the same period by the foreign capital employed in this country. It means that during the second Plan years also, foreign capital has been fattening itself by sucking the very marrow of our bones in our economy. The Finance Minister has done nothing to check it. The octopus grip of foreign firms still stifles our economy.

[Shri V. P. Nair]

For example, the latest bulletin published by the Reserve Bank gives us some idea of the position in the field of exports. In 1956, in the matter of all-India exports, the foreign controlled firms accounted for 30.3 per cent. In 1957, it was 28.5 per cent and in 1958 it was 29.0 per cent. In imports also, though we have necessarily to impose a very severe cut on our imports, even then, in 1956, the foreign firms accounted for 26.7 per cent while in 1958 the control of foreign firms over imports amounted to 32.8 per cent. These are not my figures. Therefore, the foreign companies are allowed to continue the same loot. For instance, Burmah-Shell had a profit in 1951 of Rs. 36.5 crores, i.e. 55 per cent. of the capital invested in our country. In 1957, the profit was Rs. 31.62 crores. Stanvac—in 1951, it was 21.6 per cent. of the capital invested and in 1957, it was 21.41 per cent. Caltex—in 1951 it was 44.6 per cent. and in 1957, 48.1 per cent. What has the Finance Minister done about it?

This takes me to the question of certain loans about which a whole para is devoted in the hon. Minister's speech. Time and again, right from the Prime Minister to the Parliamentary Secretary, we hear assurances that no loan with any strings will be accepted by this Government. I want to examine this position from the agreements which I have before me. All the agreements which we have entered into since 1952 are here before me, but I will confine myself to giving a few quotations from some of them. We have got agreements with the United States and several other countries. These agreements fall into two patterns. One pattern is typified by the agreement for loan with the United States agencies, whether DLF, Import and Export Bank, International Bank or any other agency, and the other is a credit agreement which has been given by countries like the Soviet Union. I shall not go into details about the

latter; I will only read a few observations from what an American author has said about them.

In the various agreements with the United States agencies, we have been told that the Government will never accept any agreement with any strings. Here is an agreement between the President of the Republic of India and the Development Loan Fund, for a public sector project. In section 2.03(a), there is a condition saying:

"Goods will be financed under this Loan Agreement, in accordance with section 2.02, only where the goods are purchased from sources (other than India or any of its territories) specified in Code 99 of the ICA Geographic Code Book as in effect at the time the goods are firmly ordered or otherwise contracted for. The term 'source' as used in the preceding sentence shall mean the country or area from which the goods are shipped to India..."

I made all efforts to find out what this Code 99 of the Geographic Code Book is. Unfortunately it appears not even the Finance Ministry has got a copy of this Geographic Code Book. That was the information given to our library. Further down, there is another condition:

"Reimbursement under this Loan Agreement will not be made for expenditure to finance goods or the transportation thereof which are shipped to India by any transportation medium owned, operated or under the control of a country not specified in Code 99 of the International Cooperation Administration Geographic Code Book as in effect at the time of shipment."

My information is this Code 99 of the Geographic Code Book defines an area which consists of the United



States and the neighbouring countries. In any event, we are not allowed under this agreement to invite global tenders to place our orders. During that time when the agreement was being negotiated, there was a very strong criticism even in India's capitalist Press. They said prices in the United States for our requirements showed an increase of 20 to 60 per cent over the prices quoted by other countries. Yet, by certain limitations prescribed in this agreement, it was not possible for India to take advantage of the loan and go to any other country on the basis of a global tender.

The is a condition in another agreement which is even more funny. This loan agreement for 20 million dollars for Orissa Iron Ore Project says:

"India agrees that local currency received by the United States, under Paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 above, may be used by the United States for any expenditures of or payments by the United States in India or its territories."

Are we going to have loans like this and give the right to the United States to employ those funds in this country even to the detriment of our own Government? Where is it prevented? It is open for those funds which they get as Indian rupees in India to be utilised for subversive activities, as they have been doing in other countries, as we know.

There is another agreement between the Export and Import Bank and our worthy President. There is a promissory note by the Indian President which requires special study. Here is a condition in Article VIII of the Export and Import Bank loan which says:

"So long as the notes to Eximbank remain outstanding, India will furnish to Eximbank such reports and information relating to the program referred to in Article I hereof as Eximbank may reasonably request."

So, in case we want a loan we must give the Export-Import Bank, which is a private agency, regular reports as and when they ask. We have accepted such humiliating conditions for these loans.

Then there is another agreement which provides an even more interesting condition, to which Government have succumbed. This is a loan agreement for the private sector, and our President has guaranteed that the private sector will pay. The agreement says:

"The books and records shall be maintained until the expiration of three years after the final disbursement has been made by the DLF under this Loan Agreement. India shall assure that the DLF shall have the right at all reasonable times to examine such books and records and all other attachments".

Mark the words "such books and records and all other attachments"

"correspondence, memoranda and other records involving transactions relating to this Agreement. India shall, until December 31, 1962, or such other date as shall be agreed to by the DLF, furnish to the DLF every three months a report, in such form as the DLF may request, describing the utilization of goods financed under this Loan Agreement, and shall furnish to the DLF such additional information as it shall reasonably request relating to the utilization of such goods."

This would mean that even if there is a Cabinet note in a file, if later on we are to accept a loan it is open to the American agent who comes here as the agent of Exim Bank, or DLF fund, to see those documents, and the hon. Minister knows this much more than I do.

**Shri Morarji Dehal:** It is entirely wrong.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** If you want to interrupt me, you can interrupt in such a way that I can hear. I know that points like this would be irksome to you.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Nothing is irksome to me.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I know that well. Even otherwise you are irksome.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** You are showing your temper whereas I am not.

**Mr. Chairman:** Let there be no cross talk like this.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** In the case of certain other loans the conditions are even worse. We have no freedom to invite global tenders and take advantage of the lowest prices. Most of the U.S. agreements have a condition that 50 per cent of the goods at least should be carried in ships registered in U.S.A. The entire marine insurance should be with companies which operate within the limits of United States. And in almost every agreement there is also this condition that the project, if it is not completely approved by the lender, then no money would be forthcoming. Under such conditions which, as I said, are humiliating to our nation, which no self-respecting nation would accept, even if it is given as a grant, let alone the question of loan, our hon. Minister has gone about.....

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** Transport by sea is governed by the international convention of 50-50 ratio.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I will come to that 50:50 later on. I have here the loan agreements of Czechoslovakia, West Germany, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. Would the hon. Member take time to read them and point out one instance where any of these countries have submitted themselves to conditions whereby it is incumbent on them to permit the lender country to use their own ships to the extent of 50 per cent? It is done only in U.S.A.

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** In those countries the tonnage is very little.

Soviet Russia has got the 18th place in the world.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** Then there are loans under PL 480. We have taken some money under that law. Though probably many people might not know, you know, Sir, that in the present stage of agriculture in the United States of America the farm surplus amount to 4,500 crore dollars per year. The storage would cost them 500 crore dollars. It is not an easy thing. 1100 crore dollars worth of wheat are in stock. The farm products themselves account for 4,500 crore dollars. Where will they dump them? They hit on the idea of dumping them in India at a fantastic price, taking a double fare for shipping and providing terrible restrictive conditions. Then they say: we are beneficent, we are here to help India get over the food crisis, and then pass on this wheat.

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** I want to know what that fantastic price is.

**Shri Nagi Reddy (Anantapur):** If you calculate the shipping expenses you will yourself find that our rates in India are cheaper than those quoted by them.

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** May I ask him.....

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I can reply to all the points provided you ask them one by one.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** Can you name another country from where we can get it at a cheaper rate?

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I will indicate when.....

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:**..... you are here.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** Then there would have been no difficulty at all.

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** The difficulty is that nobody invites him here.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** The senior colleague of Shri Bhagat is quite capable

to look after himself. His misplaced enthusiasm should not disturb me when I am on my legs.

Then I want the House to realise that while presenting the budget papers the hon. Finance Minister has deliberately chosen to keep the facts from this House and has also suggested certain things which we do not have in this country. We must take all these into consideration. The hon. Finance Minister will be well-advised if he volunteers to quit office.

**Mr. Chairman:** Shri M. P. Misra.

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** Sir, my ship is standing since a very long time. It is standing for the last two days. So my ship should also embark.

**Mr. Chairman:** I am very sorry. I have called Shri M. P. Mishra.

**श्री म० प्र० मिश्र (बेगू सराय) :** सभापति महोदय, इस बजट के ऊपर दो कम्युनिस्ट सदस्यों के जो भाषण हुए हैं उन को मैं ने सुना है और आप ने भी सुना होगा। एक भाषण तो श्री डांगे जी का हुआ है और दूसरा अभी अभी, ताजा ताजा हुआ है। वे दोनों भाषण इस बात को प्रमाणित करते हैं कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री को अपने काम में पूरी पूरी सफलता मिली है। इन दोनों भाषणों में वित्त मंत्री की सफलता, देश की योजना की सफलता, सरकार की सफलता का इजहार मिलता है। मैंने बड़े गौर से डांगे जी के भाषण को सुना था और मैं समझता हूँ कि उन की पूरी तकरीर के भीतर एक मायूसी—खामोश मायूसी—छिपी हुई थी, दौड़ रही थी और इस मायूसी को वह छिपा भी नहीं सके। उन्होंने कहा कि वित्त मंत्री जी को जितना बुरा होना चाहिये था उतने बुरे वह हो नहीं सके हैं, उन को जितना इन से बुरा होने की उम्मीद थी उतने बुरे वे हो नहीं सके हैं। अभी उन की पार्टी के दूसरे वक्ता महोदय उठे और वह वित्त मंत्री महोदय पर इतने झुंझ लाये और

कह डाला कि वित्त मंत्री को हटा देना चाहिये। मुझे पता नहीं कि उन्होंने यह बात कैसे कह दी। वर्तमान वित्त मंत्री मेरे खयाल में पहले वित्त मंत्री हैं जो स्वाधीन भारत में सौ फीसदी कांग्रेसी हैं। पहले जितने भी वित्त मंत्री आये, वे नेक थे, काबिल थे लेकिन वे पूरे कांग्रेसी नहीं थे। जब मैं यह कहता हूँ कि वे पूरे कांग्रेसी नहीं थे तो इस के पीछे पूरा धर्म छिपा हुआ है। उन्होंने कहा है कि वित्त मंत्री को हटा दिया जाय। जब उन को यह उम्मीद नहीं है कि कभी वे इस जगह पर आने वाले हैं तो फिर उन्होंने यह बात कैसे कह दी। कांग्रेस में से उन के दिमाग में कौन सा कांग्रेसमैन है जो उन की जगह पर आ सकता है, मुझे मालूम नहीं है। लेकिन अगर कोई कांग्रेसमैन उन के दिमाग में है तो देश को तथा कांग्रेस को उस कांग्रेसमैन से भी सावधान हो जाना पड़ेगा।

श्री डांगे के भाषण में मायूसी थी और मेरे दूसरे माननीय सदस्य के दिमाग में झंझलाहट। जैसे खिसियानी बिल्ली झम्भा नोचती है उसी तरह से वह कहते हैं कि वित्त मंत्री को हटा दो।

जो यह बजट पेश हुआ है यह एक ऐसी नई तसवीर देश की उपस्थित करता है, जो तसवीर उम्मीद की है, आशा की है, सफलता की है। इस में नये कर ज्यादा नहीं लगाये गये हैं और जो थोड़े से कर लगाये भी गये हैं वे इस ढंग से लगाये गये हैं कि सभी तबकों पर उस का बोझा पड़ता है। इस से भी उन को निराशा हुई है। दूसरी बात जिस से उन को निराशा हुई है यह है कि एक दो साल देश को लेनदेन के मामले में कठिनाई का सामना करना पड़ा था, योजना को कठिनाई में पड़ना पड़ा था वह कठिनाई दूर हो गई है और मैं सदन की तरफ से उन देशों को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ, उन देशों के प्रति आभार प्रदर्शित करना चाहता हूँ जिन्होंने ने हमारी इस कठिनाई को दूर करने में आगे बढ़ कर हाथ बढ़ाया है। मेरे दोस्तों को इस

[श्री म० प्र० मिश्र]

बे निराशा हुई है कि विदेशी मदद बहुत तेजी से और ज्यादा पहुंच रही है और हमारी जो कठिनाई दूर हो गई है, इस से उन को परेशानी हुई है। कम्युनिस्ट इसलिये भी परेशान हैं कि पिछले एक दो सालों में देश की पैदावार बहुमुखी ढंग से बढ़ी है, औद्योगिक पैदावार बढ़ी है, खेती की पैदावार बढ़ी है और दूसरी तरह की पैदावार बढ़ी है। यह उन के लिये मायूसी का कारण बना है। उन की मायूसी इसलिये भी बढ़ी है कि उन का आकांक्षा, उन का मित्र हमारे देश की सीमा पर जबकि फौज ले कर खड़ा है और जब देश पर खतरा है तो क्यों देश की आर्थिक हालत, क्यों देश की वित्तीय हालत तथा दूसरी हालत इतनी अच्छी हुई है और क्यों इतनी अच्छी तसवीर उभरी है। लेकिन उन की निराशा हमारी सब से बड़ी आशा है, उन की असफलता हमारी सब से बड़ी सफलता है और मैं समझता हूँ कि उन के भाषण हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय के लिये सब से बड़े बर्घाई के भाषण हैं।

दो तीन और चीजों की ओर मैं आप का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। उन की ओर दूसरे माननीय सदस्यों ने भी आप का ध्यान दिलाया है। हमारी सरकार का ध्यान भी उस ओर गया है। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि उन पर और अधिक ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। पहली बात तो यह है कि जब चीजों की पैदावार बढ़ रही है, जब देश तरक्की की तरफ जा रहा है, तब देश में जो कीमते बढ़ रही हैं, उन को कैसे रोका जा सकता है। यह मानना कि इन को रोका नहीं जा सकता है, गलत है। इस महंगाई को रोकने के लिये कुछ खास काम करने होंगे, कुछ खास कदम उठाने होंगे। एक खास चीज, और इस से भी बड़ी चीज जो इस बजट में आई है और जो घबराहट पैदा करने वाली है यह है कि देश की पैदावार तो बढ़ रही है, देश का विकास तो हो रहा है लेकिन इस के साथ ही साथ देश में बेकारी बढ़ रही है और खास तौर पर पड़े लिखे लोगों की बेकारी और भी बढ़ रही है।

पड़े लिखे लोगों का बेकार होना या बेकार रहना बहुत खतरनाक चीज है। एक एक पड़ा लिखा हुआ बेकार ग्रेजुएट कम्युनिस्टों के हाथ में बारूद का काम करेगा और सभापति महोदय, आप जानते हैं, और सारा देश जानता है कि बेकार ग्रेजुएट अगर कम्युनिस्टों के हाथ में बारूद बनेंगे तो ये कम्युनिस्ट खुद एक विदेशी ताकत के हाथ में बन्दूक बन कर खड़े हुए हैं।

एक और ढंग की जो कठिनाई है उस कठिनाई की ओर भी मैं आप का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। वह कठिनाई मानसिक है। वह कठिनाई वह है जिस का छिन्न भ्रमी माधुर साहब ने किया है। उन्होंने कहा है कि पंडित ठाकुर दास भागवत तथा दूसरे माननीय सदस्य दस बरस से चिल्लाते आ रहे हैं कि पशुधन की तरक्की की जाय, विकास किया जाय, लाइव-स्टॉक की ओर ध्यान दिया जाय लेकिन सरकार ने अभी तक इस की ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया है, सरकार के कानों पर कोई भी असर नहीं पड़ा है लेकिन अभी अभी रूस के प्रधान मंत्री जब यहां आये और उन्होंने सूरतगढ़ का फार्म देखा तो उन्होंने कहा कि इस देश के जानवरों पर भी ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये और इस से हमारे माधुर साहब को भरोसा हो गया कि अब प्रधान मंत्री इधर ध्यान देंगे, हमारी सरकार इस ओर ध्यान देगी। यही मनोवृत्ति है जिस का मैं छिन्न कर रहा हूँ जोकि हम को विदेशियों की राय पर और खास तौर पर उन लोगों की राय पर चलाना चाहती है। उन की राय की हम बहुत कद्र करते हैं, हमारे दिमागों में उन की राय की सच्चाई के बारे में सहानुभूति होनी चाहिये। लेकिन हिन्दी चीनी भाई भाई का मजा हम चख चुके हैं और अब हिन्दी रूसी भाई भाई का मजा चखने में ज्यादा वक्त नहीं लगेगा।

मुझे खुशी है कि कल से आज तक इस सदन में दोनों ओर से कुछ पुरखोर भाषण

हुए हैं और जो बातें कही गई हैं उन में से कुछ बातों की ओर मैं आप का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। सब से पहली बात तो यह है कि देश की जो योजना है वह सफल हो रही है और इस पर हर हिन्दुस्तानी को खुशी होनी चाहिये। दूसरे देश का औद्योगीकरण हो रहा है, देश में कारखाने बढ़ रहे हैं और बन रहे हैं और यह भी ऐसी बात है जिस पर बहुत अधिक खुशी का इजहार किया जा सकता है और इस पर हमें गर्व करना चाहिये। लेकिन एक मोर्चे पर हमारी सरकार, हमारा मुल्क, हमारा योजना कमिशन और मैं कहूंगा कि यह पार्लियामेंट खुद ना-कामयाब रही है और वह मोर्चा गांवों का है, खेतों का है, खलियानों का है? इस का भी वही कारण है जो माधुर साहब ने बताया है कि रूसी प्रधान मंत्री भ्रगर यह बात बोल दें और इस के बारे में कुछ कह दें तब इस का असर हमारे प्रधान मंत्री और हमारी सरकार पर पड़ेगा। वहां उन देशों में, कम्युनिस्ट देशों में खूब विकास के बारे में औद्योगीकरण पर बहुत बल दिया जाता है इस वास्ते हम ने भी समझ लिया कि औद्योगीकरण पर ही पूरा बल दे कर हम देश का विकास कर सकते हैं। इस से यह न समझा जाय कि मैं औद्योगीकरण का या इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन का विरोधी हूँ। मैं उस का विरोधी नहीं हूँ। मैं इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन चाहता हूँ लेकिन इस के साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी चाहता हूँ कि खेती और कारखानों का सम्बन्ध जरूर होना चाहिये, दोनों को उस हल को चलाने वाले दो बैलों की तरह जोकि पुट्टे के मजबूत हों, हमें समझना चाहिये। दोनों को रथ के दो पहियों की तरह चलना चाहिये। कम्युनिस्ट देशों की तरह भ्रगर यह समझ लिया जाय कि औद्योगीकरण पर ज्यादा जोर दे दिया जाये, और जोर से इस को शुरू कर दिया जाये क्योंकि वे देश भ्रगे बढ़ गये हैं और हमारा देश भी भ्रगे बढ़ जायेगा तो यह ठीक नहीं है। उन की सरकारों का गठन, उन की पद्धति दूसरी है, हमारी दूसरी है, हमारा रास्ता दूसरा है

और मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे उद्देश्य और हमारे इरादे भी दूसरे हैं और उन को अपने सामने रख कर ही हमें यह काम करना होगा। हमने पहली योजना में खेती को प्राथमिकता दी थी, खेती के महत्व को स्वीकार किया था और हमारी वह योजना पूरी की पूरी सफल रही थी। लेकिन दूसरी योजना में इसी चीज की कमी हो गई। यह कह दिया गया कि खेती तो हो गई है और सारा बल औद्योगीकरण पर दिया जाएगा और दिया गया। इसके सम्बन्ध में आंकड़े पेश किये जा सकते हैं। खेती पर, सिवाई पर जो पैसे खर्च किये जाते हैं उसको आप देखें और यह भी देखें कि गांवों पर कितना खर्च हो रहा है और शहरों पर कितना हो रहा है। दूसरी योजना में कोई १६०० करोड़ रुपये गांवों पर खर्च होने वाले हैं ४८०० करोड़ में से और यह उनके लिये होने वाले हैं जिन के बारे में कहा जाता है कि हर पांच हिन्दुस्तानियों में से चार हिन्दुस्तानी गांवों में रहते हैं और एक हिन्दुस्तानी शहर में रहता है और इसके मुकाबले में शहरों पर जो खर्च किया जाएगा वह २००० करोड़ रुपया होगा। आप कह सकते हैं कि इसमें से हम उद्योगों पर भी रुपया खर्च कर रहे हैं और गांवों को भी इससे लाभ पहुंचेगा। यह ठीक है। लेकिन गांवों पर इतना कम खर्च हो, और शहरों पर इतना अधिक तो यह उचित नहीं है। शहर की गली के एक मोड़ पर भ्रगर एक बत्ती नहीं है तो कल उसके बारे में भ्रलबारों में बात छप जाएगी और सरकार कह देगी कि तुरन्त वहां पर एक बत्ती लग जानी चाहिये और बत्ती लग जाती है। हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने गांव देखे होंगे या नहीं मुझे पता नहीं है। खेती के मंत्री जो नाए हुए हैं वह बम्बई के रहने वाले हैं, उन्होंने खेती देखा है या नहीं.....

श्री ब्रजराज सिंह : बम्बई शहर में बहुत खेती होती है।

श्री म० प्र० मिश्र : मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कारखाने के मजदूर हड़ताल की धमकी देते हैं और उनकी बात सुनी जाती है।

[श्री म० प्र० मिश्र]

बीस्ट प्राक्सि के आदमी रोज हड़ताल करने की धमकी देते हैं, रेलवे के कर्मचारी जिनकी तनखाह सबसे अच्छी है हिन्दुस्तान में, वह रोज धमकी दे देते हैं, और उनकी तनखाह बढ़ती जाती है। एक मिडिल पास पोस्टमैन है जिसकी लगभग ८५ रु० मासिक मिलते हैं मैं उससे कोई ईर्ष्या नहीं करता, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि चूंकि वह हड़ताल कर सकते हैं इसलिये उनकी बातें तुरन्त सुन ली जाती हैं। पर गांवों की ओपडियों में रहने वाले जो किसान हैं, जो खेत के मजदूर हैं, क्या कभी आपने उनकी हालत देखी है? उनको आप भूल गये हैं। उसकी आमदनी ११० रु० महीना है। अगर उनकी हालत आपने नहीं देखा तो अपने आंकड़े देखिये।

**कुछ माननीय सदस्य : ११० रु० महीना ?**

**श्री म० प्र० मिश्र :** सालाना। मैं सालाना कह रहा हूँ। यानी महीने में ६ रु०।

**श्री यादव (बाराबंकी) :** अगर आप ११० रु० महीना की बात करेंगे तो मोरारजी देसाई उस पर और टैक्स लगा देंगे।

**श्री म० प्र० मिश्र :** जी नहीं, मोरारजी साहब खुद कहते हैं सालाना ११० रु० है। वे ऐसी बात नहीं कहेंगे जैसी कि आप समझे हुए हैं। गांव के किसानों की आमदनी ६ रु० महीना होती है। गांवों में जिस ढंग से जानवर रखे जाते हैं, ग्रामीणों के कुत्तों की बात मैं नहीं करता, लेकिन जिस ढंग से गांवों में जानवर रखे जाते हैं, उनसे बदतर हालत खेत के मजदूर की है, हमारे किसान की है। और वह किसान जिसकी दो बोधे की जोत है, उससे भी बुरी हालत में खेत का मजदूर है। वह खेत मजदूर जो दूसरे के खेतों में काम करता है। लेकिन चूंकि वह हड़ताल नहीं कर सकता, वह सरकार को परेशान नहीं कर सकता, उसकी चीजें अखबार में नहीं छप सकतीं, दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि उसी के वोट्स से आप

हुए हम सदन के लोग शहर के चक्करों में पड़ कर उनको भूल जाते हैं। लेकिन सरकार को एक बात नहीं भूलनी चाहिये कि वह हड़ताल नहीं कर सकते। वह गरीब जो हल के पीछे खड़ा होता है वह हड़ताल नहीं कर सकता। सरकार को अखबारों में अपनी बात छपवा कर, नारे लगा कर, परेशान नहीं कर सकता, लेकिन जानना चाहिये कि वह आज सोया हुआ है। जब एक बार वह उठेगा तो किसी की नहीं सुनेगा। न उसे अखबार की जरूरत पड़ेगी न हड़ताल की जरूरत पड़ेगी। हिन्दुस्तान में जो बड़ी बड़ी क्रान्तियां हुई हैं, और दुनिया में भी, वह उन्हीं लोगों ने की हैं। इसलिये उनसे सावधान ही नहीं रहना चाहिये बल्कि सोचना चाहिये कि यह वही लोग हैं जो हल के पीछे खड़े होकर इस देश को चला रहे हैं। और सरकार उन्हीं के बल पर खड़ी है।

आज आप कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स पर खर्च करते हैं। बहुत अच्छी बात है, कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स ने पिछड़े इलाकों में बहुत बड़े काम भी किये हैं। जिन लोगों ने सौभाग्य की किरण नहीं देखी थी, जो उम्मीद करना छोड़ चुके थे अपनी जिन्दगी में कि उनके लिये कोई अच्छे दिन हो सकते हैं, वह रोशनी सरकार की कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स ने उन तक पहुंचा दी है। लेकिन कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स का बुरा हाल होता जा रहा है और सरकार को सोचना होगा कि उसके रास्ते बदले जायें, उसके तरीके बदले जायें। मैं फिर निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि ग्रामीण योजना में अगर आप इस देश को बचाना चाहते हैं उस मुसीबत से, जिस मुसीबत की मशाल लेकर यह कम्युनिस्ट खड़े हैं, तो गांवों के किसानों को पहले देखना होगा, गांवों के गरीबों को पहले देखना होगा। उसके लिये यह जरूरी नहीं है कि उन पर टैक्स लगाया जाय। अगर आप इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्स लगाते हैं तो दियासलाई खरीदने वाला किसान, गरीब आदमी, मजदूर खुन उगल कर टैक्स दे देता है, लेकिन ग्रामीणों से टैक्स बचल

नहीं जाते। मेरे बोस्ट मसानी साहब और उन के नेता राजाजी चिल्लाते हैं और कहते हैं कि सरकार कम्युनिस्ट होती जा रही है, सरकार बिल्कुल भ्रमीरों के खिलाफ गरीबों की हुई जा रही है। यही नारे हम इधर से सुनते हैं। मगर वह सिर्फ नारे हैं। दरअसल बात यह है कि हम भ्रमीरों से डरते हैं। भ्रमीरों का भ्रसर इस सरकार पर बहुत है। भ्रमी कुछ दिन हुए मैं रेल से सफर कर रहा था, मेरे साथ इनकम टैक्स का एक नौजवान भ्रफसर चला जा रहा था। मैं उसका नाम तक याद नहीं रख सका हूँ, न ही मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ। मुझे मोरारजी साहब से डर नहीं है, लेकिन उन लोगों से जरूर डर है जो मोरारजी साहब के भ्रफसरों के जरिये उसकी जान तक ले सकते हैं। उसने मुझे बतलाया कि कलकत्ते में बिड़ला साहब की फर्म है। वहां के डिप्टी कमिशनर की रैंक के भ्राफिसर भी इनकम टैक्स के यह साहस नहीं कर सकते कि बिड़ला साहब पांच साल से जो टैक्स देते थे उसमें उनकी मर्जी के खिलाफ एक पैसा भी टैक्स बढ़ा दें। भ्रगर वह बढ़ा दें तो रातों रात उनका ट्रांसफर हो जाता है। मैं कहता हूँ कि जहां इतना सैठों का दबदबा है सरकार के एपरेटस पर, सरकार के एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन पर, वहां क्या हो सकता है ?

मैं आपको बिड़ला साहब का केवल उदाहरण दे रहा हूँ। मालूम हुआ है कि एक किताब छपी है भ्राज में पांच वर्ष पहले। भ्रादमी ने अपने नाम से किताब लिखी है। उसका नाम है "मिस्ट्रीज भ्राफ बिड़ला हाउस"। इस पर बिड़ला साहब ने यह किया है कि जब वह किताब बाजार में भ्राती थी तो वह सभी किताबें खरीद कर जला देते थे। लेकिन सरकार ने उस पर कोई एन्वायरी नहीं की। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह इन्डाइरेक्ट टैक्स जो गरीब खून उगल कर दे देता है उसे यह सैठ पचा जाते हैं और सरकार उन पर कोई कार्रवाई नहीं कर सकती। इसलिये उनके साथ बेरहमी से काम किया जाय, सब्डी से काम किया जाय और

इस तरह से जो रुपया भ्राता है, देश की योजना को सफल बनाने के लिये, उसे काम में लाया जाय।

श्री ब्रजराज सिंह : यह कभी नहीं होगा।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : सभापति महोदय, पहले मैं श्री बी० पी० नायर ने जो कुछ शिपिंग के बारे में प्रश्न उठाया है, उसका उत्तर देता हूँ। उनको यह नहीं मालूम है कि भ्रमरीका में गेहूं रखने का स्थान नहीं है। इसलिये भ्रमरीका ने यह किया है कि जो उसका एक्स्ट्रा गेहूं होता है उसको उसने विकट्री और लिबर्टी नाम के जो शिप हैं, जिनका तीन मिलियन टनेज है, उनमें रख दिया है और जो देश मांगता है वहां उन जहाजों को भेज देता है। जो जहाज भ्रमरीका से यहां भ्रायगा वह खाली नहीं जायगा, वह जहाज यहां से लद कर जायगा। इसलिये उसने ५०, ५० परसेंट का भ्रनुपात रखा है। यह एक इण्टरनेशनल कंवेनशन है। यहां रूस की बात कही गई है। रूस के पास दुनिया के टनेज का सिर्फ २ परसेंट है। यूगोस्लाविया की भी बात उठाई गई। उसके पास हिन्दुस्तान का जो टनेज है उससे भ्राधा टनेज है। हिन्दुस्तान के पास ६० परसेंट जहाज हैं और यूगोस्लाविया के पास २७ परसेंट जहाज हैं। इस वास्ते उनका जो कहना है वह ठीक नहीं है।

Shri V. P. Nayar: Does the hon. Member know that by the time the wheat was to be transported, American shipping lines enhanced the freight rate by about 40 per cent?

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : जी नहीं।

Shri V. P. Nayar: At the eleventh hour. I can give him the figures.

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : उन्होंने ४० परसेंट नहीं किया। भ्राप को शायद मालूम नहीं है कि फ्रेट रेट की लाइन्स होती हैं। उससे बियान्ड शिपिंग रेट नहीं जा सकता है। इस वास्ते जो भी शिपिंग लाइन्स हैं उनके भ्रनुसार उसका फ्रेट होगा।

## [श्री रघुनाथ सिंह]

मैं ट्रांसपोर्ट के विषय में आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने मित्र धर्म का बड़ा सुन्दर पालन किया है। जगजीवन राम जी उनके बगल में हमेशा बैठते रहे हैं। इसलिये उन्होंने पूर्णतया इस बात की कोशिश की कि उनके रेलवे विभाग को ज्यादा से ज्यादा लाभ हो। मैं श्री सुब्बरायन साहब से भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर वे थोड़े दिन वित्त मंत्री महोदय के पास बैठें, उन्हीं की बेंच पर तो शिपिंग के लिये भी कुछ ज्यादा मिल सकता है।

एक बात मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि रेलवे में, जिसका कुल १२०० करोड़ रु० इन्वेस्टमेंट है, उससे जो रिटर्न होता है वह ४ परसेंट से ज्यादा नहीं होता। हिन्दुस्तान में जो सड़कें हैं, उन पर सिर्फ ५०० करोड़ रु० इन्वेस्टमेंट है इन्फ्लूइडिंग स्टेट ग वनमेंट्स लेकिन उनसे जो आमदनी होती है वह १३३.५५ करोड़ रु० है। केवल ५०० करोड़ रु० रोड ट्रांसपोर्ट में इन्वेस्ट हुआ है उससे आप १३३ करोड़ रु० का लाभ उठाते हैं टैक्स के रूप में, और १२०० करोड़ रु० रेलवे में इन्वेस्ट करके आप लाभ उठाते हैं सिर्फ ४ परसेंट का। इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि रेलवे ने कोस्टल शिपिंग की हत्या की है। कोस्टल शिपिंग का जो ट्रेंड आज है वह डाउनवर्ड है और रेलवे रोड ट्रांसपोर्ट की हत्या करना चाहती है। इस प्रकार से हत्या करना चाहती है कि बजट में जो २३ करोड़ का कर दिखाया गया है उसमें साढ़े १३ करोड़ रु० किसी न किसी प्रकार से जो रोड ट्रांसपोर्ट के साधन हैं, उन पर टैक्स लगाया गया है। जैसे डीजल पर टैक्स लगाया है। गाड़ी पर टैक्स लगाया है। एंजिन पर टैक्स लगाया है। गाड़ी के जो पार्ट्स हैं उन पर भी आपने टैक्स लगा दिया। इस प्रकार से १३॥ करोड़ रु० टैक्स लगा कर आप रोड ट्रांसपोर्ट की हत्या करना चाहते हैं। मैं आप से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि दुनिया में रेलवेज का अविष्य नहीं है। चाहे

अमरीका में देखें, चाहे इंग्लैण्ड में देखें। रोड ट्रांसपोर्ट का जैसे जैसे विकास होगा वैसे वैसे रेलवेज की अवनति होगी। उसका कारण क्या है? रोड ट्रांसपोर्ट के जरिये लदाई और बुलाई में सेविंग होती है। फैक्टरी से कपड़े की दुकान पर रोड ट्रांसपोर्ट के जरिये माल पहुंच जाता है और इस प्रकार से उसमें सेविंग होती है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि रोड ट्रांसपोर्ट हर एक गांव तक पहुंच सकता है लेकिन रेलवेज हर एक गांव तक नहीं पहुंच सकती। इस प्रकार से आपने रोड ट्रांसपोर्ट का जो विकास होना चाहिये, उस विकास के रास्ते में अड़ंगा लगाया है। यह नीति ठीक नहीं है।

मैं शिपिंग के सम्बन्ध में कुछ निवेदन करना चाहूंगा। शिपिंग के बारे में हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने एक पैराग्राफ में कुछ थोड़ा सा कहा है। जहां आप ने कहा है कि ७ लाख ४४ हजार का टनेज हमारे पास हो गया है मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि इस वंक्त देश के शिपिंग की जो अवस्था है वर्ल्ड टनेज के सम्मुख हमारी अवस्था बड़ी दयनीय है। वर्ल्ड टनेज में जितना हमारा शेयर है व्यापार का उसी के अनुपात से हमारी शिपिंग भी होनी चाहिए लेकिन उस के अनुपात के अनुसार हमारी शिपिंग नहीं है। आप ने अपने बजट में बताया है कि २०३ करोड़ रुपये की रेफिसिट है जिसके कि मानी यह है कि एक्सपोर्ट और एम्पोर्ट के बैलेंस में २०३ करोड़ रुपये का फर्क है। इस फर्क में सभापति महोदय, १५० करोड़ रुपया वह है जो कि विदेशी शिपिंग कम्पनीज को आप देते हैं। इस २०३ करोड़ रुपया में १५० करोड़ रुपया वह शामिल है जो कि फारेन कम्पनीज को फ्रेट के रूप में देते हैं। मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह १५० करोड़ रुपया जो आप विदेशी कम्पनियों को प्रतिवर्ष देते चले जाते हैं उस को रोकने का धाच ने क्या प्रबन्ध किया है? आपकी



हिन्दुस्तानी कम्पनियों का ओवरसीज ट्रेड हिस्सा बहुत कम है। एक साल में १६ करोड़ रुपया वह पैदा करती हैं जब कि विदेशी कम्पनियां १५० करोड़ रुपया पैदा करती हैं। लेकिन आप तो आकाश में ऊंचे उड़ते चले जा रहे हैं और आप ४, ४ करोड़ रुपए के चार हवाई जहाज खरीद रहे हैं। १६ करोड़ रुपया तो आप इनवैस्ट करना चाहते हैं आकाश में उड़ने के वास्ते। अब अगर यही १६ करोड़ रुपया बजाय चार हवाई जहाज खरीदने के शिपिंग में एनवैस्ट कर दें तो आपका टनेज जो ७ लाख का है वह १६ लाख का हो सकता है। आप १५० करोड़ रुपया जो कि फारेन कम्पनीज को शिपिंग किराये के रूप में देते हैं उस रुपये को बचा सकते हैं, अगर यह १६ करोड़ रुपया आप शिपिंग में इनवैस्ट कर दें। इस तरीके से इनवैस्टमेंट आज शिपिंग में हो रहा है। जितने जहाज हैं वे डेफंड पेमेंट पर मिलते हैं। २० परसेंट दे दिया जाय तो वह पूरे का पूरा जहाज दे देते हैं। जितना सेल्फ फाइनेंसिंग सिस्टम से पैदा किया जाता है उतना यदि देते चले जायें तो १६ करोड़ रुपया जो चार हवाई जहाजों के लिये दिया गया है, उसी १६ करोड़ रुपये को अगर आप शिपिंग में लगा दें तो १५० करोड़ रुपया का ड्रैनेज जो हो रहा है और देश से बाहर जा रहा है उसे बचा सकते हैं। रोक सकते हैं। इस वास्ते मेरा आप से अनुरोध है कि आप शिपिंग के वास्ते ज्यादा से ज्यादा रुपये दें।

17 hrs.

मैं थोड़ा सा बम्बई पोर्ट के बारे में जिक्र करना चाहता हूं और यह बतलाना चाहता हूं कि फारेन ट्रेड में हमारी क्या प्रगति हो गई है। बम्बई में आज जो एक्सपोर्ट एम्पोर्ट का ट्रेड होता है उसमें हिन्दुस्तानी जहाजों का हिस्सा सिर्फ ६ परसेंट है जब कि अंग्रेजी जहाजों का हिस्सा २६ परसेंट है, नावों का १४ परसेंट है, घमरीका का १० परसेंट है, घानाका का ६ परसेंट है, लाइबेरिया का ६

परसेंट है और जापान का ४ परसेंट है। बम्बई जैसे पोर्ट में हमारे देश को शिपिंग ट्रेड का केवल ६ परसेंट हिस्सा है जब कि यू० के० का २६ परसेंट है। यह जो हमारी स्थिति है उस का सामना करने के लिए हमें तैयार रहना चाहिए। इस स्थिति का सामना अगर हम नहीं करेंगे तो हमारा जो ड्रैनेज है और जो हमारा रुपया बाहर जा रहा है वह इसी प्रकार से बाहर जाता रहेगा। शिपिंग के क्षेत्र में नावों जो एक छोटा सा देश है उस के पास बल्ट टनेज का ६ परसेंट है, नीदरलैंड के पास ३ परसेंट है, डैनमार्क के पास २ परसेंट है और ग्रीस देश का परसेंटेज पीने दो है लेकिन हमारा इतना बड़ा देश भारतवर्ष, जो कि इतना एम्पोर्ट और एक्सपोर्ट करता है, और जिसके कि दो दो प्लांस हैं उसका उसमें हिस्सा सिर्फ ६० है यानी १ परसेंट भी नहीं है। इसलिए अगर हम अपने फारेन एक्सचेंज का जो ड्रैनेज हो रहा है, उस को बंद करना चाहते हैं तो हम को शिपिंग के वास्ते ज्यादा से ज्यादा रुपया बेना चाहिए। मैं जरा सा कलकत्ता पोर्ट की तरफ आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं। कलकत्ता पोर्ट का अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय सम्बन्ध है। जहां इसका सम्बन्ध नेपाल और हिन्दुस्तान से है वहां साथ ही साथ इसका सम्बन्ध बंगाल, आसाम, बिहार, उत्तर प्रदेश और उड़ीसा पांच भारत के राज्य हैं उनके साथ इसका सम्बन्ध है। ५ लाख बर्ग मील के भन्दर जो एक्सपोर्ट और एम्पोर्ट होता है वह सब इस पोर्ट से होता है। १८० मिलियन पापुलेशन इस क्षेत्र में रहती है और ४० मिलियन टन कोल का एक्सपोर्ट यहां से प्रतिवर्ष होता है। ७६० मिलियन और का एक्सपोर्ट हर साल यहां से होता है। साथ ही साथ टाटानगर, बर्नपुर, दुर्गापुर और कुरुला इत्यादि हिन्दुस्तान की जो इंडस्ट्रियल इल्ट है वह इसी क्षेत्र में है और हिन्दुस्तान का ४५ परसेंट एक्सपोर्ट और एम्पोर्ट इसी पोर्ट से होता है, और जो अनाज विदेशों से मंगाते हैं जूट अनाज का ६९ प्रतिशत एम्पोर्ट इसी

## [श्री रघुनाथ सिंह]

पोर्ट से होता है। यह सब होते हुए भी आज कलकत्ता पोर्ट की क्या हालत है? आज बंगाल की क्या अवस्था है? आज बंगाल के ऊपर तीन तीन भाफतें आई हैं। एक तो फ्लड्स की जो कि पहले बंगाल में कभी नहीं आते थे और जो कि फ्लड्स बंगाल में अब हर साल आता है। हुगली नदी सिन्ट कर रही है। इस के साथ ही साथ कलकत्ता का पानी जिसको हम पीते हैं वह सलाइन हो गया है। नमकीन पानी हो गया है। आखिर ८० लाख की आबादी को आप कहां से पानी देने जा रहे हैं? आप ने इस की तरफ ध्यान आकर्षित किया है...

सभापति महोदय : अब माननीय सदस्य का समय समाप्त हो चला है।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : लोगों को तो बोलने के लिए २५, २५ मिनट का समय दिया गया है और किन्हीं किन्हीं महानुभावों को तो आध आध घंटे तक का समय दिया गया है...

सभापति महोदय : आप इसके बारे में चर्चा चला कर अपना समय बेकार खो रहे हैं। आप को जो कुछ कहना बाकी रह गया हो उसे शीघ्र और संक्षेप में कह डालिये।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : इस के अलावा बंगाल लेजिस्लेटिव कौंसिल और वहां की असेम्बली दोनों ने युनैनीमस्ली यह प्रस्ताव पास किया है कि कलकत्ता पोर्ट का सम्बन्ध हम लोगों के जीवन मरण से सम्बन्ध रखता है और इस वास्ते कलकत्ता पोर्ट के बारे में कोई उपाय करना चाहिए।

१८५३ में पहले पहल इनवैस्टीगेशन स्टार्ट हुई। १९३५ में दूसरी इनवैस्टीगेशन हुई और सन् १९४८ में अर्थात् आजादी मिलने के बाद हमने फिर इनवैस्टीगेशन शुरू की। १९-११-५९ को यानी आज से तीन महीने पहले पाटिल साहब ने यह कहा कि इसको इंस्टीटरपोज स्कीम बनाया चाहिए

और ऐसा उपाय करना चाहिए कि नैवीगेशन भी हो और फ्लड्स कंट्रोल भी हो और साथ ही साथ इरीगेशन भी हो। आज उसको कहे करीब करीब तीन महीने हो गये लेकिन गवर्नमेंट ने उस के वास्ते क्या भ्रमली कदम उठाया हमें तो कुछ नहीं मालूम। पाटिल साहब कहते हैं कि

I shall live to see the day when this is done.

लेकिन आज गवर्नमेंट क्या कर रही है। इस बजट में उस के वास्ते हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने एक शब्द भी नहीं कहा है। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूं कि हुगली की अवस्था यह है कि कहीं पर तो ७ फुट पानी हो तो कहीं पर १५ फुट पानी है। जो विदेशी जहाज आते हैं वे अगर १०००० टन के जहाज हैं तो वे विशाखापट्टनम, मद्रास और बम्बई में २ हजार टन का सामान उतार करके तब वे कलकत्ता पोर्ट में जाते हैं क्योंकि भरे हुए जहाज आज कलकत्ता पोर्ट के अन्दर नहीं आ सकते। आप कहेंगे कि इसके वास्ते क्या उपाय किया जाए। इसके लिए यही उपाय हो सकता है कि हुगली में फेश पानी आवे। हुगली नदी में जो फ्लो टाइड आता है वह नदिया तक पहुंच जाता है और यह पानी तीन महीने तक पहुंचता रहता है। नतीजा यह होता है कि जो बालू ऊपर की तरफ आती है वह नीचे की तरफ नहीं जा पाती। इसके लिए आपने ड्रिजिंग का प्रबन्ध किया है और प्रति वर्ष उस पर आप दो तीन करोड़ रुपये खर्च करते हैं। लेकिन इस प्रकार कलकत्ता पोर्ट की रक्षा नहीं हो सकती। उसकी रक्षा तभी हो सकती है जब कि हुगली में फेश पानी आवे।

इसके अलावा आप देखें कि फरक्का के बाद जहां गंगा नदी पाकिस्तान में जाती है वहां आठ नदियां हिन्दुस्तान की तरफ से आकर मिलती हैं और यह बालू लाती हैं। इस बालू से हुगली नदी भरती जा रही है। जब तक ऊपर से पानी का प्रबन्ध नहीं होगा

तब तक बालू निकल नहीं सकता। आपके इंजिन से यह समस्या हल नहीं हो सकती। यह समस्या तभी हल हो सकती है जब कि फरक्का बराज बनाया जाए। हमने दो तीन बार इस सवाल को उठाया। हमसे कहा जाता है कि पाकिस्तान इस पर आबजेशन करेगा। पर मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि ईस्ट बंगाल में जो कर्णफूली प्रोजेक्ट है उसके लिए आपने पाकिस्तान को हिन्दुस्तान की जमीन दी है, चटगांव से ऊपर एक बड़ा भारी डैम बन रहा है, जैसोर में पाकिस्तान प्रति दिन गंगा का आठ हजार क्यूसेक्स पानी सिंचाई के लिए लेता है। जब आपने दो दो प्रोजेक्टों के लिए पाकिस्तान को सहायता दी है तो आप क्यों पाकिस्तान से नहीं कहते कि हमने जिस प्रकार तुम को सहायता दी है उसी प्रकार तुम भी हमारी सहायता करो। लेकिन हमारी तरफ से इस विषय में कोई कोशिश नहीं की गयी है। फरक्का बांध की स्कीम का इन्वेस्टिगेशन १०६ वर्ष से होता चला आ रहा है और पता नहीं कि आगे सो वर्ष तक और यह इन्वेस्टिगेशन होता रहेगा, जब तक कि कलकत्ता पोर्ट समाप्त ही हो जाएगा।

आज बंगाल में रिफ्यूजी चले आ रहे हैं। आज वहाँ की व्यवस्था भंयकर होती चली जा रही है। मैं पूछता हूँ कि इस सूबे के साथ हमारी सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने क्या किया है। आपके चार चार स्टील प्लांट इस क्षेत्र में बग रहे हैं। वह आपका इंडस्ट्रियल बेल्ट बनता जा रहा है। अगर कलकत्ता पोर्ट में जहाज नहीं आ सकेंगे तो आपका सारी दुनिया से सम्बन्ध कैसे रह सकेगा।

मैंने फरक्का बराज की स्कीम को देखा है। अगर उसको बनाया जाए तो सिर्फ एक तिहाई पानी हिन्दुस्तान में आवेगा और दो तिहाई पानी पाकिस्तान में जाएगा। पाकिस्तान का पानी समुद्र में चला जाएगा। हमारा पानी आकर ८० साल लोगों को जल देगा। आप मरमियों में लोगों को पानी पिलाने के लिए प्याऊ का प्रबन्ध करते हैं।

लेकिन इन ८० साल आदमियों के लिए आपने क्या प्रबन्ध किया है। इसका एक ही उपाय है कि आप फरक्का बराज को बना दें। एक बार इस सदन में कैनाल वाटर का सवाल उठा था तो हमने कहा था कि हम पाकिस्तान को कैनाल का पानी देना बन्द कर दें। उस वक्त श्री हाफिज मुहम्मद इब्राहीम साहब ने जवाब दिया था कि हम ह्यूमैनीटेरियन प्वाइंट आफ व्यू से पाकिस्तान को पानी देते हैं। इसी तरह मैं कहता हूँ कि ह्यूमैनीटेरियन प्वाइंट आफ व्यू से इन ८० साल आदमियों के लिए पानी का इन्तिजाम होना चाहिए। हमने पाकिस्तान को दो दो प्रोजेक्टों के लिए जमीन दी है और सुविधा दी है। हमें पाकिस्तान से कहना चाहिए कि अगर तुम हमारी मदद करोगे तो हम तुम्हारी मदद करेंगे नहीं तो नहीं।

**Mr. Chairman:** Swami Ramananda Tirtha. Ten minutes.

**Swami Ramananda Tirtha (Aurangabad):** Only ten minutes!

Sir, there are no violent jolts given by the Finance Minister in his proposals. This year's budget in fact marks the beginning of the third Five Year Plan and therefore it is necessary to scrutinise the proposals as carefully as is possible. The Finance Minister is quite conscious of the burdens that the third Five Year Plan will entail and therefore he has given us some ideas that may guide us in the formulation and implementation of the third Five Year Plan. He expects us to tighten our belts and be ready for offering more sacrifices in order that we should be able to preserve and follow our democratic values and raise the standard of living of the common people.

"Having said all this, if we scrutinise the proposals carefully, we cannot escape the feeling that the burden which lies upon the middle class people and the lower strata of society has not

[Swami Ramananda Tirtha]

been lightened and there is a feeling of joy and relief amongst those who are able to invest capital. If that feeling is discernible, then there is much to complain about the taxation proposals.

I am not an economist, much less have I any capacity to understand the statistics. All the same, I can say this much, namely, that a budget which levies more burdens on those who cannot afford to bear those burdens on their shoulders is a bad budget. Therefore, only from this test, I am not prepared to welcome the taxation proposals, particularly in an indirect form. After all, the incidence of all taxation is on the poorer sections. Fortunately for us and for the Finance Minister, the international climate has improved. It has been in our favour and we are getting foreign aid in ample measure. Though there is some trouble over the northern borders, that also, I am sure, is nearing solution, though it may take sometime to settle down. We need not be afraid of any big upheaval on the international scene. So, whatever we plan is sure to be implemented and there need not be any apprehension of a war breaking out. Therefore, I expected that the burden on the common man and the middle-class people would be lessened, but I am quite disappointed.

I want to put one straight question to the Finance Minister. We have been talking of corruption and all that; I will come to it during the last two minutes at my disposal. But I ask, is there any mechanism in the conception of your finances where the prices can be reasonably stabilised? So far we have failed. The fixed income group people are the hardest hit. Every time there is an upward trend in the prices, there is bound to be a tendency for making out money somehow or other in order that two square meals could be secured. That is human nature. By our failure to stabilise the prices at a particular

level, we have been adding to the dishonesty and corruption amongst the people. Let us understand this phenomenon. While we are talking of corruption and we have no control over the prices, we are demoralising or degrading the moral calibre of the people. So, everything that is possible should be done to stabilise the prices and have them fixed at some level.

Two points more and I have finished. In our enthusiasm for having a small-savings drive as a successful enterprise, we have received complaints about coercion. Some element of imposition is there. I am speaking with all responsibility.

**The Minister of Revenue and Civil Expenditure (Dr. B. Gopala Reddy):**  
It is persuasion.

**Swami Ramananda Tirtha:** Forcible persuasion, if you may call it. I request the Finance Minister and the Prime Minister to issue, not instructions, but whatever that administrative term may be, to the heads of the State Governments just to see that the administrative machinery is more human in securing the small savings. The grievances are true and they have to be redressed.

I come to the last point about talk of corruption. I would not deal with it at length, but it is no use shirking the responsibility. If it is there, it has to be squarely faced, and no legal technicalities should stand in the way because, after all, it is a question of faith and confidence of the people. If we lose the faith of the people then democracy has no future in this country. I do not know what the constitutionalists have to say. There are differences of opinion—Shri Munshi says something and others give some other view. What I feel is: if a tribunal is not possible, find out some other way by which a legal constitutional sanction is given to the measure and there is an element of confidence created among the common mass of

people. That is the sensible thing. If you do not create that confidence the hundreds of thousands of devices that you are going to have are not going to have any effect. Let this Government and the Prime Minister who has his hand on the pulse of the people realise it before it is too late. It is not a question of an individual, it is not a question of a few persons when the country feels so strongly that there is something very seriously

wrong. Let us remove that feeling. If in doing so we have to put to risk some good people also, well, it is inevitable under the circumstances.

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17 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, March, 9, 1960/Phalguna 19, 1881 (Saka).*

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