

The hon. Member also pointed out that there are 7,000 miles in the hands of one Inspector and 10,000 miles in the hands of another. That is true. 7,000 miles are in the hands of one Inspector on the Southern Railway, because it is much easier for him to deal with one General Manager than with several. The Central and Western Railways happen to have more mileage, no doubt. This is under the Inspector who is at Bombay, because that is more conveniently situated and he can inspect this part more conveniently than a man from the southern parts. That is the reason why one Inspector has more mileage than the other.

As it is, we do make enquires as soon as any accident happens and the railway authorities report to us; because, it is the right of the Inspector to inspect any line that he wants to.

Another point that Shri Vittal Rao raised was the question that only 15,000 miles of railways were inspected during the time. As a matter of fact, he would have seen from the Report that the other mileage has been examined by the General Managers themselves, because, some part of the work is done by them. If the report of the General Managers is not satisfactory, then the Inspector of Railways himself goes down and inspects that. As a matter of fact, very strict supervision is kept on the Railways.

The other complaint that Shri Vittal Rao made was that sometimes it takes ten to eleven months before sanction is given for the running of trains on railway lines that have been constructed and completed. I shall make an enquiry into it and see why this is the case because we have given instructions that as soon as possible, when the railways report the construction and the completion of a line, they should go and inspect and give their permission to run the trains as soon as that could be done with safety to the passengers.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1961-62 be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

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

*The motion was adopted.*

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

Shri Morarji Desai: I beg to move:

"That the Bill be passed".

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the Bill be passed."

*The motion was adopted.*

12.51 hrs.

#### FINANCE BILL, 1961—contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now resume further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri Morarji Desai on the 19th April, 1961, namely:—

"That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 1961-62, be taken into consideration."

Shri Ajit Singh Sarhadī may continue his speech.

Shri Khadiikar (Ahmednagar): May I seek some clarification, before he begins? Yesterday, the hon. Finance

[Shri Khadilkar]

Minister has announced some concessions, and in this connection, he has stated:

"I accordingly propose to give complete exemption to all powerloom units with three or four looms, manufacturing cotton, rayon or silk fabrics provided they work only one shift".

I want an explanation as to whether this means that the concession would be available to all powerlooms, so far as the first shift is concerned.

The Minister of Finance (Shri Morarji Desai): The meaning is very clear, that it is only available to those looms which work only for one shift and to no others, and no rebate will be given to those who work for three shifts or work more looms.

Shri Khadilkar: I would like to raise a point of order, because, according to me, this concession is a discriminatory concession. I shall prove that in a minute.

Mr. Speaker: I want to ascertain one thing. I understand the point of order. May I know from the Finance Minister whether this concession would involve any amendment to the Bill?

Shri Morarji Desai: No, it does not; it is only a notification that I have to issue; there is nothing else that needs to be done.

Mr. Speaker: It is not a notification under the present Bill?

Shri Morarji Desai: Not, so far as I know.

Mr. Speaker: If this concession is one which can be given independently of the Finance Bill, there is no question of any point of order.

Shri Khadilkar No. The question is this. It is very simple.

Shri Morarji Desai: In fact, I need not have mentioned it. I could have

57:0 million tons, we would see that ing it here.

Mr. Speaker: Therefore, that does not arise out of this Bill at all. The hon. Minister has made some statements not only on those points that arise out of the Bill but also independently of the Bill. A notification is issued, which is done independently of the Bill.

The hon. Member can say that this is discriminatory and, so on, and we can have a discussion thereon.

Shri Khadilkar: Please allow me just one minute. Would it not be proper for this House to take notice of one fact?

Mr. Speaker: If he gets an opportunity to speak on this Bill, he can do so. If during the general discussion he has an opportunity, he can refer to this.

Shri Ajit Singh Sarhadi (Ludhiana): I was making two points for the consideration of the House last evening. The first was that if we take the figures of 1949-50 in respect of food production, which were of the order of 57.9 million tons, we would see that there had been an average increase of 10 million tons upto the end of the Second Plan. Then, I asked how, when we had not made sufficient progress in the matter of increase of food production, it would be possible for us to say that we would be able to reach the target of 100 million tons at the end of the Third Plan. This was a very important question that had been raised at the time of the debate on the Demands for Grants relating to the Food and agriculture Ministry also. But, unfortunately, none of the three Ministers,—that is, the two Ministers in charge of agriculture and food and the Deputy Minister,—gave us any answer on this point, as to how, when during the ten years, the average increase had been only up to the tune of 10 million tons, we would be able to reach the target of

100 million tons at the end of the Third Plan; nor did they disclose what steps were being taken to reach this target.

The second point that I made was that certain incentives were needed for the purpose of increased agricultural production. One of the incentives was that the administrative machinery or the administrative set-up that has to carry out the schemes and implement the plans about agriculture and food production should be geared to the extent necessary to enable it to carry out those plans. In that connection, I drew the attention of the House to the *Report of the Agricultural Administration Committee* made as far back as 1958. There, they have recommended three important things. Firstly, they have stated:

"Willingness to recognise the Agriculture Department as a major and important department is still lacking and there is a strong need for planning and distribution of national intellect."

Secondly, they have stated that:

"Low scales of pay do not attract talent. To attract the best talent available in the country to the field of agriculture, they should be paid at par with the administrative services. The existing disparity has lowered the structure of agricultural services in this country."

12.56 hrs.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BEARGAVA in the Chair.]

Then, there was another recommendation pertaining to the creation of an All India Agricultural Service.

These recommendations came up for consideration by the State Agriculture Ministers as far back as February, 1959. Still, we find that nothing has been done. Of course, I concede that agriculture and food is

a State subject, but the overall supervision is the responsibility of the Centre, and the Centre is contributing to a large extent in the matter of agricultural development. Yet, I find that nothing has been done in this regard. Therefore, I would beg of the House as also of the hon. Minister of Agriculture who is not present here, just now to take this into consideration, namely that it is most necessary that the Agricultural administration at the State level should be geared up on the lines of the recommendation of the Agricultural Administration Committee, which was later accepted by the State Agriculture Ministers.

My next point regarding incentive is on the question of price. I may just remind the House of the speech which the hon. Minister of Food and Agriculture made during last budget debate. While discussing the question of stabilisation of prices, he said:

"Along with the question of stabilisation, there must also be some kind of economic and remunerative price for the farmer. There must be some kind of formulae in which both these things are adjusted and some time even with a subsidy to the farmer, which has got to be given."

Later on, he discussed how much money the other countries were spending for the purpose of stabilisation of prices, and then he made a commitment and said:

"All these things have got to be considered in a most careful manner. Therefore, the Chief Ministers and the Planning Commission are meeting."

This was said as far back as April, 1960. Since then, a year has passed, and still, we do not know where we stand. This time also, none of the hon. Ministers in charge of the Food

[Shri Ajit Singh Sarhadi]

and Agriculture Ministry referred in the least to the question of prices. This point was also raised during the debate on the Demands for Grants relating to the Food and Agriculture Ministry, namely that a remunerative and economic price should be fixed for the food products.

In this connection, I would submit that it is most painful to see that the commitment made a year back, that a committee will be appointed to consider the question of price-fixation, still remains unfulfilled. If this is the situation, then I do not know how incentive is going to be given to the farmer. The recent reports and the few papers that have been circulated to us some time back only say this that controls have been removed and the situation about prices is being watched. But I would submit that it was a definite commitment made that a committee would be appointed to determine what the remunerative and economic price for the food products should be.

That has not been done. This point has already been taken up by many hon. Members. But I would repeat that it is most essential that we should have an economic price prevailing in the country. You will find that in the United States of America, they are spending as large an amount of Rs. 3000 crores for the purpose of stabilising prices, by way of subsidy and other measures. That is what they are doing. They have got a surplus of nearly 9½ billion tons, a part of which are dumping on us.

13 hrs.

So my respectful submission at the outset is that in case we are really serious about increasing agricultural production, in case we really believe that agriculture constitutes the foundation on which the industrial development and prosperity of the country depend, we shall have to lay

more emphasis on agriculture. The condition of the agricultural labourers is the worst. So far as the prices are concerned, we have got an indication of the conditions in the hon. Finance Minister's speech. He mentioned that the price of manufactures has risen by 11 per cent in 1960 as compared to the previous year, the price of rice has risen only by 7 per cent and that of wheat has gone down by 11 per cent.

I have already referred to the disparity that prevails between the income of the agriculturalists, whether labourers or cultivators, and of the industrial workers. As I mentioned, according to the speech of the hon. Minister, the price of wheat has gone down by 11 per cent, whereas the price of manufactures has risen by 11 per cent. I submit that this is a point which needs consideration at the hands of the Finance Minister.

Now I come to agricultural labour. The Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee have give us the figures. They have said that the average income of an entire agricultural household attached labour from all sources was Rs. 492 in 1956-57 thereby showing a per capita income of Rs. 98 per year. As compared to that, the annual income from all sources an entire household of agricultural casual labour is Rs. 417, or Rs. 84 per capita.

We now have the figures according to the 1961 census. According to that, we have been told that the per capita income in 1956-57, the first year of the Second Plan, was Rs. 275-60, and it has risen to Rs. 276 during the first four years of the Second Plan. Taking these income figures according to the latest census which have appeared in the Press, we can see the disparity that prevails, the low income which agricultural labour has got. Of course, we have not got

the census of the huge number of agricultural labour that is under-employed and unemployed. Investigations in this respect have shown that they do not find work for more than half a year. Therefore, I respectfully submit that this is also a point for consideration.

Of course, so far as the supply of fertilisers, and other incentives necessary for better production are concerned, namely finance, improved implements and so on, something has been done, but not to the extent which can be called sufficient. In the matter of rural credit, there is a lot of backwardness. These are the first series of points I wanted to make while speaking on this Bill.

Now I come to another point. I congratulate the hon. Finance Minister on the remissions he has given in respect of certain of his taxation proposals. I am particularly grateful to him for the exemption that he has given in regard to the cases of weavers and power looms who have got 3 to 4 looms. So far so good. But I beg to submit that here too greater emphasis should be laid at the level of the cottage, village and small-scale industries. In this connection, I submit that they constitute the largest employers.

Then a lot of objection has been taken in regard to certain taxation proposals. It has been stated that the taxes are more of an indirect nature and that they should be direct. I fail to understand how this criticism is well-placed or justified. Always in a country which is under-developed and which wants to develop and wants to raise internal resources there will be more indirect taxation. The percentage of our indirect taxation is not as large as in many other countries like France, even Soviet Russia, Switzerland or even Pakistan. In Pakistan, indirect taxation is to the tune of 70 per cent. Therefore, it is wrong to say that there should be no emphasis on indirect taxation.

As regards internal resources, I would certainly say here that despite the fact that the agricultural sector which constitutes 80 per cent of the population of the country produces 50 per cent of the national wealth, it is not contributing towards internal resources at all, for the reason that agriculture is not sufficiently developed.

I am glad to note from the hon. Finance Minister's speech yesterday that we have turned the corner as regards industrial projects which we have initiated and embarked upon, and they will give us a return in the next five years of Rs. 440 crores. Certainly that will be a contribution towards planning. But so far as the agricultural sector is concerned, nothing is paid by that sector in this direction because of the poor production. Therefore, it is in the long-range interest of the country that conditions should be created in that sector whereby they may also be able to contribute by increased production to the internal resources.

My last point is about the administrative services. The administrative services do acquire to be improved. It is very fortunate that we have got talent in the country. Army personnel in this country retire at an age when they are quite young. My respectful submission is that this talent, which is disciplined, should be availed of. You will find in certain States such as Rajasthan—whose names I do not recollect now—12½ per cent of the new services are manned by retired army personnel. I would submit that the other States also should follow suit in this respect. We have tried the experiment of putting army people on civilian jobs. Take the Ashoka Hotel. There a military officer is in charge, and we find that in the year just ended the profit has gone up to Rs. 37 lakhs. Similarly, army personnel are doing other civilian jobs also. I understand that a retired General is going to be appointed to take charge at Rourkela.

My submission is that we could improve the tone of the administration by utilising the military talent

[Shri Ajit Singh Sarhadi]

which is retiring or which has retired. They are a disciplined lot. Unless we raise the tone of the administration, I fail to understand how we can go ahead with our planning. I hope the Central Government would take this point also into consideration that army personnel, whenever they retire, should be absorbed, and a certain percentage should be fixed for each State to be recruited from such personnel.

With these words, I support the Finance Bill.

**Shri Nagi Reddy (Anantapur):** This is the first Finance Bill of the Third Five Year Plan and therefore it indicates the shape of things to come in the coming four years in the Finance Ministry if the same Finance Minister continues to be at the head of the Ministry.

This first Finance Bill has created a different atmosphere in different sections of the people. The classes whom the Finance Minister represents, the Indian and foreign monopolists, have been extremely happy at the way in which he has proceeded, being practical-minded as he has called it, at the sense of realism and the courage with which he has come forward to impose heavy burdens on the common man through indirect taxes.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** May I correct the hon. Member? I do not represent any foreign monopolists. I represent that Surat constituency, where there are no monopolists. I represent the whole constituency.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** Through the Finance Bill, he represents the Indian and foreign monopolists, and for the election he represents the Surat constituency. I am glad he corrected me in one respect.

They have been so happy that the bulls in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras have run amuck in the first few days after the Finance Bill. It is not my

comment. It is the comment of the *Economic Times*, in which one of the economic writers had written that the bulls with fervour had increased their capacity to shake the stock exchange in greeting to the Finance Minister for the very excellent Budget that he had framed. And the reason given was, his Budget is a Budget to soak the poor and to enrich the rich. I am glad that the Finance Minister for once has come forward with an open Budget for the people to understand what he and his Ministry stand for.

If this is the exhilaration with which one section of the people support it and acclaim the Finance Minister, the other section of the people, the common man who drinks tea and takes betel nut, naturally is dejected and demoralised at the way in which the Finance Ministry is developing the financial resources of the country, and does not see any hope of progress so far as he is concerned. These are the two dangerous aspects I note in our country after the Finance Bill has been placed before the House.

A series of tax concessions has been the way of the Finance Ministry in the past four years. The more the tax concessions, the greater the demand for more concessions. This time, if you want an example, a tax concession on bonus shares has been given. Naturally, we would expect that the people who are benefiting out of it will be satisfied with the tax concession. On the other hand, they have taken it as a victory in principle, and they are hoping that in the next fiscal year it might be altogether removed. I would not be surprised if it happens, because it is they who have been winning all round. Concession after concession has been given to them. Be it in the capital gains tax, the excess profits tax, income-tax, wealth tax or corporation tax, everywhere, all round, capital incentives have been given to them, so that they might accumulate more capital. We are

also helping them. We should not forget that the people's money through the various finance corporations in our country is also being pumped into the private sector. All the same, the private sector in our country is yet unhappy for the reason that the public sector is getting a portion of the funds. If we transfer all the funds to the private sector, probably they would be happier, and if the Finance Ministry were to have its way of development, it would also progress in the direction they are hoping the country should take.

Two or three years ago, when the gift tax was being discussed in this House, I had quoted a passage from Mr. Kaldor's *Indian Tax Reform*, and I had hoped that the Government of India would not give rise to such comments in future. In regard to direct taxation, he had quoted one Henry Simons and said;

"Henry Simons called the direct tax systems of the capitalist world 'a subtle kind of moral and intellectual dishonesty,.... a grand scheme of deception whereby enormous surtaxes are voted in exchange for promises that they will not be made effective. Thus, the politicians may point with pride to the rates, while quietly reminding their wealthy constituents of the loopholes'."

**The Deputy Minister of Community Development and Co-operation (Shri B. S. Murthy):** Where are you?

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** It would have been exactly the opposite if I had been there. Unfortunately, I am not. I shall be there some time.

**The Deputy Minister of Labour (Shri Abid Ali):** Never.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** You will not understand the progress of history. Therefore, the dangerous situation in which we are placed today both in regard to the external and internal resources due to the manner in which the financial problems have been

tackled in our country is already giving a sort of headache to the Third Plan even before it has begun. If we really want to progress faster with the Third Plan, then we must actually look a little behind and find out the actual difficulties, and wherefrom these difficulties are flowing, to rectify the existing troubles.

We are told that in order to increase exports, we will have to tax a particular commodity, for example tea. We are told that tea is being taxed because consumption should be reduced, so that exports can increase, but is it because there is greater consumption that exports have decreased? Is this point which is being posed before the people by the Finance Minister that we will have to increase our exports by consuming less, true? I am afraid it is not the complete truth, it is not even half the truth.

Let me remind the Finance Minister of a speech delivered on foreign trade and foreign aid by one of our most eminent men, Mr. B. K. Nehru, Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs, when he spoke in the United Nations. He said:

"...the first thing the industrialised countries can do in order to help the developing countries to help themselves is to remove the present obstacles to the exports of these countries."

Therefore, the main difficulty in our export trade is not that we are consuming more and therefore not exporting. The main difficulty exists because there have been obstacles to our exports to these countries. Instead of fighting the obstacles that have been created by the Western countries and their monopolists against our exports, why does the Finance Minister want to fight the common man by taxing him more so that the exports can increase? If you cannot understand the disease, you can never administer the proper medicine, and unfortunately our Finance Minister

[Shri Nagi Reddy]

can never understand the disease existing in our economy which is due to the dubious role that is being played by the Western financial monopolists. He can never understand it, and therefore, he can never implement a correct policy to increase our exports and thereby augment our resources.

In the same way, the question of proper prices for their exports and imports is a problem in every undeveloped country. Even there, we do not fight the people who have been responsible for it, but we say: if sugar exports are to be increased, the prices are very low in other countries, what can we do? Tax the consumer, so that we can export more. Every time the question of export is taken into consideration, the question is posed before the country as if we should tax ourselves for the sake of the export trade. The much more important fact is that our export trade has dwindled because of the cut-throat competition of the Western capitalist economy which is running round and round in recessions, partial recovery and further recession. This nature of the capitalist economy cannot be changed either by the Finance Minister or any other financiers of this world. It is in this situation that we should think as to what we should do to augment our resources.

For example, today's *Statesman* has pointed out a very important factor. It says that India desperately needs this year at least Rs. 304 crores by way of fresh aid. What for? This is because foreign exchange deficit arises not so much from the import of capital goods. We are not facing foreign exchange crisis because we are importing capital goods for the Third Plan projects as from the repayment liabilities and from the country's inability to pay for the current maintenance imports. Why is it that we are unable to pay for the current maintenance imports? The thing is clear.

See, our trade with U.S.A. The exports to U.S.A. have been decreasing year after year whereas the imports from U.S.A. have been increasing year after year. For example, the imports from U.S.A. were in 1955-56, Rs. 89 crores and the exports were Rs. 87 crores. And in 1959-60, the imports from U.S.A. were Rs. 195 crores whereas the exports were only Rs. 95 crores. That means Rs. 100 crores deficit in trade. In the same way, with West Germany the position is still worse. Our exports are only Rs. 19 crores whereas our imports are Rs. 118 crores. What then should we do? That is the question that should be asked. Instead of calling upon the people to pay and taxing them more, the question that should be asked and answered is, 'How is it that we can increase our resources?'

If we look at the figures, it will be clear that our trade with the socialist world has been increasing and increasing steadily—both our imports and exports. The imports, of course, are not increasing as fast as the exports are. For example, with the Communist countries, as it has been given, from the stage where we were importing only Rs. 11 lakhs worth of goods today we are importing nearly something like Rs. 19 crores. Whereas we were exporting only about Rs. 2 crores worth of our products, today, to the USSR, we are exporting nearly Rs. 30 crores worth. We are exporting more to the USSR, more than what we are exporting to West Germany. Yet we do not feel why we do not develop our trade fast enough with that country whose economy is developing day after day, without recession and without stagnation. Our economic ties have been, to this day, more than 90 to 95 per cent. existing only with capitalist countries whose economy is stagnant, whose economy is receding, whose economy is always in crisis and whose economy is more in recession than in recovery.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member must conclude soon.



**Shri Nagi Reddy:** Sir, I have taken only 10 minutes.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member has taken 13 minutes. He may take two more minutes.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** You mean 15 minutes, Sir?

**Mr. Chairman:** Yes.

**Shri Tangamani (Madurai):** He is the only spokesman from our group who has spoken.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** I expected that the first to speak from a group gets 25 to 30 minutes. But, I would sit immediately after the bell is rung.

**Mr. Chairman:** Every hon. Member is allowed 15 minutes.

**Shri Tangamani:** He is the spokesman from our party.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** Sir, this is the third time I am speaking on the Finance Bill. Generally, I have taken 35 minutes.

**Mr. Chairman:** A good many hon. Members have not spoken on the demands. This time they want to speak. It is in the interest of the hon. Members who are speaking.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** The general principle that is followed here is that the first speaker from a group is given more time than the other speakers.

**Mr. Chairman:** Is he the only speaker?

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** Not that I am the only speaker.

**Mr. Chairman:** Usually it is announced that the leaders of parties are given 20 minutes and other members are given 15 minutes. Does the hon. Member who is speaking say that he is the leader of his group?

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** I was speaking first. Whoever speaks first for the group is considered to speak as the leader of the group. But I am not at all worried whether the time is allowed or not. That is not my point.

I now come to the only point, to my last point. The point that I want to make is this. In this period there have been certain loans which have been additional loans from foreign countries. We have been told quite a number of times that no additional loans are ever accepted by the Government of India from any country.

I was going through a News-letter of the American Embassy, which is sent to all Members of Parliament regularly, dated January 4, 1961. I was really surprised at one of the items that has been published in that. We are told in that news-letter that one Mr. Perry, Managing Director of the D.L.F., speaking at the time of signing the agreement for the Trombay deal for the fertilizers, said the following:

"Our loan is significant because of its meaning for the future. During the negotiations of this loan, the Indian Government gave us an assurance that the U.S. private enterprise will have an opportunity to participate in the establishment of other fertilizer plants."

I am really surprised at a loan wherein an assurance or a kind of condition has been imposed upon the Government of India as to what their policy is going to be in the establishment of fertilizer factories in future. And the comment that has been made on the particular transaction by the *Economic Weekly*, an economic journal is very significant.

"Thus the U.S. Development Loan Fund authorities are known to have politely but firmly told the Indian Government that its providing the foreign exchange for the public sector plant at Trombay will be conditional on New Delhi's readiness to clear the way for U.S. collaboration in the private sector in setting up a number of fertiliser plants in the different parts of the country."

[Shri Nagi Reddy]

Here is an indication as to how we are moving. When I made the first comment in the beginning of my speech that the Finance Minister represents a particular section of the people in our country, he contested my statement. Here is a positive proof to say that here for the first time we have begun to take loans on the basis of a condition that we will allow them to enter into the fertilizer factories if they were to give us a loan for the Trombay factory.

This is not my statement; this is the statement that has been made by the President of the D.L.F. at the time when he signed the Trombay agreement. And, on the basis of a statement made by the President of the D.L.F. here is a comment made not by a communist but by one of the very respectable economic journals of our country. Therefore, the Finance Minister in his 4 years of power has carried this country in a certain direction which is certainly contrary to the direction that has been given by the Third Five Year Plan or the Second Five Year Plan. And, I hope he will not be allowed to carry the country in this direction still further. We had said at the time of his accession to power as Finance Minister that it was unhappy for the country that Shri Morarji Desai has been added or has been taken as the Finance Minister. At that we were very particular to point out that there is going to be a difficult situation arising after this, that he will not carry through the Second Five Year Plan in principle or in policy as has been accepted by the Parliament. And that has proved true.

Shri M. R. Masani (Ranchi—East): Mr. Chairman, before I get to the subject-matter, may I start with a little appeal to my friend, the Finance Minister? And that is that he might be good enough to try and answer some of the pleas that I propose to make. It is necessary for me to say this and to make this little request

to him because, on the last occasion, when the Budget was under discussion, during the general discussion of the Budget, I was sorry to find that none of the main arguments that I had advanced, whether in regard to the harshness of the excise duties and indirect taxation, nor the inflationary character of the Budget, nor the possibility of cutting down non-developmental expenditure, were answered. But the hon. Finance Minister chose to make a jibe or two and pass on to other matters.

The hon. Finance Minister would never make any inaccurate statement if he was conscious of that. But just to show how in the passion of debate, one gets into saying something, I say this. He allowed himself to say something which is not fair to himself or to the House in arguing that we in our Party believe in freedom on everything. He said:

"He is completely swatantra. He is swatantra in everything."

I am quoting from the Finance Minister's speech.

"I say this deliberately because I find in the rules that they have made that in the Party it is not necessary for any Member to vote together; they can vote as they like. . . They are swatantra in everything."

Now, there are just a few words missing to complete the story. If the hon. Finance Minister had bothered to quote or read the rules accurately he would have seen that they say that the Party holds that "democracy is best served if every political party allows freedom of expression to all its members on all matters falling outside the fundamental principles of the party". They go on to say "that whether in Parliament or elsewhere they are given the fullest liberty on all questions not falling within the scope of these principles and the Statement of Policy".

**Shri Morarji Desai:** What are the principles?

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Naturally, the statement of policy and the principles cover a large ground of political and socio-economic affairs that affect the country. Therefore, the hon. Finance Minister will realise how even an honest and careful person like himself can be carried away when, instead of trying to answer arguments, he allows himself the luxury of throwing a jibe at his political opponents. I hope on this occasion he will try to take part in the dialogue which we in a democracy try to carry on.

Now, to get to the subject. Last time, on the discussion on the Budget, we from these Benches had opposed the indirect taxation which forms the main feature of this Budget, and I do not propose to repeat that plea. Public opinion in this country has manifested itself and yesterday's hartal throughout India organised by the radio trade has also shown the depth of feeling in this matter from the sections and interests concerned. Today, I would rather concentrate on the direct taxation measures of this Budget, and the main point to which I would focus attention is the increase in the surcharge levied on higher incomes. The rate of surcharge has now been increased from 5 to 10 per cent on earned incomes over one lakh of rupees. It has been argued that this is 'only Rs. 3 crores'. What is this Rs. 3 crores? It is always the last straw that breaks the camel's back. This sum of Rs. 3 crores has to be taken in conjunction with the already excessive burden in the way of direct taxation which exists in this country. The Draft Outline of the Third Plan itself admits that saturation point had been reached in so far as direct taxation is concerned and it goes on to say that no further increase is possible. I will read from the *Draft Outline of the Third Five Year Plan*:

"As regards income and corporation tax, further increase in

yields will have to be sought mainly through tightening of tax administration, watch on expenditure accounts of companies and other measures to check tax evasion."

In spite of this, we find that a further burden of direct taxation, not on unearned incomes but on the earned incomes of people who really earn that money, is being levied this time.

This comes in very distressing contrast to what has been done in Britain in the last few days. We have seen there that, quite contrary to what we have done, the level at which the surcharge is levied in Britain has been raised in order to give relief to the very same people who are going to be mulcted and penalised by our present proposals, namely, business executives, managers, professional people and higher civil servants, people who from their fixed incomes may be expected to save something and invest it in the productive processes of the country. Therefore, while the British Budget is progressive, this Budget is regressive in its application on this particular point.

I think it is important to draw attention to this in spite of the small amount of Rs. 3 crores involved because it raises a very important issue: the issue of whether high incomes are good or bad for this country. In this country, a phobia is being worked up by communists and semi-communist quarters that high incomes are bad. Envy is legitimised and, called by the glorified name of socialism. A mean instinct is sought to be made out to be something good.

Now, Sir, what are the principles of sound taxation? Let me quote from the latest report on taxation by the Committee of Economic Development in the United States, a very high level research and intellectual body:

"Taxes must be high enough to cover the expenses of Government over the years, but not so

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high as to repress growth, or to inhibit risk taking and individual initiative: high enough to create a surplus in prosperous times, that provides funds for private investment through retirement of government debt, and helps restrain inflation, but not so high as to prevent the attainment of high employment."

The needs of the Government have to be balanced against the Fundamental Right guaranteed by our Constitution to our citizens that the fruits of their labour and their enterprise will be left to them for their own enjoyment.

We always talk a great deal of capital formation and we all agree that capital formation is India's prime need today. But who is going to form this capital? Since 85 to 90 per cent of production in our country is done by the citizens of this country and not by the Government, it is obvious that the formation of capital also is primarily the task of the people of India and not that of the Government or the State. It is the business people, professional people like lawyers doctors and architects, higher civil servants, salaried managers in industry these are the people who can afford to save a little from their income and who can invest it in industry; these are the capital-formers of our country and whatever we do in the country by way of taxation, we have to bear in mind that the vital process of capital formation must not be impeded or retarded.

Now capital formation depends upon profit. Without profit, there would be no capital formation because people who form capital expect profit for their capital. No Government would be possible unless there was private profit because taxes to the Government are only possible when private profit first comes into existence.

In the last few days, we have welcomed in our own country as a diplomat a very distinguished academic figure from the United States. He, unlike me, is not a believer in free enterprise; he is a socialist and he believes in the expansion of the State sector in a country like his own. I am referring to Professor Galbraith. But when it comes to a country like ours, which is undeveloped, Professor Galbraith has the wisdom to see that what may be good for his country may be very bad for ours. And I shall take the liberty of quoting him because he has been an adviser to our Government and holds views very similar to theirs. Says Professor Galbraith:

"To give people income and then remove it by taxation, inflation or appeals to thrift is an inefficient and self limiting procedure. . . . In poor and ill governed societies, private goods mean comfort and life itself. Food, clothing and shelter, all technically subject to private purchase and sale, have an urgency greater than any public service with the possible exception of the provision of law and order. The burden of proof is on any step that diverts resources from the satisfaction of these simple biological requirements to the almost invariably spend thrift services of the State."

This is the issue between my hon. friend the Finance Minister and myself. He is seeking by this Budget to divert from these primary requirements of human beings, food, shelter and clothing, money for public services which, as Professor Galbraith says, are invariably wasteful in their impact. I believe that more money should be left with the people so that they may invest in productive enterprise because productive enterprise is run better by the people than by any better by the people than by any Government that can possibly exist.

however efficient it may be. This therefore, is the issue. Wisdom dictates that a margin of money should be left with people to fructify in their pockets so that savings may accumulate, and for that you must give incentives.

The National Council of Applied Economic Research in our country, a body which is not Government-run but certainly Government approved and aided, has made a study of the impact of direct taxation on our productivity in this country. I would like to quote two or three basic propositions from the report brought out by that body, fortunately a few weeks ago before the Budget was introduced: The first fact that comes out is this: that the rate of growth and the rate of profit in this country are declining. There are demagogues who go round saying that the profits are very high and must be brought down. The facts are exactly the reverse. In the last few years, the rate of industrial growth and the rate of profit have been going down in this country. I shall quote from the report—page 35.

"...The rate of growth of paid-up capital of operating registered companies has fallen from 10.4 per cent in 1951-52 to 3.6 per cent in 1959-60."

A big drop from 10.4 per cent to 3.6 per cent.

"...Nor it is correct to say that the rate of profits in the industrial sector has gone up since 1951. The index of profits after tax as a percentage of net worth for all industries worked out by the Reserve Bank of India (on

the basis of a sample of companies) has actually shown a declining trend. The index (with 100 in 1950) stood at 124.7 in 1951 and at 84.- in 1957."

So profits have been slashed in an unconscionable manner in this country in the last ten years. But people say that the economy goes on. That is a tribute to the vitality and the spirit of the enterprise of our people, not to the wisdom of Government's policies. If this country has not gone to the dogs already, if we are not bankrupt already thanks go to no one but the common people of India who have the patriotism and the hard work and the spirit of enterprise to break through reactionary and restrictive governmental policies.

The second thing that comes out of the Report is that the rate of saving has stagnated. In spite of all the measures that Government have taken, there is no improvement in the rate of saving of our people, naturally, for the reasons which we have just seen. This is that the Report says:

"...Over the second Plan period the rate of savings in the economy has not risen at all, but has stagnated around 8 per cent of the national income."

Then the Report goes on to draw conclusions, and the first conclusion is that private savings must be promoted by fiscal policies. It says:

"It has often been suggested that in India higher taxation is an important method of financing public investment. Whatever may be the theoretical merits of this proposition, in practice it is found that current expenditure under the Plans as well as outside them is rising so fast that even substantial increases in tax revenues are almost wholly absorbed by the rise in such current expenditure; with the result that by far the

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greater part of public investment has to be financed through a draft on private savings and foreign aid.... It seems clear that in the foreseeable future a large part of public net investment would have to be financed private savings.... In this situation the need to promote a higher rate of private savings deserves the Government's closest attention."

Then the Report goes on to deal with the parrot cry of concentration of capital and power that is raised in this House and outside. If there is any concentration of power today, of economic power, it is in the hands of the gentlemen who sit in the Treasury Benches. But that apart, if you want to decentralise industry, if you want diffusion of economic power, which we all want—I want it as much as my hon. friend the Finance Minister—then the Report points out that it can be achieved. It says:

"If it is desired to bring about diffusion of economic power and prevent its concentration in the hands of a few large corporations, it is vitally important to encourage the promoting of new enterprises by new entrepreneurs. For this to be possible, as pointed out earlier, individuals must be allowed and even encouraged to accumulate sufficient amounts of wealth."

And the conclusion to which the Report comes is this:

"We recommend that the pace of progression of super-tax be reduced so that the highest marginal rate will become operative at a higher level than at present."

Government in their wisdom have now recommended to us to do exactly the reverse of what this learned report concludes. All the facts are clear. The argument is logical. But

the Government have drawn exactly the reverse of this conclusion: Progression should be accentuated rather than lowered. All this is done in the name of "equality" and "socialism." At this stage there is a choice before the country. There is a conflict, a conflict between the socialist dogma and economic growth and development of our country. And I notice that even my hon. friend Shri Asoka Mehta from the Socialist benches wrote in an article on 7th March thus:

"We need to encourage industrial growth, but that must not run counter to our socialist objectives."

Shri Asoka Mehta therefore concedes that economic growth is only to be allowed to the extent that the contrary demands of socialist dogma do not get over ridden. He is a socialist and he is entitled to put his dogma higher than the national interest. But I would ask whether Parliament as a whole which is not wedded to this dogma has a right to retard the growth of our national industries, to retard the growth of the standard of life of our people, for the sake of this socialist dogma to which my hon. friend is committed?

Thirty or forty years ago, people made revolutions in other countries in pursuit of the same dogma but they learnt later that equality was inconsistent with growth and progress. So they threw equality on the scrapheap. The leader of my hon. friends on the right, Mr. Stalin, said as far back as 1932 that "equality is a petty, bourgeois conception worthy only of a primitive society.... It has nothing to do with socialism".

Mr. Kosygin, one of his followers, who was in our country the other day as a guest of our Government, is reported to have said that he was distressed to find that our State enterprises do not pay as good salaries and wages as private industrialists do

outside. He thought that it was a bad thing—that State enterprises were paying their labour and their officers too little. It is reported in the same press report that he referred to the incentives being offered in his own country. Now, we know that in Russia, the managerial class, the new capitalist class—if you like to call it, the new State Capitalist class—is paid very much more in differential terms compared to the workers, than the managers and capitalists in America or the capitalists in Britain today. The range of inequality in Soviet Russia far exceeds the inequalities in income between the poorest and the richest people in those countries. That is not because they love to go back on that dogma, because they are hard realists and they have learnt the hard way that equality does not go along with progress. Inequality is a necessary part of life, within certain limits, under certain controls and regulation. Inequality is the price of progress and the whole of the history shows that without inequality there can be no progress in human affairs. Therefore it is a necessary (*Interruption*) evil that has to be tolerated while human beings and human nature are what they are. I suggest that in whatever else we do not follow Soviet Russia, we might follow it in this particular regard of economic realism and give up dogma when it becomes clear that that the dogma of equality does not permit of the growth of capital accumulation which our country needs so badly.

On the other hand, the followers of Mr. Kosygin in this country naturally want us to go into the ditch and therefore Shri Bhupesh Gupta in the other House, when he opened the debate, argued contrary to Mr. Kosygin that the salaries of the people outside the State sector should be brought down to the level of the salaries of civil servants—putting the whole thing upside down and making it stand on its head. Naturally he does not want our country to pro-

gress. He wants the theory of increasing misery to be tried out. Therefore he suggests the wrong remedy. But it was a sad thing to find that the members of the Congress Party in that House walked into the trap and joined him in saying: "Yes, let us bring down the incomes of people in this country to the income paid to civil servants, who are under-paid in our country". The logic is all wrong. If you want in our State enterprise efficient managers, we should be prepared to pay for them the kind of salary that they would get outside.

Let me give an example from Britain, which has a very heavily socialised sector. Only the other day, the British Government appointed Dr. Beeching, a very senior executive from Imperial Chemical Industries, to be the Chairman of the Railway Board of Britain, and this appointment was made on a salary of £24,000 a year or Rs. 26,000 a month—certainly a very big salary. There was a furore, and the British Government in the House of Commons justified this appointment by saying: "We cannot get good brains, we cannot get talent if we are not prepared to pay for them. Therefore, since we want the best people in our State sector, we shall compete for them with private industry." That is the spirit, and the *London Economist* points out that this remuneration was fixed to match what Dr. Beeching was receiving from the ICI, averaging over a five-year period. At the end of five years, he has the right to re-enter ICI without losing his pension rights, and so on. So, everything was done to make it possible for this very talented man to come and take charge of the British railways on the basis that in five years he would convert losses into profits. That, I suggest, is the spirit of real socialism and not the spirit of pulling everyone down to the level of the poorest member of our community.

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

**Shri M. R. Masani:** I said that direct taxation in this country was already too high. Let me just give the figures before I conclude. The surcharge has been made applicable, and it rises from five per cent to ten per cent on incomes over Rs. 1 lakh. Let us see what a man earning Rs. 1,06,000 per year in our country today pays compared to a man in other countries with the same income. A man with Rs. 1,06,000 in India today pays 53.1 per cent on his earned income by way of taxes. Except for one country in the whole world, everywhere else in the world a man with that much income pays much less. In the United Kingdom, for man with the same income, it is 46.2 per cent; in West Germany it is 35.5 per cent; in France it is 25.9 per cent;—half of ours; in the USA, it is also half of ours—23.1 per cent; in Canada it is 27.1 per cent; in Japan it is 36.8 per cent. The one country where the rate is higher for the same man is Norway; the rate there is 62.8 per cent. But Norway has not got the aggregation of direct taxation that we have. When you add the wealth-tax, the expenditure tax and the capital gains tax to such a man, it is also likely that he would also pay at that level namely, on Rs. 1,06,000. So here we have the highest-taxed man in the whole world.

This is borne out by the statement of Mr. Richard S. Perkins, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the First National City Bank of New York, who recently said:

"We operate in 30 countries and I find that the tax-rate here in India is the highest".

He gave that as the reason why foreign capital was shy of coming into the country. We in India need foreign capital. We should throw our doors wide open to foreign capital to come at its own risk and develop our country by bringing tools and machinery, so that our people could be put to work, because we have too many people and too little capital. Here in this way we are inhibiting

the coming in of private capital and thus retarding the growth of this country.

All this amounts to punishing hard work and to punishing success.

I wish to conclude by reading something, not from a private capitalist, but from the Adviser to the National Coal Board of Britain, a very eminent socialist economist Dr. E. F. Schumacher. He says:

"The alternative to coercion cannot be provided by economic planning, because that itself presupposes coercion. It cannot be found when spiritual realities are dismissed as being of no account or treated as subservient to economic aims. It cannot be found when the people are considered as objects which must be driven, cajoled, or manipulated. Perhaps the best—perhaps the only effective slogan for aid is: "Find out what the people are trying to do and help them to do it better"

**Shri Nathwani (Sorath):** The Finance Bill seeks to introduce an additional revenue of about Rs. 60 crores. In March and even yesterday, the Finance Minister announced certain concessions with the result that there would be a loss of revenue to the extent of Rs. 6 crores. It has been considered that in the light of the requirements of the Third Five Year Plan, substantial revenues will have to be raised by taxation, but there has been a criticism even by those who are friendly that this additional taxation has not been fairly distributed between the direct taxation and indirect taxation. I would like to examine this criticism.

It has been stated that whereas indirect taxation has been increasing rather at a very rapid rate and thereby imposing a burden which is unduly harsh on the common man, the rich people and even the well-to-do class almost escape from the impact of direct taxation. So far



as the position of the common man is concerned, considering the articles of daily consumption, whether they are necessities or not, even if he is habituated to smoking, etc., still even if we confine our attention to those articles which are daily used by the common man, we should like to examine the exact impact of the excise during the last ten years on their income.

In this connection, only recently a paper was placed on the Table of this House by the Deputy Minister for Planning, which deals with the condition of the working classes in 11 places. It, of course, does not pretend to be a very scientific or accurate precise study of the impact of excise duties on their living. Nevertheless, if we read their conclusion, it does broadly indicate the effect or the impact of excise duties during the last ten years. I will read the conclusion reached by the Planning Commission in this behalf. It say:

"The tentative conclusion seems to be that the effect of indirect taxation on the indices over the last ten years would be probably of the order of about  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent per year, though the lower and upper limits of this incidence (annual) are 0.4 per cent to 1.0 per cent respectively."

13.56 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Therefore, taking into consideration the effect of excise duties on articles of daily use by working classes, it has come in the aggregate to Rs. 5 during the last five years. Can it be suggested that this incidence is unduly harsh or severe on the common man? Generally speaking, the average monthly income of a worker is considered to be around Rs. 100. The bulk of the people have their income less than this figure. Thereby, their standard of living is rather lower and therefore, their contribution by way of excise imposed would be less than what we find in the case of an

average worker. Therefore, it is not true to say that the impact of excise duties on consumers, on the average man, has been unduly severe. No doubt it involves sacrifice. It does impose an additional burden; yet as against that, it must be borne in mind that he benefits out of the development processes and also the social services are available in a larger measure.

It is stated that so far as the rise in direct taxation is concerned, the proportion is not maintained. I want to dispel this illusion that during the last three years, there has not been a steady increase in direct taxes. For that, even if we compare the budget estimates of last year with the budget estimates of the present year, it would be a very revealing and illuminating study. I find that so far as the central budget is concerned, the proportion of direct taxes to the total taxation in the 1960-61 budget estimate comes to 31.2 per cent, and indirect taxes on commodities and services come to 68.8 per cent. If we come to the present year, if we look to the Finance Bill as it stands today, we find that though there has been such a large increase in indirect taxation, still the percentage is exactly the same this year. So far as the proportion of direct taxes to the total taxes is concerned, it comes exactly to 31.2 per cent. So far as the percentage of indirect taxation is concerned, it is 68.8.

Even if this comparison does not help or impress hon. Members, I would invite attention to the total direct tax receipts—their estimates in the last year's budget and the present one. One finds that in the last year's budget estimate the total sum that was expected was of the order of Rs. 240 crores. This year, it has been estimated to be at Rs. 271 crores. Thus, there has been an increase of Rs. 31 crores in direct taxation revenue. Even if we make an allowance in this for wealth tax on companies, which has been abolished, to the extent of Rs. 5 crores to Rs. 6

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crores, still we find that there has been an increase of Rs. 25 crores during the last one year.

I venture to say that this increase is not entirely due to a rise in incomes, but a substantial part of it is attributable directly according to me to the change in the structure of company taxation that was introduced two years ago.

14 hrs.

So, sir, during the last three years, not only we have increased wealth tax, not only we have increased direct taxation on earned income over a lakh of rupees as we have done this year, but because of the abolition of the system of grossing up which was introduced two years ago the net effect has been to increase substantially our direct taxation by way of income-tax and corporate tax. Therefore, it is not correct to suggest that there has been no proportionate rise in the rates even of direct taxation. Even some careful students have failed to observe this aspect of the matter, and they go on stating that during the last two years whereas we have a formidable bill of about Rs. 100 crores by way of excise there has been no substantial increase in the rates of direct taxation.

But, Sir, this does not mean that there is no room for improvement in the direct taxation I personally think that in the light of requirements of the Third Five Year Plan, time has come to review and to revise our tax structure. At the beginning of the Second Five Year Plan, we embarked upon what was considered to be a radical and comprehensive tax reform. We called it an integrated tax structure. We introduced in 1957 wealth tax and expenditure tax. It was supposed to be a very flexible system of taxation. In the next year, namely, in the year 1958, we introduced also the gift tax. The reason for introducing that was this. It was stated that gifts during life time operates to reduce the inci-

dence of estate duty, income-tax and wealth tax. In order to plug that loophole the gift tax was introduced. Then it was expected that as a result of introduction of gift tax our recoveries in other direct taxes would also improve and therefore it would serve the purpose of even removing to some extent the disparities in wealth and income. This was the high, laudable motive with which we embarked upon revision of our tax structure in a radical manner.

But, Sir, we wanted to treat cautiously, we wanted to maintain economic incentives, we wanted to avoid temptations to tax-payers to sabotage the entire tax structure. Therefore, we made liberal, rather over-liberal concessions and exemptions. There were left gaps, wide gaps, you may call them enormous gaps, with the result that,—now that we have got certain facts and figures before us we can see the working of this entire tax structure and find the result—estate duty which was supposed to bring about—it was believed at the time when it was introduced—from Rs. 10 crores to Rs. 15 crores, does not yield even today, even after the imposition of other tax measures, a sum of even Rs. 3 crores.

Shri C. D. Pande (Naini Tal): Are people not dying enough?

Shri Nathwani: They are dying, but they avoid successfully the payment of duty because of the large loopholes which we deliberately, out of good considerations, left—I am coming to that.

As regards expenditure tax, as regards gift tax, it was supposed that they will yield Rs. 3 crores each. Even after tightening the provisions of expenditure tax, in the year 1959 the yield is hardly about Rs. 1 crore, and gift tax does not yield even Rs. 80 lakhs.

Shri C. D. Pande: The estimates must have been wrong rather than the yields. Is it not possible to have wrong estimates?

**Shri Nathwani:** No. The original estimates appeared to me to be correct, but as we made substantial concessions and allowed exemptions its effect had been to deflate their expected revenue.

Today we are faced with this position. Now all these taxes yield practically negligible amounts. And, particularly in the context of mounting figures of our annual revenues from other sources, are we now going to maintain these taxes or are we going to review them and revise them suitably so as to attain their main purpose? I feel, unless we review them and improve upon them so as to serve the original intentions with which we started these measures, it would be worthwhile, in my humble opinion, to scrap those tax reforms. Instead of incurring expenses in collecting these taxes like expenditure and gift tax, it would be worthwhile to scrap them. What is the value of Rs. 80 lakhs as against our total figure of over four figures. But I am not one of those who are in favour of their abolition. I am in favour of tightening the provisions. Many reforms have been suggested. An enquiry is being instituted in the distribution of income and so on. I would only suggest that time has come—I do know that the Government is also watching carefully, studying properly the effects of these taxes and it is applying its mind—when, even if it is not possible immediately to link up the estate duty and gift tax measures it is still possible to start as a mild measure to extend the period of two years, from two years to five years, and gifts made prior to that can be taken into account.

Again, so far as gift tax is concerned, we should not merely take into account the value of gifts made during that particular year but we should accumulate the past gifts—may be 5 years, 6 years or 7 years. Unless you gradually tone up our gift tax and estate duty on these lines, they are not going to serve the purpose which we had in mind.

I will say a word about bonus tax.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** And then finish.

**Shri Nathwani:** Before I conclude, Sir, I will have to say something about LIC.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I shall also say something about the time.

**Shri Nathwani:** Sir, I will not take much time. I heard the Finance Minister say yesterday that he was not satisfied about the demand for abolishing the bonus tax. If we go into the history even briefly, we will find that the only justification for introducing bonus tax was this, that in 1956 a tax was levied on excess dividends and as an integral part of that scheme it was proposed that bonus tax also should be levied, otherwise tax on excess dividends can be defeated, it can be circumvented, it can be escaped. That was the position. Now, with the abolition of excess profit tax the abolition of bonus tax has become overdue. It is good that a substantial concession has been given this year by the Finance Minister. But I think the very reason of its introduction has disappeared, particularly in the case of bonus shares which are distributed from share premium amounts because it is the money which belongs to the shareholders—they have paid it by way of premium and it is being returned to them. Therefore, with great respect to the Finance Minister, I think that there is a case for considering sympathetically the case of bonus shares.

I want to say one word about the recommendation made by the Estimates Committee regarding taking over the investible funds of the LIC by the Government. Sir, it has been supported by two reasons: firstly, in order to help the Plan programmes and, secondly, that such a course would serve better the diversification of industries and the social development of our country. But I am afraid that a proposal like this strikes at

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the very root of the insurance business. You cannot separate the two activities, namely, the activity of securing or doing business and the activity of its investment. It is one indivisible thing. If you try to separate the two, the result would be to weaken the efficiency of the institution. It must not be forgotten that the real beneficiaries in this case are the policy-holders. There are provisions in the Act which lay down that if any surplus is left, they alone would be entitled to receive it to the extent of 95 per cent. Therefore, it is not as if we are dealing with the surplus budget funds of the Government, which are lying at the disposal of the LIC. Before we deprive them of this advantage, we will have to change radically the Act also. There is also a new provision in the Act whereby Government can give proper and suitable directives to the Life Insurance Corporation. If the Estimates Committee felt that the interests of diversification and planned programmes can be better served by Government taking over the funds, there is ample provision whereby they can give directives to the Corporation to invest its funds in a particular manner. As the Act stands at present, there is ample provision for that.

**Shri C. D. Pande:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I have some sort of grievance against the Finance Minister for announcing certain tax reliefs yesterday on the eve of the discussion of the Finance Bill. This has indeed taken a lot of the sting out of the new taxation this year and I am grateful to him that he has so readily agreed and accepted the general demand of the people that small items should not be taxed or should be given exemptions. The small concessions which have been granted are widely welcomed, particularly by the handloom industry and small manufacturing industries, because it relieves them of a great deal of hardship. At the same time, the loss of revenue is only Rs. 6 crores. So, we can have the satisfaction that many

small businessmen are enjoying these concessions. By this I do not mean to say that there is not much to say about the taxation proposals. In my opinion, the Finance Minister, while introducing the budget, tapped too many items of taxation for small gains. As far as I know, as many as 50 to 60 items have been disturbed to get a revenue of Rs. 60 crores. I am of the view that the Finance Minister of the Government of India should never touch an item which does not yield at least Rs. 1 crore. Because, the moment he touches an item by tax, it disturbs the whole range of items in that group of industries. Therefore, if you collect Rs. 1 crore by way of taxation, the actual incidence on the consumer will be three times that amount, namely, Rs. 3 crores. If you propose to collect Rs. 60 crores by way of new taxes, the incidence of taxation on the consumers all round will be almost Rs. 120 crores to 150 crores. Because, the moment there is a tax, the prices go beyond the limit of that incidence or the tax that the State realises. I would appeal to the Finance Minister that he should devise some sort of machinery whereby, whenever he proposes some levy, the incidence on the public will be only that much as the State gets, and not much more than that, as is happening at present. Now, the moment a tax is announced, there is an inordinate rise in the price of that commodity, which has no relation to the incidence of taxation. I do not know what proposals he can have in this matter, but this is a subject which requires to be studied and dealt with very seriously. People do not object to taxation as such as much as to the inordinate rise in prices owing to the taxation proposals.

Shri Nathwani was just now telling us that there has been certain discrepancy in the excise duties and revenue from indirect taxes. Seeing the budgets for the last four years, I am of the view that there was no necessity for any taxation this year. The concluding portion of the speech of the Finance Minister on the budget day gave the impression that he seemed to

think that though there was no necessity for additional taxation, as we are on the threshold of the Third Five Year Plan, people should realise the enormous tasks ahead, the realisation of that task requires some sacrifices and effort and, therefore, the taxes should be imposed.

If we take the budget figures for the last three or four years, I may be able to prove that when you calculate the income, you under-estimate it; when you calculate an expenditure, you over-estimate it. The result is that there is a big gap between the items of revenue and expenditure year by year. This is characteristic of the budgets for the last three or four years. I will take one example. In the year 1959-60, the budgeted income from income-tax and customs was Rs. 132 crores and from Union excise duties Rs. 324 crores. But the actual figures of realisation were Rs. 156 crores for income-tax, a rise of Rs. 24 crores, and Rs. 360 crores for Union excise duties, an increase of Rs. 36 crores. Therefore, on these two items alone,—of course, they are major items—there has been a discrepancy, or over-realisation of revenues to the extent of Rs. 60 crores.

The position is the same on the expenditure side. You estimated, in one year, to spend about Rs. 854 crores. That was the revised estimate for the year 1959-60. The revised estimate should be as accurate as the actual figures, because the time lag between the actuals and the revised estimates is only 3 or 4 months. Therefore, to have a difference of Rs. 24 crores or 27 crores between the actual expenditure and the revised estimated expenditure is rather too heavy. What I am proving is that, on the one hand, you under-estimate the revenue and, on the other hand, you over-estimate the expenditure. The result is that every year there is a saving; or there ought to be a saving. If there is no saving, then there is something wrong somewhere.

The same thing has happened this year. That is my apprehension. You have not taken any hint from the dis-

crepancies in figures between the estimates and the actuals. You have estimated the same income even this year, though you have got a higher income from certain items this year, when the rate of taxation is the same as it was last year. Experience has shown us that the actuals are generally higher, in the case of income. Now you have again added Rs. 60 crores, and even after the remissions the amount will be Rs. 54 crores. My fear is that it will not remain at Rs. 54 crores but will go to Rs. 80 crores or 90 crores. I hope Members of Parliament have received the memoranda from the various associations. In the case of the plastic industry, though the taxation is about 20 per cent., as against their estimates, they will be yielding an income of Rs. 2.20 crores. In the case of refrigerators, you have estimated an income of Rs. 28 lakhs. But the actual receipt will be about Rs. 1 crore. In the case of certain items, the income will be almost double; if not double, it will be at least 50 per cent. There again you have under-estimate of income.

And now, for the first time in the history of this country, our budget has touched the all high figure of Rs. 1,023 crores, as they call it in America, an all time high figure.

Rs. 1,000 crores is the figure that we have reached for the first time and that also in the first year of the Third Plan. The people of this country do not mind any expenditure. I do not mind any expenditure. I tell you that this country has the best paying people. They grumble because everybody grumbles when he pays. But they do not grudge it. I am really surprised how from year to year we have been paying more and more. Of course, the capacity to pay must be there. But we have paid more than people in any other country.

When I came here in 1950 or 1951, the Budget was hardly of the order of Rs. 340 crores. Today it is of Rs. 1,000

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crores or more. We can understand to what extent people are capable of paying or are willing to pay for the sake of progress of this country. It is not only to the Central Government that they pay. As you may have seen from the figures of the Budget, the same story is in regard to States and municipal corporations. There is the three tier system of taxation. If you add up all the three tiers of taxation on a particular person, it comes to Rs. 75 per capita. I can say that it is Rs. 30 or Rs. 25 per capita in the Centre, Rs. 25 in the State on an average and Rs. 25 in the municipal corporation. Rs. 75 per capita taxation on an income of Rs. 300 per capita is very high taxation indeed. I think nowhere in the world can you find this much incidence of taxation on per capita income. Even then it is quite understandable because we have launched on a big venture and the venture is bearing fruit.

All that we have heard from the Government side in the last two months gives a very encouraging and a rosy picture that we have been able to increase industrial production by such and such percentages. To my mind there is a certain fallacy in these figures. It is true that our industrial production has gone up, say, from 100 to 148 or something, but the items that you have taken into calculation are on the whole minor items. For example, it is said that we have gone very high in the production of sewing machines, refrigerators or bicycles. In these the figures may even go up to 200 per cent. But if you just compare it with what has not been achieved, you will have the real picture.

I think the real picture is that in the production of certain items we have gone too high. It is a matter of great satisfaction that we have done so. We have increased food production from 53 or 54 million tons to 75 million tons. But should we not look into the target of our food production that was set for the Second Five Year Plan? Our target was 80 million tons and we stopped at 75 million tons. That means there is a drop of 5 million tons. It

looks a very small drop. People say, "What is there, only 5 million tons?" But this drop of 5 million tons is in an item for which we have to borrow from all over the world. We have to spend millions of rupees to get that 5 million tons or even less. The annual imports of foodgrains were 2½ to 3 million tons, whereas the shortfall is 5 million tons and we do not think much of this shortfall? Anyhow, in the matter of food we have done much better than we had expected.

The biggest drop in our targets is in the matter of finished steel. What was the target for finished steel? It was said that we would be producing 4.5 million tons of steel by the end of the Second Five Year Plan. The Second Plan has ended and what is the picture today? The picture is that we are very satisfied that as against 18 lakhs tons we are producing 22 lakh tons of finished steel. It is a great progress, of course, if you go into percentages. It comes to 25 per cent. increase. But it is a fallacious way of calculating. But the real thing is as to how it compares with 4½ million tons. It comes almost to 50 per cent. This shortfall in steel alone will set off the entire progress that you have made in sewing machines, cycles and similar items of production. Of course, they are all welcome, but one should not lose sight of the effects of a shortfall in such big and important articles of industrial production like steel. That was what I was impressing upon the House.

Steel is not the only thing. After steel, I take cement. For cement, we fixed a target of 13 million tons. 13 million tons was the target for the Second Plan. What is the figure that we have reached today? The figure is 8 million tons. The result is that there is shortage of cement. A further result of that is—the hon. Finance Minister should have been greatly interested in that result—that by not producing that additional 5 million tons of cement, he is losing Rs. 10 crores every year by way of excise. It may be even Rs. 12½ crores because the excise duty on

cement is Rs. 24 per ton. If 5 million tons of cement is not being manufactured because of a shortfall in the target, he is losing as Finance Minister almost Rs. 12 crores to Rs. 13 crores.

Not only that, what about cloth? Our biggest industry is cloth. We fixed a target of 6,000 million yards for cloth. At one time, as early as 1955, we reached the figure of 5,500 million yards. Today that figure, after a great deal of effort this year, is 5,000 million yards. That means that we are falling short by 1,000 million yards. It is a great industrial and financial loss because every item of our industrial production is more or less subject to some excise duty. Therefore, the loss in excise duty on unproduced cloth is another Rs. 15 crores.

Then there is another item in which we have done very badly and that is fertilisers. Since 1951 not an ounce of fertiliser has been added to production. Not only that, what we were producing in 1957-58 has gone down by 30 per cent. Today the production in Sindri is 70 per cent. of what it used to be three years back. And we have not done anything except that we are bringing into production some factory in Nangal or Bhakra. There is not an ounce of fertiliser added to what we were producing in 1951.

So, there is shortage in production of steel, cement, food and coal. Coal is another story. We fixed a target of 60 million tons for coal and we produced barely 54 million tons of coal. This shortage of 6 million tons is a big thing. It becomes all the more glaring. To think that we could not fulfil a target of 60 million tons and we have got a target of 97 million tons for the Third Plan! When we could not go from 40 million tons to 54 million tons—and if we reached that figure it was with great difficulty—what steps does Government propose to take to reach this figure of 97 million tons? It is not an easy job to achieve, namely, that we will be adding that much to the production of coal. What you were producing for the last 50 or 60 years will have to be produced additionally

within the coming five years. What I want to impress upon the Government is that.

Of course, we do not mind taxation as long as results are there. Of course, we have a rosy picture of having made progress in certain directions. The progress is laudable and encouraging. But we should not lose sight of the other side of the medal, namely, that in very vital matters, in the targets of vital items there has been a shortfall. A shortfall even in one of those items will offset all the progress that you have made in other items. Except in sugar and paper, in bigger and major industries, like steel, food, coal and cement, we have not progressed to the extent we would have liked. We have not done so even in soda ash, jute, cotton and other raw materials. This country will support the Government in anything that they do provided the people are satisfied that the money is well spent.

Now I come to the item of wastage. This burden of taxation is nothing if the people are satisfied that their hard-earned money that they pay in taxes is well-spent. Year after year we have been impressing upon the Government that wastage is going on. There is not only wastage but leakage also. There are certain schemes, things and certain ideas that we are practising which are wasteful, but no visible step has been taken in that direction. I just refer to one thing as I referred to last year and the year before. There are so many conferences, symposia and seminars at all levels, at the Ministers' and Deputy Ministers' levels, at the Secretaries' level and at the Under Secretaries' level. There are so many seminars, symposia, conferences, meetings and so much of travelling here and there. These are small items but the public notices these items. I am more concerned about what the public thinks about your activities. The public will be grateful to you, no matter how much taxation is there, provided you get the things, fulfil your targets and do that in an economical manner. What I say is, whatever items we take up for manufacture we do not manufacture those items, or whatever buildings

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we take up for construction we do not construct them within a reasonable amount. The amount always exceeds that within which people could have done it themselves. For instance, suppose you construct a building which costs Rs. 3 crores. My point is, is it not possible to build it within two crores and eighty lakhs of rupees? If Government come forward and say that there is no scope for even a 2 per cent. saving, then I will say, all right. But never have Government taken any steps to reduce the expenditure. When we suggest economy, what they do is that they take out one item of expenditure; they say that they will not construct a particular building and say that they have saved Rs. 5 crores or so. That is not economy. The same amount of things should be produced within a smaller amount of expenditure; that should be the economy.

About publications, I wish to repeat what I said last year, that we have got too many of them. They are hardly of any use. We are carrying on so many activities which do not bear corresponding fruit. Therefore, Government should take notice of this and take steps to see that only essential things are done, and done at an economic level.

Finally I will come to that item which the Finance Ministry and the Finance Minister do not like. But I feel it my duty to refer to that, and that is the question of taxation of smaller people. Last year my hon. friend the Deputy Finance Minister said that it is a hardy annual. I think it is a hardy annual, but it deserves to be repeated again at the risk of being called a hardy annual this year too.

The exemption limit for Income-tax is Rs. 3,000 a year. Rs. 250 a month is absolutely a poor man's wage. I hope Government will not deny that Rs. 250 is a poor man's wage, and they have admitted it in so many ways. Whenever they have raised the salaries of the low-paid staff, they have taken it up to Rs. 3,000 a year. On the one

hand, you pay Rs. 7 or Rs. 8 to the man as additional wage or salary, and on the other you subject him to Income-tax. I think that is a very wrong way of approach. I would rather prefer an increase of 1 or  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in the higher grades so as to give relief to all these other people. Because, the plight of the middle classes is really very deplorable. The Finance Minister should have some sort of soft corner for the middle classes. He was rather harsh to them, or he was not equally sympathetic towards them when he referred to them yesterday. I think you do not expect the middle class man to go to the labourer's level. The white-collar worker has got his own idiosyncrasies and prejudices. We all belong to that class. Tomorrow if I get a little weaker in my finances I would not like to give up my shirt, and I would like my son to go to the college. There lies the difficulty. You may ask, "Why don't you behave as a labourer does?" But the class to which I belong has got certain likes and dislikes, certain conditions, certain commitments, a certain way of living. If there is all-round progress, that class is also entitled to sympathy in the same manner as other classes are.

Shri Narayanankutty Menon (Mukandapuram): How does my friend call it 'idiosyncrasy'?

Shri C. D. Pande: It means that we like good education, good living, etc. I hope the hon. the Finance Minister will give his attention to this point.

Shri Goray (Poona): So far as the Finance Bill is concerned I will confine my remarks to only one industry, and that is the powerloom industry. But before I come to that, I would like to say something.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Just one point. The time for all the stages of the Finance Bill is fixed at fifteen hours. We have not sub-divided it between the different stages. May I have an idea as to how hon. Members would



like that division to take place? Out of the fifteen hours, how many hours should be spent on the general discussion and how many on the clauses?

**Shri Jangde (Bilaspur):** Thirteen and two.

**Shri Morarka (Jhunjhunu):** Twelve and three, or thirteen and two.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Thirteen and two seems to be the general consensus of opinion.

**Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Hisar):** Ten hours for the general discussion, two hours for third reading and three hours for the clauses.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It is my experience that when we have such a long time for the clause-by-clause discussion, that too becomes a general discussion, usually, and we go on in the same manner as we did in the first stage. Therefore, I think we might have either thirteen and two hours or twelve and three hours. I think twelve hours and three hours would be all right.

I would make this request to the Congress Members that when a large number of them want to speak they should restrict themselves to a particular limit. Because, I find that when I ring the bell, many a time I am not heard. I shall have to be impertinent sometimes, and they will excuse me; because, in certain cases, though I have tried to close my eyes, the clock does not agree with me.

**Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur):** It is not impertinence, but it is enforcement of your order.

**Shri Goray:** I would like to say that this year the Finance Minister has tried to cast his net very wide and he has tried to see that no fish, whether big or small, escapes. The key to the understanding of his effort is contained in this sentence which he uttered yesterday:

"In view of the urgency for raising further resources for the Third Plan, I am hardly in a position to make any radical modifications in the proposals besides the

exemptions and concessions which I have already expressed in this House."

I do not think that the Finance Minister has really made all the efforts that could have been made to raise the necessary finances. I would like to point out that during the last five or ten years in this country a new class of people is coming up which is taking to mechanised agriculture of large lands, and the prices of the agricultural produce are constantly rising. Government should turn their attention to this class, which, I would not call the kulak class but as the rich peasant class, which is taking to mechanised farming and which is certainly reaping the advantage of the present buoyant situation. Again, I would like to point to some sources of income like the molasses that is being produced by the sugar factories but which is being wasted throughout the country. In Maharashtra, for instance, there are very large sugar factories, and their number is constantly rising. All their molasses is being wasted—if not all, the major portion of it. As the Government is wedded to the policy of prohibition, what happens is that the molasses cannot be turned into alcohol. I do not know whether the Government want to revise their policy towards prohibition. I would like Government to revise their policy. But if they are firm on it and want to stand firm on it, then they should at least see to it that this raw material is put to some use. If it can be used only for producing alcohol, then it can be exported. They should try to find markets for it and not allow a very valuable asset like this to be wasted. Because these new fields of raising finances are being neglected, what is happening is that the Finance Minister is hard on the middle-class man. In this class I would include the powerloom section. I hope I shall not be accused of any provincial bias if I say that because of this particular policy of taxation, it is my State which is likely to be affected the most. For, according to the calculations, we find that throughout the country, there are

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about one lakh powerlooms. Out of these powerlooms, the biggest centre of the powerloom industry is Surat where we have got about 23,000 or 25,000 powerlooms, but next to that comes Maharashtra where we have got centres like Bhiwandi or Malegaon or Ichalkaranji, where we have thousands of looms, out of the total of one lakh looms, in Maharashtra alone, we have about 50,000 powerlooms, authorised as well as unauthorised. It was a good policy of the Government that they tried to see that there should be no unauthorised looms. The unauthorised looms were tamed, and now, they have become authorised.

In this particular sector of economy, you will find that the major section consists of units which range from one loom to four looms. There are certain bigger units and bigger factories where you have got about one hundred or five hundred or one thousand looms, but that is an exception. By and large, you will find that nearly 75 per cent of the powerlooms are in the hands of those who run units ranging from one to four looms or one to eight looms and so on; they are small people.

The policy of Government so far has been that the handloom should be gradually turned into powerlooms. It is to the credit of these small people and middle class people that they tried to turn their handlooms into powerlooms, and gradually, the number of powerlooms is increasing, and that is a good thing. But, now, all of a sudden, we find that Government have decided to tax the powerloom sector. I would not have any quarrel with the Finance Minister if he had seen to it that this industry did not unnecessarily suffer from the heavy taxation. Here, it seems that he has been conscious of the fact that there is a good deal of dissatisfaction, so far as the taxation on powerlooms is concerned. Therefore, yesterday, in his speech, he said:

"It has been represented to me that the concession I announced on the 17th March in respect of

powerloom units having three or four looms is not adequate and that self-employed weavers working in small units with three or four looms are finding it hard to retain their position. They deserve assistance and I accordingly propose to give complete exemption to all powerloom units with three or four looms manufacturing cotton, rayon or silk fabrics provided they work only one shift. I also propose to extend the same benefit to powerlooms units manufacturing woollen fabrics if the number of looms engaged does not exceed two and the unit works only one shift a day."

It is very difficult to agree with the reasoning in this particular stand. Why is it that he insists on one shift only? It seems that he is under an impression that those small units which have one to four looms and which are running three shifts are making enormous profits, and, therefore, they must be taxed. I would like to point out very humbly that that is not the case. Even his own officers would vouchsafe for the fact that those units which have one to four looms are not making more than Rs. 75 or Rs. 100 per loom per shift per month. That being the case, it comes to this that those people who are earning about Rs. 300 to Rs. 400—that is, they and their families together with one or two people employed on wages—are to be taxed.

Now, what is the incidence of this taxation? That also has to be seen. I would very strongly urge the Finance Minister not to be prejudiced against these smaller units, but to see whether this taxation will keep them alive or will put them out of existence, because the later is what is likely to happen. For instance, if you take an instance like Bhiwandi, the representation that they have submitted says that while formerly the units which were running up to four looms had no taxation at all, now, they will have to pay, that is, with effect from 18th March, 1961, about Rs. 222 per month. Now, you can just

imagine what will be left with these people who are making about Rs. 300 or Rs. 400, per month, if they have to pay Rs. 222 as tax. They have invested about Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 15,000 or Rs. 20,000, and the larger percentage of these looms is not working rayon fabrics; they are manufacturing from cotton yarn, cotton fabrics like grey mulls and dhotis. If you tax these people so heavily, the only option that will remain before them is to close down. That is what is happening in places like Bhiwandi or Ichalkaranji or Berhampur; I do not know about Surat, but I suppose that the same effect will be visible there too.

If we were to say that only those units which work only one shift will be exempted from taxation, then, perhaps only the Surat people—because that was their demand—may benefit. But I would like to say that this should not be the stand that should be adopted by the Finance Minister; he should not look partial, because the people have already criticised this stand saying that because Surat happens to be his constituency, it is only those people who have benefited, and the others are not being cared for at all. I do not want that this impression should go round so far as the Finance Minister is concerned, because, I suppose that according to the industrial policy of our Government, we want the smaller people to rise, and we want that the smaller industrial units should prosper. If we adopt a policy by which the small units find it impossible to prosper or even to continue, then I suppose that this is something which goes against the very fundamental policy that we have adopted.

Here, I should like to point out one more thing. What is happening in the taxation proposals is that units with a smaller proportion of looms have to give proportionately more tax, and those who have got more looms in their units will not be required to give that much of taxation. For instance, you will be surprised to find that those who had five looms were giving, before this budget came and before these taxation proposals came into

being, a tax of Rs. 111. Under the proposed taxation on the 28th February, 1961, they were expected to pay Rs. 525; now, with the revised taxation, they will have to give Rs. 333, which is nearly three times the tax which they were giving before. But, if we consider the case of units with fifty powerlooms, we shall find that before the present taxation, they were giving Rs. 1473, but now, they will be giving only Rs. 1,453 and so on. So, the fewer the number of powerlooms in a unit, you find the taxation percentage is higher, and as you go on increasing the number of looms, you will find that the taxation is falling. I suppose this is a very unjust provision. I do not feel that our Finance Minister is likely to be moved or is likely to change his decision, but it seems that there is some hope because after all he has changed; in the beginning, he was saying that the taxation proposals were final, and there would be no change at all, but somehow, we find that now he has revised the taxation proposals. I would beg of him to really study the whole problem and see to it that something in the way of relief is done; if really he finds that the manufacturers are finding it difficult to cope with the situation, then, I hope that within a month or two at least, it will be possible for him to revise it still further, even if he is not open to conviction just now.

The representatives of the Bhiwandi centre who came to me told me something—and this is also contained in their memorandum—that was a fantastic. They represented that with the taxation proposals the revenue estimated by the Finance Minister, from powerlooms and woollen, silk or art-silk fabrics, was Rs. 53 lakhs. This is all that he is expecting—Rs. 20 lakhs from powerloom fabrics and Rs. 33 lakhs from woollen, silk and artsilk fabrics. They say:

“As against this, we may say that only our town will be required to pay Rs. 180 lakhs per year only on fabrics, over and above the duties on yarns and other raw materials”.

[Shri Goray]

It may be that there is some miscalculation. It is so fantastically high that one feels that there is surely some miscalculation. But whatever the miscalculation, it will have to be admitted that with the present taxation, the Finance Minister will be getting much more than he is bargaining for. I think it is not the deliberate policy of the Finance Minister to squeeze as much as possible out of the common man or the middle class man so that it becomes impossible for him to thrive. That being the accepted principle of our industrial policy, I would plead with him to look into the question more deeply, try to understand their position more correctly, and if he is really convinced that their earnings per loom per shift per month are not more than Rs. 75 or Rs. 100, he should be ready to revise the taxation proposals. This is one of the points I wanted to raise, and I hope it will be possible for the Finance Minister to revise the taxation in such a way that one of the most thriving industries in Maharashtra, where the smaller fry or the smaller man is trying to earn his living by honest labour, is not wiped out from the industrial map.

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad (Gaya): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I rise to suggest that the Government of India should hand over the defence portfolio to the United Nations Organisation. When I say this, I am merely supporting the disarmament policy not only of the Government of India but of all the other governments of the world. If the goal of total and universal disarmament is to be achieved at all, the task of disarmament has to be undertaken by the United Nations Organisation after it has become the sole custodian of all the defence forces of all the countries of the world.

The goal of disarmament will always elude our grasp if the time and measure of advance towards disarmament are to be determined by sovereign nation states themselves. The condition precedent to our very ex-

istence is the maintenance of the freedom and territorial integrity of the countries of South-East Asia and South-West Asia. We lack the political and military power to defend these countries. And these countries lack the political and the military power to defend themselves. They will hand over the defence portfolios to the United Nations Organisation if we take the first step in that direction.

An Hon. Member: Then what will happen to the Defence Minister?

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad: If this is done, no hegemony can be established over any country in the world. Western Europe can be integrated outside the framework of the United Nations Organisation because the level of political consciousness is very high in Western Europe, and further because the United States of America stands for the political integration of Western Europe with the western hemisphere.

Our defence forces cannot play any effective part in any one of the contingencies that are likely to arise in the event of a war either between India and China or between India and Pakistan. If a war breaks out between India and China, Russia and America may either remain neutral, or Russia may join hands with China, or Russia and America may join hands with India. If Russia joins hands with China, America may either remain neutral or join hands with India. If America remains neutral, the whole of the Afro-Asian land mass will be divided into two spheres of influence, Russian and Chinese. But if Russia and America fight in opposite camps, a thermo-nuclear war on a global scale will break out and the whole world will be shattered to pieces.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): God forbid!

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad: If Russia and America join hands with India, China will be divided into two spheres of influence, Russian and American. A

pro-Russian Government will be set up in North China. Marshal Chiang-Kai-shek will be installed in power in South China. (*Interruptions.*)

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** That only shows that we are working in a real democracy.

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad:** Japan may also get her share in the loot. India too will meet the fate of China. The condition precedent to our very existence is the maintenance of the freedom and the territorial integrity of China. The results of a war will be disastrous for both India and China, if Russia and America remain neutral. After both India and China have been weakened, both Russia and America will intervene and divide not only India and China but the entire Afro-Asian land mass into two spheres of influence—Russia and America.

Similarly if a war breaks out between India and Pakistan, Russia and America may either remain neutral or join hands with either India or Pakistan. The results of a war will be equally disastrous for both India and Pakistan, if Russia and America remain neutral. After both India and Pakistan have been weakened, both Russia and America will intervene and divide India into two spheres of influence—Russian and American. The whole of Pakistan will pass within the Soviet sphere of influence.

The same results will follow if both Russia and America join hands with either India or Pakistan. Both India and Pakistan will pass within the American sphere of influence, if Russia remains neutral and America joins hands with either India or Pakistan will pass within the Russian sphere of influence, if America remains neutral and Russia joins hands with either India or Pakistan. But if Russia and America fight in opposite camps, the result will be a thermo-nuclear war and the whole world will be shattered to pieces.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** So all roads converge on one thing, that is, the last one.

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad:** All roads lead to the United Nations Organisation.

No further aggression against our territory can be committed by either China or Pakistan if today we hand over the defence portfolio to the United Nations Organisation, for any further aggression in that case will mean war not between India and China or between India and Pakistan, but between China or Pakistan on the one side and the whole world on the other.

If our territories which are under the illegal occupation of China or Pakistan are to be recovered by peaceful means, our ability to negotiate with China or Pakistan will be enhanced if we hand over the defence portfolio to the United Nations Organisation.

The threat of war, either global or limited, can be averted only by handing over the defence portfolio to the United Nations Organisation. North Korea would never have invaded South Korea, had it been known that the United Nations Organisation would intervene if any aggression was committed.

Disarmament is necessary because no State can defend itself if war breaks out. Nation states have only the power to wage wars. All defence systems have broken down. The whole world has become a no-man's land between Russia and America. One cosmonaut armed with thermo-nuclear and CBR weapons can destroy the whole world barring his own country. There will be no democracy either in the United States of America or in any other part of the world, if the defence portfolio is not handed over to the United Nations Organisation. If the army cannot fight abroad because of nuclear stalemate, it will have to be liquidated if it is not to subvert democracy at home.

[Shri Brajeshwar Prasad]

15 hrs.

The United Nations Organisation cannot continue to exist as it is today. Either it will be transformed into a world government or it will be shattered into pieces. It cannot be transformed into an instrument of hegemony. It will be transformed into a world government if India hands over the defence portfolio to the United Nations Organisation.

If we cannot fight against Russia and America, there is no sense in saying that we cannot disarm unless Russia and America do so. Russia and America cannot fight if the non-aligned nations disarm themselves. The non-aligned nations constitute the bone of contention between Russia, China and America. The cold war will come to an end if the bone of contention is removed from the arena of conflict by handing over the defence portfolio to the UNO. The non-aligned nations will become more powerful than Russia, China or America if they hand over their defence portfolios to the UNO. The choice before Russia, China and America will be either to hand over their defence portfolios to the UNO or to fight amongst themselves.

Let me speak a word or two on the question of Cuba. On the question of Cuba, we must support Russia. As long as the U.S.A. stands behind Portugal and Pakistan on the questions of Goa and Kashmir, we have to support Russia on all questions of international politics where our vital interests are not affected. The existence of the NATO, the CENTO, and the SEATO constitutes a threat not only to Russia but to all the countries of the world, for, if a nuclear war on a global scale breaks out, not only Russia, but all the other countries of the world will be wiped out. Hence we must support Russia and oppose the U.S.A. on the questions of Cuba and of the western-sponsored military alliances in the old world.

There is another reason why we must support Russia on the question of Cuba. The USA will not get out of the old world unless her hegemony over the new world is assailed in a systematic and scientific manner as the Russians have begun to do. We cannot get away from the fact that the destiny of the heartland and the rimland is intertwined. India and Russia, if they are not to be obstacles in the way of the fulfilment of the designs of history and geography, have to support each other as against the U.S.A. which will stand to lose if the designs of history and geography are fulfilled.

The task of statesmanship is to facilitate the integration of the heartland and the rimland into one political unit on the basis of democracy. If conscious efforts are not made in this direction by Indo-Soviet collaboration, the result will be the integration of the rimland with the heartland on the basis of hegemony.

The choice is not between mobility and immobility. All nation States are gangsters. What is happening to Cuba today has happened to many others in the past and will also happen to many others in the future as well till a world Government is established. We have to collaborate with Russia for the achievement of the goal of a world State to which she is wedded. America is not wedded to the goal of a world State. Hence there is no basis for collaboration between India and America. On what basis the world will be integrated into one political unit does not depend upon the hopes and the dreams of the Russians alone. The objective conditions and the hopes and dreams of other peoples as well will determine the structure of the world Government if and when it is established. I cannot conceive of a world Government except on the basis of democracy and equality of opportunity for all.

Now, my friends want me to speak on Laos. Let me tell them very frankly.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Why should he change his place?

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** Cuba is in the West and Laos is in the East. So, he is changing his place.

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad:** Laos is on the borders of the Soviet Union. If the Russians cannot enter Cuba, the Americans cannot enter Laos. Laos will go to Russia as Cuba will go to the United States.

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** Has the Finance Minister any reply to this?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** That will be for the Finance Minister to answer, not for me.

**Some Hon. Members rose—**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I shall have to give opportunities to those who have not spoken at all so far during these Budget discussions.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** I am one of them.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Rather, my learned friend has spoken too much.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** I have not spoken on the Railway Budget and the General Budget.

**Shri Basumatari (Goalpara—Reserved—Sch. Tribes):** I must congratulate the Finance Minister for a wise and efficient discharge of his duty by reducing the taxes on some small articles. He has been criticised by various groups. I know no Finance Minister can escape criticism. So he has to face with all his ability the criticism from all sides.

If you compare the India of 1945 with the India of today, you will find that tremendous work has been done and that the picture of the country has also changed. Of course, there are disparities between the different States and between the different sections of the community. I come from

Assam which is most backward in all respects. Assam produces the largest quantity of tea, but it gets nothing in return. Everybody knows that Assam produces more than half the tea grown in India. The tea gardens there cover 33 per cent. of the whole plain area. Even though we earn dollars, we do not get as much as we expect from or need from the Government of India. That is the tragedy of Assam, because, in a democracy only the population is counted. The population is very small in Assam and so nobody cares.

The same is the case with the backward section of the communities. There is disparity between different sections of the community. Frequently the criticism is offered that the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer. I do not think it is wholly true, though there is some truth in it.

Taking the tribal people, for example, in the British times they did not get any attention from Government. They could not do anything for their development and so they are very backward as compared to other advanced communities. So at the time of framing the Constitution various provisions were incorporated in respect of developmental activities, education and so on. Still if you compare the development of the other advanced communities with the development of the tribal people you will find the difference is still wide.

I had occasions to tour the whole of India and particularly the backward tribal areas. Though we have made considerable progress in education, even if you compare the tribal people with the scheduled caste people, you will find that the gulf is very wide. As for the economic condition of those tribal people, in this free country till now they have been neglected and exploited like anything. You will find that these tribal people have to pay interest of about 80 per cent. in this free country, and 90 per cent. of them are landless.

[Shri Basumatari]

If you go into the history you will find how they became landless. They became landless because they had been pushed back by the advanced communities. The lands had been seized and usurped by the other advanced communities. As a result of that they had to take shelter in the hills.

So also in the case of education. We are saying that there is some provision for education but you will find that in education also they have not been able to develop.

If you go to the interior you will find the naked people still there. The other day I had occasion to visit the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. And, there, I found people in complete nakedness. I have visited all other States like Orissa and Madhya Pradesh and so. There also I have found half naked people. If in a free country we could see naked and half naked people in these days, then, I do not know what development we have made. So, I say that disparity exists everywhere from State to State and from one section of people to the other.

As regards the economic condition, everybody knows that community development projects and other projects have been started in the Tribal areas with a view to develop them. But if you go there and see yourself you will find that not even 10 per cent. has gone to the Tribal people and the other 85 to 90 per cent. has gone to other people. How is it? If you go into the details you will find all sorts of exploitation being done by the contractors and the other elements. They get all the facilities to do their work. But, in return what do these areas, for whom this work is being done, get? They do not get anything.

Then, with regard to appointments, you know that there is a rule that in the appointments there should be some percentage reserved for the Tribal people and the Scheduled

Castes. But if you see the list you will find that not even 1 per cent. are appointed as gazetted officers. If you go to the Centre, you will find it is nil; if you go to State after State you will find that except in Bihar and Assam there is not a single State in which they are appointed as gazetted officers, though there are graduates in these communities with a vague idea that the suitable candidates are not available and so on and so forth.

Its population should be counted. Population is the most important thing. Though we have been given various facilities in Constitution by the Constituent Assembly we find, on the other hand, that we have been deprived of population. Why is it so? Take the case of an advanced community like the Brahmins. A person, if he is a Brahmin in Delhi, he is a Brahmin throughout the whole of India. But it is not so with the Tribal people. Their case is peculiar. They are Tribal people in the area which are declared scheduled areas. They are Tribals in one area of a district but they are not Tribals in another area of the same district which are not declared scheduled areas.

Take the case of our friend, Shri Wadiwa M.P. here in this August House. I find that he is a Tribal. But at a distance of one furlong in his own State his brother is not considered as Tribal. In this way, if you take the correct census figures you will find that they are more than 4 crores in the whole of India. But if you take case of other advanced communities, they are increasing year by year in population, while in the case of Scheduled Tribes it is not so. On the contrary, they are decreasing in course of every census period. So I want to see the census figures of 1931 about the Tribal people as to how they have decreased in population.

I am glad to be told that the Scheduled Castes have advanced tremendously during these 10 years. I have found everywhere during my



visits that the Scheduled Castes have been advancing like anything if you compare them with the Scheduled Castes of 1945. They have created leaders and they can claim that. But as regards the Tribal people, India or the Government has not been able to infuse confidence in the minds of the Tribal people. Rather they wanted to suppress them, I should say. Why do I say this? There are schools and institutions established by non-governmental institutions. I am glad. But there is something wrong somewhere. We must find out as to why even the Tribal M.Ps. and M.L.As. are not allowed to speak about what they want? So, this disparity must be removed. If you want the country to be developed and all the undeveloped parts brought to the same level you cannot do that unless you remove these disparities. Therefore, I am appealing not only to the Finance Minister but I am appealing to the leaders of the country to look into these matters.

When we visit different States what do we see? There is no Minister in the Centre; there is no Minister in the States in spite of the fact that we have efficient and qualified men—except in Assam and Madhya Pradesh. Why? Because, there, the Tribal people are large in number and they can demand and claim. So, they are getting their due share. But in the States where there are a few Tribal people, as I spoke just now, they are not recognised. They are reduced completely. Where there are 2 lakhs of people you will find their number reduced to 1 or 1½ lakhs.

For example in Bihar there are 38 lakhs of Tribals; outside the Scheduled areas there are 10 lakhs. So, you go to the State of Madhya Pradesh. There are 48 lakhs of people; but outside, as I have stated just now, there are 12 lakhs. In Assam there are about 17 lakhs tribes who are not taken as Tribals. In this way large numbers of tribals are left out in every States. So, the vital question is that of population. Where population is vital they

are deprived of their rights. I cannot say whether the Government or the leaders of the country have looked into these matters very carefully or with an open heart and open mind and not politically. We are badly deprived of our rights by not being recognised as Tribals.

Therefore, I appeal not only to the House, but, particularly to the Finance Minister and the leaders of the country to see to this, and give relief by removing this disparity and irregularity.

With these few words, I resume my seat.

श्री रामशरण (मुरादाबाद) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं वित्त मन्त्री जी का ध्यान तीन चार बातों की तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

पहली बात तो यह है, जैसा कि श्रीर माननीय सदस्यों ने भी कहा है, कि हमारी आय का बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा अप्रत्यक्ष करों से आता चला जा रहा है। यह मात्रा बढ़ती ही जाती है। इस साल के बजट से मालूम होता है कि दो अप्रत्यक्ष करों यानी कस्टम्स और एक्साइज द्वारा ६१.३२ प्रतिशत के करीब आय हुई और उसमें भी उत्पादन कर यानी एक्साइज से ४२, ४७ परसेंट के लगभग आय हुई। अप्रत्यक्ष करों का असर यह होता है कि जितना कि गवर्नमेंट के पास रुपया आता है उससे कहीं अधिक उपभोक्ताओं से ख़ास तौर पर जो साधारण लोग हैं उनसे वसूल किया जाता है। विमाल के तौर पर आप देखें कि मिट्टी के तेल पर जो कर लगाया गया है उसका असर गरीब से गरीब आदमी पर पड़ेगा। वैसे वित्त मन्त्री जी ने कहा था कि फाइन क्वालिटी के मिट्टी के तेल पर कर लगाया गया है जो कोर्स क्वालिटी का है उस पर नहीं लगाया गया है, लेकिन फिर भी ३० रुपया फी किलो लिटर कर लगाने के कारण एक टिन की कीमत में दस बारह पाने की बढ़ि हुई है और गरीब आदमी जो चार पाने में एक बोतल तेल लेता था उसके लिये उसकी

### [श्री राम शरण]

अब साढ़े चार आने देने पड़ने हैं। पहले जो घटिया तेल का दाम बढ़ गया था शरीब आदमों को अभी भी ५०% की कमी की घोषणा होने पर भी उन्हीं दाम पर मिलता है। यह खुशी की बात है कि कल वित्त मन्त्री जी ने कहा है कि कं गिग यह की जाएगी कि घटिया किस्म का तेल ज्यादा मंगाया जाए और उन्हीं कीमत पर वह लोगों को मिले जिम कीमत पर पहले मिलता था। तो मेरा मुजाब है कि कोई ऐसा उपाय जरूर होना चाहिये कि जितना अप्रत्यक्ष कर गवर्नमेंट को वसूल करना हो उतना या उससे कुछ ही अधिक उपभोक्ताओं से लिया जाए।

दूसरी बात जिमकी तरफ मैं खाम तौर पर ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि कल वित्त मन्त्री जी ने घोषणा की है उसमें लोगों को बहुत राहत मिली है और उसके लिये मैं उनको बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। उन घोषणा से विशेष तौर पर बहुत से छोटे काम करने वालों को राहत मिली है। कुछ गहरों में जहां पर कि पीतल या कांस के बरतन बनते हैं, पंजाब और उत्तर प्रदेश में, वहां तीन प्रकार के व्यापारी काम करते हैं। कुछ तो बड़े बड़े व्यापारी हैं जो कि अपनी मिलों में शीट और सरकिल बनाते हैं और उनसे बरतन बना लेते हैं। उनको शीट्स और सरकिल्स पर ३०० रुपये पर मीट्रिक टन के हिसाब से एकसाइज देने में आसानी होती है।

दूसरे प्रकार के व्यापारी वे हैं, जो जब बर्क करते हैं, दूसरों का काम करते हैं। उनको कठिनाई इस लिये नहीं होती है कि वे जितना काम करते हैं, दूसरों से उतना ही वसूल कर लेते हैं। लेकिन जो तीसरे प्रकार के व्यापारी हैं, वे एक या दो भट्टियों रखते हैं और गुल्ली बनाते हैं। वे जब बर्क करने वालों के पास जाकर शीट्स और सर्कल्स बनवाते हैं। उनको न तो इस बात की सुविधा है और न सबब ही है कि वे वहाँ पर उन को काटें और बर्तन बनाने का प्रयत्न करें। उन पर ज्यादा

कर पड़ जाता है, क्योंकि कर बिना काटे हुए शीट्स और सर्कल्स पर लगता है, जबकि बड़े व्यापारियों पर शीट्स और सर्कल्स पर कट होने पर पड़ता है। इसमें छोटे और बड़े व्यापारियों में बड़ी असमानता हो जाती है। यह बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि कल वित्त मन्त्री जी ने यह घोषणा की कि छोटे व्यापारियों पर ३०० रुपये प्रति मीट्रिक टन के हिसाब से जो कर लगाया गया है, उसमें उन को २५ प्रतिशत का रीबेट दिया जायगा, यानी ३०० रुपये की जगह २२५ रुपये वसूल किये जायेंगे लेकिन यह भालम हुआ है कि जब सरकारी अधिकारियों ने इस सम्बन्ध में एक्सपेरिमेंट किये, तो उनको पता चला कि शीट्स और सर्कल्स को काटने के बाद ४० प्रतिशत, और कुछ बर्तनों में ५० प्रतिशत तक, कतरन होती है। इसलिए मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इस रीबेट को २५ परसेंट से ४० परसेंट कर दिया जाये, तो छोटे काम करने वालों और बड़े काम करने वालों में समानता हो जाती है। अब भी जो कमी रह गई है, आया है कि उस को पूरा करने की कोशिश की जायगी और छोटे उद्योग-धंधों को जो राहत दी गई है, उसमें वृद्धि की जायगी।

**Shri Morarji Desai:** May I say that they asked only for 25 per cent.

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** माननीय मन्त्री कहते हैं कि उन्होंने २५ परसेंट ही मांगा था।

**एक माननीय सचिव :** और वह दे दिया गया।

**श्री राम शरण :** उन को जो रिप्रेजेन्टेशन आया है, जो कि वित्त मन्त्री जी के पास भेजा गया, उसमें उन्होंने ४० प्रतिशत की मांग की है।

**श्री मोरारजी देसाई :** जब मेरे साथ उनकी चर्चा हुई, तो मैंने १५ परसेंट का कहा। उन्होंने कहा कि अगर २५ परसेंट कर दिया

जाये, तो हमें सन्तोष होगा। उन्हें २५ परसेंट दे दिया गया। जहाँ तक मांगने का सम्बन्ध है, वह ४० परसेंट क्या, ६० परसेंट मांग सकते हैं।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** इस बात का इल्म माननीय सदस्य को नहीं है।

**श्री रामशरण :** उन को जो २५ परसेंट रीबेट दिया गया है, उससे उन लोगों को जरूर राहत मिलेगी, लेकिन मेरा कहना यह है कि यदि इस में १५ और बढ़ना, तो बड़े और छोटे व्यापारियों में समानता हो जाती।

अब मैं गुड़ और खंडसारीक बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। अजकल गन्ने की स्थिति भयानक हो गई है। मिलाँ में तीस या पैंतीस प्रतिशत गन्ना खप सकता है। उस के बाद बाकी गन्ने की खपत खंडसारी और गुड़ के द्वारा होती है। इस पर पिछले वर्ष ३ रुपये में अधिक उत्पादन कर लगा, जिसकी वजह से बहुत ज्यादा परेशानी हुई। लेकिन कुछ समय के बाद वित्त मन्त्री जी ने उस कर को कम्पाउण्ड कर दिया, जिसके परिणामस्वरूप वह कर ३ रुपये २४ पैसे के वजाये २ रुपये से कुछ कम हो गया और इस प्रकार से खंडसारी वालों को कुछ सहूलियत हुई। लेकिन खंडसारी का जो पहला प्रामेस है, उसके अलावा भी दूसरे प्रामेस से खंडसारी तैयार की जाती है। पिछले वर्ष उस दूसरे प्रामेस को भी सहूलियत दी गई थी, लेकिन इस वर्ष नहीं दी गई है और इस वजह से दूसरे प्रामेस में जो इयूटी पड़ती है, वह कई गुना ज्यादा पड़ती है, क्योंकि उसमें खाण्ड बहुत कम प्रतिशत निकलती है।

यह उत्पादन कर तो केन्द्रीय सरकार ने लगाया है। इसके अलावा ० पी० सरकार ने हर बेल पर २०० रुपये प्रति बेल, हर क्रशर पर ३०० रुपये फ्री क्रशर और हर सेंटी-फ्यूनल मशीन पर १०० रुपये फ्री सेंटीफ्यूनल मशीन के हिसाब से कर लगाया है। इसके

अतिरिक्त ४ नये 'से फ्री मन के हिसाब से परचेज टैक्स और लगाया गया है। इस प्रकार से इस छोटे उद्योग धंधे का काम करने वालों का कास्ट आफ प्रोडक्शन बहुत बढ़ गया है, जिस की वजह से उन की खरीदने की शक्ति कम हो गई है और वे गन्ना बहुत कम खरीद सके और इसलिये बहुत सारा गन्ना, जो फ्रीट्रीज नहीं खरीद सकीं, बेकार हो गया और इस वक्त उस को खरीदना मुश्किल हो गया। एक्सचेंज इयूटी में इस वर्ष कोई वृद्धि नहीं की गई है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि अगले वर्ष उसको कम कर दिया जाये, ताकि देश में जो गन्ना होता है, फ्रीट्रियों के अलावा गुड़ और खंडसारी वाले उसकी खपत कर सकें।

हमारा सामुदायिक विकास और सहकार मन्त्रालय नौ वर्ष से काम कर रहा है। वह भी इस बात को महसूस करता है कि इस देश में जो बैंकवर्ड, उपेक्षित या अनप्रिविलेज्ड लोग हैं, उनका स्तर अभी तक ऊंचा नहीं किया जा सका है और उन को अभी तक कोई फायदा नहीं पहुँच सका है। इस विभाग का ज्यादातर सम्बन्ध राहत देने से रहा है। अगर किसी को फायदा पहुँच सका है, तो बड़े बड़े कारखानों को, या ऐसे लोगों को, जिन के पास कुछ है। उनकी स्थिति को तो कुछ सुधारा जा सका है, लेकिन अनप्रिविलेज्ड या बैंकवर्ड लोगों की सहायता नहीं हो सकी है। उस विभाग के हाल ही में श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण के सभापतित्व में एक स्टडी ग्रुप बनाया है, जिसमें इस सदन के सदस्य भी हैं, और उसको यह बताने के लिये कहा है कि पिछड़े लोगों की स्थिति किस प्रकार सुधारी जा सकती है।

गवर्नमेंट आफ इण्डिया ने कई साल पहले खादी कमीशन की नियुक्ति की थी। उस ने जो कार्य किया है, वह एक लाख गाँवों में पहुँच सका है। खादी कमीशन ने अपने कार्य से लगभग १६ लाख स्पिनर्स और २ लाख कारीगरों, कुल १८ लाख व्यक्तियों को, कुछ न कुछ सहारा या सहूलियत पहुँचाई है।

### [श्री रामशरण]

लेकिन फिर भी गरीबी और बेकारी की प्राबल्य हल नहीं हुई है। अभी हाल में जो नैशनल इन्कम की एस्टिमेट सम्बन्धी रिपोर्ट मिली है, उससे पता चलता है कि हमारे देश में प्रति-व्यक्ति आमदनी ३०० रुपये के करीब है। लेकिन जो मैम्पल सरवे किया गया है, उससे पता चलता है कि करोड़ों ऐसे व्यक्ति हैं, जिनकी आमदनी १०० रुपये प्रति व्यक्ति से भी कम है। उनकी स्थिति को कैसे सुधारा जाये, यह बहुत बड़ी समस्या है।

अभी हाल में एक नई योजना आचार्य विनोबा भावे की सलाह से सर्वमेवा संघ ने देश में शुरू की है, जिसका नाम है नया मोड़। उम योजना को सामुदायिक विवास और सहकार मन्त्रालय ने भी अपना देने का फ़ैसला किया है। तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में तीन हजार इस प्रकार की इकाइयाँ होंगी, जिन में हर इकाई में पांच हजार व्यक्तियों का एक क्षेत्र लिया जायेगा और उसको स्वावलम्बी बनाने का प्रयत्न किया जायेगा, यानी खाना, कपड़ा और दूसरी जरूरत की चीजों को वहाँ ही मुहैया करने का प्रयत्न किया जायेगा। उसका केन्द्र कृषि होगा। कृषि का विकास कर के, कृषि का उत्पादन बढ़ा कर और दूसरे उद्योग धंधों को बढ़ाने का प्रयत्न किया जायगा, ताकि उस क्षेत्र को अच्छे से अच्छा बनाया जा सके। अगले पांच वर्षों में इस प्रकार के तीन हजार क्षेत्र कायम किये जायेंगे। सामुदायिक विकास मन्त्रालय ने भी अपने ब्लाक्स में इस प्रकार के एक हजार क्षेत्र स्थापित करने का निश्चय किया है, जिसका अर्थ यह है कि देश भर में इस प्रकार के चार हजार क्षेत्र स्थापित होंगे।

मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी आर्थिक नीति और औद्योगिक नीति इस प्रकार की होनी चाहिये कि न केवल हमारे देश के लोगों की आर्थिक भलाई हो, उन को थोड़ी राहत का काम मिल जाये और इस

देश में व्याप्त बेकारी और अर्द्धबेकारी को दूर किया जाये, बल्कि हमारे देश का इन्टे-ग्रिटिड डेवेलपमेंट हो, समग्र विकास हो और इस देश के लोगों की, जो कि ज्यादातर देहात में रहते हैं, आर्थिक, सांस्कृतिक और शैक्षणिक और हर प्रकार से उन्नति हो, जिससे उनका जो जीवन बने ऐसा बने कि व समझें कि हम स्वतन्त्र देश के नागरिक हैं और हर तरह से सुखी हैं। स लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति में यदि हम अपनी औद्योगिक और आर्थिक नीति में सहायक हो सकें तो यह बहुत बड़ा कार्य होगा। यही अन्तिम निवेदन मैं वित्त मन्त्री जी से करना चाहता हूँ।

**श्री रामसेवक धावष (बाराबंकी) :**  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, किसी भी प्रकार की सरकार, चाहे वह साम्यवादी हो या समाजवादी या मौजूदा सरकार जैसी समायदार सरकार हो, के कर्तव्य होते हैं। पहला कर्तव्य तो जन-सुरक्षा का होता है और दूसरा जन सेवा का। जन सुरक्षा में जान माल की रक्षा आती है। वैसे तो जन सुरक्षा का सीधा सम्बन्ध राज्य सरकारों से है परन्तु गृह मन्त्रालय भी अपने दायित्व से नहीं बच सकता है। जब हम इसको देखते हैं तो पाते हैं कि देश में अराजकता और अरक्षता की भावना बढ़ी है और इस हद तक बढ़ी है कि अब तो भाषावाद और साम्प्रदायिकता के नाम पर आए दिन सारे देश में दंगे होत रहते हैं, कत्ल इत्यादि होते रहते हैं। पिछले १२-१४ साल में भाषा-विवाद और साम्प्रदायिकता को बराबर बढ़ावा मिला है। अब तो इन दिनों अखबारों में यह चर्चा भी चल पड़ी है कि सत्तारूढ़ दल साम्प्रदायिकता को नष्ट करने के लिये बहुत बेचैन हो उठा है और उसको मिटाने के लिये शायद वह कुछ कानून इत्यादि बनाने का भी विचार कर रहा है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यदि सत्तारूढ़ दल चाहता है कि देश से भाषावाद का अन्त हो और साम्प्रदायिकता का अन्त हो तो वह इनके कारणों

को खोजने का प्रयत्न करे और इन कारणों को खोज चुकने के बाद उनका निवारण कर इन दोनों समस्याओं को हल करे। परन्तु मैं समझता हूँ कि उसने बजाये इन समस्याओं को हल करने के इनको और भी बढ़ावा दिया है और यहाँ तक ही बस नहीं है, वह इससे आगे भी बढ़ा है। उसने जहाँ तक साम्प्रदायिकता का प्रश्न है, मुस्लिम लीग जैसी साम्प्रदायिक तथा प्रतिक्रियावादी संस्था से गठबन्धन भी किया है। उधर एक और प्रतिक्रियावादी दल है जिम्का नाम गणतन्त्र परिषद् है उसके साथ भी गठबन्धन करके, इस समस्या को सत्तारूढ़ दल ने बढ़ावा दिया है। इन समस्याओं की ओर ध्यान शायद इस वास्ते गया है और साम्प्रदायिक संस्थाओं पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाने की बात इसलिये चली है कि चुनाव नज़दीक आ रहे हैं और अल्पसंख्यकों के मनों पर यह धारणा बनाने की कोशिश की जा रही है कि केवल सत्तारूढ़ दल, यानी कांग्रेस ही एक ऐसी संस्था है जो अनाम्प्रदायिक है और इस वजह से अल्पसंख्यकों और खासतौर से मुस्लिम वोट कांग्रेस को मिलें और चुनावों में उनकी भारी विजय हो। सत्तारूढ़ दल के मामले देश का प्रश्न कम है, अपनी ही स्थिति को मजबूत बनाये रखने और सत्ता को हाथ में न जाने देने का प्रश्न ही है। सत्ता से चिपके रहने की ओर ही इस संस्था का ध्यान सदैव रहा है।

जहाँ तक जन सेवा के कार्यों का सम्बन्ध है, उसके अन्तर्गत पांच बातें आती हैं, भोजन, कपड़ा, मकान, दवा तथा शिक्षा। अगर हम इस कसौटी पर मौजूदा सरकार को परख तो पता चलेगा कि पिछली 10 योजनाओं के कार्यान्वित होने के बाद भी इस दिशा में वह असफल ही असफल रही है। जहाँ तक शिक्षा नीति का प्रश्न है, इसमें कोई परिवर्तन नहीं आया है। जो शिक्षा नीति है, वह अस्थायित्व को कायम रखने वाली है और स्वतन्त्रता की आकांक्षाओं को पूरा नहीं करती है। हमारे संविधान में जो डायरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्स हैं

आफ स्टेट पालिसी उनमें यह कहा गया है कि दस वर्ष के अन्दर प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा निःशुल्क और अनिवार्य कर दी जाएगी, सब को साक्षर बना दिया जाएगा। लेकिन दस वर्ष बीत गए हैं, इस दिशा में कोई प्रगति नहीं हुई है। अंग्रेजी राजकाज की आज भी जवान बनी हुई है और सरकारी नौकरियों में भरती के लिये जो स्तहान लिये जाते हैं, वे सब अंग्रेजी माध्यम से ही लिये जाते हैं। अंग्रेजी को कायम रखने के लिये आज सदन में और बाहर दलीलों की जाती हैं कि अंग्रेजी में ज्ञान का भण्डार है और खासतौर पर विज्ञान के लिये तो इसको छोड़ा ही नहीं जा सकता है। मैं इस सदन का मैं और ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि रूस, जर्मनी, फ्रांस जापान इत्यादि देशों ने जो विज्ञान के क्षेत्र में तथा दूसरे क्षेत्रों में तरक्की की है, वह क्या अंग्रेजी को रख कर ही की है। और तो और रूस ने जो ममस्त संसार को चकाचौंध कर दिया उधर १८,००० मील की रफ्तार से मानव को अन्तरिक्ष में भेज कर और उसको सुरक्षित वापिस धरती पर ला कर। यह कहना कि अंग्रेजी के सहारे ही विज्ञान आदि क्षेत्रों में हम तरक्की कर सकते हैं, गलत है। ऐसी धारणा भ्रामक है और इस तरह की धारणा फैला कर आपने देश का बहुत नुकसान किया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि अंग्रेजी से चिपके रह कर हमने विज्ञान के क्षेत्र में भी कोई खास तरक्की नहीं की है।

एक अंग्रेजी के पक्ष में यह भी दलील दी जाती है कि हमारा विदेशों से सम्बन्ध कैसे चलेगा, उनसे सम्पर्क कैसे बढ़ेगा। इस दलील में भी कोई वजन नहीं है। और जो देश हैं जहाँ पर अंग्रेजी भाषा का चलन नहीं है, क्या उनके तास्नुकात दूसरे देशों से नहीं हैं, बाहरी दुनिया से नहीं है। उनके तास्नुकात बड़ी अच्छी तरह से चल रहे हैं। इस वास्ते यह जो दलील दी जाती है यह भी सही नहीं है।

एक दलील यह भी जाती है कि दक्षिण भारत के लोग हिन्दी को पसन्द नहीं करते हैं

[श्री राम सेवक यादव]

श्रीर चाहते हैं कि अंग्रेजी बनी रहे। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि दक्षिण भारत की जनता अंग्रेजी नहीं चाहती है और चाहती है कि जो कामकाज है, वह जनभाषा में चलाया जाए। एक डेढ़ फीसदी अंग्रेजीवादी जो उच्च सरकारी नौकरियों पर हैं, राजनीति पर छाये हुए हैं, व्यापार पर छाये हुए हैं, उनकी यह आकांक्षा हो सकती है, लेकिन जहाँ तक आम जनता है वह चाहती है कि कामकाज जनभाषा में हो।

यह भी कहा जाता है कि दक्षिण के लोग समझते हैं कि अगर हिन्दी को राजकाज की भाषा बना दिया गया तो केन्द्र की नौकरियों में उनका आना बड़ा मुश्किल हो जाएगा। अगर इस तरह का कोई भय है, कोई डर है तो सरकार इसका भी निवारण कर सकती है और वह इस तरह से कि दक्षिण वामी लोगों को आबादी के अनुसार केन्द्र की सभी नौकरियों में और खाम तोर से गजेटेड नौकरियों में ले सकती है, उनको किसी प्रकार के संरक्षण प्रदान कर सकती है। उनको यह भी निश्चय करवा दिया जाए कि उत्तर के लोग जिनकी भाषा हिन्दी है, वे भी अनिवाय रूप से दक्षिण भारत की कोई न कोई भाषा सीखेंगे और उसमें उनको इम्तहान पास करना होगा। अगर कोई डर है या भय है कि उत्तर के लोग नौकरियों में छा जायेंगे, तो उसका इस प्रकार से निवारण किया जा सकता है।

लेकिन प्रश्न तो यह है कि क्या वाकई में हम समस्या को हल करना चाहते हैं? मैं समझता हूँ कि असलियत यह है कि हम समस्या को हल करना नहीं चाहते हैं और हम चाहते हैं कि जो अंग्रेजीवादी हैं और जिन की संख्या २५-३० लाख से अधिक नहीं है, जिस तरह से वे राजनीति, व्यापार इत्यादि पर आधिपत्य जमाये हैं, उसी तरह से प्रायः ही आधिपत्य जमाये हैं और ४२-४३ करोड़ जनता को अपने ही देश में बेगाना बनाये रखे और वह अपने घरों से ही बेदखल रहे।

जहाँ तक शिक्षा पद्धति का सम्बन्ध है, इसमें भी कुछ सुधार नहीं हुआ है। आज दो प्रकार की शिक्षा पद्धतियाँ चल रही हैं, एक बुनियादी शिक्षा पद्धति और दूसरी पब्लिक स्कूलों की शिक्षा पद्धति। शिक्षा में जहाँ तक बुनियादी शिक्षा पद्धति का सम्बन्ध है, उसके साथ गांधी जी का नाम जुड़ा हुआ है और इस वजह से इस शिक्षा पद्धति का गांधी जी का नाम लेकर के बहुत ज्यादा प्रचार किया जा रहा है और कहा जा रहा है कि हम बुनियादी शिक्षा पद्धति की ओर बढ़ रहे हैं। हम देखते हैं कि एक ओर पब्लिक स्कूल हैं और दूसरी ओर बेसिक स्कूल हैं। इन पब्लिक और बेसिक स्कूलों को चलाने वाले कौन हैं? बेसिक स्कूल जिला परिषदें, जिला बोर्ड और स्थानीय इकाइयाँ चलाती हैं। यहाँ पर एक विद्यार्थी पर एक रुपया डेढ़ रुपया या दो रुपये से अधिक खर्च नहीं आता है। कहीं पर तो बच्चों की व्यवस्था नहीं होती, कहीं पर इमारत नहीं होती और कहीं पर बच्चों के पास किताब नहीं होती और गरीब लोगों के बच्चों के लिये भोजन इत्यादि की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं होती। दूसरी तरफ जो पब्लिक स्कूल हैं, जो देहरादून, ऊटी, नैनीताल, दिल्ली इत्यादि में हैं उनमें एक बच्चे पर कहीं ३५० कहीं ३००, कहीं २०० और कहीं १५० रुपया मासिक खर्च किया जाता है और इन्हीं के लड़कों की तरफ सरकार द्वारा ध्यान दिया जाता है। इस सब का अर्थ यह हुआ कि दो तरह के नागरिक हम बना रहे हैं, एक पब्लिक स्कूलों से निकलने वाले जो कि पहले दर्जे के नागरिक होंगे और दूसरे अल्प स्कूलों से निकलने वाले जो कि दर्जा दो के नागरिक आसानी से कहे जा सकते हैं। अगर बुनियादी तालीम में हमारी सरकार की दिलचस्पी होती तो सारे हिन्दुस्तान में एक ही तरह की तालीम दी जाती दो तरह की तालीम का कोई सवाल पैदा नहीं होता। जहाँ तक बेसिक शिक्षा का सम्बन्ध है मैं समझता हूँ कि मंत्रियों का और सरकार का उस ओर कोई ध्यान

नहीं है। अगर आप पता लगायें तो मालूम होगा कि प्रधान मन्त्री, शिक्षा मन्त्री, अन्य मन्त्रीगण और यहां तक कि बड़े बड़े सरकारी अधिकारी सब अपने बच्चों को इन पब्लिक स्कूलों में, देहरादून, ऊंटी, नैनीताल इत्यादि में भेज सकते हैं। अगर बेसिक स्कूल गरीब लोगों के बच्चों के लिये अच्छे हो सकते हैं, तो इनके बच्चों के लिये भी अच्छे हो सकते हैं। लेकिन यहां तो दोहरी नीति चल रही है। जो लड़के पब्लिक स्कूलों से निकलेंगे वे तो शासक बनेंगे, बड़े बड़े अफ़ीसर बनेंगे, राजनीति में भागे भागे चलेंगे व्यापार में भागे भायेंगे और इस गरीब लोगों पर शासन करके इन पर कृपा करेंगे।

शिक्षा मन्त्री महोदय कहते हैं कि पब्लिक स्कूलों में कोई भी विद्यार्थी जाकर दाखिल हो सकता है, किसी पर कोई प्रतिबन्ध नहीं है। मैं पृथ्वी चाहता हूँ कि जिन पब्लिक स्कूलों में इतना भारी खर्चा हो, फीस इतनी अधिक हो और स्वाम प्रकार की डून भी प्रेमकाइंड हो, सूट भी हो, रेल में लंगाटी भी हो, टाईकोट हो तो किस गरीब का बच्चा इन स्कूलों में जा सकता है। रिपोर्ट में यह भी कहा गया है कि २५४ लड़कों को छात्रवृत्तियां दी गई हैं, वजीफ़ें दिये गये हैं। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि कौन से किसानों के लड़के हैं किम मध्यम वर्ग के लड़के हैं जिन का वजीफ़ें दिये गये हैं? मैं समझता हूँ कि बड़े बड़े लोगों के, सेक्रेटरीज, प्रिन्डर सेक्रेटरीज इत्यादि के ही लड़के हैं जिन का वजीफ़ें दिये गये हैं।

जहां तक अंग्रेजी का सवाल है, संविधान में कहा गया है कि १९६५ के बाद अंग्रेजी चली जाएगी। लेकिन अब तो दूसरा ही फैसला हो गया है। अब कहा गया है कि १९६५ के बाद भी अंग्रेजी को हिन्दी के साथ साथ बनाये रखा जाएगा। इसके बने रहने का सीधा सा अर्थ यह है कि अंग्रेजी कभी जाने वाली नहीं है क्योंकि यह सरल सा सिद्धान्त है और सब इसको जानते हैं कि जब जब में

दो तरह के सिक्के हों, एक छोटा और दूसरा असली तो जब तक जब में छोटा सिक्का रहता है तब तक असली सिक्का बाजार में नहीं चलता। सलिये जब तक अंग्रेजी का छोटा सिक्का देश में बना रहता है तब तक हिन्दी नहीं चल सकती।

15.40 hrs.

[SHRI JAGANATH RAO in the Chair]

अब मैं आपका, मंत्री महोदय का और सदन का ध्यान विश्वविद्यालय अनुदान आयोग की जो रिपोर्ट अथवा प्रतिवेदन है, उसकी ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ। स रिपोर्ट में इस बात पर चिन्ता प्रकट की गई है कि विश्वविद्यालयों में ऐसे विद्यार्थी चले आये हैं जिनको वहां नहीं आना चाहिए था। कौन से लोग चले आये हैं? आजादी के बाद देश में कुछ जागरण हुआ, उसके फलस्वरूप भांगों के विद्यार्थियों के बच्चे, मध्यम वर्ग के बच्चे, यूनिवर्सिटी में पहुँचे। यह सही है कि जिन लोगों के बच्चे पैदा होते ही अंग्रेजी के ए बी सी डी के स्तरों के साथ खेलते हैं उनके बराबर मध्यम वर्ग या किसान वर्ग के बच्चों का अंग्रेजी का ज्ञान नहीं हो सकता। चूँकि १२ या १४ वर्ष की आयु के बाद वे अंग्रेजी पढ़ना आरम्भ करते हैं इसलिए वे उनके बराबर आकर अंग्रेजी में अच्छे नम्बर नहीं पा सकते हैं। चूँकि वे लोग यूनिवर्सिटी में चले आये हैं, किसी तरह से गीबों के बच्चे वहां चले आये हैं, सलिये आज एक समस्या खड़ी हो गई है और कहा जाता है कि शिक्षा का स्तर गिर रहा है। कारण यह बतलाया जाता है कि देहात के लोगों के बच्चे जिन का अंग्रेजी का स्तर ऊंचा नहीं है व वहां पर चले आये हैं। कहा जाता है कि जब तक उन पर प्रतिबन्ध नहीं लगाया जाता है तब तक शिक्षा का स्तर ऊंचा नहीं होगा। लेकिन शिक्षा का स्तर कैसे ऊंचा होगा, इसका जो सही उपाय है, उसकी तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है। आज विदेशी बोली के

### [श्री राम सेवक यादव]

माध्यम से सारी पढ़ाई लिखाई होती है। गांव के बच्चे जो दस या बारह साल के बाद अंग्रेजी किताब देखते हैं, वे कभी भी अंग्रेजी में अच्छे नम्बर नहीं ला सकते। पिछले साल हाई स्कूल और इंटरमीडिएट में फेल होने वाले विद्यार्थियों में से ६० या ७० फी सदी विद्यार्थी वही हैं जो कि अंग्रेजी में फेल हुए। इस अंग्रेजी की परीक्षा में फेल होने के कारण आज उन पर निवृत्ति में जाने के सम्बन्ध में प्रतिबन्ध लगाया जा रहा है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस चीज का सही इलाज किया जाय। विश्व-विद्यालय अनुदान आयोग ने जो सिफारिश की है कि ऐसे विद्यार्थियों पर रोक लगाई जाये, उस को नहीं माना जाना चाहिये और समय आ गया है कि जिन गरीबों के बेटों से चुन कर हम यहां पर आए हैं, जिन गरीबों का यह देश है, उनको पढ़ने लिखने का पूरा अवसर मिले। आज उनके विश्वविद्यालय में पढ़ने पर रोक लगाई जाये यह अच्छी बात नहीं है। मैं भी चाहता हूँ कि आज हमारी शिक्षा का स्तर ऊंचा हो, लेकिन जब तक मातृ भाषा में इस देश के विद्यार्थियों की पढ़ाई लिखाई नहीं होती तब तक अपने देश में न वैज्ञानिक अच्छे निकल सकते हैं और न शिक्षा शास्त्री अच्छे निकल सकते हैं और न किसान ही अच्छे निकल सकते हैं।

अन्त में मैं जो हमारा केन्द्रीय शिक्षण संस्थान है उसके सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। दिल्ली का केन्द्रीय शिक्षण संस्थान आखिर क्या है, उसका उद्देश्य क्या था जब वह कायम किया गया? उसका उद्देश्य यह था कि सारे भारत में माध्यमिक शिक्षा का एकीकरण होगा। उसके जरिये कोई ऐसी चीज होगी, कोई गवेषणा होगी जिसके द्वारा सारे देश में एक रूपता लाई जायेगी। लेकिन वह आज क्या कर रहा है? वहां पर नाटक होते हैं। आज वह एक तरह से

अमरीकी मिशनरियों और ईसाइयों की मानेस्ट्री सी बन गया है, गिरजा बन गया है। वहां पर फूलों की प्रदर्शनी होती है, सब कुछ होता है, लेकिन जिस मकसद के लिये उसे कायम किया गया था वह उसके द्वारा पूरा नहीं हो रहा है। इसलिये मैं इस ओर सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि जिस उद्देश्य से यह केन्द्रीय शिक्षण संस्थान कायम किया गया था, वह उसकी पूर्ति करे और उसमें मिशनरियों का आधिपत्य न रहे। आप कहते हैं कि वहां हिन्दी का प्रसार होता है, हिन्दी को काफी तरक्की उसके द्वारा मिलेगी, लेकिन यदि आप वहां पर छपी पुस्तकों के विवरण मंगाये वहां पर प्रयोग होने वाली पुस्तकों के विवरण मंगाये, तो आपको पता चलेगा कि वहां पर बजाय हिन्दी के प्रथम देने के अंग्रेजी को प्रथम दिया जा रहा है। उसके पीछे एक और भी बड़ी बात हो सकती है कि शायद दूसरी चीजों को छोड़ कर उसे बिल्कुल एक अमरीकी लोगों का झुंडा बना दिया जाये।

अब मैं जो लोग अंग्रेजी के मिलसिले में गांधी जी का नाम लिया करते हैं उन के लिये गांधी जी के कुछ कोटेशन रख कर समाप्त कर दूंगा। गांधी जी ने ३०-७-३८ को हरिजन सेवक में लिखा था :

“यदि शिक्षा का माध्यम धीरे धीरे बदलने के बजाये एक दम बदल दिया जाये तो बहुत ही शीघ्र हम देखेंगे कि आवश्यकता को पूरी करने के लिये पाठ्य पुस्तकें भी प्राप्त हो रही हैं और अध्यापक भी। और अगर हम ईमानदारी से कार्य करना चाहते हैं तो एक ही साल में हमें यह मालूम हो जायेगा कि विदेशी माध्यम और संस्कृत के आवश्यक तत्व सीखने के प्रयत्न में राष्ट्र का समय और शक्ति नष्ट करने में हमें भागीदार नहीं होना चाहिये। बेशक



सफलता की शर्त यह है कि सरकारी दफ्तरों में अग्नर प्रान्तीय सरकारों का अपनी अदालतों पर अधिकार या प्रभाव हो तो उन अदालतों में भी प्रान्तीय भाषायें तुरन्त जारी कर दी जायें । यदि इस सुधार की आवश्यकता में हमारा विश्वास हो तो उसमें हम तुरन्त सफल हो सकते हैं ।”

फिर टेकनिकल शिक्षा की बात कही जाती है । उसके सम्बन्ध में गांधी जी हरिजन सेवक में २५-८-४६ को लिखते हैं :

“यह कहना बिल्कुल गलत है कि मातृ भाषा के जरिये टेकनिकल तालीम देने के लिये बड़ी तैयारी और खोज की जरूरत होगी । जो यह दलील पेश करते हैं वे नहीं जानते कि हमारे गांवों की बोलियां हर तरह की बातों को समझाने वाले शब्दों और मुहावरों से भी हुई हैं । टेकनिकल तालीम के लायक शब्दों की खोज में हमें संस्कृत और फारसी की शरण में नहीं जाना पड़ेगा । जब मैं चम्पारन में रहता था तब मैंने देखा कि गांव के लोग एक ही विदेशी शब्द या मुहावरों की सहायता लिये बिना अपने विचार बड़ी आसानी से पूरी तरह से समझा सकते थे । उन्होंने मोटर के लिए अपना ही नाम हवा गाड़ी बूढ़ निकाला था । मेरा खयाल है कि यूनिवर्सिटी के विद्वान भी उससे ज्यादा सुन्दर नाम नहीं गड़ सकते ।”

लड़कों को उनकी ही बोली में पढ़ाया जाये, इसके बारे में गांधी जी के कैसे मार्मिक विचार थे उनको उन्होंने मन् १९४२ में हरिजन सेवक में लिखा था :

“अब वह जमाना नहीं रहा कि जब विद्यार्थी जो कुछ मिलता था उसी में मन्तुष्ट रह लिया करते थे । अब तो वे बड़े बड़े नूरान खड़े कर लिया करते हैं । छोटी छोटी बातों के लिए भूब हड़ताल भी कर लिया करते हैं । अग्नर ईश्वर उन्हें बुद्धि दे तो वे कह सकते हैं कि हमें अपनी मातृ भाषा में पढ़ाओ ।”

अन्त में मैं एक पत्र और पढ़ना चाहता हूं जो कि गांधी जी ने श्री अनुसूया प्रसाद पाठक को लिखा था ११ नवम्बर, १९४७ को, जो कि शायद उनका आखिरी पत्र था । लिखते हैं :

“आपका पत्र आज प्राप्त हुआ । मैंने उसे पढ़ा । तुम जानते हो कि हिन्दी का प्रचार उन १८ आइटम में से है जिसे मैं पसन्द करता हूं और मैं समझता हूं कि बिना राष्ट्र भाषा के भारत की आजादी बेकार है । भाषा के विषय में भारत पहले जैसा आज भी गुलाम है । से मैं पूरी स्वतंत्रता नहीं समझता । यह मेरी राय है । जब तक अंग्रेजी राष्ट्र भाषा रहती है । भारत गुलाम रहेगा ।”

दो शब्द और कह कर मैं समाप्त करना चाहता हूं । अब मैं खाद्य समस्या की ओर ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं ।

**Mr. Chairman:** No, no. The hon. Member should conclude now.

श्री ब० प्र० सिंह (मुंगेर) : सभापति महोदय, इस समय देश में किसानों की संख्या ७० प्रतिशत है परन्तु उनकी आय राष्ट्रीय आय की ५० परसेन्ट है । ३० प्रतिशत आबादी ही आज ५० प्रतिशत है, आज हम किसानों के सम्बन्ध में बहुत सी बात सोचते हैं और उनकी अवस्था सुधारने की बात सोचते हैं । लेकिन मैं समझता हूं कि आज सबसे उपेक्षित वर्ग किसानों का है । आज सब से कम आय किसानों की है वह ही एक व्यक्ति है जिसकी ५०० है केवल । डॉमेस्टिक सर्वेंट्स की आय इस वकन ४०० ६० है । आज तक हम किसानों को हर एक प्लेटफार्म से बराबर बिश्वास दिलाते रहे हैं कि उनकी आर्थिक अवस्था सुधारी जायेगी स्वराज्य होने पर । कांग्रेस के प्लेटफार्म से और बाहर भी यही बात कही गई कि उनकी जमीन की मालगुजारी आधी की जायेगी । लेकिन आज अवस्था

### [श्री ब० ब्र० सिंह]

क्या हो रही है। जमीन की मालगुजारी आधी करने के बजाय सरकार ऐसा सोच रही है कि वह बढ़ाई जाये। तृतीय पंच वर्षीय योजना के अन्दर उसके दुगुनी और तिगुनी तक बढ़ाये जाने की बात है। मैं कहता हूँ कि आज कल जमीन की लगान का जो आधार है वह ५० प्रतिशत पर है। लेकिन आरम्भिक काल में, मनु के समय में जमीन के बारहवें हिस्से का आधार था, गौतम के समय में वह दसवाँ हिस्सा हो गया और कौटिल्य के समय में वह छ वाँ हिस्सा रह गया। लेकिन आज उम की मालगुजारी की आय ५० प्रतिशत के आधार पर है। आप किसी दूसरे वर्ग को ले लीजिए। अगर किसी की आय ३,००० रु० है तब उसे राज्य कर देना पड़ता है परन्तु अगर किसान दस बिसवा जमीन भी जोतता है तो भी उसकी लगान के रूप में राज कर देना पड़ता है सोशलिस्ट पैंटन के नाम पर, समानता लाने के लिये सरकार को चाहिये कि जमीन की लगान को बिल्कुल समाप्त कर दे। जिम तरीके से एक व्यापारी या एक नौकरी पेशा आदमी को जब वह ३००० सालाना या उससे ज्यादा आमदनी करता है तब टैक्स देना पड़ता है, उसी तरह से जो किसान अपनी खेती से ३००० या उस से ज्यादा की आय करे उससे ही टैक्स लिया जाना चाहिये। लेकिन आज ऐसा नहीं होता। आप चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश में पैदावार बढ़े, लेकिन इस स्थिति में पैदावार कैसे बढ़ सकती है, जब देश में सूखा पड़ जाता है या बाढ़ आ जाती है उस समय किसानों की सारी की सारी पूँजी ही समाप्त हो जाती है लेकिन उनके लगान की माफी की उस समय कोई गुंजाइश नहीं होती। इसलिये मैं समझता हूँ कि देश का सबसे अधिक उपेक्षित वर्ग किसान वर्ग है और यदि किसानों को दूसरों के समान स्तर पर लाना चाहते हैं तो उनको आपको सुविधाएं देनी होंगी।

आप सोशलिस्ट पैंटन की बात करते हैं। कांग्रेस ने इसको पास कर दिया है लेकिन आपने अभी तक यह तय नहीं किया है कि सोशलिस्ट पैंटन आ जाने पर हमारे जीवन स्तर में क्या अन्तर रहेगा। कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि लोगों की आय में १ और ६ से अधिक अन्तर नहीं होना चाहिए, कुछ कहते हैं कि १ और २० तक अन्तर हो इससे ज्यादा न हो। मैं थोड़ी देर के लिये १ और २० की बात भी मान लेता हूँ, लेकिन सरकार को इस बारे में कोई फ़ैसला तो करना चाहिये। आज केन्द्रीय सरकार के एक कर्मचारी के लिये अधिक से अधिक ३००० रुपया का मासिक वेतन रखा गया है और एक चपरासी को ३० रुपया मासिक वेतन दिया जाता है। तो आप देखें कि यह १ और १०० का अनुपात हो जाता है। इसको देखते हुए मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि हमारे यहां सोशलिस्ट पैंटन का क्या स्वरूप होगा।

आप यह भी कहते हैं कि हम लोगों के जीवन स्तर को ऊपर उठाना चाहते हैं। इस बारे में मैंने प्लानिंग मिनिस्टर से लिखा-पढ़ी भी की है और बात भी की है और पार्लियामेंट में बोला भी हूँ और सुझाव दिये हैं कि एक नागरिक का निम्नतम जीवन स्तर निश्चित किया जाये। जो नीचे के स्तर के हैं उनको आप ऊपर उठाइये और जो ऊपर के स्तर के हैं उनको नीचे लाइये तो आप असमानता को दूर कर सकेंगे। लेकिन सरकार ऐसा नहीं कर रही है। मैंने पार्लियामेंट में इसके बारे में कई बार कहा और प्रश्न भी किये और सरकार ने बताया कि दूसरी पंच वर्षीय योजना में इसका निश्चय किया जाये लेकिन आज दूसरी पंच वर्षीय योजना का काल समाप्त होने जा रहा है लेकिन सरकार अभी तक कुछ निश्चय नहीं कर सकी है। इससे लगता है कि सरकार गरीबों के जीवन स्तर को उठाने और सोशलिस्ट पैंटन लाने के काम में बहुत अधिक समय लेगी।

शिक्षा को प्राप्त लीजिए । विधान में कहा गया है कि दस वर्ष के अन्दर ६ से १४ वर्ष तक के बच्चों के लिए सारे देश में अनिवार्य और निःशुल्क शिक्षा की व्यवस्था कर दी जाएगी लेकिन आज प्राप्त कहते हैं कि तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्त तक ६ से ११ वर्ष तक के बच्चों के लिए अनिवार्य और निःशुल्क शिक्षा की व्यवस्था कर सकेंगे । शिक्षा तो अत्यन्त आवश्यक चीज है लेकिन उसमें भी आपकी प्रगति इतनी धीमी है । इससे मालूम होता है कि आप किसानों की शिक्षा के प्रति कितने उदासीन हैं । मेरा निवेदन है कि जैसा विधान में कहा गया है उसको अनुसार शिक्षा की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये ।

अभी हमारे एक मित्र ने कहा कि देश में शिक्षा के कितने रूप चलते हैं । पहले हमने बुनियादी शिक्षा पर जोर दिया था । लेकिन आज उसमें कोई प्रगति नहीं हो रही है । बिहार में सब से पहले बुनियादी शिक्षा का प्रयोग शुरू किया गया लेकिन आज वहाँ उसका नाम नहीं है । हम देखते हैं कि आप एक अच्छी चीज को लोगों के सामने रखते हैं लेकिन उसको चला नहीं पाते ।

दूसरी बात में स्वास्थ्य के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ । आज आप स्वास्थ्य के लिये देश के अन्दर इतना पैसा खर्च करते हैं लेकिन दूसरी तरफ नशाखोरी भी चल रही है । जो अस्वस्थ करते हैं हम गांधी जी को राष्ट्रपिता कहते हैं । उन्होंने कहा था कि यदि एक घंटे के लिए मुझे शासन की जिम्मेदारी मिल जाए तो सब से पहला काम मैं करूंगा कि देश के अन्दर से नशा बन्द कर दूंगा । लेकिन आज कांग्रेस के शासन को १३ साल हो गए फिर भी अभी तक इस देश के अन्दर नशा खोरी जारी है । हमारे यहाँ बिहार में जब कांग्रेस का शासन शुरू हुआ था तब यह कह कर एग्जीक्यूटिव टैक्स लगाया गया था कि नशाखोरी बन्द करने से जो घाटा होगा उसकी पूर्ति इस टैक्स से की जाएगी, लेकिन

शराब खोरी वहाँ अभी भी चालू है और फिर भी एग्जीक्यूटिव टैक्स लग रहा है ।

आज देश की पर कॅपिटा इनकम २५७ रुपये है तो किसानों की पर कॅपिटा इनकम केवल ११० रुपये ही है । आज यह देखते हुए कैसे यह बात समझें कि किसानों की अवस्था सुधारी जा रही है और उनका जीवन स्तर बढ़ाया जा रहा है । मुझे इसमें ऐतराज नहीं है कि आप जमीन पर सीलिंग लगाएं लेकिन किसानों के लिए जो बुनियादी चीज है उसकी तो व्यवस्था करें । लेकिन जो आप वायदा करते हैं उसको पूरा नहीं कर पाते । आपने वायदा किया था कि आप दस साल के अन्दर ६ से १४ वर्ष तक के बच्चों के लिए अनिवार्य और निःशुल्क शिक्षा की व्यवस्था कर दगे लेकिन वैसा नहीं किया गया । आप देख कि साक्षरता किसानों के लिए कितनी आवश्यक चीज है । अब आप कहते हैं कि तीसरी योजना के अन्त तक केवल ६ से ११ वर्ष तक के बच्चों के लिए आप अनिवार्य और निःशुल्क शिक्षा की व्यवस्था कर सकेंगे ।

मैं समझता हूँ कि जिस तरह से सरकार के शासन का ध्येय बढ़ता जा रहा है अगर इसी तरह से आगे बढ़ता गया तो सुधार की योजनायें जहाँ की तहाँ रखी रह जाएंगी । आज आपको कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट से बहुत आशा है लेकिन जो बेहात के रहने वाले हैं वह जानते हैं कि इसमें क्या काम ही रहा है । आज उस कार्यक्रम का रुपया एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन पर ही अधिक खर्च किया जा रहा है । अगर सरकार चाहती है कि भारत में कुछ सुधार का काम करे तो उसको शासन ध्येय की एक सीमा निश्चित कह देनी चाहिए । मैं समझता हूँ कि शासन ध्येय १५ या २० प्रतिशत से अधिक नहीं होना चाहिए । यदि ऐसा नहीं किया जाएगा तो जनता के सुधार की बातें बागवत पर ही रह जाएंगी और भारत में काम नहीं हो पाएगा ।

आज आप देश का उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए बड़ी-बड़ी मिर्चाई की योजनाएं बना रहे हैं ।

[श्री ब० प्र० सिंह]

यह ठीक है। लेकिन साथ ही साथ छोटी योजनाओं की ओर भी आपका ध्यान जाना चाहिए। हम समझते हैं कि हमको देश में गल्ले की पैदावार बढ़ानी चाहिए। लेकिन समझ में नहीं आता कि आप कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट के सिलसिले में इतने मकानात क्यों बना रहे हैं : उनको देख कर ऐसा मानूम पड़ता है कि बादशाह शाहजहाँ की आत्मा हमारे प्रधान मंत्री में उतर आयी है कि वह इतने इतने विशाल मकान बनवा रहे हैं। जो मकान सौ वर्ष से काम के लायक था उसको तोड़ कर नया मकान बनाया जाता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यदि उस रुपये को मकान पर न लगा कर उससे नहर आदि का निर्माण किया जाता तो उससे ज्यादा लाभ होता।

मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर विदेशों से देश के अन्दर गल्ला न भी मंगाया जाए तो हम अन्न के मामले में आत्म निर्भर हो सकते हैं। हमको चाहिए कि हम स्टैण्डर्ड आफ कल्टीवेशन निश्चित कर दें। हम यह निश्चित कर दें कि एक किसान को प्रति एकड़ इतना पैदा करना चाहिए, यदि वह उतना पैदा नहीं करता तो उसकी जमीन खीन ली जानी चाहिए। अगर ऐसी व्यवस्था की जाएगी, जैसी कि इंग्लैंड में है, तो हमारा उत्पादन बढ़ सकता है और हम अन्न के मामले में आत्म निर्भर हो सकते हैं।

हमारा खयाल है कि आज देश में वास्तव में किसान जितना उपेक्षित और कोई वर्ग नहीं है। उसकी ओर आपका विशेष ध्यान जाना चाहिए। उसकी शिक्षा, उसके स्वास्थ्य आदि के सम्बन्ध में आपको विशेष व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए।

आज अष्टाचार और धरपतन बहुत बढ़ गया है। उसका अन्दाजा लगाना शक्ति है। आज एक एक मुकदमा दस दस साल तक चलता रहता है और किसान समझ नहीं पाता कि क्या करे। ऐसी अवस्था में मेरा

निवेदन है अपने वित्त मंत्री से और उनके द्वारा सहकार से निवेदन है कि यदि वह वास्तव में किसान का हित करना चाहता है और उसको दूसरे वर्गों के साथ समान स्तर पर लाना चाहते हैं तो उसकी शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में जो वायदा किया है कि दस साल के अन्दर ६ से १४ वर्ष तक के बच्चों के लिए अनिवार्य और निःशुल्क शिक्षा की व्यवस्था कर दी जाएगी, उस वायदे को पूरा करें।

**Mr. Chairman:** Shri Lachman Singh. Shri Liladhar Kotoki. Both of them are not present. Shri Bishwanath Roy.

16 hrs.

**श्री विश्वनाथ राय (मलेमपुर) :** महापति जी, इस देश में जो लोग लगभग साठे पांच लाख गांवों में रहते हैं और देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था के आधार हैं, यों तो वे उपेक्षित, पिछड़े और निर्धन हैं, लेकिन फिर भी द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना की अर्वाधि में उन्होंने ने राष्ट्रीय आय का लगभग पचास प्रतिशत से कुछ अधिक भाग दे कर देश को लाभ पहुंचाया है। यद्यपि गत दस वर्षों में देश में अन्न या खेती का उत्पादन चालीस प्रतिशत के करीब बढ़ा है, लेकिन उस हिसाब से राष्ट्रीय आय बढ़ाने वाले लोगों का जीवनस्तर नहीं ऊंचा हुआ है। इस का कारण यह हो सकता है कि देश की आबादी तेजी से बढ़ रही है, लेकिन एक मुख्य कारण यह भी है कि किसान जिन परिस्थितियों में काम करता है, उन में उस को अपने परिश्रम के हिसाब से लाभ उठाने और उपार्जित फल का उपभोग करने का अवसर नहीं मिलता है। हमारे देश में ऐसी प्रथा है, समाज का उंचा इस प्रकार का है कि गांवों के लोगों का शोषण होता है और उन को उन के परिश्रम से उपार्जित वस्तुओं के उपभोग से वंचित कर दिया जाता है। यह सही है कि जमींदारी और तालुकदारी प्रथा समाप्त कर दी गई है, लेकिन उस के बदले व्यवस्था की या सहकारी

की ऐसी प्रथा आज भी देश में मौजूद है, जिस से देश के सब से ज्यादा लोगों का जिन की संख्या लगभग ८० प्रतिशत है शोषण होता है। १९६१ की जन-गणना के जो आंकड़े हैं, उन से प्रकट होता है कि इस देश में केवल कृषि पर आश्रित रहने वाले ७१ प्रतिशत आदमी हैं। ६ प्रतिशत लोग ऐसे हैं, जो खेती से सम्बन्धित व्यवसाय या ग्रामीण उद्योग-धंधों में लगे हुए हैं। हम देखते हैं कि जिन २० प्रतिशत लोगों का जीवन-स्तर पहले से ऊंचा था, वे और भी आगे बढ़ रहे हैं, लेकिन खेती और गांवों से सम्बन्धित ८० प्रतिशत भारतीय लोगों का जीवन-स्तर अब भी संतोषजनक नहीं है। इस का एक कारण तो शोषण हो सकता है। सरकार ने अब तक गांवों में सुधार करने और उन का विकास करने का जो प्रयास किया है, उस में दो एक बड़ी मुख्य बातों की ओर ध्यान नहीं गया है। इस में चाहे सामुदायिक विकास मंत्रालय की उदासीनता रही हो, या कोई और कारण हो, लेकिन आप जानते हैं कि जब ग्रामीण अपनी चीज को, खेत की पैदावार को पैद करता है, तब उस को मालगुजारी देने और जीवन की आवश्यकीय वस्तुओं को खरीदने के लिये अपने उत्पादन को बेचने के लिये विवश होना पड़ता है। आज भी सरकार ने ऐसा कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं किया है, जिस से किसान को अपनी चीजों का उचित मूल्य मिल सके। यह ठीक है कि गन्ने जैसी चीज को बिकवाने का प्रबन्ध हुआ है, लेकिन अन्न सम्बन्धी अन्य चीजों के सम्बन्ध में ऐसा प्रबन्ध नहीं हो सका है। मैं विशेषकर वित्त मंत्री जी का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में गांवों के लिये बैंकिंग की सुविधा देने के बारे में वह कोई व्यवस्था करे, ताकि गांवों में उचित सुधार कर्वा मिल सके। आज भी गांवों में कई जगह २५ प्रतिशत तक सूद लिया जाता है। यही कारण है कि परिश्रम करने पर भी, उन के द्वारा राष्ट्रीय आय बढ़ाये जाने पर भी और अन्न की पैदावार में बढ़ किये जाने पर भी किसानों का स्तर

ऊंचा नहीं हो सका है। न केवल आर्थिक ढांचे में शोषण की प्रवृत्ति होने के कारण उन की हालत गिरी हुई है, बल्कि प्रकृति भी उन के विरुद्ध जाती है—उस से भी उन को नुकसान होता है। जब अन्य देशों में कृषि के बारे में इन्शोरेंस आदि का प्रबन्ध है, तो क्या भारत में, जबकि देश काफ़ी आगे बढ़ा है और बढ़ रहा है, तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के दौरान में ऐसा प्रबन्ध नहीं हो सकता है? यह बात माननीय मंत्री जी से सम्बन्ध रखती है और इसलिये उन को इस ओर ध्यान देना चाहिये।

दो चार रोज पहले जब यहां पर मांगों के बारे में बहस हो रही थी, कुछ माननीय सदस्यों की तरफ से यह कहा गया कि किसान कौश क्रॉप्स की तरफ, उन क्रॉप्स की तरफ, जिन से उन को पैसा मिलता है, जा रहे हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वे ऐसा करने के लिये विवश हैं। जब उन को अन्न का उचित मूल्य नहीं मिलता है और जीवन की आवश्यकीय वस्तुएं खरीदने के लिये पर्याप्त धन नहीं मिलता है, तो किसान विवश हो कर गन्ने की तरफ जाते हैं, या तेल पैदा करने वाले अन्न की तरफ जाते हैं। ऐसी हालत में उनको इस बात के लिये दोषी नहीं ठहराया जा सकता कि वे कौश क्रॉप्स की खेती और एकरेज बढ़ा रहे हैं।

गन्ने के विषय में कृषि मंत्री ने कुछ कहा था। सारे हिन्दुस्तान में जितनी जमीन में खेती होती है, उस के १.५ या १.६ परसेंट में गन्ने की खेती होती है, लेकिन सारी खेती से जो आय होती है उसका ५ प्रतिशत केवल गन्ने से होता है, जोकि किसान बेच को देता है। इसका अर्थ यह है कि गन्ने की खेती का एकरेज तो कम है, लेकिन उसकी तुलना में उसके होने वाली आय अधिक ही रही है। उससे केवल राष्ट्रीय आय में ही वृद्धि नहीं हुई, बल्कि पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना में सीधे किसान को ३०.५७ करोड़ रुपया सेस के रूप में अदेखीय सरकारों को मिला था। दूसरी योजना में ४८.०७

[श्री विश्वनाथ राय]

करोड़ रुपया मिला और तीसरी योजना में लगभग ६० करोड़ रुपया सैस के रूप में मिलना है। यह केवल सैस की बात में नै कही है। अगर एक्साइज ड्यूटी को भी मिला लें, तो दूसरी योजना में २५० करोड़ रुपया केन्द्रीय और प्रदेशीय सरकारों को गन्ने और चीनी पर लगे करों के रूप में मिला और तीसरी पंच-वर्षीय योजना में उन को ३६० करोड़ रुपया मिलेगा। लेकिन उस के मकाबले में गन्ने के सुधार और उन्नति के लिये अभी तक जो कार्यक्रम है, उस के लिये केवल १०० करोड़ रुपया तृतीय पंच-वर्षीय योजना में रखा गया है, जोकि एक्साइज ड्यूटी और सैस का केवल २८ प्रतिशत है। और फिर यह रुपया केवल गन्ने के सुधार के लिये ही नहीं है, बल्कि उस से सड़कें भी बनेंगी और सिंचाई के साधनों की भी व्यवस्था होगी। सिंचाई का सम्बन्ध तो कृषि और गन्ने से है, लेकिन सड़कों का उपयोग केवल कृषि और गन्ने के लिये नहीं होता है, बल्कि अन्य कामों में भी होता है। इसलिये गन्ने या उस से संबंधित साधनों के विकास के लिये २८ प्रतिशत से भी कम व्यय किया जायगा। ऐसी हालत में मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि गन्ने की खेती बढ़ाने के लिये किसानों को दोष क्यों दिया जाता है। अगर वे बढ़ाते भी हैं, तो वे सरकार को रुपया भी दे रहे हैं, हालां कि जितना वे दे रहे हैं, उस की अपेक्षा उस की उन्नति की ओर कम ध्यान दिया जा रहा है और कम पैसा लगाया जा रहा है।

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं एक बात आप के द्वारा और वित्त मंत्री के द्वारा कृषि मंत्री को कहना चाहता हूँ। यदि उत्तर प्रदेश गन्ने के उत्पादन में पिछड़ा हुआ है, तो वह इस कारण नहीं है कि वहाँ के लोग काम नहीं करते, या वहाँ की आबो-हवा उस के लिये उपयुक्त नहीं है, या वे लोग सुस्त हैं, बल्कि इस कारण कि पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश और उत्तरी बिहार के जिन क्षेत्रों में गन्ने की खेती अधिक होती है, वहाँ चीनी की मिलें अधिक हैं,

जहाँ चीनी आज से नहीं, शताब्दियों से बन रही है और देश के दूसरे भागों में भेजी जाती रही है, वहाँ के लोग गरीब हैं और वहाँ प्रति-वर्ग-मील जन-संख्या बहुत अधिक है। मेरे अपने जिले में लगभग ११०० आदमी एक वर्ग-मील में रहते हैं। इतनी घनी आबादी होने पर भी—और यद्यपि हिमालय से कुछ लाभ भी है—और प्राकृतिक विपत्तियों, बाढ़ आदि से हानि पहुँचने पर भी वहाँ के किसान राष्ट्रीय आय में योग दे रहे हैं। इसलिये यह कहना कि गन्ने के सम्बन्ध में दक्षिण में ही बेल्ट है, गलत है। अगर वहाँ पर बेल्ट होता, तो जब कृत्रिम तरीके से सहायता देने के साधन नहीं थे, जब अपने प्रयास, अपनी मोटी बुद्धि और अपने परिश्रम से काम हो रहा था, तो दक्षिण में इस विषय में प्रगति क्यों नहीं हुई? मैं किसी प्रति-द्विष्टता के दृष्टिकोण से यह बात नहीं कहता हूँ। कृषि मंत्री ने जो कुछ कहा, उस के सम्बन्ध में मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि यह बात गलत है कि गन्ने का बेल्ट वहीं है जहाँ मेरा क्षेत्र है, उस के बारे में यह सही है। ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य के समय प्लानिंग नहीं था, योजना नहीं थी तब वे कैक्टियां कायम हुईं। आज उन किसानों की तरफ अगर आप विशेष ध्यान देंगे, अगर उन की सुविधा का खयाल रखेंगे, उन के सामने जो कठिनाइयां हैं, उन को दूर करने का प्रयास करेंगे तो यह उद्योग बहुत तरक्की कर सकता है। अगर आप ने ऐसा नहीं किया तो आप के इस पनपते उद्योग को जोकि देश में दूसरे नम्बर का उद्योग है और जिस में लगभग २ करोड़ किसान लगे हैं और करीब डेढ़ लाख मजदूर जिस में काम करते हैं, धक्का लगेगा, इन लोगों को धक्का पहुँचेगा। इन लोगों ने चीनी के उत्पादन को बढ़ाने में भरसक योग दिया है। अंग्रेजों के वक्त में सात लाख टन चीनी पैदा हुआ करती थी जो अब बढ़ कर २६ लाख टन के करीब होने लग गई है। यह कहा जाता है कि इतनी चीनी होने की सम्भावना है लेकिन मैं कह

सकता कि निश्चित रूप से इतनी चीनी तैयार होगी। पंचवर्षीय योजना में गन्ना उत्पादन का जो लक्ष्य रखा गया था उस की पूर्ति करीब करीब हो गई है।

मैं एक विशेष समस्या की ओर आप का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। मैं उस क्षेत्र से आता हूँ जहाँ पर लगभग ६० प्रतिशत आदमी गन्ने की खेती करते हैं, जहाँ पर हिन्दुस्तान की चीनी मिलों की कुल संख्या का बहुत बड़ा भाग स्थित है। मेरे जिले में जहाँ पर लोग कंश क्राप बो कर के अपनी अन्य आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति के सामान खरीदते हैं, उन की तरफ आप का विशेष ध्यान जाना चाहिये। वहाँ पर हमें देखना यह है कि जो गन्ना उत्पादक हैं, उन को उचित समय पर अपने गन्ने का मूल्य मिलता है या नहीं मिलता है। यह समस्या आज से नहीं कई सालों से लोगों के सामने है जिस के कारण उन को बड़ी कठिनाई का सामना करना पड़ रहा है। अगर इस उद्योग धंधे को बढ़ाना है और राष्ट्र के हित में चलाना है तो आप को यह भी देखना होगा कि जो करोड़ों लोग इस उद्योग को चलाने में सहायक होते हैं, उन को भी लाभ पहुँचता है या नहीं पहुँचता है। उन के लिये आप को पूंजी की व्यवस्था करनी होगी। कर्ज की बात को आप छोड़ दें, कितने सूद पर वे कर्जा लेते हैं, इस को भी आप छोड़ें। मैं तो केवल इतना ही कहता हूँ कि जिस तरह से अन्य वस्तुओं के उत्पादकों को उन की वस्तु के बिकने के वक्त दाम मिल जाता है उसी तरह से इन के बिके हुए गन्ने का मूल्य भी इन को समय पर मिल जाना चाहिये आप को इस के लिये उचित व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये। यह कह कर कि मिल मालिकों के पास पैसा नहीं होता है काम नहीं चल सकता है। वे कहीं से पैसा ले सकते हैं। जब उन के पास चीनी है तो उन का जो लाभ है, वह सुरक्षित है और उन का जो परमैटेंज है, वह सुरक्षित है। उस में .१ या .२ की कमी हो जाय तो दूसरी बात है वहाँ उन को

पूरा लाभ मिलता है। इन मिल मालिकों ने पिछले बीस सालों में बहुत मुनाफा कमाया है। जिन के पास एक एक फैंक्ट्री थी, उन के पास आज दो दो और तीन तीन हो गई हैं। मैं ने देखा है कि मेरे जिले में जिस के पास पहले एक फैंक्ट्री थी, आज तीन फैंक्ट्रियाँ हैं ये सब मुनाफे से स्थापित हुई हैं। बाढ़, सूखा, जाड़ा इत्यादि प्राकृतिक प्रकोपों का सामना करने हुए किसान गन्ना पैदा करता है और इतना होने पर भी उस को बिके हुए गन्ने का मूल्य एक समय पर नहीं मिलता है। दूसरी ओर जो मिल मालिक है उस का जो लाभ है, वह निश्चित है, सुरक्षित है और उस पर कोई संकट नहीं आ सकता है। करोड़ों रुपया किसानों का हर साल बकाया बच रहता है इन मिल मालिकों की तरफ। जो इन को मिलता है वह भी कई कई महीनों के बाद मिलता है। जब इन को रुपया नहीं मिलता है तो इन को विवश हो कर के २०-२५ प्रतिशत सूद पर रुपया उधार लेना पड़ता है। इस तरह की बातों का होना हमारी सरकार के लिये शोभनीय नहीं है। अब जब हम तृतीय योजना शुरू करने जा रहे हैं, मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस ओर आप विशेष ध्यान दें ताकि उन को अपने गन्ने का मूल्य समय पर मिल जाय करे।

अब मैं सिंचाई के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। द्वितीय योजना के समाप्त होते होते गण्डक योजना प्रारम्भ हो रही है जोकि बहुत लाभकारी और सस्ती है। उस के साथ साथ कुछ और भी योजनाएँ हैं जो बकाय कर सकती हैं जिन की ओर जल तथा विद्युत् मंत्रालय का ध्यान जाना चाहिये। नेपाल की तरफ से जो नदियाँ आती हैं उन के जल का उपयोग हो सकता है। आप जानते हैं पानी से जितना लाभ उठाया जा सकता है, जितना उस का उपयोग किया जा सका है उसी योजना के अन्त तक वह केवल २६ प्रतिशत ही हो सका है और इतने पानी को इस्तेमाल करने की ही योजनाएँ बनी हैं

[श्री विश्वनाथ राय]

तृतीय योजना के अन्त तक ३५,३८ प्रतिशत का ही उपयोग हो सकेगा। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इस ओर और अधिक ध्यान दें। प्रकृति ने आप को जो नदियाँ दे रखी हैं वरदान दिया है, उन के पानी का आप पूरा उपयोग करें और उस से बिजली पैदा करें। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश की तरफ आप का विशेष ध्यान जाय। हमारे कृषि मंत्री जी ने अभी परसों तरसों कहा था कि पंजाब का आदमी अगर उस को थोड़ी सी बिजली भी मिल जाती है तो बहुत ज्यादा उस से लाभ उठाता है, जबकि दूसरे प्रान्तों के आदमी ऐसा नहीं करते हैं। परन्तु इस का निर्णय तो तभी होता जब हम को भी बिजली दी गई होती और उस बिजली का हम उपयोग नहीं करते। यहाँ तो कुछ मिला ही नहीं। प्रथम योजना खत्म हो गई, द्वितीय खत्म हो गई कुछ दिया ही नहीं गया। एक रिहाइ योजना है। उस का कुछ काम आगे बढ़ा है किन्तु अब तीसरी योजना में उस के बारे में कोई खास खबर ही नहीं है। ऐसी हालत में हमारी परीक्षा नहीं ली जा सकती है। अगर उत्तर प्रदेश की परीक्षा लेनी है तो शूगर केन से जिस ने उसे पैदा कर के दिखा दिया है और जो चीनी पैदा कर के दिखा दी है, उस से आप लें। इस बास्ते में चाहता हूँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश की आवश्यकताओं की ओर विशेष ध्यान दिया जाय।

Mr. Chairman: Shri S. N. Das.  
Absent, Shri Barupal.

श्री प० सा० बाबूबाबू (बीकानेर—  
रजि०—प्रमुखित जतिया) : सभापति महोदय, जो वित्त विधेयक सदन के समक्ष प्रस्तुत हुआ है, उस का मैं समर्थन करता हूँ। मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने ने कुछ वस्तुओं के ऊपर छे कर हटा लेने की घोषणा कर दी है।

कुछ समस्याएँ हैं जिन की ओर मैं माननीय मंत्री जी का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। हमारे देश को आजाद हुए आज लगभग १४ वर्ष हो चुके हैं। इन १४ वर्षों में हमारे देश में भिन्न भिन्न हिस्सों में तरक्की के काम हुए हैं, निर्माण कार्य हुए हैं। परन्तु कुछ बातें हैं, जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारे देश की जो राज भाषा हिन्दी होगी, ऐसा घोषित किया गया था। संविधान द्वारा इस को मान्य कर लिये जाने पर भी आज हिन्दी की दुर्गति हो रही है, इस को देख कर दुःख हुए बगैर नहीं रहता है। मैं महसूस करता हूँ कि आज हिन्दी की स्थिति बिल्कुल बेसी है, जैसीकि हिन्दू समाज में विधवा स्त्री की होती है, जिस के प्रति सामाजिक कार्य में उपेक्षा बरती जाती है। ऐसे ही आज राजकीय कार्यों में हिन्दी की उपेक्षा की जाती है। यही गति रही तो मैं समझता हूँ कि जो हम ने वादे किये हैं, संविधान के अन्दर जो यह कहा है कि हिन्दी राष्ट्र की भाषा होगी, वे कैसे हम पूरे करेंगे।

माननीय सदस्यों की तरफ से विचार प्रस्तुत किये जा रहे हैं। कोई कहता है कि हर राज्य की भाषा वहाँ की मातृ भाषा होनी चाहिये और कोई कुछ कहते हैं। जहाँ तक मातृ भाषा का सम्बन्ध है, मैं भी उस का समर्थन करता हूँ। मेरा सुझाव यह है कि किसी भी प्रदेश की चाहे जो भाषा हो, मातृ भाषा हो या कोई और, उस की जो लिपि हो वह देवनागरी होनी चाहिये, जिस लिपि में वह लिखी जाय वह देवनागरी हिन्दी में लिखी जाय। अगर यह आप नहीं कर सकते हैं तो मैं समझता हूँ कि बापू जी की भावना के साथ ही साथ संविधान की भावना के भी आप विरुद्ध जायेंगे।

राजस्वान की ही मैं आप को बात बतलाता हूँ। पांच प्रतिशत आदमी



गांवों में पढ़े हुए नहीं हैं। हमारी भारत सरकार और राज्य सरकार की तरफ से बुनकरों की सहायता के लिये पांच पांच सौ रुपये खडिडियां आदि खरीदने की बात चली थी। उन को इस की खरीद के लिये पांच सौ रुपया सहायता या अनुदान के रूप में दिया जाना था। हमारे वहां के समाज कल्याण अधिकारी महोदय ने बुनकरों को अंग्रेजी में लिख कर के एक नोटिस भेजा कि बराबरे मेहरबानी आप ये सामान मात दिन के अन्दर अन्दर खरीद कर के बिल और वाउचर हम को पेश कर दो। ऐसा करने पर आप को रुपये दे दिये जायेंगे। यह जो नोटिस था वह हरिजनों और अनुपड़ लोगों को भेजा था। उन को गांवों में पढ़ा लिखा कोई मिला नहीं जिस से वह उम नोटिस को पढ़वा सकते। वे मेरे पास आये और मैं ने उन को बताया कि इस में लिखा है कि अगर मात दिन के अन्दर अन्दर यह सामान नहीं खरीदा और हम को बिल वाउचर नहीं दिये तो रुपया लैप्स हो जायगा, वापिस जमा हो जायगा। उन को कहा गया कि आप को सामान खरीदना चाहिये और वाउचर पेश करना चाहिये और तब जा कर के रुपया मिलेगा। उन गरीब आदमियों के पास इस सामान को खरीदने के लिये अगर रुपया होता तो वे भीख क्यों मांगते फिरते, क्यों आप को दरख्वास्तें देते फिरते। यह है वह व्यवहार जो हमारी जनता के साथ किया जा रहा है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप का ध्यान इस ओर जाय।

जिस राज्य से मैं आता हूँ वह प्राकृतिक दृष्टि से तीन हिस्सों में बंटा हुआ है। गंगानगर नहरी हिस्सा है, जैसलमेर, बीकानेर रेगिस्तानी और उदयपुर इत्यादि पहाड़ी। गंगानगर के इलाके को छोड़ कर के, जिस क्षेत्र से मैं आता हूँ उस सारे क्षेत्र के ग्रामीण इलाकों में हरिजनों के घलावा उच्च जातियों जैसे ब्राह्मण राजपूत, जाटों तथा अन्य जातियों तक की यह हालत है

कि उन को वक्त पर खाने को नहीं मिलता है। वहां की हालत बहुत खराब है, हर दूसरे तीसरे साल वहां अकाल पड़ता है। वहां पर वर्षा नहीं होती है। इस का नतीजा यह है कि देश के अन्य भागों में तो लोगों का जीवन स्तर ऊंचा उठा है, लेकिन वहां के लोगों का जीवन स्तर बर्जाय बढ़ने के नीचा हो गया है। उन इलाकों में कुछ सड़के निकलीं, और कुछ बाते इस तरह की हुईं, लेकिन वहां हुआ क्या? वहां लोगों को कुछ आमदनी नहीं होती है। जो ऊन वर्ग रह और घास फूस लकड़ी पहले लाया जाता था वह ऊंटों गाड़ियों पर लाया जाता था और उस का पैसा उन लोगों को मिला करता था। अब वह पैसा टुक वाले और बस वाले ले लेते हैं। नतीजा यह होता है कि वहां के रहने वालों को खाने के भी लाले पड़ रहे हैं। कहने का मतलब यह है कि पहले वहां पर भले ही आमदनी कम थी लेकिन चीजे इतनी सरती थीं कि लोगों को बरत काम होता था : मैं ने खुद बाजरा १८ सेर का खरीदा है, १६ सेर का गेहूँ खरीदा है, डेढ़ रुपये मन मोठ, मवा मेर का धी खरीदा है, ३॥॥ सेर का तिल्ली का तेल खरीदा था, ४ सेर की चीनी खरीदी है, ८ सेर का गुड़ खरीदा है। उस समय गरीब थोड़ा सा कामाता था लेकिन काम चला लेता था। आज वह परेशान है क्योंकि उस के पास पैसा नहीं है। नतीजा यह हुआ है कि वह मूल से तड़प रहा है और रोटी तक के लिये इधर उधर हाथ फैलाता है। परन्तु वह समस्या हल नहीं हो रही है। इस मुक के अन्दर आज यह परेशानी है।

कुछ भाइयों ने राजस्वान नहर के बारे में कहा। मैं समझता हूँ कि राजस्वान नहर से काफी अनाज पैदा होगा, और किसानों को काफी कीमत भी मिलेगी परन्तु, जब थोड़ी देर पहले बहुत से लोगों ने सुझाव दिये थे वहाँ के अन्दर उद्योग धर्मों को फैलाने के बारे में हमारे कई भाइयों ने भी ग्रामीणों के विषय में

[श्री प० ला० बारूपाल]

कहा। मैं ने भी एक बुनकर के घर में जन्म लिया है। मैं भ्रम खेती का काम करता हूँ लेकिन मेरे बाप दादा बुनाई का काम भी करते थे। लेकिन खादी और प्रामोद्योगों की भ्रवस्था हमारे जिले के अन्दर ऐसी अच्छी नहीं है कि वहाँ के बुनकरों को काम सीधे मिल सके। वहाँ पर खादी संस्थायें कुछ लोगों से काम करवाती हैं जिस का नतीजा यह होता है कि जो उचित पैसा मिलना चाहिये, उन को वह नहीं मिलता। पहले १६ रु० सेर ऊन की कताई मिलती थी लेकिन आज उन का औसत ८ रु० सेर का पड़ता है। ४ आ० रोज कतीनों को दिया जाता है और १२ आ० रोज मुश्किल से बुनकरों को मिलता है। और यह भी समय से मिल जाये तो ठीक है, लेकिन काम समय से नहीं मिलता है। खादी कमिशन की संस्था की ओर से जिस तरह से काम होता है उस में छन कतीनों का औसत मुश्किल से डेढ़ आना या पांच पैसा रोज पड़ता है और बुनकरों को ८ आ० रोज पड़ता है क्योंकि उन को बराबर काम नहीं मिल पाता है। इस तरह से इस मंहगाई के जमाने में उन का काम किस तरह से चल सकता है?

एक तरफ सरकार कहती है कि सहकारिता को प्रोत्साहन दिया जाय और हमारी पंचायतों को अधिक अधिकार दिये जायें तथा उन के द्वारा काम कराया जाय लेकिन जो सहकार समितियाँ हरिजनों और बुनकरों की हैं, उन की हालत यह है कि जो सहकारी समितियाँ बनी हुई हैं उन के द्वारा खादी संस्थायें काम नहीं करवाती हैं। जो व्यक्तिगत प्रार्थनी उस के पास जाते हैं उन से वह काम करवाते हैं। इस तरह से मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि किस तरह से काम चल सकता है। आज जो सहकार समितियाँ बनी हुई हैं उन को प्रमाण पत्र देने में उपाशा बरती जा रही है। खादी कमिशन जो खादी संस्थायें खादी बनाने का काम नहीं करती हैं उनको प्रमाण पत्र दे देता है परन्तु जो स्वयम् कातते हैं, स्वयम्

बुनते हैं, खादी पैदा करते हैं, उन को प्रमाण पत्र नहीं देते हैं। वह समझते हैं कि यदि उन लोगों को प्रमाण पत्र दे दिया गया तो उन की जो बीच की दलाली है, या जो पैसा उन को मिलने वाला है वह खत्म हो जायेगा। हो सकता है यह सब जगह न होता हो लेकिन हमारे यहाँ होता है। हम ने खादी के उत्पादन के लिये प्रयत्न किया, हमें खादी से प्रेम है, फिर भी मैं चाहता हूँ कि जो श्रम करने वाला है उस के श्रम का फल उस को सीधा मिलना चाहिये।

स्वामी रामानंद तीर्थ (प्रौरंगाबाद) : जो कतीन हैं, उन को सब जगह एक सा रेट मिलता है। वह रेट मुनिश्चित है। कोई संस्था या व्यक्ति नहीं है जो उस में कोई हेर फेर कर सके।

Shri Goray: What is this conversation going on between the two hon. Members?

श्री प० ला० बारूपाल : मैं स्वामी जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं ने खुद पता किया है। श्री ऋषि राज नौटियाल खुद गये थे जो कि खादी प्रमाण समिति के सदस्य हैं। मैं ने इस की इन्क्वायरी कराई है। दूसरी जगह की बात आप कह सकते हैं, लेकिन हमारे बीकानेर में इसी तरह होता है।

स्वामी रामानंद तीर्थ : सारे देश में एक ही तरह से खादी बनाने का काम होता है।

श्री प० ला० बारूपाल : यहाँ हमारे हांफिज जी विराज रहे हैं, इस लिये भ्रम मैं कुछ राजस्थान नहर के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। जैसा मैं ने निवेदन किया इरिगेशन डिपार्टमेंट से, हमारे यहाँ पंजाब की जो घग्घर नदी है उस की बाढ़ से प्रति वर्ष १० करोड़ रु० की फसल का नाश हो जाता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हांफिज जी पंजाब सरकार को लिखें कि वह अपने पानी को ठीक तरह से

रखें। अगर हम को पानी देना है तो ठीक तरह से दें, हम को रूताने के लिये न दें। हमारे चौधरी साहब कहते थे कि जब हमारा पानी निकलता है, गांव के पास से बहता है, तो लोग रोते हैं। इस में रोने की बात नहीं है। पानी का अच्छा प्रबन्ध किया जाय और उस से अधिक लाभ उठाया जाय। यह नहीं होना चाहिये कि जो पानी दिया जाय उस से बजाय अच्छी फसल होने के जो दूसरी फसल होती है वह भी नष्ट हो जाय। इस लिये मैं समझता हूं कि बगधर नदी पर जल्दी ही कोई बांध बांध कर अच्छी तरह से पानी दिया जाय।

राजस्थान को जितना पैसा दिया जाता है, वह बहुत कम है। राजस्थान का रियासती राज्य के समय से शोषण हुआ है। जहां कहीं कोई प्रगति हुई भी है तो वह उन थोड़े हिस्सों में हुई है जहां राजाओं की रंगरलियां होती थीं या उनके ऐश व आराम की जगह होती थी। वहीं पर सारा डेवलपमेंट हुआ है, बाकी गांवों की कोई प्रगति नहीं हुई है। अगर राजस्थान की प्रगति करनी है तो उस को ठीक से सहायता करनी पड़ेगी। आज वित्त मंत्री महोदय कहते हैं कि उन्होंने राजस्थान को काफी पैसा दे दिया है। ठीक बात है, लेकिन वे राजस्थान नहर का पैसा भी उसी में जोड़ लेते हैं। दूसरी चीजों को भी उस में जोड़ लेते हैं। यह चीज ठीक नहीं है। राजस्थान नहर तो आप को वहां लानी ही पड़ेगी। उसे वहां से निकालना ही होगा। यह सारे मुल्क का काम है। ५५ वर्ष के बाद जब बुढ़ापा आयेगा तो जवानी बीच में आयेगी सो राजस्थान नहर पर तो आप को पैसा खर्च करना ही पड़ेगा। अगर आप उस पर पैसा राजस्थान में नहीं खर्च करेंगे तो आखिर उस नहर को ले कहां जायेंगे? इस लिये राजस्थान नहर के लिये पैसा दे कर दूसरी प्रकार के कामों के लिये भी पैसा देना चाहिये।

वहां पर खाद कारखाना अभी नहीं बनाया जा रहा है। मैं ने सुना है कि इस तरह की चाल चली जा रही है कि उस को अब

यहां प्लैन में न रख कर फोर्थ प्लैन में रखने की बात चल रही है। मैं मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करूंगा कि वे इस तरह से राजस्थान की उपेक्षा न करें। राजस्थान बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ है। जहां तक पंचायती राज्य और सहकारिता की बात है, पंचायती राज्य के सम्बन्ध में वहां पर बहुत अच्छी प्रगति हुई है और आज लोग समझने लगे हैं कि उन के हाथ में कुछ अधिकार आये हैं। पंचायती राज्य से लोग अपने को ऐसा समझने लगे हैं कि वे खुद मुक्ता हैं और उन का अपना राज्य है। आज अफसर हमारे पास आ कर बैठते हैं। गांव के लोग एक समय में जिस के नीचे रहते थे अब वही आदमी आ कर उन के पास बैठता है और गांव की समस्याओं को सुलझाने के लिये अपना योगदान दे रहा है।

राजस्थान के अन्दर छोटे छोटे उद्योग धन्धे भी खोले जायें। वहां पर रेलवे लाइनें भी बहुत कम हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि अगर आप राजस्थान नहर को कामयाब बनाना चाहते हैं तो उस से पहले उस एरिया में रेलवे लाइन लानी होगी।

एक माननीय सदस्य : तब आप के ऊंट बेकार हो जायेंगे।

श्री प० ला० बाबूपाल : यहां पर ऊंट की बात नहीं है। मैं बीकानेर स्टेशन के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूं अगर राजस्थान नहर बनेगी तो वहां तक ब्राड गेज लाइन ले जानी पड़ेगी। और बड़ी लाइन को ले जाने के लिये बीकानेर को उस से जोड़ना पड़ेगा। इस लिये जो वर्तमान स्टेशन है उस को वहां से हटाना पड़ेगा। अगर आप उस स्टेशन को वहां रखेंगे तो न इतने याद बनने और न लाइनें डाल सकेंगे। इस लिये हमारे शहर का निर्माण कार्य है वह भी रुका हुआ है। रेलवे मंत्रालय और भारत सरकार जरूर कोई निर्णय करें कि इसे किस तरीके से किया जायेगा। इस स्टेशन पर जो सब से बड़ी समस्या है वह यह कि वहां कई बार गाड़ियां घाटी हैं और

[श्री प० ला० बरूपाल]

लालगढ़ तथा बीकानेर के बीच में कई बार फाटक बन्द हो जाता है। इस लिये लोगों का समय इतना बरबाद होता है जिस का कोई ठिकाना नहीं है।

मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि मैं ने जो सुझाव दिये हैं उन के सम्बन्ध में विचार किया जाय।

**Shri Ramanathan Chettiar** (Pudukkottai) Let me at the outset congratulate the hon. the Finance Minister for presenting a realistic budget this year.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee** (Kanpur): Why not congratulate the Deputy Ministers?

**Shri Ramanathan Chettiar**: I know how to address the Deputy Ministers; I need not take any lessons from my hon. friend.

This year's budget will be the pattern of the budgets that will follow, not only in the Third Five Year Plan but also in the future Plans. Planning is being done on a massive scale for the economic upliftment of our masses.

Very few people realise that the per capita income as compared to that in 1948-49 has not appreciably increased. It was said in the computation that it was about Rs. 291 for 1958-59 as compared to that in 1948-49, but this morning's newspapers have said, taking into account the rise in the population, that this has come down to the level of Rs. 276. So, appreciably, there is no increase in the per capita income.

Any expenditure on these various Plan programmes should yield results. But we have not come to the stage called the 'take-off stage' in the economic development of our country. I think it will take a few more years before we reach the 'take-off stage'. Our aim should be to reduce that period as far as possible and cut down wasteful expenditure.

Here, I would like to mention that the non-Plan non-development expenditure is of the order of 76 per cent. whereas the Plan development expenditure is only of the order of 24 per cent. The non-Plan non-development expenditure has to be reduced. The Finance Minister on a previous occasion, said that certain items under the heading 'non-Plan non-development expenditure' were inevitable and could not be avoided. I have great respect for him but all the same, in all humility, I would like not only the Finance Minister but also the Planning Commission to see that this non-Plan non-development expenditure is kept down to the minimum. After all, every naya paisa that is voted out of the Consolidated Fund of India by an Act of Parliament that is put on the statute-book has got to be accounted for. Then only the masses will realise that the representatives whom they have sent to this august House are vigilant as to how the money is spent. It is very well to vote the expenditure on various items, but there should be a close watch on the various items of expenditure.

There is another point that I would like to bring to the notice of the Finance Minister and the House. The rate of savings in our country is of the order of 8 per cent, whereas the expenditure on the Plan, for instance, in the Second Five Year Plan, is of the order of 11 per cent. So, you would find that there is a gap of three per cent for which we shall have to go to friendly foreign countries for assistance. How long are we to depend upon the good offices of foreign countries to come to our aid? We take large loans in various shapes; both governmental and non-governmental agencies like the World Bank, the Development Loan Fund the Export-Import Bank; the West German Government sources, Japan, Italy and various other countries have come to our aid; we are getting PL-480 assistance, and also assistance from the USSR in respect of machinery and all

that. But, how long are we to be dependent upon those countries for the development of our country? My humble suggestion is that we should tap our domestic resources and find out whether we could not raise more resources than we are doing now. I do not mean in any respect that we must tax the people more. In fact, the taxation, both on the direct and on the indirect sides of our Government's policy has almost reached the saturation point. I am not one of those who say that only the direct taxation is heavy and the indirect taxation is not heavy. But, even this year, this sum of additional new taxes—Rs. 54 crores is going to be very hard on the people. Here, there is one other aspect that I would like to mention. I, a Member coming from the South, am very much interested in the development of handlooms.

The Finance Minister has not been very sympathetic towards the handloom industry. He has levied for the first time a duty on yarn consumed by the handloom industry, and his argument is that he has exempted yarn up to 40 counts, but he does not realise that in the Southern part of this country, the handloom industry uses yarn above 40 counts for saris and dhotis, and there are about 7.5 million people employed in this industry, and half of them are in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Mysore and Madras.

The Finance Minister says that he is always sympathetic to the poor man, that he is always alive to the needs of the poor man, and that he is always very sympathetic to the representations made on their behalf. But I would like to urge upon him to re-examine this matter. After all, he can easily forego the Rs. 64 lakhs that he expects out of this tax, when already, by the various concessions that he has announced, he is prepared to forego over Rs. 6 crores. The principle of levying an excise duty on the handloom industry is itself, in my humble opinion, wrong. I would

like to bring to the notice of the hon. Finance Minister that there will be great distress in this industry if this tax were to remain. In fact, the Central Government are giving concessions and subsidies to this industry on the one hand, and they want to tax the industry on the other. I submit that this is not fair. That is all that I would like to say on this point.

I have one other point in regard to taxation. The people living in the rural areas are only used to kerosene, and the hon. Finance Minister has no doubt reduced the duty by 50 per cent. All the same, I would like humbly to request the Finance Minister to reconsider this excise duty that he has levied on kerosene, and if possible, remove even this 50 per cent. Of course, he is making a subtle difference between the superior kind of kerosene and the inferior kind of kerosene. But you know, Mr. Chairman, Sir, that in the rural parts, when the people go to a kerosene dealer and ask for kerosene, the dealer would not differentiate between superior kerosene and inferior kerosene; he will give them only inferior kerosene and say that it is superior kerosene, with the result that the poor people will have to bear this duty. Here, I would like to mention that a noted economist had once conducted a survey as to how many village people in our country could actually buy kerosene, and it was estimated, if I remember correctly—I am speaking subject to correction—that not more than 47,000 villages out of a total of 474,000 villages could afford to buy kerosene. That is only 10 per cent. of the people living in the villages are able to afford to buy kerosene. You know that kerosene is taxed at so many points. There is an import duty. Then there is sales tax, then octroi and now on top of all that, this duty has also been imposed. I think the number of 47,000 will go down probably by half. This is an aspect which the Economic Adviser to the Finance Ministry should have brought to the notice of the Finance Minister. The Economic Adviser to

[Shri Ramanathan Chettiar]

the Finance Ministry should be more vigilant and bring such things to the notice of the Finance Minister before he frames the budget proposals. These are the two aspects of taxation that I wanted to mention.

There is one other matter I should like to refer to. The foreign exchange allocation authorised upto the end of the fourth year in the Second Five Year Plan had been of the order of Rs. 1,268 crores. But actually the amount utilised is of the order of Rs. 779 crores. So there is an unutilised portion to the extent of Rs. 489 crores. I only want to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to this, that we have to pay interest even on the Rs. 489 crores to the friendly foreign countries. No doubt, we get large allocations. Here I would like to pay a tribute to the great work done by Shri B. K. Nehru, Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs in Washington, for the way he has put forward India's case for foreign exchange allocation not only in the Aid India Club but in the capitals of the friendly countries, bringing this matter to the notice of the Ministers of Finance in those countries. He has really played a very notable part in solving the problem of our foreign exchange requirement. I would only like to say that the Department of Economic Affairs should see to it as far as possible allotments are fully utilised and that a large amount of the order of Rs. 500 crores does not remain unutilised.

Then I come to my pet subject. Having been associated with the Reserve Bank of India for more than a decade and a half as a Director, I would like to say in all humility that in the year 1961 the Reserve Bank of India does not command the respect and regard people had for it five or six years ago. I am very sorry....

**Mr. Chairman:** Is the hon. Member still a Director?

**Shri Ramanathan Chettiar:** I cannot be a Director once having been elected to this House.

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** That is obvious from his remark.

**Shri Morarka:** So that is the reason.

**Shri Ramanathan Chettiar:** No.

After all, the Reserve Bank is the watch-dog of our monetary policy. It has to establish sound and healthy banking traditions in this country. Here I would like to bring some facts to your kind notice and to the notice of this hon. House. You know that recently the Palai Central Bank crashed. The total deposits in all in the Kerala region were only of the order of Rs. 38 crores. As far as the Palai Bank is concerned, the amount was Rs. 12 crores. The total deposits and working funds of all the banks in the country are of the order of Rs. 1,800 crores. 14 large banks have deposits to the extent of 90 per cent. of the Rs. 1,800 crores. When the Palai Bank with a deposit of Rs. 12 crores—and in a region where there are deposits of only Rs. 38 crores, which can be equated to the deposit in one of the A class banks—could create an economic crisis in the State of Kerala—you know the State of Kerala is vulnerable....

**An Hon. Member:** Is it so still?

**Shri Ramanathan Chettiar:** It was; but things have improved.

You know it has brought about this crisis. I personally feel that if only the Reserve Bank of India had been more alert and had watched the interests of banking in Kerala and had taken adequate steps to safeguard the interest of depositors, especially after the Travancore-Cochin Banking Enquiry Committee had submitted its report three years ago, this crisis could not only have been avoided but quite a few bank crashes could also have been avoided. If this were to happen to a bank with only Rs. 12 crores—God forbid, if anything

happens to one of the large banks as you noticed last August—but for the timely assistance of the Finance Minister one of the large banking institutions in this country would have come to very great grief.

I am rather frank about this.

**Shri Tangamani:** The Punjab National Bank?

**Shri Ramanathan Chettiar:** Yes.

Another point I would like to say is this. We are always used in this House to attacking our officers in the Ministries and Departments....

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** Not officers.

**Shri Ramanathan Chettiar:** But, where we have to pay compliments, we usually forget that. (*Interruption*). Sir, there is a general feeling that the officers of the Central Board of Revenue, especially in the Income-tax Department are rather hard on the people. I know for a fact that in the last 3 or 4 years they have had very hard work to do. I know what a lot of work the Income-tax Officer has to do, especially in the new economic set-up under which we are living now. And, I would like to pay a tribute, not only to the officers of the Income-tax Department but also to the officers of the Central Excise and Customs, I mean the members of the staff of the revenue collection machinery who really deserve a word of praise.

श्रीमती कृष्णा मेहता (जम्मू तथा काश्मीर) : सभापति जी, मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी को धन्यवाद देती हूँ और वित्त मंत्रालय की आभारी हूँ कि उन्होंने पावर से चलने वाले करषों, पावरलूम पर से कुछ कर माफ़ कर दिया है और तीन चार करषों वाले यूनियन्स को पूरी एग्जेंम्पशन दे दी है। परन्तु मुझे खेद के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि ऊन के धागे पर खास ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है, जिस की वजह

से कुछ परेशानी है। मेरी विनती है कि उस पर फिर से ध्यान दिया जाये। काश्मीर में गरम कपड़े की जरूरत होती है और वहाँ की जनता बहुत गरीब है। रफ़ल एक किस्म का ऊन का धागा है, जो अक्सर पावरलूम से बनता है। इस लिये उस पर कार बहुत धरत पड़ेगा। मैं ने बजट के समय बोलते हुए शाल और कालीन के बारे में का था, लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि इस बारे में बहुत थोड़ा फ़ायदा हुआ—कोई ज्यादा फ़ायदा नहीं हुआ है। और शायद वह भी नहीं होगा, क्योंकि हम जानते हैं कि जब शालें तैयार हो कर सारी स्टेट्स में जाती हैं, तो उन पर स्टेट्स का कर लग जाता है। इस कारण भी वे बहुत महंगी होती हैं। काश्मीर के लोग वही कपड़ा पहनते हैं, क्योंकि वह सस्ता है। इस हालत में उन को बहुत दिक्कत हो जाती है। इससे विदेशी मुद्रा जो हम कमाते हैं, उस पर भी प्रभाव पड़ेगा क्योंकि कुदरती तौर पर ये महंगी होंगी। इसलिए यह जी ऊनी धागे पर कर लगाया गया यह ठीक नहीं है इससे जो लोग शाल बनाते हैं, उनको हानि होगी। उनको माल तैयार करके मार्किट में ही देना है और अगर वह महंगा होगा तो चल नहीं सकता है। इससे बड़ी दिक्कत होगी। मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय तथा उपमंत्री महोदय जो इस समय यहाँ बँटी हुई है, उन का ध्यान खास तौर पर शालों की तरफ़ दिलाना चाहती हूँ और उनसे प्रार्थना करती हूँ कि इस पर दुबारा निरीक्षण किया जाना चाहिये। यदि ऐसा किया गया तो काश्मीर की जनता को उससे बहुत फ़ायदा होगा। वहाँ पर और कोई उद्योग नहीं है, यही छोटे मोटे उद्योग हैं और अगर यह भी खत्म हो गये तो आप धंदाजा लगा सकते हैं, कितनी वहाँ के लोगों को दिक्कत हो जाएगी।

आपने जो केरोसीन घायल पर से इयूटी हटाई है, उसके लिए मैं आपको धन्यवाद देती हूँ। इससे गरीब लोगों को बहुत फ़ायदा होगा। मैं आपको बताऊँ कि मैं उन इलाकों को बच कर आई हूँ जहाँ के रहने वाले बेचारे

[श्रीमती कृष्णा मेहता]

लोगों को कभी कैंरोसीन देखने को भी नसीब नहीं हुआ है। इतने वे अभाग्य हैं। हमारे भारत में ऐसे भी गांव हैं जहां की जनता इतनी गरीब है कि जंगलों में एक खास किस्म की जो लकड़ी होती है, उसको जला कर रात को चर्खा कातना और कपड़ा बुनना इत्यादि सारे काम उसकी रोशनी के सहारे करती है। इन बदकिस्मत लोगों के लिए मैं किस किस चीज की आप से मांग करूँ और अगर किसी चीज की मांग करूँ भी तो मैं जानती हूँ कि आप दे नहीं सकेंगे। लेकिन जहां पर भी गरीब लोगों के लिए कुछ हो सकता है और किया जा सकता है, वह किया जाना चाहिये। ऐसे ऐसे भी देहात हैं जहां पर लोगों को चाय के वास्ते दूध तक नसीब नहीं होता है और वे पोस्त का दूध निकाल करके चाय में डालते हैं। गरीब आदिमियों की जो छोटी बड़ी जरूरतें हैं, उनको पूरा करने की तरफ आपका विशेष ध्यान जाना चाहिये।

इस मंत्रालय ने बहुत दृढ़ता से तथा योग्यता से देश की राष्ट्रीय आय बढ़ाने का प्रयत्न किया है। पहली दो योजनाओं में राष्ट्र की आय पांच प्रतिशत प्रति वर्ष बढ़ाने का सफलता किया गया था। इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि सन् १९४९-६६ के पंद्रह वर्षों में सारी वृद्धि लगभग ८० प्रतिशत हो सकेगी, ऐसी आशा की जाती है। मैं समझती हूँ कि इस लक्ष्य को आप प्राप्त कर सकेंगे और देश को उन्नत कर सकेंगे। इस बीच बहुत से तरक्की के काम हुए हैं और बहुत से होंगे और मैं आशा करती हूँ कि हमारा हर मंत्रालय बड़ी मेहनत से देश को आगे बढ़ा सकेगा और एक बह दिन भी आएगा जब गांधी जी का स्वप्न पूरा होगा।

16.53 hrs.

[DR. SUSHILA NAYAR in the Chair]

अब मैं काश्मीर की कुछ बातों की तरफ आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूँ। काश्मीर

एक ऐसा राज्य है, जहां पर कोई बड़ा कारखाना नहीं है। मैं प्रार्थना करती हूँ कि तीसरी योजना के दौरान में वहां कुछ कारखाने खोलने का प्रयत्न आपकी तरफ से किया जाए। अभी जड़ी बुटियों के फार्म खोलने की बात चल रही है। तीन फार्म खोलने जा रहे हैं, अगर उन तीन फार्म में से एक फार्म काश्मीर में हो जाए, तो बहुत फायदा वहां की जनता को हो सकता है। अगर यह नहीं हो सकता है तो घड़ियों के जो कारखाने खोलने वाले हैं, उनमें से एक काश्मीर में खोल दिया जाए तो उम्मे भी वहां की जनता को कुछ लाभ हो सकता है। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया गया तो मैं समझती हूँ कि जम्मू और काश्मीर के लोग बहुत पिछड़ जायेंगे। वहां पर कोई ऐसे उद्योग नहीं हैं जहां पर श्रमिक वर्ग के लोग जा कर काम बूढ़ मकें और अपने आप को ऊपर उठा सकें। मैं यह मानती हूँ कि वहां की सरकार ने बहुत कुछ लोगों के लिए किया है। इस वर्ग का उस राज्य का बजट १६ करोड़ रुपये का है और इसमें पहले कर्मा इतनी बड़ी राशि का बजट वहां पेश नहीं हुआ है। पहले पांच छः करोड़ का ही बजट हुआ करता था। इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि वहां तरक्की हो रही है। आप जानते हैं कि जम्मू काश्मीर में इतनी जमीन नहीं है कि हर एक किसान को जो खेती करना चाहता है दी जा सके। वहां पर बेरोजगारी है क्योंकि जमीन पर्याप्त मात्रा में नहीं है। वहां के श्रमिक बाहर हिन्दुस्तान के दूसरे हिस्सों में आते हैं और जहां अपनी रोजी कमाते हैं। इसलिए यह जरूरी है कि वहां पर कारखाने हो जिन में कुछ हजार लोग, कुछ लाख तो मैं नहीं बहूँगी क्योंकि यह हो नहीं सकता है, काम पा सकें और उनकी जो दिक्कतें हैं वे दूर हो सकें।

सामुदायिक योजना के अन्तर्गत बहुत सा काम देश में रूपा है। यह माना जा सकता है कि कुछ दिक्कतें नहीं देता है कि काम हुआ है



और इसका कारण यह है कि गांवों की दशा बहुत खराब है। लेकिन फिर भी मैं समझती हूँ कि सामुदायिक योजना द्वारा एक एक गांव में पहुंचा जा सकता है और कुछ नहीं तो उन लोगों के दुःख दर्द को दबा जा सकता है। आगे चल कर एक ऐसा भी वक्त आएगा जब कि इनके द्वारा बहुत अच्छा काम हो सकेगा। मैं आपके सामने जम्मू प्रान्त की ही बात रखती हूँ। वहां कंडी के इलाके में बहुत से गांव ऐसे थे जहां पर पानी नहीं था और लोग छः छः मील से पानी लाते थे और जो पानी वे लाते थे, उसमें नारवे नाम का एक कीड़ा होता था और इस पानी को पी कर अक्सर बहानों के लोगों नारवे की बिमारी हो जाती थी। इस सामुदायिक योजना के अन्तर्गत वहां पर आज गाड़ियों में पानी भेजा जाता है। उन लोगों से पूछा जाए तो वे आपको बतायेंगे कि कितना लाभ उनको इस सामुदायिक योजना से पहुंचा है। मेरा यह कहना है कि जैसे जैसे देश आगे बढ़ रहा है, वैसे वैसे उससे फायदा हो रहा है।

मैं काश्मीर का जिक्र करती हूँ। अगर आप गर्म प्रान्तों को देखें तो पता चलेगा कि वहां के किसान का अगर पचास रुपया खर्च होता है तो काश्मीर के किसान का १५० रुपया खर्च होता है। सर्दी के मौसम में उनका जो खाना है वह भी ऐसा होना चाहिये कि सर्दी से वे अपने आप को महफूज रख सकें, कपड़े जो उनके हैं वे भी ऐसे होने चाहिये कि सर्दी से उनकी रक्षा हो सके और इस बास्ते उनको गर्म कपड़े चाहिये। उनकी तरफ मैं ने आपका बार बार ध्यान दिलाया है और कहा है कि इस तीसरी योजना में उन लोगों की तरफ आप अगर सास ध्यान नहीं देंगे तो बड़ी दिक्कत होगी। चौदह साल हो चुके हैं, वहां पर अभी तक रेलवे का प्रबन्ध नहीं हो सका है और इसका लोगों को बहुत गिला है। जम्मू पठान-  
ोट से ७२ मील है। वहां पर भी अभी तक रेल नहीं पहुंची है। दस मील तक साइन गई

है और उसको बने हुए शायद चार वर्ष हो गए हैं। मैं चाहती हूँ इस और आपका विशेष ध्यान जाए।

और भी छोटी छोटी चीजें हैं जिन की और आपका ध्यान जाना चाहिये। गामस इंडस्ट्री मिनिसट्री की जो विकास शाखा है, उसने क्यों काश्मीर के लिए उद्योगों की कोई योजना नहीं दी है। इस को आप देखें।

16.57 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair].

आज मुबह यहां एक प्रश्न ब्लड बैंक के बारे में हुआ था। ब्लड बैंक के बारे में मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री जी को चाहिये कि लैबोरेटरीज खोलने के लिए, देश में, कुछ राशि प्रबन्ध रखें। यहां पर हमारे देश में ब्लड रोगियों को न मिलने के कारण बड़ी दिक्कत का सामना करना पड़ता है और इस वजह से क्योंकि जिन्दगियां खत्म हो जाती हैं। कई आदमियों ने इसको अपना व्यापार ही बना लिया है कि ब्लड दे कर रुपया प्त कर लिया जाए। २०-२२ रुपये लेने की खातिर वे अस्पतालों में चले जाते हैं और अपना ब्लड दे देते हैं और इस कारण से और कई बीमारियां उनको बाद में लग जाती हैं। यह ठीक तरीका नहीं है। रशिया का एक डाक्टर यहां आया था और उसने इस के बारे में अपने विचार प्रकट किए थे। उन्होंने बताया था कि रशिया में रोगी के मरने के बाद से छः घंटे तक में उसका रक्त निकाल करके रख लिया जाता है, जिन्हा आदमी से रक्त बहुत कम लिया जाता है।  
1. हां पर यह स्याल पाया जाता है कि जिन्हा आदमी का रक्त लेने से उसमें कमजोरी आ जाती है। मैं वित्त मंत्री जी का इस और ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूँ और अगर हमारे देश में भी कोई इस तरह की व्यवस्था की जा सके तो इससे बहुत लाभ हो सकता है।

माननीय सदस्यों ने सारी के बारे में कुछ बातें कहीं हैं। शायद उनको यह मालूम नहीं है

### [श्रीमती कृष्णा मेहता]

कि खादी की जो मजदूरी है वह खादी कमिशन द्वारा निर्धारित होती है और निर्धारित मजदूरी से कम कोई दे नहीं सकता है और न ही ज्यादा दे सकता है। यह जरूर है कि अगर मोटी बारीश हो तो थोड़ी बहुत कमी हो सकती है। मैं नहीं समझ सकी हूँ कि खादी के बारे में उन्होंने ऐसी बात क्यों कर कह दी। हमें देखना होगा कि खादी से प्राण कितना लाभ हो रहा है। लगभग १६ लाख घादमियों को हिन्दुस्तान में इस वक्त खादी द्वारा काम मिल रहा है। गरीब वर्गों को जो ससे लाभ हो रहा है और उनके लिए जो कुछ भी काम किया जा रहा है उसके लिए मैं खादी कमिशन को धन्यवाद देती हूँ।

अन्त में मैं उपमंत्री महोदयों से इतनी ही प्रार्थना करना चाहती हूँ कि ऊनी घागे की तरफ उनका जरूर ध्यान जाए। यही काश्मीर में एक घंटा है और इसको वह अच्छी तरह से जानती हैं। वह यह भी अच्छी तरह से जानती हैं कि शाल बनाना कालीन बनाना, यही एक मात्र काम वहां की बारी जनता करती है। अगर यह भी खत्म हो गया तो यह बड़ा भारी घन्याय होगा। सलिये इस ओर जरूर ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये।

17 hrs.

**Mr. Speaker:** I will call hon. Members who have not spoken at all during this session. There are five or six such hon. Members. Shri Lachman Singh, Shri Jamal Khawaja, Shri Narayanankutty Menon...

**Shri Jamal Khawaja (Aligarh):** Have you called me to speak, Sir?

**Mr. Speaker:** If he wants he may speak.

**Shri Jamal Khawaja:** Yes, Sir.

**Shri Ram Krishan Gupta (Mahendragarh):** Members who have already spoken have also been given chances.

**Mr. Speaker:** They have been wrongly called earlier.

**Shri Jamal Khawaja:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I entirely agree with my hon. friend, Shri Chettiar, who spoke a few minutes ago that we have entirely forgotten the art of paying compliments, specially in this House and giving genuine appreciation and praise where they are due. I think at least 20 per cent. of the problems of our country would be solved if we in Parliament for every criticism that we level against any person, we give at least some praise and some appreciation, where, of course, it is due.

A number of speakers have spoken, many of whom I can claim to be my friends, after having had the privilege of close association with them for the past four years. I admire and envy the fluency with which they speak and the facts and figures which they give. It is these facts and figures which constitute the arsenal and ammunition of speaker in Parliament. Unfortunately, I do not possess any of these facts and figures, because my interests lie in a different line. But I do hope that what I have to say is no less important than the purely economic and fiscal policies which we are discussing at the present moment.

Before I do so, I would like to say a few words about our policy towards China, because the speech which my friend, Shri Nath Pai, gave on the Ministry of External Affairs demands the other day is fresh in my mind and I think in the minds of many hon. Members here. He spoke with great vigour and eloquence and I, like many others, admired and appreciated the speech. But I said to myself; what is the operative part of it? When I came to that, I had no difficulty in realising that in spite of his eloquence, the policy that the Government of India is pursuing is the correct and the only policy in the circumstances in which we are situated.

Do the hon. Members who speak with great eloquence and criticise the Government for inaction or pursuing a weak-kneed policy think that sending an army or a group of volunteers is the only way of defending the country? Do they not realise that it is the nuclear age and the diplomacy of the nuclear age should also be in conformity with the problems and the situation that have developed? I am perfectly clear in my mind and I say this not with a view to defending the Government or any individual, but because I feel in all sincerity and honesty that the correct and the only policy is the policy that we are pursuing. Battles and wars are waged not only on the battle field but also in the factories, in the schools and in the offices, and I am sure that all that is being done and attended to.

After all, these things require time. We have the example of the great countries, the great super giants. They have all been exercising great patience. I very much doubt if the United States of America would have exhibited the same patience in the case of Cuba a dozen years ago. There are many other examples. So, I think, in spite of the eloquence and the sincerity with which many of my friends have criticised the policy of the Government, it is the correct policy and that it is going to bear fruits. We have only to be patient.

Well, as regards the proposals and the concessions that have been made, I would like to make one or two observations. I am sure the whole House would welcome the concessions that were announced by the Finance Minister yesterday, especially to the small scale manufacturers. I am not familiar with the working of various industries in this sector, but I wonder if it were not possible to extend this concession also to the small-scale manufacturers of medicines and pharmaceutical goods. I know somewhat the case of glass manufacturers, the small-scale glass manufacturers because they are in my district, in my constituency. I am very glad that

concessions have been given to them. If it is a good and reasonable case and it is well presented, I trust and hope that the Finance Minister would also view the proposal favourably—I mean the proposal to extend this concession to other small-scale manufacturers.

Sir, after making these one or two observations on the budget and tax proposals, I would now like to turn my attention to a problem that is of basic importance to every individual of this country. I refer to the problem of national integration. A few years ago, the phrase "national integration" was not much heard of. The familiar slogan in the time of the struggle for independence was "Hindu-Muslim unity". But now we are faced with the wider problem, and I think the term which we have coined is a better term because it is much more comprehensive and it comprehends all the various facets of the problem. Due to various reasons this problem has gripped the attention of the country. There is a proposal from certain quarters that communal parties should be banned. The Congress Party and other parties are exercising their minds over this problem. The elections are near and there are so many other factors. I am glad that this problem, which is certainly a very important and basic problem, is engaging the attention of all serious thinking people in this country. I think what the Prime Minister said a few days ago is significant. He said that very important as our Five Year Plans are, this problem is still more important. I think there is a great deal of truth in it. But, unfortunately, many people do not realise the significance of this problem. They may suppose that it may be very important for the minorities to harp on this theme, but how is it important for us? Perhaps they think that this problem was important during the period of struggle, because it was difficult to win freedom without unity, but now that freedom has been won and now that the partition of the country has taken place, how does

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it matter for the majority. I do not think the far-sighted people, members of the majority community, think on these lines. They know the implications of this problem. But, I am afraid, there is a section of people in this country which tends to ignore and minimise this problem.

What is being done, or what has been done, as far as this problem of national integration is concerned? Obviously, there are two spheres, the governmental sphere and the non-governmental sphere or the non-official sphere. It may be said that, after all, it is a matter of education of the people and, as far as the Constitution of the State is concerned, it is secular and, therefore, there is not much which can be done by the State; it requires education, it requires economic development, which is going on, things are being done and it would take some time before it is achieved. Although that approach is true to some extent, I think it is not entirely true. The supposition that nothing can be done at the governmental level or official level is wrong.

Here I would like to refer to the other facet of national integration, the problem of the Scheduled Castes. Their problem, of course, is slightly different, because the nature of the social distance is different and the separatism involved is different. But it is the same problem, which stems from the same root, though the branches are no doubt different. What I mean to say is that, as far as this second problem of casteism is concerned, we are doing something. Of course, the results may not be as satisfactory and as substantial as many of us want them to be; nevertheless, substantial amount of money is being spent. We have the Central Advisory Board, for example, and there are statutory provisions and so on. I do not mean to say by any means that this problem has to be tackled on similar lines. For example, there is no question of the pro-

blem of reservation. It is a thing which is farthest from my mind, and I think those people who think in these terms have completely failed to understand the nature of the problem.

There are other things which, I think, can be, and should be, done at the State level. For example, you would remember, Sir, several years ago, Professor Gardner Murphy, an eminent American psychologist and sociologist was invited by the Government of India to undertake a survey and deal with the problem of social tensions in a scientific and sociological way. He submitted a report. I do not know how far that report has been followed up. I do not think much has been done, because I have not heard anything about it. So, what I mean to say is that a committee of sociologists and others who can tackle the problem of emotional distance and separatism on psychological and sociological lines should be formed to suggest ways and means.

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

**Shri Jamal Khwaja:** Then I will just give certain suggestions. I will be very brief.

There are some organisations which are doing this type of work. I very much doubt if they are being liberally, or even at all, helped financially by the Government. I think it would be a very good thing if that could be done. I am sure that there should be no difficulty. It is only a question of encouraging these organisations and making the rules and the technical difficulties easier.

Another suggestion which, I think is very very important is that at the school level and at the university level all the students should be taught the basic features of the various cultural patterns that exist in India and abroad also. After all, it is not only a question of national integration here. In this atomic age we are faced with

a still wider problem, namely, the problem of humanistic integration. We are gradually going into that age of humanism where even the barriers of country, race and religion would become insignificant before the greater unity of mankind as such. So I suggest that just as we teach geography, which is world geography, just as we teach history which is more or less world history, just as we teach other subjects, the subject of culturology—this word is not very common but I am sure this will be a very significant and expressive word—should be taught. Suitable textbooks should be written so that every cultural pattern could be taught to the students and they become familiar with them. If I may digress, the difficulty arises....

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

**Shri Jamal Khawaja:** I shall finish in two minutes.

The trouble is that we generally do not understand the meaning of culture. We think that cultural patterns are either true or false just like statements or propositions. We think that a particular cultural pattern to which we subscribe or which is ours or which we have accepted as a result of cultural conditioning is the true pattern while all others are false. Modern philosophers and methodologists have completely repudiated this point of view and I agree with them entirely. Cultural patterns are just cultural patterns. You may like them or you may not like them.

So, if the cultural patterns could be taught to the younger minds, instead of thinking one to be true and others to be false they would think of the various patterns which may give them pleasure, which they may accept and which may provide them with emotional satisfaction while other groups of persons might derive pleasure and satisfaction from the acceptance of some other cultural pattern. If this concept is developed among the students and the younger people, this

question of dogmatism would completely disappear.

There were so many things I wanted to speak on but since you have rung the bell twice I conclude my speech and thank you for the opportunity that you have given me.

**Shri K. S. Ramaswamy (Gobichettipalayam):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, everybody should be happy over the progress that our country has made in the field of agriculture and industry. Industrial goods have been produced more than ever before. The hon. Minister of Food and Agriculture said the other day that agriculture has attained the state of a self-sustaining and a self-developing economy. No doubt our target of 100 million tons will be reached by the end of the Third Plan.

When we go into the prices that prevailed this year, we find that while the prices of manufactured goods have gone up by 11 per cent, the price of rice has gone up by 7 per cent and the price of wheat has declined by 11 per cent. Hereafter, when we grow more foodgrains, the price of foodgrains is likely to go down further.

Then there will be a problem, because when the prices of manufactured articles go up and the prices of foodgrains go down, the agriculturists will be hit hard. So we have to be very watchful about the agricultural prices.

The agriculturist should be assured of a floor price. The cost of cultivation is very much; the cost of production in agriculture and industry is very great now. That is why we are not able to export our sugar. Even the cost of coffee is high in our country, compared to the world market. So this is a problem which we have to tackle.

The Finance Ministry should be very watchful over the activities of other Ministries like the Commerce and Industry Ministry in the matter of export policy and the licensing of industries. For instance, oil cake is being

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exported, but the price of oilcake in the country has gone up by 100 per cent.

Agriculture should be subsidised to a greater extent. The rural credit given by the credit societies is at the rate of about 8 to 9 per cent. But the Reserve Bank advances the loan at 2½ per cent only. Why should there be this great disparity? This should be reduced and people should be able to get credit at a lower rate.

Take, for instance, fertilisers. The price of the indigenous fertiliser is very high. Instead of bringing down the price of the indigenous fertiliser to the price level of the imported fertiliser, the price of the imported fertiliser is raised. The hon. Minister announced that the prices of fertilisers will be reduced. I hope this will be done soon.

The hon. the Finance Minister yesterday announced certain relief in excise duty. For the handloom industry we want some relief. He has already given exemption for handloom yarn up to 40 counts. But handloom goods are being used more by the poor people nowadays, and we have also to meet the export market. If the price difference between mill-made cloth and handloom cloth is 11 per cent, as it is today, it will not be possible to push up the sales of handloom cloth. Now, a rebate is being given. That rebate is being reduced from 12 naye Paise to 3 naye Paise in the wholesale price. I think the policy of the Government is to abolish this rebate absolutely. In that case there should be some difference between the price of the mill-made cloth and that of the handloom cloth, and for this purpose some help should be given by way of exemption in Excise Duty to the handloom industry till such time as it is able to stand on its own footing.

Coming to my regional demands, the southern region has got certain advantages in the matter of setting up of

textile industries, like climatic conditions, technical labour, managerial experience and all that. There are 134 mills in Madras State out of which 74 are under economic conditions. They are below the twenty-thousand spindle level. So they should be raised up to the economic level especially after the acceptance of the wage Award by the mills due to additional expenditure. For that, in the Third Plan period we need about 1.6 million spindles. In Madras State the loomage is about one-thirtieth in the country; but the spindlage is about one-fourth of the total spindlage in the country. There is a very great imbalance in this, and that should be reduced. We need about 10,000 looms more in the Third Plan period. We have got about four co-operative mills with 54,000 spindles in all for supplying yarn to the handloom industry. This is a bit short, and we need some more mills in the south to feed the handloom industry.

Some time ago, the Madras State surrendered its autonomy in collecting sales tax on cloth, sugar and tobacco because the Centre promised to compensate the State by giving them a portion of the proceeds of the additional excise duty that they would be levying. It was decided by the Finance Commission that the principle of distribution, to the States should be on the basis of population, for 90 per cent of the tax collected. Recently, the Finance Minister of Madras State has stated in the Legislative Council of Madras that the Centre is not keeping up its promise, and that the gentlemen's agreement is broken. He says that when the duty on cloth is being raised now, it is done only for the purposes of the Centre, and the States are nowhere in the picture. I would like to have from the Finance Minister a clarification on this point.

Further, money is allocated on the basis of population. After the recent census, we find that in some States the population has gone up more than in other States. On the one hand, we

encourage the States not to raise their population, by adopting family planning methods and all that, but at the same time, we are giving more money to certain States on the basis of population. So, it is somewhat contradictory. A better policy should be followed by the Third Finance Commission, namely that the allocation should be not only on the basis of population but also on the taxable resources or the taxable capacity and the capacity to get things done in those States.

I would like to refer to the very grave situation in our neighbouring country Ceylon. A state of emergency has been declared because the law and order situation has broken down. The Tamil-speaking people there are fighting for their language to be used for administrative purposes and in courts. It is a legitimate demand of the people, and I hope that without any more fight or bloodshed they will be able to solve this problem. Especially, in Tamilnad, the people are very much agitated over this. I would request our Government to use their good influence and good offices to get this matter settled amicably.

Our Government are so generous in giving aid to those who are engaged in the handloom industry for constructing houses. They give loans and also grants. But I feel that Government can help them in a better manner by giving them more money and by reducing the interest on loans. Now, money is given for common amenities, on which about 4½ per cent is charged. At least, this loan for common amenities should be free of any interest.

In the Third Plan period, roads and communications have not been given their due share. Roads are the veins in the country through which goods and services run. So, more money should be allotted in the Third Plan for the construction of roads. I want to place the request of my constituency before Government that an inter-State road connecting Salem, Coimbatore and Mysore should be taken up this

time. We were clamouring for a new railway line connecting Chamarajanagar and Satyamangalam. I do not know at what stage it is, but we infer that it has gone to the background. The construction of this road should be given priority and the three States connected through Mettur, Burgur etc.

Shri M. S. Murty (Golugonda): Mr. Speaker, Sir, in his budget speech introducing the tax proposals in this House, the Finance Minister said that to find resources for the Third Five Year Plan, he wanted to lay the tax net as wide as possible, but would see that the low income groups would not suffer much. If we examine the taxes imposed in the Finance Bill to cover the deficit, they total about Rs. 60 crores. Out of these, Union excise duties account for half, that is, Rs. 30.9 crores. If we go into the details of these Union excise duties, we can classify them into three categories: necessities, luxuries and amenities and industrial raw materials. Excise duties on necessities account for Rs. 11 crores, those on luxuries and amenities come to Rs. 3.5 crores and those on industrial raw materials to a Rs. 16.4 crores.

What is the effect of these excise duties? They increase the prices of consumer goods. As such, they have their inflationary effects. Also, the purchasing power of the people, the consumers, will be reduced to that extent. On the side of raw materials, the cost of production will increase and to that extent, our competitive capacity in the export market will be reduced.

What are the items on which excise duties are imposed? Take the handloom industry. In our country, next to agriculture, the handloom industry is the biggest decentralised industry. It is one of the cottage industries. This industry is struggling for its existence and the Government are assisting it by taxing the mill industry, allowing a rebate to the handloom industry and

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so on. About 75 lakh people are employed in this industry. They are low-paid people from out of the rural population. Next to agricultural labour, we can classify these handloom weavers as the low-income people. Their lot is very miserable. They cannot find employment because the industry is not thriving well. They do not find markets for their products. As such, they are leaving the industry and going out for rickshaw pulling and other things.

It is in these circumstances that the Minister has chosen to tax this industry also. Although the coarse varieties, that is, below 40 counts, are not taxed, the higher counts, 60s and upto 120s are taxed. Not only staple yarn but art silk yarn which is used in the handloom industry is also being taxed. What is the income that the Finance Minister is going to get out of this? Out of the Rs. 60 crores that are expected from the new taxes, he will get only Rs. 60 lakhs out of this industry, that is, only 1/100th of the total income. The All India Handloom Board appointed an expert committee to find out what is the cost of production of these things. They have come to the conclusion that the difference in the cost of production between mills and the handloom industry is 11 per cent. And, beyond that, if you impose taxes, with the increase in the price of art silk yarn and other materials also, the total cost of production will be very much and the difference between the mill industry and this will come to 20 per cent. The handloom industry is being supported by the rebate scheme. This rebate which was 9 nP. in the rupee has been reduced to 5 nP for retail, and 3 nP for the wholesale. As a result, the competitive capacity is reduced in the market and the market has also acted not favourably to this.

Government have said that they want to strengthen the weaker sections of society. But this weaker section of the textile industry which is

struggling for its existence is also being taxed. These people will have to go away out of this industry; and Government will now be faced with the question of finding employment for these 75 lakhs of people. What is the net result? For the sake of 3 lakh workers in the textile mills these 75 lakhs of people are being taxed. Now, what will be the tax. It will be one-hundredth of the total income and that can be given up by the Finance Minister.

Already the industry is faced with a lot of handicaps; and they have to reduce their wages to tide over the crisis. Export of fine cloth is now being allowed and it is finding a market. But with this tax imposition that will also go away and it will be very difficult to find markets for the handloom cloth. Therefore, I request that the tax on the handloom industry may be removed.

Coming to the other aspects. The Planning Commission has been trying during the whole of the Second Five Year Plan to find out a definition for 'backward areas', which they could not do all these days. They say that we must have a balanced development of the country. While talking of the whole country, the industries are being located mostly in and around Bombay, Calcutta and Madras and the rest of the country is being neglected. Some of the industries, during the Second Five Year Plan, were located near the collieries or wherever raw materials are available and other parts of the country are being neglected thoroughly.

There is a proposal also that in the Third Five Year Plan every State will have one industry. But, I do not know how far these things will come into being. Now, Japan is taking away our iron ore all the way from Baladitta to Japan and they are making the iron materials there today and are competing in the world market. Why



not we have small steel plants through out the country? Even though there are no iron ores there we can import or transport ores from those places where there are iron ores.

The German Company has given a project report worth about Rs. 2 crores which can be utilised anywhere in every State by importing raw material from iron ore mines. That may be taken up in the Third Five Year Plan; and on the way to Japan from Baladilla to Kothavalasa, this plant can be located at Kothavalasa.

The Andhra Pradesh Government has been requesting to start other industries also in Andhra Pradesh—a second Heavy Electrical Industry in Andhra Pradesh....

**Mr. Speaker:** What will be the capacity of such plants?

**Shri M. S. Murty:** The capacity will be 50 tons.

**Mr. Speaker:** Fifty tons a day?

**Shri M. S. Murty:** I do not exactly know. I speak subject to correction.

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** It may be 50 tons a day, Sir.

**Shri M. S. Murty:** It can be.

The proposal was given by the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel.

**Shri Morarka:** They want to permit small plants of the capacity of 100,000 tons per year.

**Mr. Speaker:** Will each one cost only Rs. 2 crores?

**Shri Morarka:** That depends upon the size of the plant.

**Mr. Speaker:** 100,000 tons.

**Shri Morarka:** Such a plant would cost more than Rs 2 crores—about Rs. 10-12 crores.

**Shri M. S. Murty:** I request that the heavy electrical plant may be located

in Andhra Pradesh. Coming to the other industries, there are other places where these industries can be located. There are other types of ores also, such as mica and limestone where cement factories can be located. Industrial development has got to be done in Andhra Pradesh. I request that these things may be looked into during the Third Plan.

**Some Hon. Members rose—**

**Mr. Speaker:** Shri N.R. Ghosh. Then I will call Shri Shree Narayan Das. I will try to call other hon. Members.

**Shri Prakash Vir Shastri (Gurgaon):** Sir, what about the Opposition?

**Mr. Speaker:** Yes. From the Opposition also, certainly. Now, Shri N. R. Ghosh.

**Shri N. K. Ghosh (Coorn-Bihar):** Sir, yesterday, the Finance Minister in his speech announced certain concessions in respect of certain taxes. That was in response to certain public appeals to him. These are very welcome. I congratulate the Finance Minister in giving these concessions. But these concessions have been very severely criticised by some Members of the Opposition. I understand their opposition. It was not that actually there was anything wrong in those concessions. But their basic approach is that there should not be any private sector and there should not be any private property. Therefore, they do not miss any opportunity to say something which helps their idea and objectives.

While saying this, I submit that the Finance Minister did not go the whole way in promoting exports and I shall mention one glaring instance—that is tea. It is known to him that we are losing ground in respect of tea; our position in the world market is going down rather dangerously. We are not taking a serious view of the matter. East Africa and Ceylon are driving us out of the market. As a

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matter of fact, the cost structure of tea is mounting up to such an extent that we cannot compete in the world market. There is a vast possibility of an export market for our tea in Morocco but there for our cost structure we cannot compete with the cheap brand of China and Japanese tea which is imported there. It is a very serious position because jute and tea are the greatest earners of foreign exchange. If we lose ground once, we shall not be able to recover our position in the near future, if at all. I will ask the Finance Minister to consider this position. He has realised the position; he has admitted that tea industry requires help so that its position in the world market can be maintained and he has given a small concession in the shape of reduction in export duty . . . (*Interruptions.*) I shall read from his speech. He has stated in his speech:

"Government for its part will stand ready to help the export industries in every way by more liberal treatment in the matter of foreign exchange allocations and by speedy refund of internal taxes and duties levied on such products as are exported and in other ways."

The unfortunate thing is that though the excise duties are returned in respect of other articles which are exported, so far as tea is concerned, the excise duty is not returned. There is no logic in it. That was not the pattern of things even a few years ago. The excise duty is there for sometime; it came into existence some years ago but the moment the tea was exported the excise duty was returned. But I do not know according to what logic the Finance Minister has made a departure in the case of tea. On the one hand he gives some relief and that is cancelled on the other hand by the fact that the excise duty is not returned and excise duty goes right into the production cost. I think it is a very serious question

and the Finance Minister should take this matter seriously into consideration in the interest of the whole country.

The Finance Minister has been very benevolent towards packet tea. I do not know whether he remembers the fact that 80 per cent of the packet tea is handled only by two foreign companies who certainly do not require much help. He has levied excise duty on loose tea. The alleged reason was that loose tea is bad tea and in order to discourage the consumption of loose tea he has given relief to the packet tea. But he forgets that in the lanes and streets of towns like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, etc. and in industrial areas a cup of tea sells at nine naye paise and that is all loose tea. As a matter of fact the packet teas are out of reach of the ordinary people and these people will drink always this sort of loose tea because they cannot afford to drink better tea. Therefore, this help has been rather misplaced and misconceived. The duties in respect of the packet teas need not have been given up, and I would ask the Finance Minister to consider whether that was at all necessary or called for. If the duty is restored, then certainly he can give more and better relief to the export duty on tea. That will help the external market for our teas. Unless he gives this relief quickly it will not be possible for Indian tea to get its position restored in the competitive capacity of the tea industry in foreign markets.

Then I come to another point. The Finance Minister has given some relief by amending clause (4) of section 7 of the Income-tax Act by providing exemption from tax in respect of retiring gratuity received after 1st June, 1953 by members of the defence services. I would ask him to consider whether the same tax relief could be extended to officers in the public sector and in the private sector, in the case of their gratuity, at least within a limit of Rs. 10,000.

Then I would request him to consider the increased excise duty in respect of straw boards other than corrugated boards. These boards are made some by semi-automatic plants and some by completely automatic plants. This increase in excise duty will affect the small scale and the medium scale industries in straw boards very much. Representations have been made to the Finance Minister and I think this industry merits sympathetic consideration at his hands.

As regards radio, we have been practically swamped with hand-outs and memoranda from the radio merchants' association stating their grievances. We know that for the third Five Year Plan money is necessary and money must be found.

If this radio industry is to be taxed, I think at least the proposals made by the radio merchants' association have to be sympathetically considered. He has given tax-exemption to radios up to the value of Rs. 150. They wanted to extend this exemption limit to Rs. 200. We are told that there are many small industries which manufacture these cheap radios. Therefore, if this exemption limit be raised to Rs. 200 that will be giving relief to small-scale people and not to big money. I think this part of their memorandum should merit sympathetic consideration at his hands.

Then I will ask one thing. A very large number of items have been roped in for excise duty. I do not know whether the game is worth the candle, because when we rope in too many items there are the collection costs, there is the question of evasion and corruption and all that and, I think, not much is saved. It should be seriously considered whether it is worth roping in all these items. When you want to levy an excise duty on a particular item or on some items, the first consideration to be borne in mind is whether the collection costs and other things would not practically cancel the

income which you gain from it. I would submit that it is worth considering whether it pays bringing under excise control items where the collection costs practically eat up the income.

The Finance Minister has got imagination. He takes a comprehensive view of the whole structure of industry. I would again ask him to examine the export picture and consider this. He has not given very serious consideration in respect of tea. He should again review the whole matter and should immediately give some reliefs which can save the position of the tea industry in the international market—as this is the biggest earner of foreign exchange.

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, during the debate on the Finance Bill and also the Budget, it has been customary that the budgetary policies of the Central Government in general and also the new taxation proposals in particular are to be made subject matters of comment in this House, but I propose, Sir, with your permission, to make a departure from the customary procedure of talking on the Finance Bill for very legitimate and cogent reasons, reasons which are very compelling.

I propose to deal with a question which is of utmost importance to the people whom I have got the privilege to represent and also the State which I have got the privilege to represent here. Sir, the constitutional basis of provincial autonomy in this country has been well accepted long before the Constitution has come into force, but these 11 years of working of our Constitution has shown us threadbare the illusory nature of the provincial autonomy of each individual State, and when this year's budget is taken, when the two Five Year Plans are over, then again the totality of the illusory nature of the provincial autonomy of individual States stands also exposed. Therefore Sir I propose to touch certain points which deal with

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that particular aspect of financial integration of the States and how the Central Government budget has got a direct bearing upon the destinies of the constituent States of the Union.

Before touching that problem, I wish to point out one or two points regarding the excise duties in general. As has been pointed out by many hon. Members, in the original budget proposals many new excise duties have been proposed. When we analyse the items on which the new excise duties are to be levied, not a single item can be pointed out by the hon. Finance Minister, who is professing in the name of socialism to prove that these duties will be falling as an incident upon that class of people which could be placed above the middle class. And replying on his Ministry's demands yesterday, the Finance Minister was defining the middle class and equating the middle class to his own fortunes in the past. But I should say that when a specific question was put to him as to the increase in the real wages of the workers of this country, including middle classes, from 1939 to 1961, and asked him as to whether there was any increase in the real income of the worker, including middle classes, the hon. Finance Minister was kind enough to reply that he has got no statistics with him. But I can tell this House that, taking 1939 as the base, there was no increase in the real income of the working class, including middle class, at the prevailing price of 1961, and that is a fact which the hon. Finance Minister could not, under any circumstances, deny.

Taking that as a fact, it will be seen that there is an additional excise duty on kerosene oil, and the excise given by the Finance Minister when he gave the reply yesterday was that particular care will be taken to import only inferior variety of kerosene oil in future. That betrays his total ignorance about the oil position and the nature of the kerosene oil

industry in this country. It is not in the Finance Minister's hand to regulate the import of either inferior or superior quality of kerosene oil, because there is agreement with the oil companies, and it is left to the sweet will and pleasure of the oil companies as to what variety of kerosene oil has to be imported. And it is our experience here that the oil companies are importing and producing from their own refineries in this country only the superior variety of kerosene oil. Therefore, the excise given by the hon. Finance Minister is no excise at all, and the additional excise duties imposed on superior kerosene oil have to be paid by the poor people of this country.

I may point out here that from 1950-51 onwards there is an increase in the additional excise duty revenue on kerosene oil alone, which is a constituent unit and which plays a considerable part in the formulation of the working class cost of living index, and hon. Members will be astounded to know that whereas the total excise duty levied on kerosene oil in this country in 1950-51 was only Rs. 28 lakhs, in 1961-62, by way of this budgetary proposal, the total excise revenue on kerosene oil alone will be Rs. 850 lakhs; a big and steep increase from Rs. 28 lakhs to Rs. 850 lakhs.

**The Deputy Minister of Finance (Shri B. R. Bhagat):** Is it on the same amount of kerosene oil?

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** No, the consumption has increased; I agree. From 1950-51 to 1961-62 there has been an increase of 156 per cent. in the consumption of kerosene oil. But on an increase of 156 per cent in consumption, the increase in excise duties is from Rs. 28 lakhs to Rs. 850 lakhs. Therefore, hon. Members of this House can very well calculate and see what is the percentage of increase

in incidence by way of excise duties alone.

Coming to power looms, yesterday some concession has been announced by the hon. Finance Minister, and that concession is available to units of two looms, provided the two looms will not work for three shifts. Every hon. Member in this House is at a loss to understand why the Finance Minister wants to make a differentiation between three shifts and one shift in a particular unit of two power looms. These power-looms, which are cottage industries, 1, 2, 3 or 4 power-looms make an economic unit and they can get only a maximum profit of Rs. 70 to 80 a month by working three shifts. Now, if the Finance Minister wants to make a differentiation between power-looms of two looms and four looms and one shift and three shifts, we are at a loss to understand what is the real criterion by which the Finance Minister is prepared to give an exemption. Was it only to give some colouring at the final stage to it because there was criticism of this tax both in this House and outside and so he wants to make some concession? That concession is illusory and I will plead with the Finance Minister that at least four power-looms should be taken as a unit and the limit of one shift should not be there and that, to that extent, the Finance Minister should be pleased to extend the exemption also accordingly.

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Thirdly, I wish to speak regarding the revenue from excise duty on radios. There is an attempt made to show that a radio is purchased in this country only by millionaires and therefore the additional excise duty falls on the millionaires or on the top class. When excise duty on a radio is increased by 40 per cent, the percentage incidence upon the total income in terms of expenditure of a person who has got an income of Rs. 2,500/- is very negligible. But if a middle

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class man having an income of Rs. 300/- wants to purchase a small radio set, 25 per cent of his total income will be eaten away by an increase of 40 per cent in excise duty while for the millionaire or for a man who has an income of Rs. 2,500/- the weight of that excise duty is negligible. Therefore all these items on which new excise duty is being levied by the hon. Finance Minister directly hit not only the middle-class but also the working class.

The hon. Finance Minister completely lacked a sense of responsibility regarding certain industries which are existing in India, which are becoming decadent and to which because of the industrialisation the Central Government is bound to give a spurt. Until complete industrialisation comes, this Government is bound to support those industries. I take for example the handloom industry. About half a million people are working in that industry. That industry has a hand to mouth existence. There are surplus stocks. Always the industry walks from crisis to crisis. There is total unemployment in every part of the year. Ultimately you find that the hon. Finance Minister instead of taking a realistic view of the situation has thought it fit to have an additional excise duty on the yarn which is consumed by the handloom industry. Therefore that also lacked a completely realistic outlook. For this meagre and negligible excise revenue that he is going to have from this Budget the hon. Finance Minister has certainly not taken into consideration the realities of the situation. I, therefore, appeal to him from this part of the House that he should withdraw all the proposals which he himself has admitted are of negligible consequence taking the Budget as a totality.

Mr. Speaker: He may continue tomorrow.