

The Britannica, a publication from the United States, has added insult to injury by publishing as Shri Sanjay Gandhi's photograph the photograph of our esteemed colleague Shri Vidya Charan Shukla. We all wish Shri Shukla a long life, but it shows how little respect the makers of the Britannica have towards our national feeling. Not content with vilifying Shri Sanjay Gandhi, they have just not cared to check back on the authenticity of the photograph used.

I demand that a thorough inquiry be ordered into the circumstances leading to such obnoxious material appearing in the Britannica. And, if it is found that the material was filed from India by a foreigner, he or she should immediately be deported. Pending such steps, I would appeal to the Government that all copies of the 1980 Encyclopaedia Britannica be immediately confiscated or removed from the shelves of book-shops and libraries and the edition be prescribed.

It is not clear to us whether the entries in the Britannica are the works of individual authors or are cobbled together at the editor's table. Whatever be the modalities, I would request the Government to find out which particular person or group of persons was responsible for the item on Shri Sanjay Gandhi. Once the responsibility is fixed, the Government of India should use all its diplomatic and trade influence to elicit an unconditional apology from the person or persons concerned. This is the least we can do to save our national honour.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The House is adjourned till 2.05 p.m.

13.05 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till five minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.*

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at eleven minutes past Fourteen of the Clock*

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

GENERAL BUDGET, 1982-83—  
GENERAL DISCUSSION—*Contd.*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now we shall take up General Discussion on the Budget. Shri Chitta Basu.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat) : Generally I am not called so early.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : There is dearth of Speakers from the Opposition.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Sir, while I rise to speak on the Budget, I would like to begin with certain conceptual framework. I concede that the Budget preparation is not merely an exercise in mathematics, nor is it an exercise nor is it the business of the accountants alone. The Budget preparation involves certain ideological approach, economic approach and certain doctrines also, and naturally it reflects the economic philosophy of the Government of the time. But, of course, I know that I have got certain doctrines and I refuse to be doctrinaire.

Secondly, I also concede that the Budget of a nation cannot be conceived particularly at this time without considering the international environment. Therefore, Sir, the consideration of the international environment and the question of economic policy of the Government is quite relevant—not irrelevant but relevant—in the matter of discussing the Budget proposals of a Government at a particular point of time.

Sir, I am really sorry that on these two counts the Government has not come out are the Finance Minister has not come out with a clear-cut policy enunciation. So far as the

[Shri Chitta Basu]

approach which has been reflected in the Budget is concerned, it is hazy, it is ambivalent and it is not clearly defined. That is also because of their unnecessary or avoidable inclination to pragmatism. In regard to the economic philosophy pursued by the Government, I do not blame him, I do not expect a socialist budget from the Government of the day, of which he happens to be the Finance Minister. I have got no personal grouse or animosity, nor have I got high expectation from him.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : At least you accept that you are a socialist.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : There is no doubt about it.

Sir, I believe in certain doctrines, as I told you, but I refuse to be doctrinaire. In regard to the economic philosophy, it is quite well-known that your philosophy is a philosophy of mixed economy. You can operate only within the parameters of the mixed economy and therefore, a socialist approach cannot be expected from the Finance Minister because he works within these fixed parameters and these fixed parameters are the parameters of mixed economy.

But an analysis of the Budget proposals convinces me that even within this parameter of mixed economy, I am sorry to say, the tilt is more towards the monopolists, the capitalists and multi-national business tycoons. I do not expect that this Government and this Finance Minister, situated as he is to-day, can he produce a budget which goes against the interests of the multi-nationals in our country? How can he do away with the economic policy which strengthens the capitalists base in the economy? That I do not expect from him. It is not possible for him. That is not possible for the party which he

represents. But to say that your budget and policy is the policy of mixed economy and you also pursue not only the growth but growth of social justice is deceptive. This Budget reflects a greater tilt towards the monopolists, the capitalists, the business tycoons. *(Interruptions)*. You will think these are our phraseology and to which Mr. Swamy is very much allergic...

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE) : You are missing big landlords.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Big landlords are also supporting you, there is no doubt about it.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE : In chronology these two are missing. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHITTA BASU : But your Government protects these big landlords, monopolists, capitalists and multi-national tycoons, there is no doubt about it.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY (Bombay North East) : What he has missed is the running dog imperialism.

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA (Robertsganj) : In West Bengal, the C.P.M. Government, of which he is a partner...*(Interruptions)*...they are supporting. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHITTA BASU : I have got his point. That needs reply.

The economic policy, the fiscal policy, these are generally determined by the Government here. The State Government has got nothing to do with the preparation of the basic policy, in regard to the economic direction or the fiscal direction. Therefore, the West Bengal Government, situated as they are, cannot work within the parameter of fiscal and economic

policy directions of the Government which you prepare here. You prepare the policy which protects the interests of those sections and the classes which I have referred to earlier. My reply to your point is, the West Bengal Government being a united front Government committed to the left, cannot reform the economic and fiscal policy that you formulate here. You formulate policy on the basis of defending the class interests—interest of the classes which I have referred to earlier. Therefore, there is nothing to be ashamed of. The failures of West Bengal Government, the shortcomings of West Bengal Government are directly the result of these shortcomings of the basic policies that you are pursuing to-day. Therefore, I did not expect that thing from the Government, nor am I disappointed on that count because your affiliation was already known and the kind of the Budget this Government was able to produce. But one thing, I want to make a mention of here in regard to the international environment—I do concede.

A Budget of a nation, particularly at this point of time, cannot be prepared completely ignoring the developments particularly the deterioration of security environment around us. There is a direct relevance with that. On that account also, I am sorry to say that the Finance Minister has not taken proper care to assess the situation correctly. They have not really understood the implications of the deteriorating security environment as also the part of the America's global strategy today. Somebody may or may not agree with me. But India's economy today cannot be viewed, particularly in this situation of deteriorating security environment, in isolation from the America's global strategy. You cannot have a policy of your own unless you have got a right type of pressure on the foreign economic relations. It is not the subject of External Affairs Ministry alone

I am discussing. The Budget is very much relatively connected with foreign economic relations.

The foreign economic relations that you have already built up or that you propose to build up cannot but be reflected in the Budget proposition. Sir, having that point in my view, I want to say that it is necessary for us to understand the implications of America's global policy. In short, it can be described that the United States of America has got a concept of strategic consensus. They have linked up their economic aid with the concept of particular strategic consensus. The implication of it is that they do not give economic aid to those nations and countries which are not within the orbit of this strategic consensus. They have ~~already~~ rather identified certain recipient countries which are agreeing to work as clients of States and subserve the interests of their global strategy. They have decided not to offer any kind of economic aid or anything to those countries which are outside the orbit. In this context, the United States of America has already decided that the quantum of aid to India through the multinational quarters should be reduced and they have also brought in the International Monetary Fund with certain conditionalities. Therefore, Sir, they have suggested that in order to finance or fund our developmental programmes, India should rely more and more on borrowing from the capital markets of the United States of America. There is nothing to hide for the Government. As far as I remember, your Secretary has made a statement saying that the funds would not be a problem even if IDA fund is stopped. Funds are in abundance. The question is whether we should accept or we should not accept. That means you are relying or you want to rely more on commercial borrowings of private capital of United States of America and from various agencies.

[Sari Chitta Basu]

That creates a condition Sir. That creates a condition which makes our economy more vulnerable and in the context of this deteriorating security environment, I am sorry to say that the Hon. Minister has not taken proper care of it and has not made proper assessment of it. The conditionality of the IMF, I will say, forcing us to rely more on commercial borrowings is just a beginning of the process of the global strategy of the United States of America to bring India into the net of debt trap of this nation through commercial borrowings from American private capital. And IMF conditionalities are, I think, just the beginning of the process of bringing India into the death trap which has caused ruin to many developing countries and which serves as an example for us.

But, unfortunately, the Hon. Finance Minister has not taken proper note of it and the dangers inherent in the situation which is developing today.

Even this Budget—I am not going out of the purview of the Budget—shows an increased market borrowing. It is something like Rs. 3,200 crores whereas it is Rs. 2,800 crores in the current year. Just I give that as an indication. More and more reliance is placed on the market borrowing on the advice of Mr. Clausen, Mr. Clausen was here recently in Delhi. Mr. Clausen did make the suggestion that there is no alternative for you but to depend more on commercial borrowing. You have acted on this advice and it is reflected in the Budget.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Mr. Clausen's employee has become your Finance Minister. Mr. Ashok Mitra is.....

SHRI CHITTA BASU : I will have to say my own thing.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You have already taken 15 minutes.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Therefore, I should not be disturbed. Please ask them not to disturb me.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : West Bengal Finance Minister.....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : If it is Finance Ministry, then I will give you more time. Will you agree?

SHRI CHITTA BASU : I will be satisfied. Please give me one minute. They are disturbing me.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : West Bengal Finance Minister is an employee of the World Bank. You ask him.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It is not the question. It is about the Budget proposal.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : It is true he was there for several years.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He is his subordinate, West Bengal...

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Are we discussing the affairs of World Bank here?

Again, the Budget itself reflects a greater dependence on external assistance. It has increased by 40%. Therefore, these are the symptoms. My charge or rather grouse—I do not like to use a strong word—is...

What is the good of using a strong word?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He is smiling! After all, he is from your State!

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Anyway, I do not like that harsh words alone

produce results. Sometimes, mild words also produce results and with that hope, I am using mild words. Mild words will have a greater impact on him than harsh words. Then also, if we are disappointed, then, harsh words are there very much in my weaponry and I do not lack in it.

The Budget did not provide adequately the cushion to absorb the shock, if that is likely to arise having regard to the global strategy of the United States of America and following from it the deteriorating security environment. There is no sufficient cushion provided to absorb the shock. Then, everything will be in doldrums and our dependence on them would further increase.

Now Hon. Member Mr. Chavan was very proud that the Government has been able to secure IMF loan and that this Budget does not reflect any imprint of their conditions. It is not true. It is untruth. If somebody claims—I think that the Hon. Finance Minister would not claim it because in his Economic Survey he did mention about the compulsions of structural adjustments with the IMF conditionalities—it is wrong. It is wrong if somebody stands up and says that our Budget does not reflect any imprint of the IMF conditionalities: It is not correct; it is not true; it is merely a sycophancy. As you know the IMF wanted that there should be liberalisation of imports, that there should be further stepping up of West-oriented exports. Is it not so? Did they not ask for a shift of emphasis from direct to indirect taxation and grant of concessions to foreign collaborators? These were the things which were prescribed by the IMF. Go through the Budget papers, pick up the Budget documents and see whether your proposals reflect the imprint of these conditions or not. You have imposed additional burdens to the

extent of Rs. 535 crores by way of indirect taxation. Can you deny that? Along with it, there was also the pre-Budget tax burden of Rs. 681 crores. I do not like to go further. There is enough proof that his budget proposals bear the imprint of the IMF conditionalities. There are certain basic inadequacies which the Finance Minister has fought shy of. His only approach is to postpone the difficult question. His only approach is to maintain the status quo and go on the beaten track. Somebody has called it a very novel budget. It is nothing but a budget which has been produced on the beaten track, on the track which has been beaten by many former Finance Ministers with the single objective of strengthening the capital base of the economy....

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY (Calcutta South): Socialistic capitalism.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: May be, socio-capitalism.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: This is a budget which has been produced on the beaten track, and I do not blame him for it because he has to work within set parameters. But some Hon. Member had this to say that he had broken that and covered new ground. No, Sir. He has not covered new ground. He has proceeded along the beaten track. (Interruptions) If we have to revive our economy, there is no scope for soft option. That, you should understand. I do not think you should understand it from me. You can understand it from yourself. My point of view is that there is no scope for soft option here. But you have accepted the soft option. What was needed was a more aggressive attack on the structural inadequacies—instead of making structural adjustments with IMF conditionalities—and the distortions in our economic and fiscal system. He has not done

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that. To make it more explicit, the gap between the resources-need and their generation can never be bridged—it is an important issue for the nation's progress—unless the tax structure is restructured on a new economic philosophy. This economic philosophy, according to me, is a mild one. The tax structure should reflect the rate and composition of economic growth. I have got enough facts to show that there has been increase in the GNP, but the major share of that has been cornered by those very favoured classes; if you want me to repeat, I will say that it is those monopolies, capitalists and landlords who have cornered the major share of the increase in the GNP.

AN HON. MEMBER : Where are the landlords now ?

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Therefore, again I say—and that was the track being followed earlier and he, as usual, has followed that track also—that instead of that there has been no imposition of fresh tax burdens on the corporate sector. That is the promise you made. There has been a host of concessions, namely, wealth tax, capital gains tax, depreciation, income tax on dividends and to undertakings in the Free Trade Zone—to mention a few. All these concessions are substantial; while there has been no imposition of tax burdens on the corporate sector....

AN HON. MEMBER : They belong to the weaker sections of the society !

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER ; Now you should conclude.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Sir, yesterday no member from the Opposition spoke. Let me compensate for that.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Every party has been allowed some time. I cannot give more than that.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Anyway, only five more minutes I want.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : However forcefully you may speak, you cannot provoke the Finance Minister. He is still smiling.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : I am also smiling. I am also not angry.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL (Jaipur) : Sir, you are acting as a shock-absorber within the Opposition.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Sir, the Hon. Member, Shri Y.B. Chavan was telling yesterday in reply to a particular question that was put to him. What was deficit financing ? He says that deficit financing is all the more good for us and for a developing country like ours. That is No. 1. He says the deficit financing is within controllable and manageable limits. I want to say and I do not want to go into figures now. Is it not a fact that the Planning Commission, after reviewing the economy and our country's strength and weakness, came to the conclusion that the Indian economy is in a position to absorb the shock of Rs. 5000 crores of deficit financing during the entire Sixth Five Year Plan....(Interruptions) That has already been crossed and you have exceeded it by Rs. 40 crores .....

PROF MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : They will double-cross now.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Therefore, what was the limit for the complete Five Year Plan has been already exceeded by three years' total budgetary gap and to-day it is exceeded by Rs. 40 crores and another two years of the Plan still

remain. Yet you say it is merely out of sycophancy. Here you say that the Planning Commission is not correct, its analysis is not correct, its understanding of India's economic problems is not correct, but when they understand everything and analyse everything and say that the limit is Rs. 5000 and you have already crossed that limit, yet you say that the deficit financing that the Government has proposed is within the manageable limit. This is the point we should take note of. ....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : That must be the last point— I think.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : There are many more points I have to make, but if you do not allow me five minutes more.....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : That is why I called you so that I can give you more time. ...You have already taken 25 minutes.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Coming to the Plan, the Finance Minister is on record and he declared that unlike the past two years which have been years of crisis management—I think you did say that and I do not think you deny that.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE) : You are quoting from my speech. Why should I deny it ?

SHRI CHITTA BASU : The Finance Minister declared that unlike in the past two years which were years of crisis management and recovery 'the objective of policy in 1982-83 will be to maintain the momentum of growth and to make an all out effort to achieve the social and economic objectives of the Sixth plan' ....

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: Sir, it sounds better when he reads than when the Minister reads it.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I was hearing his speech. He did not read like that.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : He says that the objective is to maintain the momentum. Look at it, the economist you are. I concede to you. What is the momentum they are maintaining ?

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : A capitalist economy.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : The Plan outlay, I agree and concede, has been raised by 21% but the project cost has by this time increased by 20%. It is likely to go up. If the price-rise and the project costs continue to rise, the real worth of the value, the real worth of the plan, will not be as it is being claimed.

Therefore, Sir, the actual target of the plan will be eroded and, if the plan target is eroded, how will the momentum be maintained ? Therefore, Sir, it is also deceptive. He is no less intelligent than anyone of us. He is faithful to the task. It is not that I am wise but he is not. He is equally wise. But, his wisdom is being displayed and made use of to serve the interests of a particular class of people. (*Interruptions*) Therefore, Sir, it is not correct to say this. He claims that the economy appears to be out of the wood... I say it is not so. It is still not out of the wood. I rely on the Economic Survey of this year. The rate of growth in agricultural production was only 3% as against the planned target of 5.2% per annum. The glaring fact is that even in 1981-82 the total agricultural output was only marginally higher than the peak year of 1978-79. It had been possible. The addition of irrigated area was as high as 2.46 million hectares in 1980-81 compared to 1.98 million hectares in 1979-80. Therefore, on the agricultural front, your achievement is only of a marginal nature.

[Shti Chitta Basu]

You are now only higher by 2.73 million hectares than the peak production year of 1978-79.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:  
Janata period.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: I leave it to him.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY:  
He is now very happy.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: I agree that the rise in the industrial production was as high as 9.8%. That was indeed due to the improvement in the infrastructure and the capacity utilisation. Therefore, what is needed is the capacity expansion. The progress you claim is not due to the capacity expansion but, this has been possible only with increased capacity utilisation or improvement in the infrastructure. Even conceding that, in the crucial areas like power, the total capacity expansion has fallen substantially. It had fallen short of the planned target during the last few years. There is a shortfall in investment on the railways. The essential investment has been reduced. Wagon renewal rate is much slower than the target. Doubt prevails even to-day about the projected rise of crude oil from sixteen million tonnes to 35 to 40 million tonnes. Doubt prevails there. This Economic Survey does not give us the data. How can ten per cent increase in the crude output be achieved? Has it been done? Is it possible to understand the implication of the increased crude output? If it is possible, let him say that.

If the Government claims that the economy is out of the wood to-day, must honestly beg to differ from it. It is still in wood and for that more radical measures are needed which the Government does not propose to take.

Sir, I am sorry to say that it is a budget which will bring in tears for

the millions of our country-men. It is a budget which is more in favour of the privileged class. It is a budget which holds out portents of further price hike. Therefore, the vast millions of our country-men cannot derive any satisfaction from these Budget proposals. I hope, if the Government so desires, it should take to hard options so that economy of our country can be rid from the economic ills it is suffering from.

SHRI BHIKU RAM JAIN (Chandni Chowk): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the annual financial statement and the estimates of expenditure and income is in fact, the Budget and the Budget apart from the Constitutional requirements generally reflects the policies of the party in power. My friend, Shri Chitta Basu was just saying that this Budget has not reflected the policies of the party in power which has been the reason for tears to millions of our country-men.

Sir, I might have somehow agreed with him had he said that the concessions that have given in the Budget to the working class or the salaried people in the form of increase in taxable limit or other concessions in the form of money that they will receive at the time of retirement are meant for the tycoons. Sir, I must congratulate the Finance Minister for having translated the wishes of the people who are in power today. The Finance Minister has given a concession to the salaried class and a person getting Rs. 25,000/- a year would not be taxed now. Directly they will not be taxed to the extent of Rs. 20,000/- because of the concession of 25 per cent, standard deduction that has been allowed. Apart from that the other concessions that they are likely to get in the form of house rent allowance, life insurance premium whereby another Rs. 5,000/- could easily be calculated to be making them exempt from the tax. But, Sir, I would like to request the Finance



Minister that the class of employees who are getting more than Rs. 2,000—the officer class—have not been taken into account and they are the people—persons getting between Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 4,000—who are very hard hit. I would like to request to the Finance Minister to consider whether this concession which has been allowed to people getting upto Rs. 2,000 per month could be extended upto Rs. 3,000 or so. I think that would not come in the category of tycoons as my friend, Shri Chitta Basu, has just now said. I am talking about the officer class as they are called—the salaried class. I am not talking of the industrialists earning Rs. 30,000 a month or businessmen. I am talking about only these salaried class and certain concession has been given to them for the money that they get at their retirement. That will go a long way to help them, I therefore want the next speaker from their party to say whether they can call a clerk getting Rs. 2000 a tycoon, whether they have any sympathy with those people or not.

I have one word to say to the Finance Minister and it is about the people of Indian origin living abroad. Certain concessions have been given to them; when they come here and stay for 60 days certain concessions have been given. I have got some personal knowledge. Large number of Indians who are living abroad who have amassed large wealth want to come back home. But, without getting facilities in India, they are not able to come. They must be provided with some facilities and some concessions, not necessarily only in income-tax, but they can be provided with houses—not necessarily at concessional rates, but authorities like the DDA at Delhi and other authorities in Bombay, Calcutta and elsewhere may be given some sort of money to help them or otherwise some direc-

tion can be given to them saving that preference should be given to those who are coming to India with their foreign money, with foreign exchange. They may be given this concession and facility so that they may be able to establish themselves here, so that they may be able to export their products and bring money to this country. This aspect has not been looked after and I somehow feel that this is a long over-due matter. We should help those Indians who have been living abroad and who have been writing to the Finance Ministry, the Industry Ministry and every where. At the same time it is very necessary that various formalities that are necessary to be completed for establishing small or big industry in this country should be relaxed for those people who want to come from abroad so that we may invest the foreign exchange money, we may get back our brothers and sisters home, so that they can establish themselves. You will also appreciate, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, that unless concessions are given, these people can never come back, in spite of the fact that they want to come back and we want them to come back. Therefore, I submit most respectfully that due consideration has to be given on that account in the Finance Ministry and in the Industry Ministry and it should be reflected in this Budget.

My Hon. friend Shri Chitta Basu was saying something about the concessions given to the multinationals and other large industrial houses. I do not find anything like that here. In this year of industrialisation and productivity some such concessions are very necessary. If this country wants more production, if this country wants to solve its own problems regarding availability of goods etc, industry has to develop. Our friends have been using all methods where the production stops. That is not the way of doing it. I

[Shri Bhiku Ram Jain]

wish that our Government encourages big scale industrialisation of the country, because, it does lot of good to the people, it gives lot of money in the shape of income-tax, excise, customs duty and all other taxes to the National Exchequer and provides employment. If these people in other countries have progressed, it is because industry has been the first thing to be encouraged there. That is why it happened. I do not know whether my friends opposite want industries to be encouraged or not. To my mind they want so, because if industry exists, their activities also exist. If industry does not exist, to that extent, their activities also will not be there. Therefore it is in the larger interests of their party also that industry should develop. For that purpose our Hon. Finance Minister has provided sufficient money for the economic services, for provision of infrastructure, for electricity, water etc. The corporate sector, according to him my Hon friend, should have been taxed high. I feel that the corporate sector is very highly taxed in this country at the moment. The corporate sector actually should have been given certain concessions to accumulate certain savings to be re-invested in industry so that there may be sufficient cash-flow from that. But that sort of consideration has not been bestowed. My friend Mr. Chitta Basu knows this that corporate tax is yielding double taxation. The shareholder pays the tax separately; the corporate sector pays the tax separately and the total amounts to near about 93 per cent to go to the Exchequer. Most of the shareholders in the corporate sector are poor. They are the general public. You call them tycoons. Those general public do not own a large number of shares. But a large number of general public have got small number of shares. You always talk of big industrialists, Birlas and Tatas. But how can you include the general public who have got small number of shares in the firms of those

big industrialists? I think you are either trying to make fool of ourselves or you are trying to fool the country. In my opinion, quite a large number of shareholders are poor. I belong to one of the smaller groups of industrialists. I know that out of 40,000 shareholders of one company, about 10% of the shares are held by the Managing Directors and other 90% of the shares are held by the general public. In every year's balance-sheet, a chart is given showing persons holding 100, 200 and more than 200 shares. If you see the chart, you will find that hardly 2 to 3 per cent of the total shares are held by Directors and few individuals have more than 500 shares and above. Therefore, we should not forget what has been done by these small industrialists. During the last 34 years we know that these industries have made a tremendous progress.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :  
Is it 32 years or 34 years ?

SHRI BHIKU RAM JAIN : I am talking of even before that then the atmosphere was not conducive to the industrialisation of this country. Therefore, Sir, I respectfully submit that the industries are an asset to the nation and it does not belong to any individual. During the period of Chinese war in 1962 and also later where there was a war with Pakistan, our country could face them in a most remarkable manner. Had there been no industrial advancement in our country, the result would have been different. Therefore, Sir, should we not be proud of our production in every field? Many things that we produce are exported. And that is why the people demand that export should be encouraged. Our goods are very much accepted in the world market and the more we export, the more we earn. Therefore, this atmosphere should be encouraged. And to encourage them, the income-tax laws, the wealth-tax laws, the gift-tax and other taxation laws have got to be simplified.

Now, Sir, more than 90% of the shareholders are the general public, most of them are poor. They earn about Rs. 2000 or Rs. 3000 as dividend per annum. They are widows, old retired people and small investors. (Interruptions). The Hon. Members sitting on the Opposition benches talk of the people like peons and workers as below the poverty line. They say that those who are getting Rs. 1000 or so, whether they are working as peons or they are workers, are all below the poverty line. You are talking of them only. But I am talking of those people who are earning much less than those peons and other workers. Your definition of people below the poverty line is quite different from those referred to by me. By talking like this, you are only inciting them and after inciting them you get your work done and in this way you try to control them by giving wrong definition and giving them tall hopes. Those poor workers are exploited who are the people who are below the poverty line? They are not really the workers. I can show you that the workers in Delhi get more than those shareholders who are widows and old retired people. They have no other means of income. They are just getting Rs. 2000 or Rs. 3000 per annum as their share premium. They cannot be called capitalists. But a worker who may be earning Rs. 35,000 per annum, according to you, comes below the poverty line. (Interruptions)

15 hrs.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :  
Instead of all this dispute, why can't you say 'below the fortune line' ?

SHRI BHIKU RAM JAIN : It is not that they do not know about it, they just pretend not to know it... (Interruptions).

More than 90% of the shareholders of these companies are poor people who belong to the lower income group,

who are poor people, or who are poorer than even the labourers and the workers... (Interruptions). They are lower than the people who belong to the weaker section. These people have not been taken notice of ; that is what I wanted to submit. If you take the balance-sheet of any such company, you will find that if the share of a company is worth Rs. 10/-, there would be ten thousand share holders having barely hundred shares each, worth Rupees 1000/. And if they get a dividend of 15% they would only be getting Rs. 150/- per year.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Even the Nizam of Hyderabad said that he was the poorest man in India.

SHRI BHIKU RAM JAIN : Similarly, a man getting Rs. 10,000 in West Bengal is defined as a labourer or a worker. The definition changes according to the policy of the particular parties. It is a matter of dispute, but let us leave it here.

Further, I would like to submit to the Finance Minister that the industry today needs a padding. It is only through the industries that the country can prosper. I, therefore, submit that the industries today need a fillip, and if it is not provided, the whole situation would become topsy-turvy. It is a goose that lays the golden egg.

Today, the corporate sector is highly taxed and some concession should have been given to them to enable them to save some money so that it can be reinvested in the industry. That is what has happened during the last 25 to 30 years. The investment allowance and the other allowances that were given to the industry for that purpose have borne fruit. The Hon. Finance Minister in his own speech has said that earlier the maximum rate of income tax was 72% and it was reduced to 66% last year and it has yielded results. It

[Shri Bhiku Ram Jain]

was also said that the income tax should be reduced further so that it yields further results. The Hon. Finance Minister has mentioned in his speech, para 29 :

“It is gratifying that despite significant tax concessions given in the 1981-82 Budget, the receipts from Income tax are likely to be Rs. 1520 crores as against Budget estimates of Rs. 1444 crores.”

I remember, it was said by the former Finance Minister that he was convinced that the high taxation was responsible for the creation of black-money. If my friends are interested that black money should vanish, if they are interested that the black-money should not be generated, then they have got to say, unlike what they generally say, that the higher section of people should be taxed more, the tax proposals have to be reasonable. I, therefore, suggest that the maximum rate of income tax should be kept at 50%. Let my friends come forward and say so particularly, when the Finance Minister has said that it has yielded results. The production has gone up and industry has co-operated, and in view of this, I would request the Finance Minister to examine how the corporate sector could be given the required concessions.

Then, I would submit that the capital gains question has not been given due consideration in my opinion. There are cases when a man having a house wants to sell it in order to celebrate the marriage of his daughter. Now, he has to deposit the amount at 7-1/2% interest for 7 years in the bank, if he wants to save the capital gain tax. He needs that money for a particular purpose, but he cannot utilise it for that. Or, he sells his house to set up a cottage industry, if he does that, he cannot avail of the capital gains concession. You have provided for certain con-

cession if the money is utilised in a particular manner. Now, nobody sells his jewellery, house or any other asset, unless the money is required for an immediate purpose. But if he cannot utilise that money for the purpose for which he sells his house or any other asset, his purpose is not served. My submission would be that capital gains tax structure should be re-examined. And if it cannot be eliminated altogether then by giving the concession that existed a little before, the same thing should be revived wherein the capital gain was deposited in a nationalised bank for three years. Not more than three years, because it is unfair to ask the man to deposit the money for seven years, for such a long period, and that too at concessional rate of 7.5%.

Sir, in this productivity year, you are not allowing the man to come forward with investment for more production. Money for investment comes either from the bank or from the individual's own investment. And his own investment is through selling of the assets. If those assets are not made available to him, then probably he cannot start the industry which he very much wants to.

SHRI SUNIL MAITRA  
(Calcutta North East) : He takes the money from the Government and then squanders it away.

SHRI BHIKU RAM JAIN :  
Under the advice from friends who want that.

Squandering is something different. I am not talking of the people who squander money, but those who genuinely want to invest it.

SHRI SUNIL MAITRA : The capitalists get money from the Government. They don't sell the assets.

**SHRI BHIKU RAM JAIN:** The Government does not give money unless you have your own twenty per cent or say even 15%. Government gives money only when you have your own money. The political man can get money, as you are just telling me. You can get the money, but not the industrialist.

Sir, we have one section in the Income-Tax under which for selling of the immovable property, acquisition notices are sent. I get a gazette every fifteenth day, as thick as this. Probably 1,500 notices are sent for all the transactions that are taking place all over the country. During the last 10 years, may be about one lakh and a half or two lakhs such notices have gone. Out of that only ten acquisitions have taken place. And out of those ten, about six or seven are in the courts. The other three which have been acquired, one does not know what has happened to those properties. Sir, I asked a question in this connection in the House itself and a reply has not yet come as to the utility of those three buildings. What is it all meaning? It is a great harassment and a source of corruption. I don't know if it is at all giving any benefit to the Government. You can well imagine what is the value of a property worth Rs. 25,000/- these days. So any property that is more than Rs. 25,000/- in value, a notice religiously goes on every transaction irrespective of the fact whether the officer concerned is in the know of the under-hand dealing that has taken place so far. And nothing has been proved so far. I would request the Hon. Finance Minister that if you don't have any benefit out of that, then why are you incurring such a heavy expenditure and why have you got its offices all around India. You are issuing notices. You have big offices for a special purpose. Is it not connected with the income tax? And utility I have told you is this as I have explained above, unless of course, my

information is wrong. Therefore, I would suggest that this system should be done away with unless the Finance Minister himself feels that he has got some advantage out of that.

Similarly, I would say about the Income Tax. The interpretation of penalties given to the Junior Officers, particularly the Income-Tax Officers is being abused. Against Mr. A penalties are 10%, and at the same breath against Mr. B, it is 90%. It is a very big source of corruption. Therefore the system of penalties has got to be simplified and a fool-proof system has to be evolved. Otherwise, I am sure this is creating and will create a hell of problems for the assesses.

The Finance Minister has raised two and a half per cent tax on income between Rs. 60,000 and Rs. 70,000 and also on a range of Rs. 85,000 to Rupees one lakh. Now, the yield is about Rs. 3 crores and odd. The Income-Tax revenue in the country is hardly two per cent of the total revenue. And out of that this is a drop in the ocean. And when every concession has been given, you are only adding 2.5% or Rs. 3 crores. It somehow does not look to me reasonable, particularly when I say that you have got to give incentives to the people, who want to invest and create employment opportunities. It is very necessary that employment opportunities are to be created. Therefore, I would request him to examine this and to see if he can do something in the matter.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** please conclude.

**SHRI BHIKURAM JAIN :** Sir, I have hardly spoken for seven minutes.

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :** Sir, he has spoken only for five minutes so far and he will take five minutes more.

**SHRI BHIKU RAM JAIN :** Sir, most of the time I was haggled by this gentleman. He is an expert in finance. Sir, he says he is keeping quiet, but still he is talking.

Sir, much has been talked about black-money in India in this House and at all other forums. This so-called black money I would say has created a parallel economy. This has started from 1945 onwards. This has taken place because of various control measures, extra taxation and other things, on which I don't want to speak now. But the major reason for parallel economy or black-money is the Sales-tax. There has been a talk that five items are going to be removed from the list of Sales-tax and that there would be an additional excise duty. I don't know why there is no mention about this in the Budget figures because there is no revenue income out of that additional excise duty, nor is there any disbursement to the States. Naturally, the States are anxious and rightly they are that whatever money they are getting through sales-tax should be compensated or re-imbursed to them. Otherwise their economy is in danger because their income is 57% out of the Sales-tax. The sales tax is an obnoxious levy. It is degrading the entire system in India. And I think the corruption is not at the level of the payer and the payee. I have yet to see any officer or an employee of the Sales-tax who is honest or any trader dealing with them is honest. So, it is responsible for the degradation of the national character. Therefore, one day or the other we have got to take a decision that Sales-tax should be abolished from the country altogether. I don't want to suggest that the amount of Sales-tax, which is about Rs. 3,000 crores in a year should be left over. I feel more than Rs. 3,000 crores may be collected. Let it be Rs. 4,000 or Rs. 5,000 crores, but not through the system of Sales-tax. I can cite examples where even the Commis-

sioners or officers of the Sales Tax go to the trader and say why make the Cash Memo or a bill for the purpose? Avoid Sales-tax. Similarly there are other people who do it. A person like me may like to do it because after all it is a human factor. I wish to congratulate the Prime Minister in this connection. She has taken keen interest. She invited the Chief Ministers of various States. Barring four, all the rest have agreed. And I request the Hon. Members in this House irrespective of their party affiliations, that if they agree that this sales-tax is responsible for the entire national decay of character.....

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY ;** Agreed.

**SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY :** Not agreed.

**SHRI BHIKU RAM JAIN :** I know they don't agree, because this is a matter.....

**SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY :** Because it is the right of the States.

**SHRI BHIKU RAM JAIN :** It is not the right of the States alone, but it is the patronage that the States have and it is squeezing the man for various other purposes. If it continues, I know it for certain that the Sales-tax is used and will continue to be used as a weapon for squeezing the man. It is my personal knowledge that all this is responsible for the degradation of the character in this country. I may, therefore, very respectfully submit to the Finance Minister that whatever efforts he is making, he should make it a little more to do away with this.

Sir, Now I have to say something about Delhi only for a minute.

**SHRI SATISH AGARWAL :**  
You have got 90% support. The Congress (I) wants abolition; the Janata Party wants abolition; B.J.P. wants abolition; Lok Dal wants abolition. What else do you want?

**SHRI BHIKU RAM JAIN :**  
Mr. Finance Minister, what a great revelation. If all the parties want it, barring CPIM, will you take a note of it?

I represent Delhi. For Delhi, the Plan outlay is Rs. 200 crores; and somehow you have given Delhi a special position. It is without any legislature, and without any public representation, except the Metropolitan Council or the Corporation.

I am not talking politics. I am speaking about administrative matters. Unless Delhi is fed with sufficient money, because it does not have popular representation, it will not have any money for development.

**SHRI SATISH AGARWAL :** Why don't you plead for elections in Delhi, then?

**SHRI BHIKU RAM JAIN :**  
Elections is not the subject under discussion to-day and you know even the Metropolitan Council does not make its own budget, and it does not have powers to raise any more tax or funds. Election or no election, Delhi has not been given any power to have its own economy. So, Delhi's case is one of special responsibility of the Centre, i. e. to see that Delhi is properly fed. I suggest that Rs. 200 crores of capital outlay is not sufficient at all.

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :**  
You add Rs. 2,000 crores of Asiad.

**SHRI BHIKU RAM JAIN :**  
Asiad is not a Delhi matter. Tomorrow you will say that this House is Delhi. No doubt we are proud to have this House in Delhi, but it is a different matter. My suggestion is that with the slums still existing in the walled city and supplies of water and electricity being defective—so also the roads, all for want of money, a little more of outlay is necessary. The Finance Minister, I hope, will take care of this.

There was a suggestion for having Delhi as a dry port. The North Indian traders have to go to Bombay and Calcutta, because of there being no facilities for import and export here. You know the affairs in Calcutta. The men in the port will have to be given 101 *salaams* and money will have to be spent. In Bombay also, the expenditure is very heavy—for clearance of matters at the port. The question of making Delhi a dry port for the benefit of the whole of North India, is hanging fire for about 15 years. And Delhi's handicrafts and industries are suffering for lack of a dry port here. So, some steps for making Delhi a dry port should have been taken. I, therefore, submit that this matter should now be taken up.

**SHRI LAKSHMAN MALLICK** (Jagatsinghpur) : Sir, I rise to support the Budget. It is the second Budget presented since the present Government came to power. There has been a very favourable public response to the measures in the current Budget. This is also the first Budget presented by our present Finance Minister. He will be congratulated for presenting a Budget which has a far-reaching significance.

The present Budget has a very special significance. I take this opportunity to congratulate our honourable and beloved Prime Minister for introducing, and for having announced, the new 20 point programme on 14th January 1982. The

[Shri Lakshman Mallick]

first set of 20 point programme was introduced in 1975. Despite the setback received and despite the Congress Government going out of power some substantial achievements and progress have been made under the original 20-point programme.

The new 20-point programme takes into account all these aspects and sets out for a new set of achievements. As the Prime Minister has said while announcing the new 20-point programme, our economy is on the move; and it is in our hands to maintain the improvements made and to lighten the burden on the millions. This is a blessing to the millions who are living below the poverty line in our country.

It is heartening that the present Budget takes into account the new 20-point programme and has made provisions accordingly.

When we look at the Budget, we find that it breeds a spirit of social change...

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY:** There is no quorum, Sir. How can we continue discussion on such an important matter, without quorum?

**MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** There is no quorum. Let the quorum bell be rung.

There is quorum in the House now. The Hon. Member may continue his speech.

**SHRI LAKSHMAN MALLICK :** When we look into the Budget, we find that it breeds a spirit of social change and reflects an honest desire for bestowing benefits to the weaker sections of the society.

I would not like to deal much with the basic policies of the Budget. In the economic sphere, the world is passing through very difficult days. Inflation and rising prices have been

an international problem. The growth that is being projected is also not uniform.

The gap in the regional imbalances is growing. It is not only in between one State and other but in between one class and other. Every day economic gap is widening which generates discontent among the people I would urge upon the House to support the Government for their effective measures for equitable growth of the social order.

I am glad priority has been given for welfare of the weaker sections specially SC & ST. The SC Component Plan and ST Sub-Plans are on progress in different States. Both these plans are meant for the economic upliftment of the weaker sections in the rural areas. I have to say a word with regard to the social security of Harijans. Reports have been coming from the various States that atrocities on Harijans are going on and they are being killed. It is a matter of great regret for us; it is also shameful for us that this type of incident is happening or is being experienced now-a-days when we have already passed 34 years of our independence. Members of the poor families and Harijans are being killed. I do not blame any particular party or any organisation who may be held responsible for their murders. But it is the joint responsibility for us to protect these depressed classes of citizens of our society. The Government of India should take immediate steps for providing them proper security. Separate security forces should be created for their protection. If necessary, they should be recruited among the Harijans and should be posted in the villages of Harijans.

These scheduled caste people are very poor; their unstable financial condition is breaking their moral strength. Some Harijans families have fallen the victims of exploiters. They have been forced to change their religion. They must be protected from forceful conversion.



As the Finance Minister has himself pointed out, there have been substantial increases in irrigation, agriculture and rural development sectors with regard to provisions for 1982-83 as compared to the same for the year 1981-82.

15.28 hrs.

[SHRI HARINATHA MISRA *in the Chair*]

Highest priority has been given to increase the Plan outlay. The Central Plan represents an increase of 27.6 per cent over the plan outlay in 1981-82 Budget. This is indeed a very substantial increase and is expected to take care of the new programmes.

It is a matter of great pleasure that our Prime Minister has laid special emphasis on the power and agricultural sectors under her new 20-point economic programme. In the heavy industries sector, provisions have been made for Visakhapatnam and Vijay Nagar Steel Plant and also an outlay of Rs. 140 crores for Orissa Aluminium Projects. This is a very welcome move and as for as Orissa is concerned, this will benefit a backward area of Orissa having substantial tribal population.

As regards the land reforms, I would like to say that several measures have been taken, but the implementation of these measures is not being done properly. In some States land was distributed to Harijans, Adivasis and to other weaker sections also. But they have not developed that land due to their meagre financial condition. I suggest that central assistance should be provided for development of their lands like in case of house sites. The Agriculture Ministry may also look into the problem of the poor people who have been distributed land. The land has not yet been delivered to a considerable section of these people. Complaints have been received that well-to-do people are

preventing the peaceful possession of those lands to those poor people. Even the landlords and big tenants are harassing the poor people who are unable to go to law courts. The administrative machinery should be streamlined to help these poor people to prevent them from harassment.

It has also been reported that the settlement authorities and consolidation authorities are not taking care of the interests of these poor people. The Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people are not getting their percentage of quota in fair price shops and in other Government commercial small concerns I am glad that substantial achievements have been made in the field of agriculture, Irrigation, Power, Family Planning, IRDP, NREP, R.E. and other rural sectors. People who are now living below the poverty line will be benefited by these programmes. But I am sorry to say that the funds allotted for these programmes are not being properly utilised. There is no special machinery at the lower levels even at the block level, to supervise or review these programmes. I urge upon the Government to take care of these aspects and direct the State Government to take proper action.

Our Prime Minister has been laying emphasis on conservation of forests. But unfortunately felling of trees is still going on in some States. The Centre should direct the State Governments to take severe action against the persons indulging in the felling of trees. Planting of trees should be taken up seriously and central assistance should be enhanced and provided to all States for this purpose.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You may kindly conclude now.

SHRI LAKSHMAN MALLICK: I will take one or two minutes more. So far as the new taxation measures are concerned, they also duly take into account the needs of the common

[**Shri Lakshman Mallick**]

man. There has been no increases in auxiliary duty on essential items like crude, petrol, kerosine, diesel oil, etc. Fertilizers like ammonium nitrate and ammonium sulphate have been fully exempted from customs duty. This will go a long way in the development in the agriculture sector. Several articles of common consumption which are of interest to the student community have been exempted from excise duty. All these will go to help in achieving the objectives of the 20-point programme.

While on this subject, I may mention some points relating to my State and my constituency. The railway budget has already been presented. So far as Orissa is concerned, we are happy to note that some provision has been made for the Baspani-Jakkepura and Koraput-Rayagada railway lines. However, the other major demand which is growing in Orissa is for the Talchar-Sambalpur railway link and this has not been taken care of.

You know, Sir, that Paradeep port is an important port of our country. The foundation-stone for this port was laid by Pandit Jawharlal Nehru in January, 1963 with a Master Plan. Though two decades have passed, most of the works in the Master Plan have not been implemented at Paradeep. I demand that the Government of India should carefully examine the various problems of Paradeep port.

Lastly, I welcome the decision of the Government of India to set up a port-based steel plant at Paradeep in the sixth plan. This decision should be implemented in the current financial year.

**SHRI GEORGE JOSEPH MUNDACKAL** (Muvattupuzha): Sir, I belong to a regional party and I would like to say a few words. The plan allotment to Kerala is very small. Kerala is

completely isolated in the development of industries and railways. About import and export also we are completely neglected. For agriculture, the funds allotted to Kerala are negligible. Our agricultural economy is completely damaged. For the Coconut Board and other Boards, the allotment is very small. We are giving great importance to cash crops, but in the budget, the amount given is very low. No new railway lines have been taken up in Kerala. We are far away from Delhi. Kerala is the only State having surplus electricity, but there is no proposal for the electrification of any railway line there. Kerala is the most populated State in India, but still there is no proposals for doubling of any railway line in Kerala. I request the Finance Minister to give more allotment to Kerala for the railway development.

We are exporting manpower to other parts of the world and earning a lot of foreign exchange. But unfortunately, our State is completely neglected in the matter of industries. In the public sector no industry is started in our State. There is no body to process the cocoa which is produced on a large scale in Kerala. If the Central Government takes interest in erecting a cocoa factory in Kerala, it will be of great help to our poor farmers. No factory is proposed in the public sector in Kerala.

The agricultural economy of Kerala is completely damaged because of unrestricted import of cocoanut oil copra, rubber cocoa, nutmeg, gloves and other agricultural products. If this continues, the future of Kerala is not bright. Kerala is far away from Delhi and it is completely neglected by the Central Government. I request the Finance Minister to provide more funds to us and to restrict the import of these agricultural commodities, Kerala, with its tropical climate can produce crops which

cannot be produced in North India. So, I request the Finance Minister to allot more funds to us and to restrict the imports of agricultural commodities. Coconut oil which was once the costliest oil, now its price has fallen because of its being imported and our cultivators are suffering. More than 3 million Kerala farmers are cultivating coconut. I request the Minister to take a lenient view and start more factories, start more railway lines in Kerala and at the same time restrict the import of agricultural commodities. We are far away from Delhi. In Punjab there is the Khalistan movement. In Assam also there is a movement going on.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You say you are far away from Delhi. If you go to the Secretariat here, you will find the number of Keralites is out of all proportions.

SHRI GEORGE JOSEPH MUNDACKAL : That is because we have got more education. That is why our people are working not only in Delhi but in foreign countries also.

MR. CHAIRMAN : When you were saying that you were surplus in electricity, I wanted to observe that you have surplus skilled manpower also which is being exported to other countries.

SHRI M. M. LAWRENCE (Idukki) : We have no heavy industries. So, we cannot use all the power we are producing.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I only wanted to enthuse you.

SHRI GEORGE JOSEPH MUNDACKAL : Unfortunately, our share in public sector industries is very low and negligible; You are importing all our Cash crop products. That is why the agricultural economy of Kerala

is completely demaged. If you are going on like this, we also will have to launch some agitation against the Central Government. For the sake of the unity of India, I humbly request you to give more consideration to the poor people of Kerala.

श्री मूलचन्द डागा (पाली) : सभापति महोदय, समता, स्वतंत्रता, न्याय और बंधुता के आदर्शों पर हमारे गणतंत्र की नींव रखी गई थी। यह सोचा गया था कि यहां पर एक शोषण-विहीन और श्रेणी-विहीन समाज बनेगा, सच्चे मायनों में हर इन्सान की हुकूमत हो जाएगी और बजट बनाने में केवल हमारे वित्त मंत्री का ही हाथ नहीं होगा, बल्कि देश के 70 करोड़ लोगों का हाथ होगा। बजट से तभी कोई लाभ हो सकता है, जबकि देश के 70 करोड़ लोगों के अग्रमानों को उसमें लाया जाए। आज स्थिति यह है कि एक तरफ ऐश्वर्य के सब साधन उपलब्ध हैं और दूसरी तरफ अनाज के एक ग्रास के लिए तरसता हुआ इन्सान है। एक तरफ विशाल पैमाने पर गरीबी है और दूसरी तरफ काले धन का अंबार है।

सभापति महोदय : आप गद्य में पद्य का समावेश कर रहे हैं।

श्री मूलचन्द डागा : मैं आपके पदचिन्हों पर चल रहा हूं।

इस विषयता में कमी नहीं हो पाई है। भले ही हमारी राष्ट्रीय आय कुछ बढ़ गई, हमारा ग्रास नैशनल प्राडक्ट कुछ बढ़ गया, परन्तु हुआ क्या उसका? ज्यादा खर्च अनुत्पादक कामों में हुआ और हमारा खर्च बढ़ गया। प्रशासन का खर्च बढ़ गया लेकिन उसकी तुलना में हम अपना विकास नहीं कर पाये।

The combined revenue and capital expenditure of the Central Government has increased enormously from

[श्री मूलचन्द डागा]

Rs. 1896 crores in 1960-61 to Rs. 5673 crores in 1970-71 and further to Rs. 22,808 crores in 1980-81. In a period of two decades the Central Government's expenditure went up 12 times, and as a percentage of GNP from 13 per cent to 18.7 per cent. In 1981-82, the expenditure is estimated to reach Rs. 24,871 crores. Inevitably, the result has been deficit financing.

इस प्रकार से यह ओवर ड्राफ्ट क्यों बढ़ते हैं? जितना धन अर्जित कर सकते उससे अधिक खर्च कर देते हैं और इस तरह से ओवर ड्राफ्ट हो जाता है। आज तमाम राज्यों ने ओवर ड्राफ्ट किए हुए हैं। सीमित साधनों में राज्य अपने को चला नहीं सकते इस लिए ओवर ड्राफ्ट होते हैं।

यह इतने बड़े-बड़े बजट हमारे सामने पेश किए जाते हैं लेकिन इसके बाद हम क्या देखते हैं? हम देखते हैं कि बेकारी और महंगाई तेजी के साथ बढ़ रही है और गरीब आदमी उसमें पिस रहा है। हम देखते हैं कि गरीब आदमी की भौंपड़ी में ज्यादा सूराख हो गए हैं और धनवान की इमारत और ज्यादा मजबूत हो गई है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस बजट के पीछे जो आपकी नीति है उसमें केवल जोड़-बाकी का ही सवाल नहीं है। इसमें केवल आंकड़े की ही बात नहीं है जोकि एअरकण्डिशनड कमरों में बैठ कर बना दिए जाते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ आपको जमीन पर उतर कर देखना चाहिए कि क्या हालत हो रही है।

मैंने एक क्वेश्चन किया था कि देश में बेकारी किस प्रकार बढ़ रही है तो उसका जो उत्तर दिया गया, यानी जो सरकार की फीगर्स हैं, वह मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ। सरकार के लाइव रजिस्टर के हिसाब से 1980 में 1 करोड़ 43 लाख लोग बेकार थे। एक साल के बाद यह फिगर 1 करोड़

52 लाख पर पहुँच गई। यह तो जनवरी तक हुई और उसके बाद जून में यह फीगर 1 करोड़ 55 लाख हो गई। यह तो जो सरकारी आंकड़े हैं उनके हिसाब से यह फिगर है लेकिन वास्तव में देश में जो बेकारी बढ़ी है वह एक अभिशाप है। आज देश की जो मैन-पावर है, जोकि इस देश की दौलत है, वह वेस्ट हो रही है। तो इस प्रकार की जो विषम समस्या हमारे देश के सामने है, उसके लिए हम क्या करने जा रहे हैं?

फिर भी मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप बहुत अच्छी-अच्छी बातें कहते हैं कि हम कल्याणकारी राज्य की स्थापना करना चाहते हैं, आप बड़े अच्छे स्वप्न दिखाते हैं। आप कल्याणकारी राज्य में ज्यादा लोगों के हितों के लिए काम करना चाहते हैं और इसके लिए आप गरीब लोगों का नाम लेते हैं। गरीब लोगों का नाम लेना अपराध है अगर बार-बार उनका नाम लेकर उसकी आड़ में उनके लिए कोई काम न किया जाए। आज मुझे पता नहीं लड़ाख में लोग क्यों खड़े हो गए हैं लेकिन जहाँ तक मैं समझता हूँ इसका कारण है आर्थिक विषमता और उनकी दयनीय आर्थिक हालत।

काश्मीर में राज करने वाले लोगों को उन्होंने सैकेंड सिटीजन समझा। भारखण्ड में लोग क्यों खड़े हुए, हरिजनों पर अत्याचार क्यों होने लगा है — इन कारणों में हमें बहुत गहराई से जाना होगा। इन सब परिस्थितियों को देखते हुए, देश में एक दिन आन्दोलन होगा और क्रान्ति आएगी।

श्री चित्त बसू : आप उसमें शामिल होंगे ?

श्री मूलचन्द डागा : मैं क्या होऊंगा दुनिया शामिल होगी। कोई उससे बच नहीं

सकता है। दलदल में हाथी नहीं चल सकता है। दल-दल में हाथी फंस जाएगा, चाहे कितना ही मोटा हाथी क्यों न हो। मैं या आप उससे बच नहीं सकते हैं। हमें, जो यह विशाल पैमाने पर फँसी हुई आवाजें हैं, उनको देखना चाहिए। मैं पिछले दिनों एक आर्टिकल पढ़ रहा था, जिसमें लिखा हुआ है कि —

“How to curb embezzlement of welfare funds. The Union Government has appointed a high power body to check whether the various fisical benefits meant for weaker sections are really reaching them..... the criticism is that crores of rupees meant for the poor have already been siphoned off by the cheats....”

He gave instances of a large number of cases that are still pending in the courts. Hundreds of accused officials have already been convicted. The investigation has revealed that an aggregate sum of Rs. 11 crores has been embezzled and indeed nearly Rs. 3 crores has only been recovered. So is the case of Punjab.”

यह किसी को पता नहीं है कि दौलत किस प्रकार कहां जाती है। केन्द्रीय सरकार किसी भी कार्यक्रम में यदि एक रुपया भी लगाती है, तो तीन आने भी देश के किसानों के पास नहीं पहुँच पाता है। लेकिन सरकार आंकड़े प्रस्तुत कर देती है। पंजाब के अन्दर

“He has added that the main amount has gone to big landlords and some influential persons.”

हमने बड़े-बड़े काश्तकारों की बात की, छोटे काश्तकारों की बात की, लैंड फार्मर्स की बात की। हम लोग बातें कर रहे थे कि इस देश में जमाखोरी, काला-बाजार करने वाले लोग राज करेंगे। इन भ्रष्ट लोगों को निकटतम लैम्पपोस्ट पर टांग दिया जाएगा।

सभापति महोदय : अहिंसात्मक रूप से।

श्री मूलचन्द डागा : आप बिहार की भूमि से आए हैं। वहां बड़े-बड़े क्रान्तिकारी पैदा हुए हैं। जब मैं पढ़ता था, तो हम लोग श्री नेहरू और श्री सुभाष के मुँह से सुनते थे कि इस देश में लोग काला बाजार और मुनाफाखोरी करेंगे। आज लोग कहने लगे हैं कि —corruption is a world-wide phenomenon.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Corruption is a universal phenomenon.

श्री मूलचन्द डागा : आप बताइए, इस प्रकार यह कैसे अच्छा समाज बनेगा जिस समाज में नासूर लग गया है, रोग लग गया है — यह मुझे मालूम नहीं है।

बजट क्या है — पैसे की भाषा में हम अपनी नीति लिखते हैं। तीन-तीन बड़े-बड़े मंत्री यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं, जोकि बजट का अध्ययन करते हैं और बड़ी बारिकी से लिखते हैं। मैं इनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि यहां बैठकर बजट के बारे में मत लिखिए, गांवों में जाकर इस बजट को देखकर लिखिए। बजट लिखने का यह तरीका नहीं है—

सभापति महोदय : गांव में बिजली नहीं मिलेगी।

श्री मूलचन्द डागा : बिजली की जरूरत नहीं है, वहां तो अन्धे मिलेंगे। एक साल में 90 हजार लोग अन्धे हो जाते हैं, इसलिये कि उनको 2400 कैलोरीज के मुताबिक खाना नहीं मिलता है। वहां उनका शोषण किया जाता है, उनका शोषण कर के इमारत खड़ी की जाती है और वे शोषण करने वाले आगे बढ़ते हैं।

[श्री मूलचन्द डागा]

इनकी सारी मशीनरी का खर्च कितना है, जरा उसको भी समझ लीजिये। इनके ही अंकड़ों से मुझे मालूम हुआ है — 1979-80 में इनकी तनख्वाहें चुकाने पर 12,047 करोड़ रुपया खर्च हुआ। 1980-81 में 13,310 करोड़ रुपया खर्च हुआ। इतना ही नहीं 72 करोड़ रुपया ओवर-टाइम पर खर्च हुआ। ज्यों-ज्यों दवा की, मर्ज बढ़ता गया। जब श्री सी० सुब्रह्मय्यम यहां पर फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर थे मैंने उनसे भी इस के लिए कहा था। उन्होंने कहा — डागा साहब, मैं ओवर टाइम एलाउन्स को खत्म करके छोड़ूंगा, वह ओवर-टाइम एलाउन्स आज 72 करोड़ रुपये पर पहुँच गया है। ये लोग आफिसिज में क्या काम करते हैं — आप सब जानते हैं। हमारी प्रधान मंत्री, मैडम इन्दिरा गांधी खुद कहती हैं — इस मुल्क की क्या हालत है —

“PM to revamp Bureaucracy”.

उनसे पहले नेहरू जी ने भी कहा था —

“Pandit Nehru described the un-planned growth of Bureaucracy as an administrative jungle.”

इस जंगल में ये घूमते हैं, कहीं आप भी न फंस जायें, सांप बिच्छू काट जायेंगे। कोई मजबूती से कदम उठाना नहीं चाहता, वही घिसा-पिटा काम चलता रहता है\*\*\*

सभापति महोदय : आप समस्या का हल बतलाइये।

श्री मूल चन्द डागा : समस्या का हल है—If you have a will, you can do it.

अगर आप की इच्छा मजबूत है तो सफलता मिल सकती है। आपका निश्चय यदि दृढ़ है तो कार्य होता है।

सभापति महोदय : (श्री हरिनाथ मिश्र)  
आप का निश्चय तो दृढ़ है।

श्री मूलचण्ड डागा : मेरा तो पूरा दृढ़ है। श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी कहती हैं—

I quote below from *The Hindu* of 29th October, 1980 :

“The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who is quite concerned about the poor calibre of present-day bureaucracy, is wondering what could be done more immediately to revamp the administrative set-up for improving its performance, without shaking the banyan tree too hard and burdening herself with bigger problems.”

Like this a lot has been written on this.

मुझे दुख होता है, यह हालत इस मुल्क की है, जहाँ सारी मशीनरी की इतनी शाखायें फैल गई हैं। मिनिस्टर कहता है कि फाइल लाओ। जवाब आता है कि फाइल तो प्रोसेस से आयेगी। मिनिस्टर को भी मालूम नहीं है कि कहां क्या हो रहा है।

सभापति महोदय : डागा साहब, आप व्यूरोक्रेसी के खिलाफ बोल रहे हैं या मिनिस्टर के खिलाफ बोल रहे हैं ?

श्री मूलचन्द डागा : आप दोनों को समझ लीजिए। जो मतलब चाहें निकाल लीजिए। एक बात कह दूँ मिनिस्टरों को और जन-प्रतिनिधियों को भी, मैं सबके लिए ऐसा नहीं कहता, कि सरकारी मशीनरी जो है, वह एक बैसाखी सी बन गई है और जब ये बैसाखी बन जाते हैं तो ये लोग विकलांग बन जाते हैं और जो काम ये ले सकते हैं वह नहीं ले पाते। ऊपर से तैयार की हुई चीज आ गई और यहां पर स्टेटमेंट दे

दिया। इसी कारण मैं आप को बताऊं कि मैंने प्रश्न पूछे थे कि ब्लैक-मार्केटिंग को कैसे हटाया जा सकता है और इसके लिए मैंने 10 क्वेश्चन किए लेकिन जवाब वही का वही।

The same reply comes.

16 hrs,

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE  
(New Delhi): Do you expect different reply ?

SHRI MOOL CHAND DAGA :  
I want reply that such and such measures are being taken and we have achieved the object.

जब सवाल पूछते हैं, जो जवाब अलग-अलग सवालों का ऐसे दिया जाता है कि पेड़ जरूर बढ़ेगा, पौधा बढ़ेगा या फिर पौधा तैयार हो जायेगा। इस तरह के आन्सर देने से काम कब तक चलेगा और काम नहीं हो पाएगा। काला धन निकालने के लिए मैंने कहा था कि अगर इच्छा हो, तो यह निकल सकता है लेकिन इनका जवाब दिया जाता है। आप अगर उनको सुनेंगे, आप बड़े अच्छे लोग हैं, तो यह पाएंगे कि एक पेटेन्ट जवाब है। सेक्रेटरी लिख देता है और स्टीरियो टाइप जवाब वह होता है। अपने हर बयान में वे उसी जवाब को दे देते हैं। मैं कभी उसको पढ़ता हूँ, तो ऐसा मालूम होता है कि ये मन्त्री लोग कितनी मेहनत करते हैं और कितनी मेहनत इनकी सरकारी मशीनरी करती है? मुझे यह सब देख कर बड़ा आश्चर्य होता है।

सभापति महोदय : खट्टे मीठे, दोनों का मिश्रण है।

श्री मूलचन्द डागा : श्री सतीश चन्द्र अग्रवाल, जब वे जनता पार्टी में मिनिस्टर थे, उन्होंने जो रेप्लाई दिया था, वही अब भी चलता गया है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : जब सवाल वही होगा, तो जवाब दूसरा कैसे होगा ?

श्री मूलचन्द डागा : जी, हाँ। मैं यह पूछूँ कि अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी, आज आप की उम्र कितनी है, तो आप कहेंगे कि इतनी उम्र है। 5 महीने के बाद पूछूँ, तो भी यही कहेंगे कि इतनी उम्र है और 10 साल के बाद पूछूँ, तो भी वही उम्र होगी। क्या ऐसा हो सकता है। प्रश्न किया गया था कि काले धन को हटाने के लिए क्या किया, तो जवाब यह दिया गया था :

“Both the laws as well as the machinery of tax administration have been strengthened in recent years to unearth black money and bring tax evaders to book.”

श्री चित्त बसु : यह किस का जवाब है ?

श्री मूलचन्द डागा : यह श्री सतीश चन्द्र अग्रवाल का जवाब है। इस के बाद श्री मगनभाई बरोट ने यह जवाब दिया था :

“Stringent measures are being taken.”

सभापति महोदय : अग्रवाल साहब ने कब जवाब दिया था और बरोट साहब ने कब जवाब दिया था ?

श्री मूलचन्द डागा : बरोट साहब ने 1980 में जवाब दिया था और अग्रवाल साहब ने 1979 में जवाब दिया था और इस के बाद 1981 के अन्दर श्री वेंकटरामन ने यह जवाब दिया :

“The Government proposes to curb the growth of black money through more effective implementation of tax laws.”

[श्री मूलचन्द डागा]

इस तरह से आप देखें कि किस तरह के जवाब दिये गये हैं। जोर-जोर से आवाज करते हैं कि ब्लैक-मार्केटिंग को खत्म कर देंगे और एसैशियल कामोडिटीज एक्ट के अन्तर्गत ऐसे लोगों को जेल में ठूस देंगे लेकिन चार साल के बाद, दो साल के बाद जब सवाल किया जाता है तो कह दिया जाता है—it is a State subject.

ब्लैक मार्केटिंग को कर्ब करने का काम किस का है। काला धन हमारे देश के लिए अभिशाप बन रहा है, यह देश के लिए कलंक है। यह जो ब्लैक मार्केटिंग बढ़ रही है, इस के कारण क्या हैं, ये मैं बताने की कोशिश करूंगा।

श्री मोतीभाई आर० चौधरी (मेहसाना) : छिपाना मत ?

श्री मूलचन्द डागा : मैंने छिपाना सीखा नहीं है। आर्टिकल 19 संविधान की है।

सच्ची बात छिपा कर आदमी जिन्दा नहीं रह सकता। मैं अपने मन की बात को छिपाऊंगा, तो मेरा मन क्या गवाही देगा। मैं किसी बात को छिपाना नहीं जानता।

आदरणीय मंत्री जी एक तो आपकी इनकम टैक्स की समरी असेसमेंट स्कीम है।

सभापति महोदय : आप कौन से मंत्री जी के बारे में कह रहे हैं ?

श्री मूलचन्द डागा : सभी का इस से सम्बन्ध है। इसलिए यह जरूरी नहीं है कि मैं किसी मंत्री का नाम बताऊं।

समरी असेसमेंट स्कीम के अन्तर्गत एक लाख रुपये तक जिसकी आमदनी होगी, उसका हिसाब नहीं देखा जाएगा। ऐसा क्यों है ? इस स्कीम के अन्तर्गत हजारों-

लाखों टेक्स इवेजन करते हैं, बेईमानी का धंधा करते हैं। किसी के नाम बिल्टी कटवा देते हैं। इस तरह से बहुत सारा टेक्स इवेजन इस स्कीम के नीचे होता है।

इसी तरह से आपका लेण्ड एक्वीजिशन एक्ट है। उसमें भी बड़ा भारी धंधा हो रहा है। वास्तव में कोई प्रापर्टी तीन लाख की है, लेकिन उसे 50 हजार रुपये का बेचा दिखाया जाता है। क्या आप यह बतायेंगे कि आपने इस एक्ट के बनने के बाद कितनी प्रापर्टी एक्वायर की है ? आपने इस एक्ट में कौन-कौन सी प्रापर्टी अक्वायर कर ली है ? मैंने आपको कहा था कि यदि किसी मकान का वेल्युएशन करना है तो उस मकान को आक्शन पर चढ़ा दो। आपने कहा कि हम सी० पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० के इंजीनियर लगायेंगे जो उसका वेल्युएशन करेंगे। वे उसका वेल्युएशन अपने घर में कर देंगे। य जो ठेकेदार हमारे गुनाब के फूल हैं ये उनके फूलों पर बैठते हैं और उनसे मधु लेते हैं। मंत्री जी ने क्या किया ? उनको इस काम के लिए लगा दिया।

जब आपको समरी असेसमेंट से कोई लाभ नहीं होता है तो आपने रेड करनी शुरू कर दीं। रेड के बारे में भी मैंने प्रश्न पूछा था कि कितनी प्रापर्टी रेड के वाद जप्त की गयी। किसी की रेड होने के बाद आपके पास पुलिस का इंतजाम नहीं है। आपको मालूम है कि इनके इनकम टेक्स अधिकारी कश्मीर में मार खा कर आये। उनके साथ जबलपुर में क्या हुआ ? मेरे राज्य में क्या हुआ ? मेरे राज्य राजस्थान में इनकम टेक्स अफसर रेड करने गए। वहां उनकी आंखों में मिरचें डाल दी गयीं। अब वे बिचारे क्या करें ? जब आपका इनकम टेक्स डिपार्ट-मेंट इस तरह की कार्यवाही करता है तो उसके साथ ऐसा होता है।



**सभापति महोदय :** आप तो कागजात के जंगल में खो गए हैं ।

**श्री मूलचन्द डागा :** मैंने इनसे एक क्वेश्चन किया था कि आप यह बता दें कि रेड के अन्दर कितने टेक्स इवेजन का आपको पता चला । मैंने इनसे यह भी कहा था कि आप केवल दो काम कर दें । एक तो यह कि आपका पब्लिक सेक्टर में बीस हजार करोड़ रुपया लगा हुआ है । अगर उसमें से आपका दस परसेंट भी रिटर्न होता है तो आपको दो हजार करोड़ रुपया सालाना मिलता है । आपका पब्लिक सेक्टर कोई काम नहीं करता है । उसमें जो बीस हजार करोड़ रुपये की पूंजी लगी है उसका आप क्या करेंगे ?

मेरे यहां एक खेतड़ी प्रोजेक्ट राजस्थान में है । वह ताम्बे का प्राजेक्ट है ।

This is Eighteenth Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings (Seventh Lok Sabha) :

“After examining the project, it does not come as a surprise to the committee that the Khetri Project has suffered an accumulative loss of Rs. 71.86 crores from 1972-73 to 1979-80.”

एक खेतड़ी प्रोजेक्ट के अंदर 78 करोड़ का घाटा है ।

**सभापति महोदय :** क्या मेन्युफेक्चर होता है वहां पर ?

**श्री मूल चन्द डागा :** तांबे का काम होता है । इसमें इतना घाटा है, अगर आप सारे डिटेल्स देखेंगे तो पता चलेगा ।

**सभापति महोदय :** सारे डीटेल में मत जाइए, अब कुछ समय पर भी ध्यान दीजिए । (ध्यान)

**श्री मूलचन्द डागा :** मैंने देखा है कि किस प्रकार से खर्चा होता है । एन. डी. एम. सी. के अंदर देखिए कि किस तरह से काम होता है और उनका परिणाम क्या निकलता है ।

मैं टैक्सेशन के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ । इसमें देखिए 1979 में एसेसमेंट के लिए केसेस थे 81892, इनमें से 38030 का डिस्पोजल हुआ और 43862 बैलेंस बचे । इससे पता चलता है कि इन्कम टैक्स के केसेस का किस तरह से डिस्पोजल होता है । 1980 में भी 46.43 प्रतिशत केसेस का डिस्पोजल नहीं किया जा सका ।

इसी तरह से देखिए कि 5 लाख से ऊपर के जो केसेस होते हैं, उनके बारे में क्या स्थिति है । 1970 में इस तरह के 8649 केसेस थे, डिस्पोज किए गए 3281 और बैलेंस हैं 5368 मतलब यह है कि 37.93 परसेंट केसेस का डिस्पोजल किया गया । 1980-81 में डिस्पोजल केवल 38 परसेंट है । इन 5 लाख से ऊपर के केसेस का डिस्पोजल क्यों नहीं हुआ, इसको आप देखिए । 31 जुलाई तक उन्हें अपना रिटर्न पेश करना होता है, लेकिन वे समय ले-लेकर मार्च तक आ जाते हैं और मार्च आने के बाद फिर कहते हैं कि जल्दी से एसेसमेंट कर दो । इसके बाद केस फिर रीओपन करना पड़ता है और 2-2 साल तक चलता रहता है । ये सारी कमेटी की रिपोर्ट्स हैं ।

इसी तरह से वैल्थ टैक्स को ले लीजिए । किस प्रकार से हम एसेसमेंट करते हैं और किस प्रकार से मुकदमे तय होते हैं । एस्टेट ड्यूटी को ले लीजिए । सारी स्थिति देखने से जाहिर है कि लाखों करोड़ों रुपया लोगों के ऊपर बकाया है । कंपनीज

[श्री मूल चन्द डागा]

को आप देख लीजिए कि कितना टैक्स उन्होंने चुकाया है। कहा जाता है कि एडवांस पेमेंट कर दिया गया है, क्या एडवांस पेमेंट कर दिया गया है? कम्पनी वाले सारे तरीके जानते हैं। उनका चालान कहां होता है—फर्स्ट क्लास मजिस्ट्रेट के पास और कम्पनी वाले इतने धनी होते हैं कि उस मजिस्ट्रेट पर हावी हो जाते हैं। टैक्स इवेशन बहुत होता है। हिन्दुस्तान में अच्छे-अच्छे वकील हैं। ये मदद करते हैं। हजारों लाखों लोग टैक्स नहीं देते हैं। अगर टैक्स इवेशन न हो और पब्लिक सैक्टर ठीक से काम करे तो आपको डिफिसिट बजट बनाना नहीं बनाना पड़ेगा। इंडायरेक्ट तरीके से आपको टैक्स नहीं लगाने पड़ेंगे, एक्साइज ड्यूटी इस तरह से नहीं लगानी पड़ेगी। ज्यादा इनका सहारा नहीं लेना पड़ेगा। सरकार को यह बड़ी भारी कमजोरी है कि वह इंडायरेक्ट टैक्स नहीं लगा रही है। हमीर लोग कहते हैं हमें रिबेट दिया जाए, डिवेलपमेंट फंड का पैसा दिया जाए, सबसिडी दी जाए। जितने फायदे उनको उठाने होते हैं उठा लेते हैं। सब चीजें बे डिक्टेट करते हैं। पूंजीपति, अष्ट अधिकारी और अष्ट राज नेताओं का एक अपवित्र गठबन्धन हो गया है। इसको सख्ती से तोड़ने की जरूरत है, इस पर हमला करने की जरूरत है। तभी यह टूट सकता है और काला धन बाहर आ सकता है। लेकिन यह हो नहीं रहा है। इसका कारण यह है कि उन्होंने अपनी लाबी बना रखी है। बहुत से आर्टिकल इसके बारे में छप चुके हैं।

This is an article :

“Bureaucrats and Politicians—  
Partners in Bending Rules”

इसके अन्दर लिखा गया है :—

“During the last three decades, the Indian bureaucracy has consciously established solid linkages with political leaders, big industrial houses and international agencies.”

इस आर्टिकल को पढ़ने से मालूम होता है कि किस प्रकार ये अफसरों के घरों में जाते हैं शादी ब्याहों के अवसर पर, त्योहारों के अवसर पर और उनको किस प्रकार से तोहफे देते हैं। नतीजा यह है कि बिजनेस-मैन की दौलत बढ़ती चली जा रही है। यह कहा जाता है कि बहुत ज्यादा टैक्स लगाए जा रहे हैं—

सभापति महोदय : अब आप समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री मूल चन्द डागा : मैं खत्म कर रहा हूं। यह जो टैक्स इवेशन है इसको आपको चैक करना चाहिए। पब्लिक सैक्टर अण्डर-टेकिंग ठीक से चले, इसको आपको देखना चाहिए। सस्ता कपड़ा बनाने वाले कारखानों को आप देखें। डे-टू-डे उनके अन्दर एक-एक महीने में पांच-पांच करोड़ का नुकसान हो रहा है। जिससे टैक्स लेना है वह आप ले नहीं सकते हैं। इस तरह से कैसे काम चल सकता है। मैंने कई मीटिंगों में देखा है। अभी भी इन्कम टैक्स आफिसर्स में फस्ट्रेशन है, प्रशान्ति है। सर्वोर्डिनेट लेजिस्लेशन कमेटी के जो मेरे प्रेडिसेन्सर थे उन्होंने कहा था कि इन्होंने ऐसे रूल बना रखे हैं कि आर्टिफिशियल तरीके से भेद किया जा सके। इसका नतीजा यह है कि निष्ठावान और ईमानदार आदमी काम नहीं कर सकता है। एक आदमी तो 23 साल के बाद कमिश्नर बनता है और एक दूसरा आदमी छः साल के बाद ही बना दिया

जाता है। उन लोगों की बात भी आपको सुननी चाहिए।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि समय को पहचान कर बजट आप बनाएं। लोकतांत्रिक समाजवाद हमने कायम करना है। समता, स्वतन्त्रता और ग्याय के आदर्शों को हमने अपनाया है। उन आदर्शों की नींव पर ही गांधी के सपनों का समाज हम बनाना चाहते हैं। इस सब को देखते हुए हम को मितव्ययता लानी होगी, सादगी लानी होगी। ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए कि पांच साल तो हम ऐश और आराम करें और गरीब अपनी भोंपड़ी में रोता रहे। बजट का दृष्टिकोण यह होना चाहिए कि उनसे लिया जाए जो देने की स्थिति में हो और इंडायरेक्ट टैक्सेशन ज्यादा न लगाया जाए। सेल्ज टैक्स और आकट्राय को हटाने के बारे में दस साल से चिन्तन हो रहा है। चिन्तन करते-करते कहीं और कूड़ा न हो जाए। आप कह देते हैं कि चुंगी कर माफ कर देंगे। अखबारों में इस आशय की खबरें दे दी जाती हैं। जो काम सरकार अपने प्रयास से नहीं कर सकती है उसको वह वार्ता से कर लेती है। जो सरकारें केवल बोलती हैं और करती कुछ नहीं, उससे काम नहीं बनता। ऐक्शनस स्पीक लाउडर दैन वड्स। लेकिन आपके यहां वड्स ज्यादा बोलते हैं। पता नहीं कब ऐक्शनस ज्यादा होंगे? इसलिये जो बजट बनना चाहिये उसमें हमारे 70 करोड़ लोगों का दृष्टिकोण प्रतिबिम्बित होना चाहिये।

**SHRI P. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU** (Chittoor) : Friends on the other side have taken the opportunity to criticised our Government and our Finance Minister. The reason is this. The elections are coming and, therefore, ....

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY:**  
Which elections ?

**SHRI P. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU :**  
State elections. Therefore, they want .

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :**  
Not Garhwal.

**SHRI P. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU : . .**  
to paint our Government as black as possible and, therefore, they are using all sorts of phrases without leaving anything just as Mr. Chitta Basu has done. They say that our Finance Minister and our Government are under pressure of foreign agencies and that is why, under conditionalities they have borrowed money from IMF. I would tell them that it is not under the pressure of any foreign agency but because of the requirements of the Sixth Five Year Plan and because of the direction given by our Prime Minister...

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :**  
Ho, ho,

**SHRI P. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU : ...**  
which has been formulated...

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :**  
Is that all that ?

**SHRI P. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU :**  
Dr. Swamy has not read the speech. Let me quote for his benefit. Here it is said—this is the message of the revised 20 point programme. The programme identifies the areas of special attention in which there must be no compromise on performance.

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :**  
Now I am convinced.

**SHRI P. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU :**  
Again the Finance Minister has said :

“In making sectoral allocations, I have tried to emphasise the

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programmes for the uplift of the Poor as enumerated in our 20-point Programme as well as the investment needs of the infrastructure sectors."

Then again he says :

"The revised 20-Point Programme calls for intensified effort in a number of areas, which are vital for the development of the economy and for the welfare of our people, especially the weaker sections of the society. Effective implementation of this programme will be a step forward towards the realisation of our goal of social justice. This will call for concerted effort at all levels. In 1982-83, higher outlays have been provided for several areas emphasised in the 20-Point Programme."

And he has given all the points here and how he has increased the investment. ....(*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER : The 20 points ?

SHRI P. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU : Have you not read it ?.....I will give you the pamphlet, you read it. But you will not read anything and you will not recognise any development programme or progress we are making. You want to criticise always. That is your programme. That is why you are not able to say anything. Therefore, what I say is : please read again what the Finance Minister has said. ....

MR. CHAIRMAN : The Hon. Member is speaking with the assumption that we all know what the revised 20-Point Programme is.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER (Durgapur) : We have a 36-point Programme.

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur) : He is reminding you of what the Finance Minister has said.

SHRI P. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU : Our government is determined to increase the area under irrigation and to create a potential of 3 million acres per year. Is it not necessary to invest money ? Without investment how will you increase the production ? And where will they get money for investment ? It should come either from our resources or from borrowing. If we want to borrow, where are we to go ? Should we not go to international agencies ? Are you against creation of international agencies ? The International Monetary Fund—is it an agency of USA ? Are we not on its governing body ? Are we not taking part in the discussions ? Are we not framing policies and advising them to help the third world ? If you accept that is it a fault for us to get loan from the IMF ? You cannot say that we are under the pressure of America.

All these thirty years I have been hearing them say that the Congress is under the pressure of American capitalism. Have they forgotten that we were also taking help from Russia ? Have they forgotten that Russia is also taking their help ?

PROF. N.G. RANGA : Russia is also taking their help.

SHRI P. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU : Have you forgotten that Tito had also taken help from America under the Marshal Plan and rehabilitated his country which was under the doldrums ?

Therefore, it is quite necessary for any country to get money or borrow money from any other country if there are no strings. You cannot prove that there are strings for the borrowings. If we are to borrow from Russia, do you mean to say that we are hamstrung with Russia ? You cannot say that. To our advantage, we borrow; to our advantage we go to them; to our advantage, we export and to our advantage, we import also. Therefore, we are always having the interests of our own country. You can

not therefore, say that we are under the hegemony of anybody. You know there is a rise in petrol and petroleum products. We have to bear Rs. 5,500 crores. That was what we had estimated. Is it not necessary for us to invest on rigs and other things to conduct research and also to get petrol and petroleum products in our country? You might remember that we were having imports of foodgrains to the extent of Rs. 3,000 crores from other countries. When Shrimati Indira Gandhi came to power, she brought green revolution in our country and we are now exporting ten lakhs tonnes of rice and also wheat to other countries. *(Interruptions)* Have you forgotten that under the Janata Government, we had to import sugar? Now we are exporting sugar and, therefore, we export other products also. *(Interruptions)*

What I am saying is that we are spending Rs. 5,000 crores on petrol and petroleum products. Our Government wants to reduce it. It is now estimated that it is going to be reduced by Rs. 2,000 crores this year and, if our efforts are made continuously towards that end then, there is a possibility of having self-reliance in this regard also within two or three years. That is the thrust of our Government. You cannot, therefore, say that our Finance Minister is wasting the money on these things.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER : The I. M. F. Loan is part and parcel of self-reliance.

SHRI P. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU : You may say anything and it is for you to say that. With regard to helping the poor people, they have now an integrated rural development. Government is financing the scheme for the purpose. Is it not necessary to help these people to go above the povertyline? Without giving them loans or subsidies or without giving them financial assistance, how

is it possible for the Government to develop them so as to enable them to go above the povertyline. You may laugh at it.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He is so much interested in you.

SHRI P. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU : Therefore, it is quite necessary for investing money on that.

With regard to social security for the poor people, the disabled and others, money is required and, therefore, I say that our Finance Minister has done well with regard to the apportionment and allocation of funds to various sectors which are needed for the development of our economy.

Sir, I want a slight revision in the 20-point programme which may be done in course of time. It is with regard to paying remunerative prices to the agriculturists for their produce. It is said that minimum wages have to be guaranteed to the agricultural labour. I agree that it must be done but it is not possible to pay minimum wages to the agricultural labour unless remunerative prices are prescribed for agricultural commodities because these wages have to be paid from the income that the agriculturists derive after selling their produce. Therefore, Sir, Agricultural Prices Commission must be given guidelines so that remunerative prices are fixed for agricultural commodities.

Now, Sir, I would like to speak about laying more emphasis on minor irrigation schemes. Major irrigation schemes take 10 to 20 years to fructify whereas minor irrigation schemes just like digging wells or constructing tanks, etc. are very easy to be completed and we get returns within a year or two. Exploitation of ground water also comes under minor irrigation. There is ground water which is equal to the quantity of flow

[Shri P. Rajagopal Naidu]

water in our country which has not been much exploited. It has been exploited only to the extent of 10 per cent. Therefore, exploitation of ground water must be given top priority.

Sir, I am glad to say that the scientists are predicting that there will be a break-through in production through dry-farming. Green revolution in our country became possible because of the short varieties developed by the scientists which gave double the income to the agriculturists. Like that if through dry farming the agriculturists can get more income then certainly they will take it up. If financial assistance is provided by the Government then through dry-farming we can increase production of food-grains, oilseeds and pulses. At present we are deficit in oilseeds and pulses. It is said that irrigated area must be utilised for increasing production of oilseeds and pulses. I agree. But the thing is that there must be research so that we can have greater production per acre because then it will be easy for the agriculturist to take up production of pulses and oilseeds.

Now, I would like to say a few words about our imports and exports. Our imports and exports are adversely affecting the agriculturists. The import and export policy has to be modified so as to be advantageous to the agriculturists. Here I may narrate one example. What happened with regard to cotton! Our people had been encouraged to produce more cotton. They have done it but they are not able to get remunerative price. There is cotton Corporation of India which has been entrusted the work of purchasing surplus cotton. It is not doing that with the result that the agriculturists have to suffer. Therefore, Sir, increased production is not enough. Proper price must be there and the agriculturists have to be helped by the Government by pur-

chasing the surplus product so that production may not be reduced next year. I have already said that as far as jaggery is concerned 55 per cent of the sugar cane goes into the production of jaggery. You know that firewood is costing Rs. 20 a load. The same quantity of jaggery is costing only Rs. 5 today. The agriculturist is put into lot of suffering on this score. You know that one kilogram of sugar costs today Rs. 6 and one kilogram of jaggery is costing Re. 1 only. Therefore, the agriculturists are suffering very much. Therefore, I wish to point out that the Finance Minister should bring out a mechanism so that there may not be any vacillation in the prices; he should see that stability of prices is maintained at all costs. This is my request to the Hon. Minister. With these words I conclude.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA (Bombay North): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this is the first Budget that my Hon. friend Mr. Mukherjee is presenting to this House. I shall therefore begin by wishing him well.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE): Thank you.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: But, I am afraid, I cannot begin by congratulating him on his performance.

I will not call the Budget 'disappointing'.

It will be more correct to describe the Budget as an unashamed renunciation of all pretensions to Socialism and all the principles and canons that one associates with a Welfare State.

The Budget has a definite function to perform in Public Finance. It is

a well-recognised time-honoured function that the Budget performs in public finance. It is expected that the Government would come before the House with a clear, comprehensive, true statement on the state of the economy, on the resources that are being raised, the sources from which revenue is to be raised, the requirements of additional revenue, the rates at which this revenue is to be raised, the items and heads and quantum of expenditure. The Budget is the only document that presents a picture of the state of public finance. It is the instrument through which the Government seeks and receives the sanction of the House to raise money for the Exchequer, to expend money from the Exchequer. It is the base of Parliamentary Democracy—of Democratic and responsible Government, and if the House loses its control over the Budget, the House loses its right to be called a sovereign repository of the powers that a democracy vests in the representatives of the people.

But, Sir, this Government has created a sorry tradition, an outrageous tradition, of making a meaning-less mockery of the Budget. It comes to the House with proposals that spell a few hundred crores of revenue. When the House rises it comes out with announcements for increase in the administered prices, placing imposts on the people, burden that total thousands of crores of rupees. In the year 1981-82, extra-budgetary imposts raised a revenue of Rs. 2600 crores before the Budget and the extra-budgetary revenue of Rs. 2500 crores after the Budget. The Budget was sandwiched in between. And what was this thin layer of butter that my friend put between these two pieces of bread? Sir, the proposals in the 1980-81 Budget were for additional taxation of Rs. 262 crores. In 1981-82, it was Rs. 320 crores and in 1982-83, it is Rs. 587 crores.

So, Sir, in the year 1981-82, his distinguished predecessor came to the House with proposals for taxation of Rs. 320 crores, misguiding this House, misguiding the country into thinking that the total burden that would be imposed on the people would be Rs. 320 crores, where as the actual imposition was of the order of Rs. 5900 crores. Sir, in the hands of this Government, the Budget has become a cynical exercise in sanctimony devoid of all the meaning that is attached to it in Public Finance. You will pardon me if I read out a quotation about what the Government has done in the last two years.

“In addition to these tax measures, the Central Government increased Railway and postal transport tariffs in 1980-81 and again in 1981-82. These adjustments are expected to yield additional resources amounting to Rs. 11 billion over the programme period. Steel prices were raised by 20%, coal prices by 20 to 50% in 1980-81, the prices of petroleum products were raised in June 1980 and again in January 1981. More recently, the Government has increased the price of domestic crude oil from an average of Rs. 391 per tonne to Rs. 1182 per tonne. This increase in prices of about 200% will make a major contribution to resource mobilisation. The Government has also taken steps to reduce subsidies. Fertilizer prices were revised in 1980-81 to effect a total saving in the fertilizer subsidy bill of Rs. 10 billion.... Another increase in fertilizer prices was recently allowed which will reduce the subsidy burden by a further Rs. 8 billion.

The additional burden borne by the consumer because of these adjustments amounts to over 3% of the G.D.P.”

Sir, is this the quotation from an opposition Journal? No. This

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quotation is taken from the Memorandum submitted by this Government to the I.M.F. on the 28th of September 1981.

Now, Sir, my Hon. friend has kept the tradition and taken the customary alibi for poor performance.

MR. CHAIRMAN : So, You congratulate the Government for remaining fair....

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA : Sir, I am going to congratulate the Government for keeping its words to the International Monetary Fund. Please have the patience till I reach that spot. Sir, it is near the Kosi Canal. (*Interruptions*) Sir, in geography one has learnt that the level of the Dead Sea is far below the Mean Sea level by a few hundred feet. But if you choose the Dead Sea level lower for comparison of altitudes, then an ant-hill can be a peak, with an altitude above Mean-Sea level of a few hundred meters. So, Sir, he has kept the tradition of choosing 1979-80 as the base year for comparison, the year in which there was an unprecedented drought in the country, the year in which—thanks to their machinations and conspiracy, a care-Taker Government was installed in the country which was characterised by indecision and which created anarchy in the realm of responsibility in the country. They co-operated to create the uncertainty in the country; they maintained that regime of indecision.

Sir, now they overlook the performances of the two years which they regard as the years of drift and indecision. During these years, the production of foodgrains rose from 111 million tonnes to 131 million tonnes; pulses from 11.36 million tonnes to 12.18 million tonnes, the area under irrigation rose by 12.5 million hectares ; gold reserves—about which much is often said—from 187.8 crores to 219.5 crores or 222.53 tonnes to 260.05 tonnes. Then, the

foreign exchange resources rose from 2863 crores to Rs. 5219 crores, in foodgrains a bufferstock of 21.4 million tonnes. I will not talk of control over prices. I can go on citing in this fashion, but for fear of taking too much time of the House, I shall not do so.

Now, I shall turn to the claims of the performance of my Hon. friend. I must preface my remarks by saying that I will not grudge complimenting him and the Government if their policy results in better performance. It is not a question of paying a compliment to this Government, but the economy of this country must improve, and all of us are interested in that. But if tall claims are made, and an effort is made to create a smokescreen, then it is necessary for us to go behind the smokescreen and see whether it is true that there has been an improvement.

It is said that the production of foodgrains will reach an all-time high. If in the last year we had 131.8 million tonnes, and this year we have got 131.9 million tonnes, that too will be an all-time high. According to them, 134 million tonnes is the expected yield this year; this is only marginally above the figure of 131.9 million tonnes achieved in 1978-79. Then, it is claimed that 5 million additional hectares were brought under irrigation. My distinguished and Hon. friend, from whom I have learnt a lot during many years of association, Prof. Ranga, knows that even if you assume 1.5 tonnes per hectare as the produce and you bring 5 million additional hectares under irrigation, it must lead to about 7.5 million tonnes of additional production. But the increase has been 2 million tonnes, which means that either there is some hotch-potch in the estimate of the figure of the additional area brought under irrigation or the area under cultivation has gone down. This is quite understandable, because as my Hon. friend,



Shri Naidu said, a few minutes ago, remunerative prices are conspicuous by their absence. You increase the price of fertilisers, you increase the price of inputs, and you pay Rs. 130 per quintal to the Indian farmer and Rs. 200 per quintal to the American farmer and then you expect that the Indian farmer will produce more.

**SHRI CHITTA BASU :** Why should they produce more ?

**SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA :** To satisfy their ego; that is what they think.

The rate of growth in the use of fertilisers has fallen from approximately 20% in 1978-79 to 5% today, -4.9% to be exact.

It is said that industrial production has increased by 8%. I will take it with a pinch of salt. The survey of the NCAER as well as the Government's own figures in the Economic survey have indicated a falling trend in the rate of growth. However, we would like the Minister to tell us where exactly this growth has been registered. Is it because of the decision to regularise production in excess of the licensed capacity—capacity, which already existed the production which already existed and which is now being brought into the books? Is it that which is accounting for this increase in production? If there is an 8% increase in production, then it must be reflected commensurately in the yield from corporate taxes, as well as excise duties. My Hon. friend has pointed out that there has been an increase in the revenue from excise duties as well as corporate taxes, but he has also pointed out that the increase in the yield is mainly because of the increase in the profits of ONGC and Oil India. I am not misquoting him, when I say this.

Again, if you want to judge whether there has been a growth of pro-

duction, one has to compare achievement with targets. This is something which he has not attempted to do, perhaps wisely. As far as the targets are concerned, the coal target was 124 million tonnes, and the real achievement will approximately be 116 million tonnes. The target for steel production was 6.3 million tonnes, and achievement may be around 5.7 million tonnes. The target for exports was for Rs. 8400 crores, and my Hon. friend should congratulate himself, and I will congratulate him, if the export figure rises above 15-20% of last year's performance. For power, the additional capacity target was 3213 megawatts, approximately 2190 megawatts is what is claimed as achievement. The rate of increase in the use of fertilizers—I would say this for the benefit of my Hon. friend, Prof. Ranga—was 15.16%, but what is likely to be achieved is 5%. Now, Sir, I can go on, but I don't want to quote more figures. But as far as Steel is concerned, my Hon. friend, the Minister, said the other day in the House that 5.7 million tonnes may be the production of the Steel Plants. I would only like to point out that it will be only marginally higher than the 5.43 tonne figure of 1976-77.

Now recessionary trends have become apparent to him as well as to me.

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE :** Why can't you give figure for 1977-78 ?

**SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA :** I can give. 'But when you say 'all-time high', I must say you are comparing yourself with the Dead Sea.

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE :** That is why I wanted. You are giving the figures for 1976-77. Why don't you give the steel production figure for 1977-78 ?

**SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA :**  
My Hon. friend will not want me to liberate him from the targets that he set for himself. I did not keep the targets for you. You did it. You have failed to reach it. I point it out, and that pricks you.

**SHRI SATISH AGARWAL ;** But you are making him a target.

**SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA :**  
He is not the target. He is a good friend of mine.

Now, Sir, I shall turn to the International Monetary Fund. When we say that the Budget bears the stamp of the International Monetary Fund, it is an exercise in supreme understatement. If we say that it is a capitulation to the IMF, it is nearer the truth. But then when we say this, the tallest of them get frayed. The tempers of the tallest of the gentlemen and others on the other side get frayed.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :**  
What gentlemen? You are misrepresenting the ladies.

**SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA :**  
Their sensibilities get rattled. But, Sir, I want to tell my friends, you told the IMF that you will accept a ceiling on external borrowing; impose a ceiling on the size of the internal money supply, impose a ceiling on domestic credit, a ceiling on the percentage of domestic credit that the Govt. will use; that you will scale down direct taxes to provide incentives to save and to invest; that you will make increased use of indirect taxation; that you will enforce a ceiling on Budgetary deficit; that you will reverse the policy of import substitution and adopt a policy of import liberalisation; that you will remove restrictions on imports and allow imports of banned items, even if indigenous capacity has been built up for them. Now, I am not quoting from Paragraph 19, which is one of the most abject statements in this regard that can be made by anyone. Paragraph 19 of the Memorandum

submitted by the Government bears testimony to all the statements that I have made.

Further on, Sir, they went on to say that they will make the economy export oriented, "reduce subsidies even though this might entail price adjustment for important commodities." This is a quotation of paragraph 12.

And paragraph 18 says that Rules regarding MRTP will be relaxed in the case of export-oriented production.

Now I must tell my Hon. friend; you have indeed kept your words. That the IMF understood and accepted the memorandum as an assurance and an undertaking, a condition for the grant of facility is clear from paragraph 4 of the IMF document according to the facility. I can read it out. But I don't want to do so because my Hon. friend has laid it on the Table of the House. Not he, but his predecessor. The paragraph clearly says that India will lose the right to avail of the facility if it deviated from the conditions; that the amount will not be automatically transferred; that further instalments would be available only if these policy assurances are adhered to and specific performance guarantees in policy directions and arithmetical targets are fulfilled to the satisfaction of the Fund. If this is not a conditional loan, could you educate the House as to what is a conditional loan? By what stretch of imagination can it be described as unconditional? It is sheer self-deception to describe it as unconditional.

The financial proposals that the Finance Minister has presented to the House are a Budgetary paraphrase of these conditions. Under the circumstances, if he or any one else on the other side objects to the word 'capitulation', I am willing to

use better words and say that they show consummate and comprehensive coincidence with the desires of the International Monetary Fund.

Now, Sir, I turn to the taxation proposals. The taxation proposals as I said earlier bear testimony to the fact that they have fulfilled their commitment to the IMF. The proportion of income-tax to gross tax revenue will go down to 8.7 per cent.

My Hon. friend Mr. Daga talked about the incidence of indirect taxation. He could as well have talked from this side. It only means that all sides of the House really and conscientiously feel this way.

The concessions offered to the middle income group are inadequate and illusory. The Budget has offered a variety of concessions to property owners and those who pay wealth tax. The Exchequer will incur a loss of Rs. 6 crores as a consequence of the decision to abolish the tax on luxury hotels. It will favour the man in the 5-Star bracket. But what about the 90% who are outside the net of direct taxes, who will nevertheless have to bear the incidence of indirect taxes, — customs and excise duties ?

What are the concessions that have been offered in excise duties ? Whom will they benefit ? Non-cellulose spun yarn, cellulose spun yarn, cotton yarn, canned foods, refrigeration, air-conditioning, motor vehicles, footwear, watches, clocks, vacuum flasks—my friend will also say : pencils and erasers.

He is very clever. I don't mean it in a derogatory sense. I like him very much. He is indeed very clever. The loss to the Exchequer from the reduction of the duty on Pencils and erasers—does it come to a double figure in lakhs ? Not even Rs. 10 lakhs. You have given Rs. 3200 lakhs worth of concessions

to the non-cellulose spun yarn ; but to the millions of boys and girls in the primary schools whom you are trying to hoodwink with this talk of pencils and erasers, you have not given Rs. 10 lakhs—may be Rs. 4 lakhs. Whom are you trying to hoodwink, my friend ?

What are the major items on which excise duty has been increased ? Cement, man-made fibre, man-made fabrics, yarn, plastics—and paper and paper products.

You reduce on pencils and you increase on paper, — even-handed justice, my friend. Most of these are patently items that will affect the common man. You have proposed a concession of 20% on excise duty on additional production, if production reaches a level of 11% for 38 items. Why is it that you have chosen these 38 items and excluded other items ? Is it because there is a glut in the production of those items, or is it because these 38 items will benefit the common man ? Can you point out to me five items out of these 38, which will benefit the common man ?

You have abolished the duty on carbon black which goes into the manufacture of tyres. Whom does it benefit ? You have increased the duty on tyres. Whom does it hit ? Will it not lead to increase in prices, and increased profits for the manufacturers—in this case, big companies ?

Now, I must turn to customs duties. I shall quote from my Hon. friend :

“My principal proposal is with regard to auxiliary duties of customs.”

And he goes on to say—again I quote :

“I accordingly propose to increase the rates of auxiliary duties by 5

[Shri Ravindra Varma]

percentage points on all categories of imports, with some exceptions."

The revenue from this is expected to be Rs. 290 crores—the biggest chunk.

Now, my Hon. friend, I would like to ask you : "Why is it that you give a step-motherly treatment to this House and to your Cabinet?" I know that you informed the other colleagues of the Cabinet, as is the practice, only one hour before the Budget, what your proposals were ; or, did you make a departure and tell them earlier ? I don't think you did.

But, Sir, this Government informed the IMF on 28th September 1981 precisely what this levy was going to be. This House has no importance to them. The secrecy and sanctity of the Budget of a sovereign nation has no importance whatsoever to them. Even their Cabinet colleagues are not treated on the same footing as the IMF. Is it then a relationship of equality ? Would you like us to believe that it is a relationship of equality, which is higher than the equality enjoyed by your other Cabinet colleagues ?

17 hrs.

Sir, I read :

"To finance Central Government expenditures, budgetary receipts are projected to rise by 12 per cent. Considerable direct tax relief has been allowed with the aim of promoting savings and investment. However, the revenue loss from direct taxes will be more than compensated by an increase in indirect taxes, principally..."

Mark this word "principally"

"as a result of a 5 percentage point increase in auxiliary customs duties and rates."

The same words have been used, and these were communicated to the I.M.F. on 28th September, 1981.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:  
Most objectionable.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA :  
Not only the direction of policy, but a specific measure, not only a specific measure, but a specific quantum of the impost has been communicated to the World Bank. Is it then any wonder if we ask whether it was formulated in consultation with them, or in collusion with them ? Where is the sanctity of the Budget ?

Then there have been other liberalisations—Reduction of customs duties on certain commodities to help multi-nationals or domestic collaborators of multi-nationals. Reduction of customs duty on imported zinc concentrates from 50 per cent to 5 per cent. Full exemption on calcium nitrates and ammonia sulphate. Reduction of import duty from 125 per cent to 50 per cent on internal combustion engines. 100 per cent exemption from duty on import of 10 bulk drugs adding to the list of 22 drugs which already enjoy this privilege that after the decision of September 1981 to enlarge the number of drugs that enjoy customs duty exemption from 75 to 129. Reduction in counter-voiling duty on imported fabric. Reduction of duty on filament yarn from 125 per cent to 20 per cent and the import duty concessions that have been extended to 58 new items including capital equipment, components and raw-materials.

Now I turn to the Plan. The Budget provides for an outlay of Rs. 11,000 crores as against the revised figure of Rs. 9,243 crores for the last year. It is claimed that this represents an increase of 27.06 per cent. That attempt is to create an impression that this means larger

investment which will lead to higher targets and greater fulfilment. But the value of money has gone down by 35 per cent or more in the last two or three years. The value of the plan in real terms, therefore, has already suffered an erosion of 35 per cent.

17.02 hrs.

[SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV  
in the Chair]

There seems to be no hope of achieving an appreciable control over inflation. When the plan was formulated, the ceiling of deficit financing was fixed at Rs. 5,000 crores, for five years. It was felt that this would be the amount which the economy could absorb without exposing the real value of investment to lethal erosion. In three budgets, my Hon. friend and his distinguished predecessor have already pierced the ceiling, and have shown us that for this Government the sky is the limit for deficit financing. In the first year, the deficit was Rs. 2,387 crores in 1981-82, it was Rs. 1,700 crores, this year, the estimate is Rs. 1,365 crores, thus totalling Rs. 5,000 and odd crores. The total deficit of the States' budgets is Rs. 1,600 crores. What then is the meaning of the Plan? The Plan is in shambles. Its targets in real terms and cannot be salvaged without increased deficit financing. The alternative is to scale down the targets or to reconcile oneself to failure in reaching the targets. This has been a recurring pattern with the plans that my Hon. friend's Government has been responsible for.

Finally, there is talk of salvaging the plan and an effort to delve into the debris, to delve into the deluge—is no't it the tortoise incarnation *kurmavatar*? to come up with the core of the plan. What is the core of the plan? The core of the plan always is the investment in the

infrastructure. The rest of the plan is exposed to creeping paralysis, allowed to shrink and get atrophied. Investment in man, investment in the vulnerable sections, that will lead to the improvement of the conditions of the vulnerable sections of the people, is given the go by.

Social services, education, health services, programmes meant for vulnerable sections, in spite of all the big chanting of the *mantra* of the 20-point programme, they all get the go-by. They are dispensable. They are dispensable investment! They are dispensable investment! And that is how we move from Plan to Plan and face the paradox of increasing wealth and increasing poverty, increasing disparities and an increasing number of people being submerged under the poverty line. The Government is promising to repeat this performance.

Three sectors, Petroleum/Petro-Chemicals, Railways and Civil Aviation, together account for 50 per cent of the increased outlay. Seven heads—I need not read them all out—iron and steel, coal and lignite etc.,—together account for 69.92 per cent of the increased outlay. One is not objecting to this priority. But one is pointing out that the welfare programmes meant for the poorer sections, about whom the 20-Point Programme talks, are all being axed. Most of these welfare programmes receive much lower priority than what they received a year ago. Ten per cent to 11 per cent today, as against 20 per cent in the last year's Plan. In some cases the financial outlays have been maintained, or increased inadequately to compensate for the erosion in the value of money. But there are cases where the outlays have been lowered even in financial terms, thus resulting in an absolute scaling down of the outlay.

I do not know whether you would permit me to read out.

General Services Rs. 26 crores in 1981-82 and Rs. 23 crores in 1982-83;

[Shri Ravindra Varma]

Medical and Public Health Rs. 125 crores in 1981-82 but Rs. 122 crores in this year; Prevention and control of Diseases Rs. 81 crores last year and Rs. 70 crores in this year. Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons Rs. 29 crores last year and Rs. 27 crores this year: Other chemicals drugs, and Pharmaceuticals Rs. 42 crores last year, Rs. 31 crores this year; Ship building Rs. 16 crores last year, Rs. 15 crores this year; Shipping Rs. 124 crores last year but Rs. 103 crores this year; Fisheries—I do not know whether my Hon. friend is interested in Fisheries as well! I think he is!—Rs. 35 crores last year and Rs. 28 crores this year. Village and Small Scale Industries Rs. 157 crores last year, Rs. 166 crores this year, which means a reduction in real terms; Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Rs. 112 crores last year, Rs. 127 crores this year, but in view of the erosion in the value of money lower in real terms. And yet you say that you are adding 45,000 villages to the number of villages where you will assure drinking water supply. Last year, to how many villages did you provide drinking water with Rs. 112 crores? Would you kindly tell the House?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :  
We provided for 40,000 in one year.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA :  
Now I move on to the last point. And that is about the prices. I come to it last because one can say the less said about them the better. The Government claims that the annual rate of inflation on a point to point basis has come down to 4.9 per cent.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :  
Point to point basis!

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA :  
But they choose between one and the other, whatever suits them. We

should not grudge them that. You say that it has come down to 4.9 per cent as against 15.9 per cent in the previous year. Now, when somebody says at night that it is broad day light, according to statistics and the theory of chances, then it becomes very difficult for one to accept it, unless one is struck by moonshine! I am not saying that my Hon. friend is struck in that manner.

The whole-sale price index has come down, they say. I grant it, assuming that it is so, the consumer price index, which is the real reflection of the impact or the incidence on the economy on the common man, has gone up from 408 in December 1980 to 460 in 1981. I do not have to go very far. This Government after it came to power had itself to deal with six instalments of Dearness Allowance falling due this year and four instalments last year—ten instalments in all, which is based on the present Consumer Price Index, in spite of the fact that this Index has been impugned. (*Interruptions*)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :  
Why have they chosen C. P. I. and not C. P. M. ?

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA :  
For old time's sake; Every day they say that the Wholesale Price Index has fallen, but the Consumer Price Index is rising. What is the reason for this phenomenon? There is only one Year in this decade when the Wholesale Price Index fell. In 1974-75 it was 173.9. In 1975-76 it fell to 162.6. The consumer price index also registered a sympathetic fall that year from 277 to 265. The test of your inflation is in the cost of living of the common man. Even the IMF adopts the cost of living index as the base. The prices of essential commodities have gone up. I do not have to read out these prices to you.

Why is it that this year's budget provides for Rs. 350 crores for payment of dearness allowance? It belongs to the last year. These DA instalments fell due last year. But in spite of that, provision is made this year, because they wanted the total deficit of last year to be shown down for the benefit of the World Bank. That is why it has been included in this year.

Sir, I shall refer to this talk of productivity year. We want productivity to increase, but if this Government thinks that productivity will increase by pandering to the private sector and increasing the profits of multinationals and monopoly houses, they are mistaken. There can be no increase in productivity without the cooperation of the working class. What is the attitude of this Government to the working class? They wanted to use their majority in this House to renege on the commitment to collective bargaining. They wanted to dictate unilaterally the conditions of work, the wages, allowances and the emoluments of the working class. They dragged their feet on the question of DA. They introduced the ESMA—Essential Services Maintenance Act—which is the blackest Act in the Indian statute book, which condemns people on mere suspicion. Then, they talk of productivity! I want to remind this Government that some years ago, a tripartite committee was constituted to report on workers' participation in management, consisting of representatives of the Central and State Governments, employers and employees. That committee has presented a unanimous report. Why is it that this Government is not acting on that report? The acid test of this Government's talk of productivity will be its willingness to introduce legislation this very session assuring workers' participation in management from the shop floor to the corporate level. Otherwise, their talk is idle talk in colloquial parlance, a lot of baloney!

I would mention the Rath Committee report on consumer price index—CPI. That was processed by a committee of Secretaries—six Secretaries, including the Finance Secretary,—and they recommended a rise of 7 points. But that recommendation has not been implemented. Instead, they appointed another committee, and decided that the base year should be changed to 1980. That committee too has submitted its report. Yet, nothing is being done. Why? And, still they talk of productivity!

Sir, I have taken a lot of your time. There are many other issues which one can deal with, including the consistent under-estimating of revenue and expenditure, the proportion of plan expenditure and non-plan expenditure etc. But I shall not deal with all of them.

I would, therefore, only conclude by saying that I feel compelled to tell my Hon. friend that I am sorry for the budget that he has presented to this House. I know he is a prisoner of a situation in which the ruling party has decided to renounce its beliefs in socialism and in a Welfare State. This is a budget meant for the haves, and not for have-nots. This is a budget that is meant for the big houses and not for the small self-employed man or the small entrepreneur. This is a budget meant to welcome the multinationals. This is a budget that is meant to throw overboard the talk of ten years ago about zero foreign aid. This is almost a farewell to the talk of self-reliance. This budget, I am afraid, unless my friend is able to perform a miracle, will lead to increasing prices, failure to control inflation, erosion of the physical targets of the plan, increasing agony for the common man and uncertainty for the economy. However, though I reject the budget, I wish him well, because I want this nation to servive their vagaries and the felicity with which they go back on their words to the people.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : सभापति महोदय, आज होनी का त्योहार है, आपने आज छुट्टी नहीं रखी। अब सवा पांच बज गए, आप सदन की माफ़ा ले लें और हम लोगों को जाने दें। बहस चलेगी आगे।

एक माननीय सदस्य : आज किसी का मूढ़ नहीं है।

श्री सतीश अग्रवाल : फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर का रिप्लाइ 15 की शाम को होने वाला है।

सभापति महोदय : पार्लियामेंटरी अफेयर्स के मिनिस्टर को मैंने कहा है, वह आ जायें तो देख लेते हैं। आज बिजनेस एडवाइजरी कमेटी की बैठक हुई थी, उसकी कोई रिपोर्ट हो तो देख लेते हैं।

श्री सतीश अग्रवाल : बिजनेस एडवाइजरी कमेटी की मीटिंग में तय हुआ था कि 15 की शाम को 5 बजे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर जवाब देंगे। इसलिए कोई दिक्कत की बात नहीं है। 15 तारीख को जवाब है।

सभापति महोदय : पार्लियामेंटरी मिनिस्टर को मैंने बुलाया है, वह आ जाते हैं। तब तक श्री के० सी० शर्मा बोल सकते हैं।

श्री कालीचरण शर्मा (भिण्ड) : माननीय सभापति महोदय, हमारे माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने स्वागत योग्य बजट पेश किया है और मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

सभापति महोदय : वाजपेयी जी, मैं समझता हूँ कि आप प्रोटेस्ट में वाक-आउट नहीं कर रहे हैं ?

श्री कालीचरण शर्मा : हमारे देश के अधिकांश लोग, 80 प्रतिशत लोग खेती पर निर्भर करते हैं और इसीलिए खेती पर आधारित उद्योगों की इस देश में महती आवश्यकता है। देश की बेरोजगारी मिटाने के लिए, कृषि उत्पादन को बढ़ाने के लिए कृषि पर आधारित उद्योगों की स्थापना का इस देश में बड़ा भारी महत्व है और उसे इस बजट में अधिक से अधिक प्रोत्साहन दिया जाना चाहिए।

मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि खेती के उद्योग जैसे सोयाबीन, आयल इंडस्ट्री, शक्कर के कारखाने, फल के उद्योग, स्टाच फैक्टरी, गुलुकोज फैक्टरी, काटन इण्डस्ट्री आदि के लिए हमारे बजट में अधिक गुंजाइश की जरूरत है। इससे हमारे देश के बेरोजगारों और किसानों को काफी लाभ होगा और हमारे कृषि उत्पादन में भी तरक्की होगी और उसके साथ ही साथ हमारे किसान भाइयों को भी रोजगार मिलेगा।

वित्त मंत्री जी ने काफी अच्छा बजट पेश किया है, लेकिन खेती के उद्योगों के लिए इसमें विशेष ढंग की व्यवस्था की जाये और इसमें अधिक धन लगाने की बहुत गुंजाइश है।

हमारे प्लान में जो 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम रखा गया है और हमारी इंदिरा जी के नेतृत्व में जो इस देश में चालू किया गया है, उससे हमारे गरीब और पिछड़े वर्ग के लोगों का काफी हित हो सकता है। मेरा निवेदन है कि कमजोर लोगों के लिये, दूध वाले पशुओं के खरीदने के लिए, आवास व दूसरी व्यवस्थाओं के लिए अधिक धन की व्यवस्था की जाए। यह कार्यक्रम हमारे देश में बढ़े जोर से और बड़ी जिम्मेदारी से लागू किया जा



रहा है और इससे हमारे देश के गरीब लोगों की कायापलट होगी, इसमें सन्देह नहीं है।

हमारे देश में मध्य प्रदेश काफी पिछड़ा हुआ है। हमारा प्रदेश खनिज और वन-सम्पदा में सबसे आगे है, हमारे मध्य प्रदेश में 16.8 प्रतिशत खनिज उत्पादन है और वन-सम्पदा 29.5 प्रतिशत है, मगर उसका दोहन कतई नगण्य रूप से है। मेरा वित्त मन्त्री जी से निवेदन है कि हमारे प्रदेश में इस तरह की इण्डस्ट्रीज के लिए और इस तरह के कार्यों के लिए अधिक धन की व्यवस्था की जाए।

मध्य प्रदेश देश के अन्य राज्यों की तुलना में पिछड़ा हुआ है, हालांकि बहां पर विपुल सम्पदा मौजूद है। वहां पर वन और खनिज-पदार्थ काफी मात्रा में हैं। उनका दोहन करने के लिए मध्य प्रदेश को अधिक धन दिया जाना चाहिए। मध्य प्रदेश से 1200 वॉगन कोयला प्रति दिन देश भर में जाता है। मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि कोयला खदानों के पास थर्मल पावर स्टेशन बनाए जाएं, ताकि हमारे प्रदेश की आवश्यकता की पूर्ति हो और देश को सस्ती बिजली उपलब्ध हो।

मैं खास तौर से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि हमारे प्रदेश में काली भूमि में सोयाबीन का उत्पादन प्रतिवर्ष बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ रहा है। इसलिए सोयाबीन का उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए हमारे प्रदेश को अधिक धन दिया जाए, ताकि उसका निर्यात करके देश को फौरन एक्सचेन्ज प्राप्त हो।

सिंचाई के लिए भी हमारे प्रदेश को अधिक धन देना चाहिए। इस तरफ भी ध्यान देना चाहिए कि प्रति-हेक्टर सिंचाई का खर्चा पिछले एक साल में दुगना और तिगुना हो गया है। चाहे इसका कारण प्लान बनाने

में खामी हो और चाहे प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था में खामी, इस बढ़ोत्तरी के कारणों का पता लगा कर आवश्यक उपाय किए जाने चाहिए। मेरा अनुरोध है कि वित्त मन्त्री राज्यों के मन्त्रियों से विचार-विमर्श करके इस व्यवस्था में सुधार करें।

हमारे देश में विकास कार्य को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए शान्ति और व्यवस्था की बहुत आवश्यकता है। इसलिए वित्त मन्त्री को गृह मन्त्रालय के लिए अधिक धन की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए, ताकि वह सा एण्ड आर्डर की प्राबलमज्ज को हल कर सकें और हमारी योजनाएं ठीक तरह से चल सकें।

जब से हमारे देश की नेता, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने देश का शासन सम्भाला है, तब से पेट्रोलियम, सीमेंट, स्टील, कोयला और बिजली आदि हर क्षेत्र में उत्पादन बढ़ा है और हमारे देश की अर्थव्यवस्था को सुदृढ़ आधार मिला है। मैं समझता हूं कि यदि वित्त मन्त्री किसानों और गरीबों के हित के लिए अधिक धन की व्यवस्था करें, तो कोई बजह नहीं है कि हम तेजी के साथ तरक्की के रास्ते पर न बढ़ सकें।

मैं वित्त मन्त्री को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूं कि उन्होंने अपने बजट में सामाजिक सुरक्षा सर्टिफिकेट और पूंजी-निवेश बांड की व्यवस्था की है। इससे हमारे देश में पूंजी को जमा करने की सम्भावनाएं बढ़ेंगी और देश की आत्म-निर्भरता भी बढ़ेगी।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं वित्त मन्त्री द्वारा प्रस्तुत किए गए बजट का समर्थन करता हूं और उम्मीद करता हूं कि उनके इस बजट से देश को काफी लाभ होगा।

MR. CHAIRMAN : The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs wants to make a statement about the Business of the House.

BUSINESS ADVISORY  
COMMITTEE

TWENTY-SEVENTH REPORT

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAM-  
ENTARY AFFAIRS AND  
WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI  
BHISHMA NARAIN SINGH) : I  
beg to present the Twenty-seventh  
Report of the Business Advisory  
Committee.

सभापति महोदय, जब मैं अनुपस्थित था, तो विपक्ष के कई माननीय नेताओं ने विचार प्रकट किया कि चूंकि आज होलिका-दहन है, इसलिए सदन की कार्यवाही अब स्थगित कर दी जाए। हमें इसमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं

है। अगर आप ऐसा समझते हैं और सदन की ऐसी राय है, तो सरकार को इसमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं है कि सदन की कार्यवाही स्थगित कर दी जाए।

MR. CHAIRMAN : In view of the fact that tomorrow is the Holi festival. Members desire that the House should adjourn now so that they can go to their respective places. The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs says that there is no objection from the side of the Government.

So, the House stands adjourned till 11th inst. and will meet at 11 a. m. on 11th March 1982.

17.25 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, March 11 1982/Phalguna 20, 1903 (Saka).*