

[श्री फूलचन्द दर्मा]

है और न ही वहा की विधान सभा को भंग किया जागा ।

जब मैंने मुबहू भाइयारों में यह पढा कि गुजरात असेम्बली को भंग कर दिया गया तो इसको पढ़ कर मुझे बडा आश्चर्य हुआ । प्रधान मंत्री ने इसकी घोषणा स्वयं नहीं की, न गृह मंत्री ने कराई और न ही इस सदन के अन्दर इनकी घोषणा की गई । मैं समझता हूँ कि इनसे ज्यादा अपमान पहले भी महामाहेम राष्ट्रपति जी का नहीं किया गया । मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस सम्बन्ध में अपना बक्तव्य दे ।

एक बात और कह कर मैं समाप्त कर दूगा । मैं कह चुका हूँ इसे पूर्व राष्ट्रपति महोदय का ऐसा अपमान नहीं किया गया था । ग्रेन वालों को यह कहा गया था कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने राजपाल को इन के बारे में नोटिफाई किया था लेकिन मन्त्र बात यह है कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय को भुवहू इनका पता लगा कि गुजरात असेम्बली को भंग कर दिया गया है । यह भी कहा गया था कि प्रधान मंत्री जब इस मूड में आई कि असेम्बली को भंग किया जाए उन समय राष्ट्रपति महोदय सी रह थे वह कहा जा रहा है । इन पर मुझे आश्चर्य होता है । कोई जवान राष्ट्रपति महोदय होते तो ये समझ सकता था कि वह जन्दी तो जाते हैं लेकिन ये तो बूढ़े राष्ट्रपति हैं और इनको डेढ़ बजे तक नीद नहीं आनी है और जागते रहते हैं । उनकी स्वीकृति तो बड़ी गामानी से ली जा सकती थी । मैं

चाहता हूँ कि सरकार एक स्टेटमेंट दे जिसे मैं फुल फॉकटप हों ।

12.43 hrs.

GENERAL BUDGET, 1974-75—GENERAL DISCUSSION—contd.

MR. SPEAKER: The House will now resume the discussion on the General Budget. Shri Sanjeevi Rao.

SHRI M. S. SANJEEVI RAO (Kakinada): I congratulate the Finance Minister for presenting such a bold Budget at a time when the country is passing through an acute economic crisis. As a matter of fact, taxation has not gone up to any remarkable degree nor had the deficit financing reached dizzy heights.

The role of coal as a source of commercial energy has been emphasised in the wake of shortage of oil resulting in the energy crisis. I congratulate the Finance Minister for allotting nearly Rs. 97 crores—a four-fold increase as compared to last year—for increasing the production of coal from 80 m. tonnes to 95 m. tonnes. One of the significant features is that he has allotted Rs. 1 crore for establishing a low-temperature carbonisation plant at the pit head of Singgerreni collieries.

I hope that they will establish more low temperature carbonisation and gassification plants for converting coal into gas and transferring it to big cities for use as domestic fuel as well as for fuel for ovens and furnaces as well as for generating power.

But it is unfortunate that he has not given similar importance to electrical power generation. He should remember that electrical power is the real infrastructure for both industry and agriculture. As a matter of fact, industrialisation is a by product of electrical generation. In spite of the categorical announcement last year that they are going to

achieve 40 million K.W. by the end of the Fifth Five Year Plan, in his budget speech he has expressed the hope of generating electrical power to the extent of 33 million k.w only. I hope that he will revise his attitude at time like this when our public sector heavy electrical industries are in a position to produce machinery to generate at least 2.2 million k. w. every year and they hope to produce machinery to generate 3 million k. w. by the end of next year.

It is however, gratifying to note that he has provided 167 crores as compared to Rs. 107 crores for atomic energy development. He has provided these amounts not only for expediting the nuclear power generation at Narora and Kalpakkam but also to make provision for research and development on fast breeder reactor technology. May I tell you that only by developing this fast breeder technology we shall be able to use our massive deposits of thorium instead of the uranium which we are using for our nuclear power stations?

If we have not been able to increase or accelerate the generation of income and expedite our rate of economic growth, I am afraid it has been mainly due to the low utilisation of the machinery installed for production. May I bring to your notice that according to the Reserve Bank of India's statement, 35 per cent of the installed capacity of the machinery is idle at the moment? Are we going to face this situation by evolving an alternate strategy by utilising the available raw materials, machinery, equipment and resources, or are we going to allow the country to buckle in and resort as avidly as it did before to aid from all possible foreign sources to sustain the present level of production? I feel that we should achieve a faster rate of economic growth by utilising the available resources. The reason for my optimism is that there is significant growth in the heavy engineering sector. If you would recall, the fourteen complexes under

the Ministry of Heavy Engineering had earned and accumulated profit of Rs. 14 crores as against a net loss of Rs. 9 crores last year. They also hope to produce machinery worth Rs. 429 crores as against Rs. 261 crores worth produced last year. This significant achievement is in spite of bad transport and shortages of power and steel. The price of machinery and raw materials has increased steeply after the price hike on oil, thereby adding nearly 25 per cent to the total import of the nation. Any saving on this account will naturally give us a lot of foreign exchange relief. I, therefore, strongly believe that all the turn-key projects and credit financed equipment and machinery should be subjected to a fresh review in the light of the extraordinary work of our heavy engineering sector. The Finance Ministry should insist on optimum utilisation of our heavy engineering and machine building units. This significant improvement is fortunately possible because there is efficiency of operation and optimum standardisation. I also insist that we should use as much of our machinery which we are producing in the country as possible. This is possible because the efficiency of our machinery has improved tremendously.

Lastly, I want to bring to your kind notice that there is an acute shortage of fertilisers throughout the country. Fortunately, the Finance Ministry is taking steps to put up a lot of fertiliser factories all over the country. But unfortunately in Andhra Pradesh, a huge agricultural State, only one private sector factory is intended to be established during the Fifth Plan period at Kakinada. I am afraid even this is not going to materialise because the Finance Minister has not made any provision for the development of Kakinada port. Engineers India, a public sector undertaking, has surveyed the port and after giving their techno-economic survey report have clearly recommended that a sum of Rs. 26 crores should be spent to improve the

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port so as to enable it to handle 1.5 million tonnes additional cargo for the proposed fertiliser factory at Kakinada. But unfortunately, there is no co-ordination between the Ministries of Agriculture, Petroleum and Chemicals and Transport. I only hope that the respective Ministries will stop acting independently as super-powers but work in cohesion and in co-ordination in creating wealth, employment potential and prosperity in the country.

MR. SPEAKER: I have the list of members wishing to speak, but it is more in number than the members present in the House.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHANTY (Kendrapara): I have not yet been able to speak so far.

MR. SPEAKER: It appears that only those members who wish to speak are present and the others are not interested in listening.

12.55 hrs.

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

SHRI SURENDRA MOHANTY: The budget for 1974-75 presented to the House by the Finance Minister is lackadaisical in character. It is anti-growth and pro-inflationary and it will add to the hardships of the people and make the brims of their cups of misery overflow.

Before I come to an analysis of the main features of the Budget, it will perhaps be worthwhile to project the profile of this budget. In the Budget developmental expenditure compared to 1973-74 has recorded a marginal increase of Rs. 262 crores whereas non-developmental expenditure will increase by Rs. 430 crores. Grants and loans to States will decrease by Rs. 266 crores. In the background of Government's ostentatious profession of reducing expenditure, the expenditure will go up by Rs. 311 crores. From deficit financing the

Government hopes to raise Rs. 185 crores and from additional taxation, Rs. 186 crores to make up the deficit. In fact, this additional taxation is the most unkind cut that this Government could inflict on the people of this country. If you look at the personal income-tax it will decline by Rs. 86 crores. In the sphere of corporate tax and wealth tax, the quantum of total exemption that the Government is going to allow to the Capitalist and monopolist sector has not been quantified. Perhaps it has not been taken into account in the Budget.

As against this background the Union Excise duties will be enhanced by Rs. 92 crores and customs, by Rs. 204 crores which will ultimately hit hard the consumers and the common man for whom the Government has been shedding crocodile tears day in and day out.

While the common man is groaning under the crushing impact of the Budget, the *Eastern Economist*, mouthpiece of Indian monopoly in an editorial in its issue dated March 9, 1974 pays a fulsome tribute to the Finance Minister Mr. Chavan and says:

"There is no gainsaying the fact that the Stock Exchanges have given this year's Central Budget proposals a welcome much warmer than what they had received even from the loyal members of the ruling party...."

—I want to emphasise the words even from the loyal members of the ruling party— "...when Mr. Chavan delivered his budget speech in the Lok Sabha on February, 28."

While people are groaning under the last straw on the camels back, the rich are welcoming the budget as a gift from the Congress Party. It will be no exaggeration to say that the

budget is a ransom which the Congress Party has paid to the Indian capitalists after the U.P. and Orissa elections for their liberal donations from the black money accumulations to the Congress election fund. Therefore you find the extension of development rebate to the shipping magnates; therefore you find development rebate for converting all fired boilers to coal fired boilers and therefore you find tax exemptions in higher echelons of income.

In the concluding para of his speech, Mr. Chavan says:

"The social and economic problems that we currently face can be resolved in the long run only in the framework of a rapidly expanding economy with socialist objectives. I trust this Budget is one more step in that direction."

I ask; is it a step forward or a step backward? In that context, the only criterion by which this budget has to be judged, and is to be judged, is whether it is anti-inflationary, whether it is growth-oriented.

12.00 hrs.

Before I come to furnish my answer to these two questions, I would like to mention that this budget, as a fiscal instrument, cannot increase production, it will not stem the tide of inflation and, far from rolling back the price, it will further increase it; to what extent, that is anybody's guess.

Finding no other word to describe this budget, I will characterise this budget as schizophrenia. Throughout the budget speech of the hon. Finance Minister you will not find a single statement to which he has not made a counter statement. For instance, at page 2, in paragraph 5 of the budget speech, the Finance Minister says:

"It appears certain that the national income in 1973-74 will record a significant growth."

Yet, in the next line he says:

"It is, however, a matter of deep concern to us that in the Fourth Plan our overall rate of growth has been much lower than the Plan target."

I do not find the Finance Minister here, but his able deputy. I hope he would be able to convince us in his reply how he reconciles "significant growth" with the "overall decline". That is merely taking the House for a ride. You can take the House for a ride with the massive majority that you have got, but the reply to this vulgar joke will obviously come, not inside the House but outside the House, as it is being given in Gujarat, and perhaps tomorrow in Bihar.

SHRI D. BASUMATARI (Kokrajhar): But not in Orissa.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHANTY: Orissa will come a little later.

Does this budget indicate economic growth? How do you measure the economic growth? What is the index of economic growth? According to me, the per capita real income is a measure of the rate of income growth. According to available figures, the real per capita income was lower in 1972-73 at Rs. 333 at 1960-61 prices, than it was in 1964-65, when it was Rs. 335. The number of unemployed has been increasing at the rate of 10,000 a day. Half of the targets of the Fourth Plan have not achieved. The growth of industrial production, which grew at the rate of 9.2 per cent between 1960-66, was only at the rate of 4.5 per cent since after 1966. Against this background, what growth does the Budget project? Instead of growth, it projects a picture of decline. On top of this power failure in U.P. has

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cripled industrial production. It has brought the wheels of production to a grinding halt, and the dislocation of railway traffic has accelerated the decline further.

Rebate has been given for coal-fired boilers which are installed by 1975. I ask the Finance Minister, and his able deputy in his absence, when the railways cannot find coal for their own boilers—all these coal-fired boilers that you are going to instal by 1975, for which you are ostensibly giving this development rebate,—wherefrom they will get the coal to ignite their boilers? Therefore, as I have said, this Budget is anti-growth.

Now, I come to whether this Budget is going to stabilise prices because that should be the main concern, whether this Budget is going to check run-away prices. Nowhere is the chasm between official claims and stark realities wider than in this Budget. The Finance Ministry claims that the direct impact on wholesale price index will be not more than 0.5 per cent. But during the last two years, in spite of such professions made earlier, during the Fourth Plan, the prices have risen by 42 per cent. While announcing tax exemptions in the Budget for the higher echelons of income under the spacious plea of avoidance of tax evasion and not raising a single paise from direct sources, the decision to raise additional Rs. 212 crores from excise duties on a variety of commodities, from tooth-paste to post-card, to speak the least, is unconscionable.

The levy on cement, steel and fertiliser will not only hard hit the consumers but will also upset the next Plan calculations. The levy on paper is virtually a tax on literacy. The ruling party wants the people to go un-

lettered, undiscriminating and unthinking so that, by appealing to their atavistic urges an dby giving them some populist slogans, the Congress party will be able to romp home with its manipulated majority. The cumulative effect of the excise duties on tobacco, on tooth-paste, even on *bidi*, much less the cigarette, on post-card, on clothes, shirting, etc. and increased railway fare will mean a further deterioration in the standard of living than we are having today.

Coming to the aspect of inflation, as I have already said, there has been a sharp increases in prices of the order of 27 per cent in the last 12 months. In fact, if we take the last two years together, the general prices have increased by 42 per cent and even worse, the prices of food articles have increased by 47 per cent. Thus, though the financial target of Rs. 15,902 crores for the Fourth Plan public sector outlay has been fully achieved, yet because of the inflationary pressures on the cost of projects, the achievements in respect of physical targets have generally been only about half of the targets.

On top of it, what was expected of the Government was to present a Budget which would not have an element of deficit financing. I am emboldened to say so because it was one of the directives of the Planning Commission. The Planning Commission had expressed publicly its view that the Government should not resort to deficit financing during 1974-75 and 1975-76.

I quote from the Plan documents.

"In view of the excess liquidity in the economy and the abnormal rise in prices, there seems to be hardly any scope for deficit financing in the first two years of the Fifth Plan if reasonable price stability is to be achieved."

I have quoted from the Draft Fifth Five Year Plan, 1974-79, Vol. I, Page

ee. It was one of the Planning Commission's specific directives that there should be no element of deficit financing in the Budget for 1974-75. Because, in the 1974 analysis inflation is nothing but a process of transfer of real resources from the poor to the rich. The poor are becoming poorer notwithstanding the garibi hato slogan. The Planning Commission had consciously, after much deliberations, come to the conclusion that there should be no element of deficit financing. But what do we find? The Finance Minister says that the deficit financing would just be marginal, a mere Rs. 125 crores. But if we look at the past history, we find that, in every Budget, the Finance Minister had assured the House, and led us to believe, that deficit financing was not going to be very large. But, in reality, what has happened is that deficit financing has increased sometimes four-fold, sometimes five-fold. In 1971-72 the Finance Minister had estimated the budget deficit to be Rs. 233 crores, but ultimately the actuals were Rs. 977 crores. In 1972-73 the budget deficit was estimated at Rs. 251 crores, but ultimately it resulted in Rs. 1,145 crores. In 1973-74, it was promised that the deficit financing would be of the order of Rs. 87 crores, but actually it increased seven-fold; it reached the figure of Rs. 650 crores. Against this background, one has to consider seriously whether the deficit financing of Rs. 125 crores which has been promised by the Finance Minister is not going to increase at least ten-fold. And I will, presently, give the reasons why the figure of deficit financing of Rs. 125 crores—this illusory figure—is going to increase at least ten-fold. In the first place, the Budget has not taken into account the food subsidy. In the Budget the provision for food subsidy for 1974-75 has been kept lower, at Rs. 100 crores. When the year ends, the actual figure may well be of the order of Rs. 300 crores, if we judge by our past experience.

Then I come to the increase in

dearness allowance. While making the provision for salary, etc., of government employees during the year 1974-75, the Budget Commission for 1974-75 have been worked out on the assumption that the all India consumer price index which rose by 24 per cent during the last 12 months would not register any further rise whatsoever. The four increases in D.A., which have already been announced in the meantime, are something unprecedented in the fiscal history of the Government of India. And I do not know how many more rounds of dearness allowances increase are going to be announced and to that extent, how much it is going to push up the projected figure of our deficit financing.

Furthermore, according to the World Bank report,—whether it has leaked through legitimate sources or illegitimate sources, is immaterial,—this year the Government of India is going to import two million tonnes of foodgrains from outside. In that eventually the subsidy and the food imports taken together are going to push up the quantum of deficit financing to astronomical figures.

One of the most distressing things about this Budget is that the financial assistance to the States for natural calamities has been dropped in this Budget. During recent years this has been a big item on the expenditure side of the Central Budget and that too, for obvious reasons. The Centre owes a constitutional responsibility and a political duty to the people of India at large who suffer from natural calamities be it floods, droughts or cyclones. So far the Centre has been giving the States, though haltingly some kind of assistance which were unfortunately inflicted with natural calamities of one kind or the other. But in this year's Budget financial assistance to the States for natural calamities has been suspended. For the first time the figure has been put at zero for the year 1974-75. The argument is that all relief opera-

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tions for flood or drought would hereafter be undertaken as part of the State Plans and would, therefore, be financed by the States within the limits of their Five Year Plan outlays. No central assistance for this purpose would be available. But, if past experiences be any guide in the matter, one can be sure that when an occasion arises within a few months hence, the Central Government would have to yield to political or genuine pressures and sanction a couple of hundred crores of rupees for drought, flood or some other natural calamity. Therefore, if we take all these factors into consideration, we will find that the stipulated Rs. 1250 crores is going to be increased much further which will bring our economy to complete ruination.

Lastly, I would like to ask: is the Budget growth-oriented? Long-term objectives have been given precedence over concerns for immediate problems. Therefore, the plan investments from an actual level of Rs. 4,171 crores in 1973-74 have been pushed up to Rs. 4,789 crores showing a net increase of Rs. 598 crores. But against the background of the runaway prices this meagre addition that has been promised will ultimately result in a decline of 30 per cent. Therefore, this budget cannot be said to be growth-oriented because the amount that has been provided for, though ostensibly show an increase will ultimately prove to be a decline and the pricerise will bring the targets lower by 30 per cent.

Similarly, in the State sector, the States, to sustain the next year's Plan outlay of Rs. 2,069 crores, should have to raise Rs. 200 crores of additional resources. But will they be able to fulfil these obligations? The most affluent of States, Punjab

and Haryana, have in the mean time presented budgets which are deficit in character. In this context, how is the Government of India going to implement all the stipulations *vis-a-vis* the States? This is a matter to which this Budget has not given any attention.

The Hindustan Standard which is a mouth-piece of the Congress party...

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Muvattupuzha): Who said it?

SHRI SURENDRA MOHANTY: In its issue dated 7th March, 1974 it said:

"If the Prime Minister had been endowed with realistic vision then she would not have claimed in the Lok Sabha that the Union budget for 1974-75 is anti-inflationary. Prices of many of the essential commodities of daily use had already gone up before that statement was made. And since then prices have further gone up. From all this it would appear that the Prime Minister's further claim to the effect that Budget is only one of the instruments to stabilize the economy has also no truth in it."

This is what the mouthpiece of the Congress has to comment on the Budget.

I conclude by saying that this Budget is anti-people, it is anti-growth, and only a mass upsurge can throw this budget to the dust-bin to which it properly belongs.

श्री विश्वनाथ राय (बेदरिया) : उपरोक्त महोदय, जनरल बजट इस वर्ष देश के सामने ऐसे समय में उपस्थित किया गया है जब दो साल के सूखे के बाद देश की स्थिति बहुत खराब हो गई है, मंहगई अपनी चरम सीमा पर पहुँच गई है। लेकिन मंहगई इस समय केवल इसी देश में नहीं, दुनिया के अन्य देशों में भी बहुत बढ़ी है और उस का प्रभाव भी भारत की वर्ष

व्यवस्था बर पड़ा है, जिस के कारण यहाँ के भाव बड़का स्वाभाविक था। ऐसे समय में यदि हमारे देश में भीजें मंहगी हुई हैं तो न केवल सूखे का प्रकोप या अन्य कारण हैं बल्कि दूसरे देशों की मंहगी का भी प्रभाव इस देश पर पड़ा है।

ऐसी हलमत में जब हमारे देश में विकास के लिये, उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिये, नवनिर्माण के लिये अनेक प्रकार की योजनाये चल रही हैं, घाटे का बजट भाना स्वाभाविक है, अनिवार्य है। घाटे के बजट के लिये सरकार पर आक्षेप लगाया जाता है, लेकिन जिस देश में नवनिर्माण चल रहा हो, विकास कार्य हो रहे हों, बड़े बड़े प्रोजेक्ट चल रहे हों, तब हमारे सामने दो प्रश्न पैदा होते हैं—या तो इन विकास कार्यों को चलते रहना चाहिये या इन की गति को धीमी कर देना चाहिये—दोनों परिस्थितियों में उचित यही था कि विकास कार्यों की गति को धीमा न होने दिया जाय, चाहे हमें थोड़ा घाटे का बजट पेश करना पड़े। आज हमें देश का पूर्ण रूप से विकास करना है, उत्पादन को बढ़ाना है, गरीबी को मिटाना है, देश में आर्थिक समतता लानी है, ऐसी स्थिति में यह अनिवार्य हो जाता है कि कुछ समय के लिए कर बड़ें और उस का बोझा देश पर पड़े। यह बात सही है कि इस स्थिति का मुकाबला करने के लिये कुछ अन्य उपाय भी हो सकते हैं, लेकिन जहाँ प्रकृति का प्रकोप भी साथ साथ हुआ हो, वहाँ ऐसी सम्भावना कम हो जाती है, खादमी के बस की बात नहीं रह जाती। सूखे बढ़ने के कारण जो कठिनाई पैदा हुई, उस स्थिति का मुकाबला करने के लिए कर बढ़ाना अनिवार्य था, इस के लक्ष्य का दूसरा साधक-पेकिर नहीं था, क्योंकि देश के विकास कार्यों को ऐसी स्थिति में भी काबू रखना था।

आज हम यदि अपनी धर्म व्यवस्था को देखें—तो धाम तीर पर हमारी धर्म व्यवस्था ग्रामीण धर्म व्यवस्था है, लेकिन जो शहरी धर्म व्यवस्था हमारे देश में है, इस में तथा ग्रामीण धर्म व्यवस्था में बहुत अन्तर है, इतना अन्तर इन दोनों धर्म व्यवस्थाओं में नहीं होना चाहिये, जैसे कच्चे माल के मूल्य और बने हुए माल के मूल्य में बहुत फर्क होता है। किसान रुई पैदा करता है, गल्ला पैदा करता है, अन्य चीजें पैदा करता है, जब उन को शहरों में भेजा जाता है तो उन चीजों के दाम गिर जाते हैं और किसान को अपनी वस्तुओं का बहुत कम दाम भाव मिल पाता है। वही चीज जब उपभोक्ताओं के पास पहुंचती है तो ऊँचे दामों पर पहुंचती है। प्रकसर देश के किसानों को कहा जाता है कि उपभोक्ताओं के लिये, देश के लिये किसानों को कुछ बलिदान करना चाहिये, त्याग करना चाहिये, क्या यह बलिदान और त्याग की बात केवल किसानों के लिये ही है, मिलों में बनी हुई चीजों के लिये नहीं होनी चाहिये। उन को भी तो कुछ त्याग और बलिदान करना चाहिये।

में विशेष रूप से बसे के भाव के सम्बन्ध में कह रहा हूँ—किसान को गले का कम भाव दिया जाता है, लेकिन जब बड़ी चीनी बन कर निकलती है तो उस में मिला मालिकों और पूँजी-पक्षियों को बहुत ज्यादा नफा मिलता है, इन के लिये नफा रिजर्व कर दिया जाता है। लेकिन किसानों की आर्थिक व्यवस्था के लिये ऐसा कोई संरक्षण नहीं है, जिस के आधार पर वह अपनी आर्थिक व्यवस्था की रक्षा कर सके। लिये अपनी ग्रामीण धर्म व्यवस्था और शहरी धर्म

[श्री विजयनाथ राय]

व्यवस्था में जो बड़े धन्तर का उल्लेख किया, था, उस धन्तर को कम करने के लिये सरकार की तरफ से अभी सचमुच कोई गम्भीर कदम नहीं उठाये गये हैं। ठीक वैसे ही स्थिति है जैसे कच्चा माल की कीमत तब बढ़ते समय सरकार कुछ उदासीन रहती है, लेकिन वही माल जब तैयार होकर बाजारों में जाता है, तो उसको संरक्षण मिलता है। इस प्रकार की नीति से हमारे गांवों में उत्पादन में गिरावट आ रही है। 1972-73 में सूखे के कारण हमारे उत्पादन में 9.5 प्रतिशत की कमी हुई। उस के बाद जिस उत्पाद से उन लोगों को अपना उत्पादन बराने के लिये प्रयास करना चाहिये था, उतना उसाह किसानों से नहीं है।

आज हमारे देश की आर्थिक आय मुख्य रूप से ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों से है, लगभग 50 प्रतिशत आय कृषि से है, लेकिन उस के विकास की ओर विशेष ध्यान नहीं है। बजट भाषण में एक जगह बर्ना है—उस के विकास के लिये और ज्यादा ध्यान दिया जायगा, धन दिया जायगा, इस से थोड़ी आशा तो बंधती है कि सरकार का ध्यान उस तरफ गया है। इसके लिये मैं सरकार को धन्यवाद भी देता हूँ, लेकिन जहाँ हड़ताल चल रही हों, हड़तालों के कारण कोयले का आना-जाना बन्द हो जाता है और कोयले न मिलने से बिजली को योजनायें बन्द हो जाती हैं, वहाँ किसानों को बिजली नहीं मिल पाती। ऐसी हड़तालों को कभी प्रोत्साहन नहीं दिया जा सकता। सरकार को कुछ ऐसे कदम

उठाने चाहिये, जिस से बार, बार हड़तालों न हों, कभी बाजों की हड़ताल, कभी लोको मीनों की हड़तालों, हवाओं वैनम्ब साइन में बढ़े हैं, हड़तालों के कारण वे अपने स्थान पर नहीं पहुँच पाते। ऐसी हड़तालों को हूबहा हतोत्साहित करना चाहिये, चाहे वे मजदूरों के नाम पर हों, चाहे किसानों के नाम पर हों या किसी वर्ग के नाम पर ही, राष्ट्रीय उत्पादन में जो भी पीछ भागक होती है, उन का मुकाबला करने के लिये सरकार को कठोर कदम उठाने चाहिये—यह देश के हित के लिये अनिवार्य है। ऐसे समय में जब कि हमारी बहुत सी योजनायें चल रही हैं सरकार एक पॉलिसी की तरफ ध्यान दे और उन में विशेष उत्पाद बढ़ावे तो अच्छा हो। जो योजना पहले चल चुकी है उस को जल्दी से जल्दी पूरा करने के लिये प्रयास किया जाय। मिसाल के लिए गंडक योजना की बात है जब यह योजना प्रारम्भ होने वाली थी उस समय 35 करोड़ २० की लागत तय हुई थी और उस के बाद बढ़ते बढ़ते लगभग 141 करोड़ २० उस में व्यय हो रहा है फिर भी वह योजना पूरी नहीं हुई है। जितनी लागत उस में लगेनी उस से बहुत ज्यादा उत्पादन होगा, लेकिन अगर वह समय से पूरी हो जाती तो इतना खर्चा न बढ़ता और पूरी लागत निकल आती। इसलिये देश में जो भी योजनायें हैं उन को जल्दी पूरा करने के लिए सख्त उपलब्ध कराने चाहिये ताकि उत्पादन प्रारम्भ हो जाय या उत्पादन बढ़ने लगे और पूरी समता को उस योजना का लाभ देश को होने लगे।

जो आर्थिककीय कस्तुरें होती हैं जैसे धान, दवा इन में थोक व्यापार राज्य के हाथ में होना चाहिये, इसका भी प्रयत्न समर्थक हूँ। जो बल्ले का व्यापार प्रारम्भ

हुया है उस को मैं ठीक समझता हूँ। लेकिन एक बात जरूर है। अगर किसानों को उचित मूल्य मिला होता तो थोक व्यापार का प्रयास अधिक सफल हुआ होता। और जो गल्ला खुले बाजार में महंगा बिक रहा है वह नहीं होता। उदाहरण के लिये मैं बताऊँ एक सप्ताह पहले मेरे जिले से एक सज्जन आये थे एक छोटे से कस्बे में जिसकी आबादी 15, 16 हजार है इस वक़्त गेहूँ वहाँ 170 रु० प्रति किन्टल बिक रहा है। तो कहीं 76 रु० किसानों को दिया गया था और उस के बदले में खुले बाजार में 170 रु० का भाव है। अगर थोक व्यापार करते समय किसानों को गल्ले का अधिक मूल्य दिया गया होता तो थोक व्यापार की योजना भी सफल होती और साथ ही साथ उपभोक्ताओं को इतने अधिक दाम न देने होते। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि राज्य को अधिक से अधिक आवश्यकीय वस्तुओं के व्यापार को बढ़ाना चाहिये।

मुझे खुशी है कि इन बातों पर ध्यान देते हुए सरकार ने ऐसा किया है कि जिससे सूखे या बाढ़ के कारण उत्पन्न होने वाली परिस्थिति का मुकाबले करने के लिए जो समय समय पर धनराशि दी जाती है उस के बदले प्रदेस की योजना में स्थायी रूप से धन राशि दी जायगी। यह योजना बन रही है। मेरा तो ऐसा भिना है जहाँ एक नहीं 6, 7 नदियाँ हैं और साल बाढ़ और सूखे का प्रकोप रहता है। इस योजना से हमारे विकास में विशेष सहायता मिलेगी इसलिये हमें आशा बड़ी है कि हम इन विपत्तियों का मुकाबला कर सकेंगे।

DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA (Kutch): Sir, plenty of hon. Members those who spoke before me, and even the Finance Minister in his speech, have really explained, as the case is,

that India is facing today one of the worst economic crisis. But, Sir, there is a parallel system of economy in India which is equally responsible for bringing up this state in India. It flourishes the most not only as far as the monetary side is concerned but it influences the power also and, that is, black-money. I have come to know from the newspapers that 140 economists of India have submitted a memorandum to our Finance Minister. In that memorandum it is estimated that the income, not the black-money, the income from black-money varies from Rs 9,000 crores to Rs, 10,000 crores. They have shown some remedies also. One of them is demonetisation of our currency. But this system has gone so powerful that even the Finance Minister does not dare to touch it. He has succumbed to these black-marketeers by just accepting the recommendation of the Wanchoo Committee by reducing the maximum marginal income-tax from 97.7 per cent to 77 per cent.

Let me ask him whether he thinks that the people who are habituated to evading taxes will now pay the full taxes honestly. In India unfortunately, the black-money-earners have no moral standards of that type. That is why I consider this recommendation to be illogical that if the rates are reduced they will pay their taxes honestly.

Then, I would ask the Finance Minister to show me where his socialism is, because he says we have not missed our goal? Of course, he has raised the wealth tax slightly and he has raised some surcharge on the companies. But has he not given a gift of Rs. 35 crores last year by making slight adjustment in the development rebate and depreciation fund? Just imagine Rs. 35 crores being paid to big houses in this manner.

Unfortunately, we have adopted a system where we go on levying more and more taxes. Last year, the new taxes levied were to the extent of Rs. 212 crores, but this time we have levied Rs. 292 crores of new taxes.

[Dr. Mahipatray Mehta]

Every year, we go on increasing the taxes and they fall as a burden on the common man only, and it is the common man who has to pay. The Direct Taxes Inquiry Committee had made some suggestions in regard to increase of direct taxes, but we have not cared about direct taxation methods, but instead we have gone in for 80 per cent indirect taxes in this budget and only 10 per cent by way of direct taxes.

Apart from this, out of the new taxes to the tune of Rs 212 crores, what did we spend last year on social welfare? We have spent practically nothing on solving the problem of unemployment. We have been spending only 7 per cent on plan development. That is why I say that the real yardstick for socialism will be the answer to the following four important questions which I shall mention presently.

The first question is this. Have we decreased the number of people living below the poverty-line or have they increased? If we just look at the figures, we shall find that the number has gone up to 44 per cent as compared to 37 per cent which was there in 1971.

My second question is this: Have we decreased unemployment, educated as well as uneducated? Actually, it has not increased, but it has gone up to more than double. More than 2 crores of people are only partially occupied or are having no occupation. The same is the position in regard to educated unemployed including engineers.

Thirdly, have we reduced the number of slum-dwellers in these metropolitan cities? Look at any metropolitan city; look at Delhi, for example. How many new slums have come up? The number has gone up to double actually. The most pathetic scene is that the number of people who earn

their livelihood by selling their blood and body has not decreased; their number has actually doubled. This evil in modern society still continues so that they could just have some standard of living.

Again, what about beggars? Anywhere you go, you may go to even a station platform and that is no exception; you may go to any street and immediately you will find beggars flocking all around you and depicting the picture of the teeming millions of the Indian people. Where is socialism? Out of 50 crores of the most depressed and backward people all over the world, 13 crores live in India. Naturally, the question, therefore, arises, after 27 years of Independence and 22 years of planned economy, where we are. The reply is also obvious. The rate of growth of national income is 3.5 per cent, which also we had failed to reach last year, and the rate of population growth is 2.5 per cent; this being the position, for hundred years, we cannot get out of this calamity or this rut. Still, unfortunately, the people in command follow the same rude thinking and rude line of mixed economy which has led after 27 years to this horrible picture of India which we are seeing today, and still they are not prepared to change it.

Sir, it is rightly said that our poverty is a chronic disease. It is a most malignant disease. That is why the remedy to cure it must also be a drastic one. By treating a malignant disease by just touching it here and there will not cure it; on the contrary, it gets permanent over there, it gets settled there. If Government is not going to take drastic steps in time, things may get worse, out of control and burst. BSL in India people have blood and tears. But if the blood gets dried up and tears will not flow the poor man's eyes will go red-hot. And when the poor man's eyes get red, you know it is the Trilochan of Shankara. Then nothing will be of avail to stop it.

The people of Gujarat have shown just now by their fights against corruption what this is. The teeming millions, 13 crores of them, the most backward people in the country—there is no reason why they may not revolt. Then all our dreams of this non-violence and creating a democratic society may collapse in a day. Who will be responsible for this? Who will be responsible for creating such an atmosphere and not taking notice of it?

At the same time, I will suggest two solutions. If you want to remove *garibi*, if *garibi hatao* is to be implemented, you have also to remove *amiri*. This is only if the Finance Minister has the courage to bring it about.

The real wealth of India is in its manpower. We are daily losing millions and millions of worth of rupees in terms of man hours lost, man hours which can produce anything and bring about a tremendous change in India. Nobody has thought of that.

Look at China. It has solved the same problem. It has done it through its real wealth of manpower. It is not because it is a communist country that it has been able to solve the same problems that India has. It has the same famines, flood and same teeming millions. There is no industrial base. There is poverty and a vast population in comparison to the land. Here in our country with the same problems, we should look at how China has solved her problems and take the benefit of that experience.

As I said, our wealth is our manpower. Why don't we give them compulsory employment, compulsory employment to every adult? Every adult must have an employment card. This being a democratic country, naturally the choice will be theirs. If nobody is employed, it should be taken as an offence. Some people will say that this is an impossible thing in such a huge country. That is why I have quoted the example of China and said

that they have done it. They have shown the way and they have solved the problem not, as I said, through communism. We have the option and the means. If we did that, this would also remove the social evil of the sale of body and blood to keep alive. If we do that, every young adult will have to work to do. Beggars will not be there on the street. At the same time, production will increase. We will also advance on the development side. We can usefully employ our human force for the benefit of the country and themselves.

The second point is this. In any economic, saving is that on which there is a return. Hoarding is that on which there is no return. Here in India, gold is all in hoarding. Remove it from public circulation. No export should be allowed. It should be declared as an unprotected matter. It is not only the communists countries which have done it; capitalist countries have also done it. If these two steps are taken, I will be very happy.

We are talking of a substitute for oil. We have abundant coal. In my constituency, there is a huge quantity of lignite lying idle since long. To get coal to the west coast is very difficult. But nobody has bothered about this.

The most unfortunate part of the budget is that the Central Government have refused to attend to the people suffering from natural calamities. I come from a constituency which has suffered from famine for the fifth time consecutively in the last six years. I know that this year the people there were not even given manual work, though this area has high potential for development. There are plenty of salt works over there. There is bauxite, lignite and so many other minerals over there which could be developed. But there should be infrastructure; there should be railways. There should be a line from Gandhidham to Bhuj and another from Gandhidham to Lakhpat via

[Dr. Mahipatray Mehta]

Mandvi. We do not want financial help, people in Kutch. I shall cite one small example. One small village consisting of 5,000 persons invested Rs. 2 crores in fixed deposits; it was a record all over India. That is why we say we do not want money; we do not want know-how; in fact people from this place had gone all over the world; they can do things. But please give infrastructure which is absolutely needed. Give us water. I will appeal to the Prime Minister. Gujarat has seen a popular upsurge; it has created history all over India. The scars are deep; the wounds are deep. The scars will also become permanent if not looked into properly. The only remedy is Narmada. According to the Khosla Commission Narmada is the only solution which will once again create a Gujarat, as lovely as Ghandhiji's and which will make them forget all these things.

I do not know how much time I can take.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have made a good point; you must conclude now.

DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA: Thank you.

श्री राव हेङ्गाळ (रामटेक) : अर्थ मंत्री जी ने 1974-75 के बजट में सभी को खुश करने की कोशिश की है। जो पूँजीपति हैं उनको भी और जो सामान्य जनता है उसको भी। इसका कारण है। हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था न सही अर्थों में समाजवादी है और न ही वह सही अर्थों में पूँजीवादी किन्तु उसका झुकाव पूँजीवाद की ओर अधिक है और यही कारण है कि आज की सरकार पूँजीपतियों को नाराज करना पसन्द नहीं करती, उसकी

पूँजीपतियों के हाथों में है।

इस वास्ते शासन चलाने के लिए और अपनी सत्ता को कायम रखने के लिए पूँजीपतियों को नाराज करना आज की हमारी सरकार कभी पसन्द नहीं कर सकती। इसका परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि अमीर अमीर और अमीर होता जा रहा है, उसकी पूँजी लगातार इस देश में काले धन के रूप में बढ़ती जा रही है और जो गरीब अमीर है वह रोटी रोजी के लिए तड़प रहा है, उसके हाथों को काम नहीं मिल रहा है। उसके पेट में अनाज नहीं, उसकी जेब में पैसा नहीं और क्या करना है यह भी उसकी समझ में नहीं आता। इतनी हीन दीन अवस्था हमारे देश में उसकी कभी नहीं हुई। आज वह रोटी रोजी के लिए तड़प रहा है, चिल्ला रहा है और शासन की ओर बढ़ी आशा भरी नजर से देख रहा है और हमेशा देखता जा रहा है। लेकिन आज उस के दुख दर्द को मिटाने की कोई भी कोशिश इस प्रजातंत्र में नहीं हो रही है। मैं शासनकर्ताओं से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आजादी जो मिली है यह सिर्फ पूँजीपतियों के लाभ के लिए, मुट्ठी भर लोगों का हित साधन करने के लिए मिली है? क्या उन गरीबों को इस देश में रखने का हक नहीं है? शासन को गंभीरता से इस सवाल को सोचना चाहिए और उस पर ध्यान करना चाहिए। आज कराधान की जो अधिकतम दरियाबंदी उल्लेख 97 प्रतिशत से 77 प्रतिशत पर ला कर पूँजीपतियों और काला बाजार करने वालों को इस शासन ने एक

सुविधा प्रदान कर दी। मैं यह पूछता हूँ कि यह कराधान कम करने के कारण क्या हमारे कर की रकम बढ़ने वाली है? क्या इस देश में बिजनेस मोरेलिटी है कि कर देने वाला बड़ा धावनी कर की दरें कम होने के कारण ईमानदारी से कर का भुगतान करेगा? हमारा शासन इस की कोई गारंटी आज दे नहीं सकता। छोटे धावनी पर इन्डायरेक्ट करों का बोझ इस बजट में लादा है। पोस्ट कार्ड का उदाहरण ले लीजिए। एक सामान्य गरीब धावनी पोस्ट कार्ड का इस्तेमाल करता है। उसकी भी कीमत बढ़ा दी। मिट्टी का तेल सामान्य जन के रोज़ के इस्तेमाल की चीज़ है। उसकी भी कीमत बढ़ा दी। जो आवागमन के साधन है पेट्रोल के दाम बढ़ने के कारण, वे भी महंगे हो गए। बसों के किराये बढ़ जाने वाले हैं जिसका असर सामान्य जन पर पड़ने वाला है। जीने के लिए जो आवश्यक चीज़ें हैं उन सभी चीज़ों के दाम इस बजट के कारण बढ़ने वाले हैं। क्या सरकार हमें यह गारंटी दे सकती है कि जीवन के लिए आवश्यक चीज़ों के दाम इस प्रत्य-संकट के होते हुए बढ़ेंगे नहीं? मैं समझता हूँ ऐसी स्थिति नहीं है। जो डाउन-ट्राडेन लोग हैं उन के उत्थान और विकास की व्यवस्था इस बजट के अन्धर बिस्कुल ही नहीं है। आज देहाती और शहरवासी के बीच में एक बड़ा भारी अंतर का निर्माण हो गया है। छोटे कृषक और कृषि पर काम करने वाले मजदूरों की हालत दिन पर दिन थिरनी जा रही है। उसकी मेहनत का पूरा मेहनताना उठे नहीं मिलता जिससे वह जीवित

रह सके। ऐसी व्यवस्था में हमें ग्रामोद्योग की ओर देखना होगा। आज हम देखते हैं कि जितने भी ग्रामोद्योग हमारे देश में चलते थे जिन के सहारे कोटि कोटि लोग अपना जीविकोपार्जन करते थे वे ग्रामोद्योग आज खत्म होते जा रहे हैं। सरकार ने उस की ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया। यदि औद्योगिकीकरण हमारे देश में लाना है तो पहले ग्रामों में हाथ से काम करने वाले लोगों की ओर देखना होगा। आज एक छोटी सी मशीन लग जाने से दस हाथ बेकार हो जाते हैं। तो औद्योगिकीकरण करने और यंत्र लगाने से पहले उन दस हाथों का विचार करना चाहिए था। लेकिन वह नहीं किया गया। परिणामस्वरूप हुआ यह है कि आज देश के करोड़ों धावनी काम पाने के लिए तड़प रहे हैं। वे खाली पड़े हुए हैं। उन को कोई काम नहीं दिया गया है और जब तक इस देश की जो श्रम शक्ति है, जो इस देश के करोड़ों हाथ हैं उन को काम देने की व्यवस्था हम बजट में नहीं कर पाते तब तक हमारे देश का उत्पादन बढ़ नहीं सकता।

कृषि की ओर भी हमें ध्यान देना होगा। लेकिन आज कृषि के स्थायी विकास की कोई योजना हमारे देश में कार्यान्वित नहीं हुई है और न हो रही है। विभिन्न सेक्टरों को विभाजित कर के थोड़ा थोड़ा उत्पादित करने की कोशिश की गई है। मैं तो कहूँगा कि यदि रोटी रोजी का सवाल हल करना है, अनाज

[श्री राम हेज़ाऊ]

के बारे में आत्म-निर्भर होना है तो पहले इस देश की कृषि की ओर अधिक ध्यान देना चाहिए। उस पर अधिक खर्च करना चाहिये। पानी की स्थायी योजना बनानी चाहिए और कृषकों को अधिक मात्रा में कृषि उत्पादन के लिए शासन को सहयोग देना चाहिए। शासन की जो भी योजनाएँ बनती हैं उन पर जो लागत लगती है क्या सही माने में उस तकके तक उस योजना का पैसा पहुँचता है जिसके लिए वह बनाई जाती है? बीच में फिटनी रकम गायब हो जाती है, दुरुपयोग में चली जाती है उस का कोई हिसाब शासन के पास नहीं है।

आज भ्रष्टाचार इस देश में इतना बढ़ गया है कि कोई भ्रष्टाचारियों के सामने नहीं रहा और इस की जिम्मेदारी राज्य कर्तारों पर है। जनता और सामान्य भ्रष्टाचारी बड़े भ्रष्टाचारी की ओर जिन को हम प्रतिष्ठित नागरिक कहते हैं, अधिकारी कहते हैं, नेता कहते हैं, उन की ओर देखती है लेकिन उस के सामने कोई भ्रष्टाचारी नहीं पड़ता। जिधर देखते हैं उधर भ्रष्टाचार ही भ्रष्टाचार दिखाई पड़ता है। हर एक भ्रष्टाचारी से अधिक पैसा कैसे कमाया जा सकता है इस को अपना लक्ष्य बनाता है और उसके लिए तरीकें करता है। यह स्थिति आज हमारे देश में है। इसलिए सरकार पर यह भी जिम्मेदारी आ जाती है कि

इस देश का काला-बाजार करने वालों से और कुछ बर्द से बचना है तो अपने बर्तव्य से सत्ताधारी राजकर्ता जनता के सामने भ्रष्टाचारी उपस्थित करें। जब तक ऐसा नहीं होता तब तक देश का भविष्य अच्छा नजर नहीं आता। इस स्थिति को पैदा करना बहुत जरूरी है और इस दृष्टि कोण से बजट के सम्बन्ध में अपने कुछ सुझाव पेश करना चाहता हूँ।

जीवन के लिए आवश्यक वस्तुओं की कीमतें आगे और अधिक न बढ़ें इस की गारंटी सरकार को देनी चाहिए। स्थायी कृषि-विकास और कृषि उत्पादन की बढ़ोतरी के लिए अधिक धन राशि की व्यवस्था बजट में करनी चाहिए। गृह-उद्योगों को पुनर्-जीवित करना चाहिए और उस की बजट में व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए। नये उद्योग धन्ये सहरो की अपेक्षा देहातों में, गांवों, में और अतिक्रमण भागों में खोलने की व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिए। देश में जो श्रम शक्ति है उसका उत्पादन में और विकास में पूरा पूरा उपयोग करना चाहिये। बेरोजगारी को मिटाने के लिए रोजगार का निर्माण करना होगा। लेकिन जब तक बेरोजगारों को हम कोई काम नहीं दे सकते तब तक उन को बेकारी का भसा देने की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए। आज अनाज की बढ़ी कमी है और अनाज के लिए वैहती जनता काकी दक्षुप रही है। इस लिए प्रति व्यक्ति

और प्रति मास 12 किलो अनाज, प्रति वर्ष 26 मीटर कपड़ा उचित धारों पर उच्च उपलब्ध कराने की जिम्मेदारी शासन को उठानी चाहिए। अनाज के लिए देशव्यापी जौन बनाना चाहिए क्योंकि अनाज भी काला बाजार करने वाले जहाँ सस्ते धारों में अनाज मिलता है वहाँ से लेकर जहाँ ऊँचे धारों में बिकता है वहाँ ले जाते हैं। अनुत्पादक खर्चों की एकदम कटौती कर देनी चाहिए। भ्रष्टाचार, जमाखोरी, बूसखेरी और मुनाफाखोरी रोकने के लिए मुद्र और कड़े प्रशासन का निर्माण करना जरूरी है। सरकारी अधिकारी और सत्ताधारी नेतृत्व को अपने खुद के बर्ताव से राष्ट्र-भक्ति और त्याग का भावदर्श जनता एवं छात्रों के सामने रखना चाहिए।

14.00 hrs.

एक लाख से अधिक जो कतिथ कर है, वह बसूत करने के लिए तुरन्त उनकी ऐस्टेट को खन्त कर लेना चाहिये। करबसूली में प्रमाणिकता और कड़कता लाने के लिये अन्वया खड़ी करनी चाहिये।

मुद्रास्फिति रोकने के लिये और काले धन को दूँड कर निकालने के लिए 100 रुपये के नोटों को तुरन्त रद्द कर देना चाहिये।

संविधान में परिवर्तन कर के अन्तिम-बद सम्पत्ति बढ़ाने का जो अधिकार है, उस को अर्थात् में लागू चाहिये।

देश के जो डाउन-ट्रीडन लोग हैं, उसकी रोजी-रोटी का जो ज्वलन्त समस्य है, उसको प्राधान्य देकर उसे त्वरित हल करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये। अन्यथा अनाज जो शासना दिखार्ई देती है, वह एक बड़े तूफान के पहले की शान्तता है। रोजी-रोटी के लिये अनाज जो करोड़ों जनता के पेट में प्रचण्ड उजाला-मुखी धक्क रखा है, उसमें शोषण करने वालों का अन्त हुए बिना नहीं रहेगा।

SHRIMATI SHEILA KAUL (Lucknow): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the Budget for 1974-75 has been given different names; some have called it a brave budget, some have called it a red budget; an hon. Member has called it a clever budget but not an intelligent budget. I say that it is everybody's budget, it is anybody's budget, because any budget that comes depicts or expresses the mood of the Government and its policies for the said year. We have seen deficit budget for a number of years, from 1971 onwards. It is because the agricultural and industrial output has been very low. It has been so because there have been some strikes, and there have been droughts. But what I do feel is that the national cause must not be allowed to suffer on account of individual profits.

It was said by the Finance Minister that the implementation of the recommendations of the Pay Commission was also responsible for the deficit budget. But what I feel is that, when the recommendations were there, ways and means should have been found out to see that these recommendations, when implemented, found their way and an occurrence of this nature was avoided.

[Shrimati Sheila Kaul]

For greater agricultural production, if more land could be brought under cultivation, things might improve. The government records say that there are less lands available. But if we try to find out, we will see that there are lands such as eroded lands or alkaline lands or lands that have salt. If we try to reclaim these lands and put them under cultivation, we can increase our production. We can utilise these lands for agriculture, horticulture and forestry, for cultivation of plants of economic utility, for raw materials and for industry. There are Chambal ravines extending from U.P. into Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. These ravines have got the waters of river Chambal and river Jamuna and their tributaries. If we try to utilise these waters and the land, we can release the funds for other purposes.

When putting up projects for public undertakings it is essential that adequate provision is made for maintenance of the plant and renewal of the machinery. Here, I have in mind the Sindhri fertiliser plant and the TAFCO at Kanpur. We have had an opportunity of visiting these plants and I noticed that these plants are over a quarter of a century old or even more. So, while they are made to run, they do not produce as they ought to. So, what happens is that the production suffers and the working expenses continue to increase. The TAFCO is supposed to be producing shoes for our defence personnel. So, it should be kept in A-one condition and these plants should be modernised.

With the nationalisation of banks, it became easier for smaller borrowers to take loans from banks to run taxies, scooters and other things and the poor man was happy to find a means of livelihood. But, with the present excise duty on petrol, he earns only Rs. 10 per day. The users of the vehicles find it very difficult to get into

the taxies because of the high rates. Now, what is the situation? The taximan are in a predicament because they have to pay Rs. 600 per month as instalment to the loan from whom they have borrowed the money while they earn only Rs. 300. So, they are in a terrible fix and what they thought was a boon to them has become a sore. Some means should be found to help them out. The excise duty was to be diverted for transport, but the transport till to-day is a problem to everybody.

Then, Sir, we are still being guided by the pre-Independence rules and regulations. The Financial Handbook is still the guiding engine of the bureaucrats and the Government. Surely, attitudes and the atmosphere have changed and it is time that post-Independence rules should come forth. Just as we feel that the old education system is out of date for the present set up, so also the present policing system is incongruous.

To give employment to more people, the system of overtime payment should be done away with an only in special cases, it should be allowed. Instead, more hands should be employed to lessen unemployment.

Keeping in view the falling standard of the rupee, the Finance Minister has rightly raised the income tax exemption limit from Rs. 5000 to Rs. 6000. Before long, the rupee would further fall and so, it would be a welcome step if it is raised to Rs. 7500 instead of Rs. 6000.

Now, something about the parents who have to deal with everybody. They have to teach the children the basic principles of hygiene. Having taught the children the use of soap, they demand soap for their bath and for washing hands. But, now the prices of soap have gone up. Previously a cake of soap used to cost 65 paise and the something is costing us now Rupee one. With the extra duty on the tooth paste, the hygienic

condition will further deteriorate and it will become repugnant to speak to one another. In the cities, the use of 'Datus' is also not possible as there are not many neem trees wherefrom we can draw the neem sticks. The toothpaste and soap have also penetrated into our villages and they are now in common use and with the recent excise increase it will be very difficult for them to go in for these things. I feel very strongly that this tax on tooth-paste is most unwelcome.

Sir, Posts and Telegraphs Department has shown satisfactory results. As such, to take a solitary item like the postcard for increased price would hit the poor hard. This is the only means by which the poor people keep in touch with one another. I feel that this little benefit which the people in villages have should not be deprived from them.

I am indeed dismayed to note that the Budget for the Union Territories have been kept very low with the result that many of the Plans that were in the pipeline for developmental activities in the Union Territories (including Delhi) have been shelved. Delhi has been allotted Rs. 123 crores for the coming financial year out of which Rs. 14 crores are for the non-plan programmes.

Sir, I feel that Delhi has been given an unfair treatment, in the current budget. I would request a reappraisal of allotted funds for non-plan programmes so that the social development and maintenance of law and order in the Centrally-administered territory is effective.

I was happy to see the hon. lady Deputy Finance Minister was here. I remember last year I had presented her with three coins which had the picture of British Monarch. I had said then that they were still in circulation and I thought that after one whole year they would have taken some action. But I am sorry to say

that they are still in circulation. These coins containing the figure of British monarch are still in circulation.

Finally I just want to end with this sentence. For the implementation of our financial programmes our main objective should be to have more agricultural production and industrial output and giving job-satisfaction to the people and not jitters at the beginning of every year.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA (Tumkur): Any honest attempt made by our versatile Finance Minister has created a situation in this country and in regard to transformation of the economic situation we find that a hungry nation has changed into an angry nation. It is most unfortunate really that we are at a critical situation. Not only the nation and its development and its economy is being crippled but also I would like to say that I have no hesitation at all in saying that there is a great conspiracy, a sort of sabotage, to demolish the image, the economic structure of the country, by certain sections of the people in this country. It is reflected in certain events which have taken place. We have come to know that such conspiracies were undertaken with a view to cripple the economy of the country by certain sections of the people and the recent occurrences in various States and various parts of the country are examples in this regard.

Budget proposals are made year after year. This sort of deficit budget has become a common phenomena not only in respect of the Central Government but also of the State Governments.

The question which I would like to ask to the Government is this. Why have they not exhausted their disciplinary measures so far as disciplining the functioning of the States is concerned? What is it that they have

[Shri K. Lakkappa]

done to discipline the State economy in this regard? It is most unfortunate that they have not disciplined the State economy in order to build up the necessary economic structure in the country, because the progress and development of our economic structure depends upon the behaviour of various State Governments.

To-day we are having several Governments indifferent States. We are not reflecting the views of the people; we are not even reflecting the views of the party's programme and the policy of the Government. Take, for instance, the economic programme undertaken by Government in our country. What is the action taken by the Finance Ministry to discipline the fiscal and financial aspects of the programmes undertaken by various State Governments? The programmes so far undertaken by them have only crippled the economy of this country. For the last so many years the conditions have not been improved. Though natural resources are available in plenty, they have not been fully tapped by Government. Though the manpower in this country is available in plenty the same has not been utilised to the fullest extent possible. I would only want that the Finance Ministry should be asked to take steps for exploitation of natural resources available in the country.

Take for instance river water problems. There is a dispute with regard to the utilisation of water from the Krishna river. After all we should feel that the river belongs to the whole country and not to a particular State. It is this sort of river dispute which creates economic stagnation in this country. By not taking any decision with regard to the Krishna river dispute, the whole of the economy of our country is adversely affected. In spite of so much of inflation that we have been witnessing in this country we have not been able to tackle the problem on the food front properly.

Plans after Plans have been formulated and they have been implemented; with what results. The machinery that we are having to-day requires to be changed completely. Bureaucrats working in the Planning Commission as well as in various States require to be thoroughly changed. The recruitment system also requires to be changed. The officers attached to various recruitment organisations are completely in the hands of the people. It is they who are creating this situation thereby the progressive policies of the Governments are not being implemented properly. The machinery in the UPSC requires to be changed because the recruitment system followed therein is defective. There is discrimination made in the matter of recruitments to various posts under Government. Only their relations are appointed to various posts in various departments. This aspect of the matter has got to be gone into. It is the bureaucrats who are not allowing this country to progress. They stand in the way of implementing the plan programmes of this country. This aspect of the matter also has got to be taken into consideration.

Today I would like to quote Raj Committee report. The agricultural economy has to be improved. Our economy is based on agriculture. What is it that we have done for the improvement of agriculture in this country? Even they are not fully utilising the available land to remove poverty. We are not utilising our water resources. We have not distributed the land to the landless even after 26 years. The land reforms which have been envisaged and proposed are being scuttled at the hands of some State Governments. Then we have created a big gap between rich and the landless poor farmers. How do you involve these people in the great task of building up our economy. Unless you utilise the services of these people who have been oppressed and oppressed for ages in building up the economy of our coun-

try, our economy will continue to remain in the crippled stage. That aspect has not been put forward in the Budget. It is no use telling us that we have given certain concessions on the higher level. The entire tax structure needs to be changed. The whole machinery that has been adopted to collect these taxes has been corrupted and all sorts of taxes that we envisage are not being collected honestly and they are not bringing revenue to the Treasury. This is most important because unless that machinery is changed it would be difficult to bring the tax from the black-marketeers, the rich landlords and the big business houses.

Now, what type of companies are running in this country! Where is the discipline on the part of the people who are appointed on these companies? You are paying to the managing directors Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000 and they are swindling away all the money which really belongs to the nation. How can any economy be built in this country and how can any Finance Minister function in such an atmosphere! Unless there is direct tax on these companies which can be collected on the basis of the income these companies will hold the country to ransom and will ultimately ruin this country. All these companies are functioning in this fashion. Last year I quoted the name of 'Karnataka Fertiliser Company'. The Karnataka Government holds 51 per cent shares and the Government of India has also participated. Do you know how the managing directors of this company are behaving? They have appointed their own relatives in the company and are drawing Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000 per month. This company has not even started production whereas appointments have already been made. They have also appointed distributing agencies. So, it is running at a loss. Almost every company is showing losses. I think Shri Ganesha knows very well how these companies are running. They are mainly depending upon the ad-

itors and are showing losses, whereas actually they are earning profits. I would like to know what machinery Government have got to collect that money. We have not been able to collect this money. We have not been able to unearth even the black money because we have not accepted even the Wanchoo Committee's recommendation in full, and we have not accepted even the Raj Committee's report on agricultural income. At this rate, I do not know how Government are going to get money for the exchequer and how they are going to run the administration.

Unless all these aspects are looked into, it would be very difficult to discipline the economy of this country and again we shall be in trouble.

With the present taxation system, there is a big gap between the rural economy and the urban economy. Ceilings have been imposed when it come to the rural economy. But what has happened to urban economy? Where are the urban ceiling laws? Why has legislation not been undertaken in the various States for ceiling on urban property? Has any action been taken against States which have not passed legislation regarding ceiling on urban properties. We see construction of fabulous buildings and multi-storied buildings and sky-scrapers in the various cities by organisations, companies and joint sector and other sectors. But what is the ceiling that has been imposed on such urban properties? I am sorry to say that no steps have been taken to bring about any discipline in this regard.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, the hon. Member must conclude. His party has put a ceiling on the speech.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: Again what about the plight of the poor people? With the present rise in prices and the new taxes, they are finding it

[Shri K. Lakkappa]

difficult to make both ends meet. Of course, more money is needed for the plan. And actually money is available in this country. The only thing is that the hon. Minister must find out the sources from which he can get the money. There must be a permanent machinery to collect that money. It is said that tax evasion alone is to the tune of more than Rs. 5000 crores. Rs. 6000 crores has been invested in the public sector but there is no disciplining of the public sector.

There are some items like steel, for instance, which are in shortage. This is a man-made shortage. Government can and should take steps to utilise all the resources which are available in the country. Take, for example, the Vijyanagaram steel plant in Karnataka. In 1970-71, the Prime Minister opened this project, and since then land has been acquired and we have invested a large amount of money, and we have minimised all the expenditure. But what is envisaged in the budget in regard to this steel plant? This steel plant would benefit not only Karnataka but it would benefit the whole country. Such a major steel plant is pending at the hands of the Central Government. Similarly, there are also some big irrigation projects which are pending with the Central Government. If these are not attended to and sanctioned, it would create problems in the future and the Central Government would be obliged to spend more money later on those projects. Therefore, I urge that early decision should be taken on them.

In regard to the Vijyanagaram steel plant, the decision on investment was taken in 1972. Since this project belongs to my State, I would like to speak a word about it in conclusion. The first phase of the project will be completed by 1980-81; but even this has not been promised. So far, the Government of India have spent only

Rs. 105 lakhs, while the State Government have taken action to acquire the land and prepare a scheme even for water supply. In the case of the Salem project, the Government of India have agreed to the import of plant and machinery also. But in the case of the Vijyanagaram steel plant which is also under the same category, why have no steps been taken in this regard? It will not be fair on the part of the Government to sabotage this or shelve this. It will give a boost to the economy of not only Karnataka but the whole country. So, I hope and trust that the Government will take early steps so far as the Vijyanagaram steel plant is concerned.

श्री नानूभाई एन० पटेल (बलसार) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बजट के बारे में अपने विचार प्रकट करने से पहले मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज हमारे हाउस के लिए, सारे देश के लिए और खासकर गुजरात के लिए, बड़ी खुशी का दिन है कि बहाने करीब दो महीने से जो एजीडेशन चल रहा था, जिस में लगभग सौ भादमियों की मृत्यु हुई, और यह भाग की जा रही थी कि गुजरात एसेम्बली को बर्खास्त कर दिया जाये, उसके फलस्वरूप सेंट्रल गवर्नमेन्ट ने राज्यपाल को आदेश दिया और एसेम्बली को भंग कर दिया गया। गुजरात के विद्यार्थी-वर्ग और विद्यार्थी नेताओं ने यह वादा किया था कि एसेम्बली भंग हो जाने पर सारे गुजरात में शांति हो जायेगी। आप ने देखा है कि आज से गुजरात के सब स्कूल, कॉलेज और युनिवर्सिटीज बालू हो गये हैं और इस प्रकार विद्यार्थी नेताओं ने अपने वादे को फुलफिल कर दिया है।

मेरी कांस्टिट्यूण्टी, बलसार, के पार्टी लालुके के तरनाशिया गांव में एक काँग्रेस एस० एस० ए० ने एक रैली आयोजित की थी। वहाँ ऐसे ही भादमियों की हत्या कर दी गई, जो उन्हें रैली की देखने के लिए

बड़े थे। वे लोग स्टूडेंट नहीं थे। उन को काट डाला गया और उन की जीभ काट कर उन की जीभ में डाल दी गई। इस घटना से वहाँ के लोगों में बड़ी नाराजगी है। मैंने इस बारे में राज्यपाल जी को बिट्ठी भी लिखी है। एक भावनी ने, जो वहाँ हाजिर था, जिस ने ये सारी बातें देखी, इस बारे में एक स्टेटमेंट दिया है। अगर उस एम० एम० ए० की गिरफ्तारी नहीं होगी, तो मुझे भय है कि वहाँ फिर गड़बड़ी शुरू न हो जाये।

जिन भावमियों की बहा हत्या की गई उन में से एक का नाम श्री अशोक कुमार मोहनलाल देसाई था। उसकी आयु 22 वर्ष की और वह सभिस करता था। दूसरे व्यक्ति का नाम श्री धनमुखभाई चमनलाल देसाई था। वह बी० ए० था और एल० एल० बी० कर के कोई इंडस्ट्री शुरू करने वाला था। वह कोई स्टूडेंट या एजीटेशन करने वाला नहीं था। लेकिन उस को काट डाला गया।

जहाँ तक इस बजट का सम्बन्ध है, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्राज सारे देश में जो तूफान चल रहे हैं, वे रोजी रोटी के लिए हैं। जब तक इस देश में अनाज और खाने पीने की दूसरी चीजें सबसिद्धाण्ड रेट पर नहीं दी जायेंगी, तब तक लोगों को सस्ते भाव पर सामान नहीं मिलेगा। बजट के बाद भाव कितने बढ़ गये हैं। इस का कारण यह है कि सरकार किसान से उसका उत्पादन जिस भाव पर खरीदती है, वह इतना कम है कि किसानों की बिल्कुल लाभ नहीं होता है। सरकार बड़े भावों पर किसान से अनाज ले, इस पर कोई आपत्ति नहीं है, लेकिन किसान को फर्टिलाइजर, इन्सिडिस्ट्री और दूसरी आवश्यक चीजें सबसिद्धाण्ड रेट पर मिलनी चाहिए। अगर ऐसा नहीं होगा, तो मुझे डर है कि

प्राइसिज बिल्कुल कम नहीं होंगी और ये तूफान सारे देश में चालू रहेंगे।

गुजरात में अमान्ति खत्म हो गई है और हमें उम्मीद है कि अब वहाँ कुछ अनाज मिलेगा। लेकिन अगर एक भावमी को नहींने में एक या दो किलो अनाज भी न मिले, तो वह कैसे जी सकता है? जिस के पास पैसा है, वह तो ब्लैक मार्केट से भी अनाज खरीद लेगा, क्योंकि ब्लैक मार्केट में जितना चाहिये, उतना अनाज मिलता है, अगर प्रोपन मार्केट में वह नहीं मिलता है। इस लिए वह जकूटी है कि लोगों को सबसिद्धाण्ड रेट पर सफिमेंट कूड देना चाहिए।

भारत ने बंगलादेश को आजाद कराया। इस बारे में कोई दो रायें नहीं हैं कि यह इच्छा हुआ। लेकिन उस के बाद पाकिस्तान के नब्बे हजार अिजनर्ज को हम ने दो साल तक अपने यहां रखा। हम ने उन को खिलाया पिलाया, कपड़ा दिया और उन की सब आवश्यकतायें पूरी की। हम ने उन को यहाँ इस लिए रखा कि उन पर मुकदमा चलाया जाता था। लेकिन इस बारे में सयझौता हो गया, जिस के कारण उन पर मुकदमा नहीं चलाया गया और उन को पाकिस्तान भेजा जा रहा है। जब तक वे यहाँ रहे, उन को सब कुछ दिया गया। हमारे यहाँ एक कहावत है, जिस का तात्पर्य यह है कि घर के बच्चे तो चक्की चार्टें, और पड़ोसी को घाटा देते हैं। वैसा ही हाल इस मामले में हुआ है। एक तरफ तो हमारे देश के लोग मुर्खों भर रहे हैं और दूसरी तरफ बाहर के इतने लोगों को खिलाया-पिलाया और रखा जाता है। इतना ही नहीं, हमारे देश में सीमेंट, लोहे और दूसरी चीजों की कमी है, लेकिन ये चीजें बंगला देश को भेजी जा रही हैं।

इस साल के बजट में 36 करोड़ रुपये बंगलादेश को देना तय किया गया है। अगर

[श्री नानू भार्गव एच० एच०]

इस रकम से हमारे देश के उन लोगों के लिए कुछ प्राविजन किया जाता, जो भूखों मर रहे हैं, तो अच्छा था। मगर ऐसा न कर के भारी टैक्स लगाये जा रहे हैं। बजट के बाद भाव बहुत बढ़ गये हैं। जो कोई भी टैक्स बढ़ाया जाता है, बाखिर में उस का असर गरीब जनता पर पड़ता है। इस तरह दूसरे देशों को पैसा दे कर अपने देश के लोगों को भूखा भारता ठीक नहीं है।

इस बजट में नबंदा डैम के बारे में कुछ नहीं बताया गया है। अगर इस बारे में जल्दी कोई डिस्मिशन नहीं लिया गया, तो गुजरात में फिर से डूबल होगी। मैं फिनांस मिनिस्टर से अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि नबंदा डैम के बारे में प्राइम मिनिस्टर द्वारा जल्दी से जल्दी डिस्मिशन लिया जाये और इस काम को शुरू कर दिया जाये। नबंदा नदी में हर साल बाढ़ आती है, जिस से हजारों गांव बह जाते हैं और सैकड़ों भारतीय और कैंटन मर जाते हैं। जब तक नबंदा डैम नहीं बनाया जायेगा, तब तक गुजरात के लिए बड़ा खतरा रहेगा।

सरकार ने बैंकों का नैकनसाइजेशन किया, यह अच्छा है। मगर आप बैंकों के क्राहकों से पूछिये तो सही कि क्या उन लोगों की परेशानी पहले से बढ़ गई है या कम हो गई है। जो लोग बैंक ले कर पैसा लेने के लिए जाते हैं, उन्हें बड़े बड़े, दो दो बड़े बैंक पढ़ना पड़ता है। उन लोगों की कोई रेस्क्यू नहीं है। नैकनसाइजेशन से पहले कोई भी कन्स्ट्रक्शन के पास चला जाता था, तो उस को अच्छा ड्रीटमेंट विचारा था और उच्च का काम कराने देते, जाता था। अब हालत यह है कि अगर कोई कमीशन देता है, तो उस का काम जल्दी हो जाता है, दूसरे लोग ऐसे बैठे रहते हैं। सरकार को इस बाड़े में सुनासिब जल्दी शुरू करना चाहिए। अभी आप ने सीमेंट, लोहा और

गैस बाक्स के ऊपर एक्साइज इयूटी लगाई है। उस में बैंक सीमेंट, लोहा इत्यादि किसने मंहये हो गए? भारतीय को उस को इस्तेमाल करने? गैस बाक्स जो 10 पैस की मिलती थी वह पन्द्रह पैस की हो गई। तो यह किस के ऊपर बोझा पड़ा? इसी तरह पोस्टकार्ड है। गरीब भारतीय पोस्टकार्ड के द्वारा दूसरे तक संदेश भेजता है। उस का दाम पन्द्रह पैस कर दिया। यह बोझा किस के ऊपर पड़ा? गरीब के ऊपर ही तो पड़ा। तो मेरा तो सुझाव है कि पन्द्रह पैस के बजाय दस पैस ही पोस्ट कार्ड का रेट रखना चाहिए। सरकारी नोकरियों में प्राविजासियों को जगह देने का जहाँ तक सवाल है, जगहें ऐडवटाइज की जाती हैं, दरबारास्टें मंगाई जाती हैं, मगर कैंडीडेटस भार नाट सूटबल यह कह कर के उनका रिज्यूमेंट उन जगहों के लिए नहीं किया जाता है। उन के प्रोमोशन में भी ऐसा ही होता है। तो वित्त मंत्री अगर इस चीज को नहीं देखेंगे तो उन्हें बहुत तकलीफों का सामना करना पड़ेगा।

मेरा क्षेत्र देहात का और हिली एरिया का है। वहाँ रास्ते नहीं हैं और तकियों पर पुल नहीं हैं। स्कूल भी ज्यादा नहीं हैं, न कालेजें हैं। तो उस के लिए भी इन्फ्रा एरिया के लिए कोई इन्तजाय नहीं किया है। प्रायकल गोंबर प्लांट के लिए सरकार कुछ कर रही है। उस से बड़ा फायदा होता है क्योंकि हम लोग भी उस को इस्तेमाल करते हैं। लेकिन जितना गोंबर प्लांट का महत्व है उतना ही विजली का महत्व कुछ कम नहीं है। हमारे यहाँ जो प्रोजेक्ट क्रिये के जाते हैं उन को मुक्त हो रहा है लेकिन जो हाइड्रो प्रोजेक्ट हैं उन को तो कभी के जल्दी विजली सप्लाई करने का काम शुरू करना चाहिए। हमारे यहाँ सुकई डैम का काम चल रहा है। वह काम शुरू किया गया नहीं है। अगर वह प्रोजेक्ट शुरू हो जाय तो हमारे राज्य गुजरात को उन्नत के

ज्यादा बिजली मिलेगी। अभी हमारे यहां तारापुर से भी बिजली आती है मगर जब से वह तारापुर का प्रोजेक्ट शुरू हुआ है महीने में दो चार दिन वह खराब हो जाता है और बिजली बन्द हो जाती है। किसानों को बिजली नहीं मिलती है। उन की खेती नष्ट हो जाती है। वहां क्या दिक्कत है उस की जानकारी लेकर के उस के ऊपर भी कुछ ज्यादा पैसा खर्च कर के उस को चलाना चाहिए। धुवारन प्रोजेक्ट है उस का भी वही हाल है। गुजरात के अन्दर बिजली की बहुत कमी है। अगर नर्मदा प्रोजेक्ट बन जाय तो गुजरात के अन्दर बिजली की कमी नहीं रहेगी, पानी की कमी नहीं रहेगी और केवल गुजरात नहीं, मध्य प्रदेश, महाराष्ट्र, राजस्थान और गुजरात सब को इस प्रोजेक्ट का लाभ मिलेगा। मगर उस के ऊपर ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है। उस के लिए मैं बड़ा दुःखी हूँ। जितने भाव अभी घट बढ़े और बढ़ रहे हैं उसको अगर नहीं रोका जायगा तो मेरा ख्याल है इस देश में बड़ी गड़बड़ी हो जायगी।

अभी आप ने कोयले का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया। कोयले का राष्ट्रीयकरण होते ही कोयले की कमी हो गई। मैं दिल्ली में आज 17 साल से हूँ। मैंने कभी राशन कार्ड के द्वारा कोयला नहीं लिया। मगर अब बिना राशन कार्ड के कोयला नहीं मिलता। गाड़ियां कम हो गईं, बहुत सी गाड़ियां बन्द हो गईं। राष्ट्रीयकरण जो आप करते हैं उस के लिए हमें अफसोस नहीं है, लेकिन राष्ट्रीयकरण के बाद जो चीजें कम हो जाती हैं ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए। अभी रेलवे बजट में पैसेजर्स के ऊपर किराये बढ़ाये गए। अगर एयर कंडीशन और एयर कंडीशन चैयर कार्स के भाव बढ़ाते तो हमें कोई दुःख नहीं होता। मगर जो थर्ड क्लास पैसेजर्स हैं उन की हालत भी तो आप देखें कि वह कैसे ट्रेवल करते हैं? वह न देख कर आप ने

उन का भी किराया बढ़ा दिया। सारी चीजें आज महंगी होती जाती हैं और उन की आमदनी में कोई ज्यादा फर्क नहीं पड़ता है। आप हर व्यक्ति को जो डीअरनेस एलाऊंस बढ़ाते जाते हैं उस से क्या होता है? जितना उनका डीअरनेस एलाऊंस बढ़ेगा उस के मुकाबिले में चीजों के भाव उस से दुगने और तिगुने हो जाते हैं। तो मेरा समझाव है कि गवर्नमेंट सर्वेंट्स को आप सबसिडाइज्ड रेट से फिक्स्ड प्राइस पर उन की रिक्वायर-मेंट का कपड़ा, अनाज, तेल, साबुन इत्यादि दीजिए, फिर डीअरनेस एलाऊंस बढ़ाने की कोई जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी। जितना डीअरनेस एलाऊंस बढ़ा है उस से ज्यादा मंहगाई उन्हें भुगतनी पड़ रही है। इसलिए गवर्नमेंट स्टाफ के लिए सबसिडाइज्ड रेट से, चीपर रेट से और उसे आसानी से मिल सकें उस की जरूरत की चीजें उस की व्यवस्था आप कीजिये। बस इतना ही मुझे निवेदन करना है।

श्री नरेन्द्र सिंह विष्ट (अल्मोड़ा) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस बजट के समर्थन में खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मैंने इस में कुछ विशेषताएं पाई हैं, उन को मैं संक्षेप में ही आप के सामने रखूंगा क्योंकि मेरे पूर्व वक्ताओं ने काफी प्रकाश इन विषयों पर डाल दिया है। इस के अलावा थोड़ी बातें मुझे अपने क्षेत्र के बारे में भी कहनी बहुत जरूरी हैं। इसलिए सारे रूप में मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि प्रत्यक्ष करों में जो कमी की गई है 97.5 प्रतिशत से घटा कर उसे 77 प्रतिशत किया गया है, यह एक बहुत अच्छा कदम है। इसके अतिरिक्त 6 हजार रुपये तक की आय पर जो अब कर नहीं लगेगा वह भी एक अच्छा कदम है। मैं तो आशा करता था कि इस से भी कुछ और यह सीमा बढ़ेगी क्योंकि रुपये की परचेजिंग पावर अब सिर्फ ढाई आने के बराबर रह गई है। तो 6 हजार रुपया कोई ज्यादा आमदनी नहीं है। मुख्य रूप से उत्पादन शुल्क रईसों के काम में आने वाली

[श्री नरेन्द्र सिंह बिष्ट]

बीजों पर ही लगाया गया है जैसे किचन है, टी वी है, एयर कंडीशनर है, मोटर कारें हैं। यह भी एक अच्छा कदम है। न्यूनतम प्राथम्यकताओं के लिए राष्ट्रीय कार्यक्रम जो रखे गए हैं उस के लिए मैं तहे दिल से सरकार की प्रशंसा करता हूँ कि इस प्रयोजन के लिए बजट ने काफी व्यवस्था की गई है। इन कार्यक्रमों के अन्दर प्राइमरी शिक्षा, पेय जल, ग्रामीण स्वास्थ्य, गन्दी बस्तियों की सफाई और गांवों में बिजली पहुंचाने का काम किया जायगा। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि जो रिबीजन हो रहा है पंचवर्षीय योजना का उस में इस के अंदर कोई कमी सरकार नहीं करेगी क्योंकि यह नितांत प्राथम्यक चीजें थीं जिन की ओर सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिए था ?

अब मैं बजट की थोड़ी कमियों की ओर भी सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहूंगा। जैसे पोस्टकार्ड के बारे में कहा गया, पोस्टकार्ड की कीमत बढ़ाना गरीबों के लिए ही टैक्स बढ़ाना है। ऐसे ही रेल यात्रे की कमीशन और पेट्रोल बंपर की भी कीमतें बढ़ गई हैं इससे काफी मूल्य वृद्धि हो रही है और उस को कंट्रोल न जाना मुश्किल हो रहा है।

आर्थिक स्थिति में जो मुख्य कमी है उस के बारे में मैं बांचू समिति की रिपोर्ट की अर ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ जिस में परमिट, कोटा, लाइसेंस और काला धन निकालने के बारे में कई किसम की सिकारियों की गई थीं, उन को कार्यान्वित करने का कोई प्रयास इस बजट में नहीं किया गया है। पांचवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना का जो प्रारूप हमारे सामने आया था उस में मेकअप बैंक की पालिसी और प्राइस एकोनामी की पालिसी का कुछ धाकात था। तो धाकात की जाती थी कि बज पालिसी बन जायगी। मगर इस बजट

में उस का कोई धाकात दिखाई नहीं देता। अभी भी टेक्नोक्रेट्स और ब्यूरोक्रेट्स की लड़ाई जहां की तहां खड़ी है, डाक्टरों और इंजीनियरों की हड़ताल अपनी जगह खड़ी है। इन सब चीजों का निराकरण प्राथम्यक है। समान काम के लिए समान वेतन का जो सिद्धांत है वह लागू किया जाना चाहिए क्योंकि यह अशांति तभी समाप्त हो सकेगी।

सरकार का ध्यान नै युवा लोगों की ओर खीचना चाहता हूँ। अभी हमारा गुजरात का अनुभव ताजा है। युवा पीढ़ी में आज बहुत ज्यादा असंतोष है, इस की गहराई में जाना चाहिए। इस समस्या को राजनीतिक रूप से नहीं देखना चाहिये, बल्कि उस का शीघ्र से शीघ्र निराकरण करना चाहिये।

अब कुछ बातों में पर्वतीय क्षेत्रों के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। उत्तर प्रदेश के भागों पर्वतीय जिले सारे हिन्दुस्तान में सब से पिछड़े हुए हैं। सड़कें, बिजली, उद्योग-धन्धे, एपीकल्चर, शिक्षा, मैडिकल-एड- हर मायनें सब से ज्यादा तिरस्कृत हैं। मैं इन जिलों की ओर सरकार का विशेष ध्यान प्राकषित करना चाहता हूँ। इन क्षेत्रों के विकास के लिये इन्दिरा जी की कृपा से प्लानिंग कमीशन में एक विशेष सेल बना था, उस से आशा की जाती थी कि बहुत से काम होंगे। यह भी कहा जाता था कि हिमाचल प्रदेश की तरह से फी-व्यक्ति यहां पर खर्चा किया जायगा और जो पांचवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना बन रही है उस में इन क्षेत्रों के लिये 203 करोड़ की योजना बनेगी। लेकिन अभी तक तो कुछ देखने में नहीं आया है। आशा है अब जो फिर से योजना में परिवर्तन हो रहा है, उस में इस अक्षरशः में कोई कमी नहीं की जायगी।

मैं बिजली की ओर आप का ध्यान प्राकषित करूँ—उत्तर प्रदेश के 23.7

प्रतिशत गांधी से विजली आ गई है, लेकिन जहाँ तक इन पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों का सम्बन्ध है, केवल 2.9 प्रतिशत क्षेत्र में विजली पहुंची है। उत्तर-काशी, बनौली, गढ़वाल, पिथौरागढ़, अल्मोड़ा में अब तक 2.9 प्रतिशत क्षेत्रों में विजली पहुंची है। इसी तरह से पर्यटन उद्योग में भी कोई विकास नहीं हुआ है। पर्वतीय क्षेत्रों में पर्यटन से बहुत ज्यादा धामदानी हो सकती है, लेकिन इस के लिये बहुत कम धनराशि दी गई है। वहां सड़कों का जाल बिछाया जाना चाहिये, ट्रांसपोर्ट की सुविधा दी जानी चाहिये, ताकि अधिक से अधिक पर्यटक वहां आ सकें।

हमारे पहाड़ों में खनिज सम्पदा अभाव है, लेकिन उस का सर्वे नहीं हो रहा है। एक-दो जगह सर्वे हुआ है, जैसे पिथौरागढ़ की मैंगनासाइट की माइन्स हैं—मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस को अपने हाथ में लेकर पब्लिक सेक्टर में चलाये। वनों पर आधारित उद्योग बन्ने चलाये जाने चाहियें। पर्वतीय क्षेत्रों के लिये परिवहन सहायता (ट्रांसपोर्ट सब्सिडी) सरकार दे रही है—मैं चाहता हूँ कि वह सहायता इन क्षेत्रों को भी मिलनी चाहिये। क्योंकि आज जो भी फल-फूल वहां पैदा होता है, यदि उस को मैदानों तक लाया जाय तो उन की कीमत बहुत ज्यादा हो जाती है और उन से कोई आर्थिक लाभ नहीं हो पाता। इसी तरह जो सामान मैदानों से पहाड़ों पर आता है, वहां पहुंचते पहुंचते उन के दाम दुगने हो जाते हैं। जब यहां ही इतनी मंहगई है तो आप धनदाया लगा सकते हैं कि वहां पहुंचते पहुंचते उन के दाम कितने ज्यादा हो जाते हैंगे।

जहां मैकिन्कल-बूथ का प्रबंध है धरमपुरी के प्रशासनिक अस्पताल बनाना चलत नीति है। पहाड़ों में दूर दूर आवासी होती है, जिस की अभाव के मैकिन्कल-बूथ बनाने-बनाने की योजना है, न सड़कों हैं, न ट्रांसपोर्ट के

साधन हैं, मरीजों को कोई सुविधा नहीं मिल पाती है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर जाना चाहिये।

आज कल एजुकेशन की जो स्थिति है, उस में बैकवर्ड एरियाज के लड़के कम्पीटीशन में कभी नहीं आ सकने, क्योंकि ज्यादातर कम्पीटीशन क्षेत्रों में हुआ करते हैं और वहां के लड़के क्षेत्रों में बहुत पीछे रहते हैं। सिविल सर्विसिज में भी उन को स्थान नहीं मिल पाता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि कम से कम तृतीय तथा चतुर्थ श्रेणी में उन का विशेष ध्यान रखा जाय, हो सके तो उन के लिये जगह रिजर्व की जाय। मैं आप को बताना चाहता हूँ कि यह वार्डर इलाका है, बड़ा सैन्सिटिव इलाका है, मिथा वहां बड़ रही है, बिपी कालिजिज कुल रहे हैं, वो युनीवर्सिटीज भी बनने आ रही हैं, इस लिये केवल एकेडेमिक क्वालिफिकेशन बढ़ती गई और एम्प्लायमेंट नहीं मिली तो सिवाय कम्युनिस्ट बनने के और कोई चारा नहीं है।

पर्वतीय लोगों का एक मात्र बन्धा फौज में जाना है। ये लोग बहुत ईमानदार, लायल और बहादुर हैं, क्षेत्रों जमाने से आज तक फौज में इन का स्टेप्ड बहुत ऊंचा रहा है, लेकिन अब पर्वतीय प्रदेश के लोगों का रेकूटमेंट फौज में बहुत कम हो रहा है। मैं चाहता हूँ कुमाऊं की फौज बना कर उन के ज्यादा से ज्यादा रेकूटमेंट की सरकार व्यवस्था करे। न सिविल सर्विसिज में नौकरी मिलती है, न उद्योग-धन्धे हैं—ऐसी स्थिति में उन का विकास कैसे होगा? लेकिन मैं सरकार की एक बात के लिये तारीफ करता हूँ—बैकवर्ड एरियाज की तरफ सरकार का ध्यान जाने लगा है। बैकवर्ड एरियाज में उद्योग-धन्धे बनें, उत्पादन बढ़े, इस के लिये योजनाएँ बनाई जा रही हैं। लेकिन जब तक वहां इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर नहीं होगा, वे उद्योग धन्धे कैसे बनेंगे। जहां न सड़कें हैं, न विजली है,

[श्री नरेंद्र सिंह बिष्ट]

न बैंकिंग फैसिलिटीज हैं, न टैकनीकल-नो-हाऊ है, न रा-मैटीरियल है—इस लिये सब से पहले इन चीजों की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये। पर्वतीय प्रदेशों की आबादी बहुत बढ़ जाने से लोगों के पास खाने भर के लिये जमीन नहीं रह गई है। तराई-भाभर उन का आंगन है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन आठ जिलों—उत्तरकाशी, चमौली, टिहरी, गढ़वाल, अल्मोड़ा, पिथौरागढ़, नैनीताल के लोगों को वहाँ बसाया जाय, खास कर जो हरिजन हैं, भूमिहीन किसान हैं, फौजी हैं, इन को वहाँ जमीन दी जाय।

सारी नदियां इस पर्वतीय प्रदेश से निकलती हैं, लेकिन वहाँ के लोगों को पीने के लिये पानी नहीं मिलता है। सिंचाई की बात तो छोड़ दीजिये, पीने के लिये महिलाओं को सिर पर घड़ा रख कर तीन-तीन मील नीचे जा कर नदियों से पानी लाना पड़ता है। अल्मोड़ा और पिथौरागढ़ में तो त्वाहि त्वाहि मची हुई है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि सरकार इस आँर भी ध्यान देगी ताकि पर्वतीय प्रदेश की जनता के लिये पीने के पानी की शीघ्र व्यवस्था हो सके।

हमारे यहाँ काफी ट्राइबल एरियाज हैं। ट्राइबल एरियाज को जो अनुदान अन्य जगहों पर मिल रहा है, इन 8 जिलों के ट्राइबल ब्लाक्स को वह धनराशि भी सरकार ने नहीं दी है। इस आँर भी मैं सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि जिस तरह से आप बैंकवर्ड एरियाज में रेल बनाने की व्यवस्था करने जा रहे हैं—इन प्रदेशों की तरफ भी ध्यान देंगे। अंग्रेजों के जमाने में शिमला तक रेल गई थी, लेकिन आजादी के इन 25 सालों में किसी भी पर्वतीय इलाके में एक इन्च भी रेल देखने में नहीं आई। टनकपुर से बागेश्वर तक मिलाने की कांशिश होनी चाहिये। देहरादून तक ब्राडगेज लाइन

है, इस लिये देहरादून काफी तरक्की कर गया, लेकिन इन 8 पर्वतीय जिलों में—काठगोदाम, टनकपुर, राम नगर, सब जगह मीटर गेज लाइन जाती है, जिस की वजह से इन पर्वतीय प्रदेशों का उत्थान नहीं हो रहा है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि इन सब लाइनों को ब्राड-गेज लाइनों में कन्वर्ट करने की सरकार कोशिश करेगी।

श्री विभूति मिश्र (मोतीहारी) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं वित्त मंत्री जी के द्वारा प्रस्तुत बजट का समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपने बजट भाषण के पहले पेज पर कहा है—

Greater social justice and self-reliance.

यह कैसे आ सकता है

15 hrs.

हम लोग जब स्वाधीनता की लड़ाई लड़ते थे तो गांधी जी ने कहा कि साढ़े 22 हजार तनख्वाह वाइसराय को दी जाती है जो कि नहीं दी जानी चाहिये। लेकिन हमारे संविधान बनाने वालों ने राष्ट्रपति की तनख्वाह 10,000 रु० रखी। तो ग्रेटर सोशल जस्टिस कहाँ है? एक तरफ आप 40 रु० मिनिमम आय देना चाहते हैं, जो बोर्डर लाइन है, और राष्ट्रपति को 10,000 रु० देते हैं यह कहाँ का सोशल जस्टिस है?

दूसरी बात आप सेल्फ रिलायेंस की कस्ते हैं। जब देश का पैसा बड़े बड़े लोग खा जायेंगे, क्लास एक और दो के सरकारी अधिकारी राष्ट्रपति और अन्य बड़े बड़े राज्य अधिकारी, तो सेल्फ रिलायेंस कहाँ से होगा? मुझे मालूम होता है कि यह कंट्रेडिक्टरी भाषण है और 22 वर्ष से ऐसे ही भाषण सुनता आ रहा हूँ, हालांकि मैं वित्त मंत्री जी की बड़ी इज्जत करता हूँ। सरकार की जबाब देही है, स्वर्गीय डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद, सर राधाकृष्णन और स्वर्गीय जाकिर हुसैन 3,500 रु० माहवार तनख्वाह लेते थे और वर्तमान राष्ट्रपति

10,000 रु० तनख्वाह लेने लगे । क्या इसी तरह हम सोशललिज्म की तरफ जायेंगे । हम तो कैपिटलिज्म की तरफ जा रहे हैं ।

अंग्रेजों के जमाने में हम ने अल्टीमेटम दिया था कि साढ़े 22 हजार रु० तनख्वाह वाइसराय को नहीं दी जानी चाहिये । तो सरकार पहले यह फैसला करे कि तनख्वाह का अनुपात क्या होगा । इसी तरह से प्राइवेट सेक्टर में काफी तनख्वाह लोग लेते हैं, हवाई जहाज और रेलगाड़ी के चालक काफी तनख्वाह लेते हैं । वियटनाम में 1 और 5 का रेशियो है, चाइना में भी 1 और 5 का रेशियो है । लेकिन 22 वर्ष बाद हमारी सरकार जो सोशललिज्म का नारा लगाती है मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आप ने क्या फर्क रखा है ? माननीय गणेश जी बड़े सोशलिस्ट हैं । आप ने कहा कि 40 रु० गरीब को और 10,000 रु० राष्ट्रपति को देते हैं, तो आप कैसे जस्टीफाई करते हैं कि यह सोशलिस्टिक बजट है ? इसलिये सरकार को सोचना चाहिये कि क्या किया जाय और क्या नहीं किया जाय ।

क्रूड आयल के दाम बढ़ गये । मेरी समझ में यह दोस्ती नहीं आयी अरब कन्ट्रीज की । कहने को हमारे दोस्त हैं लेकिन कीमत नहीं घटा रहे हैं । 800 करोड़ रु० का हम को इम्पोर्ट करना पड़ेगा तेल । तो यह दोस्ती मेरी समझ में नहीं आती । मैं चाहता था कि सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह रहते या प्रधान मंत्री रहती तो समझता । जहां तक मैं ने चाणक्य नीति पढ़ी है उस के अनुसार भी अरब कन्ट्रीज की यह दोस्ती मेरी समझ में नहीं आती । कीमत बढ़ाते जाते हैं क्रूड आयल की और हमारे यहां परेशानी होती है । अगर पूरे दाम ही देने हैं इन अरब कन्ट्रीज को तो दोस्ती कैसी । और अगर दोस्ती है तो कीमत गिराइये ।

इनफ्लेशन इसलिये हो गया कि जो हमारा खर्चा है वह अनप्रोडक्टिव है । सरकार को ऐसा अनप्रोडक्टिव खर्चा नहीं करना चाहिये । 750 लोक सभा के सदस्य हैं, सारा स्टाफ है, सरकारी महकमे हैं यह क्या प्रोडक्टिव काम करते हैं सिवाय भाषण देने के । पैदा करने वाले किसान और फँक्री में मजदूर हैं उन की तनख्वाह बढ़ायी जाय जिस से उन की ऐफीशियेंसी बढ़ सके । तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार अनप्रोडक्टिव खर्चे बन्द करे, और जब तक इस तरह के खर्चे को बन्द नहीं करेगी इनफ्लेशन रुकने वाला नहीं है ।

थर्ड पे कमीशन के लिये आप ने 150 करोड़ रु० दिया है । लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि गांव में जो हल चलाता है, धान की रोपण करता है, जौ, गेहूँ और तम्बाकू की खेती करता है उस मजदूर के बारे में सरकार ने कभी सोचा ? उस के बारे में कभी नहीं सोचा । लेकिन आप सरकारी कर्मचारियों के बारे में सोचते हैं क्यों कि इन के हाथ में प्रंस है । लेकिन असली उत्पादन के बारे में नहीं सोचते हैं । जब तक किसान और मजदूर के हित की बात नहीं होगी तब तक इनफ्लेशन दूर नहीं होगा और खुशहाली नहीं होगी । इसलिये इस पर ध्यान देकि खेती की पैदावार कैसे बढ़े ।

गंडक योजना, नागार्जुन सागर, राजस्थान कैनाल ऐसी बहुत सी योजनायें हैं । आप पैसा देते हैं इसके लिये । इसलिये टाइम बाउन्ड काम लें । आप ने जितना पैसा लगाया उस से आप को क्या रिटर्न मिलता है यह भी देखना चाहिये । आप ने पैसा लगा दिया, उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ा लिहाजा इनफ्लेशन हुआ, चीजों की कीमतें बढ़ गई और लोगों के अन्दर गरीबी आ गई । इसलिये आप को सोचना चाहिये बजट बनाने के समय कि पैसा आप देते हैं स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को लेकिन सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट का स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स के ऊपर कोई अधिकार नहीं रखती है । कानूनी हक है उन को रिजर्व

[श्री विष्णुति मिश्र]

बैंक से मिलना चाहे अपना ले लें। अगर यही परिस्थिति रही तो सरकार का दिवाल निकल जायगा, जो कि निकल रहा है क्योंकि कि इनफ्लेशन हो गया है। डा० राज ने वो आर्टिकिल लिखे हैं कि कितना आप ने प्रोबल ड्रा किया, कितना डेफिसिट बजट बनाया। इस बारे में आप सोचें कि कैसे हमारा काम चलेगा। जब तक खेती की पैदावार नहीं बढ़ायेंगे समस्या हल होने वाली नहीं है। इस के ऊपर खास तौर से कमेटी बनायी जाय। लोगों की आमदानी घटी है, इन्सान कपड़े के बैगर रह सकता है, मैं दिगम्बर हो सकता हूँ, लेकिन जब तक पेट में भ्रम नहीं होगा तब तक जिन्दा नहीं रह सकता। डेबर चाई ने मुझ से कहा कि गुजरात का अगड़ा पेट का झण्डा बा। तो पेट भरने के लिये सरकार क्या करती है? आप ने तो सारे विभागों से डाटा कलेक्ट कर के बजट बना दिया, लेकिन जो पैसा इन को देते हैं और स्टेट्स काम नहीं करती हैं तो उस के लिये आप उन को क्या क्या देते हैं? मैं समझता हूँ यह बजट प्रधान मंत्री को पेश करना चाहिये और प्रधान मंत्री की जबाबदेही है। अगर स्टेट गवर्नमेंट काम नहीं करे तो उस को तोड़ दे और यूनिटरी गवर्नमेंट बनाये। अगर इस देश में यूनिटरी सरकार नहीं बनायी तो आप के देश की हालत और खराब होगी।

माओ-स्त-तुंग को देखिये उस ने चीन के लिये क्या किया? आज चीन दुनिया का सब से बड़ा देश हो गया, अमरीका, रूस और उस के बाद चाइना का नम्बर आता है। वह हम से पीछे आजाव हुआ। प्रो० वल्लभ ने चाइना के बारे में जो किताब लिखी है उस को पढ़िये। इसलिये मेरी राय है कि जो पैसा खर्च करते हो उस पर कंट्रोल करो, और अगर कोई काम नहीं करता है तो उस को सजा दीजिये। हमारे यहाँ कहावत है :

'हर गँहेती अपने बहि, न ती खड़ा रही'

मदलब यह है कि हल चले तो अपने हाथ से, और अगर हल चलाने में सबकत्त न हो तो कम से कम बँडा तो रझे हरबाहे के पास जिस से वह ठीक से जाते। लेकिन आप पैसा दे देते हैं पर देखते नहीं कि कैसे खर्च किया गया है।

गैडक योजना के अंत में 3 लाख एकड़ में अभी सिंचाई होती है, जब कि इस योजना के पूरे हो जाने स और अधिक अंत में सिंचाई उपलब्ध कराई जा सकती है। पर वह योजना अभी पूरी नहीं हुई है, और उस का तखमीना बढ़ना ही जा रहा है। उस योजना को जल्दी पूरी करना चाहिये जिस में उत्पादन बढ़ सके।

गुजरात का हाल आपने देखा, अब हमारे देसह गहर में सात आदमी गोली स मारे गये। आप यहाँ बहस करते रह, धरती आप के पैर से निकल रही है। इसलिये जो पैसा खर्च हो उस पर पूरा ध्यान दे और उस का सदप्रयोग हो।

उपाध्यक्षा महोदय, मुझे 22 साल हो गये हैं मैं कभी नहीं हारा जितना औरों को समय मिला है उतना तो मुझे दिया जाय।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The hon. Member may kindly listen to me for a minute. I have been requested to give to every speaker from the Congress party ten minutes. I have given him ten minutes already; even so, since he is a senior Member, he may take five minutes more but he should try to conclude within the time. There has to be a limit now.

श्री विभूति मिश्र : आपने सिमेंट के ऊपर टैक्स लगाया है । सिमेंट किसान के काम में आता है, खेती के काम में आता है । मैं चाहता हूँ कि खेती के काम में आने वाला जो सिमेंट है, उस के ऊपर से आप टैक्स को हटाएं ।

डीजन आयल और कूड आयल पर भी आपने टैक्स लगाया है । किसान जो खेती करता है और खेती के काम में इसको लगता है, उसके ऊपर उसको डीजल आयल और कूड आयल में रिबेट मिलना चाहिये आप उस से एक सर्टिफिकेट ले कर उस के आधार पर उसको रिबेट दे सकते हैं ।

बिजली जो खेती के काम में लाता है उस के ऊपर उस को छूट मिलनी चाहिये । लोहा जो खेती के काम में आता है उस पर टैक्स आप न लगाए ताकि खेती की पैदावार बढ़ाने में उस को मदद मिल सके ।

जो डिबैलेपमेंट के काम हैं इन को करने के लिए आपको कोई तरीका निकालना होगा । आप चाहते हैं कि पंचायतों और कोओप्रेटिव्स के माध्यम से डिबैलेपमेंट के काम हों । ऐसा नहीं हो सकेगा । कोई और प्रॉगेनाइजेशनल सैंट आप सोच जिस के माध्यम से यह काम हो सके । प्लानिंग कमिशन इस तरह के प्रॉगेनाइजेशन के बारे में सोचे । आप जानते हैं कि गांव गांव में आपस में पंचायत में लड़ाई होती है । इस परिस्थिति में डिबैलेपमेंट का काम नहीं हो सकता है । नए सिरे से आप इसके ऊपर सोचें और ऐसा कोई इंतजाम करें ताकि इसी प्रश्नों में डिबैलेपमेंट का काम हो सके ।

कूड आयल जो खेती के काम में आये उस पर आप टैक्स न लगाएं ।

रिजनल इन्वैल्यूमेंट्स को आप दूर करें कहीं पर ज्यादा डिबैलेपमेंट हो गया है और कहीं पर बहुत ही कम । भारत के लोग आज गर्म हो रहे हैं, लोगों में क्रोध जागृत हो रहा है । अगर आपने इन्वैल्यूमेंट्स को दूर नहीं किया तो दूसरी परिस्थितियाँ पैदा हो सकती हैं और उन को आज आप और हम फोर्स के द्वारा नहीं दबा सकते । इस वास्ते बकस रहते आप रिजनल इन्वैल्यूमेंट्स को दूर करें ।

कोर्स क्लाय और मीडियम फैब्रिक्स के ऊपर आप टैक्स न लगाएं । फाइन और सुपर फाइन पर लगाएं ।

सब से दुखद बात यह है कि आपने पोस्ट कार्ड की कीमत पांच पैसे बढ़ा दी है । पोस्टकार्ड कीन इस्तेमाल में लाता है । गांव का गरीब आदमी ही लाता है, सरकारी दफ्तर वाला नहीं लाता है । कारखाने वाला नहीं लाता गरीब आदमी ही इस को काम में लाता है । यह बहुत ही अनुचित है । इसको आप कम करें ।

रेलवे में आपने बर्ड क्लास का किराया बढ़ाया है । आपने अगर एक रुपया फॉस्ट क्लास में बढ़ाया है तो आप देखें कि एक आदमी उस में कितनी जगह लेता है और बर्ड क्लास में जतनी ही जगह में तीन आदमी बैठते हैं । इस तरह से तीन गुना बर्ड क्लास में बढ़ जाया है । बर्ड क्लास वालों की हासल को देखते हुए आप उन पर टैक्स कम करें ।

【श्री विभूति मिश्र】

देश में मान का अन्तर एक और पांच से अधिक नहीं होना चाहिये। जब तक आप हम से ज्यादा फर्क रखेंगे देश का आप कल्याण नहीं कर सकेंगे, आपके बजटो से देश का कल्याण नहीं होगा। मैं 22 मान से आपके बजट का देखता आया हूँ। सूट एंड ब्राच हम एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में, अपनी फाइनेशियल पालिसीज में जब तक चेंज नहीं लाएंगे तब तक दुनिया का मुकाबला हम नहीं कर सकेंगे, उस के मुकाबले में हम खड़े नहीं हो सकते। आप देखें कि आपके पैर के नले से जमीन निकल रही है। अगर आप धमी नहीं जागे तो आपको पछ-वाता होगा और फिर आप कहेंगे कि हम ने ये काम गलत किए। उस समय मुझार की गुंजाइश भी नहीं रहेगी . . .

श्री डी० एन० तिवारी (गोपालगज)
विभूति मिश्र की बात नहीं मानी।

श्री विभूति मिश्र डी० एन० तिवारी की बात भी नहीं मानी। इन लिए देश की हालत ऐसी हो गई।

कागज के ऊपर आपने टैक्स लगाया है। गरीब का लडका कैसे पढ़ेगा उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप पहाड के रहने वाले हैं और प्रोफेसर हैं। आपने लडकों को पढ़ाया है। वहाँ प्राइमरी स्कूल में पढ़ने वाले लडके मेट्रिक तक पढ़ने वाले लडके कागज के दाम बढ़ने से क्या उन के ऊपर यह ऐसा बोझा नहीं होगा जिस को वे बरदाश्त नहीं कर सकेंगे? उन का आप खयाल करें। जो आपने कागज पर टैक्स लगाया है इस का आप कम करें। इसकी बजाए स गरीब आदमी के कंधे नहीं बढ़ सकेंगे। उसी के सौ पढ़ते ही रहेंगे। आप कयायबाद का मारा देंगे।

और दूसरी तरफ कागज के ऊपर टैक्स लगाते हैं जो गरीब आदमी का लडका इस्तेमाल करना है। डाटा, विडना तथा धनी वर्ग के लडके और मिनिस्ट्रो के लडके, बड़े बड़े अफसरों के लडके सेंट जेवियर्स स्कूल में पढ़ने हैं उन को तो इस से कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ेगा लेकिन गरीब आदमी के बच्चों के लिये बड़ी मुश्किल पैग आ जायेगी।

आज तीन चार तरह की एजुकेशन है, एक एम्सो इंडियन के स्कूल है, एक सेंट जेवियर्स स्कूल है, एक पब्लिक स्कूल है जिन में और एक नै स्कूल है ग्राम आदमी के लडके पढ़ते हैं। ग्राम आदमी के लडके इन स्कूलों में नहीं पढ सकते हैं। धनी वर्ग के लडके ही पढ सकते हैं। मे समझना है यदि आप देश का काल्यण चाहते हैं तो ग्राम एजुकेशन एक तरह को सब को दे। ऐसा अगर आप नहीं करते हैं तो बैंग, ही हाल होगा जैसा ब्रिजिया में हुआ है कि सत आदमी मारे गए हैं। पटना में आज कनः होगा, कहना मुश्किल है। थर्ड कनः में परीक्षा पास करने वाला, बिच्चीर्यो जानता नहीं उसके भाग्य से क्या है। गोजगर मिचन उसको तो कनः दूसरो को भी मुश्किल है। ये सब चीजे हैं जिनकी तरफ आपका ध्यान जाना चाहिये।

एक अतिम बात मैं कहना चाहता हू। मेरे हेडक्वार्टर में ब्रिजिया स्टेशन चार स्टेशनो के बाद पडता है। सैकड़ों लडके यात्री पर चढ़ गए। सब लोग मिनिस्टरो की, नौसे से लेकर ऊपर तक के अफसरों की, दिल्ली की तथा दूसरी बातें करते चले गये। एक स्टेशन मन्त्रीसिका पर सब लडके उतर गए। एक बच गया। बिहार में आप जानते हैं कि जायपाल भी हैं। वह लडका केरी जाति का निकला। उनसे मैंने पूछा कि तुम लोगों की

ये खबरें कहां से आती हैं। उसने बताया कि पटना से एक आदमी आता है जो हम लोगों को हर हफ्ते कालिज में बताता है कि ऊपर से लेकर नीचे तक मिनिस्टर क्या करते हैं, अफसर क्या करते हैं, कौन बनिया कितनी बलैकमार्किट करता है। मैं आपको कहता हू कि कोई बात छिरी हुई नहीं है। देश में बहुत से राजा आए और चले गए। अब आप यदि इस देश में प्रजातंत्र चाहते हैं तो मैं आपको कहूंगा कि राष्ट्रमति से लेकर सैद्धम मिनिस्टर तक, भाल इंडिया सर्विसस के जो लोग हैं, स्टेट मिनिस्टर जो हैं, जो दूसरे बड़े बड़े अधिकारी हैं, गवर्नर हैं, इन सब को पहले अपने घर की शुद्ध करना चाहिये और सादगी का परिचय देना चाहिये, मानेस्टी इन में होनी चाहिये, यात्री जी के रास्ते पर इनको चलकर दिखाना चाहिये। अगर गांधी जी के रास्ते पर चलगे सभी आप देश का कल्याण कर सकते हैं अन्यथा नहीं।

DR. HENRY AUSTIN (Ernakulam): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the speech of the Finance Minister introducing the Budget for 1974-75 was, in a way, the inaugural address of the Fifth Five Plan though the Plan itself is in draft form and is yet to be finalised by the Planning Commission. Since the budget of the Central Government is the chief instrument of the economic policy, its main objective must be to achieve the long-term economic goals of the current Five Year Plan, of course accommodating the short-range objectives as well.

In the Indian context, a Plan drawn up by the Planning Commission acquires its operational value only through the Budget. Therefore, a meaningful budget-plan relationship is the core of the process of planned economic development. That the Finance Minister has tried hard to lessen the hiatus between the budget and the plan in approach, policy assumptions and calculations,

of the main parameters of the developmental effort stands out as the main achievement of this budget, the fourth that our able Finance Minister has presented to us. It also reflects the abiding concern of the ruling party to march ahead with renewed optimism to the promised land—a land sans poverty. The fresh hope our esteemed Prime Minister was able to rouse in large sections of our people as evidenced by the triumph of the party and its policy in the recent State elections in UP and Orissa, is also reflected in the confidence which the Finance Minister and the ruling party had reposed on the common man who understands and responds to the policies of the ruling party now reflected in the Budget under discussion in the august House. The Finance Minister deserves credit because as everyone knows he had to prepare a budget in the context of the deepening economic crisis both at home and abroad. Naturally repercussions of the international and national economic factors had to be taken into account. The Budget had been generally accepted and it has been considered an effective instrument of translating our basic four objective of growth with justice. The very fact that the Opposition Leaders are not here means that they concede the rationale of the Budget document. We have been following the criticisms that had been made they were rather mild and to a great extent it had been due to the understanding and response shown by the Finance Minister to the aspirations of the people, particularly middle-class and the low-income group and even those who live below the poverty line.

Since the Budget had to be framed against this background with a view to reversing the backward trends in the economy and provide for the gathering uncertainties of the international situation, it should be judged in the light of the adequacy of the proposals to meet the situation.

[Dr. Henry Austin]

Much has been said in this House on taxation proposals and expenditure changes. The anti-inflationary character of the budget has also been made out by those who objectively approached the situation. I feel that our twin objective of growth with social justice can be fulfilled only if we find new avenues of resources mobilisation. I shall confine my remarks therefore to identifying unexplored areas where we can initiate fresh economic activity, without discussing the technical aspects. This will help in generating new wealth in our country and bringing better social satisfaction.

We see in our country a great ferment, particularly among the youth and students. People who are not responsive to these new urges would perhaps dub them as amateurish. But our Government can canalise this enthusiasm into the proper path and help creation of new wealth in a developing economy. If the energy of the youth is canalised thus, I am sure that it will be a great national asset. We hear disturbing things from Gujarat; we are also hearing such things from Bihar. I suggest that at the 9th standard stage, a year before the student enters the final year of the high school the students might be asked to put one full year's national service in land oriented programmes. I am sure enormous wealth can be created in this country through the national services of the youth. When the erstwhile Travancore Cochin Government formed the first University, they established a University Labour Corps. I happened to be a member of that corps and I recall the hard manual labour we had to put in, reclaiming land and making land ready for human habitation. If at the national level all the students who are throbbing with activity can be made to put in one year's hard work in the social field, we would have created much national wealth. We can make large areas fit for cultivation and

labour and that will indeed be a very big national asset.

I further say that every school and college in our country should be allotted five acres and the acres respectively of land where the students should be persuaded to cultivate. Then they will be able to produce so much of foodgrains and vegetables which will go a long way in increasing our food production and that too at a time when we are receiving alarming news at the national and international level of an impending food crisis.

One of the basic aims of the Government is to provide houses for millions of people who are deprived of house sites. What is it that stands in the way of our Government forming corporations at the district level to build houses? In every district we should create some authority with necessary powers to give short-term courses to bands of carpenters and masons. That authority should be entrusted with the task of constructing 50,000 houses in every district. The forest resources should be made available to them. Clay is available in abundance. So, I do not understand why we cannot have so many house building societies. In my own State we have taken up a project to build one lakh houses and I am glad to say that the Kerala Government have very nearly completed the construction of one lakh houses with the help of voluntary agencies. When a small State with limited resources like Kerala can do it, how on earth can one say that it cannot be accomplished at the national level?

Instead of sending all our children for higher collegiate education, we should give some of them short term courses as carpenters and masons and they should be utilized for building houses. If we do that I am sure we will go a long way in providing houses to our people, particularly for those of the vulnerable sections of our society whose main ambition in life is to have a small house of their own.

15.28 hrs.

[SRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI In the Chair].

I further suggest that Government should take immediate steps to Freezy all land within a radius of 20 miles in all metropolitan cities, particularly Bombay, Delhi Calcutta and Madras. One of the great maladies which corrodes our model fabric is that youngmen who come to these cities with great hopes for their future find that they have to live in almost misereable conditions. The other day I was taken by some of my friends in Bombay to a place where some people from my constituency live. I found two or three families of educated people living in one or two small rooms. The same situation obtains in other metropolitan cities like Calcutta, Delhi and Madras. When these youngmen constitute the vanguard of our progress, how is it that we are not appreciating their difficulties and trying to alleviate them? Instead of sympathising with them, we are showing callous indifference to their problems. That is why I suggest that lands for 25 miles are around every city should be freezed and arrangements made to build houses in those areas at cheap rates to accommodate these people. Otherwise these people will be stething with discontent and frustration and it will recoil on us.

We are talking so much of our food problem. Have we exhausted all remedial measures to solve this problem? I suggest that our armed forces should be directed to start military farms, particularly on the border areas. It should be a charge on the military to create new food and vegetable farms so that at least the Army could be supplied with their own effort. If this effort is made on a war-footing, I am sure, we will be able to produce a large quantity of food-grains.

When we talk of food, one does not simply confine to mere foodgrains. It

should be our concern to give protein rich food, I have read the report of a marine biologist and was struck with amazement at the tremendous possibilities we have of exploiting sea food resources. As early as the eighties of the last century a German marine biologist had discovered a fish breeding centre in the southern Bay of Bengal called the Weadger Bank. He says that if that area alone is exploited we can provide fish in abundance to the whole of South and S.E. Asia and yet our government have not taken any appreciable step towards its exploitation. Besides earning foreign exchange it would have supplemented our food menu with protein rich items.

Everyone talks about the failure of our efforts at the implementation level. Why is it that the First, Second and Third Plans had a smooth sailing whereas it is not so in the Fourth and the Fifth Plans? There are certain reasons. Our past experience has shown that it is not at the policy-formulation level that the trouble comes, but it is at the implementation stage. Has anyone thought of utilising our MPs and MLAs for activating efforts at the implementation stage? I suggest that at every parliamentary-constituency level some popular Committee should be constituted with a Member of Parliament as the Chairman, MLAs as the members of the Committee and the District Collectors at conveners so that they could have a *locus standi* at the implementation stage. Secondly, these Committees should have a popular basis. They should sit in the open and arrange public hearings on complaints against blackmarketeers, hoarders and other anti-social elements who stand in the way of implementation of our Five Year Plan projects. What I mean is these popular committees headed by MPs should hear the grievances of the people and make on the spot enquiries when they say so-and-so hoarded cement, so-and-so hoard-

[Dr. Henry Austin]

ed rice and immediately, the M.Ps. and MLAs should go there and take action. There should be only summary trials and only once appeal to a High Court Judge and the whole process should be over in about five to six months. Then we would have done justice to the people.

Dr. Borlaugh, nobel laureate has, after a recent survey, identified certain vulnerable areas at the implementation level on the agricultural front that is, water fertiliser and diesel. These three basic requirements are not available to all sections of farmers even in foodgrain-producing areas like Haryana and Punjab. The MPs and MLAs should have been involved in seeing that the farmers get diesel oil, fertiliser and water. Why should not such a mechanism be created? If these steps are taken I am sure there will be better coordination of work and it would be possible for our projects to be completed in time.

Then, I suggest that in every taluk there should be a tubewell factory. Mr. C. Subramaniam is present here. At one time he was very active on dry farming. I am sure, if tubewell factories are set up in every taluk, large areas can be irrigated. I do not know what is standing in the way of starting tubewell factories wherever needed.

These are some of my concrete suggestions on additional resource mobilisation. I have many more suggestions. But for lack of time, I am cutting short. These suggestions may be looked into. There is no point in criticising the Budget. Anyone can criticise the Budget on technical aspects. Unless we discover new areas of economic activity. I do not think mobilisation of adequate resources to most the requirements of our economy is possible. It is in this background that I have suggested these things.

There are very many fertile fields

which are yet to be exploited. Let me take my own home State. In our northern most District of Cannanore, geological survey has revealed that there are good bauxite deposits there. But no effort has been made to tap these deposits although aluminium scarcity is so acute in the country.

In Calicut District, economic survey has revealed that there are enormous resources of iron ore. No effort has been made to tap these resources.

In Ernakulam District, my own district, the Soviet experts have carried on science surveys American experts which revealed that there were good prospects for off-shore oil exploration. No effort has been made so far for oil prospecting there.

Rare earths, like monozite, ilmenite and zircon, rare materials used for atomic energy are unexplored in Quilon Distt., but the effort is in a low key.

In the eastern district of Malnad, there is a scope for cultivation of spices, coffee, rubber and tea.

These are the areas in which we should concentrate economic exploitation. Unless we do that, it is impossible to have rapid economic growth.

In my State, we are selling 60 per cent of our electricity which was produced after very many years of construction of river valley projects at cheap rates to other States. Yet, the Government has not taken into its head to electrify the trains or to use this cheap electricity for various purposes in my State, creating necessary infra-structure for various industries in the State.

I would urge upon the Finance Minister to explore these areas. I thought my speech on the Budget should contain constructive and concrete suggestions and so I thought of highlighting these ideas. I welcome this Budget. I hope, it will usher in

an era of price stability and rapid economic progress in the country. In order that we achieve the rapid economic progress, new ventures have to be taken up. I hope, my humble suggestions will be taken into account when we formulate new economic policies starting from the commencement of the Fifth Plan. I welcome the Budget. The good relationship that has been established between the Plan and the Budget is a good omen.

SHRI D. D. DESAI (Kaira): Mr. Chairman, Sir, while welcoming the Budget, I would like to say a few things against the criticisms which have been offered in the House.

The principle criticism has been that the growth has not been adequate, that the price stability is not there, that the regional balanced development has been missing, that the economy has failed to provide more even distribution of income and high and stable employment—all those sort of things have been mentioned. While we are striving for socialism and democracy, the meaning of socialism and democracy differs from area to area. In Eastern parts of Europe, it has one meaning which is not the same as in the English-speaking world. In Sweden, social democrats have been ruling there since 1932. The goal that Sweden had set for itself was for rapid economic growth, high and stable employment, reasonable price stability, a more even distribution of income and regional balance—with full human rights and liberty—by socialism and democracy. These are the same requirements or the same objectives which we have set for ourselves. The Swedish economy has offered us a large number of 'successful' possibilities. In industry whenever we find that we are not making a particular thing or we are not achieving an objective we go in for "knowhow". There are possibilities of obtaining "knowhow" from literature. Most of the "knowhow" has passed into textbooks. But if it was possible to translate the textbook knowhow into physical possibilities,

then we would not require the so-called collaborations. Here we may consider making a deeper study as to how Sweden has been able to achieve the same objectives which we have set for ourselves plus the human rights which are missing in some other countries and liberty which is so precious to us. Together with the objectives, if we consider the nature of the Government and the human rights, I think Sweden offers us the best example in the present circumstances.

I may say that in Sweden taxation works out to 61.7 per cent on an average; the marginal highest rate is about the same as we have got here. The corporate tax in Sweden works out to 54 per cent as against our 65 per cent. In Sweden the wealth tax up to equivalent of Rs. 2½ lakhs wealth is one per cent and the highest wealth tax works out to 2.5 percent; and that is applicable to equivalent of Rs. 17 lakhs and above. That means, in wealth tax we have taxed more than what we would normally be expected to.

The other countries like Britain, Canada and the USA have taxation levels which are substantially lower than ours, but some people may say that we would not like to imitate those countries, that we have no interest in accepting what they do.

One of the important things is our unproductive, non-developmental expenditure. We are taking annually large amounts by way of taxation, but there is no follow-up action to see that every pie that is taken produces wealth. We take money from the people who earn money or generate wealth and divert it into non-productive activities. This results in a vicious circle. This is an area in which greater amount of attention would help us.

The fact is that between 1951 and 1960 the number of regular Central Government servants, except Railways, has increased from 6,30,000 in 1951 to about 7,97,000 in 1960 an increase of 1,67,000. From 1960 to 1971, the number has increased by 5,25,000; in other words, there has

[Shri D. D. Desai]

been an increase to the extent of 71 per cent over the 1960 figure. The employment in government sector to-day is 118.81 million whereas in private sector it is 69.4 million, and nearly 90 per cent of our income, national income, comes from the private sector. Of course, there has been a certain amount of misunderstanding or a certain amount of lack of appreciation. But these few things require our attention.

For food subsidy, a sum of Rs. 251 crores was required this year. But in the Budget Rs. 100 crores are provided. This is not adequate. I think this will be made up somehow or other by deficit financing or some other means.

There was a promise of economy, a cut to the extent of Rs. 400 crores in the expenditure, but the fact has been that the revenue expenditure in 1973-74 has been exceeded by Rs. 177 crores. In other words, the so-called economy did not take place; on the other hand, we exceeded the budget by Rs. 177 crores. This is because of the increase in dearness allowance required to be paid to government servants consequent on the Pay Commission's report; every time we have to pay about Rs. 40 to 50 crores, for every eight point increase in the cost of living index. This again is taking away most of the extra money that we are able to collect. In other words, we are collecting money to stay where we existed before. There is hardly much money left or practically no money left for plan development. In fact, the Plan has remained static and to some extent, I may say the actual expenditure on the plan in terms of real value has gone down.

It is also said that the tax should be around 50 per cent. From Prof. Kaldor, down to Wanchoo Committee, a large number of people have suggested that it should be around 50 per cent and this was true. But it required political courage and I must congratulate the Finance Minister for

taking the courage to bring it to the marginal rate of 77 per cent.

There, has been a thinking even in Soviet Union that Marxism is a dead ideology, that it is a less useful ideology and it is a book ideology. We are not party and we would not be a party to this sort of dogmatic approach but we should only go by practical experience. Fortunately for us we have gone through about 26 years of our experience and there I may say that during the last six years we have done most miserably. Industrial production between 1960-66 in those six years averaged about 9.2 per cent but in the next six years it was 4.5 per cent and to-day it is almost stagnant. In fact, we are suffering from stagflation

In the agricultural sector also I would say that the same thing has happened. We were having a good growth till 1966-67 when the food-grains production was around 35 million tonnes and this year in reality we are expected to get the same quantity that we got in 1967-68.

When we talk about the public sector and industries, we have to think of productivity of investment and the return on it. Let us take iron and steel. In 1965-66 we produced 4.5 million tonnes and last year we ended up with 4.5 million tonnes. In other words all the new developments doubling of the plants and the investment that we made, did not bring us the expected results which in turn forced us to import our additional requirements.

In power we have seen that we had planned 9.3 million Kw. growth and expected 24.6 million kilowatts of installed capacity but we are really ending up with 18.9 million Kw. only which is 50 per cent of plan target.

Some people have been saying: what has happened to Gujarat? Now I would say that the principal problem with Gujarat is that it feels let down. If we do not have any Minister in the Cabinet to represent the issues for us, that makes the Cabinet all the more responsible to see that

the interests of Gujarat are safeguarded. I would say that our interests are not safeguarded on more than one count. I will give an instance. In bank deposits Gujarat has made Rs. 700 crores deposits in the public sector banks and the advances or credit it got was only Rs. 400 crores. We do not mind other States getting what they deposit. Take Andhra, its deposits were Rs. 245 crores and credit was Rs. 230 crores, Karnataka—deposits—Rs. 341 crores and credit was Rs. 316 crores. Maharashtra—deposits Rs. 1721 crores and credit was Rs. 1439 crores and Tamil Nadu—deposit was Rs. 486 crores and the credit was Rs. 560 crores. The figures for Delhi deposits are 620 and credit 578; even in respect of the tiny Pondicherry State it is 9.38 and 9.20. In other words, Gujarat is depositing about Rs. 300 crores more but by credit operations, Gujarat is not getting enough for growth or productive investments. One of the results is unemployment. The other issues are irrigation and power and development and public sector investment and so on. In all these areas what Gujarat gives is more and what Gujarat gets is less. This is the reason why Gujarat comes in some kind of conflict with the Centre. The non-existence of a Cabinet Minister from Gujarat should be taken full care of by the existing Cabinet. This is my request.

SHRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN (Madurai): In our 27 years of freedom, perhaps no other Finance Minister has had to face a more difficult situation as has to be faced by our Finance Minister Mr. Chavan. Indian economy is yet to overcome the inordinate strain imposed on it by the 1971 conflict with Pakistan. Nature also chose to be very harsh or unkindly with us with the successive droughts for two years which hovered over large parts of our country during 1972 and 1973.

Mr. Chavan has had to grapple with this totally unforeseen economic strains in his last two Budgets and he cannot, therefore, be blamed if the union finances came under very heavy pressures. This year he had to provide

for the extraordinary high cost of imports of essential commodities, particularly, oil, fertilisers and food-grains. Mr. Chavan has presented a wellbalanced and production oriented budget. His main task, as has been rightly stated, is to see that the industrial and agricultural production goes upto the highest level.

Some hon. Members of the opposition and also some members from our side castigated Mr. Chavan's budget proposals as some sort of surrender to the rich and blow to the working classes. This kind of allegation can hardly be sustained by facts. This is the usual criticism indulged in by the opposition.

The reduction of the maximum marginal rate of income-tax from 97-75 per cent to 75 per cent on the basis of the recommendations of the Wanchoo Committee is a step in the right direction and it is a bold and wise step. It is possible that the relief he has provided will certainly result in eradication of evasion of tax. That surpluses which were going to wasteful unproductive consumption will now be channelised to productive investment.

The move to raise the exemption limit to Rs. 6,000 will spare many salaried employees from having to bear heavy tax burden. Besides this will enable the tax administration to concentrate on substantial tax collection by streamlining the existing tax-collecting machinery.

Mr. Chavan's critics would do well to remember that the one and only answer to inflation and salvation to the economic malady is production and more production alone.

In this context, let me say a few words on production in the Agricultural Sector, which is of great concern to the economy as a whole.

According to the Economic Survey, during 1972-73, the net national production from agriculture, fishery, forestry, etc. contributed to 41.4 per cent as against 23.8 per cent from the manufacturing sectors.

[Shri R. V. Swaminathan]

Agriculture is likely to face major problems during the coming year. Our farmers have become fertiliser minded. A major part of a rable land in the country requires fertilisers even for the normal yield as the soil is losing its fertility.

Chemical fertilisers play a significant role in the agricultural production. But, fertiliser is not within the easy reach of the farmers. We have to import fertilisers. We should overcome the shortage, not only relying upon imported fertilizers but we should also increase the production of more indigenous fertilisers.

I am afraid we may not be able to achieve targets in agricultural production even the fortune of monsoon smiles favourably this year because of the shortage in fertilisers. The condition of the small and marginal farmers and the agricultural labour and of the rural people is rather deplorable because rise in prices has affected them very much. This has not only affected the people in the cities but it has also affected these poor small farmers who are not able to have one square meal a day. Clothing and housing are problems to them.

When we talk of the housing schemes, unfortunately, we totally ignore the rural population. The Government should come forward with some sort of housing schemes to the rural areas. It is a pity that even after twenty-seven years of our Independence, thousands of villages in the country are left without drinking-water facilities. This morning the Minister for Works and Housing, while answering to my supplementary question, mentioned that in West Bengal out of a total of 38,530 villages, 13,837 villages are left without drinking water facilities. Is it not a shameful thing? Are we not ashamed of this

that we have failed to provide drinking water in thousands of villages in our country as a whole?

Sir, there must be some sort of insurance scheme for the benefit of farmers—small and marginal farmers and poor agricultural labour. The insurance schemes I am mentioning may be different from that of present life insurance or general insurance. The Government should work out a new scheme for the benefit of these small people in the villages.

We can understand the factory workers and labourers resorting to the extreme step of strikes. What pains me is that even the so-called highly paid and highly educated white collared gentlemen are also resorting to this extreme line. These strikes and bandhs are undertaken by them are at whose cost and what cost? It is, if I may say so at the cost of poor agricultural sector. This is the only sector which is not affected by this kind of strikes and strifes. It is the agriculturists who are doing the best for the country.

16.00 hrs

The present-day problems are all around rise in prices and non-availability of certain basic requirements. The main reasons attributed to these are hoarding and shortage in production due to strikes and bandhs. The hoarders are indulging in such unsocial acts for their own benefit of making money. Strikes and bandhs are instigated by interested elements for their own and their parties benefit.

I am very sorry that I have made this frank expression. I have made this statement with the best intentions to provoke the thought of all the political parties and the leaders of the working classes have to ponder over. It is time that all the political

parties come to an understanding to give a moratorium to strikes and bandhs for a period of ten years, if they really feel our economic malady should be solved in the national interest.

Agriculture is the only sector which puts the maximum efforts towards production. The Government should concentrate on agricultural sector which will be sincere in increasing production. The Government should give top priority to import more fertilisers by allocating increased foreign exchange.

Agriculture is the only sector, which is not so far contaminated with this kind of virus disease, strikes and strife. Imagine for a moment, if the agriculturists in this country also resort to this extreme course and stop tilling the soil, what will happen?

Today some political parties think that the agriculturists in the country are not organised. But, when they realise that certain political parties are exploiting the situation, you will find them organised in a moment. I am sorry to note the drastic cut in the allocation to the Salem Steel Plant. This means nearly 7500 people, who are engaged in the setting up of the Salem Steel Plant would be thrown out of employment. So, I appeal to the Government for allotting more funds for the Salem Steel Plant.

The Tuticorin Harbour project which was started in the year 1963 is still limping for want of proper and sufficient allocation for the last few years. I appeal to the Finance Minister to allocate more funds for this project.

The backward classes, whose population is the largest in the country, have got a feeling that their interests are being neglected and the fruits of freedom are being denied to them and enjoyed only by a few privileged communities. I appeal to the Government to consider to alleviate the fear and feelings of the backward classes.

Finally, a word about my constituency, Madurai. The people of Madurai have been requesting for a radio station for quite a long time. I appeal to the Government to establish a radio station at Madurai.

श्री जगन्नाथ मिश्र (मधुबनी) :
सभापति महोदय, किसी भी देश के वित्त मंत्री के लिए बजट प्रस्तुत करना और तैयार करना अवश्यमेव कठिन काम कहा जा सकता है। खास कर अपने देश जैसे बड़े देश एव समस्या प्रधान देश के लिए इस को तैयार करना और भी कठिन काम है। उस में ग्राम लोगो की सराहना प्राप्त करना तो आकाश कुसुम प्राप्त करने जैसा है। फिर भी हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय श्री चन्नाण साहब ने इस बजट को प्रस्तुत करने में जो अपनी क्षमता का परिचय दिया है और ग्राम लोगो की सराहना प्राप्त की है, इसके लिए वह तारीफ के काबिल हैं और मैं उन की सराहना करता हूँ। उन के द्वारा प्रस्तुत किए गए बजट का स्वागत और समर्थन करता हूँ। जिन कठिन परिस्थितियों में ये देश गुजर रहा है, उनकी वास्तविकता से इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता है। 1973-74 में देश के बजटिकोष भाग सूखे और बाढ़ की चपेट में रहे। 1974-75 का वर्ष भी इस चपेट में नहीं रहेगा इसकी कोई गारंटी नहीं है। बंसावेस के युद्ध का असर इस देश पर गद हो चकों से रहा है और अभी भी उसका असर समाप्त नहीं हुआ है। इन्फ्लेक्षियों की भी प्रावनायें हमारे प्रति संकल्पपूर्वक

[श्री जगन्नाथ मिश्र]

के कारण देश को सुरक्षा का अतिभार वहन करना पड़ रहा है। हाँ, यह स्वीकार किया जा सकता है कि हमारे संबंध पड़ोसियों से कुछ मुंधे हैं। फिर भी हमें मावधानी धरती ही और देखना है कि वह मुंधार कहां तक स्थायी रह पाता है। इन देश में कुछ समस्याएँ ऐसी कठिन और कठिन हैं कि उनका समाधान ठीक से नहीं हो पा रहा है और यह निश्चित है कि अगर उनका समाधान नहीं हो पाया तो हमारे प्रजातंत्र पर इसका असर ही दुखद अंतर पड़ेगा। अन्वेषण, अडर एम्प्लायमेंट, एसी-ईमिग्रेशन, डिजीजिज, अपलिफ्टमेंट आफ दी एग्रर एण्ड डाउन ट्राइन एम्प्लोजी आफ हरिजन एंड अदिवासीज आदि कुछ ऐसी समस्याएँ हैं जिन के समाधान के लिये हम को झुजना है और उनका सफल समाधान करना है। इन समस्याओं के समाधान के लिए अगर हम प्रयत्न करते हैं तो इनका अस्वीकार नहीं किया जा सकता है कि कुछ आइडम्स पर हम कर लगाएँ बगर और उन के लिए पैसा जुटाएँ वगैरे आगे नहीं बढ़ सकते हैं। इस पृष्ठभूमि में लिक्ज, टैलीविजंज, स्कूटर्ज, कार्ज, रेफिजरेटर्ज, सुपरफाइन क्लाय, टुथ पैस्ट आदि पर अगर टैक्स लगाए गए हैं तो उन से सर्व साधारण पर कोई बुरा प्रभाव पड़ने वाला नहीं है। इन के विरुद्ध चिल्लपों करने की कोई आवश्यकता भी नहीं है। टैलीफॉज पर कुछ लंबी अवश्य लगी है। लेकिन

छूट की संख्या को 250 से बढ़ा कर तीन सौ कालज कर दिया गया है। ऐसी स्थिति में यह लंबी प्रभावकारी सिद्ध होगी, ऐसा नहीं कहा जा सकता है।

टैलीग्राम रेट्स में जो वृद्धि की गई है उसका असर भी व्यवसायी वर्ग एवं धनी-मानी वर्ग पर ही पड़ने वाला है। सर्व साधारण का इसमें कोई आस मतलब नहीं है।

एक खूबी इस बजट की यह है कि ट्रांसपोर्ट और जिपिंग मंत्रालय के लिए एक विशेष व्यवस्था की गई है और उसका परिणाम यह होगा कि हमारे यहां जो कुछ बन्दरगाहें हैं जैसे मंगलोर की, तूतीकोरिन डीप भी प्रजेक्ट आदि उनका विकास होगा और जो नेशनल हाइवेज हैं उनका न केवल मेंटेस होगा बल्कि उनको और भी बढ़ाया जा सकेगा।

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं बिहार की बात आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ जोकि बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ प्रदेश है। वहां पर सड़कों की संख्या नहीं के बराबर है और खास कर उत्तर बिहार में। एक प्रस्तावित सड़क है दरभंगा से फारबीसगंज। उसकी स्वीकृति के लिए बराबर प्रार्थनाएँ की जा रही हैं लेकिन अभी तक कोई सुनवाई नहीं हुई है। इस मौके पर मैं आपकी मार्फत मंत्री महोदय से आग्रह करना चाहता हूँ कि उस सड़क के लिये मंजूरी दी जाए। साथ ही गंगा पर जो पुल बन रहा है और रुपये के अभाव में जहां पर काम ठप्प पड़ने वाला है या पड़ रहा है, उसके लिए भी सरकार को धन की व्यवस्था कर देनी चाहिये, उसके लिए स्वीकृति प्रदान कर देनी चाहिये।

क्रुड की इम्पोर्ट प्राइस बढ़ गई है यह जग जाहिर है। इसका असर पेट्रोल तथा कैरोसीन पर पड़ना स्वाभाविक है। इस वास्ते इन के दाम बढ़ाने के अलावा कोई दूसरा चारा नहीं रह गया था।

कैरोसीन, एनलैंड पोस्टल, लैटर, एनवैलेप, रजिस्टर्ड लैटर्ज के मूल्यों में वृद्धि होने से आम लोग अवश्य प्रभावित हुए हैं। लेकिन देश के लोगों के पास हिम्मत है। वे स्थिति को समझते हैं। वे जानते हैं कि किस स्थिति में क्या करना है। जिस स्थिति में लैवी लगी उसका वे समझ रहे हैं। मेरा विश्वास है कि वे हिम्मत के साथ इन सारी चीजों का सामना कर पायेंगे।

वित्त मंत्री जी ने यह बात बहुत मार्क की का है कि उन्होंने 6000 रुपये तक की आय पर छूट देने का निर्णय किया है। कैंनेडी साहब ने अपने देश में ऐसी ही छूट की घोषणा की थी और वहाँ इस का बहुत सुन्दर असर पड़ा था। लोगों ने नैतिकता के साथ काम किया और उन में टैक्स देने की प्रवृत्ति जगी। केवल नये टैक्स ही नहीं, बल्कि उन्होंने पुराने टैक्सों को भी बहुत ही सुन्दर ढंग से अदायगी की। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि हमारे देश के व्यवसायी वर्ग और धनी-मानी लोग भी इस छूट से फायदा ही उठायेंगे, बड़ी उदारता से सरकार को सहयोग देंगे और टैक्स की अदायगी करने में कोई भी संकोच नहीं करेंगे।

वित्त मंत्री ने पोस्टकार्ड और कागज के मूल्य में की वृद्धि का जो निश्चय किया है, इस से गरीब किसान,

छात्र और समाज के कमजोर वर्ग के लोग निस्संदेह परेशानी का अनुभव करेंगे। कागज पर लैवी को तो मैं लैवी ग्रान लिट्टेसी कहने के लिये तैयार हूँ। अगर पुस्तकें नहीं छपेंगी और गरीब बच्चे नहीं पढ़ पायेंगे, तो देश पर इस का क्या असर पड़ेगा, यह सोचने की बात है। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि वित्त मंत्री इस बारे में पुनर्विचार करें। मेरा सुझाव यह है कि वह पोस्टकार्ड और कागज से लैवी को हटा दें, और एमे आइटम्ज को चुनें, जिन का व्यवहार धनी वर्ग के लोग करते हैं और जिन पर टैक्स लगाया गया है या नाम मात्र के लिए लगाया गया है।

इस बजट में दिल्ली मिल्क स्कीम और दिल्ली ट्रांसपोर्ट कार्पोरेशन के लिए विशेष व्यवस्था की गई है। ऐसा करके मंत्री महोदय ने बहुत प्रशंसनीय काम किया है। इस से सैलेरीड पर्सनज और कमजोर वर्ग के लोगों को ज्यादा फायदा होगा। उन के बच्चों को दूध मिलेगा और उन सब को दफतरो और स्कूलों-कालेजों को आने-जाने की बड़ी सुविधा होगी।

हम देखते हैं कि एक बात की ओर वित्त मंत्री का ध्यान नहीं गया है, और वह है ब्लैक मनी। उन्होंने गत वर्ष इस पर बहुत जोर दिया था, मगर इस बार के बजट में वह इस विषय पर बिल्कुल चुप रह गये हैं। मुझे यह देख कर हैरत है। वांचु समिति ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में सलाह दी थी कि नये टैक्स लगाने की अपेक्षा अगर हम पुराने टैक्सों को मजबूत के साथ वसूल करें, तो राष्ट्र का बहुत कल्याण हो सकता है। मैं इस समिति की रिपोर्ट के साथ अपनी सहमति व्यक्त करता हूँ और वित्त मंत्री से आग्रह करता हूँ कि वह इस ब्लैक मनी का पता लगाने, और वकाया

[श्री जमनाथ मिश्र]

टीकर्स को बसूल करने, में अपनी क्षमता का परिचय दें ।

देश का अभ्युदय कृषि पर निर्भर करता है और अगर हमारे देश में कृषि व्यापकता को प्राप्त कर लेती है, तो उन से इंडस्ट्री की रक्षा होती है और उसका प्रसार संभव हो सकता है । दिखावे के लिए भले ही हम एक प्राध्या प्राजेक्ट की बात कर लें, मगर यह हकीकत है कि कृषि पर जितना ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए, उतना ध्यान हम नहीं दे रहे हैं । अगर मैं अपने यहाँ की बात कहूँ, तो एक-प्राध योजनायें अवश्य चालू हुई हैं, लेकिन वे कब तक समाप्त होंगी, इस का कोई ठिकाना नहीं है । मुझे एक कवि की इस पंक्ति का स्मरण हो आता है, 'मैन मे कम एंड मैन मे गो, बट आई अगो आन फार एवर' । कोई कुछ भी कहे सुधार और विकास की बात कही जाती रहे, लेकिन हकीकत यह है कि जिस किसी योजना को हाथ में लिया गया है, वह पूरी नहीं हुई है ।

उदाहरण के लिए गंडक और कोसी योजनाओं को लीजिए । कोसी योजना एक अंतरराष्ट्रीय योजना है । उस को नेपाल से शुरू हो कर हिन्दुस्तान तक आना है । मैं सरकार से आग्रह करूँगा कि या तो वह इसके लिए काफ़ी पैसा दे, जिस से वह काम निर्धारित समय पर पूरा हो जाये, और या वह उस का संभालन अपने हाथ में ले ले ।

भकना ताम की एक नहर की मरम्मत की आवश्यकता है । अगर कुछ रुपये लगा कर उस नहर की मरम्मत कर दी जाये, तो उस से बीस हजार एकड़ से ज्यादा जमीन की सिंचाई हो सकती है और

साबो मन अनाज का उत्पादन हो सकता है ।

अस्त में मैं फिर पोस्टवाड और कागड पर लैबी को हटाने का आग्रह करने हुए आप को और वित्त मंत्री को धन्यवाद देता हूँ और बजट का हादिक समर्चन करता हूँ ।

SHRI NIMBALKAR (Kolhapur):
Sir, I do not think any Finance Minister has ever produced a Budget which was completely liked or completely disliked by anybody. In modern times we are made to believe that economic is a science. If so why is it then that different economists express different opinions on the same Budget? In the recent past even most learned economists have gone so far astray in the assessment of our economy and so far wrong in their attempted solutions that one is tempted to ask what is really the difference between the science of economy and the science of astrology.

What is happening in the entire world today is surely a challenge to all economists to prove their worth. Let us take this very Budget. The views expressed up it are to divergen that but for the seriousness of the subject one could crack jokes about it. I shall cite just one or two examples to show how divergent the views are. For instance in the view of one economist, the Finance Minister has rightly resumed the arguments for raising massive resources for un-realistic growth projections which fail to materialise. On the other hand in the opinion of another economist, the Finance Minister has fulfilled the expectations of a massive dose of taxation but has taken pain not to hurt too many people.

The fact is that the Finance Minister will go down in history for the dubious distinction of having taxed the people during his tenure in office

as Finance Minister to the tune of not less than Rs. 1000 crores. The Central tax revenues rose from 2457 crores in 1970-71 to Rs. 4,736 crores in 1974-75. I doubt whether any other Finance Minister in our life-time will even break this record.

It must, however, be accepted that the times were extraordinary and in such times the strains on the economy have also been extraordinary and thus one could argue that the Finance Minister had to take these extraordinary steps to meet an extraordinary situation. Another instance is that the Finance Minister has at last summoned up the courage to accept the recommendations of the Wanchoo Committee on direct taxes. The marginal rate of income tax including surcharge has been brought down from 97.75% to 77%. At least the Government has realized that economic incentives prove more effective than administrative measures.

That—what I would call super-duper socialists in their wisdom—have condemned this measure as a bonanza to the rich. But it must also be accepted that the Finance Minister has salvaged his own socialist conscience by pushing up the wealth tax on assessments in excess of Rs. 5 lakhs. I shall refer to another instance. It has been asserted that the total tax in other directions is a mild Rs. 186 crores in the form of excise duties to cover the estimated budgetary gap to some extent. These are widely spread taxes mostly on what may be called rich man's goods and are not likely to make a major impact on prices. To this the opposing argument could be that a total tax effort of Rs. 27 crores including charges on posts & Telegraph rates can be expected to further boost inflation in the prevailing circumstances.

Whether economic, as a science seems to be erring in the realms of astrology or not, there is such a thing as unfair criticism also. For instance,

the Finance Minister has been blamed for not taxing expenditure. This has been tried before with very dismal result. I am very glad that the Finance Minister has kept his hands off it.

Then there is the complaint that only a part of the Wanchoo Committee Report has been accepted, and that demonetisation has not been considered. Apart from the fact that it is very questionable whether under the given circumstances, at present demonetisation can succeed by itself, and whether the economy would be able to take the shock, it must be added that demonetisation cannot be a part of the budgetary provision. Elsewhere I have said that for demonetisation to succeed it must be accompanied by monetary reforms. Also, I would have delineated on this subject now but for the fact that it does not come under the budgetary provision.

If I may be frank, there are just two aspects in this budget which need to be thoroughly scrutinised in the interest of the economy of our country. One is whether Rs. 125 crores of deficit financing projected in the budget is realistic. Normally I am a very optimistic person. But I must say that so far as this figure for deficit financing is concerned, he must be in for a very rude shock indeed.

In justifying the taxation the Finance Minister felt that he had to choose between raising resources through taxation or resort to deficit financing, and that he preferred the former. In fact, however, he has saddled us with both. I sincerely wish the Finance Minister had seen his choice as one between reducing expenditure or resorting to deficit financing, and settled for the former.

The question is whether the implementation of the recommendation of the Wanchoo Committee Report will have the desired effect. Will the traders, businessmen, industrialists and

[Shri Nimbalkar]

generally affluent sections accept fully the challenge so boldly thrown to them? Well, all I can say is that in the interest of the economy of our country, in the interest of the future ideology of our country and in our own interest I do hope that they accept this challenge.

I would be failing in my duty to the weaker sections of society if I too do not join in the chorus of those who have urged the Finance Minister to consider the raising of the minimum taxable limit on personal income to Rs. 10,000, or at least agree to a compromise of Rs. 7,500 or Rs. 8,000. Secondly, we know that the price of kerosene is linked up, or related to, the price of diesel in order to prevent malpractices. But, surely, the price of kerosene must also be related to the purchasing power of the common man, especially when the poor are going through unimaginable hardships on account of rising prices.

Then, of course, there is the 50 per cent hike on postcards. I remember, during the Bangladesh conflict, during the time when we had to pay for the refugees who came over here, it was I who suggested to the Finance Minister the introduction of the refugee stamp, on the lines of the stamp which existed in West Germany called Berliner Marke. At that time, however, I told the Finance Minister that he should not include the postcards in this. Today I make the same request, namely, that he should not include the postcard for raising revenues.

I would also like to bring to the notice of the Finance Minister the unnecessarily long delay in finalising the pay scales of Class I officers. I hope it will not be tied with the dispute about the technical and engineering services of the Class I officers.

Finally, I have some cause for jubilation over this Budget. In my speech

on the President's Address, I think, I had put the Planning Commission in its proper place. Only in the emphasis laid on the development of the core sector of our economy, the Budget seems to see eye to eye with the fantastic Plan of the Planning Ministry. Otherwise, the Plan could just cease to exist. Even the Annual allocation for the so-called Plan has been drastically pruned to more manageable proportions. The writing is on the wall. Therefore, I conclude by saying: The Plan is dead; Long live the Budget.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Birender Singh Rao.

SHRI BIRENDER SINGH RAO (Mahendragarh): Sir, if this is the procedure followed, to call only the Congress Members, I refuse to speak. For the last 3-1/2 hours, more than a dozen Members from the Congress Benches have been called to speak. It only means that the ruling party does not want to hear the other point of view. Is it for the brain-washing of the Opposition Members that we have been made to listen to them? This is in utter disregard to all democratic norms and parliamentary traditions. If this is so, we the only two Opposition Members in the House walk out. Let only the Congress Members remain here.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please listen to me. If there would have been any other Opposition Member but for you who were to speak on the Budget. I would have called him. From the Opposition side, you are the only Member who is here and who wants to speak. I thought, you should be given a chance to speak at such a time when the Members on the other side would be able to follow your points and reply to you. If there would have been any other Opposition Member here and I had not called him, probably your allegation would have been valid. But I do not find any other Opposition Member here. I can tell you that your speech will be followed by a speech from a very important Member from the Congress side.

SHRI BIRENDER SINGH RAO: Why should I be given a punishment to listen for 3-1/2 hours to these people?

MR. CHAIRMAN: If you say that listening to speeches is a punishment, then the parliamentary democracy will fail.

SHRI BIRENDER SINGH RAO: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have listened to the speeches from the Treasury Benches. They have all hailed the Budget as every man's Budget. I agree with them that it is every man's Budget because everybody has to tighten his belt. Everybody's pocket, the common man's pocket is adversely affected.

Surprisingly, while everyone of the Members from the Treasury Benches has eulogised the Budget in the beginning, later on, everyone has strongly criticised the measures taken in the Budget....

AN HON. MEMBER: You give your suggestions.

SHRI BIRENDER SINGH RAO: As if you would support the suggestions. Your suggestions are only to please the voters; your vote is only to support the Government. That is how this poor country has been suffering at the hands of politicians.

This Budget is based upon political, economic and fiscal policies followed by the Government consistently ever since Independence, during the last 26 years. To what extent these policies have succeeded, we have to see. Every time, the Budget is introduced, it is said that it is going to improve the lot of the common man, that it will bring socialism, that it will raise the standard of living of the poor and that it will take the country forward.

What have we seen during the last 20 years or so, ever since this planning started? Our achievements are a clear indication of the failure of the

policies pursued by the Government. The Finance Minister collects the money like a temple pujari and distributes prasad to all the departments without serious thinking of solving the real problems of the country. This year's budget is another instrument of public plunder to provide for a bankrupt economy and inefficient, corrupt and callous administration. We should see whether the promises made by the Government from year to year about self-reliance in agriculture and in other fields have come true. The Finance Minister has admitted that, during the last few years, our agricultural production has gone down steeply. We also know that industrial production in respect of essential commodities has been at a standstill. During the Fourth Five-Year Plan, the industrial growth has stagnated; there has been no growth at all. There is shortage of sugar and vanaspati last year, only in textiles, 13 crore metres of cloth was produced less than the previous year. Yet the Government does not nationalise key industries, I have talked about agriculture; the same state of affairs is there; people are starving. The farmers are shouting for diesel and fertilisers and they are being shot at—just for asking for diesel and fertilisers—in Punjab during the last so many weeks. The people asking for food are being mercilessly killed. We have seen that in Gujarat and Maharashtra. I would ask the Government whether they want to continue to rule the country in the same way. They have made it a point of prestige not to order any enquiry against corrupt governments. Would they be able to put their hand on their heart and say whether the corrupt Government in Gujarat would have been dismissed if the people had not agitated, if they had not revolted? Some time ago they had said that the Assembly would not be dissolved. Dozens more of innocent persons were killed, the only fault being that they wanted to draw the attention of the Government and the country to the bad administration in the State and corrupt politicians in the country. The

[Shri Birender Singh Rao]

Government stood on prestige and said that there would be no dissolution of the Assembly unless peace returned. But what happened? Because people went on shouting, people went on offering sacrifices, the Assembly had to be dissolved. They said that it would not be dissolved under pressure, but that pressure suddenly turned out to be the pleasure of the Government. This is not a democratic and sympathetic way of running the Government. If the people are governed by the will of the people huge expenditure on police and para-military forces would not be required.

New taxes have been imposed. The budgetary gap has been made up to some extent and there is still a deficit of Rs. 125 crores. In the last year's Budget the deficit was estimated at Rs. 87 crores, but the deficit ultimately came to be Rs. 650 crores. On the same basis, next year's deficit can easily be calculated to be around Rs. 1,600 crores. The worst part of it is that these new imposts do not provide any relief to any section of the people. As I said, this is just to collect more money for mal-administration. No new imposts are necessary if corruption is rooted out, leakage is stopped and economy is effected.

Agriculture and defence are two important subjects. If this Government really thinks that food should get top priority, 30 per cent of the Budget should be earmarked for food production and agricultural development and 30 per cent should be set aside for the defence needs of the country. If these two sides are looked after properly, then the whole economy will look after itself. They can play with the 40 per cent of the money that remains. There is no need for a Planning Commission. But, unfortunately, they have not paid due attention to the food side and to agriculture. Even in this Budget the farmer is the hardest hit person. It is an anti-farmer budget. His diesel would cost

more, his tractors would be more costly, fertiliser will cost more pumping sets will cost more. The farmer is also discriminated against in another way. Just to show the thinking of the planners and the people in the Finance Ministry, a person holding a house upto the value of Rs. one lakh in a town can have additional wealth in moveable property, cash and securities upto a limit of Rs. 1,50,000. That is exempted. The total exemption in the case of non-agriculturist is upto a limit of Rs. 2,50,000. But what happens in the case of a farmer? His farm house is not exempt as is proposed in the Budget. He can either have a house valued at Rs. 1 lakh in the town or can he have his farmhouse exempted. Inclusive of the farmhouse, the total exemption limit for a farmer is only Rs. 1,50,000. So, there is a difference of Rs. 1 lakh in the case of a farmer and a non-farmer in the matter of exemption. Will the Finance Minister explain if he is really sympathetic towards agriculturists and the farmers?

We have seen that the standard of living in the rural areas where 80 per cent of the population of the country live has gone down from year to year. The standard of living of a villager in the beginning of the fifties compared to the standard of living of an average urban man was 27 per cent. Now it has come down to 17 per cent. The spending capacity and the consumption of a man in the rural sector is only 17 per cent of the consumption and the overall standard of living of an average man in the urban areas. Are we really bringing socialism if 80 per cent of the population is going down and down in its standard of living, and the percentage of people living below the poverty line is increasing fast. More than half of the world's illiterates are in this country.

We are talking of removing unemployment. But unemployment during the last 20 years has increased six times since 1950. How can we solve

it? We do not want to solve it because the Government does not want to leave openings for the younger generation. If we are passing through hard times, we also need hard measures to be adopted. The age of retirement has been increased from 55 to 58. This blocks promotions. This blocks employment opportunities for the younger people. I would suggest that they should reduce the age of retirement to 50 if they want to satisfy the younger generation who are now rising up and want to take the country's affairs in their own hands. All these fossils in the Parliament and the Ministries should also be made to retire at the age of sixty. Why should not the younger people run the Government?

Why should not the age limit for voters also be reduced to 18? What happens is this. These people are dictated by organised labour. They want to go on adding to their own salaries and their allowance. We have had one Pay Commission, the Second Pay Commission, the Third Pay Commission. Every 3 months what happens is, there is to be a rise in dearness allowance. All this costs money. We have got limited resources. Instead of creating more employment opportunities what we do is, we go on paying more and more to the same gentlemen who have got employment. They become sort of monopolists of the posts held under the Government in all the fields, and keep out the unemployed educated persons who would be prepared to work for half the salaries.

The people as a whole have suffered and the younger generation is now coming up and it is high time that Government paid due attention to channelising their energies so that they do not rise up in revolt. If you don't do it, there was one Gujarat, there will be many more Gujaraṭs in the country. Our men of the armed forces and soldiers retire at the rate of 50,000 every year and they are mostly between the age of 32 and 40; there

is no employment for them; these trained and disciplined young men have got to be employed. My plea is that agriculture should be developed. If you want the country to be self-sufficient in food and self-reliant in consumer goods. If you really want to boost your industry all these taxes which hit the agriculturists hard and raise the cost of inputs should be removed because industry, prices and wages are dependent on agriculture. The wealth-tax on land is really unjust. Irrespective of the return that it yields, the land is valued for wealth-tax at unrealistic market price. What happens is this. People from big cities who have never seen agricultural land, belonging to Bombay and Calcutta, get through competitions to become Wealth-tax officers and assess it at high prices. Agricultural wealth-tax is levied on poor farmers holding even 10 or 15 acres and living hand to mouth. Agricultural income is included to raise the slab of a farmer's income from any other source. The farmer is thus forced to live miserably on his land only, and is discouraged from earning through any other business and profession. Therefore, I say, there is discrimination against the farmer.

In the end I would say that the Government should see the realities of the situation today as it exists. They want to keep the people in the dark. There was mention made in the House the other day about the report of the World Bank circulated to Aid India Consortium countries. Why do we need Dr. Norman Borlag at all to tell us that Punjab and Haryana need diesel? Why do we need the World Bank experts to tell us at all that if the winter rains fail in India, people can experience a very severe famine and they should be prepared for it? The winter rains have failed. We also had severe frost which has done damage to our rabi crops. Why should the Govt. not take this country into confidence? If foreign aid is required, the World Bank will naturally judge the creditability and

[Shri Birender Singh Rao]

the needs of this country. If others could look into our financial affairs, why cannot our own people be taken into confidence? The World Bank Report, if it is correct—I believe it is correct because it has not been rebutted by our Government—says that it is unrealistic that India would require only 5 billion dollars of foreign aid during the next five years. They said that India would require 12 billion dollars of foreign aid and 10 million tonnes of foodgrains. Let the Finance Minister now categorically say whether the report is false or it is wrong and that they are trying to mislead the country. Why don't you take us into confidence? If others know about what we are, why can't your people know about it? Why cannot we discuss it frankly and freely? Is it a secret disease which has been diagnosed by outsiders which you want to hide from your own family? Why cannot they say that this report is right or wrong? Why cannot they take the country and its Parliament into confidence and why cannot we have a true picture about India?

16.47 hrs.

[SHRI VASANT SATHE *in the Chair*].

SHRI DINESH SINGH (Pratapgarh): Mr. Chairman. Sir, at the very outset, I wish to extend my hearty congratulations to the Finance Minister for introducing in his budget proposals an element of modernity in the taxation policy just as he has introduced modernity in its Hindi translation.

Sir, my hon. friends, Prof. Samar Mukherjee and Shri Indrajit Gupta took exception to the Finance Minister having reduced the taxes. Unfortunately they are not here. But, for their own benefit, and for the benefit of some other hon. Members I should like to say that it is in the general socialist thinking that direct taxes should be reduced.

In fact I can do no better than to quote an eminent Soviet Economist, Mr. N. Yermolovich. He said:

"In capitalist countries, the main source of income of the state budget is taxation and in the socialist countries, profits from national economy".

Therefore, increasingly, we shall have to rely in this country, if we are to introduce an element of socialism in our country, more and more on the investment of Government in various enterprises for our revenues and less and less on what we need from direct taxes.

Now I shall attempt briefly to examine this budget so as to bring out firstly its impact on the weaker sections of the community on what one may call the commonman in this country and then I shall discuss the four main problems that we face in our economic life.

In its impact on the commonman it is creditable that the Finance Minister has again introduced no new taxes on items of mass consumption. But, at the same time, his proposals would increase the cost of transport to an extent where it will affect the items of mass consumption also. Therefore, inevitably, the cost of living of the weaker sections of the community is likely to go up at a time when people are already complaining of high prices. And I would have expected the Finance Minister to come forward with some credible solutions to this problem. Unfortunately he thought it fit not to dwell on these matters. I hope that when he replies to the budget debate he will let us know what exactly his proposals are to try to hold the prices.

It is my feeling that if the Government would seriously go into the question of the production and distribution of items of mass consumption, it is possible to maintain stable prices over a period of time.

Now, let us see the two factors that go into the items of mass consumption, namely, agricultural production and industrial production. In the agricultural production it is the inputs that will determine the price of our foodgrains. There is no use expecting the farmer to sell grain at a loss. If you are permitting the industrialist in this country to sell goods at cost plus then you must expect the farmer also to get his cost plus on the foodgrains. It is all right for an academic body like the Agricultural Price Commission to fix prices of foodgrains on the basis of notional price of inputs. But are the inputs available at those prices? Unless the Government ensures the availability of inputs at stable prices they will not be able to have stable price for the finished item. Therefore, the spiral will go on rising. Therefore, it is my suggestion that if the Government wishes to hold the price-line they must determine the price of inputs over a Plan period so that the prices of foodgrains remain stable.

Similarly about the manufactured items that go into the cost of living index. For example, at present Government determines how much standard cloth is to be manufactured. When the factory does not manufacture, they levy some kind of a token punishment which is taken again from the consumers of other varieties. Instead of that, why is it not possible to link the supply of imported cotton with the production of standard cloth so that, whether it is in the private sector or it is in the public sector Government is assured of production of items of mass-consumption? Then only we can expect that there would be stable prices over a period of time and that the weaker sections of the community will be able to bear this burden which is mounting on them.

Let us examine the four factors that affect our economy most today. The first, as I have mentioned, is high prices. What is the main cause of

the high prices? The Finance Minister has been good enough to indicate in the Explanatory Memorandum the extent of increase in money supply. It is interesting to note that last year as compared to five years ago, there has been an annual growth of money in circulation to the tune of 300 per cent. In the year 1969-70 the growth was 632 crores, whereas last year the growth was 1800 crores. There is this tremendous flow of money in the market, and on the other hand the per capita availability of goods in supply is diminishing. Let us first take the agricultural produce. The per capita availability of food in 1971 was 469.1 grams, whereas the per capita availability of food in 1972 declined to 417.8 grams. Look at the industrial picture over this period. The industrial production went up by 18 points which is roughly 8 per cent. This 8 per cent is off-set by a rise of 10 per cent in population. Then we have minus 2 per cent of the per capita availability of manufactured goods. So, the manufactured goods are less in supply, the food is less in supply and the money keeps on increasing all the time. Inevitably there will be a rise in prices. How do we check this? As I said earlier, it is my hope that the Finance Minister will put forward some credible proposal to convince the House that there is a desire to curb the rise in prices.

The second problem that we face is oil and raw-materials crisis and with it the foreign exchange problem. It is a problem with all countries—rich and poor. But the developing countries bear a bigger impact on their economy.

The Finance Minister has been good enough to point out in the budget how he is proposing to develop indigenous energy resources, but he has not spelt out an export strategy. I think that unless serious efforts are made to boost exports in real terms, not in terms of growth that we take

[Shri Dinesh Singh]

credit of because the value of the rupee has fallen—but in actual volume it is only if the export increases in actual volume—that we shall have a better position in the world market.

The next problem that we face is the public sector. I had at the very beginning pointed out that as a socialist economy we must rely more and more on the resources that would be generated from our investments. Today, the ratio of the taxes and the resources that we generate from our investment is 5 : 1. This has obviously to be reversed. Till the end of last year we had invested Rs. 3000 crores in our public sector enterprises. I am going by the statistics as available in the explanatory memorandum. On this investment it is natural to expect at least 15 per cent return which the Tariff Commission permits to a private investor to receive. This would come to over Rs. 450 crores. But what is our income? In the year before last, it was Rs. 8 crores, last year it is estimated at Rs. 14 crores but it would come down to very much less. This year again it is estimated at Rs. 16 crores. This is an investment of over Rs. 3000 crores. Where has the rest of the Rs. 430 crores gone? Is anybody responsible? Does the Minister in charge of the Ministry hold himself responsible? Has he got a proposal? Can a proposal be brought before this House where it is indicated by what time each of the public sector enterprises would start producing the results for which they have been started? My friend Shri Piloo Mody says that we should close down the unproductive public sector enterprises

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): No, sell it.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: I hope he has enough money to buy.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I do not buy junk.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: The real point is this that as much as I value his friendship, I am afraid I cannot agree with his opinion. What I would say is that they must be made productive. There is no point in liquidating these things. In fact, we have to give it a push...

SHRI PILOO MODY: By me...

SHRI DINESH SINGH: By him, by us...

SHRI PILOO MODY: By me, but not by us.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: I have no objection if he takes the credit and the nation gains on this. I am not here to take credit, but I do feel that something should be done.

I have a very simple suggestion to put before the Finance Minister. Is it possible for him to ask the Minister who comes for further finances to meet the deficit in his public sector enterprises to come personally, explain to him and talk to him? Can there be a more important function than looking after the public investments under the charge of a Minister or under the charge of the Finance Minister? Is there a discussion of this kind or is money sanctioned merely on the notes that are received from the various Ministries?

So, I would emphasise that it is of utmost importance that we make every effort to increase the profitability of the public sector enterprises. While on this subject, I would like to ask the Finance Minister—unfortunately he is not here; Mr. Ganesh is here and I hope he will be good enough to convey it to the Finance Minister—that there is a vast difference between the imported crude price and the price at which we produce our own crude. I have been told that on the 72 million tonnes of crude that we produce in one full year, the difference between our cost of production and the world prices today

would amount to Rs. 350 crores. Where is this to go? The explanatory memorandum shows that ONGC and IOC are not likely to make any profit. They made profits last year. This year the profits are just two dots in place of figures. Where will this money go?

17.00 hrs.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Whose pocket is it going into?

SHRI DINESH SINGH: Let us not talk of pockets just now; let us talk of the larger national income.

Here my suggestion to the Finance Minister would be that this would be legitimately an amount that should form the revenues, that it would be desirable to have an excise on this. If Rs. 350 crores are realised from excise, he would be good enough to reduce Rs. 22 crores that he has put on the various oil products so that the cost of transport can be reduced. I am sure he will bear this in mind that I am proposing an increase of revenues by Rs. 350 crores as against what I am requesting him to do, which would be giving up Rs. 22 crores.

The last point I have to put before the House is on the question of black money. I am afraid that till we are able to curb this black money and the resultant corruption that follows, it would be very difficult to establish a healthy economy in this country. The Finance Minister has already accepted the recommendations of the Wanchoo Committee in respect of personal taxation. But my own interpretation of the Committee's recommendations is that they are part of a package deal, that on the one hand you reduce personal taxation to provide a disincentive to tax evasion; on the other, you take away a large amount that one feels is now floating around as black money. I cannot produce one answer to this. Demonetisation has been suggested. I do not know whether all this money will

come out in demonetisation because it has been hoarded in various other forms also. In any case, it would indicate the resolve of Government to unearth this money and it would be only appropriate if we go into demonetisation and other measures to unearth this black money.

Another very serious implication of this is that it poses a serious security threat. If this black money enables people to smuggle into this country such large items as refrigerators, you can imagine how many guns, rifles, machine guns or bombs can be smuggled into the country, all because there is so much of loose money that one can play around with.

Therefore, I have two specific suggestions to make to the hon. Finance Minister. One is to reduce transport costs because it affects all sections of the community, much more so the weaker section. Secondly, in his effort to modernise the tax structure, he has already given some tax concessions. It would only be appropriate that he raises the bottom from whatever he has, at 6,000, to 10,000.

SHRI PILOO MODY: 12,000.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: My suggestion is 10,000. Shri Piloo Mody of course has more money and can offer a suggestion at a higher level.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Larger base!

SHRI DINESH SINGH: Yes, very much so.

I would only suggest that this is purely a convenience in accounting, because the value of money has diminished to the extent that the 5,000 of the earlier times would be equivalent roughly to 10,000 of today. Therefore, it will help in working this modernity that he has introduced if he raises the exemption limit to 10,000.

With these words, I support the budget proposals.

श्री मूलचन्द डायग (पाली) : सभापति महोदय, जब बड़े बड़े अर्थशास्त्री और राजनीतिज्ञ बोलते हैं, तो मुझे डर लगता है। जनता इस सरकार के आशवासनों पर कब तक टिकी रहेगी ? यह सरकार नंगी और भूखी जनता को कब तक आशवासन देती रहेगी और जनता कब तक उन पर टिकी रहेगी। ऐसा मालूम होता है कि जनता अपनी समस्याओं का निदान खुद ढूँढ लेगी। आज हालत यह है कि गाँवों में दो रुपये में कैरोसिन की एक बोतल मिलती है और दो दो रुपये में एक किलो घान मिलता है। क्या हम 1971 की गरीबी से नीचे तो नहीं चले गये हैं। हमें 1971 की गरीबी वापिस दे दी जाये। मैं समझता हूँ कि गरीबी की जगह और ज्यादा गरीबी आ गई है—डीप्लेशन हो गया है। इस बारे में एक आर्टिकल में कहा गया है :

“Our people were degraded once; they have at last graduated to poverty! Most of the 220 million people in India who, according to our planners, make do on a monthly per capita budget of less than Rs. 40 at current prices today, have yet to graduate to poverty. They are degraded.”

एक तरफ हमारे देश के गरीब रसातल में जा रहे हैं और दूसरी तरफ सरकारी कर्मचारियों को हर साल 52 करोड़ रुपये का और टाइम एलाउंस दिया जा रहा है। इस तरह प्लानिंग और एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का खर्चा बहुत बढ़ जायेगा है। धनी लोगों को सस्ते दामों पर बिजली दी जा रही है और इस के लिए मेजर डैम बनाए जा रहे हैं। हम जो यहां बोलने वाले हैं, उनका मुँह भी बन्द कर दिया जाता है। आखिर यह सारा बजट किसके लिये है ?

जैसा कि मैंने अभी कहा कि सरकारी कर्मचारियों को एक साल में 52 करोड़ रुपये ओवर-टाइम एलाउंस के रूप में दिया

जाता है। वे कमीशन ने कहा है कि गवर्नमेंट की एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन 40 परसेंट ओवरस्टाफ्ड है। सरकारी कर्मचारियों को बहुत बढ़ावा दिया जा रहा है, मानो उन्होंने कोई बहुत बड़ियाँ काम करके दिखाया है, जैसे मितव्ययता आ गई है, ग्राइम्बरशून्यता आ गई है।

गवर्नमेंट के एडवोकेट और डिपुटी एडवोकेट होते हुये भी कांस्टीट्यूशन एमेंडमेंट एक्ट का मुकदमा लड़ने के लिये वकीलों को दो दो लाख रुपये दिये गये हैं, और इस तरह पंद्रह लाख रुपये खर्च कर दिया गया है। आखिर सरकार एक्सपेंडिचर को कैसे कंट्रोल करना चाहती है। मेरे क्वेश्चन के जवाब में बताया गया कि कांस्टीट्यूशन एमेंडमेंट एक्ट का मुकदमा लड़ने के लिये गवर्नमेंट के एडवोकेट्स के मौजूद होते हुए भी वकीलों को पंद्रह लाख रुपये दे दिये गये।

इसी तरह सरकारी कर्मचारियों को मकान बनाने के लिये पचास हजार रुपये के लोन दिये जाते हैं। बहुत से लोग अपने माता पिता के पास अपने मकानों में रहते हैं, लेकिन उनको हाउस रेंट एलाउंस दिया जाता है। आखिर कहीं पर तो फिजूलखर्ची का अन्त होना चाहिये। कौन इन बातों की जांच करेगा ? सरकार पाबर्टी को दूर करने की बात कहती है, लेकिन उसने इसके लिए कौन से साहसिक कदम उठाये हैं ?

1947 में हिन्दुस्तान के 15.46 करोड़ अरब रुपये जमा थे, लेकिन आज हम पर 248.18 करोड़ रुपये का कर्जा है। 248 करोड़ का खर्चा इस तरह बढ़ा दिया जाता है। मान लीजिये आप देश का उत्पादन बढ़ा रहे हैं तो वान समझ में आती है। लेकिन कौन सा उत्पादन बढ़ गया ? आज 1973 या 1974 के अंदर गाँवों से राशन नहीं मिल रहा है। हमने केन्द्रीय मंत्री से पूछा कि आप क्या कर रहे हैं तो कहा कि यह प्रश्न हम से संबंध नहीं रखता, यह हमारा प्रश्न नहीं है।

I put this question in the House and it was answered by Shri D. K. Borooah.

"As the hon Members knows, this is the responsibility of the States How can I deal with them and what authority have I got over them?"

इसी तरह कैरोसिन के डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन की बात पूछे तो कहते हैं कि यह हमारा काम नहीं है, स्टेट जाने, यह उनका काम है। हम एम०पी० अपनी कास्टीट्यूएमी में जाएंगे और लोग कहेंगे कि मुझे मिट्टी का तेल नहीं मिलता, तो मैं क्या कहूंगा? मैं कहूंगा कि मैं इसका उत्तर नहीं दे सकता, इसका उत्तर राजस्थान सरकार देगी। मैं वहां उनसे यह कहूंगा कि? वह कहेंगे कि वोट लेने के लिए आप है और इसका उत्तर दूसरे देगे?

मैंने कहा कि आप खर्चा तो कम कीजिये। प्लानिंग का खर्चा मैंने बताया यह आप के आकड़े हैं—

1971 the percentage of expenditure incurred On civil services

1970-71	83 per cent
1971-72	84 per cent

प्लानिंग में मैं आपने अर्ज कर रहा हूँ—

1970-71	31.8 per cent
1971-72	31.0 per cent
1972-73	40.0 per cent

इस तरह से एक्सपेंडिचर बढ़ता जा रहा है। ओवर टाइम एलावेस आप देने चले जाते हैं और घाटा सब जगह आपको होता जा रहा है। मैंने पूछा कि दिल्ली परिवहन में कितना घाटा है तो कहा 6 करोड़। इसी तरह कलकत्ते में निगम चल रहा है, उसके बारे में निकला कि 5 करोड़ रुपये ऋण के रूप में दिये थे, अब उसमें कोई पैसा नहीं है। सारी चीजें घाटे में चलाते जाओ। गरीब जनता कुर्बानी करने

को तैयार है। गरीब जनता अपना पसीना बहाने को तैयार है। लेकिन उनके पैसे का सदुपयोग कौन करेगा? कौन उसकी जिम्मेदारी लेगा? हर जगह आज घाटा है। रेलवे मिनिस्टर सहब का रेलवे का घाटा देखिये—1968 के अदर 10 करोड़ 20 लाख 1970 में 11 करोड़, बराबर तरकी होती जा रही है, 1971-72 में 13 करोड़ 74 लाख, 1972-73 में 13 करोड़ 50 लाख, यह रेलवे में घाटा है। उसके लिए किराया बढ़ा दिया। कोई भी पब्लिक सेक्टर देख लीजिये वहां यही चीज नजर आएगी। कौन से पब्लिक सेक्टर में किस आदमी को आपने पनिश किया। आप आखिर करने क्या जा रहे हैं? अगर आप चाहते हैं कि यही तो घाटा ही चलेगा। रेलवे में घाटा, सब जगह घाटा और रेलवे एम्प्लॉईज को करोड़ों रुपया दे दिया, करोड़ों रुपया उन के उपर खर्च कर दिया

K R Ganesh gave the figure of Rs 51 crores

हम बड़े गर्व के साथ कहते हैं कि हम 52 करोड़ रुपया ओवरटाइम एलावेस देते हैं और वह काम क्या करते हैं? वित्त मंत्री कहते हैं कि बैंक का काम सतोषजनक नहीं है। खर्चा भी ज्यादा, ओवर टाइम एलावेस भी ज्यादा और काम सतोषजनक नहीं है। इसकी जिम्मेदारी कौन लेगा? कहा जाता है बादल कम बरसे, अकाल आ गया, बाढ़ आ गई। ये बहाने बनाने से काम नहीं चलेगा। अपने घर के कामों को ठीक कीजिये। मितव्ययता बरतिये आप अपने स्टाफ के लिए कहिये कि किसी को भी एक हजार रुपये से ज्यादा तनखाह नहीं मिल सकती। बड़े खुश हुये पीलू मोदी, कि आयकर 97 प्रतिशत से 77 प्रतिशत कर

[श्री मूल चन्द डागर]

दिया। बड़ा इससे इन्फ्लेटिव मिला है? करप्शन बढ़ता जा रहा है। उन गरीबों पर कोई टैक्स लगाने की जरूरत नहीं थी। इससे करोड़पति और करोड़पति बनता जायगा, अरबपति और अरबपति बनता जायगा। उनको इन्फ्लेटिव किस बात का? मालदारों को स्वर्ग से पहुंचा दो पैस दे दे कर और गरीब को कुछ नहीं मिल रहा है। तीन रुपया क़ैश में देते हैं वह तीन रुपया उसको मिलता नहीं है। कहते हैं दस परसेंट कटौती इसमें से हो जायेगी क्योंकि सरकार के अजीब से काम कर रहे हो। 2 रुपया मिलता है। अनाज महंगा किस के किस के लिये है? गरीबों के लिए। कैंरोसिन नहीं मिलता है किसको? गरीब को। उसके तो दाम बढ़ा दिये और अरबों रुपया दे दिया सरकारी कर्मचारियों को। उस गरीब से पूछो जो गांव में खेती करता है उसकी क्या हालत है? लैड सीलिंग लागू हो गई, अरबन सीलिंग लागू हो गई। मैं कहता हूं समाजवाद के नारो से यह नकशा पूरा नहीं होगा। तूफान आने वाला है गरीबों का। अगर वह तूफान आ गया तो उसमें सब जायेगे। उड़ीसा में तो साइकलॉन कभी

"The Commission headed by a retired Judge of the Calcutta High Court said that the IDBI had, in fact, shown undue favour to Birlas"

तो खीन मालदारों को, बिजली मालदारों तो सब कुछ मालदारों के लिए हो रहा है।

यह आप की फाइनेंस कमिशन की रिपोर्ट है। उस का कहना है कि इस का परिणाम क्या हुआ है कि रीजनल इन्फ्लेसेज है। पंजाब की पर कैपिटा आमदनी 953 रुपये और बिहार वाले अपनी गंदन नीची कर ले उन की पर कैपिटा आमदनी है 383 रुपये यह है आप की पर कैपिटा इनकम का नमूना। केरल वाले हत्ता करेगे, वह भी देख लें—

"While per capita expenditure on Education in Bihar is 8.6 per cent, in Kerala it is 31.06 per cent".

तो यह रीजनल इन्फ्लेसेज क्या है? गरीब और गरीब हो रहे हैं। य'जों बाध बन है उन में लासेज, एलेक्ट्रिसिटी बोर्ड में लासेज, ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी जी ने जो अपनी रिपोर्ट लिखी है उस में इन बातों का दिग्दर्शन कराया है। के० आर० गणेश साहब जब समाजवादी बनते हैं तो उस रिपोर्ट का पूरे का पूरा पढे। गरीबों के लिए एलेक्ट्रिसिटी नहीं है। सारे प्रोजेक्ट धनवानों के लिए है। उस गरीब जनता के लिए कोई चीज नहीं है।

About Electricity Boards, "While their revenue receipts would have been increased to Rs. 387 crores.."

मैं ज्यादा टाइम नहीं लेता हूँ। यह आपकी फाइने कमिशन की रिपोर्ट है।

"The poor working results of Electricity Boards are reflected in the budgets of State Governments in the form of default, in full or in part, in payment of interest on loans advanced by State Governments. The total arrears of interest due from Electricity Boards stood at Rs. 280 crores at the end of 1971-72...."

Discussion

करोड़ों रुपया इलैक्ट्रिसिटी बॉर्ड का बकाया है जिस पर ब्याज भी नहीं लगता है और यह किस पर बाकी है—सेठों पर। पानी का मछा किस को मिलता है—बड़े बड़े लोगों को मिलना है।

श्री डी० बसुमतारी (काकराझार) :
आप भी बड़े हैं।

श्री मूल अर्थ दायी : मैं तो बड़ा हूँ,
इपोलिटो बड़ी बातें कर रहा हूँ।

SHRI D. BASUMATARI (Kokra-jhar): I have been listening to the speeches made from this side and also from that side. This Budget, according to me, is a budget be fitting democratic socialism. But some of the Opposition members have described it as an anti-social budget, some have described it as a surrender of the Finance Minister to tax-evaders, rich men and rich farmers. But I would call it a very progressive Budget. Since I do not have much time at my disposal, I will touch only some of the important points. The hon. Minister of Finance is not here; only the Minister of State is present. I will draw his attention to a few points.

Now I come to a very important point. I would, of course, say that there should be taxes because without taxes we cannot develop our country. But I would request the hon. Minister that the taxes imposed on both tooth paste and scooter should be withdrawn. I say this because tooth paste is used mostly by the student community and scooter is used by the low income and the middle income group; they usually come to office by scooter....

MR. CHAIRMAN: According to you, these days students use more tooth paste and not stationery. That is a fact.

SHRI D. BASUMATARI: Now I come to the question of excise duty. I do not mind Government taxing on whisky, brandy and all other types of foreign drinks. But what I object to is, in the name of excise duty they are sucking the blood of tribal people. You know, Sir, the Government of India have established as many as 504 Development Blocks and they have been spending a lot of money to develop the tribal communities. But at the same time they are opening liquor shops there, and the poor tribal people, whatever they earn, spend out their money on drinks. Now I want to ask this question whether the Britishers used to establish opium shops all over India, and the moment Congress came to power it was abolished? Before that too, the Congress workers were engaged in persuading the people not to take to opium. But now by opening liquor shops in the tribal blocks and areas they are sucking the blood of all tribals—in the name of excise duty. I request Shri K. R. Ganesh to see to it that this is withdrawn, necessary instructions may be given to all the State Governments not to open liquor shops in tribal blocks and areas. He also represents the tribal people. The Ongis, Jhaduas and Sentinels who are the most backward tribes in India; they are still fully naked; he knows it very well; they are afraid of even humanbeings; they live on the top of the hills. We represent those people. I would, therefore, request that he should instruct the State Governments to withdraw these liquor shops in tribal development blocks.

Now my friends on the Opposite have criticised that we have not done anything, forgetting all that has been done. There has been some criticism from this side also. But I would not criticise because I have been in parliamentary life since 1946 continuously, and I know what was the picture of India in 1946. It has now changed. Of course, we might not have been able to do as much as could

Discussion

[Shri D. Basumata:]

have. But that is not because of the negligence of Ministers. The national character is lacking. When I talk about national character, I include the Members of Parliament also; I do not include only the officers and salaried group. I include all—MLAs, MPs and Ministers. Unless we are strong in our national character, we cannot develop the country. What are the results? We take decisions on paper. We pass laws and resolutions in this Parliament but after the Parliament is over, we forget those things. At the same time, the opposition who oppose it here, they will oppose it through and through. Whatever decision we take, they will oppose it. Now, they are going round the country criticising the Government for the rise in prices. Who are responsible for that?

It is the opposition which is responsible for that, more than the Congress. It is they who incite the people to take to agitation, to strike work, to go slow, etc. It is they who incite people to put up their demands for higher pay and higher dearness allowance. Therefore, we see strike in the railways, strike in every department. It is only the opposition which does all these things. Sir, I have visited many countries. There, what do we see? Whatever law is passed in the Parliament, it becomes the national wealth and national property. All the parties put their heads together, to implement it and develop the country according to the law enacted in the Parliament and according to the regulation passed in the Parliament. But to-day, we find that even some friends of the Congress side criticise the Government outside the Parliament though they support the Government here. This is the national character and we all out and out oppose the Government decision.

Now, I come to the tribal community that I represent. If I do not say

anything, I shall be failing in my duty to them. I have already said that we have developed the country like anything in the last 26 years. Compared to other countries, our development is far more than theirs, and we must take credit for that. We must give credit to the Government for all it has done. In spite of so many difficulties we have developed our country. Coming to my tribal area, during all the 150 years of the British imperialist rule there were no roads, there were no communications and the only way you can visit that area was to go a bullock cartor you have to do it on the elephant's back. It was full of jungles. I could not go at all. Now, what a transformation it has undergone during these 26 years. There is a jeepable road all through and I can touch every village in a first-class car. Then if you speak day in and day out that the Government has not done anything, that the Government is corrupt and the officials are corrupt, how can they work? In a democratic country it is the officials who have to work. It is the bureaucrat who has to work. If you condemn them all the time, what can you get out of them and what development will there be? You have also a responsibility to develop the country. While you are in the Parliament, you must see and realise that responsibility and change your attitudes before you attack the Government... (*Interruptions*). Including you, Prof. Samar Guhaji. You must know if Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose were alive, you know how he would have sacrificed for the development of the country.

I am coming to the tribal community. The tribal community, from the dawn of Independence, has been put to a very difficult position. Politically they are not brought to the same level as of other communities. It was repeatedly urged by Mahatma Gandhi that the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be brought to the level of the other advanced tribes, and a provision has

been accordingly made. But the administrators stand in the way of their advancement. Is it not a fact that Art. 335 stands in the way of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes getting representation into the services? They use this proviso and say that if suitable candidates from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are not available, they can employ candidates from other communities. This goes against the interests of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Therefore, I say that this word 'suitable' should be removed and Article 335 should be amended or deleted.

Regarding the level of the development in education, I like to submit that it is 29.46 per cent for General, whereas the figures are 14.71 per cent for Scheduled Castes and 11.29 per cent for the Scheduled Tribes only.

Sir, this is the situation even after so many years after our independence. I request the hon. Minister to see that they are educationally brought up by establishing the residential type of schools on Christian Missionary type.

Sir, the gulf of difference between the Scheduled Castes and scheduled tribes on the one hand and the Generals on the other side is so wide that it will take centuries for them to come up to the same level, unless and until special efforts are made by the Government in this direction. This is my respectful submission.

Therefore, my request to Mr. Ganesh is this. You must see that the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are not troubled by the Government in opening of the liquor shops or any other obstruction in their development.

I wish to say one thing here. Only the tribals in the hills of Assam (now in the Sixth Schedule) are the original tribals. The tribals in the hills

other than Assam are pushed-up tribals when their lands were taken away by the sahuikars and money-lenders and they had to take their shelter in the hills under duress.

Previously these tribals had free hand in regard to the forest produce. That is to say, they used to sell the forest produce for their own livelihood. But since independence this has been withdrawn by the State Government. And as a result they have lost their rights on the forests. And then, many of the States in South India have constituted a Forest Corporation to help the tribals economically. Thereby the tribals lost their right and the benefit goes to them only to the extent of 25 per cent. Therefore, I request that this right of the tribals in regard to forests should be restored to them. This is my respectful submission.

17.34 hrs.

RE. SITUATION IN BIHAR—Contd.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): I wish to make a point of submission. There is the very alarming news that there was firing inside the Bihar Assembly itself. It is stated that they shot at employees inside the Bihar Assembly. There have been very alarming reports. The Speaker gave a direction for the Minister to make a statement about the situation in Bihar. I want to know when the statement will be made. We are anxious at the sort of reports we are getting from Bihar, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let us proceed with the business. The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs is here; he has heard you; if it is possible for the Home Minister to come he will come; I cannot give a direction. Let us proceed with the business.

Shri Shyam Sunder Mohapatra....