

11.39 hrs.

**ARREST AND RELEASE OF MEMBER**

**MR. SPEAKER:** I have to inform the House that I have received the following wireless message dated the 3rd May, 1974, from the Superintendent of Police, Birbhum (West Bengal):—

"In the early hours (at about 03.00 hours) of 3rd May, 1974, Officer-in-charge, Nalhathi Police Station, went to a place in Nalhathi Police Station Area for arresting some persons under section 151 Cr. P.C. Several persons were found at that place. A few of those persons did not disclose their identity at that time. Therefore, all of them were brought to Nalhathi Police Station for interrogation and for establishing their identity. At Nalhathi Police Station it was discovered that one of those persons was Shri Gadadhar Saha, Member, Lok Sabha. Shri Saha was released on personal recognition at 07.00 hours on 3rd May 1974."

**SHRI ATAL BEHARI VAJPAYEE** (Gwalior): What is meant by 'recognition'?

**MR. SPEAKER:** That is, his identity was established.

**SHRI ATAL BEHARI VAJPAYEE:** By whom? Who doubted his identity.

**MR. SPEAKER:** I do not know.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** Sir, the House is being misled. There is something fishy. The information is not complete.

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE** (Kanpur): Sir, in the identity card photo is there. So, the identity could have been borne by the photo in the identity card.

11.40 hrs.

**FINANCE BILL, 1974—contd.**

**MR. SPEAKER:** Now, we take up discussion on the Finance Bill. At

1 O'clock the Minister will be called and then there will be discussion on clauses for three hours and then the third reading.

**SHRI N. K. SANGHI** (Jalore): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Finance Bill for the financial year 1974-75. We have just now seen what is happening in this august Parliament House day in and day out. The so-called champions and builders of democracy today are digging the democracy to its own foundations. This is how the country's problems are expected to be solved. So much has already been said about the grave situation that is already there in the country, namely, rising prices, inflation, the galloping oil prices. All that is happening in the country is very much in the view of the Government and Government has been candid itself by putting it in the Economic Survey where it has been clearly stated and admitted that there is unprecedented inflation in the country during the past year when the prices went up to 20 per cent. They have also said that a balance between the requirements of growth and the urgent need of the country to fight the inflation is being planned in the financial proposals for 1974-75. Not only the core industries like steel, fertilisers, etc. are being stepped up by greater outlays but also this budget is definitely the best budget that has been presented by Mr. Chavan during the last two-three years. Every year what happens is before the budget is placed on the Table of the House some sort of feelings are created by the newspapers that something which is very difficult is coming. For example, demonetisation is coming or clubbing of the income of husband and the wife is coming or capital levy or expenditure levy is in offing and such sort of feelings are given in the Press and people feel something terrible is coming which will make their living difficult. From whatever we have seen, the reception for this year's budget has been extremely good from all sections, whether it be the industrialists or the artisans or the service people.

There has been a fundamental difference in the current budget proposals in the fact that the highest income-tax rate has been reduced from 97.5 per cent to 77 per cent. So, there has been a saving of 23 per cent in the higher income bracket and this has brought the much-desired relief. Today, we want more production and we want more and more people to work and bring about a more production-oriented economy. This relief will certainly bring more initiative and it would be like making them partners in the earning of the country and bringing the production to a higher pitch than we are having now.

I have been hearing for the last three days speeches by the opposition Members. Dr. Karni Singh was saying yesterday that the Congress had not done a good job. But he was also very lamentable when he said that even the Opposition parties are not united and not capable to carry the nation forward. They had not done even what the Congress had done. I also heard Mr. P. G. Mavalankar yesterday when he said that the Opposition was disunited and they could not carry the people with them. He said that he did not speak on behalf of the Opposition parties because he did not belong to any party. I believe what he has said, I feel that his is a right reaction. The Congress would never cling to power if the Opposition parties could do better. We have never said that we are doing the best job; we are trying to do whatever is best for the country, in the present economic situation, and we expect everyone else also to support these good measures. If the Opposition parties can certainly prove that they can do better than the Congress, we shall be the first to leave off our position and ask them to sit on the Treasury Benches. But the question is that they have failed in their job and failed in discharging their responsibilities to the people. And I would give full marks to the people of this country because they know how to determine where their welfare lies and where they have to go. That is the very reason why when we are

confronted with such a grim situation we have to tackle it in the manner in which it is desired by them to be tackled. But merely talking and saying that the prices of everything are going up is no good. What do we say about the railway strike? A concerted effort is being made to bring disruption to the economy of the country by paralysing the railways at such a grim hour as this when the movement of the trains is the most vital link for the economy of the country. I think what is being done is certainly not acceptable to any sensible citizen of the country and by one who has some nationalism in him, to see that what is being done will not have a beneficial effect.

Coming to the financial proposals, I would submit that I have gone through the report of the Finance Ministry for the year 1973-74, in which they have said at page 5 that:

"A valuation cell was set up in the Income-tax Department in October, 1968."

At page 6, at para 17 they have said:

"The total value of properties valued by the Valuation Cell from 1st April, 1973 to 30th September, 1973 was Rs. 1906.5 lakhs. In the process of valuation, underestimation to the tune of Rs. 400.34 lakhs was detected by the Valuation Cell."

Continuing at page 7 in para 20 they say:

"Till 30th September, 1973, the 'Competent Authorities' had issued notices under section 269D of the Income-tax Act, for initiating proceedings for acquisition of immovable property in 1786 cases."

I would like to point out that this Valuation Cell has been set up in order to see that there is proper valuation of properties by the assesses, in their wealth tax returns and also to see that there is proper valuation when they construct new buildings.

[Shri N. K. Sanghi]

But when Government say that there has been under-estimation to the tune of Rs. 400.34 lakhs, I feel that Government are not applying a fair yardstick. The amount taken into account for wealth tax is a notional value, and we find that the valuation of a particular property was a particular amount some years back. It should not be increased frequently with the rise in prices. For instance, if there is a property in a thickly populated area where for one single vacant plot of land the cost of the land is Rs. 500 per sq. yard, and if the valuation for the land or all the buildings in that area is taken also as Rs. 500 a sq. yard, I submit that that is going to bring heart-burning and oppression. What I would submit is that if that higher cost is going to be taken as the basis for the purposes of valuation for wealth tax purposes, that would be on the extremely high side, and it is not going to be fair to the assesseees. Therefore, the Government should clarify the position by issuing some guidelines in regard to the valuation of properties, particularly in respect of the valuation of land.

Regarding the notices issued for acquisition under section 269D of the Income-tax Act, in 1786 cases, I would submit that the basic element in these acquisition proceedings is that these matters should be decided very quickly. It should be like a surgical operation. Once the surgeon takes up the case, he goes ahead with his surgical operation and completes it quickly. In the same way, in a matter like the acquisition of properties, they should decide the matter very quickly. They should not linger and take a long time in going through the various proceedings. I would even suggest the setting up of a tribunal like the income-tax tribunal where we can have a judicial member along with some valuers and engineers, so that these matters could be disposed of quickly and the acquisition of property is done without allowing the matter to linger for a long time, or for years together which actually means no benefit to the country.

I would also like to draw the attention of the Minister to the Gratuity Act of September, 1972. According to the Act, today we have made provision for payment of a certain amount at the rate of 15 days' salary for the number of years that a man has worked when he leaves or goes on superannuation. After the Act has been passed, as per the Act a fund has been created by people for payment of gratuity. But what we find is that this fund created under the law is not being allowed as a matter of expense. Hundreds and thousands of appeals are pending. The Income Tax department has rejected them and now people are asked to go in appeal to tribunals and so on. I think this is a matter which should have been clarified by the Central Board of Direct Taxes whether this provision that has been created for payment of gratuity should have been allowed or not.

I would like to draw the attention of Government to the case of *Metal Box Company* recently decided by the Supreme Court under the Bonus Act where they said that any fund that has been created on a scientific and actuarial basis should be allowed as part of deduction in their expense account. I would also draw attention to the recent decision of the Allahabad High Court in Madhav Mahesh Sugar Mills where also a similar finding has been given. I think the Central Board of Direct Taxes today is lacking in its responsibility to issue proper circulars and guidance to its officers as to whether a gratuity fund created under the law should be allowed or not.

We are very happy that the income-tax exemption limit has been raised from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 6,000. The highest tax slab has also been brought down to 77 per cent. Between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 6,000 of income, a sum of Rs. 110 was payable as tax. But now we find that in the slab 7,500 to 12,500, the income tax relief which has been given upto 1,000 has been denied to this particular slab of taxpayers. There is a reduction of 110 when a man gets exemption upto

Rs. 6,000, but there is a reduction of Rs. 77 only to the taxpayer in the slab upto 7,500 and there is a reduction of Rs. 22 only if the man is in the slab reaching upto 10,000, I would request the hon. Minister to see the reduction of Rs. 110 should at least be available to taxpayers who are above 6,000 and upto 12,500. Any reduction to them below Rs. 110 is denying the basic exemption that is allowed by raising taxable limit to Rs. 6,000 from Rs. 5,000.

The Finance Minister has taken measures towards simplification of tax deduction. For example, there used to be a car allowance, allowance for transport, purchase of books, vocational allowance. They have made a straight deduction of 20 per cent on salaries upto 1,000 and 10 per cent thereafter subject to a maximum of Rs. 3,500. What has been said is that this deduction will be 'incidental to the employment of the assessee'. I would like to point out that pensioners who are getting salary pension about Rs. 6,000 a year are not allowed this deduction because of the wording 'incidental to the employment of the assessee'. This does not include pensioners. But pensioners also have to spend on so many things connected with their vocation. If this is denied to pensioners whose pensions are already diminishing, I think it is not fair. The income of pensioners up till now was treated as salaries, and since this deduction is allowed basically to salary-earners, I think the pensioners' case also requires Government's attention. This deduction should also be available to them by deleting the words 'incidental to the employment of the assessee'.

We are talking of the Wanchoo Committee's recommendations. The Committee has gone into the entire gamut of the taxation structure of the direct taxes made very vital recommendations. We are very happy that most of the recommendations have been accepted by the Finance Ministry. But there are some fundamental recommendations made by the Committee.

The Committee has said that there should be an independent autonomous Board of Revenue. I hope the Finance Minister will consider this recommendation and agree to make an autonomous independent Board of Revenue so that people can have a little more faith in the Board which will work as an independent board in the matter of collection of revenue.

The Committee has also recommended that there should be a uniform rate on all companies at 55 per cent. They have disagreed with the disallowance of entertainment expenditure. These are two vital recommendations. I hope in examining these recommendations the Finance Minister will take some care to see that these are given effect to.

We have been very much agitated about the inflationary pressure created by non-plan expenditure. We have been told on the floor of the House that some measures have been taken to effect economy to the maximum extent in the non-plan expenditure. In the Report of the Ministry for 1973-74 we are also told that there is a saving of Rs. 400 crores envisaged in non-plan expenditure. But what are the measures? The measures for effecting the economy stated are that there should be a 10 per cent reduction in travelling allowance. There should be stoppage of construction of non-functional buildings which have not proceeded beyond plinth level; there would be saving on petrol and phone calls; there would be saving on entertainment; there would be saving on renovation of buildings, public undertakings should have the minimum losses and there would be a 5 per cent overall saving in all the Ministries.

Lastly, they have said that they propose stopping the house-building advances to Government servants. I would say that this particular feature of stopping house-building advances to Government servants is not going to help the economy that we need in this country. Today, what I feel is that the salaried people need

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housing very badly. Most of the employees are still without any house being provided through house-building loans. When they retire at least they should have a shelter. It is also the wish of most of the hon. Members here that those employees must have a shelter for themselves. I think the stopping of the house-building advances is one of the things that the Finance Minister should not go ahead with, and that he will allow the house-building loans to the Government employees as has been done heretofore. We would like to know how much actually is the saving out of Rs. 400 crores in the year 1973-74.

We are also agitated over the expenditure on our missions abroad and we feel that economy could be effected in this expenditure. We have foreign missions outside our country. We have been told in one of the answers to the questions in Parliament that our expenditure in London, Paris, New York, Moscow, Warsaw and Belgrade in 1972-73 has been Rs. 292.20 lakhs. With the need for restraint on our foreign exchange, I think we are, however having a heavy expenditure on our foreign missions. In view of the need for effecting economy, why should we not have a 20 per cent reduction of our expenditure on our foreign missions? If we can save 20 per cent on our foreign missions in this respect we would be saving a good bit of foreign exchange which is needed for the importation of this high-priced oil, food-stuffs etc. from other countries.

One of the vital things that is corroding the economy in our country is the payment of overtime wages. According to the present legislation overtime wages are to be paid at double the rates of what a man is getting. As a result of collective bargaining, the payment of overtime wages has become a fashion. What happens in most of the offices is that the people do not work in regular hours. They only work overtime to get the overtime wages. In the LIC

and many other public sector undertakings, people hardly work; for two to three hours only they work; and when overtime allowance is paid then only they will work.

The fact is that the LIC paid in 1970-71, a sum of Rs. 67 lakhs as overtime wages; in 1971-72, they paid Rs. 91 lakhs; in 1972-73, they paid Rs. 102 lakhs. In the defence establishments, an overtime of Rs. 863 lakhs was paid in 1970-71; Rs. 1,155 lakhs in 1971-72, and in 1972-73, a sum of Rs. 2,266 lakhs was paid as overtime wages. Similarly, in the Central Secretariat, an overtime wages of Rs. 76 lakhs was paid in 1970-71; Rs. 83 lakhs in 1971-72 and Rs. 90 lakhs in 1972-73. In the Nationalised banks, it was Rs. 1,121 lakhs in 1972 and Rs. 1,222 lakhs in 1973. These are the figures for the overtime wages. Today, there is increasing unemployment in the country, and we would like more people to get employed than overtime wages to be paid. The first necessity of the Government is to see that the people are employed to do the work which has to be done during the regular working hours. In case overtime wages are to be paid, proper legislation should be brought in by which the overtime wages should not be double the rate but at the usual rate, so that we can do away with a big part of our expenditure and see that people are able to get employment and the overtime policy becomes employment-oriented.

We have also been seeing many credit curbs being put by the Government and the lending rates have been increased. After nationalisation of the banks, the interest has been increased from nine per cent to 14 per cent. It is a jump of six per cent in the lending rate. I do not think this lending rate is going to help the economy of the productive sectors, because whatever money has gone from the banks for the production of goods and other materials because of this six per cent rise, there is a further burden on costs and production, and naturally it does not

go towards greater production and economy but elsewhere.

We also see that a credit squeeze has been adopted. But we do not know the rationale of the credit curbs. What usually happens now is on a particular day if the credit is to be for a particular amount, they say there is no credit, and it is not allowed to be expanded. This is a very unsatisfactory manner of bringing credit curbs. The credit curb should be brought in on a very rational basis. There should be some percentage on the total overall drawing limits of a man. In case the limit is up to a particular amount, a percentage should be brought into it and the drawing limit should be reduced by say 10 to 20 per cent, as the case may be. If we can have something like that, we will be able to avoid hardship in this aspect.

In the income-tax department today we are very happy and I must congratulate the Government on the fact that our direct taxes recovery has been to the extent of Rs. 1,360 crores. They have recovered a sum of Rs. 188 crores more than what was targeted in the budget figures. But I would also like to draw the attention of the department to the fact that there are hundreds of thousands of cases, and I am told in one of the answers to the questions in the Lok Sabha that more than 1,200 cases are lying pending under section 34 of the old I.T. Act of 1922. Section 34 cases are old cases they are pending for thirty years or thirty-five years. It is high time these cases are disposed of so that the matter may be closed and the present law of the land may take its course. Only then we can devote our time for taking up the present activities.

12.00 hrs.

There is so much of extravagant expenditure in some offices. We understand the Steel Authority of India Limited has recently rented out a building in Delhi at a rent of a lakh

of rupees per month. Hardly fifteen persons are working. Huge amounts of rents are paid in Delhi by Government undertakings. Proper assessment should be made so that all such extra expenditure can be curbed and our economy benefited.

The financial proposals for the year 1974-75 are definitely with a difference and they are going to create a healthier economy. We want that the Opposition parties should also give effective support so that these measures are taken in order that we could have quicker pace of economic development in the country and inflation could be kept under control and the aspirations of the people could be fulfilled. With these words, I support Finance Bill.

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (ग्वालियर):**  
अध्यक्ष महोदय, जब हम वित्त विधेयक, 1974 पर विचार करते हैं, तो हमें प्रनायास इस बात का स्मरण हो जाता है कि यह पहला वित्त विधेयक नहीं है, जो वित्त मंत्री, श्री चव्हाण, ने प्रस्तुत किया है। जून, 1970 में श्री चव्हाण ने राष्ट्रीय वित्त का दायित्व सम्भाला। 1971 में उन्होंने एक अन्तरिम बजट पेश किया था। मैंने उस समय के उनके भाषण को पढ़ा और उस की तुलना में इस वर्ष के भाषण से की। दोनों वित्त विधेयकों की धाराओं में भी मैं समानता या अन्तर देखने का प्रयत्न किया।

इस बार जो कर प्रस्ताव लाये गये हैं, वे अच्छे हैं या बुरे, इसके बारे में अलग-अलग राय हो सकती है, लेकिन मैं यह समझने में असमर्थ हूँ कि इन कर प्रस्तावों का, और विशेष कर इनकम टैक्स की दर में कमी करने का, 1971 में दिये गये उन के भाषण से क्या तालमेल है। 1971 में श्री चव्हाण ने अन्तरिम बजट पेश करते हुये कहा था कि हमारे सामने एक "लाजर सोशल ग्रांजेक्टिव" है। उन्होंने "दि नीड टु री-डिस्ट्रिब्यूट इनकम्प एंड बैल्य बाई सूटेबल चेंजिज इन दि फिस्कल सिस्टम" की भी बात कही थी, और यह कह कर उन्होंने पर्सनल इनकम टैक्स

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

को 82.5 परसेंट से बढ़ा कर 93.5 परसेंट कर दिया था। उन्होंने यह भी कहा था कि "दि टास्क ग्रॉफ वाइडनिंग एंड डीपनिंग दि रीसोर्स बेस" इस बात का मांग करता है कि प्रत्यक्ष करों में वृद्धि का जाये, और आगे जाकर यह पर्सनल इनकम टैक्स 93.5 परसेंट से बढ़ा कर 97.75 परसेंट कर दिया गया।

लेकिन इस बार के कर प्रस्तावों में यह मर्यादा घटा कर 77 परसेंट कर दी गई है। हम इस मर्यादा को घटाने की पहले से मांग करते रहे थे।

श्री श्यामलम्बन मिश्र (बेगुसराय) :  
तब माननीय सदस्य रीएक्शनरी थे।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : तब हम रीएक्शनरी थे। अब श्री चव्हाण प्रगतिवादी हो गये।

इसका मापदंड क्या है? मुझे लगता है कि हमारे वित्त विधेयक, हमारे बजट, या मैं कहूंगा कि सरकार की सारी अर्थ-नीति, के पीछे कोई निश्चित चिन्तन नहीं है, कोई निश्चित विचार-धारा नहीं है। जैसे कोई जहाज परिस्थितियों के तूफानों में पड़ कर, थपेड़े खाकर, किनारे पर आने की कोशिश में रास्ता भूल कर, इधर-उधर भटकता रहता है, वही स्थिति हमारी सरकार की हो गई है।

श्री चिन्तामणि पाणिश्राही (भुवनेश्वर) : जहाज किनारे पर आ गया है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : कभी कभी किनारे पर ही जहाज डूब जाया करना है।

मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि अगर उम समय कुछ सामाजिक उद्देश्यों की प्राप्ति के लिये पर्सनल इनकम टैक्स बढ़ाना जरूरी था, तब आज उसको घटाना कैसे जरूरी हो गया। अब जो छूट दी गई है, उससे धनवानों को

60 करोड़ रुपये का लाभ होगा। इसके बदले में अधिक आमदनी वालों पर केवल 9, 10 करोड़ रुपये का बोझ डाला गया है। लेकिन मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि यह 77 परसेंट क्यों। 70 परसेंट क्यों नहीं? मांग तो यह की जाती रही है कि अगर काला धन बनने से रोकना है और अगर टैक्सों की चोरी बन्द करनी है, तो हमें प्रत्यक्ष करों को और घटाना चाहिये। लेकिन वह बात भी वित्त मंत्री ने नहीं मानी। फिर भी तो प्रत्यक्ष कर 50 फीसदी तक लाये जा सकते हैं। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि नई प्रत्यक्ष प्रणाली का चिन्ह तर्क-पद्धति कौन सी है, मैं आशा करता हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय इसको स्पष्ट करेंगे।

लेकिन केवल कराधान का मामले में नहीं, किसी भी आर्थिक प्रश्न पर इस प्रकार की नीति निश्चित नहीं जान पड़ती है। गत वर्ष खाद्यान्न के व्यापार का सरकारीकरण करने का फैसला किया गया। हमने उम समय चेतावनी दी थी कि इस कदम के गम्भीर परिणाम होंगे। तब हमारी आलोचना की गई, हमें प्रतिक्रियावादी कहा गया। और अब स्वयं सरकार ने इस विचार का परित्याग कर दिया है। पहले तो उसने ऐसी नीति बना दी, जिसमें व्यापारियों को बिल्कुल निकाल दिया गया और अब उसने ऐसी नीति बनाई है, जो बिल्कुल व्यापारियों पर छोड़ दी गई है। क्या सरकारी नीति का पेंहुनम कभी एक मिरे पर और कभी दूसरे मिरे पर होगा? क्या यह सरकार किसी मध्यम वर्ग मार्ग का अवलम्बन नहीं कर सकती है?

नये मंत्री, श्री मालवीय, ने लखनऊ में भाषण देते हुये कहा कि अगर कोयले को खानों को प्राइवेट हाथों में दिया गया, तो यह काम मेरी लाश पर होगा। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि हमने कोयले की खानों को इसलिये लिया है कि वहाँ काम करने वाले मजदूरों की हालत

बिगड़ी हो। क्या मजदूरों की हालत सुधारने मात्र की दृष्टि से इस सरकार के लिये किसी उद्योग का राष्ट्रीयकरण करना जरूरी है? क्या इसके लिये और उपाय या हथियार नहीं हैं? और राष्ट्रीयकरण का सवाल क्यों पैदा होना चाहिये कि अगर हमें किसी उद्योग का राष्ट्रीयकरण खत्म करना पड़े, तो वह हमारी लाभ के ऊपर होगा? और अगर कमी खाब मंत्री यह कह देते कि अगर अनाज के राजकीय व्यापार का फैसला बदलने का निश्चय किया गया, तो वह मेरी लाभ पर होगा, तो आज क्या स्थिति होती? कितनी लाशें मंत्रियों की इस सदन में, या इस सदन के बाहर, पड़ी हुई दिखायी देंगी। क्या आर्थिक प्रश्न भावना के आधार पर तय होंगे?

तभी श्री सुब्रह्मण्यम् यहां बैठे थे, अब वह नहीं हैं। 27 मार्च को उन्होंने यह भाषण दिया :

"Mr. C. Subramaniam told the Lok Sabha that he wished we are in a position to nationalise all large houses, as demanded by some members. Unfortunately, we are not in such a position. Mr. Subramaniam said the Government was considering some sort of control over the private sector without affecting the industrial production or national wealth."

क्या अर्थ है इतना ;

क्या सभी बड़े उद्योगों का राष्ट्रीयकरण यह सरकार की नीति है? फिर उद्योगों का राष्ट्रीयकरण सरकार के लिये सिद्धान्त का विषय है या व्यवहार का विषय? क्या सरकार आज इस स्थिति में हो कि सारे उद्योगों को ले लें, तो उसकी नीति सारे उद्योगों को लेने की है और अगर है तो अनाज के व्यापार को छोड़ने की नीति की संगति उसके साथ कैसे बैठती है। एक और अनाज का व्यापार छोड़ा जा रहा है, उपभोक्ता और उत्पादक दोनों के हितों की चिन्ता नहीं की जा रही है, पब्लिक डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन सिस्टम को संकुचित किया जा रहा है, मैंने सुना है कि अब

केवल बड़े गहरों तक ही उसे सीमित रखा जायेगा, और दूसरी ओर मेरे मित्र श्री गणेश 23 अप्रैल को यह भाषण देते हैं :

"If we are forced to the wall, I think Government would resort to control of prices and distribution of essential commodities."

अगर हमें दीवार तक धकेला गया—यह दीवार कहाँ है? आपके धक्का खाने की क्षमता कितनी है? जनता को आप और कितना सहन करने के लिये कहना चाहते हैं? आज आवश्यकता की वस्तुयें बाजार में उपलब्ध नहीं हैं। कब समय आया जब श्री गणेश समझेंगे कि अब हम दीवार तक पहुँच गये हैं, अब सारी आवश्यक वस्तुओं के वितरण का अधिकार हमें अपने हाथ में ले लेना चाहिये।

श्री एस० एम० बनर्जी (कानपुर):  
जब समाजवाद का श्रीगणेश होगा।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: मगर मुझे डर यह है कि सज्जन गणेश बनाने चले थे, वह बन्दर बना गये। उसने पूछा कि गलती कैसे हो गई उन्होंने कहा कि थोड़ी सी गलती हो गई कि सूड आगे लगनी थी, वह पीछे लग गयी। विनायक प्रकुर्वाणों रचयामास वानरम्। ये नाम के गणेश हैं मगर जो कुछ बना रहे हैं वह बन्दर है क्योंकि इनके सामने स्पष्ट चित्र नहीं हैं कभी बनर्जी जैसे मित्रों का जोर पड़ता है तो कह देते हैं कि हम सारा वितरण का अधिकार अपने हाथ में ले लेंगे लेकिन जब व्यवहार के जगत में आते हैं तो जो अधिकार लिये हुये हैं उनको छोड़ने की बात करते हैं।

अब मैं मोनोपोली पर आता हूँ। सरकार दावा करती है कि वह मोनोपोली को बचने नहीं देना चाहती, बड़े बड़े घरानों को नियंत्रित करना चाहती है और इसके लिये अनेक कमेटीयों का अभी तक निर्माण किया जा चुका है। महलनवीस कमेटी बनाई गई,



[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन आफ इनकम एंड वेल्थ के प्रश्न पर विचार करने के लिये, फिर मोनोपोलीज इन्क्वायरी कमीशन बैठा, फिर हजारी रिपोर्ट आई और फिर पालियामेंट ने भी एक एकट पास किया मोनोपोलीज—एंड रेस्ट्रिक्टिव ट्रेड प्रैक्टिसिस ऐक्ट। लेकिन आप जानते हैं स्थिति क्या है? जून, 1970 से मार्च, 1973 तक केवल 63 मामले कमीशन के विचार के लिये भेजे गये। कमीशन ने इनमें से एक भी रद्द नहीं किया। लेकिन इस बीच सरकार ने 1552 इंडस्ट्रियल लाइसेंस जारी किये और 2330 लैटर्स आफ इंटेंट दिये जिनमें बड़े घरानों को दिये गये लाइसेंस भी शामिल हैं। सरकार जिस मामले को चाहे कर्मिशन को भेजे, जिसको न चाहे न भेजे। कर्मिशन में बैठ हुये सदस्य समझते हैं कि उस कर्मिशन की कोई उपयोगिता नहीं है। साइसेंसिंग पालिसी इन्क्वायरी कमेटी ने 1969 में जो बात कही थी वह आज सही साबित होती हुई दिखाई दे रही है।

“The licensing system, as it is actually worked, could not ensure the development of industries mainly according to Plan priority. The licensing system failed to prevent the growth of capacity in less essential industries and could not ensure the creation of capacity in the more essential industries.”

यह 1969 की बात है। लेकिन आज 1974 में तसवीर कोई बदली हुई नहीं है। आवश्यक बस्तुएं पैदा करने वाले उद्योग पूरी क्षमता से काम नहीं कर रहे हैं, उनको बढ़ावा नहीं दिया जा रहा है, जानबूझकर मुनाफा कमाने के लिये उन उद्योगों में संकट पैदा किया जा रहा है। आज बम्बई के लिबर बदर्स यह शिकायत करते हैं कि बैजिटेबल तो हमारे पास उपलब्ध है लेकिन उसको रखने के लिये डिब्बे नहीं हैं, इस वास्ते वह बाजार में नहीं जा सकता। डिब्बे इसलिये नहीं हैं क्योंकि स्टील नहीं है और हमारी सरकार ऐसी है कि स्टील विदेशों में भेज रही है और स्टील

विदेशों से मंगा भी रही है। यह गोरखवा मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। क्या लिबर बदर्स से यह नहीं कहा जा सकता कि जो पुराने डिब्बे उपलब्ध हैं उनका उपयोग करके जो भी बनस्पति बन रहा है उसको उसमें भर कर उपभोक्ताओं के लिये उपलब्ध करें।

श्री एस० एम० बनर्जी : वह मार्गरीन बना रहे हैं।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : हां, यह बात सही है कि डालडा बनाने में मुनाफा कम है इसलिये वे ऐसे पदार्थ बना रहे हैं जिनमें मुनाफा ज्यादा है।

दिल्ली में डी० सी० एम० कैमिकल्स है। उसमें हड़ताल हो रही है। हड़ताल कराने वाले सत्तारूढ़ दल से सम्बन्धित मजदूर संगठन हैं। रेलवे मजदूर हड़ताल करें तो वह देशद्रोही है और अगर डी० सी० एम० के कैमिकल्स वर्क्स कांग्रेस के इशारे पर मजदूर हड़ताल करें तो वह देशभक्ति है? क्या आज दिल्ली में बनस्पति की कमी नहीं है? मजदूरों ने होली के दिन अफसरों को मारा। यहां तो आप केवल आरोप लगते हैं श्री जार्ज फरनेन्डीज पर कि कर्मचारियों को हड़ताल के लिये उभाड़ा, हिंसा के लिये उभाड़ा। वे आरोप सही नहीं हैं। वे गुप्तचर विभाग द्वारा प्राप्त किये गये हैं। मगर दिल्ली में एक ऐसा मामला है जिसमें डी० सी० एम० के कैमिकल्स वर्क्स में मजदूरों ने अफसरों को मारा।

श्री पीलू मोदी (गोवरा) : हिंसा कर चुके हैं।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : और करने वाले कौन हैं? सत्तारूढ़ दल से सम्बन्धित मजदूर संगठन। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ मोनोपोलीज के बारे में क्या निश्चित नीति है? आप बड़े घरानों का विकास करना चाहते हैं या नहीं....

श्री सतपाल कपूर (पटियाला) : आप क्या चाहते हैं?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मैं आपसे पूछ रहा हूँ ।

श्री सतपाल कपूर : हम आपसे पूछ रहे

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मुझे वहाँ बैठा दीजिये, मैं जवाब दूंगा । मैं वित्त विधेयक पर चर्चा कर रहा हूँ, कोई जनसंघ के मनुफैस्टो पर चर्चा नहीं कर रहा हूँ । अगर कल वे रामलीला मैदान में आयें होते तो मेरे भाषण से लाभ उठाते । मगर वे रामलीला नहीं देखते । रावणलीला में रत हैं ।

मैं सरकार से पूछ रहा हूँ नाँव एक होनी चाहिये । क्या यह सच नहीं है कि लाइसेंसिंग पालिसी और मोनोपली को नियंत्रित और सीमित करने की घोषणा इनमें तालमेल नहीं है ? इनमें अन्तर्विरोध है । लाइसेंस अलग दिये जा रहे हैं, मोनोपली को नियंत्रित करने की घोषणा अलग की जा रही है । सरकार चाहती क्या है ? इसके कारण एक अनिश्चलता की स्थिति पैदा हो गई है । ऐसा लगता है कि सरकार ऐडहाक फैसले करती है । कोई और इज्ज नहीं, ऐडहाकिज्ज चल रहा है । इससे तो देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था का सम्बन्ध की दृष्टि से विकास नहीं किया जा सकता है ।

मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज इस बात की बड़ी आवश्यकता है कि केन्द्र में भी, राज्यों में भी वित्तीय अनुशासन हो । लेकिन चम्हाण साहब ने राज्यों के बजट देखे होंगे । 16 राज्यों के बजटों में 193 करोड़ का घाटा है । पंजाब जिसका प्रति-निधित्व श्री सतपाल कपूर करते हैं, सबसे बाजी मार ले गया । उसने 37 करोड़ के ओवरड्राफ्ट ले लिये जब कि मर्यादा 9 करोड़ रुपये की थी । रिजर्व बैंक ने कहा कि आपको सब वापस करना पड़ेगा । पंजाब में सवाल पैदा हो गया कि कर्मचारियों की तनख्वाह कैसे दी जायेगी ? अब वह

आर्डिनैस के द्वारा टैक्स लगा रहे हैं । मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अगर राज्य घाटे के बजट पेश करते रहेंगे, रिजर्व बैंक से ओवरड्रा करते रहेंगे तो फिर वित्तीय अनुशासन लाने का वित्त मंत्री का उद्देश्य कैसे पूरा होगा ?

इस सबन्ध में एक बात विचारणीय है—सरकार दावा करती है कि वॉलेंस आफ पेमेन्ट अच्छा है, हमारा निर्यात बढ़ा है । फिर यह समझ में नहीं आता कि सरकार ने कम्पेन्सेटरी फाइनेन्स स्कीम के अन्तर्गत इन्टरनेशनल मोनिटरी फण्ड से 60 करोड़ रूपया क्यों निकाला । जो वहाँ स्वर्ण जमा है उस के बदले 32 करोड़ रूपया निकाला गया है . . .

श्री एस. एम. बनर्जी : कर्जा लेने की आदत हो गई है ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : बैंक का नियम है कि अगर किसी देश का निर्यात एक दम घट, जाय, देश किसी संकट में फँस जाय तो कम्पेन्सेटरी स्कीम के अन्तर्गत बैंक कर्जा दे सकता है, लेकिन देश को इस के बारे में विश्वास में नहीं लिया गया कि हम वॉलेंस आफ पेमेन्ट की दृष्टि से किसी संकट में फँस गये हैं । यहाँ तो यह दावा किया जाता है कि हमारा निर्यात बढ़ा है, हमारी स्थिति बहुत अच्छी है, फिर यह रूपया निकालने का क्या कारण है ?

वर्ल्ड बैंक की हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति के बारे में क्या धारणा है इस को भी हमें ध्यान में रखना चाहिये । हम स्वावलम्बन की ओर विदेशी सहायता कुछ समय के बाद समाप्त करने की बात हैं, लेकिन इस बार जो विदेशी सहायता का 1973-74 के लिये 1172 करोड़ रुपये का अथोराइजेशन हुआ है, वह 1966-67 से भी ज्यादा है, क्यों कि 1966-67 की विदेशी सहायता 1113 करोड़ रुपये की थी । पेरिस में वर्ल्ड बैंक की जो बैठक हुई उस में कहा गया है —

“The World Bank considers that India will still have to import grains

[श्री: अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी:]

in the coming years and will not be able to dispense with foreign aid by 1980 as its leaders believe."

बया विल धनी महोदय विश्व बैंक के इस अनुमान से सहमत हैं ?

एक और हमारे वैज्ञानिक टेकनोलोजी का विकास कर रहे हैं लेकिन दूसरी ओर हम अपने कारखानों को छूट दे रहे हैं कि वे टेकनालाजी उधार लेने के लिये विदेशों से गठबन्धन करें फारन-कोलाबोरेशन । अभी अभी एक उदाहरण मेरे सामने आया है । हमारी नेशनल फिज़िकल लेबोरेट्री ने अभी हाल में दिल्ली में एक सम्मेलन का आयोजन किया था । उस में बताया गया कि कार्बन-प्रोडक्ट्स के लिये हम ने एक नये ढंग की तकनीक का विकास किया है, जिस के द्वारा हम किसी भी तरह का कार्बन का सामान बना सकते हैं । अगर वह सच है तो हमारे वैज्ञानिकों को बघाई दी जानी चाहिये । लेकिन ऐसा लगता है कि हमारी वैज्ञानिक अनुसन्धान-शालाओं और हमारे उद्योगों में कोई तालमेल नहीं है । जिस दिन हमारे वैज्ञानिक घोषणा कर रहे थे कि उन्होंने कार्बन प्रोडक्ट्स के लिये नयी तकनीक का विकास किया है, उसी दिन आम को आसाम कार्बन प्रोडक्ट्स लि० ने घोषणा की कि कई किस्म के कार्बन ब्लाक्स बनाने के लिये वे विदेशों से गठबन्धन कर रहे हैं—इस से यह स्पष्ट होता है कि तालमेल का अभाव है । बया वैज्ञानिकों की उपलब्धियों का, उन के अनुसन्धान का लाभ उद्योगों को नहीं मिलेगा ? केन्द्रीय मंत्रालय में कोई देखने वाला नहीं है कि हमारी रिसर्च लेबोरेट्रिज़ और हमारे उद्योगों में, हमारे काम करने के ढंग में किसी प्रकार का समन्वय ही जिस से हम वैज्ञानिक की खोज का लाभ उठा सकें ।

एक और उदाहरण मेरी दृष्टि में आया है । दुनिया में चीनी की कीमत बढ़ गई, हम बड़ी हुई चीनी की कीमत का लाभ उठा कर बड़ी मात्रा में विदेशी मुद्रा कमा सकते थे, लेकिन हमारे यह झगड़ा होता रहा कि चीनी का

निर्यात कौन करेगा । कृषि मंत्रालय कहता था कि यह निर्यात उस को करना है और स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन कहता था कि यह निर्यात उसे करना है । इस का परिणाम यह हुआ कि जब बाज़ार में चीनी की कीमत 300 पाँड प्रति टन थी, तब हम ने चीनी का निर्यात नहीं किया, उस समय कृषि मंत्रालय और स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन अपस में झगड़े में फंसे रहे । बाद में जब 210 पाँड प्रति टन का भाव हो गया तब हम ने 43 हजार टन चीनी बेची, इस में हमें 30 रुपया प्रति टन का प्रीमियम मिला यह सच है । लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि एस० टी० सी० ने विश्व टैंडर्स क्यों आमंत्रित नहीं किये ? जब भाव अधिक था, तब चीनी क्यों नहीं बेची ? बया मंत्रालयों में इस बात के लिये कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है कि अगर इस तरह का विवाद हो तो उस को तुरन्त हल किया जा सके ?

मैं एक और मामला आगे के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ — देश में तेल का संकट है । हम अपने अरब मित्रों पर निर्भर हैं । हम ने देश के भीतर तेल निकालने के जितने प्रयत्न करने थे, वे नहीं किये । समुद्र के नीचे से तेल की खोज का काम शिथिलता से चला । अब उस में थोड़ा बहुत प्रगति हो रही है । लेकिन मुझे यह जान कर बड़ा ताजब हुआ कि जेसलमेर के पास तेल के कुआँ की खुदाई हो रही है उन में काम करने वाले मजदूरों ने मिछने 10 अप्रैल से हड़ताल कर रखी है । अभी तक उन की शिफ्टप्रणाली ऐसी थी कि वे 15 दिन काम करते थे और फिर 15 दिन घर जा कर रहते थे क्योंकि उन के घर 410 किलोमीटर दूर हैं, वैजोघपुर से आते हैं । अब शिफ्टप्रणाली को बदल दिया गया है । स्थिति यह है कि कुआँ में काम रुक गया है । एक कुएँ में तो हम 1300 मीटर तक खुदाई कर चुके हैं, उस में से 300 मीटर कुआँ पक्का हो गया है और शेष अभी कच्चा है । लेकिन हड़ताल के कारण काम ठप हो गया है । इस बात का डर है कि जो नीचे तक खुदाई की

अगर उस को पक्का नहीं किया गया तो जमीन वे नीचे जो हल-चल होती है, उस के कारण यह कच्चा बह न जाय। सीमा से 12 मील दूर पाकिस्तान सूई में गैस निकाल रहा है, तेल निकालने का प्रयत्न कर रहा है, लेकिन हम छोटी सी समस्या को हल करने के लिये तत्काल फैसला नहीं कर सकें हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, कभी-कभी ऐसा लगता है कि यह सरकार एक सर्कस की तरह से है, जिसमें तरह-तरह के प्राणी अपने कर्तब दिखाते हैं। कुछ तेज-तर्रार हैं, कुछ ढीले हैं, कुछ सुस्त हैं, कुछ पालतू हैं, कुछ खूबहार होने की तस्वीर पेश करते हैं, मगर सब एक ही कोड़े से चलते हैं, वह कोड़ा दिखाई कम देता है मगर सुनाई ज्यादा देता है। अध्यक्ष महोदय, ऐसा लगता है कि इस सर्कस के पीछे कोई प्रेरणा, कोई विचार-धारा कोई चिन्ता, कोई आदर्श नहीं है। सत्ता हाथ से निकल जाने का भय और सत्ता से प्राप्त होने वाला भोग-भय और भोग-इस का मेल सब को जोड़े हुए है। यही कारण है कि हर दो-तीन साल बाद देश फिर से तिराहे पर आकर खड़ा हो जाता है, हमें लगता है कि हम रास्ता भूल गये हैं, हमें लगता है कि भविष्य का पथ स्पष्ट नहीं है, हम फिर वादों के विवाद में उलझ जाते हैं। आज यह प्रश्न नहीं है कि देश में धीमे-सा वाद चले, आज प्रश्न यह है कि देश में अराजकता आयेगी या सम्यक क्रान्ति होगी। मैं केवल क्रान्ति की बात नहीं कर रहा हूँ, सम्यक क्रान्ति की बात कर रहा हूँ . . . . .

**वित्त मंत्री श्री यशवन्तराय चव्हाण :**  
क्या मायने हैं ?

**श्री छटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** चव्हाण साहब, सग्यक शब्द समझने से हम इस समय इन्कार कर देंगे तो मुझे कठिनाई होगी। सम्यक विचार, सम्यक, दायिम, सम्यक आचरण, केवल परिवर्तन नहीं—उद्देश्यपूर्ण परिवर्तन, ऐसा परिवर्तन जो व्यक्ति को स्वाधीनता को भी बढ़ाये और व्यक्ति की समृद्धि के लिये भी द्वार खोल दे।

ऐसा द्वार आज खुला हुआ नहीं दिखाई देता। यह वित्त विधेयक इस सम्बन्ध में कोई रास्ता नहीं सुझाता, इसलिये मैं इस का विरोध कर रहा हूँ।

**श्री प्रताप सिंह नेगी (गढ़वाल) :**  
अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस विधेयक का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। इसका समर्थन करते हुये मैं यह निवेदन करना अपना सबसे पहला कर्तव्य समझता हूँ कि अगर हम वास्तव में अपने देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को सुधारना चाहते हैं तो हमें चरित्र निर्माण की ओर ध्यान देना होगा। यदि हमारा चरित्र और हमारा आचरण ऊंचा नहीं होगा तो हम अपने देश का विकास करने में सफलता प्राप्त नहीं कर सकते हैं। हम लोग लम्बी चौड़ी बातें करते हैं लेकिन जब मौका आता है तो देश की जड़ें खोदने के लिए आगे बढ़ते हैं। देश में हड़तालें होती हैं, आज देश में अष्टाचार फैला हुआ है। और हड़ताल करने के साथ साथ सारे सरकारी सामानों जैसे रेल के डिब्बों को जलाने, मकानों को फूंकने और कारखानों को उजाड़ने की यह सारी बातें होती हैं। यदि यही हमारे चरित्र का सबूत है तो इसका मतलब यह है कि हम अपने देश के विकास के लिए, देश के उत्थान के लिए सही मानों में आगे बढ़ने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। हमारे अन्दर स्वार्थसिद्धि हृदयों की भाँ गई है। हम अपने राजनीतिक स्वार्थों की सिद्धि करने के लिए मजदूरों को हथियार बनाकर उनसे हड़तालें करवाते हैं, उनसे बन्द करवाते हैं लेकिन हम उनके विकास की तरफ, उनकी तरक्की की तरफ, उनके उत्थान की तरफ ध्यान नहीं देते हैं। आज हमारे अन्दर यह बहुत बड़ी कमी है। मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर वास्तव में हम सही मानों में अपने देश के विकास के लिए प्रयत्नशील हैं तो हमको सबसे पहले उन साधनों की खोज करनी चाहिए जिनके द्वारा हम अपने देश का विकास कर सकते हैं। और एकजुट होकर उन साधनों को कार्य रूप में परिणत करने के लिए हमें तैयार होना चाहिए।

[श्री प्रताप सिंह नेगी:]

आज दोष भड़ा जाता है कि सरकार मजदूरों की नहीं सुनती, सरकार ने अंधाधुंध मंहगाई बढ़ा दी लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ मंहगाई बढ़ी है, साथी दूनिया में बढ़ी है, हमारे यहाँ उससे बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ गई और उसका कारण यह है कि हमारे जो विरोधी भाई हैं जिन्हें हमें रास्ते पर लाना चाहिए था, अगर हम गलती करते हैं तो हमारी गलती उन्हें बतानी चाहिए परन्तु बजाये इस के कि वे हमारी गलतियाँ बताएं, हमें रास्ता दिखाएं, हमारा पथ-प्रदर्शन करें, वे हमारे कारखानों में जो मजदूर काम करते हैं, जो दफ्तरों में बाबू लोग काम करते हैं उनको भड़का कर कलम बन्दी हड़ताल करवाते हैं, कारखानों में हड़ताल करवाते हैं। ऐसी हालत में अगर उत्पादन नहीं होगा जो चीजें नहीं मिलेंगी और मंहगाई बढ़ेगी। अगर मंहगाई बढ़ेगी तो जनता में बेचैनी आयेगी — इस बात से इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता। इसलिए मैं अपने विरोधी भाईयों से निवेदन करूंगा कि वास्तव में वे हमारी आलोचना करें, खूब बिल खोलकर आलोचना करें, जहाँ हम गलती करते हैं वहाँ हमारी गलती बतायें लेकिन जहाँ हम ठीक रास्ते पर चल रहे हैं वहाँ हमारी पीठ भी ठोके तभी हम समझेंगे कि वास्तव में उनके बिल के अन्दर राष्ट्रभक्ति मौजूद है और वे राष्ट्र का निर्माण करना चाहते हैं।

मैं और अधिक न कहते हुए यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि मैं एक ऐसे क्षेत्र से आता हूँ जहाँ आज के जमाने में भी केवल आधा किलोमीटर रेल लाइन है। मेरे यहाँ कुछ हिस्से ऐसे हैं जहाँ विकास खण्ड बन चुके हैं लेकिन काम कुछ भी नहीं हुआ, 6 इंच का रास्ता भी हमें उन पहाड़ों पर चढ़ने उतरने के लिए नहीं है। वहाँ के लोग पेय जल के लिए तरसते हैं। हमारी मातायें, बहनें और भाई दो तीन मील जाकर पीने का पानी लाते हैं।

मैं एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ इसी दिल्ली शहर में आप मर्दुम-शुमारी करके

देख लें, जनगणना करके देख लें, ढाई लाख से ऊपर उत्तर प्रदेश के पहाड़ी जिलों के लोग यहाँ नौकरी के लिए दर दर की ठोकरें खाते हैं। झुग्गी झोपड़ी में ऐसे हजारों भाई नारकीय जीवन बसर करते चले आ रहे हैं, वहाँ उनको न बिजली मिलती है, न पानी मित्रता है और न शौचालय व सफाई का कोई प्रबन्ध है यह सारी जो बातें हैं, मैं चाहता हूँ इस प्रकार की असमानता को दूर करने का आप प्रयत्न करें।

मैं उस पहाड़ी इलाके का रहने वाला हूँ जो कि तिब्बत से मिला हुआ है। यदि वहाँ पर बेचैनी रही, वहाँ के लोग दुखी रहे, परेशान रहे। यदि उनके मसलों की ओर उचित ध्यान नहीं दिया गया तो मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि कभी भी चीन उन गरीब आदिमियों को जो दुखी हैं, भूख और नंग हैं, भड़का सकता है। इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा उस क्षेत्र के विकास के लिए विशेष ध्यान दिया जाये। वहाँ पर साधनों की कमी नहीं है। आज हमारे यहाँ से जो नदियाँ निकलती हैं वह उत्तर प्रदेश के मैदानों को सरसबज बनाती हैं लेकिन उनका उपयोग हमारे यहाँ नहीं होता है। वहाँ पर अधिक भ्रष्ट पैदा नहीं हो सकता है लेकिन यदि वहाँ पर छोटी छोटी जल विद्युत् योजनायें बनाई जायें तो वहाँ पर हजारों किस्म के कारखाने खोले जा सकते हैं और बिजली के मामले में हम आत्मनिर्भर हो सकते हैं। इसके द्वारा जो वहाँ पर गरीब लोग हैं जो भूखमरी के शिकार हैं, जो तंगदस्ती में हैं, जो बेकारी में हैं उनको वहाँ छोटे छोटे उद्योगधंधे खोल कर उनमें काम करने का मौका मिलेगा और उनको बेकारी दूर होगी। जब बेकारी दूर होगी तो भूखमरी भी समाप्त हो जायेगी।

जैसा कि मैंने पिछली दफा भी कहा था यदि वहाँ पर आप पर्यटन केंद्रों का विकास करें, यातायात के साधन ठीक हो जायें तो वहाँ पर फूलों की बाटी एक ऐसा सुरम्य

स्थान है जिसको सारी दुनिया के पर्यटक देखने के लिए तरसते हैं, वहां सड़कें बन जाने पर पर्यटक पहुंचेंगे और लाखों की संख्या में विदेशी मुद्रा आपकी प्राप्त हो सकेगी। जहां पर बुक गोविन्द सिंह जी ने पूर्व जन्म में तपस्या की थी वह स्थान भी फूलों की चाटी के पास ही है। यदि वहां पर रास्ता बना दिया जाये तो न मालूम कितना रुपया हमारे चरणों में लोटने लग जायेगा, विदेशी रुपया। इसके प्रतिरिक्त मैं आपसे निवेदन करूंगा कि अगर गंगोत्री का विकास किया जाये तो गंगा के उद्गम स्थान गोमुख तक सड़क पहुंचायी जाये जो कि गंगोत्री से भी भागे है तो हज़ारों पर्यटक देखने के लिए वहां जा सकते हैं। वहां दूधताली एक बड़ा रमणीक स्थान है। श्री चन्द्रसिंह गढ़वाली को 6 फिट जगह उत्तर प्रदेश के भुतपूर्व मुख्य मंत्री श्री क. लापति त्रिपाठी ने प्रदान की है। यदि वहां का विकास करने का प्रयास किया जाये तो वहां पर हवाई अड्डा बन सकता है और वहां पर शहर बस सकता है। उसके पास ही द्रोणगिरि पर्वत है जहां स्कोटिंग के लिए लोग जा सकते हैं। दुनिया के लोग सुन्दर दृश्यां देखने के लिए स्वीटज़रलैंड जाते हैं लेकिन अगर इस स्थान का विकास किया जाये तो वहां स्वीटज़रलैंड बन सकता है। स्वीटज़रलैंड के लोग भी वहां पर आते हुए दिखाई देंगे। इसके अलावा इस देश का नाम जिस महापुरुष के नाम पर भारतवर्ष रखा गया वह भारत की जन्मभूमि भी कोटद्वार से सात मील की दूरी पर है। यदि वहां पर भरत के नाम पर भरतनगर बसाया जाये तो मैं यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि दुनिया में सबसे नजदीक का हिल स्टेशन वहां बन सकता है। वहां से आप मैदानी और बरफानी दृश्य आसानी से देख सकते हैं। लेकिन यहां पर बैठ कर जो हमारे लिए स्कीमें बनती हैं वह पहाड़ों में कामयाब नहीं होती हैं। मैं अकेले अभी अपने ही सम्बन्ध में कहता हूँ कि अभी हमारे यहां डीसिम्प्लिफिकेशन हुआ चुनाव के सम्बन्ध में।

मैं जहां से खड़ा होता हूँ आज जो जगह मेरे चुनाव क्षेत्र के लिए बनाई गई है उस में एक हिस्से से दूसरे हिस्से में जाने के लिए एक बिजनौर का विधान सभाई क्षेत्र है, दूसरा सहारनपुर का विधान सभाई क्षेत्र है और तीसरे मसूरी का विधान सभाई क्षेत्र को लांभकर इन तीनों क्षेत्रों को लांभ कर के अगर मैं चुनाव में खड़ा होता हूँ तो मुझे देहरादून जाना होता है। इस से पता लगता है कि यहां बैठे हुए पहाड़ों के लिए जो स्कीमें बनती हैं ये कागजों पर ही धरी रह जाती हैं, वे लोगों के लाभ के लिए नहीं होती हैं। इसलिए मेरी मांग है कि इन पहाड़ों की तरफ, वहां की गरीबी की तरफ आप ध्यान दें।

हमारे यहां सीमेंट के पत्थरों के भण्डार हैं, पहाड़ के पहाड़ मीलों तक हैं, लेकिन उस तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है। सीमेंट के लिए हम तरसते हैं। लेकिन सीमेंट की खान हमारे यहां मौजूद है उस का उपयोग नहीं कर पाते क्यों कि हम गरीब हैं और कोई कारखाना नहीं खोल सकते हैं। अभी पिछले दिनों आप ने अखबारों में पढ़ा होगा कि पोखरी, जिला चमोली में यूरेनियम के विशाल भंडार का पता लगा है। दुनिया में इतना विशाल भंडार आज तक कहीं नहीं दिखाई दिया। लेकिन जब तक उस का सर्वे नहीं होगा, काम नहीं शुरू किया जायगा तब तक वह विशाल भण्डार ऐसे ही पड़ा रहेगा और देश को उस का कोई लाभ नहीं मिलेगा।

मैनेसाइट का कारखाना हमारे यहां इसलिए खुला क्योंकि अल्मोड़ा, पिथौरागढ़ और मंदाकिनी नदी की चाटी में इस का भारी भंडार है। लेकिन उस का काम न तो सरकार ने अपने हाथ में लिया और न वहां के गरीबों को दिया गया। बल्कि उस का काम दिया गया टाटा को और टाटा ने मजदूरों की भर्ती एक नमबदपुर में की। इस से

[श्री ताप सिंह नेगी]

स्थानीय लोगों को कोई लाभ नहीं हुआ और उनकी हालत आज भी वही है कि वह लोगों को यहां बर्तन मंजते फिरते हैं।

इसलिए आप इन पहलुओं को न भूलिये। यह वह पहलु है जिन्होंने अंग्रेजों के जमाने में चन्द्रसिंह गढ़वाली जैसा स्वतन्त्रता सेनानी पैदा किया था जिसने 23 अप्रैल, 1930 को एक नई बात कर के दिखाई। उन्होंने अंग्रेजों को कह दिया कि हम निहत्थे लोगों पर मोती नहीं चलायेंगे। उन का इन के लिए अजीबाना कारावास का दण्ड मिला, लेकिन उन्होंने अपनी देशभक्ति में मुंह नहीं मोड़ा।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं पुनः कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे पहलुओं को तरफ ध्यान दिया जाये। मैं इन विधेयक का समर्थन करता हूँ।

**SHRI TARUN GOGOI (Jorhat):** The country is today in the grip of a grave economic crisis and we are faced with an economic challenge of unprecedented nature. The situation demands that there should be a Government with determination to tackle the crisis. There should be unity in the country; there should be a sincere effort on the part of the Government and of the people to meet the challenge. The country can ill-afford to indulge in activities which will disrupt production.

We have high inflation and high prices. No doubt this is part of a global phenomenon. But it will be a delusion if we say that there are no lapses on the part of Government and no lapses on the part of the people. There have been failings and lapses on the part of Government. This has been given expression to by no less a person than Shri Mohan Dharja, the Minister of State for Planning, who said that there is lethargy and reluctance on the part of Government in regard to implementation of the policy decided upon.

What has been alarming in these days, what has been agitating our minds these days, is the non-availability of goods and their availability only at blackmarket prices. Even in these days of scarcity, even in the grave economic crisis, it is not the general people but it is a few sections of the people who have been much benefited and who have been minting money at the cost, at the suffering and hardship of the poor and the down-trodden people.

Who are those people? They are the blackmarketeers, they are the big businessmen and the hoarders. It is also a matter of great concern that in dealing with the blackmarketeers and profiteers, the performance of the Government is most disappointing.

Then, the two great challenges before the country are poverty and unemployment. Though various steps have been taken to reduce these problems, yet, instead of reducing them, there has been an increase in poverty also. At the price level of 1968-69, the poverty line was drawn at Rs. 40.6 and it was estimated that 40 per cent or about 240 million people were below the poverty line. Since then, there has been annually at least 20 per cent inflation, and the rate of this poverty line must have gone to Rs. 50 now. And the percentage of the people below poverty line must have gone up to 50 per cent of the total population. Thus, there has been an increase of poverty also. The degree of poverty can be judged by the availability of food, cloth, etc.

As per the figures, in 1961, the per capita availability of cereals was 14.06 ounces, while in 1970 it has come down to 13.91 ounces, and by 1973, it has gone further down. Similar is the case with regard to pulses. In 1961, the per capita availability was 2.49 ounces and by 1970 it has come down to 1.80 ounces. In the case of cloth also, the per capita availability in 1961 was 14.70 metres. Now, in 1973, the figures has come down to 13.6 metres.

In the case of unemployment also, there has been a mounting increase, and today, in the Government employment exchanges, there are more than eight million people registered, and every day there is an addition of 10,000 people, and it has also been estimated that by the end of the Fifth Five Year Plan, there will be about 20 million unemployed youths who will have to get employment. You can thus realise the problems of the youth and the stress and strain that the unemployed youth have every moment of their lives. They are the most willing people; they have all the vitality and energy, but yet, we see what a national waste is being made of this great asset of manpower in our country. This creates frustration among the youth, and a frustrated youth; a dissatisfied youth is a danger to society. It is just like a volcano which might erupt at any moment. On the one hand, there is scarcity of essential goods, foodstuffs, etc. On the other hand, there is an increase in the supply of luxury and semi-luxury goods. While the production of foodstuffs, wheat or rice, or edible oils or baby food is almost stagnant for the last three years, the production of luxury goods like air-conditioners or air-coolers has become almost double.

Then, I would like to draw your kind attention to the great dissatisfaction among the students of the whole country. Most of the students, 90 per cent of them, come from the poor families and they have been hurt by the high prices of foodstuffs and essential goods of the common man.

12.48 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

The non-availability of foodstuffs and other essential commodities has created great disappointment for them, besides the high prices of books that they need. All this has caused great dissatisfaction and great resentment among the youth of the country. I hope the Government will look into the matter and see that they provide

foodstuffs at subsidised rates and also provide books at least at reasonable prices to the students.

I would then like to refer to the public financing and banking institutions. Though these institutions are meant for bringing about social-economic transformation and provide help to the poor and middle-class people, even today, we find that it is the big business-houses, the big profiteers and monopolists who are much benefited by the assistance given by the banks and the public financial institutions. I can give you an instance where we have found that in a national bank there were persons with vested interest, persons who do not subscribe to the national policies, persons who have got outstanding loans of Rs. 20,00,000. Even then he is appointed as a director of that bank. He can exercise his influence in other banks also. In the eastern region State Bank in the Board of Directors the person who had been made a director had outstanding loan of more than Rs. 20 lakhs. In order to make him director of the State Bank a few days before his appointment, the outstanding loan had been transferred to some other bank. It should be made clear that any body who has a bank loan of more than a lakh of rupees, which should be fixed as the limit, should not be made a director in any of the nationalised banks. What contribution do we expect from such persons who have got vested interests? What steps they will take to bring about social transformation for which those banks were nationalised?

I come from the north-eastern part of India which occupies strategic place in the map of India. This area has got rich natural resources and mineral resources. These areas continue to be backward. In the British days the whole of this region was neglected and after Independence also it did not receive much attention; as a result there is a huge backlog. I admit that the Government of India is treating this area at par with other areas in the matter of allocation of



[Shri Tarun Gogoi]  
funds in the Fifth Plan. By following the same principle or by doubling the allocation in the Fourth Plan, these backward areas cannot be brought on par with other areas and thereby the policy of the Government, the removal of disparities could not be achieved.

My State of Assam has made some contribution to the national exchequer by way of foreign exchange; it continues to occupy the top place in production of tea; it is the second biggest producer in oil resources and crude oil. Mineral and other resources are also there; we have coal. In spite of all these the State has not been able to make much headway in economic or industrial development.

It is stated that it was due to lack of infrastructure and entrepreneurial skill. Is it not the duty of the Centre to build up infrastructure and entrepreneurial skills in all parts of the country. It is with the Centre's help that in other parts infrastructure had been built. In the matter of communications, roads and railways, it is in a most deplorable condition. In Assam it is 41 thousand while in other States it is one lakh and eighty thousand kilometres of roads. Not a single inch of railway was constructed during the Fourth Plan. The share of Assam in the matter of railway line is negligible.

As you know Assam is divided by the Brahmaputra river. Till now we have only one bridge though by this time we must have had at least three bridges. In the whole of India it is the worst flood affected area; it is a regular annual feature, involving not less than Rs. 10 crores of losses per year. It is beyond the capacity of the State Government to meet this challenge. The Government of India also promised on many occasions that a Bill on this matter would be brought; for the last two years we had been hearing of this Bill. But, up till now, the Bill has not been brought forth.

I do not understand the reasons behind it. This has also caused disappointment and resentment to our people.

Then, in respect of other facilities, like irrigation facilities, the picture is very disappointing. It is far below the all-India average. In respect of rural electrification also, out of 21,000 villages, only 1100 villages have been electrified.

Then, I would like to refer to other backward areas. These areas are far worse than my State.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Did you not hear the ringing of the Bell?

SHRI TARUN GOGOI: Sir, I am speaking for the backward areas. These areas are the worst hit. No single railway line has been constructed. I am not speaking for my State only. I am speaking for other backward areas also, in other parts of the country. The Central Government should formulate a time-bound plan so that all the backward areas in the country, are brought up to the level of development.

With these words, I support the Finance Bill.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): Mr. Deputy-speaker, Sir, so far as I can see, the Budgets have become irrelevant and a ritualistic affair. They have hardly any relevance to the problems which the country is facing, namely, in respect of prices, unemployment and so on. The Budgets have little relevance to the needs of planning and that is particularly obvious from the Budget which the hon. Finance Minister has presented this year. The investment in the first year of the Fifth Plan would be almost at the same level as in the last year of the Fourth Plan. Then again it has very little relevance to the considerations of social justice or socialist advance about which the ruling party had been talking so stridently and so much. In the process, they have discredited socialism; they have made socialism a dirty word.

So these Budgets do not have any meaningful impact on the situation. However, I must congratulate those who have produced the Economic Survey. They have been very thick in their assessment of the impact of the economic policies of the Government. They have said that these policies have absolutely made no impact on the prices during the last year. They have also said that the coming year is indeed going to be a very grim year and that the balance sheet of the economy is very unfavourable.

Now, this is an admission by the Government itself that these policies have absolutely no impact on the problems which the country is facing.

Sir, before I proceed with a close analysis of the Finance Bill, or for that matter, the Budget, I would like to note a few changes or even reversal in policies that have taken place.

The first one that easily hits the eye—it is a reversal in policy—is the permission that has been granted to the General Motors to own one third of the shares in the Hindustan Motors. Earlier, I had the impression that Government had been doing that all the time,—during the course of the last few years. But, it is, I admit, for the first time that a multi-national corporation like the General Motors has been permitted to own one-third shares of the company here.

Then again, one wonders whether the regime of de-control is now going to come upon us. The prices of tubes and tyres have been de-controlled, which we cannot fail to note. Then, the House would also find it remarkable that foreign aid during the last year has been of the highest order, if you compare it with the figures during the last few years, it has been of the order of 1.4 or 1.5 billion dollars. Then, it is also noteworthy and it has got its economic significance, that the relationship with countries like Iran is now improving. It has got definite economic significance because we are now going to have joint economic ventures

with Iran. Further, Iran has promised to make substantial assistance to us with regard to certain projects. The relationship with the United States, the much-hated United States, now seems to be again on the upgrade. There are deliberate efforts to improve relationship with that country. I am mentioning it not as a political fact but as an economic fact, a fact which has economic dimension.

13.00 hrs.

The House has already noted that there has been a reversal of the wheat policy, rather the wheat procurement policy. I refuse to call it the policy of take-over because to my mind there has never been a wheat take-over policy; it was a limited policy of procurement of a particular quantity of wheat. Even so, again, in this respect there has been a reversal of policy.

These are a few straws in the wind which should indicate to the House in what direction the economic policy of the Government is moving.

One can examine the finances of the country, or for that matter the budget, only with reference to the diagnosis that the Government has brought to bear on the economic situation. If we are convinced that the Government has indeed undertaken a correct diagnosis of the economic situation, then we can persuade ourselves to believe that the steps that have been suggested would correct the situation. So it is on the correct diagnosis of the situation that the whole fate of the Finance Bill depends.

My humble submission is that so long as the Government goes on saying that the present economic situation is the result of the Indo-Pak war, it is the result of the poor harvest in the past two years, it is the result of the oil crisis and the imported inflation, I think they cannot come to a correct diagnosis of the economic situation that the country has been facing. Again, it cannot bring about a

[Shri Shyamnandan Mishra]

correct solution, if it goes on saying that this is all because of the obstructions created by the right reaction and the left adventurism.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU** (Daimond Harbour): Now they have sold themselves to the Americans in Teheran.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** I have mentioned that; I have noted this change before you came.

**AN HON. MEMBER:** Sir, Shri Bosu has changed his seat.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** The change of seat by Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu is an improvement.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** It is a pilot project. We are now trying to see how far we can go.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** You better sit there always.

**SHRI PARIPOORNANAND PAI-NULI** (Teri-Garhwal): He has become a centrist now!

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** I was submitting that so long as the Government goes on chanting some slogans and shibboleths and it goes on saying that much of the trouble that the country is facing are due to the obstructions created by the right reaction and the left adventurism, it cannot solve the problem.

What is exactly at the root of the economic trouble that the country faces? To my mind, it is because of the abandonment of planning in this country. Planning has been on holiday for the last nine years. It is because we have have given a go by to planning that we are facing shortages and problems of various kinds. It is due to the politics of black money that the ruling party inaugurated in 1969, that all discipline have been thrown to the wind. They cannot enforce even a semblance of economic or financial discipline in the economic situation.

It is because of these two factors that we are facing a situation of this kind. There has been underway a process of systematic decline in our economy during the last nine years.

I would like to mention a few more factors before I come to the main aspects of the economic situation. The Government has responsible for the lack of investment. Over the course of last nine years since 1965-66 there has been no significant investment in the economy. During this period, there has been an increase in national income of the order of 25 to 26 per cent. But there has been increase in the stock of money to the extent of 143 per cent. Can the economy bear an adverse relation of this kind—that the increase in national income is of the order of only 25 to 26 per cent and the increase in the stock of money is of the order of 143 per cent?

The position has been worse during the course of the last three years. During the course of the last this period the national income increased only by 17 per cent and the money supply increased by 54 per cent. So, the position is becoming worse in spite of the Budgets that the hon. Finance Minister has been presenting to the country.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Not in spite of but because of.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** It may be. But my main submission is that it is not only because of the vast expansion of money supply that the country is facing a situation of this kind. It is because of wrong deployment of resources that have been created, it is because these resources have not been related to planning and development in the country. Had these resources been related to planning and development in the country, the situation would have been completely different. They have been related to things of non-developmental nature, in both the Government and the private sectors. Whatever credit

expansion has taken place in the private sector is not related to the working capital requirement; it is related to the building up of inventories of both raw materials and finished goods. These chaps in the industries now find it more profitable to build up inventories of finished goods so that they can create scarcities and reap more profits out of them. Thus both in the Government, the private sectors, the vastly increased money resources have been unrelated to planning and development. That has been at the root of much of the troubles that we are facing today.

Now, this problem of black money on which, rightly, many hon. Members have laid a great deal of stress is now really threatening to endanger the whole economy. What is the remedy to that? This is the question to which we must address ourselves most sincerely. I do not want to give any complex reply to this. It is indeed a matter which requires a very complicated consideration. However, I would like to recommend one simple remedy to the House. If you want the black money to be reduced substantially—you have been talking about demonetisation all right but I agree that demonetisation may have certain problems—you have only to demonetise four or five Ministers in the Central Cabinet. What the country requires is the demonetisation of four or five Ministers in the Central Cabinet. If you do that, the problem of black money will come to a reasonable proportion.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Please name them.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: The ruling party is interested in augmenting....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: How do you demonetise a Minister?

SHRI PILOO MODY: Take away his wealth.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Those Ministers who have been collecting money, not with hands but with buckets for their party purposes, for their coterie, must be dropped from the Cabinet, if the Prime Minister wants to face up to the situation in the country. In fact, the ruling party is going to endanger the whole fabric of democracy in this country; if that is so, it is because of some of the corrupt Ministers who happen to be in the Government here and some of the States. What did they do, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, in Bihar? There the whole army of 46 Ministers has now come down to only 13. Who had been responsible for this ministerial inflation in Bihar?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: 13 is a lucky number!

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: I wish them all good luck in the sense that if they get out that would be much better for them and then the Constitution (Thirty-fifth Amendment) Bill will not be necessary. I wish them Godspeed in this direction.

The point is that it is the Central leadership which has been responsible for injecting even in the State Governments corrupt Ministers. Now would not the country clearly see through this a new attempt to bring down, to slash down, the strength of the Ministry from 46 to 13. Why have you slashed it down from 46 to 13? It is precisely because the public opinion has clearly impressed upon you the urgency of cutting out some of the corrupt Ministers, and yet the Bihar Ministry is not free from the corrupt elements even now. Therefore, the movement will go on. Let there not be any complacency on the other side about it. The movement is indeed going to be peaceful, non-violent on the lines indicated by Mahatma Gandhi. Bihar simply cannot fail; Bihar is going to succeed; let them be quite clear on this. This is the only break-through

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in the situation. Otherwise the hon. Minister Mr. Chavan would be a helpless spectator. He must be praying in the heart of hearts that there must be a break-through in this situation, corruption is being protected by the formal legality of the structure. You want these 360 persons to protect the corrupt Ministers at the Centre. Do you think that the entire population of India would put up with a situation of this kind? Therefore, what I am submitting is this. If demonetisation is found feasible, go in for it. But as a first step, demonetise some of the Ministers who have been....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The hon. Member may try to conclude.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: I have to speak a great deal.

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

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: The Finance Bill has to be discussed. I think, we have the whole day.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is upto the House.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN): Let him speak.

THE DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The Minister also wants to hear you. I would not come in the way.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: I have absolutely no doubt that the hon. Finance Minister must be feeling very much disturbed at these trends in the economy. The coming summer, I want to warn the House and the country, is going to be a terrible summer; the situation is going to be very disturbing; it is going to be grave. Last year the food production might not have been more than 100 million tonnes and in spite of a good kharif crop there has been absolutely no impact on the food prices. Similarly

in spite of the onset of the rabi season, there has been absolutely no impact. In fact, the position has been getting worse. It appears, it is going to be a terrible summer.

May I, in this context, refer to some of the statements that are being made by the Prime Minister and some of the leaders of the ruling Party?

They seem to give an impression to the country that the Opposition is not playing its constructive role. In fact, the hon. Prime Minister has said that the Opposition is playing the politics of disruption. If at all, the Opposition is laying any politics, it is playing any role, it is against the politics of corruptions. And if they want that there should be some constructive cooperation from the Opposition, I want to ask the Finance Minister and, for that matter, the Prime Minister when have you tried to seek the cooperation of the Opposition. When you were confronted with the Gujarat situation, did you seek the cooperation of the Opposition? You do not have the moral authority to face the Opposition. That is the position. When you were facing the Bihar situation, did you have the moral courage to seek the cooperation of the Opposition either in the State or at the Centre? Even so, on behalf of my party, I say that we would give all constructive corruption. Please spell out the conditions in which the Opposition Parties can and should give their cooperation. Do you think that when the prices are rising, the Opposition should be on the side of the Government and not on side of the people? When the employment situation is becoming worse, do you want that we should be with the Government and not with the people?

Now, the number of people below poverty line must be about 60 per cent. It used to be 40 per cent earlier. Prices had gone up during the course of one year to the extent of 29 per cent—a phenomenal increase in prices. Now, in these conditions, what exact-

ly do you expect us to do? Has the Prime Minister ever spelt out the conditions in which she expects co-operation from the Opposition. An odd remarks by the Hon. Finance Minister on the floor of the House that the Government would require the cooperation of the Opposition is not going to be of any avail. That must be clearly spelt out. Indeed, we are facing a very difficult situation not only in regard to our economy but also for the democracy itself.

So, let it not be said that the Opposition has falied on such occasions.

With regard to the taxation itself—in fact the main thing is that we have to discuss the Finance Bill—my submission is that there could not have been a more anti-egalitarian taxation structure than this. I am saying this not only as a Member of the Opposition, but I have also got the testimony of the ex-Economic Adviser to the Government of India. This is what the ex-Economic Adviser to the Government of India had to say about the structure of taxation that had been brought into being this year. He says:—‘A poor clerk or an artisan’—let the Members of the Ruling Party who have been chanting, what they seem to think progressive slogans’ ponder over these words. These are said by an ex-Economic Adviser, Shri Ashok Mitra. Shri Mitra has said:

“A poor clerk or an artisan, reeling under the impact of inflation will get nothing out of the slashing of the tax rate. A rich industrialist with an annual personal income of Rs. 10 lakhs will get something extra like Rs. 1½ lakhs bulging in the pocket.”

What would you say about this remark? Is it indeed a progressive step? Or is it indeed a socialist advance? is

it in line with the projections given in the First Five Year Plan?

The Fifth Five Year Plan had given a clear directive that the consumption of the top ten per cent of the richer sections will have to be brought down. If you are increasing the income of the affluent sections, are you indeed falling in line with the approach of the Fifth Five Year Plan? So, it is an anti-plan tax structure. At the same time, who will bear the burden for this generosity to the rich? It is the poorer sections of the population who will bear the burden. They will bleed through your deficit financing and higher taxation and through lack of investment because, the poor people are becoming poorer both on account of rise in prices and on account of stagnation in employment. It is largely through employment that the poor people can expect to improve their lot. So your generosity is going to be reserved for the rich. And then Mr. Deputy Speaker why has the hon. Finance Minister thought it fit to give so much advantage to the richer section of the population when they have had the best out of the inflationary situation? Almost by definition, in an inflationary situation it is these sections of the people who get the most out of shortages and higher prices. And yet it is this very section of the community which has been the object of sympathy and generosity of the hon. Finance Minister, and not the poorer section. Don't you agree that in an inflationary situation it is the richer section which makes the most out of it? It has been pointed out by my hon. friend, Shri Vajpayee, how the rates of income-tax have been brought down from 97 per cent to 77 per cent. I do not want to go into the details of it, but it is quite obvious that redistribution is not an element in the decision function of the policy makers of the Government of India now. Your taxation policy is not even neutral. It is definitely anti-people because you are now making it completely slanted towards the interests of the richer section of the society.

[Shri Shyamnandan Mishra]

May I ask the Finance Minister, when so many committees were appointed to go into the direct taxes, why is it that no committee has been appointed to go into the indirect taxes? Is it because indirect taxes affect the lot of vast number of people? To my mind the time is ripe when a committee must be appointed to go into the effects of indirect taxes. What makes us sad is that the indirect taxes postulate, stagnation in production. So far as indirect taxes is concerned, amount given is on the basis of the present level of production. It does not postulate any increase in production. Why is it so?

After having made it absolutely clear that you are now taking a definitely anti-socialist stand, please do not talk about socialism in future on the basis of this budget. Otherwise, you will be making a mockery of socialism. Since independence the tax structure had never been slanted towards the interests of the richer section of the society. On occasions it was neutral but now it is definitely in favour of the rich.

Another very important national objective has been talked about a lot is self-reliance. This budget gives a go-by to the objective of self-reliance. What has the Government of India been saying to the Aid India Consortium? They have been saying one thing to the people and the House—we are moving towards the object of self-reliance—and quite another to the Aid India Consortium? Government have been saying that they would require 10 per cent more every year during the course of the Fifth Five Year Plan....

SHRI DINESH SINGH (Pratapgarh): By the end of the Fifth Plan and not every year.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: We were promised that by the end of the Fifth Five Year Plan the requirement of net aid would completely

disappear, but now they have indicated to the Consortium that during every year of the Plan it must be 10 per cent more than the last one. The Aid India Consortium has so far postulated an increase of only 6 per cent every year. Probably the Government want about 1200 to 1300 million dollars by way of aid.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, the hon. Member should conclude.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Now let us see how is the import policy of the Government of India framed? It does not take into account the objective of self-reliance. The new import policy that has been announced has not taken into account all the current financial difficulties and there has, therefore, been business as usual. Why should it have been so? Therefore, my humble submission is that their efforts are now in the direction of raising more aid and not achieving the objective of self-reliance. That is exactly what they want to do.

Finally, I would like to say that this Finance Bill is going to create conditions in which probably it may well be difficult for this budget to be considered the real budget. The crisis is going to assume such serious proportions that the real budget will have to come later. But if the basis of the outworn ideas and the regressive policies continue, the future budget also is going to be placed in the same position. This budget has already become irrelevant and if this is irrelevant, they are not going to master the situation. The situation is going to master them. In the process the whole fabric of democracy might be brought down, but the responsibility for it would squarely lie on the Government of India and on the ruling party. I know that the crisis is not only economic in nature; it is really political in nature. At one time, we had great hopes from the Finance Minister

as a leader of political stature and standing who could give some political lead to the country. But now he is a lost leader, and as regards the question whether he exists politically, we have our doubts about it. So we really do not know whether he can give answers to some of the questions that I have raised.

PROF. S. L. SAKSENA (Maharajganj): Some time back, I had moved a Private Member's Bill in this House which was named "Freedom Fighters (Appreciation of Services) Bill, 1971 for providing pensions and other marks of honour for freedom fighters. The Bill was supported by the entire House, and I withdrew it on the assurance of the then Minister of Home Affairs Shri K. C. Pant that Government would bring forward a scheme for honouring the freedom-fighters which would contain all the provisions contained in the Bill. I had said that it was for the Government to find out who were the freedom-fighters in every corner of the country to give them the benefit of the scheme including grant of pensions, etc. Today I find that Government have said that no application for giving him the benefit of the scheme will be entertained from any freedom-fighter after 31st March, 1974. There are still so many freedom-fighters and their families who do not know about the scheme and they should be found out and requested to send their applications. But an arbitrary time-limit has been fixed and nobody's application can be entertained now. Why should there be this time-limit? If a person is a freedom-fighter and comes to know about the scheme now, why should he not be allowed to send his application now after the time-limit? It is the duty of the Government to find out the freedom-fighters, so when a freedom-fighter comes to know about the scheme, he should be allowed to send his application and there should be no time-limit. If a person was a freedom-fighter before, he is a freedom-fighter now also, and, there-

fore, his application should be entertained without any time-limit.

The pensions granted to the freedom-fighters are Rs. 200 p.m. from 15th August, 1972. In these days of dearness, it is impossible to live on that amount. After about 25 years of Independence, these pensions have been granted and Government should not be so petty in administering the scheme. The pensions were granted from the 15th August, 1972, but since then the dearness has become about one and a half times. The amount of pension should therefore be raised at least to Rs. 300 p.m.

I therefore request the Finance Minister to increase the pension to at least Rs. 300 per month. Otherwise, the freedom-fighters and their families cannot live an honourable life.

Then while you give Rs. 200 as pension to freedom-fighters, you only give half of it to the widows of freedom fighters. Why this discrimination? The widow of a freedom-fighter is more helpless than the freedom-fighter himself after his death. So I think there should be no discrimination. She should also get the same pension as her husband would have got, if he was alive.

Then you do not give pension to the sons of freedom-fighters. I thought this pension was a mark of honour to the freedom-fighter and his family for having fought for the freedom of the country. In my Bill I had said so. But you are not granting pension to the sons of freedom-fighters. This means that after the freedom-fighter and his widow dies, there will be no pension to his heirs. Therefore, I want that this pension should be treated as a mark of honour to him and his heirs in perpetuity. So the sons and other heirs of freedom-fighters should also be given the pension when the freedom-fighters and their widows die.

Then you deduct the petty amount of pension which the freedom-fighters



[Prof. S. L. Saksena]

have been granted by the State Government while giving pension from Central Government. This is unfair. I think the pension they get from the State Government should be treated separately. The Government of India must give their pension to these people without deducting from it the pension they get from the State Government. This is most important.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Tamrapatras.

PROF. S. L. SAKSENA: Tamrapatras were not given to most people.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI (Shajapur): Even I did not receive one.

PROF. S. L. SAKSENA: Many freedom-fighters still have not got them.

You give pension to those who have suffered six months' imprisonment. But what about those who were absconders, and who braved all difficulties? They are not given pension. You say that they should produce a certificate, the order of the District Magistrate who declared him as an absconder. These documents are not traceable these days. Freedom-fighters who participated in the freedom struggles of 1920, 1930, 1932, 1940 and 1942 and who went underground to carry on the struggle and were declared absconders, the orders declaring them absconders are not traceable in the Government offices. Now you demand, "produce the order declaring you an absconder". How can they be produced? Therefore, I say that if any person who is a well-known freedom-fighter knows and certifies that such and such other freedom-fighters were absconders, they should be accepted as freedom-fighters and should be given pensions.

In my district of Gorakhpur, Mr. E. V. de Moss was the Magistrate. He had sentenced Jawaharlalji to 4 years R.I. He never used to issue any orders declaring a person as an absconder. He had issued general orders to shoot

Congressmen, to loot and to burn their houses. But nobody was declared an absconder. I know hundreds of freedom-fighters who had worked with me and absconded and had gone underground after my arrest to continue the struggle. There are some 500 of them who had worked with me and had absconded and have applied for freedom-fighters pension. These people should be given pensions. The certificate of well known freedom-fighters that they worked with them and that they were absconders should be accepted and they must be given pensions. This is very important. Otherwise, many people will not get pension because there are no records in Government offices to show that they were declared absconders.

Now I come to some of the difficulties of people in my constituency where two terrible hailstorms have destroyed their crops and they are starving and no relief has been given to them. Kerosene oil is absolutely unavailable there. You have raised the price of kerosene oil by a small amount. But in the village market you cannot get a litre of oil for less than Rs. 2.50. Then it is almost unavailable. This must be made available to people; otherwise it will be very difficult for people to live in villages because in the dark snakes and other reptiles will be around and they will have no light.

Then cement and fertiliser are absolutely not available in the market. Yes, they are available provided you pay double or treble the price. Cement is selling at Rs. 25 a bag whereas the controlled price is Rs. 13. The controlled price of fertiliser is Rs. 48 per quintal whereas the price in the black market is Rs. 150. These are the black market prices of these commodities. The prices of these commodities must be controlled and they must be made available to people at the controlled price. This is very important. Otherwise, people will be extremely dissatisfied on account of the lack of these essential goods.

Then, a word about unemployment. You have said that you will give employment to all. How will you do it? You said you are giving land to landless. There are former landlords in my district who still cultivate about 2,000 acres each, but their land is not distributed? This is the situation even now when you have made a law that nobody can own more than 18 acres. If you want to enforce the law and to make land distribution a reality, you must distribute the excess land of these former zamindars. All those fictitious methods by which they are keeping those lands must be scrutinised and exposed and their surplus land must be distributed to landless people. Unless you do that, I think there will not be real race in the countryside.

Similarly, about unemployment. Unemployment is a problem which has been difficult to tackle. Now, wherever one goes, he is told, "My brother is there; my son is there; get him employment." What shall we do? Unless you make some arrangements for their employment in the countryside, this problem cannot be solved. You have had so many Plans and have spent so much money, and yet unemployment is increasing everyday. You are the Finance Minister and therefore it is your duty to see that people get employment. Please see that the unemployed people are not treated contemptuously like paupers but they should be treated as noble citizens of this country who need help and are entitled to it.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Painuli.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Sir, our Group has some more time.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Two of you have already spoken.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Who are they?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Ramayatar Shastri, and—well, only one has spoken from your Group.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: So, we have got some more time.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We will see about it. Now, Shri Painuli.

श्री परिपूर्जनन्ध पंथूलो (टिहरी गढ़वाल) :  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज ऐसे समय पर जब कि देश बहुत बड़े आर्थिक संक्रमण के काल से गुजर रहा है, एक ट्रांजीशनल फ़ेस से गुजर रहा है, वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो वित्त विधेयक पेश किया है, वह सचमुच बड़े साहस का काम है। उन्होंने यह कहा है कि जहाँ 1972-73 में 848 करोड़ रुपये का डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग था, 1973-74 में 650 करोड़ रुपये का रह गया और इस वर्ष इस को घटा कर 125 करोड़ रुपये का रखने जा रहे हैं। किन्तु, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, किसी भी बजट की सफलता इस बात पर निर्भर करती है कि बढ़ती हुई कीमतों को देखते हुए, आप उस के फिजिकल टारगेट्स को प्राप्त कर सकते हैं या नहीं, उसके लिए रिसोर्सेज जुटा पाते हैं या नहीं। जब से बजट प्रस्तुत हुआ है, उस समय से अब तक चीजों की कीमतों में काफी वृद्धि हुई है और यदि इसी तरह से वृद्धि होती रही है हमारे सामने यह समस्या पैदा होगी कि बजट में व्यक्त की गई बातों को हम पूरा भी कर सकेंगे या नहीं।

प्लानिंग कमीशन की तरफ से जो 1974-75 का एनुअल प्लान हमारे सामने आया है उस में भी इस बात को स्वीकार किया गया है कि 1972-73 में होलसेल प्राइस इण्डेक्स 10 प्रतिशत बढ़ा था, लेकिन इस साल तो वह 22.6 प्रतिशत बढ़ा है। इस में आगे कहा गया है :—

"The price situation was further aggravated by the continued expansion in money supply which increased by 14.21 per cent in 1973-74 against 15.7 per cent in 1972-73. This was apparently due to a signi-

[श्री परिपूर्णानन्द पैन्ग्यूल:]

ficant order of deficit financing and partly due to excessive expansion of bank credit to the commercial sector."

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक बात की ओर बिल मंत्री जी का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ— हमारे यहां जो बड़े पूंजीपति घराने के लोग हैं, उन बड़े-बड़े पूंजीपतियों को प्रोत्साहन देने की प्रवृत्ति हमारी नीति के विरुद्ध है। हमारे देश की 7 प्रतिशत अर्थ व्यवस्था 32-33 परिवारों के हाथ में है और पिछले वर्ष ही डवेलपमेन्ट रिबेट के नाम पर 35 करोड़ रुपया इन इंडस्ट्रीयल हाउसेज को दिया गया। इसी एनुअल प्लान में इस का संकेत दिया गया है कि आगे भी इस को जारी रखा जायगा। इसमें कहा गया है :—

"A number of steps have already been taken for speeding up investment in the private sector. In 1973-74, these measures as also the various incentives announced in the Central budget for 1974-75 are expected to give a further fillip to investment in the private sector."

महोदय, इस प्रवृत्ति से मैं समझता हूँ कि हम अपने लक्ष्य को प्राप्त नहीं कर सकेंगे, बल्कि उस के विपरीत उल्टी दिशा में जायेंगे। वस्तुस्थिति यह है कि हम को अगर अपनी घोषित नीतियों का पालन करना है तो उसके पालन करने के लिए पोलिटिकल-विल की आवश्यकता है। जो यदि मैं कहूँ कि ब्यूरोक्रेसी में उसका अभाव है। ब्यूरोक्रेसी में एक बात और है जिसकी बहुत चर्चा की जाती है कि उसमें एक विभाग का दूसरे विभाग से न तो कोई ताल-मेल है और न ही आज जिस प्रकार के कार्यक्रम हमारे शासन में चल रहे हैं उसमें किसी व्यक्ति पर या किसी विभाग के अधिकारी पर किसी काम की जिम्मेदारी नहीं थोपी जा सकती है। किसी पर कोई रेस्पॉसिबिलिटी फिक्स नहीं

की जा सकती है। यह बड़ा दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण विषय है।

आज शिक्षित बेरोजगारों की बहुत कुछ बात कही जाती है। एजूकेटेड अनएम्प्लायड के लिए यदि मैं कहूँ कि एजूकेटेड एम्प्लायड न कह कर मिस-एजूकेटेड अनएम्प्लायड का टर्म उसे दिया जाये तो ज्यादा उपयुक्त होगा। आज की व्यवस्था क्या है? लड़का नकल करके इम्तहान पास करता है, सिफारिश से नौकरी पाता है और रिश्तत ले कर काम करता है। जिस देश में शिक्षा की यह व्यवस्था हो उस देश का भविष्य क्या होगा। अभी-अभी ओवर-टाइम पेमेन्ट की बहुत बात कही गई, मैं समझता हूँ मूल रूप से यह बात है कि हमारी शिक्षा व्यवस्था बुनियादी तौर से इतनी दोषपूर्ण है कि जब तक उसमें आमूलचूल परिवर्तन नहीं किया जाता है तब तक हमारा काम नहीं चलेगा। यदि इसके लिए संविधान में भी संशोधन करने की आवश्यकता हो, इसको केन्द्रीय विषय भी बनाना पड़े तो मैं समझता हूँ उसमें कोई हर्ज नहीं होगा। किन्तु शिक्षा में आमूलचूल परिवर्तन करने की नितान्त आवश्यकता है।

अभी रेलवे के शंशट पर काफ़ी चर्चा हुई है। पब्लिक सेक्टर अण्डरटेकिंग में जो बेतनमान हैं उनके बराबर बेतनमानों की रेलवे एम्प्लॉईज ने भी मांग की है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस विषय का समाधान करने के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि सरकार एक स्थाई कमीशन नियुक्त करे जो इस बात को देखे कि सारे विभागों में बेतनमानों में किस प्रकार से तालमेल स्थापित किया जा सकता है। नहीं तो यह असंतोष बढ़ता रहेगा, आये दिन एक विभाग और दूसरे विभाग के लोगों में इस बात की होड़ बनी रहेगी कि किसको ज्यादा बेतन मिले। यदि एल० आई० सी० में अधिक बेतन मिलता है तो दूसरे विभाग वाले कहते हैं कि हमको भी

उनके बराबर मिलना चाहिए। कुछ विभाग तो ऐसे हैं जिनमें चपरासियों का वेतन दूसरे विभाग के उच्चाधिकारियों से भी अधिक है। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ इस बात के समाधान के लिए एक परमानेंट कमीशन स्थापित किया जाना चाहिए।

अब मैं आपका थोड़ा सा ध्यान क्षेत्रीय विषमता की ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ वस्तुस्थिति यह है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार की पिछले कई वर्षों से यह नीति रही है कि जो सम्पन्न और साधन वाले प्रान्त हैं उनको अधिक सहायता दी जाती रही है, उन प्रान्तों की अपेक्षा जोकि अपेक्षाकृत कमजोर और साधनहीन हैं। हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी भली भाँति जानते हैं कि उत्तर प्रदेश, बिहार और मध्य प्रदेश उन पिछड़े हुए प्रान्तों में हैं जिनको अपेक्षाकृत सम्पन्न प्रान्तों से कम केन्द्रीय सहायता मिलती रही है। पिछले पांच फाईनेन्स कमीशनस की सिफारिशों के बावजूद जो केन्द्र की नीति प्रान्तों को सहायता देने की रही है उससे क्षेत्रीय विषमता में अधिक वृद्धि हुई है। जब एक तरफ प्रान्तों के बीच विषमता रही है तो उसके साथ ही एक प्रान्त के अन्दर भी जो इन्टर रीजनल डिसपैरिटी थी वह भी उसी अनुपात से बढ़ी है। मैं आपका ध्यान इस ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में जिन प्रान्तों की सबसे कम पर-कैपिटा इनकम रही है उनमें उत्तर प्रदेश भी है। उत्तर प्रदेश में सारे देश की 17 प्रतिशत आबादी है। वहाँ 55 जिलों में से 33 जिले ऐसे हैं जो इंडस्ट्रियल बैकवर्ड डिस्ट्रिक्ट्स आइडेंटिफाइड हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश में 9 करोड़ की आबादी में से करीब-करीब आधी आबादी बैकवर्ड है। सम्भवतः कितनी भी अन्य प्रान्त में ऐसा नहीं होगा। उत्तर प्रदेश में इस प्रकार के तीन बड़े पाकेट्स हैं—हिल एरियाज़ है, बुंदेलखंड है और ईस्टर्न डिस्ट्रिक्ट्स हैं। इसका एक प्रमाण यह भी है कि देश में सब से कम बिजली की खपत उत्तर प्रदेश में है। पर-कैपिटा बिजली

का कंजम्पशन 1970-71 में यू० पी० में 58 किलोवाट हुआ जबकि आल इंडिया एवरेज 90 किलोवाट था। उत्तर प्रदेश में एक लाख गांवों में से 35 प्रतिशत गांव ऐसे हैं जहाँ कसी प्रकार की सड़क नहीं जाती है। मैं वित्त मंत्री जी के नोटिस में एक बात लाना चाहता हूँ जिसे सुन कर उनको बड़ा आश्चर्य होगा। मैं उत्तर प्रदेश के पहाड़ी गांवों से आता हूँ जहाँ पर कुछ गांव ऐसे भी हैं जो ऊपर चोटी पर हैं जहाँ आदमी गाय के बछड़े को कंधे पर रखकर पहाड़ की उस चोटी पर पहुँचता है इसलिए पाल पोसकर जब वह बछड़ा बड़ा होगा तब हल लगायेगा। एक बड़े बैल को वहाँ पर पहुँचाने का कोई साधन नहीं है। इसी बात से आप अनुमान कर सकते हैं कि वहाँ पर सड़कों की क्या स्थिति है। जहाँ पर आवागमन के साधन इतने भी न हों वहाँ पर आप कोई इंडस्ट्रियल डेवलपमेंट करना चाहें या उसके लिये इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर बिल्ड करना चाहें तो वह असम्भव बात है। इसलिये मैंने आपसे निवेदन किया है कि नेशनल-प्रोग्राम आफ मिनिमम नीड्स के अन्तर्गत कम से कम उन क्षेत्रों की तरफ अवश्य ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है जहाँ पर आवागमन के साधनों के अभाव में लोगों को कष्टमय जीवन व्यतीत करना पड़ता है। इसी प्रकार की बहुत सी बातें हैं।

श्रीमती सुशीला रोहतगी जो हमारी उपमन्त्री हैं, उत्तर प्रदेश की हैं और एक महिला हैं। उनका ध्यान मैं एक बात की ओर खींचना चाहता हूँ। यहाँ पर भाषणों में समाजवाद और दूसरी बड़ी-बड़ी बातें कही जाती हैं लेकिन मैं उनका ध्यान इस ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ। जो आजादी के 26 वर्षों के बाद भी हमारे लिये लज्जा का विषय बना हुआ है और वह यह है कि हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश के पहाड़ी इलाकों में जो जन-जातियाँ हैं उनकी लड़कियाँ आज वैश्यालयों में अपना जीवन यापन करती हैं। कितना कुत्सित जीवन उनको व्यतीत करना पड़ रहा है इसकी कल्पना भी आप नहीं

[श्री परिपूर्णानन्द पेंथली:]

कर सकते हैं। इससे पता चलता है कि आज उनकी एकोनामिक कंडीशन कैसी है। आप अपनी बेटी को लेकर, भाई अपनी बहन को लेकर और पति अपनी पत्नी को लेकर आज भी वैश्यालय में रहना हो, इससे और अधिक घृणित बात और क्या हो सकती है? इसके मूल में आप जायेंगे तो देखें कि लोग आर्य-नाइज्ड सेक्टर में तनख्वाह और मंहगाई भत्ता बढ़ाने के लिए हड़तालें करते हैं उन्होंने आज तक समाज के उस वर्ग की आर्थिक स्थिति के लिए कभी आवाज तक नहीं उठाई जो विकास की सब नीचे की सीढ़ी पर है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि गांधी जी ने अत्योदय की बात की थी यानी सबसे पिछड़े हुये, सब से कमजोर वर्ग की और सबसे अधिक ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए। मैं वित्त मन्त्री जी का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ जरा समाज के उस वर्ग की कल्पना करें, उस वर्ग को क्या आर्थिक स्थिति होगी, क्या उनका सामाजिक जीवन होगा जबकि उनको इम ग्रह्यःपतन की सीमा तक जाकर रहना पड़ता है। चावल जब पकता है तो उसका एक चावल ही देखा जाता है कि चावल पका या नहीं। उसी प्रकार उस जगह की सामाजिक और आर्थिक विषमता को देखने के लिए आपको जाना चाहिए। पहाड़ों से बहुत बड़ी मात्रा में सारे प्राकृतिक साधन मैदानों में चले जाते हैं। जब बाढ़ आती है तो बाढ़ में जरखेज जमीन और खाद सब बहकर नीचे चला आता है। ठीक उसी प्रकार से भुखमरी की बाढ़ में वहां के सगन्त आदमी पड़े लिखे व्यक्ति पहाड़ से मैदानों में चले आते हैं। वहां पर उनके पास आजीविका के साधन नहीं रह गये हैं इसलिए उनकी मज-बूरी में ऐसा जीवन व्यतीत करना पड़ता है। वहां पर केवल, केवल मात्र बच्चे, बूढ़े और स्त्रियां रह जाती हैं। मैं यह केवल उत्तर प्रदेश के पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों की बात नहीं कहता, हिमाचल प्रदेश में भी जहां पर कैपिटा इनकम एग्रीकल्चर सेक्टर में सबसे

अधिक है वह उन लोगों के लिए है जिनके पास बचीचे हैं, जो सम्पन्न लोग हैं। इसी प्रकार आप कश्मीर के इंटीरियर में जायें जहां अरबों रुपया आपने खर्च किया है किन्तु वहां भी वस्तुस्थिति वही है। गरीब आदमी की हालत वहां भी बड़ी दयनीय है। आप कल्पना नहीं कर सकते कि हिन्दुस्तान के कोनों में ऐसे आदमी भी रहते हैं। उत्तर-प्रदेश के पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में जहां बरफ रहती है, जहां अनाज का दाना भी नहीं पैदा हो सकता है वहां पर आज तक भी आपने अनाज की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की है। वही शहरी इलाकों के लिए जो कोटा आप देते हैं वह मिडिलमैन की मार्फत वहां पहुंचना है और वह उसको ब्लैक में बेच देता है। फिर किस प्रकार से उनकी जिन्दगी चल सकती है?

ऊन उत्पादन की बात कही जाती है लेकिन जो व्यापारी वर्ग है उसके भाग्यम से सारी ऊन पहाड़ों से नीचे चली आती है। भेड़ों के लिए पास्चर लैंड्स की, चरागाह की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। इस प्रकार वहां की सारी सम्पत्ति बाहर चली जाती है।

इसके अतिरिक्त मुझे कल ही टेलिग्राम मिला है कि देहरादून के पास सकलाना में चूना खदान के विरुद्ध आन्दोलन छिड़ गया है। मंसूरी की पहाड़ियों में कोढ़ जैसा आदमी के शरीर में हो जाता है, यह सारे मंसूरी के पहाड़ों में हो गया है। वहां का सारा लाइम स्टोन मिडिलमैन की मार्फत ठेकेदारों की मार्फत लाइम स्टोन क्वैरियर्स की मार्फत मैदान में चला जाता है। भारत सरकार और प्रान्तीय सरकार के अधिकारी उनके साथ मिले रहते हैं जो जनता का शोषण करते हैं। वहां के लोगों ने सत्याग्रह शुरू कर दिया है। लोगों के लिए यह जीवन मरण का प्रश्न हो गया है। सकलाना में पानी के स्रोत सूख गये हैं और खेत बर्बाद हो गए हैं। स्त्रियों के लिए जंगल में जाकर लकड़ी काटना मुश्किल हो गया है। ऐसी स्थिति में मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि बजट के प्रावधानों में आ-

जो चाहे करें, घरबों करोड़ों की बात करें, इन्फ्लेशन हो या कुछ भी हो लेकिन यह बतायें कि पिछड़े तथा गरीब तबके के लोगों के लिए आपने इसमें क्या प्राविधान किया है ? जितनी ही बातें पिछले बजट में की गईं, इस बजट में भी की गई हैं। मैंने कोई बात आज तक उस पिछड़े हुये क्षेत्रके लिये, पिछड़े वर्ग के लोगों के लिए, इस बजट में नहीं पायी है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ तक पिछड़े हुये इलाकों का सवाल है उत्तर प्रदेश में प्रति व्यक्ति मेडिकल एड पर, पुलिस ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन या शिक्षा पर जो खर्च होता है वह सब से कम है। यह इस बात का प्रमा है कि उत्तर प्रदेश में खास कर बुन्देलखंड, पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश और पहाड़ों में न के बराबर है।

उत्तर काशी में इंटीरियर में एक जगह स्कूल में मास्टर पढ़ाता ही नहीं था, सब इंस्पेक्टर ने उस की रिपोर्ट की कि वह स्कूल चलता ही नहीं है। इस पर इंस्पेक्टर आफ स्कूल्स ने इनक्वायरी की तो गांव वालों ने बताया कि यह शिकायत झूठ है, स्कूल चलता है। गांव वालों ने झूठ इसलिये बोला कि अगर छोटे छोटे बच्चे स्कूल में जायेंगे तो भेड़ कौन चरायेगा।

जहाँ तक पहाड़ों के लिये एक बोर्ड बनाने की बात है सेन्टर में एक कमेटी आफ डायरेक्शन बनी हुई है, यू० पी० के लिए डेवलपमेंट बोर्ड है, हिल डेवलपमेंट कार्पोरेशन बना, सारी बातें कागजों पर हैं। वस्तु स्थिति यह है कि उस इलाके के विकास के लिए पोलिटिकल विल नहीं है। जो निर्देश आप देते हैं सरकारी अधिकारी कोई काम नहीं करते। इसलिए जो व्यक्ति पहाड़ के हालात से परिचित हो, जो वहाँ सेवा भाव से काम करना चाहते हों और पहाड़ के लोगों के प्रति सहानुभूति रखते हों ऐसे लोगों को ही वहाँ नियुक्त कीजिये। जिन अधिकारियों की वहाँ के लोगों के प्रति सहानुभूति न हो उनकी नियुक्ति न कीजिये।

हमारे पहाड़ी इलाके की स्थिति सुधारने के लिए एक तो डेरी प्रोग्राम को सर्वोच्च प्राथमिकता दीजिये वह एम्प्लायमेंट ग्रोरि केन्टेड स्कीम है। दूसरे पर्यटन को प्राथमिकता दीजिये। उत्तर प्रदेश के पहाड़ों में इतना पोटेंशियल है कि उसका वर्णन नहीं किया जा सकता। लेकिन अभी इस ओर कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। आप ने अखबार में पढ़ा होगा कि 50,000 यात्री ऋषिकेश में रुके हुये हैं जो बदरीनाथ और केदारनाथ नहीं जा सके क्योंकि ट्रांसपोर्ट की व्यवस्था नहीं है। आप हज के लिए व्यवस्था कर सकते हैं, लेकिन इसके लिए कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। वहाँ की अर्थ व्यवस्था उस पर निर्भर करती है इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि टूरिज्म के लिए विशेष प्राविजन करना चाहिए। फोरेस्ट और मिनरल बेस्ड उद्योग वहाँ पर खोलिये जहाँ उनका भण्डार है ताकि लोगों को काम मिले और उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति भी सुधरे। इसके अलावा सौइल कंजरवेशन प्रोग्राम को विशेष महत्व देना चाहिए। इस से लोगों को वहाँ रोजगार मिलेगा और देश में जो बाढ़ का प्रकोप आता रहता है वहाँ भी रुकेगा।

माननीय दिनेश सिंह जब केन्द्र में औद्योगिक विकास मंत्री थे तो इन्होंने मसूरी में घोषणा की थी कि आप को जानकर खुशी होगी कि देहरादून जिले में कालसी में सीमेंट का एक कारखाना खुलने वाला है। आज तक उस का कोई प्रोग्राम प्राविधान पांचवीं योजना तक में नहीं किया गया है। कोई भी इस ओर ध्यान नहीं देता, मैं उद्योग मंत्री जो को बराबर पत्र लिख रहा हूँ। इसलिए मेरा मेरा निवेदन है कि देहरादून में एक तो सीमेंट का कारखाना खुलना चाहिए। और इसके अलावा देहरादून में मसूरी हिल्स में रोक फॉसफेट डिपाजिट्स हैं बहुत अधिक मात्रा में। जबकि आप विदेशों से रोक फॉसफोट मंगा रहे हैं फटिलाइजर्स बनाने के लिए तो अपने यहां जो रोक फॉसफेट

[श्री परिपूर्णा नन्द पैन्वली]

मिलता है क्यों नहीं उसको आप फटिलाइजर बनाने के काम में लाते। इसलिए मेरी भांग है कि टोप प्रायटिटी पर उसका बेनिफिकेशन प्लान्ट लगा कर फटिलाइजर का कारखाना लगाने के लिए स्थानीय रोक फीसफेट का इस्तेमाल कीजिये।

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra):  
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I will start by referring to the railway strike, because in many ways it shows the manner in which we have been governed, and the mentalities that come into play in dealing with problems of the highest national importance. As I said this morning, a new dimension has been given to the railway strike, which leads me at any rate and I am sure a great many other reasonable people, to believe that there is no intention on the part of Government to do anything in the matter of bringing about a solution.

Now, I know that the solutions that are available are all costly. But nevertheless, it has to be seen from the point of view that the solutions have become necessary because of the misbehaviour of this Government in making the laws, in pondering at times to certain opinions, all for political benefit which has made it necessary for them to do likewise with the railways today. The lack of desire to solve the problem to come to grips with it is the paralysis that has overcome them. I think, it is evident in all fields of activity.

Take for instance, planning. Planning has now become the sacred cow which has stopped giving milk. But, nevertheless, it has to be fed. Therefore, only yesterday or the day before, the Planning Minister with all the sanctimonious ceremony and the rigours of procedure presented a Plan and laid it on the Table of the House. All of us know that planning is now only a word in the dictionary as far as Indian economic is concerned. Not that planning was not desirable. The

plans were desirable. But as we realise that the manner in which they went about it, doing something that they did not understand, they have landed us in an economic situation from which it is almost impossible to extricate oneself.

I would say one thing more. Why are they talking about the railway strike in this manner? Is it some sort of paralysis or is there some deep motivation behind it? I think, the Government has come to the conclusion that it has run out of scape-goats, it has run out of excuses and it just cannot make the economy perform. There are no plans; there are no programmes. There is no vision. There is just nothing on the horizon which will make one feel that they are going to get it out of the economic rut. They think that the railway strike will provide them with just one more excuse in addition to the refugees, Bangladesh, war with Pakistan, droughts, monsoons and the rains, the right reactionaries, the left adventurists the CIA and the KGB, the foreign agents, Allende and everything else. And now, they will have one more reason, the railway strike. They think that by finding excuses they will be able to salvage their own political reputations, because I do not think anything else is at issue today in this country.

Again, you take, for instance, oil. This oil has become a handy thing for them. They say, "Look at the Arabs who have raised the price of oil from 3 dollars to 10 or 12 dollars a barrel." After all, the refined products of one barrel of oil yield 300 dollars. Why should not the Arabs have more as their share? When it comes to commodities, like, rice, tea, jute, groundnut and things like that, we complain that the affluent nations are exploiting the nations that produce these commodities and that the prices of these commodities do not rise as fast as the prices of manufactures. But when it comes to oil, they say, "The Arabs have stabbed us in the back and have done all manner of things."

Agreed. Suppose the Arabs have put us in difficulty. What about coal? India has the largest deposits of coal in the world. They are nationalised and are in the hands of this Government. The railways are nationalised and are in the hands of this Government. We cannot manage our coal. Why complain about oil? Go to any place in India. It is easier to get oil which comes from the Arabs than to get coal which comes from India. You cannot even manage one single thing that you have taken over, and over which you have one hundred per cent control. What is the point in blaming the rest of the world for your difficulties?

I suppose it is a world phenomenon that this Government has become paralysed; I suppose it is a world phenomenon that their Government is incapable of acting; I suppose it is a world phenomenon that their Government thinks about nothing but how to plunder and steal money from the poor citizens of this country. We talk about inflation. That has also become a world phenomenon!

14.00 hrs.

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola): You will blame the Government for everything.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Then I will have to blame Mr. Sathe for everything.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I do not mind.

SHRI PILOO MODY: A few weeks ago I showed how an inflation of four per cent in the United States had set about every single nerve in the United States tingling and they are thinking in terms of a serious economic crisis—four per cent inflation after 20 years of continuous growth...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now it is 10 per cent.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Four per cent after making adjustments for increase in prices; the net inflation is four per cent. And this has been agitating them so much. But here we are in the 30 and 40 per cent inflation-bracket and nobody has concern, nobody is worried. Yesterday, I think, I warned this House and this Government that, in the coming year, inflation was going to be in the neighbourhood of 50 to 100 per cent, and it still does not seem to sink into their heads.

I have here the currency of West Germany during the years 1914 to 1924...

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: United Germany....

SHRI PILOO MODY: Yes; United Germany. This was, to begin with, a ten pennig or say cent note; this was a 50-cent note; this became a 5-mark note before long; this became a 10-mark note; this became 50,000 marks; this became five-million marks; this became 10-million marks; this became 100-million marks; this became 20-billion marks; and this which looks like a label on a Mohan Meakan beer bottle is a 100-billion marks. This is what can happen to your currency. It is not something fanciful. It has happened. It has happened in many places of the world.

In Germany those days when there was the Weimer Republic, if you got your salary this afternoon, you ran into the streets to get your sausage because if you bought it the next day, you would get a little less sausage. There is acute story about a man who came out of a lunatic asylum and boarded a taxi to go home. When he got home, he was asked to pay five million marks or something, and the man went absolutely pale. He said, 'I am very sorry; I have nowhere near that money'. He then put his hand in his pocket and brought out a few coins. The taxi-driver took one coin



[Shri Piloo Mody].

and gave him five million marks of change. The man said 'I cannot live in this world. Please drive me back to the lunatic asylum'. This is the only place where the Government can go now, because I see no other place in this country where they can be kept from damaging and hurting our country.

Talking about the Budget and the Finance Bill. I had recommended earlier—and I see that the Finance Minister has not yet acquired the wisdom to accept my suggestion—to raise the exemption limit. You have done something wise in lowering the rate. But please raise commensurately the exemption limit; it should be a minimum of Rs. 12,000, if there is to be any meaning to the exemption limit set 10 years ago, the minimum exemption limit should be Rs. 12,000 and preferably Rs. 15,000. I have sent you thousands of petitions on this subject. If you work out the economic implications of doing this, you will find that ultimately, you will save more than what you collect.

I now come to pensioners and teachers. I have a soft spot for them because when money gallops in this fashion, what is somebody with the barest minimum for survival going to do? This is a human problem and you have to do something about it. You cannot run away from that. Pension, I want to make this clear distinction, is a part of what you have earned by your work during your life time.

It is not a dole, it is not compassion and it is not charity—it is a part of what you have earned during the years that you were working and, therefore, pensioners must get their full value.

About blackmarketeers, so much has been said not only by others but also by me. I do not want to aggravate the situation any more to-day except to say that all this is wild talk I hear from my colleagues on the Congress

Bench—what are you going to do with the hoarders and blackmarketeers, this, that and the other. My friends on my right—the CPI and the CPM and others—say that you can lynch them and hang them. This is a facial make-up and there is no intention to do anything.

I know, for instance, many cases. Take the case of Mundhra which has been hanging fire for so many years. Government knows about it; Shri Chavan knows about it; Shrimati Indira Gandhi knows about it; Shri Dikshit knows about it; the Finance Ministry knows about it; the Secretary knows about it; the Chairman of the Board knows about it and everybody knows about it. The case has been documented, proved, signed, sealed and delivered and even a C.B.I. inquiry has been launched. What does C.B.I. stand for? It stands for the 'Corruption Branch of India'. It is an eye-wash. You know that when any known case, which is a proven case, is given to them, they should do something about it. They will say 'yes, we shall order a C.B.I. inquiry'. What has happened to Morarka's case? There was an assurance on the floor of the House that he will come back here and report—I mean Shri Raghunatha Reddy. He said he would come back here and report. He was then the Company Law Minister. Now he is shifted to somewhere else.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He is in Labour now.

SHRI PILOO MODY: He will be the solitary exception who does not deliver.

Here is a case. Do you know what they do? In the case of Shri Mundhra, they used to call him and extract money! This is all that is done when cases are brought to their notice. The only thing that you do is to call the man and extract more money. (Interruption) It seems my hon. friend has some questions to ask. He can ask me later on.

Now I would like to say a few things as a positive contribution to this debate which I had the good sense to write down some time back. The nation won its Independence according to certain ideals—the ideals of Gandhiji—and, therefore, I do not think it can be developed by the ideals of Marx. The solutions suggested by Marx, to cure an exploitative industrial society in the throes of an industrial revolution can hardly suit the emancipation of the Indian village from medieval poverty to a prosperous rural community.

Is it any surprise that we have not been able to develop but we have failed?

The naked reality of India is half a million villages devoid of all economic viability supporting 80 per cent of its 600 million population juxtaposed against urban slums where human pressures in the heat and sweat have overrun whatever urban life existed prior to Independence. The picture has been further complicated by doctrinaire Five Year Plans where the pompous philosophy was first mouthed and then policies made to strait-jacket the philosophy into the economic situation in India. This is unconnected with the Indian reality which has accentuated the misery at both ends—in the villages and in the cities. To-day you have a rural India devoid of all economic viability. There is just no economic viability in our country-side. Whatever resources and money this country has is stuffed into corners where high-concentration of industry takes place so that my friend, Shri Banerjee, can go and organise the labour and get a few votes at the time of elections. The rural economy remains unaffected, untouched and almost forgotten.

I would like to end by making six positive suggestions to the Finance Minister. The suggestions that I have are absolutely safe in the sense that nobody can interfere with them or spoil them. No political interference

can spoil these suggestions that I am making and you do not require too much of intelligence to implement them. The lowest common mean denominator has been worked out before the suggestions have been made and, if you permit me to read I will read them:

(1) Making the Public Sector perform efficiency on commercial lines within a stipulated time, and if it fails to do so, dispossess the unit and save the tax payer from carrying this unbearable burden.

(2) A drastic reduction in taxes, both direct and indirect, to curb tax evasion, to bring prices down and to stimulate production and therefore employment.

(3) Delicensing of the economy to stimulate growth, speed up economic recovery and eliminate institutionalised corruption which is really 95 per cent of the corruption that is taking place in this country outside smuggling.

(4) Float the Rupee and allow it to find its international economic value—you have already done it vis-a-vis the dollar—to eliminate smuggling and remove the distortions arising out of the partiality inherent in foreign exchange control and the economic distortions it creates because it leaves a man to decide whether Dandavate should get the licence or Shyam Babu should get the licence and in that process discrimination arises. It is not determined by laws of economics but it is governed by the rule of men instead of the rule of laws.

(5) Invest all available resources in the rural economy with a view to restoring economic viability in the rural areas through a vigorous programme of infra-structure activities like roads, railways, afforestation, agro-industries, rural electrification and minor irrigation, contouring, bunding, terracing, drainage and water conservation.

[Piloo Mody]

Finally, there should be complete revamping of our educational system, making it more meaningful, more job-oriented and more on the basis of science and technology available in the country at any particular time.

You need to do only these six things either by law or by ordinance. This is one occasion where we shall forgive you your ordinances. You do just these six things today and I promise you that within two years, everyone will start talking about the Indian miracle.

I hope that good sense prevails on them to make this surgical operation on the Indian economy.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI (Bhubaneswar): Between the inflated humour and the inflated Indian currency I find myself lost but I feel that the former is more inflated than the latter. It is a matter of serious and deep concern to all of us. When we are discussing this matter in this House I am afraid humour will not help in solving these important and difficult problems that we are facing today.

We are passing through one of the most difficult phases of the socialist transformation of our State and the country, and we cannot overcome this phase with an all-round negative criticism and negative approach to the present problems. If Shri Shyamnandan Mishra waits for any positive appeal for co-operation in this national endeavour from the Finance Minister, I hope our Finance Minister will never be found wanting in making such appeals. But what I feel today is that on absolutely independent and united people of this country can withstand these difficult problems that we are facing and the present storm that is blowing over this country.

Before 1948 in China the conditions were worse than in India today. But with the determination of the Chinese people, the leadership and the party

there were able to overcome these difficulties within a short period of 3 to 4 years when I visited China in 1951, I saw how millions and millions of people were working hard and by their hard and collective labour were creating their own Capital. They were not following the traditional economic theories of supply and demand. I was surprised to find Dr. (Ma-in) Chu who was Rector in the People's University who had spent 26 years in the United States; when he preferred to come back to China, he was asked to go back to the villages and learn Chinese economics within six months and then come back to the Chinese university to teach economics. In India today the present difficulties cannot be solved by applying traditional economic methods, we shall not be able to make much headway. I had seen how millions and millions of Chinese people were digging a canal 200 miles long. This is the type of capital that they had created for their country by mass collective labour. Today if there is one country in the world which has no foreign debt and no national debt, it is that country, and they have tried to build a new economy. I hope that in India today with Gandhiji's approach his programme of self help and service before self, we shall be able to overcome the present economic crisis with a sort of new cultural revolution in this country.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: But we have a democracy here.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI: Through democracy we can solve it. That is the new experiment that we are making, and we shall solve it.

I was reading a very interesting article by Shri K. N. Raj wherein he has said that:

"Nothing has perhaps shaken the confidence in the economic and political future of India so much in recent years as the sharp rise in the prices in the course of the last year and the

problem it has given rise to. The percentage rise in prices in 1973 was higher than in any single year since the Second World War. There is no evidence that this upward movement has been arrested.

In 1974 the picture remains as it is, or rather it has become more aggravated. Therefore more monetary measures cannot solve this problem. Mere monetary measures without trying to increase the production in all spheres will not be able to help us in solving the present economic difficulties.

Some hon. Members have raised the question of money supply and said that it has added to the inflationary pressure. In 1970-71, the money supply was growing by 12½ per cent and by over 14 per cent in 1971-72, and with the general level of wholesale prices the rise was no more than 2½ per cent. Therefore, it is not a question of money supply alone. It is one of the factors which add to the inflationary pressure in our economy, but during the years 1971 and 1972 there were enough foodgrains available. Therefore, if today anything has happened which has added to the difficulties of our economic system it is the fact that the foodgrains production has gone down. It has added to the inflationary pressure on the economy. Therefore, if we want to solve these problems I suggest to the hon. Minister that we must adopt the Gandhian approach. Long ago, 40 years ago, Bandhi had written a book and he had foreseen it. He had foreseen how India, if it departed from the Gandhian way, if it depended too much on the consumer economy of the western type, and would face this kind of crisis.

Recently I went to many villages in my area in Orissa. What did I find there? The poor Adivasi people women folk came to me and said 'After 25 years of freedom, we are not able to

purchase one piece of sari or sugar or other essential commodities at the controlled price. They are all taken away by the urban bureaucrats. We have seen the creation of an urban bureaucracy in this country which is taking away all the products produced for the common man. Therefore, we are going to see a clash between the 10 per cent of the urban bureaucracy and 80 per cent of the village people. We all know that the freedom movement in this country was carried on not by the 10 per cent of the urban bureaucracy but by the 80 per cent of the village people. That was how Gandhiji conducted the struggle for freedom with the help of the villagers and the common man. Today if anything is going to happen, it will be through the common man, the 80 per cent of the village people. There is going to be a clash between the urban bureaucracy and the 80 per cent of the people living in the villages in this country. It is coming in a big way. I hope our party and Government will give the right lead to these 80 per cent of the people so that they win the battle against the 10 per cent of the urban bureaucrats and the urban rich. We are going to see this in the coming two years.

The economic situation in the country is what it is today because this 10 per cent are taking away everything. Not a single kilo of sugar or other controlled and essential items are available to the villages. Sugar is available only under the free sale arrangement so that they have to pay Rs. 4 and Rs. 5 per kilo.

Therefore the urgent thing to do is to group 35-50 villages and bring them together on a local and regional self-sufficiency basis and formulate programmes in regard to the availability of essential goods, cloth, industrial products, consumer goods and so on. On this basis production has to be decentralised in a planned manner. There must be decentralisation. Nothing centralised in Delhi can do anything to relieve the situation, because

[Shri Chintamani Panigrahi]

centralised administration has failed in this country. Therefore, there must be more decentralisation. Production should be decentralised and the programmes should be drawn up on the basis of the Gandhian approach.

I saw the Khadi and Village Industries Commission providing saris and dhotis to the tribal people. They are spinning and getting paid at the rate of Rs. 2 a day, something which we could not provide to them. I appeal to Government to activate the Commission. Let them reorient the entire rural economy and make it production-oriented, and free the villages from dependency on the urban bureaucracy and the monopoly and capitalistic centres for their essential commodities. If we do this, in six months time we shall be able to go a great way in solving the problem.

I appeal to the Government. Let us not rely on advancing of credits or borrowings from foreign countries. Advancement of credits from nationalised banks cannot create assets. Assets can be created only by building capital by hard collective labour, not by taking recourse to extension of bank credit or state credit, to which we have become habituated. Collective labour is the answer. In the Fifth Plan, let us try and see that almost all the people are involved. About students, they have a great role to play. A positive line of action should be put before them. Who says they are not patriotic? They are. Only there must be a positive programme before them. They will also participate and feel that there is a cultural revolution in the country which is trying to see that all the people standing in the way of the progress of the country are no longer there. We had a cultural revolution in 1969 during which we see that those who were sitting in gaddis for long in every sphere were dislodged. Have we finished that cultural revolution? We have not. Let us see that the cultural revolution started in 1969 is continued

on peaceful lines and completed in 1974. Then we shall see that there will be no turbulence in the country, no difficulties in the country. For that the Congress Party and the Government should put in their effort to see that it comes to a successful completion.

I will take only one or two minutes more. Now, I wish to bring to your kind notice a situation which will be surprising to you. It is this. We are going away from the path of self-sufficiency or from our approach to self-sufficiency. I wish I had enough time to quote from the magazine of the International Monetary Fund which says that India is going to pay back one-third of foreign exchange earnings in repayment of its debts. That means you are going to earn so much so that you can pay back one-third of it! They have suggested that they are giving relief to India, as if they are going to be very kind to us.

Lastly, I submit one thing. When I go to the countryside, the common people ask me, "Is there any government in this country," I have no answer to it. They say that while they go to the cities, they find that the State is while over-governed because of the visible pressure of army and police. This is a paradox. On the other hand the common man feels that the country is least governed as they do not get a kilo of sugar or any other essential commodity like dhoti, etc. and they are not protected from black-marketeers and hoarders. They see that everything is sold at the urban centres. This is a paradox. This is too much for the common man to bear, especially when they want the Government to keep them safe from the blackmarketeers and the hoarders. This is the paradox that we are facing in this country. I think that if you are not able to find a solution to this problem, the common people will suffer more. But under the leadership of the Congress Party and the Government, I hope that in the near future, if not today, tomorrow,

we will be able to achieve the socialist objectives that we have put before the people, and I hope the people will succeed.

Only one minute more and I shall end. Here are three items so far as my State of Orissa is concerned. One is the commercial cum fishing harbour project at Gopalpur. The second is the shipyard at Paradeep; and the third is the wagon shortage, the bottleneck in the wagon movement, because of which petroleum products like kerosene, and also foodgrains and sugar are not being moved to the rural areas and other places. I request that these items may be attended to and the difficulties are removed.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I oppose the Finance Bill, and I have reasons for opposing it. What is the condition in the country today? A lot has been said about the high prices, and about the concrete steps taken and to be taken by the Government to bring down the prices. But unfortunately, even after 27 years of freedom, this Government has proved to be absolutely helpless in bringing down the prices.

Today, the prices of all essential commodities, whether they are foodgrains or oil or cloth, medium and coarse, which the common man uses, have gone up by as much as 25 per cent to 45 per cent. In some places, it is even more. In the open market, sugar is being sold at Rs. 5 kilo, and for a kilo-tin of dalda, in the black market, one pays Rs. 4 to 5 extra. The race is going between high prices and non-availability. First, things disappear from the market; then the prices are raised, and then when they appear in the market, people have the consolation that they are at least available in the market! I do not know what steps have been taken by the Government to bring down the prices to a reasonable level.

My hon. friend Shri Piloo Mody started by saying something about the railway strike. This question was discussed through an Adjournment Motion. But let the people know in this country why the railway employees are going on a strike. It has been stated in the House, and even the Prime Minister—I never expected it from her—wrote a letter to the Chief Ministers that it is politically motivated. What is the politics in it? There are six demands made by the railwaymen. The two vital demands are bonus and parity with the public sector undertakings. These demands have been made not by the railwaymen only. All the Central Government employees, those who are known to be employed in the departmental undertakings like the defence establishments, P&T, etc., have also made these demands, namely that there should be a national wage based on a certain minimum requirements, a need-based minimum wage and until that thing is achieved, the people in the departmental undertakings want a parity with public sector undertakings. Both are run by the Government. How is it that an employee working in Hardwar, Rishikesh or Bhopal or any other place gets Rs. 320 as the minimum while the Central Government railway employee gets only Rs. 196. They say that this is not possible and if implemented this would require 300 or 400 crores. Wrong statistics had been placed before the country. There is a calculated attempt going on through the All India Radio and all the Government agencies to pitch the people against the railway employees. I should like to make it clear that all the leaders including Dange, Fernandes and others are as sincere in their efforts to settle the strike as anybody on that side. On 15 April what happened? The co-ordinating committee members went to the negotiating table and Mr. Warrior said to be the Railway Board Member dealing with administration started by saying that none of the demands were negotiable. This is all on record. That humiliat-

[Shri S. M. Banerjee]

ing statement irritated the members of the co-ordinating committee. George Fernandes, Dange, Parvathi Krishnan and others went to negotiate with the Deputy Minister Qureshi. After three days of discussions, they concluded that on the question of bonus and parity they would meet the hon. Railway Minister Mr. L. N. Mishra and the meeting was field up at 9 A.M. A solemn assurance was also given to Mr. Sabapathy, leader of the Locomen that they were to negotiate at 4 P.M. on that day and that no one would be arrested until the fate of negotiations were known. Mr. Barua came from Lumding and the Mr. Chauduri came from the Central Railway. They all came in good faith and with an open mind. Mr. George Fernandes telephoned from Lucknow that he would come by the morning flight and he requested the Railway Minister to change the timing from 9 A.M. to 10 A.M. It is on record. Some people were to come in the morning for the negotiations. Suddenly what do we get. We get up the news from Lucknow that Mr. Fernandes had been arrested. Mr. Samar Mukherjee rings me up to telephone me that Mr. Borooh had been arrested; that Mr. Choudhury had been arrested. Then there were telephone calls from various places that arrests had taken place in other places also. Is this not treachery? Is this not a stab on the back? Do you think that people do not know about this? They could have arrested them if negotiations failed; one could have understood. Then I come to the other question. Was any enquiry made about who exposed the letter and who gave the letter which the Prime Minister wrote to the Chief Ministers to be published by the Press? Has anybody enquired into the matter? How did the secret circular issued by the Home Minister on the 7th April come to the hands of other people? It is a calculated step by some people to sabotage the negotiations and create chaotic conditions in the country. In all humility I would urge upon this

House to realise the gravity of the situation. What is going to happen if the Railway strike takes place? It will not be confined to the railwaymen alone. I am concerned with the All India Defence Employees Federation. I have got with me 32 telegrams from various parts of the country asking me to tell them what they should do if the railwaymen go on strike. If there is no negotiated settlement the Central Government employees, the P. & T. employees, the Defence employees and others will not keep quiet. They will definitely fall in line. I may have to issue directives to them to join the strike, if Government behaves in a treacherous manner. Government has been acting in a manner which has shaken the very foundations of our democratic functioning in the country, which has shaken the faith of a common worker in the Government including the Prime Minister. What should we do? Then, there is going to be a country-wide strike. If strike takes place on 8th May, the Defence employees are bound to join them despite DIR, despite MISA and other repressive and coercive measures. I would request the Government to realise the gravity of the situation and the Prime Minister must come out openly, and release all the leaders. If this is done, I can assure that there is bound to be a settlement. With these words, I would now shift to some other points and I would request you kindly to give me some more time.

Sir, about national wage. Is it not possible to have a national wage, to appoint a commission to decide on this? We should decide whether similar wage should be given for similar work. What do we demand? Parity for work, parity keeping in view the need-based minimum wage. What are our needs? There are the recommendations of the Fifteenth Labour Conference. They were unanimous in nature. They are not implementing it. Who is responsible for this? Why do we demand parity? Why do we demand automatic linking of dearness

allowance? Why do we demand bonus, twelve months honest work and thirteen months pay? This is because, the prices had gone up to a great extent and they have not been stabilised at a reasonable level and cheap grain shops have not been opened everywhere. Otherwise, why should we demand all these things? It is a question of hunger and anger meeting together and there is strike in the country. I would request the hon. Minister to let us know, why can't they decide on a national minimum wage, why can't they appoint a commission to decide on a national minimum wage? If the Bonus Review Committee recommends that all the employees of the departmental undertakings should be given bonus, are you prepared to accept that? Is it not before the Bonus Review Committee? Are not these terms of reference before the Bonus Review Committee? Are you prepared to do it? The country expects a reply from them. It is not that when people in the country are not getting much, when crores of people in the country are not getting much, we are demanding at the cost of them. No. I appreciate my hon. friend who said that people who are now getting one rupee a day, should be paid two rupees. But, not at the cost of the Railways. We do not want to pitch the railway employees against others. Whenever we say that there should be a need based minimum wage for Central Government employees, they say 'What about State Government employees?'; they are getting less'. When the State Government employees demand wages, they say 'What about Corporation employees?'; they are getting less' and when the Corporation employees demand a need based minimum wage, they say 'You are employed, but, look towards the Employment Exchanges; people are without jobs'. Is it the way of solving the problems? Sir, I would say, ultimately, a time is approaching in this country, when people have to rely only on two, either Kali Bari or Naxalbari. There is no other way.

Either they will go and pray before the Goddess Kali or they will start believing in Naxalbari. They will take revolvers in their hands and they will try to liquidate those who are holding the country to ransom. This is the only way out. They are losing faith in parliamentary democracy. Once faith in parliamentary democracy is shaken anything can happen.

Then, Sir, I would like to know what steps have been taken to unearth black money. Mr. Ganesh is here. I must congratulate him. He has issued directives to auction the property of a big businessman in Kanpur, Mr. Bagla, because he was not paying income tax. It is to the tune of Rs. 18 lakhs. Who is the Income Tax Commissioner there, who delayed the file ultimately allowing him to go to the Court and seek a stay. Do you think such an officer should remain in the Income Tax Department? I have got proof. This file was delayed and delayed till a stay order was issued. What had happened to the Rs. 31 lakhs due from Ram Ratan Gupta? Who had written off that amount? I must thank the Finance Ministry for reopening that case. What had happened to the Rs. 31 lakhs? If the income tax arrears is to the tune of Rs. 600 crores, if black money, according to the Wanchoo Committee is of the order of Rs. 7,000—Rs. 10,000 crores, why should the other people be deprived of a national minimum wage? What steps have been taken? Are we not leading the country to a state bankruptcy?

I would also request that the exemption limit should be raised. The Select Committee is already working on the Wanchoo Committee Recommendations. But, still Government thought that the rate of direct taxation should be reduced from 97.75 per cent to 77 per cent to avoid evasion. It is very good you have done it, although I am opposed to it. But what about raising the limit for the middle classes, the salaried people. Now the exemption limit has been raised from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 6,000. Not even an upper divi-



[Shri S. M. Banerjee]

sion clerk will get exemption. So, I support Shri Piloo Mody when he says that it should be raised to Rs. 12,000, failing which it should be raised to at least Rs. 10,000, as recommended by the Pay Commission. With these words, I would request the Finance Minister to kindly give us some satisfactory answers to the points raised by us.

Finally, I declared that the railway strike is not politically motivated. I declared that the railway strike cannot be crushed. I declare that the DIR will not be able to crush the railway workers, because once you declare the strike illegal or ban the strike, there will be repercussions all over the country. It should be remembered that wherever in the country strikes have been banned, there have been more strikes. I would again request the Government not to play with the lives of the railway employees. They have stood firmly with the Government, they have shown their loyalty to the Government at all times of crisis, be it in 1962, 1965, or 1972. They are not anti-national. The anti-national people are those who are sitting in the Railway Board, who are sabotaging the negotiations and they should be dealt with accordingly.

With these words, I would urge upon the Finance Minister to give a solution to this problem. I would appeal to the Prime Minister to respond to the call given by the Coordination Committee for a negotiated settlement. If you want an settlement, an honourable settlement, the workers are willing. But we shall not cringe before the Government. If they want a strike, there will be a strike. But once the strike starts, it will not be confined to the railways; it will extend to all the Government employees.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE (Basirhat): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I rise to support the Bill. I am all praise for the Finance Minister, Shri Chavan, who is a very capable man. He has ideas and he is capable of thinking.

But I am going to point out that some imbalance has crept into the Indian economy at a time when he was at the helm of affairs.

I beg to submit that the growth of a healthy India means the growth of all parts of India. It is only when all parts of India are equally developed that we can say that India is really developed. Unfortunately, we find that some parts of India have developed very much at the cost of some other areas, that is to say, some parts of India were neglected too much over the years.

I will give a comparative study of the jute growers of eastern India and the cotton growers of western India to show how the cotton growers of western India have improved their lot year after year while the jute growers of eastern India were going down year after year. I have got here statistics to show that while the price of all commodities grown in the western part of India has gone up considerably, the prices of commodities grown in the eastern part have remained more or less stagnant.

If you take 1961-62 as the base year with the price as Rs. 100 the price of cotton in December, 1973 was Rs. 294, which means an increase of 194 per cent. The price of ground nut, which is grown in western India, was Rs. 326 in December 1973, which is an increase of 226 per cent. The prices of pulses were Rs. 430, edible oils Rs. 348, rice Rs. 266 and wheat Rs. 245. So, the increase in all these cases varies from 166 to 330 per cent or more. Now take jute, which is the only cash crop of eastern India. The price of jute stood at Rs. 123 in December, 1973. It means, it registered a growth of only 23 per cent.

Take tea, another cash crop of eastern India. In December, 1973, its price was Rs. 130. It registered an increase of only 30 per cent. Again, take minerals, another wealth of eastern India. Its price was Rs. 145. It registered an increase of only 45 per cent. This is how the commodities grown in the east did not fetch any

reasonable price and how the commodities grown in the west did fetch a very reasonable price. The cotton growers and the growers of other commodities of the west changed their lot for the better.

Sir, you will be surprised to learn how the textile industry of the west was given protection. Every year, it was gaining from strength to strength. In 1947, to give more protection to the textile industry of India, an import duty was imposed, that is, to give protection to the indigenous industry. An import duty of only 5 per cent *ad valorem* was imposed in 1927, in 1930, the rate of import duty was increased from 5 per cent to 15 per cent. In 1931, it was increase from 15 per cent to 31 per cent. In 1932, the import duty was raised to 50 per cent to give protection to the textile industry of India. In 1952, an import duty of 100 per cent was imposed. Then, in the next year, all textile imports were banned.

All this was done in the interest of cotton growers of the west, in the interest of those persons engaged in the manufacture of cotton textiles and in the interest of those persons engaged as workers and labourers in the textile industry.

What about jute? Not only no import duty was imposed, not only no encouragement was given to get more price for jute, on the other hand, a duty was imposed to see that jute does not fetch a reasonable price in the international market. In 1916, only a duty of Rs. 16 was imposed on jute goods exports. In 1946, it was only Rs. 80. In 1949, it was increased to Rs. 350. In 1950, it was raised to Rs. 1500. In 1974, it has come down to Rs. 600 per tonne. The result is that while the cotton growers or groundnut cultivators got reasonable prices for their commodities, the jute growers of the east did not get a reasonable price. Therefore, their lot was not changed and it was changed only for the worse.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I hope,  
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you are aware that you are given five minutes.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: I am finishing.

Then, Sir, about the jute growers of the east—you have also some experience of them—they suffered and this year....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You started with jute and you now come back to jute. You want to give all figures. I do not know how you are going to end your speech.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: I do not think I have done justice to the subject. But since you want me to finish, I would only touch one or two points....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have already taken nearly 10 minutes.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: I am concluding.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Make your suggestions for the Minister's consideration.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: The other day no less a person than the Chief Minister of West Bengal came out with a statement that, in the matter of granting licences for expansion of industries, Maharashtra has been given a special preference and the States of the Eastern Region have been neglected over the years. That statement came out....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Do not read that.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: I am not reading it out.

The Industrial Development Minister, in reply to one of my questions on 27 March 1974 came out with so a horrifying statement. My question was: what was the number of industrial estates and sheds functioning in West Bengal, Gujarat and Maharashtra and small scale industrial units reported working on the 31st December,

[Shri A. K. M. Ishaque]

1973. From the reply to this question you will find how East has been discriminated and how all attention has been paid to the West to develop West....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please conclude.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: I will conclude after reading the answer.

The answer was this. The number of estates functioning in West Bengal was 5, the number of sheds functioning in West Bengal was 97...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You might as well pass this on to the Minister

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: I will not take more than one minute.

The number of units functioning in West Bengal was 73. In the case of Gujarat, the number of estates functioning was 57, about 12 times; the number of sheds functioning was 1935, about 20 times; the number of units functioning was 2,483, about 30 times. In the case of Maharashtra, the number of estates functioning was 51, the number of sheds functioning was 1,647, the number of units functioning was 1,565. This is the imbalance that has been created in the Indian economy. The hon. Finance Minister is a very able man. We only wish that, under his able leadership, India grows in a balanced way; all the zones of India get his sympathy and attention.

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA (Eluru): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I support the Finance Bill, and I want to make only a few observations suggesting in various ways the agricultural development in our country which is the basic economy of our country. Even now 80 per cent of our population is dependent on agricultural income. Unless we develop agriculture and agro-industries, unless the rural economy is developed, we cannot say that our country is developed, we cannot claim

that we have done our duty. In the Finance Minister's speech he has said that, while every effort has been made to provide resources to stimulate industrial production, the requirements of agricultural sector have not been met. By establishing industries round about cities, is it possible to develop agro-industries in rural areas? Can you satisfy the rural people? My hon. friend, Mr. Ishaque, was speaking about jute. In Calcutta city people are enjoying all the benefits of jute production. What about jute growers? They are not getting a fair price. Unless you give fair prices to the growers, you will not be doing justice to the growers—of any crop, including jute.

I now come to rice and paddy. The other day the Agriculture Minister, announcing the wheat policy, has said that they are taking care of mill mazdoor and the urban people. What about the producers in the villages? As my friend, Mr. Chintamani Panigrahi, has said, we, small producers, are not getting for our produce the fixed price in the open market. The agricultural labour is not getting the fixed price for the product which he produces by giving his blood—including sugar and rice. You should bring all these under cooperative and Government sectors. Do not depend on the private merchants. They only deceive the people.

Regarding procurement our State of Andhra Pradesh has given 6 lakhs tonnes of rice to the Central Rice pool. Our basic inputs are fertilisers. In my one district alone we were using nearly 1 lakh tonnes of fertilisers but the whole of Andhra Pradesh has been allotted only 1,75,000 tonnes. Our Deputy Chief Minister came and met the Central Agriculture Minister and other central officials. In spite of that, the Government sanctioned only an additional 10,000 tonnes. Unless you supply us at least 50 per cent of our fertiliser requirements, you cannot expect that the farmer will give you all that he produces at your fixed rate.

So, please consider this matter again and supply us our requirements of fertilisers.

Everywhere we are going in for land reforms and so many other reforms, but our people are not being reformed. Everybody says price-rise, price-rise. But who is responsible? Why do you encourage the sale of foreign smuggled goods in your super markets? Only the superiors in the cities are going to the super markets and purchase all these things and thereby raise the prices. Only the people who are getting the salaries raise the prices. They are responsible for the price-rise and not the producers in the villages. Do not put the smuggled goods in the market. Send it to some other countries. You are encouraging these smuggled goods in our country. Who are responsible for putting them in the super bazar? For whom are the super bazars? Only for the superiors. No ordinary man goes there and purchases these things. You are wasting money on the super bazars in the cities. What about the rural people who produce all the commodities? They cannot purchase anything. We are not getting proper rice or sugar or any commodity.

Lastly, Sir, you know there was an agitation in Andhra Pradesh in 1970. They said it was politically motivated. It was aimed at removing the backwardness of certain areas while certain other areas prospered and also for the removal of the disparity between the cities and rural areas. Finally, we arrived at a settlement on the advice of the Government here on their assurances that they will set right everything as also the disparity in the job opportunities. There was an agreement. They said that schemes for the development of all such areas will have to be drawn up and resources required for implementing such schemes should be ear-marked not only out of the general resources of the State Plan but also out of the special assistance from the Centre. But, Sir, not even one crore has been given so far for the implementation of this

agreement. Our Chief Minister is coming here shortly. They are also worried about the central assistance outside the Plan.

Lastly, a word about the rural economy of Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. With regard to nationalisation of sugar industry, there are differences of opinion. But you are already committed to nationalisation of sugar factories. We are also committed to limit the urban properties but no action is taken. You simply talk and talk about land-reforms which has become a cheap slogan in the villages.

They are not bothered. We are prepared. One or two gentlemen here and there may lose some land. All the MPs are prepared for that and nobody is bothered about it. Without knowing the facts they say every MP from Andhra is a *Kulak*. But, the Andhra landlord does not even possess a tractor just like his counterpart in the Punjab. We have no capacity even to purchase tractors. Please do not think that every Andhra is a *Kulak* or a big landlord. We are prepared for any reforms. But people sitting here and getting Rs. 51 a day claim that they are socialists and talk of socialist reforms.

15 hrs.

Only by slogans or by resolutions you cannot claim any achievement. Achievement can only be by putting the policy into practice.

We, from our party, particularly, appeal through you, to my party people to put their programme of land-reforms into action to the country.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Barupal. He is not here. Now, the Minister.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, it was good that this day was specially allocated for the discussion of the Finance Bill.

[Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan].

I must say that I heard to-day, in the course of the debate, some of the finest speeches in this debate.

Naturally, when the Finance Bill is being considered in the present context, it is very legitimate and natural that general economic issues also come in and criticisms are made in the course of the discussion. If we merely go by clauses as such in the Finance Bill, there cannot be enough scope for discussing the issues at present. Major economic issues in the present economic context were discussed, criticised and some suggestions were also made. I do not want to go into details of those things because, they were also discussed at the time when the General Budget discussion took place. I have tried to give them some of our own views and some of our clarifications about certain things.

I would, certainly, like to deal with some of the general issues which were raised to-day in the course of the debate before I come to the specific suggestions made in the Finance Bill as such.

The main point made about the budget covering the economic policy and the taxation policy is that there is some sort of reversal of policies. Shri Shyam Babu tried to formulate it or rather he expounded a theory of reversal not only of economic policy but also reversal of political policy and the general approach of the Government towards it. Shri Vajpayee made a reference in the course of his speech to one of my budget speeches in the year 1971, I think. If I have understood him rightly he said that we have not got a consistent approach on our tax policy. At that time, we increased the personal income-tax from 83 per cent or 84 per cent. to 93 per cent. and then we increased it to 97 per cent. Now we have come back to 77 per cent in the personal income-tax. At the same time, he also said that in economic matters, one should not go by sentiments but by certain logic. I really do not see the logic behind the two pro-

positions. I would like to clear one thing that as far as our commitments to our basic policies are concerned, those commitments stand and we have not made any departure from those policies. Some of the concessions had to be made. I would like to make a distinction between the two propositions. Shri Vajpayee said that there should be some sort of *sidhant* or some special *vyavhar*. We certainly have tried to do something in these matters. At the same time we are not taking any doctrinaire approach in these matters. I concede these distinctions between the two propositions but we do emphasise that, on the question of more taxation in the personal income, we must make an effort to remove the disparity between the incomes of the highest paid and the lowest paid. This was, really speaking, the approach behind it. We would certainly stand by that even now. The steps we have taken today are not taking leave of that principles. It is really speaking an experimental measure taken to see how we can meet the greatest menace in the tax sphere, that is, menace of evasion of tax. It is meant for that. Shyam Babu made a reference to appointing committees on direct taxes and Shri Vajpayee said what has happened to change the thing in-between. What has happened is we have seen the monster of evasion of tax which is the mother of black-money. As such, it has to be fought and fought systematically. It is not merely enough to raise certain slogans against us and blame 'a' or 'b' individually or 'a' or 'b' party. It is a question of trying to find out how we can resist this monster. This is one of the suggestions made by people who were entrusted with the duty to advise us and they were high-placed people, people with certain economic experience and people with certain administrative experience, and they made a suggestion let us make an attempt on reducing the direct taxes.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISRA:**  
Are you convinced that they will make honest declarations?

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** This is an experimental measure and we certainly go on this principle.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** Why make an experiment with a bias towards the rich people?

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** It is not a question of experimenting. It is not meant to give benefit to those people. It is meant to take away the incentive for evasion. It depends on how you look at it. You look at it from the point of view of certain concessions being given to a particular income group. Not at all. It is with a view to take away the incentive for evasion. This is what has prompted us. There is no question of departing from our policy. But, Sir, if we merely take a certain regimented or a fixed position without taking into consideration certain new situations that are developing then here you would say people will certainly have to leave their corpses behind. This is how Shri Vajpayee tried to explain. Naturally, we are dealing with economic situation in this country and we have to take into consideration what actualities are and what realities are. How can we implement those policies. And to that extent certain changes are being brought about. These are tactical changes and not changes in principle.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** Like the wheat take-over policy.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** Now, what is the principle behind take-over? The main idea behind all this—as I understand it—is that in the case of essential commodities like food we have to see that there is enough stocks with us to go round for the distribution system. We have not given up the principle in that case also. Public distribution system has to succeed if at all there is any principle. If you try to find out what are the objectives of a policy and what is its relevance to the present economic situation then try to judge a policy on those criteria. If you merely go by

the fact that once you had taken over wheat and now you are giving it up—We have not given it up completely to the private trader. The agency of Government purchases is there and it is meant to be implemented.

I entirely agree with the hon. Members on one point, that is, the present economic situation is certainly a difficult and a serious situation. I quite agree with them. But I do not join the song of songs that all over there is a very deep crisis and we are going to be overwhelmed by that crisis. I do not believe in that. Certainly, there is the difficulty of inflation, as some hon. Members have said. I have myself given some information on the floor of the House and I would say that certainly the inflation is of a very serious nature. It is there. But if we see the world, perhaps there is no country in the world today except certain socialist countries where there is no inflation. Even the great country to which my hon. friend referred....

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** Converted to the Prime Minister's philosophy now.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** I am telling him our position. I am not merely philosophizing but I am giving him facts. Except a few countries, the rest of the whole world is at the present moment suffering from inflation. Even the highly technological and highly developed country to which my hon. friend Shri Pilloo Mody was pleased to make a reference, namely the USA also suffers from inflation. It is much more than four per cent today. I do not exactly know what it is because it must be changing from day to day, and therefore, I do not want to stick myself to any particular figure. I do not say that what is happening in this country is entirely due to the international forces but certainly the international forces have something to contribute to our present position. I am glad that some Members at least from the Opposition side have said

[Yeshwantrao Chavan]

so. Prof. Mavalankar was to that extent more realistic. He has conceded that it would be wrong to put the entire blame at the doors of the Government. For the first time, I heard a statement which was rather a balanced one from a Member of the Opposition.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** He is not here; he cannot be punished.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** The hon. Minister was not present in the House when I said that just as rise in prices was a world phenomenon, similarly rise in wages was also a world phenomenon, and rise in wages in many countries was also related to rise in prices.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** He has said so but he did not come to the conclusion to which Shri Mavalankar had reached. I am giving a compliment to him for the conclusion that he had reached.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** I am not saying that. I say that it is not a world phenomenon only in relation to prices but the wages have also been rising up. But the hon. Minister has never referred to that world phenomenon.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** We can discuss that matter also.

The major point is the question of inflation and the question of money supply. These are the economic arguments which are always given to explain the reason for the inflation. But both the question of money supply and the question of inflation ultimately are linked up with the production processes in the country. Do my hon. friends deny this position? If that be so, can they just put the blame entirely on certain policies of the Government here? Many people say that money supply is at fault. What exactly does it mean? The problem of money supply arises when there is no relationship between the money supply and the production. It is only then

that money supply becomes really money supply. Unfortunately in this country during the last two or three years when we mentioned drought or when we mentioned Bangla Desh, it was not for the fancy of it that we were mentioning them. These had created certain conditions and affected certain productive forces in this country.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** But why did he ignore production activity, investment activity and planning? Money supply could have been increased but it could have been related to planning, development and all the rest of it.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** Many people had said that as a result of the restriction on the supply we had starved certain productive processes. But there were certain emergent situations, and when you have to deal with those emergent situations and you have to invest money for that purpose, that would certainly mean encroachment on the money supply. As a responsible leader in this country what answer would my hon. friend have, if there were a drought in this country? I have asked this question many times on the floor of the House. If there were drought conditions in the country involving nearly ten million people, what answer would he give to the people and the States? The basic argument today is that whatever be the position, whenever people are in difficulty, we must be with the people. Here, when nearly ten million people were in difficulties, what would have been our responsibility?

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** Provide for both, provide both for the calamity and for planning and development.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** I would claim that this is exactly what we have done.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** He has not. That is the difficulty.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:**  
My claim is that we have provided for both, and whatever was provided for these emergent situations which were not linked up with the production processes, was reflected in the money supply. This is my position about this matter.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:**  
Even this year, the investment programme in real terms is of the same order as that of the last year.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:**  
I have myself said so. This is not something new he is saying.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:**  
How is it in planning?

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:**  
The major point is that we selected certain vital sectors for investment. That really speaking, is going ultimately to meet the problem of inflation and money supply.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:**  
Therefore, you have shortages in all vital sectors.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:**  
I do not want to carry on a debate like this.

On the question of deficit financing, which is also linked up with this, we did make last year efforts to economise. We certainly, introduced certain measures by way of selective credit control. Certain new policies and credit restrictions were also resorted to. I find that they certainly produced some results. In the last Budget I had mentioned the figure of deficit financing at Rs. 650 crores. It has been now established that it is about Rs. 320 crores, instead of Rs. 650 crores.

**SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE:** An improvement.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:**  
This is an improvement. Things which looked rather grim are no longer so.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:**  
Even so, it is a very strange thing that prices are behaving as they do.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:**  
That is because there are certain elements of international inflation and certain deficiencies in local production. If you analyse the price structure at the present moment—prices are certainly increasing from time to time, from day to day—the major culprits in this matter are the food items and industrial raw materials, raw materials either of our own production or those we import. If we import them, to that extent, we import inflation. This is the position today. Whatever we import today from the international market, it is importing nothing else but inflation. In the local sphere, our production of wage goods, which, really speaking, is the major factor to control prices, has been affected.

These are the problems. If at all you want to give co-operation, we want to seek the co-operation of the opposition parties; I do not think we have ever taken the position that we do not want the co-operation of the opposition parties. But if you really intend to give co-operation, it is in these fields that we would welcome it.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:**  
As if we are to knock at your door offering our co-operation.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:**  
I do not want to indulge in these exchanges.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:**  
Do you really mean to seek our co-operation.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:**  
If at all co-operation is needed, certainly at the political level, the Opposition may not agree with us on all the issues; it is not possible for them to agree with us, but at least on the economic issues, these are the issues where co-operation is needed and if you mean to give co-operation, it is needed in these fields. To help the productive forces in this country, co-operation is invited.



**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:**  
You have not been engaged in productive activity at all. Why do you ask our co-operation? You have given planning a holiday. Revive planning, revive productive activity, revive investment.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:**  
If you want to give an excuse not to give co-operation, you can; I do not mind.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:**  
Better do not continue the controversy.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:**  
He wanted to offer co-operation.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:**  
Now he does not want co-operation.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:**  
The Prime Minister speaks of the politics of disruption I say we are fighting the politics of corruption. That is what I said.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:**  
Merely using such words will not convince anyone.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:**  
From 46 Ministers, you have brought down the number to 13 in Bihar. Who is responsible for corruption? Ministers. It is the Central leaders and the Prime Minister, for appointing all these corrupt Ministers who have been dropped now.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Nobody here is responsible for Bihar.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:**  
I thought we were discussing economic matters. I do not want to convert it into a political debate and go into those controversial matters. I do not want to do it.

These are the basic things which were raised by some members. I thought I should make a mention of these before I proceeded to the actual clauses of the Finance Bill.

There are only two or three points made about the Finance Bill. I have already dealt with one because it related to a political argument adduced from one party to the other that the new steps that we have taken at reduction in the level of taxes of certain groups is a surrender to monopoly houses. I would like to refute this allegation. I explained what exactly has prompted us to take this position. We will certainly watch this, how it functions. Ultimately, the final view can be taken at any time by the Government.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:**  
Only one of the two things could be right. If 97 per cent was right, and also now 77 per cent is right, then, what is wrong? Both 97 per cent and 77 per cent cannot be right!

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:**  
You are good student of logic. 97 per cent was right when we brought it; 77 per cent is right when we have brought it in. What is the argument about it? Ultimately, for what makes it right or wrong, there is a reason behind it. What makes them right or wrong, there are reasons behind it. Ultimately, if we get some kind of collection, and if we control the incentive for the evasion, I think the purpose is served. It is not merely catching somebody on some words. It is not going to help anybody.

The second argument was, why is it that we are not increasing the level of exemption....

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:**  
Mr. Piloo Mody wants to defend you.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:**  
Mr. Piloo Mody would defend you.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:**  
Many times he defends you and so let him take some sort of satisfaction that he is defending me sometimes!

The other argument was, why not raise the exemption limit from Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 7,500? My good friend, Mr Piloo Mody—now I am sure—would not defend me here. Then the argument was, why not take it to Rs. 12,500? That is not the end of it. They asked, why 12,000 and why not 20,000 (*Interruptions*).

SHRI PILOO MODY: Keep it at the same level as it was six to 10 years ago.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: You cannot do that.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: There was inflation, and after the pay Commission's recommendations you increased the limit.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Inflation is not something which has come to stay permanently. Your argument is based on inflation; inflation is a passing phase. (*Interruptions*).

AN HON. MEMBER: There is the Boothalingam Committee report also.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: First, the limit was Rs. 5,000. Then the salaries were raised. And then you raised it to Rs. 6,000.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Are you against it?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: I am not against it; but I am not for it either. This is what I am saying. We are not against many things. But the question is what we can do today.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Why can't you do it?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: I explained it to you. Because it would be drawing away a large number of tax-payers from the list of tax payers.

SHRI PILOO MODY: That is good.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: What is good? Those who can contribute to the national exchequer, we do not want to exempt them. It is no use doing that. We want people, those who have personal taxation, to contribute something to the national exchequer.

SHRI PILOO MODY: How much money?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: It is not money; it is the number of people also that is much more important. The base of taxation is equally important.

SHRI PILOO MODY: The base of taxation is universal with indirect taxes.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: We are not talking about indirect taxes. We are talking about direct taxation. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: If you forgive me for one interruption; in your system, is it equity that those who are affected the most are not getting the relief and that those who have benefited the most are getting the relief?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: As a result of this no-reduction, I would like to tell you that all the levels are benefited.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: In an inflationary situation, you say that all the levels are benefited? In a situation of shortage, it is only the traders, the businessmen, the industrialists, who benefit the most, and it is to that class that you have given relief, and you are not proposing to give relief to the others.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: This is what I was trying to say: that though it has come down from 97 per cent to 77 per cent, as a matter of fact, the reduction is available to all the levels. When you reduce the

[Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan].

level of taxation—(Interruptions)—it is a certain step that we are taking when we say that it is now from 97 per cent to 77 per cent, the *pro-rata* advantage is to all sections, all levels of the people. (Interruptions) This is an arithmetical proposition. Those who were paying more will get a little more. This is true. Those who are paying more will get probably a little more. This is a fact of life; it is an arithmetical fact of life.

Mr. Salve said that at the income level of 10—20 thousand the reliefs that were being given were somewhat irrational. I wish he were here.

SHRI S. R. DAMANI (Sholapur): I also made that point.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Shri Damani also made that point. He referred to the relief in income (6—20 thousand) and he said that at the level of Rs. 7,500, the relief could be Rs. 77 whereas at the level of Rs. 10,000 it will be Rs. 22. Let us see the background in which the proposed tax structure has been evolved. The tax liability of persons having income upto Rs. 10,000 has all along been reduced during the last 10 years while the tax liability in respect of incomes between 10-20 thousand has considerably increased during the years 1969-70 to 1973-74. Here, I have got a statement showing the comparative incidence of income tax at selected levels of income payable by a married individual with two or more dependent children for assessment years 1969-70 and 1975-76 which is the year with which the Finance Bill is concerned. Suppose at the level of Rs. 5,000 the tax liability of such a person in 1969-70 was Rs. 11, in 1975-76 it will be nil. The reduction is Rs. 11. In the case of a person with an income of Rs. 7,000, the tax liability will come down from Rs. 231 in 1969-70 to Rs. 132 in 1975-76, there will be a reduction of Rs. 99. At the level of Rs. 8,000 as against Rs. 341 he will now be paying Rs. 264, thus he gets a

reduction of Rs. 77. At the level of Rs. 10,000, the reduction he gets is Rs. 33. Because, formerly he was supposed to pay Rs. 561 and he will be paying Rs. 528. I find that from Rs. 10,000 onwards the level of reduction is the same. Even at Rs. 20,000 he gets a reduction of Rs. 33. This is the explanation.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: This is progressive taxation.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: It is so, what else is it?

SHRI S. R. DAMANI: Last year the rate of taxation on an income of Rs. 12,000 was 10 per cent. This year when there is a reduction at all the levels at this slab the rate has been increased by 2 per cent.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Do not go by percentages. I gave the actual figures which have been worked out. Percentages in terms of averages do not give a clear picture. Percentages do not lead anywhere. Mr. Sanghi referred to the recommendations of the Wanchoo Committee to make the Board of Direct Taxes into an independent body. It is not administratively possible or even feasible. Even for the sake of taxation system it is not beneficial. What is the purpose of the Board. To plan for efficient tax collection, and implement the policy of the Government in regard to taxation. This is an implementing body. How can you keep an administrative body, completely independent of a policy making body, which is Government? As far as the judicial part of it, the implementation side of it, is concerned, it is certainly independent. The tribunals and the courts which interpret the taxation laws are certainly independent. But, in regard to the Board, we could not agree with this eminent body, the enquiry committee headed by Shri Wanchoo. This is not a practical proposition. This is not a proposition at all, ac-

ording to me. Therefore, we could not accept it. I thought I should give the reasons. I have tried to deal with the broader aspects of the criticisms that were levelled during the course of the debate and I would request...

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** Why have you allowed deduction on interest rates for paying taxes? You have allowed deduction on interest rates on loans for paying taxes. Why have you allowed that?

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** When we come to that, possibly we will argue that point.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** In both the Houses, you know very well, many Members have brought it to your notice that both from the point of view of workers and industries in the processing sector, there has been a differential in the excise duty and as a result of a differential of seven paise a lot of workers in the power oriented industries in the processing sector are likely to be thrown out and many Members have approached you in this connection. In the course of the Budget discussion, this issue was focussed. I would very much like you to make some comment on that.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** I thought it was a very obvious point and I should not refer to it. I have noted the point. You have observed that the Budget proposals relating to cotton fabrics have widened the already existing margin in favour of the hand processing industries. This was your point. According to him, the extent of increase in excise duty on power processed cotton fabrics is about ten paise per running metre whereas the increase in the case of hand proposed fabrics is only three paise per running metre. I am summarising your arguments. He, therefore, urged that the incidence of duty on cotton fabrics, hand processed or with the aid of power, should be equalised. Sir, as part of this year's Budget proposals, the rate of duty

on super fine and fine fabrics mercerised with the aid of power has been increased by nine paise per sq. metre. The extent of increase in the standard effective rate in the case of hand processed cotton fabrics is of the order of five paise per sq. metre. However, most of the hand processing units avail of the compounded levy procedure. In the case of compounded levy rates, the increase has been from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,500 per cintering machine and from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 5,000 per mercerised machine per month. Sometimes, the compound levy procedure is available only to hand processing units. You better take note of this fact. This increase in absolute terms works out not to ten paise but to about 2.5 paise per sq. metre. The extent of increase in duty on power processed fabrics is thus higher by six paise per sq. metre. This is the actual working. I hope these facts will satisfy him.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** One point about which I asked,— about self-reliance—whether you have not requested the Aid India Consortium to give you at least 10 per cent more aid every year over the next five years? What amount of aid have you now sought from the Aid India Consortium so that we can judge your programme of self reliance?

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** The main point is, we have yet to meet the Aid India Consortium countries. What you have read is the assessment by the World Bank which works for this particular purpose. It is the World Bank agency, which, really speaking, does the work of sponsoring all these activities. They have made some assessment about the Indian economy, according to them, right or wrong. But, they do it with a view to helping India.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** How does it fit in with the programme of self-reliance? You say that you will reach a particular position

[Shri Shyamnandan Mishra]

at the end of the Fifth Plan. Are we to understand that it is given up?

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** It has not been given up. It is wrong to say that it has been given up.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** You be truthful. You say that you have not given it up but that it will take a little longer time. Say something like that.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** If you want to satisfy yourself by saying the same thing again, I do not mind it. But I would like to say that we certainly want to follow our policy of self-reliance, and follow it energetically too.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** You are not following it.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN** At the same time, when new situations come, we cannot shut our eyes to that. But that does not mean that we are giving up our self-reliance policy. The word "aid" is somewhat misleading. By aid we mean some credit facilities. We can replace these commitments by increasing our own export trade. If we get a better share in the world trade, to that extent these commitments can be fulfilled. It does not mean that we are giving up our self-reliance commitment.

**SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH** (Nandyal): The Finance Minister has not said anything about correcting the regional imbalance. Now the assistance and incentives that have been offered by the Government to the backward areas are not being made full use of by the local entrepreneurs because of lack of infra-structure and also because of the restrictions imposed by the financial institutions for the grant of credit, which more than offset the incentives which you give. The result is that the economic distortion continues.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** I had dealt with this point in detail while replying to the debate on the discussion of the general budget. If you analyse the working of the financial institutions like the LIC or other bodies, you will see that more and more credit has been taken to the so far undeveloped areas. The number of units that are being helped and the volume of amounts which is being given to these units is gradually increasing. But the financial institutions cannot work miracles overnight. They can go to an area where the infra-structure is already available. The creation of infra-structure is the basic function of planned development. That certainly takes its own time. Naturally, when the Plan was prepared, special emphasis was given to this. If you carefully try to read the Fifth Plan, you will see that special emphasis has been given to this.

Then, very recently we have moved a Bill, which has gone to the Select Committee—in fact, the Select Committee has already reported back to the House—whereby we are giving several financial incentives in terms of cash to those industries which would like to go to the backward areas. Whatever development rebate was available before, though the same thing is not being made available as a substitute some special concessions have been thought of, and they have been given to all the industries going to the backward areas. Even those industries which are existing at the moment in advanced areas, if they want to go to the backward areas, these concessions would be available. So, you cannot say that we are completely unmindful of this problem.

**SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH:** The local entrepreneurs are not able to take advantage of the incentives offered, because they could not get

credit from the financial institutions with the result that these industries in backward areas are started only by the industrialists who come from affluent areas.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** I do not want to dispute that. But, as a practical man, you are interested in the development of the backward areas. If you want to develop local entrepreneurship, you will have to do something more; merely asking the financial institutions to give credit will not help. Getting the right type of local entrepreneurs is the most difficult job. For that we will have to make some other effort and not merely making some policy decisions.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** The question is:

"That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 1974-75, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Now, we take up clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill...

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** क्लाज वाई क्लाज लेने से पहले फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर से पूछ लिया जाये एक्साइज ड्युटी में कोई कमी कर रहे हैं, पोस्टकार्ड का कामत जो बड़ा दी है वह कम कर रहे हैं—कुछ तो एलान करे।

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** You can ask these questions at the third reading stage of the Bill. Not now. You are going back. We have finished that stage. Let us not do something. Which is irregular.

There is no amendment to Clauses 2 and 3. So, I put them to the vote of the House.

The question is:

"That Clauses 2 and 3 stand part of the Bill"

*The motion was adopted.*

Clauses 2 and 3 were added to the Bill.

Clause 4.—(Amendment of action 16)

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** There is an amendment by Shri N. K. Sanghi. Is he moving?

**SHRI N. K. SANGHI:** Yes, I beg to move\*:

Page 9,—

for lines 12 to 27, substitute—

'(a) for clause (i), the following clause shall be substituted, namely:—

"(i) any amount not exceeding 3,500 rupees calculated on the basis provided hereunder, namely:—

(a) when the income is assessed under the head 'Salaries' and does not exceed Rs. 10,000 20 per cent of such income assessed under the head 'Salaries';

(b) when the income assessed under the head 'Salaries' exceeds Rs. 10,000 Rs. 2,000 plus 10 per cent of the amount by which the income assessed under the head 'Salaries' exceeds Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 3,500 whichever is less." (57)

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** I put that to the vote of the House.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAEYEE:** What is his amendment about? Is he not going to say something about it?

**SHRI N. K. SANGHI:** I want to make a few submissions on my Amendment No. 57.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** The Members on this side are more anxious to hear you than you are anxious to make your submission.

**SHRI N. K. SANGHI:** Sir, as a matter of simplification, some changes have been made in the present Bill. Certain deductions were allowed in the previous year, like, for travel to work by car and other vehicles. An allowance of Rs. 200 used to be deducted for cars, Rs. 75 for scooters and motor cycles and Rs. 50 for other methods. Then, certain deductions were also allowed for the purchase of books upto Rs. 500.

Now, a new method of deduction has been devised instead of the above. Any person who is drawing salary upto Rs. 10,000 gets a deduction of 20 per cent and any person drawing above Rs. 10,000 gets a deduction of 10 per cent subject to the maximum of Rs. 3,500. My submission in this matter is this. It has been mentioned in the Bill that it will be allowed in respect of expenditure incidental to the employment assesses. What I would like to submit is that the pensioners also get salary. They are debarred from getting this deduction. They have been getting this deduction in the previous year. The pensioners who also get salary have to travel for their own work, they have their own hobbies and they also purchase books.

So, I would request the Finance Minister to accept my amendment. Since their payment is also treated as salary, the same deduction should be allowed to pensioners also. This may be accepted so that the advantage of deduction of 20 per cent upto Rs. 10,000 salary and, above Rs. 10,000, a deduction of 10 per cent subject to the maximum of Rs. 3,500 is also available to the pensioners. We should not debar them because their salary payments are also getting very much reduced due to inflation.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** Under the provisions of the Bill as

drafted, the standard deductions will be available in the case of salaried assesses without any verification as to whether any expenditure is actually incurred for that purpose. To this extent, according to me, the amendment is unnecessary.

As far as the pensioners are concerned, no deduction is allowed to them in computing their pension even under the existing law. This is because no expenditure is required to be incurred by them for getting their pensions as such. When there is no expenditure required to secure the pension, I do not think this amendment is necessary.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Now, I put the amendment to the vote of the House.

**AN HON. MEMBER:** He is not pressing.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Then, he has to withdraw it.

**SHRI N. K. SANGHI:** With the pleasure of the House. I want to withdraw my amendment.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Does he have the pleasure of the House to withdraw his amendment?

**SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS:** Yes.

*Amendment No. 57 was, by leave, withdrawn*

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** The question is:

"That clause 4 stand part of the Bill"

*The motion was adopted*

*Clauses 4 was added to the Bill*  
Clause 5—(Amendment of Section 36)

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** There is an amendment by Government.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** I am moving it.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Why don't you also withdraw it?

\* \*

Amendment made:

Page 10, line 15,—

after "State Financial Corporations Act, 1951,"

insert—

"or an institution deemed under section 46 of that Act to be a Financial Corporation established by the State Government for the State within the meaning of that Act." (98)

(Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"That Clause 5, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted.*

Clause 5, as amended, was added to the Bill

Clauses 6 and 7 were also added to the Bill

Clause 8—(Amendment of section 80N)

Amendment Made\*\*:

Page 12,—

For lines 18 to 24, substitute—

"total income of the assessee is received in Convertible foreign exchange in India, or having been received in convertible foreign exchange outside India, or having been converted into convertible foreign exchange outside India, is brought into India by or on behalf of the assessee in accordance with any law for the time being in force for regulating payments and dealings in foreign exchange, there shall be allowed a deduction of the whole of the income so received in, or brought into India shall be substituted

and shall be deemed to have been substituted with effect from the 1st day of April, 1969." (99)

(Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan)

Amendment made\*\*.

Page 12,—

after line 24, insert—

'(c) the following Explanation shall be inserted, and shall be deemed to have been inserted, at the end, with effect from the 1st day of April, 1969, namely:—

"Explanation.—For the purposes of this section,—

(i) 'convertible foreign exchange' means foreign exchange which is for the time being treated by the Reserve Bank of India as convertible foreign exchange for the purposes of the law for the time being in force for regulating payments and dealings in foreign exchange;

'(ii) any income used by the assessee outside India in the manner permitted by the Reserve Bank of India shall be deemed to have been brought into India in accordance with the law for the time being in force for regulating payments and dealings in foreign exchange, on the date on which such permission is given.'" (100)

(Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"That Clause 8, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted.*

Clause 8, as amended, was added to the Bill.

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\*\*Amendment made with the recommendation of the President.



[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER]

Clause 9—(Amendment of Section 800)

Amendment made\*\*.

Page 12,—

for lines 26 to 36, substitute—

(a) in sub-section (1) :—

(i) for the words "there shall be allowed, in accordance with and subject to the provisions of this section, a deduction of the whole of such income", the words "and such income is received in convertible foreign exchange in India, or having been received in convertible foreign exchange outside India, or having been converted into convertible foreign exchange outside India, is brought into India, by or on behalf of the assessee in accordance with any law for the time being in force for regulating payments and dealings in foreign exchange, there shall be allowed, in accordance with and subject to the provisions of this section, a deduction of the whole of the income so received in, or brought into, India" shall be substituted and shall be deemed to have been substituted with effect from the 1st day of April, 1972;

(ii) the following *Explanation* shall be inserted and shall be deemed to have been inserted at the end, with effect from the 1st day of April, 1972, namely:—

"*Explanation.*—The provisions of the *Explanation* to section 80N shall apply for the purposes of this section as they apply for the purposes of that section". (101).

(Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"That Clause 9, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted*

*Clause 9, as amended, was added to the Bill*

Clauses 10 to 12 were added to the Bill.

Clause 13—(Consequential amendments to certain sections).

Amendment made:\*\*

Page 16, for line 24, substitute—

'13(1) The following amendment (being an amendment of a consequential nature) shall be made in the income-tax Act, namely:—

In section 155, after sub-section (10), the following sub-sections shall be inserted, namely:—

"(11) Where in the assessment for any year, the deduction under Section 80N in respect of any income, being the whole or any part of Income by way of dividends as is referred to in that section, has not been allowed on the ground that such income has not been received in Convertible foreign exchange in India, or having been received in convertible foreign exchange outside India, or having been converted into convertible foreign exchange outside India has not been brought into India, by or on behalf of the assessee in accordance with any law for the time being in force for regulating payments and dealings in foreign exchange and subsequently such income or part thereof is received in, or brought into India in the manner aforesaid, the Income-tax-Officer shall amend the order of assessment so as to allow deduction under section 80N in respect of such income or part thereof as is so received in, or brought into, India and the provisions of section 154 shall, so far as may be, apply thereto, the period of four years specified in sub-section (7) of that section being reckoned from the date on which such income is so received in, or brought into, India.

(12) Where in the assessment for any year, the deduction under section 80O in respect of any in-

\*\*Amendment made with the recommendation of the President.

come, being the whole or any part of income by way of royalty, commission, fees or any similar payment as is referred to in that section, has not been allowed on the ground that such income has not been received in convertible foreign exchange in India, or having been received in convertible foreign exchange outside India, or having been converted into convertible foreign exchange outside India has not been brought into India, by or on behalf of the assessee in accordance with any law for the time being in force for regulating payments and dealings in foreign exchange and subsequently such income or part thereof is received in, or brought into, India in the manner aforesaid, the income-tax Officer shall amend the order of assessment so as to allow deduction under section 80 O in respect of such income or part thereof as is so received in, or brought into, India and the provisions of section 154 shall, so far as may be, apply thereto, the period of four years specified in sub-section (7) of that section being reckoned from the date on which such income is so received in, or brought into, India.”

(2) The following amendments being amendments of a'. (102)

(Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

“That Clause 13, as amended, stand part of the Bill.”

*The motion was adopted.*

Clause 13, as amended, was added to the Bill.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: There is an amendment by Dr. Karni Singh. He is not here. Then I shall put Clause 14 and Clause 15, to which there are no amendments, together to the vote of the House.

The question is:

“That Clauses 14 and 15 stand part of the Bill.”

*The motion was adopted.*

Clauses 14 and 15 were added to the Bill.

Clause 16—(Continuance of development rebate in certain cases.)

Amendment made\*\*;

Page 21,—

for lines 13 to 16 substitute—

‘(b) any machinery or plant, being coal-fired equipment, or any machinery or plant for converting oil-fired equipment into coal-fired equipment, installed by any assessee after the 31st day of May, 1974 but before the 1st day of June, 1977.

Explanation:—In this clause, “equipment” means a boiler, furnace, kiln, oven or the like.”. (103)

(Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan).

Amendment made\*\*.

Page 21,—

for line 25, substitute—

“or plant, or had, where such machinery or plant has been manufactured in an undertaking owned by the assessee, taken steps for the manufacture of such machinery or plant.”. (104)

(Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

“That Clause 16, as amended, stand part of the Bill.”

*The motion was adopted.*

Clause 16, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Clause 17—(Amendment of section 80O, as originally enacted, of the Income-tax Act).

Amendment made\*\*

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\*\*Amendment made with the recommendation of the President.

Page 21—

for lines 29 to 43, substitute—

[Amendment of section 80 N and 80 O of the Income-tax Act as they stood during certain periods]

17. The provisions of section 80N of the Income-tax Act, as they stood immediately before the 1st day of April, 1969, and the provisions of section 80 O of that Act, as they stood from time to time before the 1st day of April, 1972, shall have and shall be deemed to have had effect subject to the modification that the deduction under the said provisions shall be allowed only with reference to the income referred to therein which is received in convertible foreign exchange in India, or having been received in convertible foreign exchange outside India, or having been converted into convertible foreign exchange outside India, is brought into India, by or on behalf of the assessee in accordance with any law for the time being in force for regulating payments and dealings in foreign exchange.

*Explanation.*—For the purposes of this section,—

(i) "convertible foreign exchange" means foreign exchange which is for the time being treated by the Reserve Bank of India as convertible foreign exchange for the purposes of the law for the time being in force for regulating payments and dealings in foreign exchange;

(ii) any income used by the assessee outside India in the manner permitted by the Reserve Bank of India shall be deemed to have been brought into India in accordance with the law for the time being in force for regulating payments and dealings in foreign exchange, on the date on which such permission is given.' (105)

(Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, the question is:

"That clause 17, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted.*

Clause 17, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Clause 18— (Amendment of Act 32 of 1934)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: There is an amendment by Shri Madhu Limya but he is not there.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: I move\*\*.

Page 22,—

for lines 19 to 21, substitute—

'(5) Every notification issued under sub-section (4) shall, as soon as may be after it is issued be placed before the Lok Sabha for its approval'; (29).

The Finance Bill, clause 18 says:

"Every notification issued under sub-section (4) shall, as soon as may be after it is issued, be laid before each House of Parliament."

My only amendment is that it should be laid before the Lok Sabha for its approval. I do not think any objection can be had to it and I am sure the hon. Minister would accept this amendment of mine because I have accepted many of his.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Wherever the Central Government is satisfied that in the interests of trade including exports it is seen that sometimes there has to be a discontinuance of the preferential rate or sometimes there has to be an increase in the pre-

\*\*Moved with the recommendations of the President.

ferential rate or sometimes it has to be discontinued, but, in that case, the earlier section 4 makes it obligatory for the publication of the notification in the Gazette. The new provision which is sought to be made merely says:

"Every notification issued under sub-section (4) shall, as soon as may be after it is issued, be laid before each House of Parliament.";

This is a very vital matter and it is quite probable that the judgment of the Government may be wrong on such matters and it is better to have a decision from the Parliament and the view of the Parliament will act as a deterrent. It is better that the opinion of the House is made known to the Finance Minister on such matter. So, it is better that such notifications are not merely laid before both Houses of Parliament but they are approved.

In conclusion, I may say that there are a number of provisions, for instance, The Tariff Commission, the Monopolies Commission etc. whose reports are laid on the Table of the House. Of Course, they are elaborate reports and, therefore, it would be wrong to demand that every report is approved. But as far as these notifications are concerned, they will not be elaborate and, therefore, no such restriction is necessary. It is better that the opinion of the Parliament is known to the Finance Minister. Therefore, we are making it obligatory that there should not be merely a reference to the Parliament and not merely it should be laid before the Parliament but there should be an approval also of the Lok Sabha.

I hope the Finance Minister will accept this amendment which accords with the spirit of the Bill.

15.55 hrs.

[SHRI VASANT SATHE in the Chair]

श्री. अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : सभा पति जी, मुझे इस सम्बन्ध में दो शब्द कहने हैं। यद्यपि नियमों के अनुसार और कानून की सीमा में यह आवश्यक है कि इस तरह के जो भी नोटिफिकेशन जारी किये जाते हैं वह सदन के सामने रखे जायें। लेकिन सरकार पर छोड़ दिया है कि वह चाहे जब रखे। ऐज सून पैब पोसिबल का अर्थ बहुत लम्बा समय भी लगाया जा सकता है।

और दूसरी बात यह है कि सरकार को इस सदन की स्वीकृति लेना आवश्यक नहीं है। मेरे ध्यान में एक मामला लाया गया है कि हमारी सरकार ने चांदी के निर्यात की कुछ लोगों को फ़ूट दे दी है। उस के बारे में कोई नोटिफिकेशन जारी नहीं किया जिसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि कुछ पार्टियों का लाभ पहुंचा और बाकी पार्टियां उस से बंचित हो गईं। इस तरह का मामला सरकार के ध्यान में लाया जा चुका है, इस ने एक गोल माल का रूप ल लिया है। मंत्री महोदय इस की जांच का आश्वासन दें तो सारे तथ्य उनके सामने रखूंगा। लेकिन जहां तक संशोधन की परिधि का सवाल है यह संसद की गरिमा बढ़ाने वाला सवाल है। मंत्री महोदय को इस को स्वीकार करने में कोई आपत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिए। बहुमत उन का है। लेकिन यह बहुमत की उपेक्षा करने पर तुले हुए हैं, ऐसा लगता है। अल्पमत की तो उपेक्षा होती ही है, मगर अब बहुमत की भी उपेक्षा हो रही है।

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: May I say that there is no question of hiding anything from Lok Sabha? It is why the provision is made that the notification will be placed on the table of the House.

There will be 300 notifications. I tried to get some census of these things. I am told that every year we issue such notifications of the order of

[Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan.]

300. We do not want that every-day these will have to be considered when Finance Bill is discussed. Under the Rules, as it is, it is the right of a Member. If he wants to raise a discussion on the notification, he is entitled to do it. Therefore, Lok Sabha can certainly take note of it. You raise all sorts of issues. Why don't you raise a discussion on some of the notifications also?

The amendment tries to see that the notification is placed on the table of both Houses—Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. Normally, it should be placed on the table of the Lok Sabha. The approval is necessary only from the Lok Sabha.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall put Amendment No. 29 to the vote of the House.

*Amendment No. 29 was put and negated.*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, the question is:

"That Clause 18 stand part of the Bill"

*The motion was adopted.*

*Clause 18 was added to the Bill.*

MR. CHAIRMAN: There are no amendments to clauses 19 to 21.

The question is:

"That Clauses 19 to 21 stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted.*

*Clauses 19 to 21 were added to the Bill.*

*Clause 22—(Auxiliary duties of excise)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is amendment No. 2 by Shri Limaye. He is not here and so he is not moving.

There is amendment No. 30 by Shri Banerjee. Are you moving:

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: I move\*:

Page 23, line 18,—

for "twenty per cent.", substitute—

"ten per cent." (30)

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is another amendment, No. 31.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: I move\*:

Page 23,—

after line 20, insert—

"Provided that the Notification in respect of these auxiliary duties shall, as soon as may be after it is issued, be placed before the Lok Sabha for approval." (31)

My amendment is that for 20 per cent, it should be substituted by 10 per cent. It has been mentioned in Clause 22(1):

"In the case of goods mentioned in the First Schedule to the Central Excises Act, or in that Schedule as amended from time to time, there shall be levied and collected as an auxiliary duty of excise an amount equal to twenty per cent. of the value of the goods as determined in accordance with the provisions of section 4 of the Central Excises Act."

I want that it should be reduced from 20 per cent to 10 per cent. I want a provision that:

"Provided that the notification in respect of these auxiliary duties shall, as soon as may be after it is issued, be placed before the Lok Sabha for approval."

These are of vital importance that the Lok Sabha should be given a chance to approve it. Previously such a provision was there. The provision should be there that it should be placed before Parliament for approval.

\*Moved with the recommendation of the President.

16 hrs.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** Sir, earlier we pointed out to the hon. Minister that it is better if all of them come before the Lok Sabha for approval. He had suggested the pragmatic approach that if 300 notifications are there it will take lot of time. Sir, it should be left to the sense of the House—as many amendments are accepted without discussion and only on marginal cases discussion is held—only where the decision is likely to be wrong only there the discussion takes place. So, I do not think time will be wasted. It is better the matter comes before the House for approval and, I hope, the Finance Minister will not reject this amendment summarily.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** Sir, it is not a matter of summarily disposing it off. Ultimately the House will dispose it off. Sir, I cannot accept it because I do not think it is reasonable to accept it and I need not repeat the same argument. The one point that Mr. Banerjee made was to substitute 20 by 10. It is really speaking defeating the very purpose of the amendment which we accepted last year. Therefore, I do not think it is possible for me to accept it.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** I shall now put amendments Nos. 30 and 31 to the vote of the House.

*Amendments Nos. 30 and 31 were put and negatived.*

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** The question is:

"That clause 22 stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted.*

*Clause 22 was added to the Bill.*

*Clauses 23 and 24 were added to the Bill.*

**Clause 25—(Amendment of Act 6 of 1898)**

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** There are amendments in the name of Shri Madhu Limaye, Shri Banerjee, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Shri Dinen Bhattacharyya and Prof. Madhu Dandavate. Are you moving?

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE:** I beg to move\*:

Page 24, line 17,—

for "25 Paise" substitute "20 Paise" (32)

Page 24, line 20,—

for "15 Paise" substitute "10 Paise" (33)

Page 24, line 22,—

for "20 Paise" substitute "15 Paise" (34)

Page 24, line 24,—

for "15 Paise" substitute "10 Paise" (35)

Page 24, line 25,—

for "30 Paise" substitute "20 Paise" (36)

Page 24, line 30,—

for "fifty Paise" substitute "ten Paise" (37)

Page 24, line 32,—

for "fifty Paise" substitute "ten Paise" (38)

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** I beg to move\*.

Page 24, line 17,—

for "25 Paise" substitute "21 Paise" (66)

Page 24, line 20,—

for "15 Paise" substitute "11 Paise" (67)

Page 24, line 22,—

for "20 Paise" substitute "16 Paise" (68)

\*Moved with the recommendation of the President.

[Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee].

Page 24, line 24,—

for "15 Paise" substitute "11 Paise" (69)

Page 24, line 25,—

for "30 Paise" substitute "22 Paise" (70)

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: These are the most important amendments because this particular clause namely clause 25 seeks to raise the rates of postal articles and parcel rates. The prices of all the items which are needed by the common man, especially the post-cards have been increased. There has been a fervent appeal from all sections of the House, by all the Members belonging to the different political parties in this House that at least the price of the post-card should be reduced and the proposed rates should not be enforced. But I am sorry to say that the Finance Minister has not heeded to our request. He has not realised the fact that the post-card is used by those villagers who never use any envelope or inland letters. Even for them, the price of the post, card has been increased. So, I have moved the following series of amendments, namely:

Page 24, line 17, for 25 paise substitute 30 paise;

Page 24, line 20, for 15 paise, substitute 10 paise;

Page 24, line 22, for 20 paise, substitute 15 paise;

Page 24, line 24, for 15 paise substitute 10 paise;

Page 24, line 25, for 30 paise substitute 20 paise;

Page 24, line 30, for 50 paise substitute 10 paise;

Page 24, line 32, for 50 paise substitute 10 paise;

The rates on parcels have also been increased, and for a weight not exceeding 500 gms. and for every 500

gms. or fraction thereof above it, the rate has been put at Rs. 1.50. I would request the hon. Finance Minister even at the fag end of this debate after eight hours to take into consideration the interests of those poor people who are at the lowest level of society and who are just below the starvation level, and who use post-cards once a month or twice a month and who use it as their only channel of communication and see that the rate of the post-card at least is reduced. At least in their case, this should be done. If the hon. Minister does not want to accept my amendments, let him move his own amendments and I shall accept them. But let the rates be reduced. This is my request to the hon. Minister.

With these words, I hope that he would consider my amendments very seriously.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी । मैं अपनी सारी शक्ति पोस्ट कार्ड पर केन्द्रित करना चाहता हूँ । मैं मंत्री महोदय से एक सौदा करने को तैयार हूँ । बाकी के मामलों में जो वृद्धि उन्होंने की है उस पर हम आपत्ति नहीं करेंगे अगर वह पोस्ट कार्ड को छोड़ दें । यह तो आप स्वीकार करेंगे कि पोस्ट कार्ड जब अंग्रेजों ने शुरू किया तो आम आदमी के व्यवहार की दृष्टि से शुरू किया । पोस्ट कार्ड पर कोई सरकारी सूचना नहीं भेजता, पोस्ट कार्ड पर कोई गुप्त समाचार नहीं भेजता और प्रेम पत्र भी उस पर नहीं लिखा जाता — (इंटर-प्रांज) मुझे आज तक किसी ने नहीं लिखा इस लिए मुझे मालूम है ।

सभापति महोदय : आपने भी नहीं लिखा होगा ।

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: He is unnecessarily blaming the postal rates. Probably nobody wanted to write to him.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: He is not such a rejected person.

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** मंत्री महोदय पोस्ट कार्ड को भी इस वृद्धि की परिधि में क्यों लाना चाहते हैं। मैं सारी रिपोर्टों का हवाला देना नहीं चाहता जिस में यह दिखाया गया है कि पोस्ट्स एंड टेलीग्राफ विभाग की चीजों का टुकड़ों में नहीं लिया जा सकता। कोई आइटम ऐसी है जिस से आमदनी होती है, राजस्व में वृद्धि होती है और कई आइटम ऐसी भी है जिसमें घाटा होता है। पोस्ट कार्ड भी उस में हो सकता है। लेकिन कुल मिला कर उसका जो बोझ बांटना चाहते हैं वह पोस्ट कार्ड लिखने वाले पर भी डाल दें, यह उचित नहीं है, तर्कसंगत नहीं है, आम आमदमी के बारे में आप जो घोषणायें करते हैं उसके अनुकूल नहीं है। अगर आप आम आमदमी को यह बताना चाहते हैं कि हमने तेरे ऊपर भी बोझ डाल दिया है तब तो आप पोस्ट कार्ड को न छोड़ें लेकिन इसको छोड़ने की मांग दोनों तरफ से की गई है, यह एक पार्टी की मांग नहीं है। कांग्रेस के सदस्यों का भी अगर बहुमत आप पूछें तो वह भी इसके पक्ष में होगा। यह बात अलग है कि व्हिप इणू कर दें तो उन्हें आपके पक्ष में वोट देना पड़े। लेकिन अगर उनके हृदय पर हाथ रख कर देखें तो वे यही कहेंगे कि पोस्ट कार्ड को सब लोग बरी करना चाहते हैं। इससे आमदनी में भी बहुत घाटा नहीं होगा। फिर आप देखें कि वृद्धि कितनी की गई है। एक दम से दस पैसे से पंद्रह पैसे कर दिया गया है, पचास प्रतिशत वृद्धि कर दी गई है। यह अनुचित है।

**श्री जगन्नाथराव जोशी :** (शाजापुर) : सभापति महोदय, श्री वाजपेयी ने जो विचार रखा है, मैं उस का समर्थन करता हूँ। पोस्ट कार्ड की कीमत पहले एक पैसा थी, फिर दो पैसे हो गई और फिर तीन पैसे हो गई। मैं शुरू से देखता आ रहा हूँ कि कि पोस्ट कार्ड की कीमत में वृद्धि केवल एक एक पैसे की होती थी। ब... उरकी कीमत पांच पैसे हो गई।

फिर छः पैसे हुए, फिर और छः पैसे से एकदम दस पैसे हो गई। आ... की कीमत दस पैसे से बढ़ा कर पंद्रह पैसे की... रही है मैं समझता हूँ कि वृद्धि की यह मात्रा अनुचित है। बंगलादेश के अभियान के समय जो कर लगाये गये थे, उन में भी पोस्ट कार्ड को छोड़ दिया गया था। इनलैंड लैटर और एनवेलप के दामों में वृद्धि की गई थी, लेकिन उस समय भी पोस्ट कार्ड को छूटा रखा गया था, क्योंकि यह सामान्य आमदमी के काम में आता है।

सरकार के सामने यह विचार आया कि बड़ा बड़ा व्यापारिक फर्मों और कम्पनियों पोस्ट कार्ड का दुरुपयोग करती हैं। सरकार की ओर से यह कहा गया था कि हम पोस्ट कार्ड की दर में वृद्धि न करते हुए उसको दुरुपयोग से मुक्त रखने की व्यवस्था करेंगे। लेकिन आज हम देखते हैं कि सब घोड़े बारह टके वाली बात की जा रही है। सब चीजों में पांच पैसे बढ़ा दिये गये हैं। जैसे घाट पर बच्चे से ले कर उस के बाप तक की एक ही रेट पर हजामत होती है, वैसे ही इस मामले में हुआ है। पोस्ट कार्ड, इनलैंड लैटर आदि सब में पांच पैसे बढ़ा दिये गये हैं।

इस लिए मैं इसका विरोध करता हूँ। अगर उस में दस पैसे बढ़ाये जायें, तो दस पैसे में एक पैसा बढ़ा कर ग्यारह पैसे कर दिये जाएं। मैं समझता हूँ कि मंत्री महोदय को इस संशोधन को स्वीकार करने में कोई आपत्ति नहीं होगी।

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I have given amendments Nos. 110—116. They cover letters, letter cards, post cards, parcels and all that. I think the Finance Minister will agree with us that of all the crises in democracy, the crisis of communication is the worst. I am sure that if poor men are not allowed to communicate with their friends by increased rates on postcards, letters and all that, that will be the worst type of crisis of communication.



[Prof Madhu Dandavate]

We are among those who have been insisting that we are not opposed to increasing the rates of taxes, but let there be two categories. As far as levies on the affluent sections are concerned, let there be a revision and as far as levies on the common man are concerned, let there be a downward revision. In conformity with that general principle which we have always enunciated in this House. I have suggested amendments Nos. 110-116, that is reducing the levies from 25P to 21P, and 15P to 11P in the first category, letters from 20P to 16P in the case of letter cards, from 15P to 11P in the case of postcards and from 30P to 22P in the case of reply-paid postcards. I hope the Finance Minister will accept these changes. As Shri Vajpayee has said, if he agrees to the amendment suggested in the case of postcards, we will not press the others. But at least as regards postcards, a definite assurance should be given.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Finance Minister—

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Why is he not replying?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: I have said I cannot accept it.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : सभा-पति महोदय, इस से प्रकट होता है कि वित्त मंत्री भी दिल से पोस्ट कार्ड के दाम बढ़ाना नहीं चाहते हैं, क्योंकि उसका समर्थन करने के लिए उन को शब्द नहीं मिल रहे हैं।

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will put the amendments to vote.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: I would like amendments Nos. 35 and 36 to be put to vote separately.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put amendments Nos. 32-34 to vote.

Amendments Nos. 32 to 34 were put and negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will now put amendment No. 35 to the vote. And then I will put amendment No. 36 separately.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: That is only consequential. One is the post-card and the other is the reply post-card.

MR. CHAIRMAN: This is not necessarily consequential. He may not send the reply: I will put them separately. Now, the question is:

Page 24, line 24,—

for "15 Paise" substitute "10 Paise" (35)

The Lok Sabha divided:

Division No. 18] [16—21 hrs.

AYES

Balakrishnan, Shri K.  
Banerjee, Shri S. M.  
Bhattacharyya, Shri S. P.  
Dandavate, Prof. Madhu  
Godfrey, Shrimati M.  
Joarder, Shri Dinesh  
Joshi, Shri Jagannathrao  
Lalji Bhai, Shri  
Mishra, Shri Shyamnandan  
Mody, Shri Piloo  
\*Rathia, Shri Umed Singh  
Saha, Shri Ajit Kumar  
Sen, Dr. Ranen  
Shastri, Shri Ramavatar  
Vajpayee, Shri Atal Bihari

NOES

Agrawal Shri Shrikrishna  
Ambesh, Shri  
Ansari, Shri Ziaur Rahman  
Arvind Netam, Shri

\*Wrongly voted for Ayes.

- Austin, Dr. Henry  
 Awdhesh Chandra Singh, Shri  
 Babunath Singh Shri  
 Bajpai, Shri Vidya Dhar  
 Banerjee, Shrimati Mukul  
 Barupal Shri Panna Lal  
 Basumatari, Shri D.  
 Bhagat, Shri H. K. L.  
 Bhargava, Shri Basheshwar Nath  
 Bist, Shri Narendra Singh  
 Chandrakar, Shri Chandulal  
 Chaturvedi, Shri Rohan Lal  
 Chaudhary, Shri Nitiraj Singh  
 Chavan, Shri Yeshwantrao  
 Chawla, Shri Amar Nath  
 Daga, Shri M. C.  
 Dalbir Singh, Shri  
 Damani, Shri S. R.  
 Das, Shri Anadi Charan  
 Das, Shri Dharnidhar  
 Dasappa, Shri Tulsidas  
 Daschowhury, Shri B. K.  
 Desai, Shri D. D.  
 Dharamgaj Singh, Shri  
 Dixit, Shri Jagdish Chandra  
 Dwivedi, Shri Nageshwar  
 Gandhi, Shrimati Indira  
 Ganesh, Shri K. R.  
 Ganga Devi, Shrimati  
 Gautam, Shri C. D.  
 Gogoi, Shri Tarun  
 Gohain, Shri C. C.  
 Gomango, Shri Giridhar  
 Gopal, Shri K.  
 Gotkhinde, Shri Arzasaheb  
 Gowda, Shri Pampan  
 Hansda, Shri Subodh  
 Hanumanthaiya, Shri K.  
 Hari Singh, Shri  
 Ishaque, Shri A. K. M.  
 Jamilurrahman, Shri Md.  
 Joshi, Shrimati Subhadra  
 Kadannappali, Shri Ramchandran  
 Kader, Shri S. A.  
 Kamakshaiah, Shri D.  
 Kapur, Shri Sat Pal  
 Karan Singh, Dr.  
 Kasture, Shri A. S.  
 Kavde, Shri B. R.  
 Kedar Nath Singh, Shri  
 Laskar, Shri Nihar  
 Mahajan, Shri Vikram  
 Mahajan, Shri Y. S.  
 Maharaj Singh, Shri  
 Mahata, Shri Debendra Nath  
 Mahishi, Dr. Sarojini  
 Majhi, Shri Kumar  
 Malaviya, Shri K. D.  
 Malhotra, Shri Inder J.  
 Mallanna, Shri K.  
 Mandal, Shri Jagdish Narain  
 Mandal, Shri Yamuna Prasad  
 Maurya, Shri B. P.  
 Mirdha, Shri Nathu Ram  
 Mishra, Shri Jagannath  
 Misra, Shri S. N.  
 Negi, Shri Pratap Singh  
 Oraon, Shri Tuna  
 Pahadia, Shri Jagannath  
 Paninuli, Shri Paripoornand  
 Pandey, Shri Krishna Chandra  
 Pandey, Shri Narsingh Narain  
 Pandey, Shri Tarkeshwar  
 Panigrahi, Shri Chintamani  
 Paokai Haokip, Shri  
 Parashar, Prof. Narain Chand  
 Partap Singh, Shri  
 Patil, Shri T. A.  
 Patnaik, Shri J. B.  
 Raghu Ramaiah, Shri K.  
 Rai, Shrimati Sahodrabai  
 Raju, Shri P. V. G.  
 Ram Dhan, Shri  
 Ram Sewak, Ch.  
 Ram Singh Bhai, Shri  
 Ram Surat Prasad, Shri

Ram Swarup, Shri  
 Ramji Ram, Shri  
 Rao, Shrimati B. Radhabai A.  
 Rao, Shri Nageswara  
 Rao, Shri P. Ankineedu Prasad  
 Richariya, Dr. Govind Das  
 Rohatgi, Shrimati Sushila  
 Roy, Shri Bishwanath  
 Sadhu Ram, Shri  
 Samanta, Shri S. C.  
 Sarkar, Shri Sakti Kumar  
 Satpathy, Shri Devendra  
 Savitri Shyam, Shrimati  
 Sayeed, Shri P. M.  
 Shankar Dayal Singh, Shri  
 Shankar Dev, Shri  
 Shankaranand, Shri B.  
 Sharma, Shri A. P.  
 Shashi Bhushan, Shri  
 Shastri, Shri Raja Ram  
 Shastri, Shri Sheopujan  
 Shenoy, Shri P. R.  
 Shetty, Shri K. K.  
 Siddayya, Shri S. M.  
 Sinha, Shri Dharam Bir  
 Sokhi, Shri Swaran Singh  
 Sudarsanam, Shri M.  
 Suryanarayana, Shri K.  
 Swamy, Shri Sidrameshwar  
 Swaran Singh, Shri  
 Tiwary, Shri D. N.  
 Tombi Singh, Shri N.  
 Tula Ram, Shri  
 Tulsiram, Shri V.  
 Uikey, Shri M. G.  
 Venkatasubbaiah, Shri P.  
 Yadav, Shri Chandrajit  
 Yadav, Shri N. P.  
 Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Shri

MR. CHAIRMAN: The result\* of the division is: Ayes 15; Noes 129.

*The motion was negatived.*

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put amendment No. 36 to the vote of the House. The question is:

Page 24, line 25,—

for "30 Paise" substitute "20 Paise". (36).

*The Lok Sabha divided:*

Division No. 19]

[16.23 hrs.]

AYES

Balakrishnan, Shri K.  
 Banerjee, Shri S. M.  
 Bhattacharyya, Shri S. P.  
 Dandavate, Prof. Madhu  
 Godfrey, Shrimati M.  
 Joarder, Shri Dinesh  
 Joshi, Shri Jagannathrao  
 Lalji Bhai, Shri  
 Mishra, Shri Shyamnandan  
 Mody, Shri Piloo  
 †Raju, Shri P. V. G.  
 Saha, Shri Ajit Kumar  
 Sen, Dr. Ranen  
 Shastri, Shri Ramavatar  
 Vajpayee, Shri Atal Bihari

NOES

Agrawal, Shri Shrikrishna  
 Ambesh, Shri  
 Ansari, Shri Ziaur Rahman  
 Arvind Netam, Shri  
 Austin, Dr. Henry  
 Awdhesh Chandra Singh, Shri  
 Babunath Singh, Shri

\*The following Members also recorded their votes for NOES:  
 Sarvashri P. M. Joshi, Biren Engti and Umed Singh Rathia.

†Wrongly voted for Ayes.

Bajpai, Shri Vidya Dhar	Joshi, Shri Papatlal M.
Banerjee, Shrimati Mukul	Joshi, Shrimati Subhadra
Barupal, Shri Panna Lal	Kadannappalli, Shri Ramachandran
Basumatari, Shri D.	Kader, Shri S. A.
Bhagat, Shri H. K. L.	Kamakshaiah, Shri D.
Bhargava, Shri Basheshwar Nath	Kapur, Shri Sat Pal
Bist, Shri Narendra Singh	Karan Singh, Dr.
Chandrakar, Shri Chandulal	Kasture, Shri A. S.
Chaturvedi, Shri Rohan Lal	Kavde, Shri B. R.
Chaudhary, Shri Nitiraj Singh	Kedar Nath Singh, Shri
Chavan, Shri Yeshwantrao	Laskar, Shri Nihar
Chawla, Shri Amar Nath	Mahajan, Shri Vikram
Daga, Shri M. C.	Mahajan, Shri Y. S.
Dalbir Singh, Shri	Maharaj Singh, Shri
Damani, Shri S. R.	Mahata, Shri Debendra Nath
Das, Shri Anadi Charan	Mahishi, Dr. Sarojini
Das, Shri Dharnidhar	Majhi, Shri Kumar
Dasappa, Shri Tulsidas	Malaviya, Shri K. D.
Daschowdhury, Shri B. K.	Malhotra, Shri Inder J.
Desai, Shri D. D.	Mallanna, Shri, K.
Dharamgaj Singh, Shri	Mandal, Shri Jagdish Narain
Dixit, Shri G. C.	Mandal, Shri Yamuna Prasad
Dixit, Shri Jagdish Chandra	Maurya, Shri B. P.
Dwivedi, Shri Nageshwar	Mirdha, Shri Nathu Ram
Engti, Shri Biren	Mishra, Shri Jagannath
Gandhi, Shrimati Indira	Misra, Shri S. N.
Ganesh, Shri K. R.	Murmu, Shri Yogesh Chandra
Ganga Devi, Shrimati	Negi, Shri Pratap Singh
Gautam, Shri C. D.	Oraon, Shri Tuna
Gogoi, Shri Tarun	Pahadia, Shri Jagannath
Gohain, Shri C. C.	Painuli, Shri Paripoornanand
Gomango, Shri Giridhar	Pandey, Shri Krishna Chandra
Gopal, Shri K.	Pandey, Shri Narsingh Narain
Gotkhinde, Shri Annasaheb	Pandey, Shri Tarkeshwar
Gowda, Shri Pampan	Panigrahi, Shri Chintamani
Handsa, Shri Subodh	Paokai Haokip, Shri
Hanumanthaiya, Shri K.	Parashar, Prof. Narain Chand
Hari Singh, Shri	Pratap Singh, Shri
Ishaque, Shri A. K. M.	Patil, Shri T. A.
Jamilurrahman, Shri Md.	Patnaik, Shri J. B.
	Raghu Ramaiah, Shri K.
	Rai, Shrimati Sahodrabai
	Ram Dhan, Shri
	Ram Sewak, Ch.

Ram Singh Bhai, Shri  
 Ram Surat Prasad, Shri  
 Ram Swarup, Shri  
 Ramji Ram, Shri  
 Rao, Shrimati B. Radhabai A.  
 Rao, Shri Nageswara  
 Rao, Shri P. Ankineedu Prasad  
 Rathia, Shri Umed Singh  
 Richhariya, Dr. Govind Das  
 Rohatgi, Shrimati Sushila  
 Roy, Shri Bishwanath  
 Sadhu Ram, Shri  
 Samanta, Shri S. C.  
 Sarkar, Shri Shakti Kumar  
 Satpathy, Shri Devendra  
 Savitri Shyam, Shrimati  
 Sayeed, Shri P. M.  
 Shankar Dayal Singh, Shri  
 Shankar Dev, Shri  
 Shankaranand, Shri B.  
 Sharma, Shri A. P.  
 Shashi Bhushan, Shri  
 Shastri, Shri Raja Ram  
 Shastri, Shri Sheopujan  
 Shenoy, Shri P. R.  
 Shetty, Shri K. K.  
 Siddayya, Shri S. M.  
 Sinha, Shri Dharam Bir  
 Sokhi, Shri Swaran Singh  
 Sudarsanam, Shri M.  
 Suryanarayana, Shri K.  
 Swamy, Shri Sidrameshwar  
 Sawarn Singh, Shri  
 Tiwary, Shri D. N.  
 Tombi Singh, Shri N.  
 Tula Ram, Shri  
 Tulsiram, Shri V.  
 Uikey, Shri M. G.  
 Venkatasubbaiah, Shri P.  
 Yadav, Shri Chandrajit  
 Yadav, Shri N. P.  
 Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Shri

MR. CHAIRMAN: The result\* of the division is: Aye 15; Noes 133.

*The motion was negatived*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Do you wish to press any other amendment for division?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: No. 39.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It does not relate to this clause.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will now put amendment Nos. 37 and 38, moved by Shri S. M. Banerjee, to the vote of the House.

*Amendments Nos. 37 and 38 were put and negatived.*

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will now come to the amendments moved by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: I want all my amendments to be put to the vote separately.

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right. I will now put Amendment No. 66, moved by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, to the vote of the House.

*Amendment No. 66 was put and negatived.*

MR. CHAIRMAN: I Will now put amendment No. 67 moved by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, to the vote of the House.

*Amendment No. 67 was put and negatived.*

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will now put amendment No. 68, moved by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, to the vote of the House.

*Amendment No. 68 moved by Shri negatived*

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will now put amendment No. 69, moved by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, to the vote of the House.

*(Amendment No. 69 was put and negatived.)*

\*Shri F.V.G. Raju also recorded his voted for NOES

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will now put amendment No. 70, moved by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, to the vote of the House.

*Amendment No. 70 was put and negatived.*

MR CHAIRMAN: I will now put the clause to the vote of the House.

The question is:

"That clause 25 stand part of the Bill"

*The motion was adopted.*

*Clause 25 was added to the Bill.*

#### First Schedule

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: I move\*\*:

Page 36, line 23—

for "Rs. 6,000" substitute  
"10,000" (39).

Page 36, line 25,—

for "Rs. 6,000" substitute  
"Rs. 10,000" (40).

Page 36, line 27,—

for "Rs. 6,000" substitute  
"Rs. 10,000" (41).

Page 37 lines 16 and 17—

"for "70 per cent substitute 75  
per cent" (42)

Page 37, line 30,—

for "Rs. 6,000" substitute  
"Rs. 10,000" (43)

Page 37, line 33,—

for "Rs. 6,000" substitute  
"Rs. 10,000" (44)

Page 37, line 35,—

for "Rs. 6,000" substitute  
"Rs. 10,000" (45).

Page 37, line 36,—

for "Rs. 6,000" substituti  
"Rs. 10,000" (46).

Page 38, line 21,—

for "70 per cent" substitute "75-  
per cent" (47)

My object in moving these amend-  
ments is to raise the exemption limit  
from Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 10,000. I do not  
want to advance more arguments be-  
cause every member of this House, be-  
longing to this side, whether Shri A.  
B. Vajpayee, Shri Piloo Mody or my-  
self, have pleaded that this exemp-  
tion, limit should be increased to  
Rs. 12,000 or Rs. 10,000. If you con-  
sider the amendments moved by the  
various hon. Members, Shri Madhu  
Limaye has suggested Rs. 7,500. I  
have suggested Rs. 10,000, Prof.  
Madhu Dandavate has suggested Rs.  
7,500 and Shri Piloo Mody has gone  
further up to Rs. 12,000. I am prepar-  
ed to accept even that amendment, if  
it is acceptable to the hon Minister.

The highest limit of taxation has  
been reduced from 97 per cent to  
77 per cent in order to check evasion.  
That was the first point argued by  
Shri Palkhiwala before the Select  
Committee, of which we were also  
members. Without waiting for the  
recommendation of the Select Com-  
mittee, it has been accepted by the  
Government and they have, in their  
wisdom, reduced the rate to 77 per  
cent. Although I have moved an  
amendment to raise it from 97 to 100  
per cent, I am not pressing it for a  
vote.

Because of the rise in prices the  
salaried people are the worst suffer-  
ers. The Members of Parliament have  
conveniently exempted themselves  
from the purview of taxation. At  
the moment, our allowances are not  
taxable. Our salaries are not tax-  
able. We do not pay any tax. But, the  
question is, the salaries of these peo-  
ple who are drawing Rs. 500 or  
Rs. 600 or Rs. 700, and now with the  
implementation of the Pay Commis-  
sion's recommendations their salaries  
have gone up, have no relation with  
the rising prices. Why should they  
not be given this exemption I would  
request the hon. Minister to kindly  
accept the amendment of mine and  
raise the exemption limit from

\*\*Moved with the recommendation of the President.

Rs 600 to Rs. 10,000. This will cover at least the middle class employees who are working in Government departments, whether State Governments or Central Government or in the public sector undertakings. This exemption limit of Rs. 6,000 covers only the lower division clerks and nobody else. I would ask the hon. Minister, when he could possibly be kind to these beg sharks who are holding the country to ransom, why should he not do it and show some generosity towards these salaried people who are getting a very meagre salary? With these words, I would request the hon. Finance Minister to accept my amendment.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:  
I beg to move.\*\*

Page 36, line 23,—

for "Rs. 6,000" substitute  
"Rs. 7,500" (73).

Page 36, line 25,—

for "Rs. 6,000" substitute  
"Rs. 7,500" (74).

Page 36 line 27,—

for "Rs. 6,000" substitute  
"Rs 7,500" (75).

Page 37, line 30,—

for "Rs. 6,000" substitute  
"Rs. 7,500" (76).

Page 37, line 33,—

for "Rs. 6,000" substitute  
"Rs. 7,500" (77)

Page 37, line 35,—

for "Rs 6,000" substitute  
Rs. 7,500" (78).

Page 37, line 36,—

for "Rs. 6,000" substitute  
RS. 7,500" (79).

Page 36, line 24,—

for "12 per cent" substitute—  
"10 per cent" (92).

Page 36, lines 28 and 29,—

for "Rs. 480 plus 15 per cent."  
substitute "Rs. 400 plus 12 per  
cent" (93).

Page 36, lines 34 and 34,—

for "Rs. 1,230 plus 20 per cent."  
substitute "Rs. 1,050 plus 15 per  
cent." (94)

Page 36, lines 38 and 39,—

for "Rs. 2,230 plus 30 per cent."  
substitute "Rs 1,900 plus 25 per  
cent." (95).

Page 37, lines 1 and 2,—

for "Rs. 3,730 plus 40 per cent."  
substitute "Rs. 3200 plus 35 per  
cent." (96).

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE: I  
beg to move:\*\*

Page 36, line 23,—

for "Rs. 6,000" substitute  
"Rs. 7,000" (117).

Page 36, line 25,—

for "Rs. 6,000" substitute  
"Rs. 7,000" (119).

Page 36, line 27,—

for "Rs. 6,000" substitute  
"Rs. 700" (120).

Page 36, lines 28 and 29,—

for "Rs. 480 plus 15 per cent."  
substitute "Rs. 400 plus 13 per cent"  
(121).

Page 36, lines 33 and 34,—

for "1,230 plus 20 per cent."

substitute—"Rs. 1,050 plus 17 per  
cent" (122).

Page 36, lines 38 and 39,—

for "Rs. 2,230 plus 30 per cent."  
substitute—"Rs. 1,900 plus 26 per  
cent." (123).

\*\*Moved with the recommendation of the President.

Page 37, line 30,—

for "Rs. 6,000" substitute  
"Rs. 7,000" (126).

Page 37, line 33,—

for "Rs. 6,000" substitute  
"Rs. 7,000" (127).

Page 37, line 35,—

for "Rs. 6,000" substitute  
"Rs. 7,000" (128).

Page 37, line 36,—

for "Rs. 6,000" substitute  
"Rs. 7,000" (129).

Page 38, line 21,—

for "70 per cent" substitute—  
"95 per cent." (131).

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** सभापति महोदय, वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने ग्राम बहस का जवाब देते हुए इस प्रश्न पर सरकार के दृष्टि कोण पर प्रकाश डाला था। उन्होंने कहा था कि यह प्रश्न केवल ग्रामदानी का नहीं है, प्रश्न संख्या का भी है—यह तर्क मैं समझने में असमर्थ हूँ। यह मामला बहुत पहले से चल रहा है। पब्लिक एकाउन्ट्स कमेटी इस मामले में बहुत गहराई से गई थी और वह इस निर्णय पर पहुंची थी कि अगर कम ग्रामदानी वाले लोगों को आय-कर से छूट दे दी जायेंगी तो आयकर विभाग अपना ध्यान बड़ी ग्रामदानी वालों पर केंद्रित कर सकेगा, इस से अधिक धन वसूल होगा और सरकार को किसी तरह की ग्रामदानी में कमी अनुभव नहीं होगी। अन्ततोगत्वा सरकार को यह तर्क मानना पड़ा—लेकिन—जब सरकार ने 6 हजार रुपया तय किया है तो मूल्य वृद्धि का दृष्टि से यह बहुत थोड़ा है, हाँ कि यह बहुत धेर से किया गया है। क्या अधिक से अधिक लोगों को टैक्स की परिधि में लाना—यह कोई

उद्देश्य हो सकता है। भूतलिंगम कमेटी ने उस समय साढ़े सात हजार रुपये की सिफारिश की थी, लेकिन अब दाम बढ़ गये हैं तो कम से कम इतना तो स्वीकार कर लेते। मैं समझता हूँ अगर आप बनर्जी साहब की 10 हजार रुपये की मांग को स्वीकार नहीं करते, पीलू मोदी जी की 12 हजार की मांग को स्वीकार नहीं करते तो हमारी साढ़े सात हजार की मांग को ही स्वीकार कर लीजिये। यह कोई कृपा की बात नहीं है—आप की रिपोर्ट में दिया गया है कि 700 करोड़ रुपया इन्कम टैक्स का बकाया है और जब वर्ष का अन्त आता है तो कर्मचारी छोटे छोटे मामलों में उलझ जाते हैं, बड़े बड़े मसलों पर ध्यान नहीं दे सकते हैं, इस दृष्टि से भी यह छूट बहुत आवश्यक है। मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से अपील करूंगा कि वे इस पर पुनर्विचार करें।

**श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी :** सभापति महोदय, मैं सरकार से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि जब सरकार स्वयं कमेटी नियुक्त करती है और उस कमेटी ने उन दिनों साढ़े सात हजार रुपये की सिफारिश की थी, जब कि वास्तव में आज की दृष्टि से वह लगभग 10-12 हजार रुपये होने चाहिये और जब पिछली बार एक्जेंशन लिमिट को थोड़ा सा बढ़ाया तो जो 27-28 लाख लोग टैक्स-पेअर्स थे, उस थोड़ी सी लिमिट के बढ़ाने से 6 लाख उस में से घट गये, तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस लिमिट को 6 हजार करने से उन क अन्दाजा क्या है, कितने और लोग इस की परिधि से बाहर निकल जायेंगे। इन लोगों से टैक्स कलेक्ट करने में सरकार का ज्यादा खर्च होता है और ग्रामदानी ज्यादा नहीं होती है—सरकार का यह खर्चा बच सकता था और इस से जो समय मिलता उस से जो बड़े टैक्स पेअर्स हैं उन पर समय लगाया जा सकता था जिस से ज्यादा वसूली हो सकती है। इस लिये मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि आज की स्थिति में साढ़े सात हजार का स्लैब उचित होगा और



[श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी]

वित्त मंत्री जी को स्वीकार करने में आपत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिये।

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** Only some time back, while replying to the arguments from this side, the Finance Minister said that he wants the tax structure to be broadened. Whether merely broadening the tax structure is his ideal or whether a more pragmatic principle would be to ask the people to sacrifice for development according to their capacity to sacrifice. If capacity to sacrifice is to be taken note of, it is better that the low income group people should be given more benefit and as regards the higher income group people, as far as their rates are concerned, they should be made more stringent.

Various amendments have been moved. Mr. Banerjee has suggested Rs. 10,000; Mr. Vajpayee has suggested Rs. 7,500 and, according to his capacity, of course, Mr. Piloo Mody has suggested Rs. 12,000. The Finance Minister may accept any figure according to his choice, so that the middle income group people get benefit by this.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** I am really surprised because Mr. Chavan, while replying to the first reading of the Bill, was very keen to say that he was pursuing this policy during the Congress had enunciated. In a moment of intoxication, he said he was pursuing this policy during the last three Budgets. I would like to know with what part of that great philosophy of his does this particular thing fit in. I find, there is nothing of principle attached to it at all.

I asked him how much he was going to lose. I think, he would have said Rs. 5 crores or Rs. 10 crores. I was going to promise him that I would make up the deficit for him. But even that challenge he could not accept. He said it has

nothing to do with the quantum of money. I want to know, therefore, what principle of taxation he is applying. Is there any philosophy, is there any thinking as to what principle of taxation he is applying or is it merely a question of grabbing this and that and trying to subject everything to a common misery.

What is the principle behind it? By merely increasing the exemption limit, he will liberate lakhs and lakhs of people from the tax domain and he will be saving considerable amounts of money, both in the collection, and in the thousands of forms that every office, every tax-payer, has to fill in. After all, this is also national wealth. Thousands of forms are to be filled in by every office, every accountant, every tax-payer, etc. and all these forms have to be sent to the Reserve Bank. You will be saving so much banking time, so much office time and so much of taxation time. What is the quantum that you are collecting? I read in the newspapers that you are behind the rejection by something like Rs. 550 crores...

**AN HON. MEMBER:** Rs. 700 crores.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** It may be Rs. 700 crores. Here are the people who are withholding the tax to the extent of Rs. 700 crores from you. But you are going on in a higgledy-piggledy way and you are trying to increase the number of people, the number of assesseees, over which you extend your domain. I consider the attitude of the Finance Minister as that of a tyrant trying to increase the subjects of his domain. This is what he has said, rejecting all principles, not conforming to the policies which he swore he was upholding, asking for a little time, patience and forbearance from us in order to understand it. I believe, any taxation without principle is not taxation but harassment.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:**  
 Sir, I would say only a word or two. As far as the question of saving the effort of unnecessary examining many assessments is concerned, we have taken other steps. Upto a certain limit—we have said, Rs. 18,000—there will be no unnecessary examination. They will be accepted as they are. To that extent, it is certainly a progressive step. It will save the energy of the officer concerned to concentrate more on larger assessments.

The point that the Public Accounts Committee had in their mind is different. As to what is the principle. I am going on the basis of principle which has already been accepted, that is Rs. 5000 exemption limit. If at all we want to make an exception, one has to go by certain considerations. This time, we have made it Rs. 6000. Some hon. Members were asking for Rs. 7500. For some time now, if you look to the salaried class of people, a certain element of Provident Fund is also exempted from the tax. If you take those factors into consideration, the effect of exemption comes to about Rs. 7500. This is the explanation. If he wants to know the principle, this is the principle.

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE:** Mr. Chairman, I would like to press my amendment No. 39 to a division.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Then I shall first put your other amendments, Nos. 40 to 47, to the vote of the House.

*Amendments Nos. 40 to 47 were put and negatived.*

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** I will now put amendment No. 39 of Shri S. M. Banerjee to the vote of the House. The question is:

Page 36, line 23,—

for "Rs. 6,000" substitute "Rs. 10,000." (39).

*The Lok Sabha divided:*

**Division No. 20—** (36.47 hrs.)

**AYES**

Banerjee, Shri S. M.  
 Bhattacharyya, Shri S. P.  
 Chaudhri, Shri Tridib  
 Joarder, Shri Dinesh  
 Mody, Shri Piloo  
 Ranabhadur Singh, Shri  
 \*Rathia, Shri Umed Singh  
 Sen, Dr. Ranen  
 Shastri, Shri Ramavatar  
**NOES**  
 Ambesh, Shri  
 Ansari, Shri Ziaur Rahman  
 Arvind Netam, Shri  
 Austin, Dr. Henry  
 Awdhesh Chandra Singh, Shri  
 Babunath Singh, Shri  
 Bajpai, Shri Vidya Dhar  
 Banerjee, Shrimati Mukul  
 Barupal, Shri Panna Lal  
 Basumatari, Shri D.  
 Bhargava, Shri Bashishwar Nath  
 Bist, Shri Narendra Singh  
 Chandrakar, Shri Chandulal  
 Chaturvedi, Shri Rohan Lal  
 Chaudhary, Shri Nitiraj Singh  
 Chavan, Shri Yeshwantrao  
 Chawla, Shri Amar Nath  
 Daga, Shri M. C.  
 Dalbir Singh, Shri  
 Damani, Shri S. R.  
 Das, Shri Anadi Charan  
 Dasappa, Shri Tulsidas  
 Daschowdhury, Shri B. K.  
 Desai, Shri D. D.  
 Dixit, Shri G. C.  
 Dixit, Shri Jagdish Chandra  
 Dwivedi, Shri Nageshwar  
 Engti, Shri Biren

\*Wrongly voted for AYES.

Ganesh, Shri K. R.  
 Ganga Devi, Shrimati  
 Gautam, Shri C. D.  
 Gogoi, Shri Tarun  
 Gohain, Shri C. C.  
 Gomango, Shri Giridhar  
 Gopal, Shri K.  
 Goswami, Shri Dinesh Chandra  
 Gowda, Shri Pampan  
 Hansda, Shri Subodh  
 Hanumanthaiya, Shri K.  
 Hari Singh, Shri  
 Ishaque, Shri A. K. M.  
 Jamilurrahman, Shri Md.  
 Jha, Shri Chiranjib  
 Joshi, Shri Popatlal, M.  
 Joshi, Shrimati Subhadra  
 Kamakshaiah, Shri D.  
 Kamble, Shri T. D.  
 Kapur, Shri Sat Pal  
 Karan Singh, Dr.  
 Kasture, Shri A. S.  
 Kavde, Shri B. R.  
 Kedar Nath Singh, Shri  
 Kureel, Shri B. N.  
 Laskar, Shri Nihar  
 Mahajan, Shri Vikram  
 Mahajan, Shri Y. S.  
 Maharaj Singh, Shri  
 Mahata, Shri Debendra Nath  
 Majhi, Shri Kumar  
 Malaviya, Shri K. D.  
 Malhotra, Shri Inder J.  
 Mallanna, Shri K.  
 Mandal, Shri Jagdish Narain  
 Mandal, Shri Yamuna Prasad  
 Maurya, Shri B. P.  
 Mirdha, Shri Nathu Ram  
 Mishra, Shri S. N.  
 Murmu, Shri Yogesh Chandra  
 Negi, Shri Pratap Singh  
 Oraon, Shri Tuna  
 Pahadia, Shri Jagannath

Painuli, Shri Paripoornanand  
 Pandey, Shri Krishna Chandra  
 Pandey, Shri Narsingh Narain  
 Pandey, Shri Sudhakar  
 Pandey, Shri Tankeshwar  
 Panigrahi, Shri Chintamani  
 Paokai Haokip, Shri  
 Parashar, Prof. Narain Chand  
 Partap Singh, Shri  
 Patel, Shri Arvind M.  
 Patil, Shri T. A.  
 Patnaik, Shri J. B.  
 Raghu Ramaiah, Shri K.  
 Rai, Shrimati Sahodrabai  
 Rajdeo Singh, Shri  
 Ram Dhan, Shri  
 Ram Sewak, Ch.  
 Ram Singh Bhai, Shri  
 Ram Surat Prasad, Shri  
 Ram Swarup, Shri  
 Ramji Ram, Shri  
 Ramshekhar Prasad Singh, Shri  
 Rao, Shrimati B. Radhabai A.  
 Rao, Shri Nageshwara  
 Rao, Shri P. Ankineedu Prasad  
 Richhariya, Dr. Govind Das  
 Rohatgi, Shrimati Sushila  
 Roy, Shri Bishwanath  
 Sadhu Ram, Shri  
 Sarkar, Shri Sakti Kumar  
 Sathpathy, Shri Devendra  
 Savant, Shri Shankerrao  
 Sayeed, Shri P. M.  
 Sethi, Shri Arjun  
 Shankar Dayal Singh, Shri  
 Shankar Dev, Shri  
 Shankaranand, Shri B.  
 Sharma, Shri A. P.  
 Shastri, Shri Raja Ram  
 Shastri, Shri Sheopujan  
 Shenoy, Shri P. R.  
 Shetty, Shri K. K.  
 Siddayya, Shri S. M.

Sinha, Shri Dharam Bir  
 Sokhi, Shri Swaran Singh  
 Suryanarayana, Shri K.  
 Swaminathan, Shri R. V.  
 Swamy, Shri Sidrameshwar  
 Swaran Singh, Shri  
 Tiwari, Shri D. N.  
 Tombi Singh, Shri N.  
 Tula Ram, Shri  
 Tulsiram, Shri V.  
 Uikey, Shri M. G.  
 Vidyalankar, Shri Amarnath  
 Virbhadra Singh, Shri  
 Yadav, Shri Chandrajit  
 Yadav, Shri N. P.  
 Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Shri

MR. CHAIRMAN: The result\* of the division is: Ayes 9, Noes 130.

*The motion was negatived.*

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): Those who are in favour of the poor are 9 and those who are against the poor are 130. That is how you should have announced it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will now put all the other amendments to the vote,—73 to 79, 92 to 96, 117, 119 to 123, 126 to 129 and 131.

*Amendments Nos. 73 to 79, 92 to 96, 117, 119 to 123, 126 to 129 and 131 were put and negatived.*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, the question is:

"That the First Schedule stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted.*

*The First Schedule was added to the Bill..*

### The Second Schedule

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Madhu Limaye—he is not here.

Shri S. M. Banerjee, are you moving your amendments?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Yes, Sir. I am moving.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Vajpayee, are you moving?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Yes, I am moving.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: I beg to move:\*\*

Page 47, lines 6 and 7,—

for "Ten per cent. *ad valorem*." substitute—

"Five per cent. *ad valorem*." (48)

Page 47, line 21,—

for "Sixty Paise" substitute—  
 "Forty Paise" (49)

Page 47, lines 32 and 33,—

for "Seventy-five per cent." substitute—

"Ninety-seven per cent." (50)

Page 47, line 33,—

for "Seventy-five per cent." substitute—

"Ninety-seven per cent." (51)

Page 48, lines 7 and 8—

for "ten per cent *ad valorem*," substitute—

"Five per cent. *ad valorem*." (52)

Page 48, line 8,—

for "twenty-five per cent." substitute—

"Fifty per cent." (53)

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\*The following Members also recorded their votes for NOES:

Sarvashri Dharnidhar Das and Umed Singh Rathia.

\*\*Moved with the recommendation of the President.

[Shri S. M. Banerjee]

Page 48, line 9,—

for "Forty per cent." Substitute—

"Seventy-five per cent." (54)

Page 48,—

Omit lines 18 to 22. (55)

Page 49, lines 5 and 6,—

for 'two hundred and fifty each' substitute—

"one hundred each" (56)

Though it is quite clear that the Finance Minister is not in a mood to accept any amendments, but, as a matter of practice and routine and habit, I would like to press my amendment No. 49 which reads:

"Page 47, line 21,—

for "sixty Paise substitute—

"Forty Paise".

and also amendment No. 50 which is thus:

Page 47, lines 32 and 33,—

for "Seventy-five per cent." substitute—

"Ninetyseven per cent."

Again by my amendment No. 51, in the Second Schedule, page 47, line 33, I have suggested substitution of 'Seventy-five per cent' by 'ninety-seven per cent'. Similarly, by my amendment No. 52 for 'ten per cent. *ad valorem*' I have suggested five per cent *ad valorem*'. By my amendment No. 53 I have suggested substitution of 'Forty per cent' by 'Seventy-five per cent.' By No. 54 I have suggested substitution of 'Forty per cent' by 'Seventy-five per cent'.

By amendment No. 55, I have suggested lines 18 to 22 to be omitted. They have included tooth-paste (including dental cream) Electrical stampings and laminations, all sorts. Even tooth paste has been taxed. I do not know what Government is going to get out of it. We have been

demanding in this House that the foreign company, for instance, Colgate—I am told they are making a fabulous profit at the cost of the nation, of Rs. 1 crore per year—to be taken over by Government. The Indian manufacturers should do this. I do not know why the tooth paste has been taxed. Naturally I would expect the Finance Minister to consider this. In fact he has considered certain things I am thankful to him for that. I request him to kindly consider my amendment No. 56 also namely that instead of 'two hundred and fifty each' he should substitute it by 'one hundred each'.

I would like to get some replies from him. Let him say 'No' after understanding my arguments. My amendments are made not on any political consideration. It is based on certain representations that I have received from several persons and institutions.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: I move\*\*:

Page 47, line 21,—

for "Sixty paise" substitute "Forty-five paise". (81).

Page 47, lines 32 and 33,—

for "Seventyfive per cent." substitute—

"One hundred per cent." (82)

Page 47, line 33,—

for "Seventy-five per cent." substitute—

"One hundred per cent." (83).

Page 47,—

after line 7, insert—

'(ia) in Item No. 7 for the entry in the third column against "KERROSENE", the entry "NIL" shall be substituted.

(ib) in Item No. 9 for the entry in the third column against "DIESEL OIL, NOT OTHERWISE

\*moved with the recommendation of the President.

SPECIFIED", the entry "One hundred and sixty-eight rupees and twenty-five paise per kilo litre at 15 centigrade thermometer" shall be substituted.' (97)  
\*\*

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I move\*\*:

Page 49, lines 5 and 6,—

for "two hundred and fifty each" substitute—

"one hundred" (140).

Page 49, line 23,—

for "ten per cent." substitute—  
"five per cent." (141)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : सभापति जी, सरकार अगर विदेशी कम्पनियों द्वारा बनाये गये टूथ पेस्टों की कीमत बढ़ाती तो हमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं होती। कोलगेट पामोलिव जो इस्तेमाल करते हैं, जो खरीदते हैं, वह अधिक दाम देने में समर्थ हैं। लेकिन जो स्वदेशी कम्पनियाँ हैं, अभी एक बज्रदंती टूथ पेस्ट निकला है, अभी बाजार में आया है। विदेशी कम्पनियों की प्रतियोगिता में ठहरना उस के लिए गृष्कल है। जब उन को चढ़े हुए भार में लपेटा जा रहा है। मैं जानता हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय के सामने कठिनाई है कि एक कम्पनी को कैसे छोड़े, दूसरी कम्पनियों को कैसे जाल में लाएँ। लेकिन यह कठिनाई ऐसी नहीं है कि जिस का पार नहीं पाया जा सकता है। अगर इस समय संशोधन मानना संभव न हो तो वित्त मंत्री महोदय विचार करें कि जो सी फीसदी भारतीय कम्पनियाँ टूथ पेस्टों का निर्माण कर रही हैं उन को किस तरह से राहत दी जा सकती है जिस से वह विदेशी कम्पनियों की प्रतियोगिता में ठहर सकें। और जो टूथ पेस्ट उपयोग करना चाहते हैं वह स्वदेशी टूथ पेस्ट का उपयोग करें। भारत की मुद्रा विदेशों में न जा प। मध्य मुद्रा यह है। इस पर विचार होना चाहिए।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Prof. Dandavate.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Sir, by my amendments—132 to 140—I have suggested certain changes to be made in Schedule II. I do not want to say anything. But, on the item, particularly, toothpaste including dental cream and tape-recording including the recorders and all that, I want to say this much. I am surprised why our Finance Minister who also loves us so much has become so hostile as far as tape records are concerned.

In recent times, a number of scientific organisations, institutions etc. have been utilising the tape-recording machines. A new and welcome trend has come in a number of rural areas. Some of the recorded programmes in the urban life are being displayed in a number of rural areas. Even the educative programmes are being displayed through the tape-recorders.

Therefore, I hope that he will consider the changes that I have suggested. Instead of Rs. 250, I have suggested Rs. 100. As far as toothpaste including dental cream is concerned, that item should be completely omitted from the Schedule.

These are the suggestions which I hope the hon. Minister will take note of them.

श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण : माननीय वाजपेयी जी, आपने जो कहा है वह मैंने नोट किया है।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, I will put amendments Nos. 48 to 56 that have been moved by Shri Banerjee to the vote of the House.

Amendments Nos. 48 to 56 were put and negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, I will put amendments nos. 81, 82, 83 and 97

[Mr. Chairman].  
that have been moved by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee to the vote of the House.

*Amendments Nos. 81 to 83 and 97 were put and negatived.*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, I will put amendments nos. 140 and 141 that have been moved by Prof. Madhu Dandavate to the vote of the House.

*Amendments Nos. 140 and 141 were put and negatived.*

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the Second Schedule stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted.*

*The Second Schedule was added to the Bill.*

*The Third Schedule was added to the Bill.*

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted.*

*Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.*

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill, as amended, be passed".

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motion moved:

"That the Bill, as amended, be passed".

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): Sir, we are sorry to say that in spite of the replies given by the hon. Finance Minister to the point raised we remain completely unsatisfied, and we feel deeply concerned at the fact that the Finance Bill does not indicate a single concrete measure to bring down the prices. If the Finance Minister even at this stage is able to point out

a single measure in the Finance Bill which promises to bring down the prices then we can feel satisfied to some extent. But there is no such measure as we have tried to examine the Bill. In fact, the prices have been soaring after the presentation of the budget. The consumer price index in Delhi has gone up by 5 per cent after the presentation of the budget though the spokesman of the Finance Ministry had claimed that the budget would not produce more than 5 per cent increase in prices. So, there is no assurance from the Government which might relieve our anxiety. We have seen during the last two months the prices have been soaring and the rate of increase in prices has been of a much higher order than had been promised by the Finance Ministry.

17 hrs.

The inflationary tendencies of the budget are apparent. We feel that the deficit is going to be of a much higher order in future. The Finance Minister was pleased to say just a few moments ago that the deficit financing during the last year was found finally to be of a lower order, namely only 50 per cent or so of what he had indicated in his budget speech. If that be so, we wonder why the prices nevertheless rose by 29 per cent or so during the course of the last year? There must be some sleight of hand in preparing the figure which he has given to us.

We have also established that the Bill is positively biased in favour of the most affluent sections of the society. The Finance Minister has not given us any convincing reply, why at the level of 97 per cent the tax was not considered to be right in the year 1974 when it was considered to be right only one year back.

It is also very alarming to note that the income redistribution aspect in the policy-making or decision-making

ing of the Finance Ministry is now completely absent.

The taxation structure for the first time comes to lose its progressiveness. Therefore, we think that all the pretensions of the present Government to democratic socialism or socialism or even the adopted communism of the CPI are completely hollow.

Then, there is no relief in the excises which affect the common man, nor has there been any promise that the Finance Minister would appoint a committee to go into the effect of the excises on the common man. He has been appointing a number of committees to go into the effects of the direct taxes, but he is not prepared to consider the demand for the appointment of a committee to go into the effects of the excises on the common man. In the meantime, the excises have been assuming enormous proportions.

We have also proved that the measures are not in line with the plan, both in terms of the required outlay and investment and in terms of the reduction of the consumption of the 10 per cent of the society.

**SHRI D. N. TIWARY:** He has not proved but he has only said it.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** I have proved this that the outlay this year is at the same level as in the last year of the Fourth Plan. Has there been any progress in investment? There has been no progress, it remains stay put at the level of the Fourth Five Year Plan. Then, there is a plan holiday continuing. So, I say that it is not in line with the Fifth Five Year Plan both in terms of outlay and investment and in terms of the reduction of the consumption of the top 10 per cent. Then, again, it is against the Plan because the Planning Commission had said that there would be no deficit financing in the next two years. Is not the Finance Ministry acting against the advice of the Planning Commission in

this matter? Therefore, again, it is anti-Plan.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** He wants the Planning Commission to dictate?

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** What 'dictate'? There is a planning authority, and that authority goes into all aspects of the matter and says something. Then what should be done? Otherwise, let us abolish the Planning Commission and have only a sub-committee in the Finance Ministry to plan.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मिश्र जी भूल नहीं सके हैं कि कभी वह प्लानिंग कमीशन के साथ जुड़े हुए थे। प्लान है ही कहाँ? आपके आने के बाद प्लान खत्म हो गया है।

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** During the last nine years there has been a plan holiday, and this Finance Bill would also continue the Plan holiday. That is my humble submission. There is no planning in the country; there is only the solid building of the Planning Commission now; I have no doubt about this. Even so, we have to go on fighting for the cause of planning in this country. If we want democratic socialist advance, there is no other instrument through which can achieve it.

So, altogether, these measures by and large have little relevance to the problems which the country is facing or the people are facing, and the only things which have become relevant, therefore, are the Army, the BSF and the CRP; the economic policies have no longer remained relevant in the country today.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** At the stage of third reading, you need not repeat all those things.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** I am not repeating. I had not said anything about the army and BSF. I said that the economic policies so far as the Government is concerned,



(Shri Shyamnandan Mishra.)

have become completely irrelevant to the situation the only things that are becoming relevant are the use of the Army, BSF and CRP. That is what the people in Bihar are experiencing—the use of the BSF and CRP has been made in such a shocking manner.

SHRI D. N. TIWARY: Not the Territorial Army?

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: The Territorial Army also is being used.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: The Railway Protection Force has been doubled.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: The BSF and the CRP have committed atrocities of a kind that you cannot probably imagine sitting here in this House. The cosmetic treatment the ruling party wants to apply to the image of the Ministry there would not meet the situation.

Therefore, I say that the real solution of the Bihar problem is to sympathetically consider the demands of the Bihar people and meet those demands for which the common man, the students and youth are agitating. Let there be no doubt that the people who are engaged in the movement will not take recourse to any method which would not be peaceful or non-violent. So we have every reason to think that the movement is going to succeed. But my submission to the Government would be that they should go into the problems which Bihar is facing now. Bihar's per capita income is only 60 to 70 per cent of Gujarat's. In Bihar, poverty is much worse than it was in Gujarat. So if the objective conditions are of that nature in Bihar, I think the movement there is going to take a much more serious form. I would like to warn Government to take heed of it.

I totally oppose the Finance Bill which, to my mind, does not either

meet the situation which the country is facing, or the situation which has arisen in some parts of the country like Bihar. These situations are now proving to be of a very explosive nature. It should be the utmost concern of Government tackle such a situation in a proper manner.

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री (पटना) : किसी भी सरकार का वित्त विधेयक उसकी आर्थिक नीतियों का आइना होता है। इस वित्त विधेयक में कोई भी ऐसी बात नहीं कही गई है जिससे इस बात का पता चले कि सरकार सचमच में मंहगाई को रोकना चाहती है, भ्रष्टाचार का अन्त करना चाहती है और बेकारी को जो भयंकर स्थिति हमारे देश में है उस में कमी लाना चाहती है। अगर वह ऐसा चाहती तो जाहिर है कि विधेयक में उस तरह की बातों का समावेश होता। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं है। और आज ही से नहीं जब से यह सरकार बनी है पिछले 27 वर्ष से तभी से नान भले ही ले समाजवाद का, गरीबी मिटाने का लेकिन प्रारम्भ से ही इसकी नीति हिन्दुस्तान में पूंजीवादी समाज के निर्माण की रही है और यही वजह है कि देश दिनोदिन भयंकर से भयंकर संकटों में उलझता जा रहा है और जनता के अन्दर घोर असन्तोष व्याप्त है क्योंकि लोग भूखे मर रहे हैं, भ्रष्टाचार में ऊपर से ले कर नीचे तक दबे हुए हैं और स्थिति यहां तक पहुंच चुकी है कि हिन्दुस्तान के बहुत से हिस्सों में पीने का पानी भी नहीं मिल रहा है। यह संकटमय स्थिति इसलिए उत्पन्न हुई है कि सरकार की नीति एक पूंजीवादी समाज का बनाने की है, इजारेदारों को और ज्यादा मजबूत करने की है, उन्हें बढ़ावा देने की है, जिसका सबूत यह वित्त विधेयक है, जिस के जरिये उन लोगों पर से तो टैक्स हटा दिए गए हैं, लेकिन मामूली जनता जिस पोस्ट कार्ड का इस्तेमाल करती है, उस की कीमत को बढ़ा दिया गया है।

ऐसी स्थिति में यह संसार देश में प्रतिगामी शक्तियों और फ़ाशिस्ट तत्वों का बढ़ना नहीं रोक सकती है, भ्रंज ही यह सरकार या कांग्रेस के नेता भाषण कर ले और लम्बे लम्बे प्रस्ताव पास कर लें कि देश में प्रतिक्रियावादी शक्तियाँ या फ़ाशिस्ट तत्व शक्तिशाली बन रहे हैं—यह सही भी है, हम देख रहे हैं—लेकिन उन लोगों के पास इस को रोकने का कोई तरीका नहीं है, क्योंकि इनकी आधिकारिक नीतियों की वजह से ही उन्हें आगे बढ़ने और मजबूत होने का मौका मिल रहा है।

बिहार के छात्रों ने भ्रष्टाचार, मंहगाई और बेकारी के खिलाफ़ और विश्वविद्यालयों की शिक्षा प्रणाली में सुधार करने के लिए एक आन्दोलन शुरू किया, क्योंकि बिहार की जनता इन तमाम बातों से दुखी थी। यह आन्दोलन इस प्रकार शुरू हुआ, लेकिन धीरे धीरे उस में प्रतिक्रियावादी शक्तियों ने अपना हाथ डाल कर उस आन्दोलन को मोड़ने की कोशिश की और आज भ्रष्टाचार और मंहगाई विरोधी नारों से हट कर, या उन पर बहुत ज्यादा जोर न दे कर उन लोगों के द्वारा विधान सभा को भंग करने, जबर्दस्ती विधायकों के इस्तीफे लेने, लोक सभा को भंग करने और इस तरह के संसदीय जनतंत्र पर हमला करने वाले नारे लगाये जा रहे हैं। इस का परिणाम यह है कि आज जनता दो खेमों में विभक्त हो रही है। जो लोग जनतंत्र की हिफ़ाजत चाहते हैं, वे एक तरफ़ हो रहे हैं और जो लोग जनतंत्र पर चोट करना चाहते हैं, वे दूसरी तरफ़ जा रहे हैं। लेकिन इस की जवाब देही इस सरकार पर है इस तरह की स्थिति उत्पन्न होने के लिए सरकार की नीतियाँ जबाबदेह हैं।

सरकार गल्लाबोरों, मुनाफ़ाबोरों और देश में 75 हजारों दारों पूँजपति घरानों पर हमला करे, बेकारी की समस्या को हल करे, विश्वविद्यालय की शिक्षा प्रणाली में सुधार करे और जातिवाद तथा क़िरकापरस्ती

आदि हमारे देश को नुक्सान पहुंचाने वाली विचार-धाराओं के खिलाफ़ लड़ें। तभी वह प्रतिक्रियावादी शक्तियाँ और फ़ाशिस्ट तत्वों को रोक सकती है, तभी वह हिन्दुस्तान में किसी व्यक्ति विशेष को फ़्यूर बनाने से रोक सकती है, तभी वे जनता को ऐसे लोगों के पंजों से बचा सकती है।

वैसे तो पेय जल की समस्या देश के सभी भागों में है, लेकिन बिहार की स्थिति बड़ी खराब है। अगर मंत्री महोदय बिहार के अख़बारों को पढ़ें, तो उन को मालूम होगा कि कोई भी ऐसा ज़िला या बड़ा शहर नहीं है, जहाँ पीने के पानी की दिक्कत न हो। अब गर्मी का मौसम शुरू हो गया है। पटना के हर एक मुँहले में, और उसी तरह हर बड़े और छोटे शहर और बेहात में भी, पीने के पानी का भयंकर संकट है। अगर सरकार का ध्यान पहले इस समस्या की ओर नहीं गया था, तो कम से कम अब इस गर्मी के मौसम में उसका ध्यान इधर जाना चाहिए, ताकि लोगों को कम से कम पीने का पानी तो मिले। अनाज तो उनको नहीं मिल रहा है, या जो मिल रहा है, वे उस पर संतोष किये बैठे हैं और ज्यादा अनाज के लिए आन्दोलन कर रहे हैं।

मजदूरपुर में एक बँगन बनाने वाली एक आर्थर बटलर कम्पनी है, जो 26 महीनों से बन्द है। मेरे पास पटना से प्रकाशित होने वाला पटना टाइम्स साप्ताहिक अख़बार है। इस में लिखा है कि वहाँ के 15 मजदूरों की भुखमरी से मौत हो चुकी है। जो लोग इस कम्पनी में काम करते थे, वे 26 महीनों से बेकार हैं। सरकार ने उस कम्पनी को ले लिया है, लेकिन अभी तक उस को चालू नहीं किया है उस को तुरन्त चालू किया जाये, ताकि और मजदूरों को मरने से बचाया जाये, और हमारे देश में बँगन की जो कमी है, उस को पूरा किया जा सके।

**SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH** (Nandyal): The Finance Minister has tried his best to frame the taxation policy within the framework of the ideology to which the Ruling Party is committed. There are distortions in its implementation and the Finance Minister has to take care of them. I emphasise the point with regard to the regional imbalance. Time and again attempts have been made to correct the regional imbalance but in practice nothing has been done.

The main cause of the agitation in Andhra Pradesh, as he knows, is the regional imbalance and the backwardness of the people. The Central Government made a promise that sufficient assistance would be made available for the improvement of the backward areas and the removal of those irritants. But I am sorry to say that nothing has come out from the Finance Minister's observations on the Budget. He should give the necessary financial assistance for the development of the backward areas. There are distortions and inflationary trends in the economy because we have not taken sufficient care to see that our agricultural production is accelerated. After 27 years of Independence we are yet to attain self-reliance. We have to import wheat from abroad. There is nothing wrong in that, because many civilised countries and developed countries are doing so and the Soviet Russia is importing large quantities. But in our country there is vast scope to maximise production. Irrigation projects which were conceived 20 years ago are yet to be completed. The estimates have gone up tremendously in their over ambition the State Governments have started many irrigation and power projects, but they are not able to complete them with the result that the benefits could not accrue. At one stage the Planning Commission took the stand that with Central assistance the spill over projects should be completed. I should plead with the Finance Minister that such projects should be completed. Our country is faced with acute power shortage. Some of our industries have

come to a grinding halt and agricultural production has slowed down for want of electricity. We could not generate the required amount of electricity as we have anticipated. These factors must also be taken into consideration. Sir, the farmer, in spite of the handicaps, in spite of the difficulties, is doing a patriotic duty. He is producing to the maximum. But, the incentives he gets are negligible. For instance, fertilisers. I only plead with the Finance Minister, 'do not stand on any formalities or any ideological predilections, so far as the import of fertiliser is concerned'. You should import as much of fertiliser as possible, and supply to the farmers. You should make available to him water and fertiliser and he will create an atmosphere of self-sufficiency and self-reliance in no time. He will do it. Please do it.

Now, we have stopped the import of cotton from abroad. We have saved much foreign exchange. The farmers have come forward to produce long staple cotton. But, what is the price you are offering to them? You are offering not even 50 per cent of the price which you are giving to the foreign countries. You have to evolve a strategy by which you can encourage the farmers and attain self-sufficiency in cotton production also.

Sir, my last point is about the Central University to be located at Hyderabad. Nothing has been done. It has been promised. I would tell the Finance Minister, and through him, the Government of India that there will be a sort of a misgiving and uneasiness in Andhra Pradesh, that promises made are not being implemented. You should take an immediate decision in regard to the location of the Central University at Hyderabad. Further, assistance to the backward areas should also be given as immediately as possible. With these words, I thank the Finance Minister for very ably piloting the Finance Bill and for getting these demands granted very successfully.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE** (Rajapur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, at this

stage, I do not want to dilate over the problems that we discussed earlier. I would only like to make two concrete suggestions.

Firstly, I would like to point out to the hon. Minister that in most of the democratic countries, where the same procedure which we have adopted is followed, the Finance Bill is considered as the last cushion on the basis of which some adjustments can be made in the light of various suggestions that are made on the floor of the House. I am very sorry to find that when Members come prepared with various suggestions, some of them extremely constructive which may help in even augmenting the resources and reducing the burden on the common people, even those suggestions are not taken note of and the very purpose of the Finance Bill and having this final reading etc., everything seems to be defeated. Here, I would like to compare this Bill with the other Bills and the procedure that is followed in this House. No doubt, there is a difference between the two. Here, you have to take cognisance of the various suggestions and on that, some definite orientation is to be adopted and decisions have to be taken. You must have prior consultation. But, I must point out to you the procedure that is adopted when some other Bills are discussed in the House. For instance, we had the Criminal Procedure Code Bill. So many suggestions were made from the Opposition side and the Minister concerned was very very accommodative. There was a discussion, and a number of amendments, about 25 per cent of the amendments, that were moved by the Opposition were accepted in this House and as a result of that, we found out, even before the Select Committee stage that many loop-holes in that particular Bill have been plugged. I quite concede that the Finance Bill is on a different footing. But, even then, a lot of discussion had taken place during the discussion on the General Budget. A number of amendments have been submitted and that have

been circulated in advance. I hope, at least in future, the Finance Minister will take note of the various suggestions that are made during the discussion so that at the stage of the Finance Bill, certain view points reflected by various sections of the House can be accommodated in the Finance Bill.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** What is the practice in the House of Commons? Is the Select Committee not appointed to go into the Finance Bill? I am not quite sure.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** There is a Committee that goes through it. In addition to that, we find that in the House of Commons, even of the stage of the Finance Bill, a number of considerations have been accepted. Not only that. Suggestions made during the course of discussion on the Budget proposals have been responded to. That is the democratic tradition of the Mother of Parliaments.

One more point and I am done. I would like to point out to the Finance Minister that, though he need not be a prophet of doom, I think he is striking an extremely optimistic note in her reference to the estimated deficit financing. In this very House it has been pointed out that deficit financing in the First Plan was of the order of Rs. 333 crores, in the Second Plan Rs. 854 crores and in the Third Plan Rs. 1,133 crores. When I asked the Finance Minister in the first four years of the Fourth Plan the deficit financing has reached the level of Rs. 1,500 crores, he told me that my figure is a figment of imagination. Yet, the Planning Minister said very soon that we have reached the figure of Rs. 2,000 crores. With this background of the trend of deficit financing, it is very difficult to imagine that it would be of a very low order. I would like to remind him in this context that in the last budget he had estimated deficit financing of the order of Rs. 87 crores but in reality it came to almost 7 to 8 times that. In that context, let him not strike too optimistic a note.

**SHRI YESWANTRAO CHAVAN:**

When I mentioned this figure of deficit financing, at the same time I had specifically mentioned that the recommendations of the Pay Commission are yet to be taken into account and that it will certainly enlarge the size of the deficit financing. Therefore, if you are taking a figure for comparison, it should not be Rs. 85 crores.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** I am only pointing out that when I asked whether it would be of the order of Rs. 1,500 crores in the first four years of the Fourth Plan, he said that it is an exaggerated estimate, but it turned out to be nearly Rs. 2,000 crores, I do not blame him, because that is how the policy is drafted. I only say that such an over-optimistic note need not be taken.

Then, at least in the future, I hope the Finance Bill debates would be responded to in a more responsive manner so that some of the concrete suggestions, which reflect not only the feeling and the viewpoint of the opposition but also many sections of the House, will be responded to in a positive manner.

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी:** सभापति जी, अब यह सदन वित्त विधेयक पर अपनी अन्तिम मोहर लगाने जा रहा है। यह निविदा है कि कर प्रस्तावों के परिणामस्वरूप मुद्रा स्फीति बढ़ेगी, मंहगाई में वृद्धि होगी, आम आदमी का जीवन और भी दूभर बनेगा। हमें देखना यह है कि हम अपनी आर्थिक नीतियां, अपना आर्थिक नियोजन किस को ध्यान में रख कर बना रहे हैं। क्या यह सच नहीं है कि जो उपेक्षित है उसकी और उपेक्षा हो रही है? जो शोषित है उस का और शोषण हो रहा है? गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे जो कंगाली का जीवन बिता रहे हैं उन की संख्या में वृद्धि होती जा रही है? हमारे देश में एक सैक्टर जो लगातार बढ़ रहा है वह है लग्जरी सैक्टर। पब्लिक सैक्टर घाटे में चल रहा है और लग्जरी सैक्टर में निरन्तर वृद्धि हो रही है। आम आदमी के काम में आने वाली चीजें बाजार में उपलब्ध

नहीं हैं, वेतन भोग और विलास के सामान बाजारों में अटपड़े हैं।

अभी मेरे मित्र श्री वैद्यमुन्या कह रहे थे कि हम ने लांग स्टैपल काटन बाहर से मंगाना बन्द कर दिया है। क्या यह सच है, मैं जानना चाहूंगा। अभी तक हम ने बन्द नहीं किया है। हम करीब 600 करोड़ रुपये का लांग स्टैपल काटन मंगा चुके। वह किस के काम आ रहा है? सुपर फाइन क्लाय बनाने के।

**सभापति महोदय:** 600 करोड़।

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी:** 600 करोड़ रुपये का अभी तक मंगा चुके हैं।

**सभापति महोदय:** इस साल?

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी:** इस साल की बात मैं नहीं कह रहा हूँ, कुल मिला कर।

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** My impression is that during the entire Fourth five Year Plan period it might have been of the order of Rs. 600 crores.

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी:** 600 करोड़ या 590 करोड़ रुपये है—धारिया साहब ये आंकड़े बतला सकते हैं, लेकिन यह एक वर्ष का नहीं है।

शहर में पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यह सुपर-फाइन क्लाय किस के लिए है? बाजार में मोटा लट्टा प्राप्त करना मुश्किल है, लेकिन टैरिलीन मिल सकता है, नायलोन मिल सकता है। राजधानी एक्सप्रेस चल रही है—किस के लिए? मासिक कार सड़क पर अनेकाली है—किस के लिए? टेलीविजन किस के लिए है, हम किस के लिए आर्थिक नियोजन कर रहे हैं?

सभापति जी, सत्य आ गया है—अगर देश को आर्थिक संकट से सफलतः पूर्वक

निकालना है और इस संकट में भी जनता को अपना धन नहीं खोने देना है तो रहन-सहन के ढाँचे में व्यापक परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता है। विषमता को ख़ाई कम होनी चाहिए, लेकिन वह ख़ाई बढ़ रही है। विलास की चीज़ों के उत्पादन पर रोक लगानी चाहिए। आवश्यकता की वस्तु में हर आदमी को उपलब्ध नहीं है, उस का प्रबन्ध किया जाना चाहिए।

यह वित्त विधायक तो पाम हो जायेगा, पार्लियामेंट की बैठक भी थोड़े दिनों में समाप्त हो जायेगी, लेकिन देश पर जो आर्थिक संकट है वह हमें चेतावनी के रूप में लेना चाहिए। मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय से सहमत हूँ कि हमें हिम्मत हारने की जरूरत नहीं है, लेकिन हम असह्यमान होने की भूल न करें। लोकतन्त्र में जनता की बढ़ती हुई अकांक्षाएँ, उस का गहरा होता हुआ असंतोष—ये केवल राजनीतिक स्थिरता को ही संकट नहीं करते हैं, ये लोकतान्त्रिक मूल्यों को भी खतरे में डाल सकते हैं। आज जो परिस्थिति है उस के लिए केवल वित्त मंत्री ही जिम्मेदार नहीं हैं, इसके लिए अन्य मंत्रालय तथा उन मंत्रालयों का नेतृत्व करने वाली प्रधान मंत्री भी जिम्मेदार हैं—यदि ये सब मिल कर ऐसी नीतियाँ अपना सकते हैं जिससे देश का उत्पादन बढ़े और बड़ा हुआ उत्पादन आम आदमी तक पहुँचे और जो वैभव-विलास के शिखर पर बैठ हुये हैं वे थोड़ा नीचे आयें— तब रास्ता निकल सकता है। अन्यथा वित्त मंत्री महोदय भले ही प्रकाश कि किरण देखें, हमें तो अन्धकार गहरा होता हुआ दिखाई देता है।

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the fag-end of the most important debate that takes place in Parliament, I shall be short but not sweet.

My final advice to the Finance Minister, and those of his colleagues that care to listen, is that you must give up the old postures you give up the old shibboleths, you give up these brave words, and you develop a concern for the problems that you

are facing for which I have complete sympathy because they are really monumental in size. Unfortunately, I find that old habits die hard and I find, Minister after Minister, and particularly, the Finance Minister sometimes exaggerating the importance of what has been done or is likely to be done. I say, you give up that Shivaji attitude for a while. The country is facing very serious problems....

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** Don't drag in the name of Shivaji.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** You must understand the meaning of what I said.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** You don't understand what you are saying.

**SHRI SHANKERRAO SAVANT (Kholaba):** What is your idea of Shivaji?

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Let me translate it for my hon. friend, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee. I am saying, you give up heroics. Is there anything wrong in that? Don't get touchy about names. I said, you give up heroics. That is what it meant.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** Amendment accepted.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Now he is reconciled.

I say, you give up these brave words because you have nothing to be proud of, because the sum total of our achievements, when measured in perspective, in time, in resources, can be reduced really to a zero. It is not as if things have not happened in this country. I know our friend will get up and say, "Do not denigrate what we have done; we have so much steel and so many plants". All this is granted. You have spent by now, I think—I do not know exactly how much—about Rs. 50,000 crores. You are bound to have done something. So, let us not get diverted from what I am trying to say. I am saying: develop a certain honesty in the evaluation of the situation a certain honesty

[Shri Piloo Mody]

in the policies that you follow. Do not say that you are following your policy and then do something on the sly which is directly the reverse. If you want to change a policy, boldly admit: "We made a mistake and, therefore, we have decided to move away from this". The greatest thing that you could have done for this country, for yourselves and for all of us, was to have said: "All these years we have been misled by these people; we are no longer going to be misled by them". This is what you should have said when you made your corrections. But you are not prepared to say that. You still went to maintain the posture and you want then, behind everybody's back, do things on the sly. Therefore, I say, take these shibboleths and throw them into the sea. You become aligned and still you say, "we still maintain that we are non-aligned". You become totally reliant and still you maintain that you are self-reliant. This is non-sense. Accept, with humility, what your situation is today. Do not let it be 'self-reliance'. 'Self-reliance' is itself an absurd slogan; in a shrinking world, 'self-reliance' is an absurd slogan. Call it 'self-resilience', 'vitality'; all these are desirable concepts. 'Self-reliance' is only a slogan. It is a slogan which, I think, would be disastrous for any nation to accept for any nation, let alone ourselves. We want cooperation, we want trade, we want an exchange of cultures, we want that there should be this great cross-culture of trade, economics, politics, everything. This is how the world will become a more civilised place to live in. Therefore, my only point in getting up at the Third Reading which is, as I said, the end of the most important Bill, is this: let us bring our statements closer to the reality. I think that, in doing so, we will have helped ourselves far more than any developmental effort that you would have made; that is, to make the Indian word and the Indian action match each other.

श्री शंकर ब्याल सिंह : (चतरा) : सभा-पति जी, वित्त विधेयक के बारे में बहुत लम्बी खर्चा हो चुकी है और उस के सैद्धान्तिक और व्यावहारिक दोनों पक्षों के बारे में प्रकाण्ड विद्वानों ने, अर्थ शास्त्रियों ने, राजनीति के धुरन्वर पंडितों ने बहुत सारी बातें कही हैं। मैं केवल इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज पूंजी का केन्द्रीयकरण देश के चार नगरों में हो गया है। आम जनता इस बात को समझती है कि दिल्ली, कलकत्ता, बम्बई और मद्रास—ये चार ऐसे बड़े बड़े शहर हैं, ऐसे और भी दो-चार शहर होंगे जहाँ पूंजी का केन्द्रीयकरण हो गया है। आम देहात का व्यक्ति, किसान या फटे-हाल व्यक्ति या कोई भी जनता का आदमी जब इन बड़े नगरों में आता है और यहाँ की बड़ी बड़ी अट्टालिकाओं को देखता है सहसा विश्वास नहीं कर पाता कि हम हिन्दुस्तान में हैं। इस असमता को समप्त करने के लिए बहुत सारी बातें कहीं गई हैं—उन बातों को जो व्यवहार में लाया जाय—सिद्धांत से हट कर—तो बहुत कुछ हो सकता है।

मैं अर्थ मंत्री जी से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ;—बहुत दिनों से हम सिद्धान्त और व्यवहार में फर्क रखे हुए हैं, अब इस में व्यावहारिक जामा आप को पहनाना होगा और अतिशय धन को जो लोग दिखलाते हैं, प्रदर्शन करते हैं, इन को रोकना होगा, सीलिंग लगानी होगी। बार बार सम्पत्ति पर सीलिंग लगाने की बात होती है, लेकिन अब वह स्थिति आ गई है कि जब तक चल और अचल दोनों प्रकार की सम्पत्ति पर सीलिंग नहीं लगायेंगे तब तक आम जनता को विश्वास नहीं होगा कि सरकार सचमुच व्यावहारिक रूप से हमारे लिए कुछ कर रही है। मुझे प्रसन्नता है कि हम लोगों के विचारों को बार बार सुनते सुनते वाजपेयी जी में भी आज मानसिक परिवर्तन हुआ। यह सही है कि वे जनसंघ ने नेता की हैसियत से उस बैंक पर बैठे हैं लेकिन वास्तव में वे आज हमारी बातें

बोल रहे थे। उनकी वाणी पर जो सरस्वती विराजी हुई थी वह हमारी अपनी बातों को उनसे कहला रही थी, भले ही उनके अपने उनसे नराज हो जाये। मुझे खुशी है कि आज बातें जो हो रही थीं यह अगल-बगल देखकर नहीं बल्कि हम लोगों को देखकर उनको प्रेरणा मिल रही थी। मैं उन्हीं की बातों का समर्थन करते हुए कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप पंचवर्षीय योजना को लक्ष्य रखते हुए कुछ ऐसा करें-क्या करें, मैं अर्थ-शास्त्री नहीं हूँ मैं नहीं जान सकता लेकिन इतना ज़रूर जानता हूँ कि नोटों को छापने से समानता नहीं आ सकती है। इसके लिए कुछ व्यावहारिक कदम उठाने पड़ेंगे और सिद्धान्तों के मायाजाल से हटकर व्यावहारिक जामा पहनाना होगा जिससे यह महसूस हो सके कि इस आर्थिक संकट में जो भी कदम आप उठा रहे हैं वह हमारे लिए उठा रहे हैं।

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE  
(SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN):

I do not want to make a long speech but certainly I would like to refer to three or four important points that were raised during the discussion in the Third Reading.

The point that was raised by Shri Venkatasubbaiah and my friend who just now spoke, Shri Shankar Dayalji—I entirely share their feelings on that point of disparity (*Interruption*) I am not talking about that matter. Shri Vajpayeeji is Vajpayeeji. I share their views about it and I feel concerned about it also. I would like to tell the hon Members what steps have been taken while preparing the Fifth Plan about the removal of the disparity in different regions. Really speaking, it has got to be done by giving some special preference and priority to the problems of development in the backward areas. This has been done and a series of steps have been taken. In regard to some

of the infra-structure, particularly, irrigation projects which are incomplete, some special provisions of giving them priority have been made. Nearly fifty command areas under the irrigation projects are selected and certain State authorities are also being formed to look after these things because it is these activities which will give a certain boost up to the development of minor irrigation.

Then, there is the question of tribal areas. They have been asked to prepare sub-plans in the States for these tribal areas because it is these neglected sections of society which require some sort of a special consideration. The sub-plans are being prepared by them and incentives are being given for the industrial development. When we talk about the backward areas, industrial backwardness is somewhat different from the backward areas as such. This can be done only if some steps for creating infra-structure in the backward areas are taken. So, certain steps have been taken for that matter as well.

In the case of hill areas, one of the Members who spoke eloquently about the problems of hill areas in UP and I would like to tell you that a special care has been taken about the problems of hill areas, Western Ghats, etc. and nearly one hundred districts have now been identified by them for the concessional finance and 15 per cent subsidy. There are other matters also in this regard. I just listed some of the steps which are important and if they are implemented for a reasonable length of time because these imbalances are not going to disappear in the course of one Five Year Plan, there will have to be a consistent effort over this matter. Possibly, we may succeed.

The hon. Member, Shri Dandavate made a point that no amendments were considered. At the Consideration Stage he has forgotten one thing—when I moved the Bill, I had given



[Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan]

many concessions in regard to indirect taxes after hearing what the hon. Members had to say. Also I have moved certain amendments to the direct taxes. That was also, as a result of certain arguments that I heard from the hon. Members on the floor of this House. My habit is that when we are in the third stage, I see that there is no loophole in the Bill. If there is a suggestion to any loophole, I would have accepted the amendment.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: You do not see my loophole.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: I do not see any loophole. Because there are no loopholes none of the amendment was accepted. I do not want to take that position that nothing should be accepted. Possibly, he has not worked in the Select Committee. Otherwise he would have seen the spirit in which we had worked.

Another point that he made is this I merely made a reference to a certain fact about the actual budget deficit last year. I do not want to sound any note of extreme optimism. I do not want to draw any information from that about the present economic situation.

I wanted to give the additional fact. I mention this because, when I presented the budget, I had mentioned certain figures as the Actuals that become available before the Bill is finally passed. Actuals have become available now I mentioned them. I do not want to draw any conclusion from it in haste.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: I want to draw your attention to the thing. In the Economic Survey, it has been mentioned that the Reserve Bank credit was of the order of Rs. 816 crores. How, suddenly, has the indebtedness to Reserve Bank disappeared I do not know. How has it been reduced?

Let me read from this.

"During the period March 31, 1973 and January 25, 1974 the Reserve Bank Credit to Government increased to Rs. 816 crores."

If it has increased—this is a fact—then what has happened to the indebtedness? How has it been reduced by 50 per cent?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: We are making some of the presentational concepts which are not part of budget deficit. You have to take into consideration the concept of budget as something different.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: I cannot get confused. Whatever be the indebtedness to the Reserve Bank, that constitutes deficit financing.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: This is a part of the deficit budget. At the present moment, the budget deficit is of the order of Rs. 300 cores and odd.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: How has this been squared? Indebtedness cannot disappear.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Therefore, I say we will have to find out what exactly the budget deficit is. I do not want to enter into any arguments.

I want to tell the hon. Member, Prof. Dandavate and also other Members that I am not taking any optimistic view only because one factor has completely changed the complexion of our economic situation. I am not saying that. I say that whatever steps we are taking are showing some results. There is nothing wrong to say that. I am becoming completely complacent about it. One small point. Shri Piloo Mody gave us today sermons that we should be honest, brave and give up shibboleths and what not.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:**  
You can be honest.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:**  
On the ground of honesty we try to play this game each other. The point I wish to make is this. When we say 'self-reliant' that does not mean that we do not want cooperation from the other countries. He wanted us to be self-resilient. What is the result of self-resilience—self-reliance. What is the use of merely playing with the words?

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:**  
Self-reliance has to be decreased! It will have to disappear.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:**  
He wanted us to give up the idea of self-reliance completely. I am referring to that part of his statement. I am glad that you agree me at least on this point. The hon. Member Shri Shyam Babu, made a suggestion for appointment of committees on indirect taxes. Indirect taxes consist of a number of taxes on numberless industries and other activities and there cannot be a simple type of examination. During the last 15 years different committees have gone into it. Of course, they had gone into the limited

aspect of the problem. There was one committee under the Chairmanship of Shri D. N. Tiwari on Customs Duty and then there is the committee regarding self-removal procedure. No doubt, it is looking into the limited part of the indirect taxes but it goes into the functioning of the industry concerned. Then there is the Tobacco Committee under the Chairmanship of Shri Venkatappaiah which is going into the question of indirect taxes. There is a list of committees.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:**  
We want an integrated study.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:**  
It cannot be done by a single committee, Sir, this is all that I wanted to say.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** The question is:

"That the Bill, as amended, be passed".

*The motion was adopted.*

17.55 hrs.

*[The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, May 7, 1974 Vaisakha 17, 1936 (Saka).]*