

Audit Report on the accounts thereof for the year 1969-70, under sub-section (5) of section 45 of the Damodar Valley Corporation Act, 1941.

- (2) A copy of the Budget Estimates (Hindi and English versions) of the Damodar Valley Corporation for the year 1972-73, under sub-section (3) of section 44 of the Damodar Valley Corporation Act, 1948. [Placed in Library See No. LT-1498/72]

11.53 hrs.

MESSAGES FROM RAJYA SABHA

SECRETARY - Sir, I have to report the following messages received from the Secretary of Rajya Sabha .

- (i) "In accordance with the provisions of sub-rule (6) of rule 186 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to return herewith the Appropriation (Railways) Bill, 1972, which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 16th March, 1972, and transmitted to the Rajya Sabha for its recommendations and to state that this House has no recommendations to make to the Lok Sabha in regard to the said Bill."
- (ii) "In accordance with the provisions of sub-rule (6) of rule 186 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha I am directed to return herewith the Appropriation (Railways) No. 2 Bill, 1972, which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 16th March, 1972, and transmitted to the Rajya Sabha for its recommendations and to make to the Lok Sabha in regard to the said Bill."
- (iii) "In accordance with the provisions of rule III of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to enclose a copy of the Armed

Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers (Amendment) Bill, 1972, which has been passed by the Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on the 18th March, 1972."

ARMED FORCES (ASSAM AND MANIPUR) SPECIAL POWERS (AMENDMENT) BILL

(AS PASSED BY RAJYA SABHA)

SECRETARY : Sir, I also lay on the Table of the House the Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers (Amendment) Bill, 1972, as passed by Rajya Sabha

11 54 hrs

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—Contd.

MR SPEAKER : We resume the discussion on the General Budget. Shri Samar Mukherjee to continue.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE (Howrah) : I am coming to the two major problems of mass poverty and mass unemployment. Last time in his Budget speech the Finance Minister admitted that this twin problem of mass poverty and mass unemployment remained as acute as ever

But as in the last budget, so in the present budget also, we do not see any seriousness to tackle these serious problems in the manner they deserve attention. Poverty cannot be removed unless the social system is basically changed, unless the old feudal land relations are changed, feddalism is completely eliminated and progressive and radical land distribution is complete. In these respects, this budget has completely failed. Even in imposing burdens of taxation on the rural rich, that has not yet been done. The Government has simply escaped the responsibility by setting up one committee to go into this question, so that they are not faced with any opposition from those sections particularly at State levels, where even many Congress ministers are linked up with feudal interests and many are representatives

[Shri Samar Mukherjee]	1960	...	...	16,06,000
of the rural rich. Many MPs are also connected with it.	1966	...	...	24,93,000
	1967	...	...	27,40,000
	1968	...	...	30,12,000
	1969	...	...	34,24,000
	1970	...	...	39,95,000
	1971	Up to October		49,00,000

Unemployment is a very serious problem faced by the entire country. Now a tendency is evident inside the ruling party to under-estimate the gravity and magnitude of the problem. Yesterday, in the course of her reply to the discussion on the President's Address in the other House the Prime Minister has said that now in India poverty is not in such a degrading stage as it was previous to independence. She is not prepared to accept the results of the National Sample Survey where it has been clearly stated that the percentage of people whose standard of living is going below the poverty level is day by day increasing.

Similarly, take the question of unemployment. In the past, figures were published regarding the backlogs after the completion of each five year plan. At the beginning of the first plan, it stood at 3.3 million. At the end it increased to 5.3 million. The second plan started with a backlog of 5.3 million and ended with 7.1 million. The third plan started with 7.1 million and ended with 9.6 million. After the third plan, there were annual plans from 1966 to 1969. The annual plans started with a backlog of 9.6 million and in three years, it rose to 12.6 million. Thus it is seen that from 1966 to 1969, the figure of unemployment has been rising at the rate of 1 million per year. After 1969, Government has stopped the publication of these figures, because it has risen so much that if correct figures are given, it will expose the hollowness of the claims of Government that they are leading the country to advancement and growth.

12 hrs.

In the absence of correct figures on the part of the government we cannot say in concrete terms how far unemployment has increased. Of course, some unofficial figures are available. According to *Blitz* the present figure of unemployment is five crores and partial employment 17 crores. If we look at the figures in the live register we will realise the gravity of the problem. The figures there are as follows :

It will be seen that in one year it has risen by 10 lakhs. Between 1968 and 1970 the number of applicants on the live register has increased by 33 per cent and within one year it has increased by 10 lakhs. Since all unemployed people do not register their names in the live register, the problem is far more serious than is reflected by these figures.

Coming to the question of educated unemployed, the figures are rising. From 13,90,000 in 1958 it has risen to 15,26,000 in 1959. Between 1957 and 1959 the number of educated unemployed has increased by 50 per cent, by half a million, and it is going on increasing. Unfortunately, I do not have concrete figures to quote for all the States.

In Kerala unemployment has increased on a large scale. In cashew industry, coir industry, beedi and many other industries it has greatly increased. In August 1970 in West Bengal the number of persons in the live register crossed the half million mark and reached 5,45,970. By June 1971 the figure rose to 7,45,852, a big rise of two lakhs within a year, 37 per cent increase, which forms 20 per cent of the total registered unemployed in India.

How are the government tackling this problem? They announced a crash programme in last year's budget. The result of that crash programme is very meagre. The Economic Survey and the budget Speech of the Finance Minister indicate that this programme is yet to gain momentum. Out of a sum of Rs. 75 crores only Rs. 3.1 crores have been spent. The programme is to provide employment for 1,000 people in a particular district for

ten months in a year. Now the figure has been brought down to man-days in order to hide the total failure of the crash programme. When this is the performance of the programme undertaken in the budget how can we believe that the Government are serious in solving the problem of unemployment?

This problem is bound to grow up and cannot be solved within the framework of a capitalist system. The solving of this problem requires a thorough overhaul and fundamental changes in the entire social system. The problem of unemployment cannot be solved without socialism. No serious efforts have been made by the government to solve this problem. Let us see how the socialist countries have solved this problem. In their constitutions they have given the right to work to every citizen. But we are far from that.

In India this problem is assuming very menacing proportions. That is why this requires serious tackling. But in this Budget provision only of Rs. 125 crores has been made, which covers rural water supply and various other aspects along with some provision for jobs or employment.

As for the performance of the last crash programme, there is no hope or future of seriously tackling the problem of unemployment by the Government. Their claim of social justice with growth, where by they expect to solve the problem of unemployment at least partially, will not materialise. This Budget has provided some big amount of money as Plan outlay with the hope that production will pick up and there will be some scope for employment. But simply by increasing production, the scope for employment cannot be created, because when capitalism, has reached the stage of monopoly capitalism, as is the law of capitalism, more and more sophisticated machinery is used by the big capitalists. Because the main motive force of production in capitalism is profit and for increasing production by the use of automation or more modernised machinery they want to eliminate more hand from the factories. We have to oppose automation because in a capitalist society, introduction of automation means retrenchment of a large number of workers and employees.

Yesterday the Railway Minister told us that he was going to introduce computers and automation in the railways. The railway employees are agitating for a long time because if automation is introduced in the railway, lakhs in lakhs of railway workers and employees will be displaced surplus and they will lose their jobs.

Therefore, production does not mean increase in employment. That is proved even by the green revolution technique applied in the case of production of food. In the *Economic Survey* on page 21 it is stated :-

"Not less important than the performance of production is the plight of the rural underprivileged. The excursions into the new technology, it is now fairly well recognised, have left virtually untouched in large parts of the country the small farmers and the vast army of landless labourers. Rising savings in the upper echelons of the agricultural community have, in isolated areas, tended to stimulate the urge for labour-saving adaptations, thus making the position of the small farmers and labourers even more uncertain."

This is the law of capitalism. They are more and more interested in introducing labour-saving devices by the perfection of technology. So, more and more people are getting out of employment in the villages and the disparity is increasing. It is a serious thing.

Why is this happening? It is because over the present feudal production relation capitalism is being superimposed in the rural sector. You are introducing capitalism in agriculture, thereby you are not solving the problem of unemployment in the villages but are creating further problems of losing more jobs, a few getting more rich and powerful and money being concentrated in the hands of the few. This is the process which is taking place in the villages because of the method you are adopting in the villages. This has to be seriously thought over.

So, in the matter of providing jobs to the unemployed, the path have you taken and the measures you have suggested, will fail to provide sufficient jobs. That is why

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a thorough change of the entire social system and the social structure has become very urgent. It is coming from all aspects and it has to be thought over seriously.

Now, I come to the other point, the question of growth with social justice. You have said in your Budget Speech that you have introduced some institutional basic changes. On p. 11 of part A of the Finance Minister's Speech, it is stated :

"Important as the Central Budget is as an instrument for furthering our social and economic objectives, it has to be supplemented by basic changes in our economic institutions and policies"

What we think about basic changes are not the institutional changes. The basic changes necessary are the complete elimination of feudal system and the end of capitalistic exploitation. Your thinking is that simply by introducing institutional changes in the economic, you will proceed towards socialism by nationalising some banks, by taking over the management of some insurance companies, the coking coal, mines and some other things. You think that by doing this, you will proceed towards socialism. That will never materialise because nationalisation under conditions of capitalism does not strengthen socialism. Nationalisation is not a socialistic measure. It helps the capitalist class to strengthen its position in cases of crisis. This is proved by the fact that money given as loans to smaller sections by the nationalised Banks constitutes only a small part.

The other day, in the course of his replies during the Question-Hour, the Finance Minister said that only 23 per cent of the bank money is being given as loans to smaller sections. 77 per cent of the money is being utilised to further the interests of bigger sections. So, these nationalised banks also are being used as an instrument to strengthen big capitalist section in the country.

Similarly, other institutional changes will not weaken capitalism. That is why your outlook is out and out a capitalist outlook and there is nothing of socialism in it.

Coming to the slogan of self reliance, *Arthik Swaraj* how you conceive the slogan of self reliance is written in your Economic Survey. It says :

"The external assistance provides support to the balance of payment as well as resources for investment. Doing without aid can simply mean doing without certain volume of investment and scaling down the capital formation activities in the economy."

This is certainly not what is implied by greater self-reliance. That means you are not completely getting yourself free from foreign dependence. Your performance and your slogan are self-contradictory.

Just now, during the question Hour, it was replied that some deal is going on between U.K. industrialists and the Government of India. During this period, you have disposed of and given licences to a number of foreign private capitalists. In 1969, the licences were given to 214 foreign private companies and, in 1970, the number of licences was 380. The number of applications for foreign investments is increasing.

Then, it is stated in the *Times of India* that it is clear from the Indo-British Technological Group which ended on Saturday that the Government of India has begun to adopt a more pragmatic approach to foreign investments in this country and the decision to waive all requirements including payment of duty on import of machinery by companies that wish to manufacture components for export is a case in point. That means, you are encouraging private foreign capital to exploit the Indian economy, and the number of collaborations that have been approved are in 1968-69—158 in 1969-70—129 and in 1970-71—221.

Thus it is proved that the slogan of self-sufficiency is a hoax and you are more and more dependent on foreign collaboration.

Moreover, this Budget is based on old outlook. We want that there should be greater resources from black money, tax evasion and greater imposition of taxes on

the bigger sections; you can get resources from there. But that policy, you are not pursuing. That is why, this Budget will not help solve any problems; it will further increase poverty and disparity.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI (Bhubaneswar) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the year 1972 the great people of India had entered the second year of the decade of victory which marked its beginning last year, in 1971. Our country and our people have acquired ever new glories and new victories, and we have uplifted ourselves to new heights as a great and bigger nation after the great victory of the people of Bangla Desh.

Viewed in this context, the Budget that has been placed before us this year by the Finance Minister, the Finance Ministry and the Government of India is a Budget of confidence as the nation has acquired self-confidence. The feudal, capitalists, the left-adventurists, the divisive and separatist forces in this country, the communal forces and the forces of right reaction have all suffered new defeats, defeats after defeats at home and a little beyond in the great immortal and golden land of Bangla Desh. Even the international reaction and the national reaction, combined together, have suffered the worst defeat that they could think of. The fascist forces had suffered their rout in the victory of the people of Bangla Desh.

The year 1971 was a historic year of break-through on all fronts and the beginning of 1972 has seen new successes and democratic upheavals of our masses.

The Budget which is before us, I must say, is bold and imaginative and has tried to accept many of the new challenges that India and its people are facing today after the great upheaval in Bangla Desh and the resulting reactions of the different forces all over the country and also in our frontiers. There is a little orientation. We have this great slogan of removing poverty and ignorance; these will not go merely by shouting slogans. Achievement on this front can come only through growth and growth with social justice. This Budget today is trying to release the productive forces in this country, so that at least in the coming

year our economy will be a little growth-oriented and we can achieve the biggest battle that we are going to fight after the battles that are over on the political and diplomatic fronts; I mean, the battle to achieve self-reliance, the battle of winning economic independence of the masses of this country, the millions and millions of people who are fighting all these years for Arthik Swaraj to which the President has referred.

An important feature in the Plan is the sharp step-up Plan outlay, amounting to more than Rs. 700 crores. I do not know to what percentage it works out; may be, to 22 per cent. This is the biggest challenge that we have to face. Once you do not invest anything in planning, it never generates any further investment in the private sector. Therefore, the biggest challenge that we have taken up to-day is the decision to invest another more than Rs. 700 crores in the Plan outlay in one single year. This is one of the biggest achievements. I realise that there are many 'ifs' taking into consideration the performance of the last year when the Plan provision was there but the shortfall amounted to more than Rs. 100 crores in various essential sectors which are aimed at social welfare of this country. I hope the Finance Ministry in its different Departments benefited by past experience will try to see that the Plan provision of more than Rs. 700 crores this year will be fully utilised; if necessary, they may exceed the target but there should not be any shortfall.

Another achievement of the Budget is the various social welfare programmes it has outlined viz., rural water supply, rural home sites for those people who have no homes, slum-clearance programmes and the milk supply schemes for the poor children. These are the many redeeming features in this year's budget. Taking into consideration the national calamities for which we have provided Rs. 94 crores and taking into consideration the extra Rs. 300 crores for Bangla Desh, if we are able to provide Rs. 200 crores for social welfare measures, it shows there is a little imagination and an awareness of the country's needs and not of the leftist type but of a balancing one.

I must say that the financial measures

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that we had adopted, that is, had it not been preceded by the two budgets in 1971, to-day perhaps the financial burdens that would have arisen would have completely put everything out of gear and the Finance Minister would have found himself in a more difficult position. Therefore, I admire the ingenuity of the Ministry and the Government that in the last two previous Budgets there was a little resource mobilisation done which started in 1971. Now, therefore it has been possible for us at least to tide over the deficit or at least has been brought to the level of Rs. 233 crores. Therefore, this is a manageable proportion that we have been able to achieve.

But, here, I must like to bring to the notice of the hon. Finance Minister that as a Party man I have my little responsibility to bring it to the notice of the hon. Minister and I hope he will consider it because he always considers, that is the impost, the levy on kerosene. I think there is scope for reconsideration of this matter because for reconsideration in this country, kerosene is a commodity of common consumption and we hope, Sir, the hon. Finance Minister would take into consideration the view of the people. I don't want to make it as if it is all kerosene and nothing else in this budget. It is just a matter of reconsideration of the entire thing. This appeal I would like to make to the hon. Minister.

I must try to put forward a few suggestions for consideration of the hon. Finance Minister. There is nothing destructive in these suggestions. They are all constructive, made after years of experience and a little study of economics. Now, a major problem before this country is the question of resource mobilisation. I would like to just place before the hon. Finance Minister that a person wedded to traditional economic concepts would look with horror at the prospect of deficit financing. But in this country itself the traditional economics theory approach is changing. The traditional economic theory of the need to bridge the gap between the revenue and expenditure is changing. Here, two things have to be taken into consideration. One is deficit financing and the other is the line of least resistance—taxation. Sometimes, traditional way of thinking still persists. So far as the scope of deficit financing is concerned, I

will never agree with some people who say that the moment there is deficit financing the whole country is going to collapse. Ours is a developing economy where there is enough scope for deficit financing. I must say that this aspect of the deficit financing the Finance Ministry should keep in mind. They have acted with a little discretion. That point has to be taken into consideration, for mobilising the resources of the nation.

Various surveys have been carried out by the Reserve Bank. They have carried out surveys in respect of more than 1000 private limited companies. These comprise of not only private limited companies but the public sector companies also. The total amount invested in inventories comes to no less than Rs. 4,000 crores. This is the position. There is one thing which I would like to bring to the notice of the hon. Finance Minister. Let us not follow the line of least resistance. In USA, in Germany and in other countries you never come across this situation. You never find their inventories so big, because, there is no space available. There is no space available even to park the cars. There is no space to keep huge things. No factory in any modern developed country will be able to allow so much of dead capital to be invested in these inventories which comes to Rs. 4,000 crores both in the public sector and in the private sectors of our country. They think, tomorrow the price will rise, day-after-tomorrow the price will rise; like that they create hoarding and thereby dead capital is invested in this kind of thing. I hope this point will be taken up seriously by the hon. Finance Minister and the Government as a whole, with the cooperation of all the Ministries, Government has set up the Cabinet Economic Sub-Committee which is going to be a most powerful committee; I am sure they will coordinate all these things so that we may make progress in this respect.

The hon. Minister has stressed on economic independence and self-reliance and our Prime Minister dealt with this problem yesterday in the Rajya Sabha also. What is the position if we see the budgets from 1956 to 1968? The total payments towards amortisation and debt servicing payments on foreign loans that they have incurred

comes to the order of Rs. 1845 crores. Between the years 1968-69, 1969-70 and 1970-71 we have paid another Rs. 1443.2 crores. If we add up all the payments upto 1974-75 we would be paying an amount totalling Rs. 7012.14 crores. That is only on official account, towards the debt servicing, repayments and amortisation charges. And, when you come to 1974-75 you will find, the total loan is Rs. 9902 crores. What a terrific strain is there by this kind of aid? This can be easily imagined. So, this is the first thing that Government should take up and they should stop this kind of aid in the coming few years. We should see that we reach the stage of self-reliance in our economy. There are some of our friends who look to some other frontiers for help. But they don't realise what a tremendous programme we have taken up in this country for self-reliance within the next 4 or 5 years. This is the biggest challenge that we have accepted, and this is a thing which must be done with the cooperation of all.

Take the provision of drinking water facilities in villages for instance. Members may go round, select the constituencies where this facility should be provided, etc. There should be a sense of involvement on the part of everybody and only then can this problem be tackled. Nearly 42 per cent of export earnings go to debt servicing charges and repayments, and by 1977, even if we increase exports upto 100 per cent, we will not be able to attain the stage of self-reliance. Various studies have shown that the aid from the developed countries minus the debt servicing came to about 6.3 billion dollars for all the undeveloped and developed countries in 1968. But those very same developed countries could afford to spend 35 billion dollars on liquor and 15 billion dollars on cigarettes in the year 1968. Therefore, if they think that they are giving any charity to this country or to our people, I think they are mistaken. How much do they consume by way of liquor and cigarettes, and what is the aid that they are giving to us?

Again, our people will be happy to know that it is not as if foreign aid is building up our economy. Foreign aid is not building up our economy. 85 per cent of the resources employed in India's economic development today comes from our own people and from

our own resources. It is only 15 per cent for which we have been dying all these years, and yet we are paying so much for this 15 per cent aid by way of interest and loan repayments. Just as we took a pledge last year in regard to Bangla Desh, likewise, I feel that the time has come now when we must take a pledge, when the whole country should take a pledge that at least during the coming three years, we shall get rid of this foreign aid to the extent of 15 per cent. But what do we find? Under the 13th loan agreement for non-project aid which has been signed with the USA in 1971, the total components of machinery that we are going to import comes to about Rs. 1500 crores in value. In the face of this, what is the meaning of our slogan of import substitution? I feel that this question should be taken up more seriously, and there should be a co-ordinated effort to get rid of these imbalance in our economy. Recently, the president of the World Bank had visited India, and he was told that India was anxious to reduce her dependence on any kind of foreign aid and that she was taking steps to reduce the need for imports. But if we have a look at the recent projects and Plan programmes and undertake self-analysis of what we are doing, we shall be surprised to find that perhaps we are prove to be a little more dependent on foreign aid than before. I believe that there is a lurking desire, may be somewhere in some agency in some Ministry which has some kind of relations with foreign interests, which may be trying again to sabotage all the bold ventures that we are adopting now. I hope the hon. Minister will be aware of this and Government shall take care of these elements.

MR. SPEAKER : The hon. Member has taken a lot of time already. He should conclude now.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI : Kindly give me three or four more minutes.

MR. SPEAKER : But he should not take it at the cost of the other Members.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI : I have not taken sufficient time. I shall take just three or four more minutes only.

I would like to bring it to the notice of the hon. Minister that the only panacea for

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achieving our socialist goals is to increase production. But what is the picture that we see in regard to production? The steel production was to be 10.3 million tonnes in 1973-74, and it has come down now to 8 million tonnes. Similarly, there is going to be a shortfall in the target for fertiliser production also. The same is the position in regard to copper, zinc and other non-ferrous metals.

The Reserve Bank of India has pointed out that 35 per cent of the installed capacity in the industrial sector in this country remains unutilised in general. If only we could utilise this 35 per cent unutilised capacity and increase production by 35 per cent, we shall not have to go a yhe abegging, and we shall not have to depend only on tax resources but we could also tap the non-tax resources which could provide finances to our country.

Therefore, my plea with Government is this. When we are in search of capital, and when we are going in for mobilisation of resources, and when we find that at least, about Rs 5000 to 6000 crores of capital is in bondage, why, should we not make an attempt to free this capital in bondage? We could help in freeing 75 Million people of Bangla Desh last year. When we could do so, why should we not free this capital in bondage? Again, there is the question of unearthing of black money, the estimate of which the Wanchoo committee puts at about Rs 7000 crores in 1968 by way of turnover. Why should we not take a bold step to free this capital which is in bondage? Even if we could free it to the extent of Rs 5000 crores, we can add to our economic strength without depending on more taxes or deficit financing or foreign aid.

In conclusion, I would like to quote what Mahatma Gandhi had said. He said.

"The future beckons to us. Whither shall we go and what shall be our endeavour? To bring freedom and opportunity to the common man, to the peasants and workers of India, to fight and to end poverty and ignorance and disease, to build up a prosperous, democratic and progressive nation and to create social, economic and political institutions which will ensure justice and fulness of life to every man and woman."

We are now going to fulfil that wish of Mahatma Gandhi. In this year, we shall again try and move forward for new things so that we can achieve the desired goal which the people have given us the mandate to do boldly and imaginatively.

In conclusion, I emphasise the need for going ahead with the second steel plant for Orissa which has gone by default so far and to undertake various flood-control and irrigation schemes in Orissa. The process has started, but something must be done to speed it up. For its development plan, Orissa should receive higher priority because it is in the backward sector. Government should pay special attention to Orissa so that we can benefit by their guidance and help in its onward march of development.

I support the Budget.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN (Madras North). Mr. Speaker, the Budget presented by the Finance Minister is insipid, unscrupulous, untrustworthy, unkind and also unwanted and unwarranted. The rising expectation of the people of this country is very excellently belied through this Budget.

The Budget can at best be considered as an instrument for transforming the phase of socio-econom aspects in the country. But particularly for a party which is wedded to socialism indulging in the process of levelling up and levelling down. I am sure this Budget is self-defeating. Probably Shri Chavan has his own reason to say why it is self-defeating. Probably his attention may not have been there enough because of his preoccupation with the election business, and his direction or stamp may not be in the budget. So I can call it a bureaucratic budget also.

But while he himself claims it as a socialist budget, I never expected a tax would fall on kerosene which is a common man's commodity. He knows that. Perhaps after the discussion is over, he would come out and say 'I withdraw the tax on kerosene'. Thereby he might lay claim to being socialist. There is that possibility also.

In the mid-term poll in 1971—that is the background in which Shri Chavan should approach this issue—the clarion call of the

Prime Minister to the country was the political survival of a party, that is, Indira Congress with the possibility of implementation of socialistic programmes and policies. If the Indira Congress were routed in the elections, the achievement of socialism would have been buried fathoms deep. Realising this, the people voted for that party and gave it massive support. As a result, the politics of survival was taken care of.

Then came the State elections all over the country. There of course, her clarion call to the people 'stability today'. Realising the importance of stability and also recognising the importance of unity, not uniformity, the people voted for the Indira Congress. As a result in so many States, specially Gujarat where my friend Shri Shyamnandan Mishra claimed that he would go; it and in Madhya Pradesh where Shri Vajpayee claimed that he would take it over all the other parties were virtually finished.

Now, democracy is in danger in a way, because in democracy, Opposition is a *sine qua non* for the successful implementation of the programmes and the lubrication oil in the wheels of the democratic machine. If the Opposition is virtually wiped out, what would be a monolithic order will emerge; a Leviathan may be on the top; no freedom of expression; nothing; the Constitution would become a scrap of paper, and nothing would follow. So, my humble submission is this. The politics of survival is to be replaced by the politics of stability. After having achieved stability, it is the duty of the Government to see what are the promises. Promises are not like peccatus meant to be broken; promises are to be performed. The *bona fides* of the Government is to be established, and they should come out with the socialist programmes, not through sermonising the people that we are going to do this, we are going to do that. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. If anybody analyses this budget, nobody would be convinced that this budget is attempting to establish a socialist society even though Mr. Chavan himself is a fullfledged, excellent, volface socialist. I have no objection so far as Mr. Chavan's conviction is concerned, but unfortunately his budget exposes him terribly and the entire country is disappointed now.

The last two budgets—one in October and the other in the month of December—were able to achieve for the Government Rs. 500 crores. So, the back of the common people has been broken enough. They could have avoided this time certain imposts on kerosene, aluminium, fertilisers, power pump and all these items. Because, on the one side we are talking about the green revolution and on another side we are talking that we are going to tax fertilisers. On the one side, we are kissing and on another side we are kicking. It is a sadist job. Mr. Chavan should not adopt that job in his political life. So, my humble request is that these imposts should be withdrawn; all these imposts would bring a very, very meagre amount. But on the contrary you may say that it is only an increase of six paise on Kerosene, but it would cost considerably to the common people of the country.

I had occasion to read a book, the life-sketch of Mr. Chavan written by one T. V. Kunjukrishnan or somebody. (interruption) After having read that book, I developed a fascination for Mr. Chavan, because Mr. Chavan can afford to be a real socialist in his party; the next socialist is our Prime Minister. She should prove that she is a real socialist. Before I finish this part of my budget speech, I request Mr. Chavan, please withdraw the tax on kerosene, which you are going to do. (interruption) And you should withdraw the tax on fertilisers and aluminium at least. (interruption) You would not do it? That is all right. In that case, you are exposed. My sympathies to you.

The second aspect is Centre-State fiscal relation which I want to stress. I am very happy that I am in the midst of the allies here, sitting and listening to my speech. The object of my coming here and speaking to you now is to dispel an erroneous impression that is sought to be created by certain sections in the party which is ruling this country. The two charity boys belonging to the Central Cabinet,—one is Mr. Subramaniam and the other is Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam—these two people came to Madras and addressed the people of Tamil Nadu at a meeting, saying—I think I can quote from their speeches and then only you

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can understand and appreciate the joke of these stalwart speakers.

It appeared in today's *Patriot*: "DMK Government asked to clarify stand on Centre-State ties". The Union Planning Minister Mr. C. Subramaniam yesterday asked the DMK Government to state clearly whether it stood for a policy of co-operation with the Centre or confrontation in the guise of State autonomy. I want to know who are all these people, arrogating to themselves the level of the Prime Minister, demanding clarification from a State Government elected by the people of the country with a massive mandate. These people have the audacity to talk like that? I cannot understand. He says that the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister's statement that the State Government would co-operate with the Centre though his party's alliance with the Congress had ended was welcome but the speeches and the writings of the leaders and their party papers made one wonder whether they were sincere in their professions.

My humble reply to Mr. Subramaniam and Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam leading international legal constitutional light is this: Physician, heal thyself. On the 5th of March, I had occasion to address the people of Madurai where I explained what I wanted and that was reported in a paper called *Hindu* which is noted for its reactionary policies. I could have understood if my speech had been reported through a news agency like the PTI or UNI, but its special correspondent reported and he says: "Mr. Manoharan in the course of his speech stated that if the State autonomy demand is not conceded, we would revive our philosophy of separation." This is an absolute fabrication and a tissue of lies with the clear intention of diverting the attention of the people.

I want to quote what the *Madras Mail*, an evening newspaper from Madras, has to say on what the Chief Minister spoke. It says: "The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu has had occasion in recent months to dispel any misunderstanding about the State's demand and put the issue of autonomy in perspective. There cannot be any excuse for misunderstanding after his categorical statement on Tuesday that the

country's unity came first and State autonomy only next." It says further "The note of robust patriotism was unmistakable." In a moving speech he made to the General Council meeting of his party, he declared that if there was the slightest rift between the Centre and the State, the enemies of the country would exploit it. That was the speech of the Chief Minister and then the *Mail* paper comments on that. The demand for autonomy, he pointed out, should be distinguished from the demand for self-determination. I also want to stress this distinction before the House. The need to make such a distinction is all the greater today when India has emerged as a strong country which will grow stronger and stronger in the years to come and has to find its rightful place in the comity of nations. I wish you to listen to the last para of the *Mail's* editorial. The demand for State autonomy cannot be conceded, according to me, at the expense of national strength and unit and this is the crux of the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister's address. That is the verdict of *Mail* also. Finally, it says that it should also be conceded, it is for the consideration of the Prime Minister and her bandwagon, that the Centre cannot be strong unless the States are also strong.

So, what we have been pleading for is nothing but State autonomy in the field of what is called economy, in the field of finance, and policy to a certain extent. Federalism should be perfected. Today our Federation is unitary in spirit, federal in garb. So many people have said so. We felt the pinch of it, we thought we could appoint a committee which could go into it fully. And that committee's report was released. It is only recommendatory, not mandatory, because we cannot impose our will on the entire people of this country. But I want to draw the attention of the House to certain basic principles of federalism.

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN (Kangra):
What is so sacrosanct about federalism?

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: The federal principle requires that the Central and the regional Governments should be independent each of the other in its sphere. If this principle is to operate not only as a matter of strict law, but also in practice

it follows that both the Central and regional Governments must each have in its own independent control resources sufficient to reform its exclusive function. This is the view of an authority on federalism, Mr. K. C. Weir. The majority of the Members might have read his book. This is the definition of federalism.

The crux of our demand is this. We do not want dependence; on the contrary we are not for independence. Please be clear about my point. We do not want dependence, at the very same time we do not want independence; but, on the contrary, what we want is inter-dependence between the Centre and the States. That aspect must be understood by the people who are accusing the DMK. A systematic campaign of vilification and vituperation is going on in the country, saying that the DMK Government is reviving its old demand of Dravidanad for Dravidians. Categorically, on the floor of the House, believing in my conscience, I declare that the DMK Party has buried deep and unthinkably the philosophy of separation. It would never revive again this demand in the politics of this country. (*Interruptions*) You are saying "oh" here, but you tell Mr. Kumaramangalam and Mr. Subramaniam, who ought to have tolerance, but without understanding anything, are talking in the streets that the DMK has revived its old demand. I am the spokesman of the DMK party in Parliament. Do not belittle the importance of my position as the leader of the party in Parliament. And my Chief Minister Mr. Karunanidhi has categorically declared that we will never revive our demand. On the contrary we want State autonomy.

What is State autonomy? Before entering into that, what are the reactions of so many people regarding State autonomy? Here is one.

"The Indian Constitution is federal, but it is heavily weighted in favour of the Centre".

This opinion is expressed by Sardar Panikkar in his book *The Foundations of New India*.

Here is another. When the Communist

Party was one family, when Shri Indrajit Gupta and Shri P. Ramamurti were together, in 1962 this is what their election manifesto said :

"The Communist Party firmly stands for wider powers and authority, particularly in financial and economic matters being given to the States of the Indian Union. The Seventh Schedule of the Constitution must be revised and amended so as to enlarge the power of the States and to abridge those of the Central Government."

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore) : It is there still.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN : I am very happy that Shri Indrajit Gupta is endorsing it, saying that it is still there. But unfortunately, I cannot understand A. K. Gopalan, a good friend of mine a bit senile. While he was talking...

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY (Nominated-Anglo-Indians) : Don't use such words.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN : Out of affection I can say anything. It is our understanding, pure and simple. You are an outsider, do not interfere between me and A. K. Gopalan. All right; I withdraw (*Interruptions*). After all, I can also become senile; anybody can become senile. The facts are to be faced. Mr. Gopalan said in a meeting, "We are not going to accept the State autonomy of the DMK."

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE : That is not our stand.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN : On the contrary, Mr. Namboodiripad, ex-Chief Minister of Kerala was telling, "We are for State autonomy."

Now, I want to draw the attention of the House to the relevant portion of the report of the Third Finance Commission :

"A more important and disturbing feature is that States are becoming dependent on Central assistance on an ever-increasing scale. This arises partly out of the fact that the financial

[Shri K. Manoharan]

control of the federal unit is with the Centre and for other reasons State are left with meagre and inelastic sources of revenue. Even with the considerable increase in the rates of taxes in the State List, the additional revenue will be negligible.

This increasing dependence on Centre is diluting on one hand the accountability of the State Cabinets to their legislatures and on the other hand, it is coming in the way of the development of a greater sense of responsibility in their administration. I am quoting this to prove that what we want is State autonomy, not self-determination nor separation.

I will now quote the relevant portion from the book *Federalism in India* written by Bombwall.

“Our federal system will be successful in the measure in which it is able to harmonise the centripetal and centrifugal forces which are inextricably woven into the texture of our multi-religious, multi-racial and multi-lingual country. Political Monolithism is alien to the genius of India. It is not unnatural, therefore, to forecast that in the coming years, the States will strive for greater initiative and seek an equation of fruitful partnership than of mere subordination without carrying their assertiveness to the point of wrecking the unity of India or weakening her strength as a nation.”

This is his view.

There is a book called *Planning and the Problem of Administration* and in an article which appeared in the *Indian Journal of Political Science* this is what Shri K. V. Rao, an eminent economist says,

“The Centre plans, the centre decides, the Centre directs and the States are unable to do anything positive except waiting at the door of the Planning Commission for doles.”

13 hrs.

Shri K. V. Rao is not a member of the DMK nor a member of the CPI nor a

member of the Indra Congress. He is an economist.

Let me quote from the *Times of India* this will appeal to my friend, Shri S. N. Mishra.

“State autonomy in education has found a somewhat unexpected champion in Morarji Desai, who has maintained in a memorandum to the Education Commission.”

This is what Shri Morarji Desai has said.

If India has to live according to the accepted principle of unity in diversity we should not expect the States to surrender their rights in matters like education and culture. Any attempt to change these provisions would be to vitiate the very basis of the Constitution.

MR SPEAKER: He may continue his speech after lunch.

13 01 hrs.

The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at three minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

[MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

GENERAL BUDGET, 1972-73—
GENERAL DISCUSSION—*contd.*

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: Mr Deputy-Speaker, I was speaking about Centre-State relations and had given some quotations from some eminent scholars. I think, I must add one more to them. That would explain the stand of the DMK Party. This is by Shri B. V. Krishnamurthy.

“The past twenty years have witnessed a self-propelled expansion of economic power of the Central Government whose dimensions are progressively surpassing the combined economic power of all State Governments put together. Leaving aside the resources

exclusively available to the Centre from banks, insurance, foreign trade and assistance, post office deposits and the other sources of non-tax revenue, even the fiscal system is so built that its functioning can only lead the Centre to obtain control over larger and larger resources *vis-a-vis* the States. A striking index of this is provided by the fact that the current revenue (gross) of the Centre has risen from Rs. 554.73 crores in 1955-56 to Rs. 4,500 crores in 1971-72. And, on the other hand, the current revenue of the States (excluding transfers from the Centre) has risen from Rs. 427.58 crores in 1955-56 to Rs. 1,600 crores (approximately) in 1971-72.

“Viewed from the relative strength of the resource-raising power to the Centre on the one side and all the States put together on the other it would be noticed that the relative power of the Centre was 1.25 in 1955-56, by 1971-72, it had practically doubled.”

This explains that the Central Government has got the authority over all the financial institutions of the country, the elastic taxes are all enjoyed by the Central Government and inelastic taxes are left to the States. While we say State autonomy, the basic fact that we want to project is that States should be given more powers to augment their resources and, thereby, each and every State can stand on its own legs.

SHRI DINESH SINGH (Pratapgarh)
Power has to be taken, not given.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN Don't provoke me.

The States should be given more powers to augment their resources so that each and every State can stand on its legs without impairing the constitutional framework. But with *mutatis mutandis*. This is the crux of the whole of the D.M.K. demand for State autonomy. Here, I want to draw the attention of the House to one thing. The Government of Tamil Nadu appointed a 3-man Committee headed by Mr. Rajamannar, ex-Chief Justice of the Madras High Court. Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, an eminent educationalist and Mr. Chandra Reddy, re-

tired learned judge. These men have nothing to do with the D.M.K. Government nor with the philosophy of the D.M.K. party.

Now, the moment the Report was released, much has been said about the Report. Even in the Central Hall, all the party leaders came to me and I told me, “We want the Report to be studied. We want to know something about it because now each and every State starts asserting itself. So, in case the Rajamannar Report should provoke a dialogue in the arena of nation that will be a federal structure.” Actually, some people thought and openly spoke also that the Rajamannar Report was going to wreck the Constitution. In order to reply to these critics, Mr. Rajamannar said this.

“Mr. Rajamannar today refuted the criticism that the recommendations of the 3-man Committee headed by him on Centre-State relations were an attempt to wreck the Constitution or introduce revolutionary changes in it.”

About the purpose of the Committee and the purpose of its probe into the Constitution he said as follows:

“The purpose of the Committee was to augment resources of the States and enable them to get more powers within the framework of the Constitution. He, however, admitted that even under the present Constitution, the States enjoy a certain amount of autonomy but that was a question of degree. An attempt was made by the Committee to get some of the powers to the States to enable them to find more resources.”

This is what he says.

Finally he explained one fundamental fact which must be taken note of by the Government of the day. He says:

“In a federal set-up if the Centre issued a direction asking one of the States to implement it, direction failing which the Presidential rule would be imposed, it could be possible if one party ruled the entire country. Supposing one party governed the Centre and another party ruled a State and

[Shri K Manoharan)

both differed radically, what would happen, if the Centre issued a similar direction, knowing full well that the direction could not be carried out. An ideal federal set up or structure would provide that the Centre and the States were supreme in their own sphere and one was not subordinate to the other.

Another fact that I want to point out is this State autonomy, according to DMK, according to us, means this. We want a strong Centre no doubt but unless the States are strong, the Centre cannot be strong. Because according to us, States are the infra-structures and the Centre is the super-structure. If the infra-structures are weak, naturally the super-structure will be weak. So we want to impress upon the Government of India this fact through providing this note, the recommendations of Rajamannar, let us please discuss it. Let us have a dialogue about it. In clear terms let me tell you, we did not spell out even now what we wanted, what are the powers we wanted. On the contrary we felt something. A simple thing would appeal to you how politically our State is being crippled, how the autonomy is being crippled by the Centre. A small incident would reveal how arrogant the Central Government has been, how arrogant the Central Government is and how arrogant, after these elections, the Central Government would be.

The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu has corresponded with the Central Government to install a statue of Raja Raja Chola in the Brihadeeswarar Temple. The temple is in Thanjavur, the temple was built by Raja Raja Chola, and his statue we wish, must find a place inside the temple. It is a simple issue, it is a simple request, it is a simple problem, for which the letter my Chief Minister has received from the Central Government is this. The headline is 'Turned down'.

"Mr Karunanidhi informed the House that the Centre has turned down the State Government's plea for the installation of the statue of Raja Raja Chola within the precincts of the Brihadeeswarar temple in Thanjavur."

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Why?

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: The funny and fantastic reason is coming.

"The Chief Minister said it was 'very painful' for him to state that the State Government did not have the right to act in deference to the wishes of the people even in small matters like this. He said the rejection of the State's plea was on the ground that the installation of the statue would mar the architectural beauty of the ancient temple."

People who are sitting in the ivory tower in Delhi which is the grave-yard of so many empires think that the people of Tamil Nadu are suffering from want of aesthetic sense! This is a small matter. So many small matters of course, heap into a big one. We said that this sort of humiliation we could not tolerate and that States should not be reduced to dolc-getting corporations in the federal set up of this country. We quoted, with a view to establishing our claim, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Then suddenly the Congress people started saying, 'Karunanidhi is becoming a Mujibur Rahman of Tamil Nadu, Karunanidhi is demanding a separate State', this and that. I think, this is nothing short of non-sens, absurdity to the core, and stupidity to the extent possible. Mujib's six-points have been highly appreciated by the Indira Congress, I do not know about Congress (O), of course I do not know whether, knowing full well what are the six points, they have appreciated Mujibur Rahman's six points or not. These were in Mujibur Rahman's election manifesto. I want to tell the House that, in the name of State autonomy, Mujibur Rahman contested the elections, and as all the members know, his Party won a thumping majority. After that the military junta of Islamabad could not appreciate the feelings of the people of East Pakistan, to-day Bangla Desh and so many military crackdowns and so many things happened. The net result was that East Pakistan emerged as a separate sovereign independent Republic. But, what are his six points?

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: These are old political questions, not Budget questions.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN : My Prime Minister has recently gone to Bangla Desh to have a political and economic settlement. So, it is highly relevant that I speak something on Mujib's country.

The six-point programme is this—all in the name of State autonomy. Please listen with rapt attention. What are the demands of Mujibur Rehman in the name of State autonomy ?

(1) The Constitution should provide for a Federation of Pakistan on the basis of Lahore Resolution and for a parliamentary form of Government based on the supremacy of a directly elected legislature on the basis of universal adult franchise. This is No. 1. The Lahore Resolution is that both wings should be autonomous. The Eastern Wing and the Western Wing should be autonomous. That is the quintessence of the Lahore Resolution moved by Fazlul Haque in the year 1940.

(2) The Federal Government should deal with (This is the most important point) only two subjects—Defence and Foreign Affairs, (All the rest with the States) with the residuary subjects vested in the federating States.

(3) There should be either two separate convertible currencies for the two wings or one currency for the two with two separate Reserve Banks to prevent inter-wing flight of capital.

The majority Indira Gandhi people may not know these six points, therefore, I am quoting them to them.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The six points are all dead and buried.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, AND SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SHRI RAJ BAHADUR) : Hear, hear. Thank you very much.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN : I am quoting the six points as, then only, you will appreciate it.

The fourth point is that the power of taxation and revenue collection shall be vested in the federating units. The federal

government (This is the important sentence), that is, the Government sitting here, according to Mujibur Rehman, will receive a share to meet its financial obligations.

SHRI B. P. MAURYA (Hapur) : Do you know when this suggestion arose ? What is the sense in quoting all these things now ?

SHRI K. MANOHARAN : First you must hear me fully.....(*Interruptions*) I know you are a New Congressman with a new mission and new outlook.

Then, the economic disparities between the two wings shall disappear through a series of economic, fiscal and legal reforms.

The most dangerous sixth point is that a militia or a para-military force must be created in East Pakistan which at present has no defence of its own.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Betul) : Do you want this in Tamil Nadu ?

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR : He does not want.....(*Interruptions*)

SHRI K. MANOHARAN : So far as the geography of East Pakistan is concerned so far as the history of East Pakistan is concerned, the six points can be conveniently considered as points for State autonomy. I agree. But, so far as this country is concerned, we have been enjoying a particular philosophy—unity in diversity, a country with a multi-racial, multi-lingual society, a society plural and culture composite in this country. We will never tolerate a particular unit demanding. 'We want a para-military force and we want an army of our own to protect our interests.' This will never find a place in the list of points for State autonomy so far as this country is concerned. Very belatedly only my friend, Mr. Salve, understood me .. (*Interruptions*)

So, I am coming to the point. The point is this : these six points have been accepted...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : By whom ?

SHRI K. MANOHARAN : By the people of East Pakistan.....(*Interruptions*) I did not say it had been accepted by the hon. Member. (*Interruption*) Then what

[Shri K. Manoharan] happened? The crux of the issue is this. The attention of the powers-that-be is drawn to this particular issue. If the power that be, becomes indifferent and callous, then what happens? These 6 points were reduced into one, and that is complete independence. Sir, so far as the country is concerned on behalf of the DMK, I can tell you this. Distances are shrinking, the international obligations of India are becoming greater and greater. We are becoming one of the best democracies in the whole of South-east Asia and we are proving that we are one of the mighty nations of the world and our country cannot afford to have any further division. I say, I entirely agree with you. But you must also see that the State also must be helped by you for which we must have a dialogue. Sit around the table and discuss.

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR: What is the reference to the 6 points?

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: Sit around the table and discuss this matter.

SHRI RAJ BAJIADIR: I only say that these 6 points need not have been referred to in the context for making out the point that you are making.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: I have great regard for your intelligence which is supreme and superb. What I say is this. Is it wrong to quote history?

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR: There should be relevance.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: It is to be decided by the House, not by you and me.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am concerned with relevance.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: In this case you are with me, I hope, Sir. Our Chief Minister wrote to the Prime Minister that this may be discussed. The Chief Minister received a reply, stating, along with the inter-State relations, Rajamannar report can be considered. But, on the floor of the Rajya Sabha, when somebody drew her attention about it she said this. It was a Committee which was set up by a duly elected Government of Tamilnadu.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: This is circumlocution. Sir, this circumlocution is baffling.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: My Chief Minister was assured that it will be discussed and we can find out an amicable solution.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): That was before the election.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: That was before the election.

SHRI PILOO MODY: If you succumbed to it it is not our fault.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Shall I ask the hon. Member a very straight question? Do you want a weak Centre or do you want a strong Centre?

SHRI PILOO MODY: Irrelevant. It should be ruled out.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You draw your own conclusion.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: I am sorry, the hon. Member is suffering from a serious disease of forgetfulness. I have already said that we are not for separation. Anybody who talks about separation in our country must be treated as a traitor. That also I told you. Unless States are strong, the Centre can never be strong. That also I told you.

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR: That is circumlocution.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: What can I do, if you refuse to understand? I am coming to the main point. My Chief Minister in his budget speech has drawn the attention of the country to this. While he was presenting the budget, he said.

"In this prelude to the Budget I would like to express a few thoughts about the future of our vast Indian nation. We are keen to strengthen further the feeling of unity exhibited by the people of this country in vanquishing the enemy. At the same time, no one should lose sight of the funda-

mental fact that the strength of Indian democracy lies in its unity amidst diversity. Unity does not mean uniformity. If democracy is to flourish there should be adequate freedom for contending thoughts and diverge ideologies. While the country has wholeheartedly accepted the goals of socialism and democracy, there will be differences of opinion on the manner in which different regions of this country should attain these goals. The insistence that all the States of the Indian Union should go along one single path and to create difficulties in their pursuit of different lawful and peaceful policies, to achieve these noble objectives will strike a discordant note in ensuring the harmony and the unity of the country."

This is the crux of my Chief Minister's speech.

Now, I come to the last point of my speech and it is this. After these elections, the Prime Minister of this country is being eulogised and he is being showered with encomiums and praises.

AN HON MEMBER: Not 'he' but 'she'.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: The zany and zeroes and ciphers and sycophants are sitting around and saying so many things. To them, I want to say this. The Prime Minister deserves congratulations no doubt, but I am afraid that certain people are sitting around her and they may spoil her.

AN HON MEMBER: She can look after herself.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: I know that she cannot be spoiled by this sort of group, because she is a very shrewd politician. Even then, I want to submit humbly for her consideration the following self-introspection:

"Whither is this (Adulation and flattery) going to lead him and the country?"

SOME HON. MEMBERS: 'Not him' but 'her'.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: I am quoting.

I am giving a quotation,

It further reads thus:

"What is he aiming at with all his apparent want of aim? What lies behind that mask of his, what desires, what will to power, what insatiate longings?"

These questions have a vital significance for us, for he is bound up with the present in India, and probably the future, and he has the power in him to do great good to India or great injury.

In normal times he would not be an efficient and successful executive, but in this revolutionary epoch ceaseless is always at the door, and is it not possible that Jawaharlal might fancy himself a Caesar? Therein lies danger for Jawaharlal and for India.

We have a right to expect good work from him in the future. Let us not spoil and spoil him by too much adulation and praise. His conceit, if any, is already formidable. It must be checked."

This was written by no other person than Shri Jawaharlal Nehru himself. This was his self-introspection. He with his scalpel operated upon himself and revealed this. This is my humble submission to the Prime Minister. Thereby, she can save herself.

After the recent elections, after the stability of the Government, after the establishment of or the attempt at the establishment of socialistic society, I say very humbly that we must focus our attention and concentrate our energy on the real building up of socialism in this country and let us not stop where we are. Thus far and no farther is not a question which can arise here. We have got enough responsibilities to the people to discharge.

I conclude my speech by repeating a stanza written in hand by the late Prime Minister Nehru and placed on his table, a stanza written by Robert Frost:

"The woods are lovely, dark and deep
But I have promises to keep
And miles to go before I sleep
And miles to go before I sleep"

[Shri K. Manoharan]

The rising expectation of this country is going to see this and we cannot shut our eyes to reality. Indira Gandhi is welcome so far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, but let me declare here : Indira Gandhi is welcome to Tamil Nadu but not her waves.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Betul) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, the fiscal year which ends on 31st March, 1972 is going to be an extraordinary year in the two and a half decades of post-independent India. It has undoubtedly been a very momentous year or in this year we once again ushered an era of political stability.

I would not have taken note of the criticism which I am dealing at the outset, while speaking on the budget. But I have heard this criticism a dozen times in this House and Shri Manoharan has reiterated the same. He said parliamentary democracy is in serious danger and jeopardy because a whole lot of opposition members are losing at the ballot one after another. He expressed considerable indignation at the opposition members losing the elections.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN : Reasonable.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : I am surprised at this criticism. All the opposition members are finding fault with us for their losses. Whom have they to thank ? Are the budget proposals responsible for their debacle in the mid-term poll ? Is Shri Chavan responsible for the large-scale failure of opposition parties in Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and elsewhere in assembly elections? Why are they blaming us ?

SHRI PILOO MODY : Yes.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : Shri Piloo Mody is incorrigible. His education has been slightly neglected.

SHRI DINESH SINGH : Not in the early years.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : The years relevant for training in parliamentary procedures have been terribly hopeless. He says we are responsible for his party's defeat.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Yes. He asks a rhetorical question and he must get a

reply. The fact is yes. If the Chair gives me time, I will explain.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : This is the precise reason why the Opposition is becoming microscopic every successive election. The difficulty is that they do not look at themselves. Have they forgotten what happened in 1967 ? After 1967 elections if the opposition were to look at their performance ...

SHRI PILOO MODY : Better than yours.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : If after that, the voters conclude that you are only a conglomeration of an unprincipled block, and do not Trust you any more do you not have to thank yourself for the same ?

SHRI PILOO MODY : Nonsense.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : Let Shri Manoharan look to his immediate right, left and back. Is not the opposition a small minority to day ? In spite of all this, does he expect that we are going to help him in the elections ? Therefore, I only hope that, if nothing else, they will not go to the point of absurdity in blaming us for their losses.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Yes.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN : You are incorrigible.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour) : Come to the budget.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : I know he is touchy on this point. But let him be a good loser, for a change. I know it is not easy to.....

SHRI PILOO MODY : Get murdered.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : One has to be trained in democratic traditions to be able to take defeats at the polls. We have taken our defeat in that spirit in the past and we brought about the changes which were necessary in our attitude and approach to reacquire the confidence of the electorate. That is the reason why we again got an overwhelming mandate. It is no use blaming

ing us. We did not blame opposition when we lost despite the fact that there were disruptionist forces which were resorting to violence, terrorising people and were taking resort to methods which were positively anti-democratic. Still we continued our struggle in the democratic traditions and today we are proud of having taken a stride towards establishing a stable and a matured parliamentary democracy in the country.

SHRI PILOO MODY Nonsense,

SHRI N K P SALVF My friend Shri Piloo Mody suffers from an extremely superior variety of inferiority complex to say like that. Having lost miserably in elections his party has almost vanished but he still continues to shout. Some one else would have thought of ways and methods needed to be adopted to help his party revive itself. Instead of that, he goes about with these cheap jibes here. That will not help him to revive his party. It is a friendly advice I am giving to him across the table.

AN HON MEMBER Free of cost

SHRI N K P SALVF The events and achievements, which were a crowning glory to the nation, was the heroic struggle and the sacrifice of the people of this country under the inspiring leadership of our revered and beloved Prime Minister in the liberation of Bangla Desh. Certainly the liberation of Bangla Desh is a matter of historical achievement to all of us, and the freedom-loving people everywhere (*Interruption*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER At this rate, you will never come to the budget.

SHRI N K P SALVF However, while we accept and we are only far too willing to own this glory of the contribution and sacrifice which we have made in the liberation of Bangla Desh and help the 75 million people realise their aspirations and ambitions, realise their cherished dreams of freedom of several years, bringing to an end the unprecedented butchery and genocide which was unparalleled both as to its heinousness and its magnitude, we are unwilling to fully realise what it costs us in terms of

men and material. What it costs us in terms of men is something which we may discuss when the Demands for Grants of the Defence Ministry come up. But certainly, when we have to make an evaluation of our sacrifice in terms of material losses, the budget proposals certainly acquire very great relevance.

It is easy to criticise the Finance Minister as was done here and as I heard over the radio. The very ruthless and merciless criticisms of the budget proposals have been made for his massive mobilisation of the resources and the additional taxation which he had levied last year in the three budgets that he brought about. During the whole year, their impact was less, but these very additional taxes that he levied in 1971-72 are going to yield this year Rs 500 crores. In addition to that, he has levied an additional tax of Rs 183 crores. So, in reality, if one were to compare the taxes between 1970-71 and 1972-73, the additional taxation aggregates to Rs 683 crores. It is undoubtedly massive.

Let us analyse the criticism which has been levelled against the Finance Minister. The rightists have said that this is a merciless budget and this sort of massive resource mobilisation is going to cast a very heavy burden on us, unrelashing an untrammelled inflation which will crush the poor. In these comments over the radio it was also said that this is going to leave no incentive to saving, growth or investment. In other words, the entire budget proposals were rejected lock, stock and barrel since they were highly drastic and mercilessly socialistic and therefore they hit at the root of private saving, growth and investment.

Our leftist friends will not lag behind when it comes to criticising us for no rhyme or reason and they have said that there is going to be growth but that would be only of the monopolies and oligopolies. That is what Mr Manoharan said. I am sorry he has gone away (*Interruption*). Mr. Manoharan used very strong abjectives against Mr Chavan and he said that this is a die hard reactionary's budget and not a socialists budget. And ultimately for what? For levying tax on kerosene, for levying tax on fertilisers, and for levying a tax on Aluminium, I entirely agree with him that

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

they should not be taxed, but purely for that, was it justifiable to have levelled such vituperative attack that he made on the Finance Minister. But these two criticisms at two ends, from our rightist reactionaries and from our leftist friends, not merely cancel each other but they expose the gross prejudice and utter irrelevance of the criticism to the present-day socio economic realities of the nation.

If however one were to objectively evaluate the fiscal measures of the Finance Minister in the context of the hard realities of the situation, one will congratulate him for efficiently managing the economy of the country as a result of which we could successfully meet the challenge of more and more resources for our defence needs, refugee relief, keeping a reasonable control on our price line and also maintaining a reasonable check on our balance of payments position.

We are certainly now in a situation where we have realised the imperative necessity of self-reliance. Foreign aid had been cut at a time when we needed it the most. In a sense I am extremely grateful to Mr. Nixon for his strongly unprincipled and treacherous policy of stopping such assistance. It has given us two very distinct benefits. It will take us forcibly to the path of self reliance which is necessary and essential for building up the strong infra-structure of economy in any developing country. More than anything else, even if we were to live in poverty, it has taught people to live with dignity and with self-respect, for this type of foreign aid is not aid, it is an absolute misnomer. It is consideration for buying self-respect and sovereignty of the developing country. And therefore the rebuff of Mrs. Gandhi to Mr. Nixon, which was sent in a letter couched in one of the most courteous languages ever known to the English literature, will go down in history as a remarkable example of protest by a developing nation to uphold its dignity and honour against the bullying tactics of an unprincipled super-power.

However, all this is going to cost us money and so taxes are inevitable and they are going to be levied. In fact Mr. Chavan deserves my very special congratulations because this time he seems to have realised

Rs. 683 crores through a process of painless operation. The buoyancy in the markets continues. The ordinary share index of the *Economic Time* which was showing a decline at the time of the Budget is going up and there is buoyancy in the share market. I heard a housewife speaking on the radio, while giving her reaction to the budget proposals, to say "thank God. Mr. Chavan has not levied any tax," while he has actually levied Rs. 683 crores. He is one man who has performed the impossible. He seems to have levied taxes and pleased people. Edmund Burke said that "to tax and to please, no more than to love and to be wise is not given to man." For obvious reasons, Edmund Burke could not have met Mr. Chavan nor could he have seen his performance. If he had seen Mr. Chavan's performance, he would be satisfied that he was wrong on both counts. Mr. Chavan has levied taxation and he is also capable of showing wisdom.

But I have realised the secret of Mr. Chavan's art of levying so much taxes and still remain popular. His secret art is the art of not how much you extract but how painlessly you extort taxation from fellow citizens. That is the key to his entire success. I shall now come immediately to the most disconcerting feature of our economy. It is, the tremendous recession in the growth of the industrial sector. The growth rate in 1970-71 has declined to 3.7 per cent as against 6.8 per cent in 1969-70 and in fact the figures reveal that in the earlier months of 1970 it was less than three per cent. Undoubtedly it is a very disconcerting picture. This unhappy position has got to be fought on absolutely war footing and conditions have to be established. Not only the large unutilised capacities of industries have to be utilised fully, we have also to work hard to maximise efficiency in productivity, so that we optimise the output in terms of men, material and management. However, if one were to read the *Economic Survey*, a document published on behalf of the Government, and the various comments in different economic papers, there appear to be certain basic difficulties which are responsible for this type of recession, but undoubtedly it also appears in degree to be a hangover of the recession, of the earlier years, but there is no reason why we should not be

able to pull the country out of it.

There are two or three very salient difficulties to which I wish draw the Government's attention. The first and foremost which is freely accepted and well known is the perennial shortage of industrial raw materials. This perennial shortage is related to very faulty internal movement. The Railway Minister is not here, but I hope something will be done drastically, so that priorities are given for movement of raw materials on a rational basis. Imports also need to be properly liberalised, so that our industries do not starve.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Not wrong planning ?

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : Planning is so utterly wrong, I admit with Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu, that there is high concentration of economic power, and that is one of the reasons why there is this recession, but it cannot be rectified overnight. We must work for it. Ours is a democratic process, and it is going to take some time but you may take it that if there is any one who is going to achieve it, it is this Prime Minister who is going to achieve it.

SHRI PILOO MODI : Nonsense.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : My learned friend is in the habit of regaling the House with his jokes and puns, but his talents are hopelessly misplaced. His colleagues are doing much better in the ring. He would be doing much better there. There ought to be some modicum of decor.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : You talk of democracy and you also talk about an individual achieving things. We do not understand.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : It is difficult for him to understand. He has grown in the marxist tradition whose interpretations of democracy and the democratic tradition are different. At any rate, what I meant was that she and the party under her would achieve it. I hope he understands.

The second point is that there is difficulty of credit facilities available to the

industry. There are yeoman difficulties being created about credit being made available to industry. We nationalised the banks in the hope that the small farmers, the *rikshaw-wallas*, *tonga-wallas*, the small shopkeepers etc., would benefit. We thought that our industries would get quick and proper credit facilities on an appropriate. To our regret we find that our banking institutions, which had grown up in a certain tradition, have been polluted by the bureaucrats terribly. Our banks today are in a hopeless mess. If we want to improve our economy and implement our plans, we must work honestly and sincerely. I know that there is difficulty involved in credit facilities being given to the small weaver, to the small farmer. In my state of Madhya Pradesh, the state is willing to guarantee loans to the small farmers who do not have sufficient security, but even then, loans are not given.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN : You are a renegade to your party, because you speak the truth.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : It is my duty to be objective and point out the root cause of the evil, because I am really interested in taking the growth of the economy out of its present recession, especially in the industrial sector. Every effort must be made to take it out.

Finally, I come to delays in the procedure for industrial licensing.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Don't get away by blaming the bureaucrats. I am talking about the policy of liberalisation of credit to the tycoons in sugar, textiles, fertilisers, etc. Those policy decisions are not taken by the bureaucrats, but in South Block.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : The difficulty with my friends is, they will always see the negative aspect. I was pointing out certain difficulties because of the recession. There may be something in what he says but that is not the be-all and end-all of everything.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : What about sugar ?

SHRI N K P. SALVE I was one of those who attacked advances to sugar vehemently. This type of advances to the sugar industry against sugar stocks has been an advance for speculative activities. No advance of that kind should have been made to the sugar industry. But what about those export-oriented industries which are starved for finance? I know an industry which applied for a small working loan against firm export orders and that is pending for six months with the bank. I can give the name of the bank and also of the party. It is that type of advance I am referring to. So far as the tycoons of the other types are concerned however much we may try, they have such a pernicious grip at this juncture that we will have to change the whole bureaucratic set up before we can expect some improvement.

The third paramount difficulty is about the procedure involved in licensing delays. That has reached such a menacing dimension that one must look at it as a matter which requires immediate redress. This is what a member of the Monopolies Commission says, while expressing his views whether the Monopolies Act helps or hinders the growth

"It is true that in spite of all the pious wishes and good intentions of various bodies which have examined the working of the Industries Development and Regulations Act, industrial licensing continues to be a major delaying factor. The same is true of the procedure for various other approvals and permissions. It is, not, therefore, surprising that the entrepreneur continues to feel pained at this further load on his back."

We need to have a dynamic minister in the Industrial Development Ministry, who should be ready and willing any moment, day or night, to help the entrepreneur.

AN HON. MEMBER : You have to get him elected to this House first.

SHRI N K P. SALVE If at 30' clock in the night, someone were to ring up the Minister saying, "I want a licence for a certain industry", the minister should say, "You are most welcome. Where were you all this while? Come at 11 o'clock and collect the licence."

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : That will be real socialism.

SHRI N K P. SALVE If the minister were to sleep over the applications for hours, days, weeks and months, we are certainly not going to get out of this difficulty.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU Are you satisfied with your present minister?

SHRI N K P. SALVE I am not making any personal comment. I am talking of the system. I have no person in view.

The remedies which are contained in the budget proposals to take the economy out of this recession are indeed extremely commendable.

The Plan outlay of the Centre, States and the Union Territories aggregate to a neat figure of Rs. 3,972 crores as against Rs. 3,262 crores last year. There is thus an increase in the Plan outlay by Rs. 710 crores and at the current price level increase is 22 per cent. In real terms it is, of course, less than 22 per cent and as compared to the 1950-61 price level it is going to be very much less.

While I congratulate the Finance Minister for taking these steps of augmenting substantially the expenditure for the projects under the Plan, I must submit that it is not at all sufficient. One of the sources from which he could have drawn, and drawn more heavily, is the free market loans for which he has taken credit for Rs. 515 crores. He can realise much more.

He can never achieve faster industrialisation and augment production by depending on industrialists alone. They will never come to his reason. He must go in a big way with public expenditure on various projects in the plans. And unless there is substantial expenditure by government in the industrial sector I think we are never going to solve this problem of recession, enduringly.

In order to maintain the price-line and also to ensure that the economy is not short-

is not perpetuated the government has to decide to go in a very big way with the manufacture of consumer goods. The Finance Minister himself has conceded that growth, social justice, savings, and investment are all mutually reinforcing processes. It is, therefore, essential that any step which he takes has got to be one in which all these processes are not made mutually exclusive and a very significant manner in which they can be made mutually co-extensive is by government acquiring a large share in the industrial sector.

Today we have only three million assesses of Income-tax. A pittance 1.5 per cent assesses in 550 million people. You may double it, treble it or you may make it 20 times. That will never solve your problem. How is the government going to meet the difficult economic situation because of this terrible concentration of economic power? After all, the responsibility is cast on the government to cater to the welfare of 550 million people. That responsibility cannot be discharged unless the Government itself comes in a massive way and takes up the responsibility of running the industrial sector. Otherwise, there will always have appeared the Tatas, the Birlas, and Shri Pilloo Mody will always grin complacently while nothing will come out of it.

There is no wonder that all our efforts to revive the economy is meeting with resistance from the industrialists. They are asking for more and more facilities. The profiteering nature rules supreme. The latest of the facilities to be given to big business are now mentioned in the Wanchoo Commission Report, I was aghast to read the recommendations of the Wanchoo Commission Report and I was wondering whether the Swatantra Party had appointed that Commission to sabotage our pledges and programme. I am surprised that our Finance Minister has said that he is going to implement those recommendations.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : He said "some of the recommendations".

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : In that Report for black money, for tax evasion for dishonesty of the tax payers the entire fault

has been laid squarely at the doors of the government. The reasons give by the Commission for the tax-evasion are high rates of direct taxation, economy of shortages and consequent controls and licences, donations to political parties, corrupt business practices, ceilings and disallowance of business expenses. They want relief to be given to the businessmen because there are ceilings and restrictions under the Income-tax law. For example, entertainment expenses which were being incurred on a lavish scale are totally disallowed and they are no longer regarded as business expenses. The expense account which was curtailed by Parliament, the Commission says is one of the reasons for tax evasion

15 hrs.

The other reasons which have been given are high rates of sales tax and other levies ineffective enforcement of tax laws and deterioration in moral standards.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN : Shri Raj Bahadur has selected a wrong person. He speaks the truth.

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR : We are a democratic party. We do not stifle voices and opinions.

SHRI PILOO MODY : You are now admitting your mistake.

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR : No. He is the most right choice. He reads more than you do.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : It is a voluminous document and I have not had the time to go through it fully. But whatever excerpts I have gone through, I really sympathise with their exercise. If it is not insincere, it is highly comical. They say, every tax-evader must be socially boycotted and administrative directions must be given that ministers, officers etc must socially boycott tax evaders.

SHRI PILOO MODY : I am socially boycotting them.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : According to the recommendations of the Wanchoo Commission, there has to be administrative and statutory injunction of social boycott of a tax-evader. I do not know under which vacuum the commission has been

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

working. Whether they were aware of the realities of massive all round corruption of which tax evasion is a fact and whether this type of a recommendation could ever be implemented. And who is to boycott and who is to be boycotted? Why have they not suggested a law? They could as well suggest a law that every tax-evader's son or daughter will be married only to a son or a daughter of a tax-evader, thus making sure that this disease does not spread further! These types of things are not possible. The entire approach is so unpragmatic.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN : One of the recommendations of the Wanchoo Commission is demonetisation. Do you agree with that?

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : I have not gone through it very carefully yet.

Another recommendation of the Commission is the revision of rates of direct taxes. If one were to see the revised rates of personal taxation they have suggested, one would find that the real relief is to be available to persons earning above Rs. 75,000. From Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 75,000 the relief suggested is negligible but above Rs. 75,000 there is substantial relief. I only hope Shri Chavan who is not here at the moment will not hasten to formulate any legislation based on this type of a document unless they have given very careful thought to it.

They have indulged in all sorts of speculation. One member says that the black money circulating is so many crores of rupees and the evaded income is so many crores of rupees. These surmises and speculations were hardly necessary for a Report which should have been brief and factual. In fact, they have rushed to conclusions in matters where angles would fear to tread. I only hope, and in fact request the Government that it will carefully consider the report of this Commission before formulating any legislation on the basis of the third-rate document.

Lastly, I want to make my submission about indirect taxes. While I agree that Rs. 685 crores of tax is levied by Shri Chavan is fully justified by circumstances

there are alternative methods of levying taxes. Take, for example, the tax that he has increased on kerosene. This must be dropped. The difficulty is, when I was bestowing encomiums on him, he was absent; now when I have come to my criticism, Shri Chavan has come in.

SHRI DINESH SINGH : You can send him the earlier part of your speech.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : Shri Chavan's argument for levying the duty on kerosene oil is this. He is a lawyer and I do not want to go into the details about it, but if ever this is a good argument, then only the tax may be levied. The reason he has given for levying the duty on kerosene is this :—

“the comparatively low rate of duty on kerosene encourages its adulteration with other products, particularly with high speed diesel oil. I am well aware that kerosene is an item of common consumption both in the rural and the urban areas. But in view of the circumstances I have mentioned, some additional taxation of kerosene could not be avoided.”

This argument is just untenable.

Does it, therefore not mean that because the anti-social elements are using kerosene for adulteration and because the Government is inefficient in checking this malpractice, it is the poor who must pay the additional tax? This is the argument given. At least, a better argument should have been given. I implore you not to increase tax on kerosene, fertiliser and also pump sets.

Lastly, I say, we are pledged to “growth with social justice.” But there has also to be economic justice. It will be a great violation of Canons of social and economic justice if there is an enhancement of 6 p. litre of kerosene oil.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the battle of Bangladesh is over; the battle of the hustings is also over. The people were expecting that now a new round of battle would begin and that is the battle against poverty

and concentration of economic wealth and also the battle for self reliance. But the Finance Minister's Budget which was supposed to be the first shot in this battle has turned out to be like the Pakistani Air Force's so-called pre-emptive strike on the 3rd of December, 1971—misdirected, fable and aimless. Really speaking, as he knows very well, we are now fighting a battle for resources. That is what it comes down to. In so far as Budget proposals should have been a conscious instrument of policy which according to the Government in terms of the slogan they have coined is the policy of "Garibi Hatao", all the main targets of his attack have been deliberately and in a planned way missed and bombs have fallen once again on the heads of the common man.

Mr Salve was pleased to say that the share markets are still buoyant after heading the Budget proposals. With all respect to Mr Salve who is a very good friend of mine I may say that I have never heard such a bundle of contradictions as I did from him today. Also he gave the Finance Minister more credit than he himself claims. The Finance Minister has said quite clearly while summing up his Speech as follows:

"All in all, the additional revenue at the Centre next year will be of the order Rs 133 crores and for the States, Rs 50 crores. The initial deficit of Rs 375 crores will thus stand reduced to Rs 242 crores which I think is a reasonably safe level."

Of course, the Planning Commission does not think so. They have told us that anything over Rs 200 crores, in their opinion, is not a safe level. I leave that point there for the time being. I do not know how Mr Salve has magically found out Rs 683 crores.

SHRI N K P SALVE I explained to you that is on the basis of additional taxes which were levied during the last year which did not have the effect for the whole year. (Interruption)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA; You are including those special imposts which were imposed last year.

SHRI N K P SALVE If you read the whole thing carefully, you will know, (Interruption)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA Why the share markets, as Mr Salve said, have reacted so buoyantly and with so much joyful surprise, because they were expecting something much worse, is quite clear. You have only to read all the economic journals, all the articles of the financial and commercial correspondents of the daily newspapers during last 4 or 5 days. I do not want to quote him many things. For example, in today's Calcutta statesman, the Financial Correspondent has written a piece the heading of which is, Corporate sector unhurt by Budget. Naturally they are buoyant. The Economic Times has written that "there is an obvious air of satisfaction albeit negative that taxation has not been heavy and harsh, this negative relief has been made possible by the calculated choice of *Stat is quo* on the one hand and by an uncovered deficit of Rs 375 crores. I think he is referring to direct taxes. Naturally, they are happy about it.

Another commercial editor has written that only three groups of people are apparently elated by the budget proposals for 1972-73 and these are stock-brokers, black-marketers and tax evaders.

SHRI PILOO MODI Smugglers and boot-leggers also.

INDRAJIT GUPTA Naturally these groups of people are happy because they were expecting something in the background of the talk of socialism, *Garibi Hatao*, and the terrific majority with which it is now possible to make a purposeful forward thrust and so on, some of them were a bit nervous, and naturally their surprise is all the greater, their delight is all the greater now, and this is shared, to some extent, by my hon. friend, Mr Salve.

I am not going to spend much time on the specific proposals in this Budget and their various implications. I would leave that to my colleague who will speak later on. I am concerned more, at the moment, not with the Budget proposals themselves so much as with the philosophy behind the Budget because the country is

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now discussing and debating the philosophy, elections are fought on philosophy, and at least philosophy translated into some slogans has got a lot of votes.

It is necessary to remember at this time that philosophy which is revealed in this Budget, if I may say so, is once again our and out a basically capitalist philosophy. Of course, I would like to invite the Finance Minister, when he replies at the end, to tell us—it is high time, the election and everything is over now; the way is clear for them both at the Centre and in the States to go ahead with all the programmes they want to, to try to spell out what exactly he means, what is his definition of bringing about socialist transformation of our present society in this country. I know you think that all Marxist theories are out of date; you told that so many times here, all the theories which we have got are out of date and so on. All right; I accept if for argument's sake. But you please tell us what is the Congress Party's philosophy. What is your philosophy, how you are going to bring about transformation. I do not say that it should be done in 24 hours. But there must be visible signs must be palpably felt in the lives of the common people. Otherwise, how long are you going to resort to only slogans, I do not know. I am warning the Finance Minister and the Government, if the present trend continues - I hope it will not; in fact, I have some amount of confidence that their Party itself will not allow them to go ahead on that discredited path (Interruption)..., if they insist on doing that, then the same tide or wave or whatever fashionable expression the likes to use which has been in their favour so long, will certainly turn against them and they will not get cooperation but opposition from everybody. Why do I say 'Capitalist philosophy'? The basic idea running through the whole Budget is that burdens must not be placed on the big producers because if you place big burdens on them, they would lose the incentive for investment. The whole capitalist theory is that, if you want socialism, first you must have wealth to distribute; if you want wealth to distribute, you must create that wealth; in order to create wealth, you must increase production, and in order to increase production—who are the producers apart from the public sector?

Everything is in the hands of the private sector. Therefore, in order to produce more, that private sector must be appeased and such burdens must not be placed on it which would scare it away or annoy it or act as disincentives. This is the running thread of philosophy which runs behind the whole thing.

If you go along with this path, we are not proceeding towards socialism; we will proceed towards something else.

I find now, for example, yesterday's STATESMAN has given a summary only—that is enough for my purpose—of the study of the finances of 290 large public limited companies during 1970-71 which is published in the latest Reserve Bank Bulletin. I do not know whether Mr. Chavan has had time to go through that study.

"The value of production and sales and total income of these 290 large public limited companies increased by over 14% in 1970-71."

Then he described that they are important industries—engineering, capital goods basic metals, tobacco, silk, rayon, textiles mineral oils, cement, etc.

"It is noted that the profit margin on sales and the return on total capital employed by these companies has also shown further improvement in 1970-71. The rate of growth of profits before tax was lower at 21.1% than at 26.5% in the previous year, but the actual increase in profits before tax was almost the same, that is, round about Rs. 64 crores in both the years."

This is the position of the sector, which this Government thinks must be pampered and appeased if production and wealth and so on are to increase in this country before we can start distributing in a socialistic or a democratic way.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN): This is before taxation. After taxation what remains, is to be seen.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: The STATESMAN itself came out with an article a few days before the Budget, called 'Outlook for the Budget' in which they

have correctly pointed out this :

“There is also no crisis in investment according to the Government. In support of this contention it points out that the number of industrial licences and letters of intent issued in 1971 was the highest since 1964 and nearly treble that issued in 1968-69. As against 2939 applications received in 1971, 611 licences and 1 09 letters of intent were issued and in this even the so-called big business houses fared well. Of the 611 licensee issued, the latter, (i. e. the big business houses) received as many as 113 licences and it appears offers of foreign collaboration have also been increasing. 245 proposals of foreign collaboration for technical and financial assistance are said to have been approved by the Government in 1971, which is the largest number to be approved in any single year since 1965.”

So, all I am trying to point out is this. Here is an idea which is being spread not only by the Finance Minister, by Mr. Salve by implication in his speech and others who are more outspoken and by Mr. Pilo Mody who may later on speak Mr. Palkhiwala said yesterday somewhere—he is incorrigible in this respect—anything, even the slightest 2% or 1% increase in the tax on the corporate sector means such a disincentive that their growth will be ab solutely paralysed. I suggest that the figures and facts do not point to that at all. There is a clear case for a much heavier corporate tax—I am not talking about personal income tax a heavier corporate tax on Indian and foreign companies' profits on their sales and on their incomes and I think this time, at least I think the Finance Minister has said it, they have been let off. They have been let off almost scotfree.

Therefore, this is the first main target which has been missed, missed in the battle for resources. I don't know wherefrom the resources are going to be found if all the targets are going to be left out. He should please tell us in the end.

We have got a fad for an outmoded theory, according to him and we stick to that outmoded theory that until the power

of these big monopoly houses is curbed and broken, there is no way by which you can change this economy and restructure it and lead it in the direction in which you want to go or in which you profess you want to go. It is an absolutely lop-sided structure in which the resources and the assets and the economic power are all concentrated in the hands of these 75 houses and, therefore, if this is allowed to continue in this way, there can be no going forward whatever your slogans and whatever your protestations.

Another thing is this. This is another part of this capitalistic philosophy. The public is deliberately misled by the propaganda that prices will go down only if production goes up and if the production is to go up, then industry and trade must not be discouraged by imposing so many burdens on them. The same idea. This is the logic of this pernicious mixed economy in which we live.

Here, as we know, so many strategic positions are held by the private sector. Particularly, take the case of distribution. The distributive trade is almost entirely in the hands of the private sector and therefore whenever we go on making calculations here that the extent of a particular duty excise duty or impost, will not be more than half a paise or two paise or something like that, we are bargaining without the host. When ever we propose price controls on paper we are bargaining without the host because the commodity which you are seeking to control is not in your hands, that commodity is moving in a distributive channel which is completely owned by somebody else who is out to wreck anything which goes in the direction of anti-monopoly moves. Therefore it all comes to naught. For example, 1971 has been described both in this Budget as well as in the Economic Survey, as the year of relative stability of prices. I don't accept this plea. The extent of rise in 1971 may not be as big as in previous years but that is small comfort for the people whose living standards continue to be eroded. Besides the whole sale price index on which these conclusions are based do not actually, as we know, reflect the actual rise in the common man's cost of living. For example, if I may give one or two examples, in 1971 it is said that

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the average price over the whole 12 months for wheat in the Hapur market is Rs. 96.50 per quintal. But we find that in December the actual price which was ruling in the Hapur market was Rs. 110. This is concealed by the fact that an average is taken and we are told that prices have remained stable. The average price of rice in Calcutta over the 12 months is given as Rs. 180 per quintal. Actually at the end of December 1, in Calcutta, rice was sold at Rs. 208.50 per quintal.

Sugar went up to in 1971 by 21.5 per cent. Fish eggs and ment went up by 10.4 per cent. Textiles went up by 12.9 per cent. These are articles by which he has to determine what is the fate of the consumer, the common man.

The arrangement has been made that rise in production costs makes price rise inevitable sometimes, that is labour cost, raw material cost etc. The Finance Minister again repeated his old adage that in a developing economic some amount price rise is inevitable. This we have heard year after year. And you find this. I am quoting the Government figures. In 1970 the index of the prices of industrial raw materials was 203.8 and in 1971 it came down to 177. That is the position in respect of index prices of industrial raw materials. But the index price of manufactured goods went up in the same period 158.7 to 167.6. What does this show? This blows up the theory that with every cheapening of the raw material, price also will come down. It cannot. Because, your economy is being distorted by the fact that a few people are controlling it in such a way where if necessary curtailment in production or restriction in production helps them. They don't want production to increase. They want to make much higher profits on a restricted output. This insatiable greed for profits what is behind the actual rise in price, nothing else.

Regarding cotton cloth, so many hon. Members have referred to it. As you know, even the controlled variety, the coarse variety, of cloth which is supposed to be controlled and sold at stamped price is now here available at stamped price. There is a flourishing black market. The mills are interested in restricting production and

during the last year there has been no increase in labour costs, taking the big mills in Bombay, Ahmedabad and so on. In this period there has been no increase in wages or dearness allowance of the workers, and the raw cotton crop in 1971 amounted to 61 lakh bales whereas the actual amount required for consumption is 55 lakh bales. In spite of all this this cloth is selling at a rise in premium value of 10 per cent on to 30 per cent on an average, according to a prominent dealer. I am quoting the *Economic Times*... it commands a premium of 30 per cent over the stamped rate.

How is the hon. Minister going to deal with this problem?

The same thing is happening in regard to sugar also. First, there was some partial control, and there was soon a big *hullabaloo* by the sugar mill owners, and then the controls were removed. Then, the prices shot up, and the stocks disappeared, and then a gain partial control was restored from 1st January, but this time, the new control price was fixed at Rs. 2 whereas the earlier controlled price had been Rs. 1.85. If you go to the fair price shops or ration shops selling sugar, you will find that they have a notice put up to the effect that there are no supplies and no stocks available and therefore, one has to go to the open market where it sells at any price between Rs. 3 and Rs. 4.

Another example that I could give is that of viscose staple fibre, because the hon. Minister has put some duty on art silk this time. As he knows very well, rayon pulp is a monopoly of the Birlas practically and the spinning industry is also controlled by a handful of industrial houses. The production has gone up and touches a record, and the fibre prices have also gone up and touched a record, and the result is this that the art silk industry is facing a serious crisis of closures, unemployment and so on, particularly in the Amritsar area. What I mean to say is that this is an artificial crisis by the capitalists, and it has nothing to do with the normal law of supply and demand which we are always told about. The Government lack the will to act and to bring down the prices because they themselves believe in or are a victim of this peculiar Capitalist philosophy of *laissez-faire, supply*

and demand etc. etc. Stern action against these prices would itself be a big blow against the concentrated power of monopoly, but Government are not taking such stern action.

As for the indirect taxes, I shall leave it to my colleague to deal with them. I would only support all the other Member who have spoken strongly about things like kerosene, aluminium etc. the duties on which are pernicious and which will hit the common man. I do not know for how long we are to go on indefinitely with these special imposts. We have not been told anything about this. These special imposts were imposed in the name of refugee relief specifically, and solemn assurance was given on the floor of this House that as soon as the refugees go back, those postal taxes, and railway taxes and newspaper taxes and so on would be withdrawn. Of course, they can say that the refugees have not completely gone back yet, and still about 1/2 lakhs refugees or so are remaining. In that case, let the hon. Minister tell us whether in the next two months or three months these special imposts will be withdrawn. How much time does he want for this purpose? But I find that there is a creeping sort of insidious thing being brought in whereby ultimately they will become a permanent part of the fiscal arrangement... ..

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN : No, no.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : ... and they are not going to be withdrawn, if the answer is 'No' let him please tell us for how long they will continue.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN : I have said already that these will continue for the financial year.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Among the main targets in the battle for resources, one is the capitalist sector which has been left untouched, and hence the buoyancy in Shri N. K. P. Salve's mind which reflects the share market. Then my hon. friend referred to black money. The Wanchoo Committee's report was submitted on the 24th December last. I know that when such reports are studied in the corridors and labyrinths of the bureaucracy, they might take a very long time. But,

still, in view of the very urgent and pressing problems with which we are faced, and particularly since he knew that he was going to come before Parliament on the morrow of such a historic election, a gigantic election, that the people were expecting something, we had expected that he would have come forward with some definite action. But I am sorry that the whole thing is again being relegated for a further study after which only they will consider what they will accept and what they will not accept and then only they will bring it before us.

However, I would only like to say that tax evasion is not the only aspect of black money. Of course, that is one aspect which he has mentioned namely that black money is evading payment of taxes and it must be checked. But it is not such a simple matter. Now, it has become an institutional part of our whole economy. It is a huge institutional sector of our economy, which is sometimes described as a parallel economy which is functioning. Therefore, it is not only a question of tax evasion. I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to what Shri Rangnagar has to say in his minute of dissent appended to the Wanchoo Committee's report.

"Apart from the wide ramifications of the parallel economy, one might also be alive to the fact that black incomes are accentuating the inequalities of income and wealth and breeding a new class of black rich in a society which is already harshly stratified. The inequalities are no longer below the surface. The conspicuous consumption of the new black rich, their vulgar displays of pomp and opulence, their unlimited accessibility to finance, their nest-eggs in various places and countries, their influence in important places, all these are now common knowledge... In a sense, the taxpaying public is really paying higher and higher taxes because a section of the public is paying none or none on an ever-increasing proportion of the growing income. So while the taxpaying public finds its own incomes falling, the non-taxpaying public is having a free run of swelling concealed incomes, thereby adding a new dimension to the problem of inequality of income and wealth."

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

So the whole social and economic implications of this black money have to be properly understood if a really big offensive is to be launched against them.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : Does he agree with the reasons ?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I will discuss it with him outside as I have not the time to do so now. I do not think it is a very satisfactory report.

There is nothing in the budget proposals, as far as I have understood them, which will have any really substantial effect in curbing the operations of black money. Even the question of a ceiling on urban property is being shelved from month to month, year to year. Some directive, guideline or model law or something of that sort is being prepared. Then the States will look into it etc. etc. There is no urgency about anything. We all know how black money is going into urban property also.

A third objective—also an old one, I am not mentioning anything new—is this question which has been pending for a long time taxing the affluent section of rural society. This also has been referred to a Committee, the K. N. Raj Committee, which is not expected to submit its report before September or October this year, which means for this fiscal year, at any rate, the rural rich escape the net. They should have been brought within the net already. There is no reason why the rich farmer should not pay tax on agricultural income and wealth at the same rates at which urban income and wealth are taxed. Of course, there is a reason which I know : the political reason. I am afraid one day when Shri Chavan or, may be, his successor sometime in future, has the courage to take this step—he will have to take it, otherwise he will lose the battle of resources—there will be the danger of some turmoil or revolt inside the Congress Party, particularly at the State level. We all know that.

AN HON. MEMBER : Here also.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : You have up to face that. Large-scale investments in agriculture, orchards, dairy, poultry farming etc. have become a camouflage for

black money. Government are well aware of it, yet nothing is being done. Again this year the rich farmers are being left out. I would just like to ask him whether he does not agree that the huge mounting figure of overdrafts of State Governments, standing now at over Rs. 400 crores, is due substantially, though not wholly, to this. There are some States which have had particular difficulties, crises, natural calamities and so on. But by and large, is not this huge amount, the bulk of it, basically due to the fact that the State Governments are not finding now non-rural sources of resources, and at the same time they are reluctant and unwilling to tap the rural sector? Where are they to go in the absence of that? They come to you for overdrafts. They are being encouraged in this by the fact that on this question the Central Government policy remains weak and vacillating and Congress parties in the States, relatively much more dominated by the rich farmer's lobby, who have been subsidised by the entire taxpaying public all these years, are hesitating to take this step for fear of internal turmoil, perhaps even another split.

SHRI PILOO MODI : Purge.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : If a split comes because of that, it should be welcomed, not regretted. Such people who want to go out of their party because the rural rich are brought into the taxation network should not be hugged to the bosom in the name of socialism. Why do they want to keep them? Let them go. There are other parties to which they can go.

Finally, there is the question of foreign aid debts outstanding, I believe, now of the order of Rs. 8,200 crores, which means that 30 per cent of our annual export earnings will have to be diverted just for servicing these debt obligations incurred in the past.

And, as you know, more and more, bigger proportion of this will have to be paid in foreign exchange unlike the aid we get from socialist countries. Last time, when we raised this question about considering a moratorium, the Finance Minister was rather annoyed and he said that we have got a reputation in the world as being good borrowers, and debtors, and therefore we

do not want to do something which will harm this reputation, but I want to know when certain countries, or let us say, even one country which is one of our major creditors, does not hesitate to aggravate India's difficulties by resorting to economic and military blackmail at the time of emergency and crisis, is it not time for the Government not to stand on a false sense of prestige but to consider at least whether a moratorium on repayment for sometime is advisable or not and the prohibition on the transfer or partial prohibition on the transfer of profits of companies with foreign investment in India. If these things are not done, then there is going to be no augmentation on resources on the scale on which it is now required.

Discontinuance of aid may take place if we start declaring a moratorium. This is the fear, the spectre, which is raised before us, but discontinuance of aid does not and should not mean snapping of ties with the outside world. That is not how things happen nowadays. If only means that we will have to carry out a much more intensive and a much more extensive search for alternate sources of supply of goods and services which we need, plus a maximum utilisation of internal resources, of all type—physical, industrial, economic, managerial, technical and scientific. I do not think that kind of national effort on a countrywide scale has even been planned or thought out. I do not know whether this Government is capable of it even. But we are talking of self-reliance. Even that—as he pointed out correctly—nearly amount which was allotted last year for schemes on employment in the rural sector—Rs. 50 crores or something—could not be spent, because the Government has yet to make up its mind. Is it going to get this plan implemented by this bureaucracy which itself is not committed to any idea of socialism and it does not believe in planning or anything, and you are depending completely on them to implement them, to carry them out? Even at this time, the higher outlays which he has quite rightly prescribed—the Plan outlays has increased by Rs. 700 crores—and as he correctly pointed out, the mere allotment of money is no guarantee of its implementation at all. Where is the machinery of implementation?

So, as it is, this budget is, in our opinion, a big flop, a big flop all round: it has produced no kind of ripple or any kind of effect in the country. There is only the old, cut-and-ried humdrum method of doing it: putting the main burden on indirect taxation, and then finding that there is so much of deficit and trying to cover a part of it by deficit financing, and leaving it at that. We do not find anything new in this. It is the maintenance of the old rotten status quo coupled with some burdens on the people. And all this talk about a thrust forward towards a new policy, institutional changes and so on so far is just nothing but talk, and this is a very ominous sign. I would say, on the morrow of this great electoral victory.

So, I would ask the Finance Minister, when he replies, to tell us something about his philosophy also—not only the budget proposals but the philosophy behind the budget, because this is what is at trial now, and this is what the people are going to become more conscious about. So, I would say that in this first test, on that score, the Government have failed and failed miserably. I hope that they will not continue on this same path, because, if they do, I would like to give them a friendly warning about the future.

श्रीमनि सुभद्रा जोशी (चांदनी चौक) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, फिनांस मिनिस्टर साहब ने जो बजट हमारे सामने पेश किया है, उस के लिये मैं उन को बधाई देना चाहती हूँ। कुछ ऐसा मालूम हुआ है कि हाउस में और हाउस के बाहर विरोधी जमातों को इसमें कुछ बहुत निराशा भी हुई है। कुछ लोगों ने इसको फ्लॉप कहा है और कुछ ने कुछ और। वे दिल में चाहते थे, और उन्होंने इसका बहुत प्रचार किया, कि बहुत जोर से टैक्स लगेंगे। लेकिन उन्होंने देखा कि बहुत जोर से टैक्स नहीं लगे हैं। जो इसमें मालूम होता है कि चारों तरफ कुछ कुछ निराशा हुई। ऐसा भी खतरा दिखाई दे रहा था और यह का भी जा रहा था कि लोक सभा का सेशन दर में इसलिए हो रहा है कि सारे देश में चुनाव होने के बाद शायद बड़े जोर से सरकार टैक्स लगाने वाली है। वह टैक्स

[श्री मती सुभद्रा चौबी]

नहीं लगा और जितना खनरा या चाहे वह पैसा युद्ध में खर्च हुआ, चाहे वह बगला देश के शरणार्थियों पर खर्च हुआ, चाहे अब वह प्लान के लिए चाहिए था, इस सब को देखते हुए बहुत बड़ी रकम की उम्मीद हम लोग करते थे और उस के लिए वित्त मंत्री अगर और भी टैंकम लगा देते तो चाहे उस का जितना बर्डेन पड़ता पर वह बिल्कुल मही मालूम होना क्योंकि दुनिया जानती है कि इन चीजों पर कितना खर्च हुआ और कितना पैसा इन सब चीजों के लिए चाहिए, पर वह नहीं हुआ। कीमतें नहीं बढ़ी जितनी कि हर बजट के बाद जिम जिस पर टैंकम लगता है, उस की भी बढ़ जानी है और जिन पर नहीं लगता है उन की भी बढ़ जाती है। वह चीज नहीं हुई। हम के लिए मैं उन को बधाई जरूर देती हूँ। फिर भी इसके साथ साथ मैं यह उन से निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि जो मिट्टी के तेल पर टैंकम लगाया है उस को हटा देना चाहिए। मिट्टी के तेल के ऊपर टैंकम लगाने का कोई खास मद्दलब नहीं है और अभी हमारे मालनीय सदस्य सार्वे ने जो कारण बताए बात वही है कि किसी चीज में कोई चीज खिला दी जाती है तो उस पर टैंकम लगाने से उसका मिलावा कोई रुक जायगा इस बात की संभावना नजर नहीं आती। छोटे धादमियों पर यह टैंकम पड़ेगा। यह सही बात है कि बहुत कम मिट्टी का तेल हर घर में इस्तेमाल होता है। लेकिन फिर भी वह बहुत गरीब लोग हैं जो इसको इस्तेमाल करते हैं और वह कोशिश कर रहे हैं अपने जीवन में परिवर्तन लाने के लिए मिट्टी के तेल को स्टोव में स्टेमाल करे, तो उसके लिए उनको उत्साहित करना चाहिए। इसलिए मिट्टी के तेल पर से टैंकम वापस ले ले तो बहुत अच्छा होगा।

इस बात के लिए भी मैं उन को बधाई देती हूँ कि उन्होंने योजना पर बहुत बड़ी रकम खर्च के लिए बढ़ा दी। पर मैं इस बात की ओर उन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहती हूँ कि यह बार बार जितना पैसा सोशल वेलफेयर के लिए रखा जाता है उस का इस्तेमाल होता ही नहीं

है। सिर्फ यही नहीं कि देश के दूसरे हिस्सों में बल्कि यहाँ भी हम को ऐसा लगता है कि सोशल वेलफेयर का महत्त्वा बिल्कुल फालतू समझा जाता है और उसकी तरफ किसी का कोई खास ध्यान नहीं जाता। जो पेशन को स्कीम बनी है, ओल्ड एज पेशन की हो या कोई हो, उस में इतनी मुश्किल है, आप फार्म ले कर देखें, जो ओल्ड एज पेशन का फार्म है, वह फार्म भरना इतना मुश्किल है, इतने लोगों के सर्टिफिकेट उभने चाहिए कि अगर कोई बुढ़ा या बुढ़िया इतने सर्टिफिकेट ला सकती है तो उस को तो प्रावश्यकता ही नहीं पड़ेगी पेशन लेने की। तो वह पैसा इस्तेमाल नहीं होता है और दूसरे कामों में लग जाता है। इसलिए मैं निवेदन करूँगी कि इस महत्व में पर पूरा ध्यान दिया जाय और जो रकम रखी गई है यह देखा जाय कि उस का इम्प्लीमेंटेशन होना है या नहीं होता है, यह पैसा सही तौर पर खर्च होना है या नहीं खर्च होता है। इसी तरह से जो पी। के पानी और बच्चों को खाना देने की योजना है वह योजना सब अच्छी अच्छी है, पर उन का इम्प्लीमेंटेशन देखने की बहुत सख्त जरूरत है।

स्लम क्लीअरेंस की तरफ मैं वित्त मंत्री का ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूँ कि स्लम क्लीअरेंस को ऐसा समझा गया है कि गरीब लोगों और झोपड़ी वालों को अपनी आँखों से ओझल कर देना ही स्लम क्लीअरेंस है। मैं तो आशा करती हूँ और मैं साबती हूँ कि सारे देश के लोग ऐसी तरक्की करते होंगे कि जो लोग ऐसी खराब जगह में बसे हों, उनके लिए अच्छी जगह बना कर वहाँ उनको आबाद कराने की कोशिश की जाय। लेकिन शहर से उन को अपनी नजरो से ओझल कर देना और उठा कर दस दस बीस बीस मील दूर फेंक देना और फिर वहाँ भी उनके लिए उतना ही खराब इतजाम, ऊपर से जाने जाने का किराया और उन के ऊपर इड़ जाय, माम भी आए, बच्चे भी आए, बीबी भी आए, न वह इतना किराया खर्च कर सकते हैं और न फिर अपनी रोजी कमा सकते हैं। इस तरह उन को अच्छी जगह देने की कोशिश में उन का रोजगार

भी बका जाता है। तो मैं स्लम क्लीअरेंस के बारे में बंदी सहोदय से निवेदन करना चाहूँगी कि पैसा देना ही काफी नहीं है। कोशिश करनी चाहिए कि अच्छे मकान बना कर सबसिद्धाण्ड करके उन को रहने को दिए जायें जो ध्योरी में तो रहता है सरकार के पास पर किया नहीं जाता है। उन को वही अच्छे मकान बना कर आबाद करने की कोशिश की जाय और तब स्लम क्लीअरेंस का कोई फायदा होगा। नहीं तो बेरोजगार वह लोग हो जाएंगे। यहां दिल्ली में आप ने देखा होगा कि आठ आठ बस दस मील दूर ले जा कर उन को फेंक दिया। न वहां से बह आ सकते हैं न काम कर सकते हैं। वहां जा कर वह भिखारी हो गए हैं उन के रहने की व्यवस्था भी कोई अच्छी नहीं है।

इसी तरह से कई करोड़ रुपये का प्रबन्ध नहीं किया गया है और उसको छोड़ दिया गया है इसलिए कि जो इंडस्ट्रीज की हमारी पिछले दिनों में पालिसी रही है उससे उम्मीद है कि उसकी पूर्ति हो जायगी। क्योंकि 54 इंडस्ट्रीज की इजाजत दे दी गई है कि वह सामान बनाने की अपनी योग्यता को ज्यादा बढ़ाएं और इसी तरह से पिछले साल में जितने लाइसेंस दिए गए उन को देखते हुए भी मैं यह आशा करती हूँ कि इंडस्ट्रीज में जब वृद्धि होगी तो उससे सरकार की आमदनी बढ़ेगी और यह जो अनकवर्ड एमाउंट छोड़ दिया गया है जिसका प्रबन्ध नहीं किया गया है शायद उस कमी को वह दूर कर सके। जब वह लाइसेंस दिए जा रहे थे तो कुछ विरोधी जमानों ने और जनसंघ वालों ने कहा कि सरकार यह जो लाइसेंस दे रही है वह कायस पार्टी के काम के लिए इस्तेमाल होंगे। पर आज देश के लोग देखते हैं कि यह कांग्रेस ने इस्तेमाल करने की कोशिश नहीं की। अगर वह इंडस्ट्रीज नहीं आजाई जाती तो और टैक्स लगा कर इस रुपये की कमी को पूरा करना पड़ता। इसलिए इस के साथ जो इंडस्ट्रीज की पालिसी है मुझे उम्मीद है कि उससे बिना मंत्री जी इस पैसे को खर्च बहुत पूरा करने की कोशिश करेंगे।

फारेन एंड के बारे में मैं निवेदन करना चाहूँगी कि जो बाहर से एंड आती है, यह बघाई की बात है कि हमारी प्रधान मंत्री ने एक सख्त कदम उठाकर और अपनी आजाद पालिसी को निभा कर इस बात की परवाह नहीं की कि बाहर से कुछ मिलता है या नहीं मिलना है और कुछ रुपया जो अमेरिका ने बन्द कर दिया उसके लिए भी कोई अफसोस नहीं है, वह भी मैं समझती हूँ कि इस देश की जान छूटी लाखों पाए, बहुत अच्छा हुआ। पर मुझे अभी भी यह कहना है कि जो रुपया अभी भी बाहर से आए उस पर बहुत ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। अज मैंने अब्बार में देखा कि यू एम ए का जो जनरल एनाउंटिंग आफिस है उन्होंने रिपोर्ट की है कि लाओस में भेडकल और हैल्थ सर्विसेज के नाम पर जो रुपया दिया जाता रहा उसको सी० आइ० ए० ने अपने राजनैतिक काम के लिए इस्तेमाल किया। यहां भी हमने देखा जिन दिनों में ईस्ट पाकिस्तान जो अब बंगला देश बन गया है, वहां के शरणार्थी आ रहे थे तो बंगला देश के रेप्यू-जोर्ज के लिए बहुत बड़ी बड़ी रातम आई लेकिन वह वहा पर फ्रीडम फाइटर्स के खिलाफ इस्तेमाल की गई और लोगों को बहकाने के लिए, गलत तरफ ले जाने के लिए उस रुपये का इस्तेमाल हुआ। तो हमारे देश में जो भी बाहर के पैसे से रसीम बने, मैं विन सत्री जी से निवेदन करूँगी कि उसका सारा इन्जाम, सारी देखभाल, सारा काम सीधे अपनी सरकार के हाथ में होना चाहिए। बहर वालों के हाथ से नहीं होना चाहिये। नहीं तो, फेमिली प्लानिंग में बहुत सी जगह हमने देखा कि गाइड करने के बहाने या प्रोजेक्ट बनाने के बहाने दुनिया भर के पते वह इकट्ठा कर लेते हैं और फिर उनको कांट्रैक्ट करके कोशिश करते हैं कि अपने यालात उन लोगों में डालें और हमारे देश के खिलाफ जो नीति पड़ती है उस के लिए उनको इस्तेमाल करे।

एक आखीरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहूँगी कि हमको अभी मालूम हुआ कि बाहर के कोलंबोरेशन से कुछ पधों पर कारखाने खोलने का विचार

[श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी]

है। विचार तो प्रच्छन्न है पर फिक्र यही है और इस बात की देखभाल करनी चाहिए। कहीं ऐसा न हो कि बहा जो मशीनें इस्तेमाल नहीं होती हैं या बहा जो चीजे काम में नहीं आती हैं वह बहा पर लाकर लगा दे और धीरे धीरे वह मिक मिल गया बन जाय, और हमारे ऊपर उनका बोझा पड़ जाय। उस के बाद अगर सरकार उनको ले तो कम्पेन्सेशन के बहाने में ज्यादा से ज्यादा रुपया लेने की कोशिश करे। अगर फार्म कोलाबोरेशन से कुछ बनाना है तो इस काम का ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि चेन्ज करने, रेनोवेशन वगैरह का क्या इन्तजाम होगा।

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह भी अर्ज करूंगी कि सरकार को एक प्रायोरिटी इल्ट बनानी चाहिए कि किन किन चीजों के कोलाबोरेशन की इजाजत दी जाएगी किन चीजों की इजाजत नहीं दी जाएगी। यह लिस्ट पहले से तैयार होनी चाहिए, ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए कि विदेशी लोग यहाँ आ कर हम को राय दे कि क्या करे और क्या न करे।

अन्त में मैं विनमनी जी से निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि कैंग्रेसीन, फटिगाइजर और पम्पिंग सैटो पर जो टैक्स लगाये गए हैं उन पर फिर से गौर करे। इन चीजों में आप को ज्यादा सङ्कलियत देनी चाहिए, इन छोटे-मोटे टैक्सों से हमें बहुत ज्यादा रकम भी नहीं मिल रही है, इन के लगान से हमारी तरक्की में कुछ दिक्कत आयेगी, इस लिए इन को वापस लेना चाहिये। जहाँ आप में आम जनता का इतना ख्याल किया है, वहाँ थोड़ा सा और ख्याल कर ले, ता ज्यादा उन्नित रहेगा।

श्री स्वर्ण सिंह सौधी (जमशेदपुर) :
जनाब डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, मैं इस बजट का स्वागत करता हूँ और फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब को बधाई देता हूँ कि उन्होंने वगैर किसी किस्म का दखत गरीब जनता पर डाले इस बजट को पेश किया। इस बजट से हमारे गरीब नबके पर ज्यादा असर नहीं पड़ेगा। जो डिफ्रिडिट इस बजट में है, वह टैक्स इवँजन, ब्लैक

मार्केटिंग को रोकने और टैक्स एरियर्स को बसूल करने से पूरा हो सकता है। इसलिये मेरा सुझाव है कि टैक्स इवँजन को सख्ती से चँक करना चाहिये। जो लोग टैक्स इवँड करते हैं या ब्लैक मार्केटिंग करते हैं, उन के साथ बहुत सख्ती से पेश आना चाहिये। जहाँ तक इन्फम टैक्स एरियर्स के क्लैकेशन का ताल्लुक है, मिनिस्टर साहब को देवना चाहिए कि सख्ती से एरियर्स बसूल किये जायें। इस सिलसिले में अपने महकमे को ज्यादा पावरम देनी चाहिए ताकि वे जल्दतर पड़ने पर सच और सीजर्स कर सके। इस मिलमिले में आपको अपने एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में तबदीली लानी चाहिये। आप अपनी गवर्नमेंट मशीनरी को थोड़ा गीअर-अप करे ताकि उन लोगों को जो टैक्सों की चोगे करते हैं, उनको पकडा जा सके जो करन्ट फ्राफितर्स हैं, चाहे इन्कम टैक्स डिपार्टमेंट न हो या फाइनेन्स डिपार्टमेंट के हो, उन के खिलाफ सख्ती से कार्यवाही करनी चाहिये। अगर कौई अफसर करन्ट प्रैक्टिस में पकडा जाये, तो उमरो फौरन डिस्मिस कर देना चाहिये।

15 52 hrs.

[SHRI R. D BHANDARI in the Chair]

हमारी गवर्नमेंट की एग््रीकल्चरल पॉलिसी बहुत अच्छी है। किसानों को क्रेडिट भी मिल रहा है। मगर जो एग््रीकल्चरल टैक्स की लंबी है, उस को पेटे गवर्नमेंट के हाथ में न बेकर सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट सीधे अपने हाथ में ले, ताकि हम टैक्स के बारे में तमाम स्टेट्स में यूनिफार्मिटी कायम हो सके।

कैंग्रेसीन तेल के बारे में मैं मिनिस्टर साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप इन लंबी को बिष्कुल हटा न सके तो इस को 6 पैसे से घटा कर 2 पैसे कर दे, क्योंकि यह टैक्स गरीबों पर ही पडता है। यह ठीक है कि कैंग्रेसीन तेल का इस्तेमाल एक्स्ट्रेन में होने लगा है, लेकिन ऐसे मामलों को सरकार को एक्स्ट्रेन करने वालों को पकडना चाहिए और सख्त सजा देनी चाहिये। मगर जब यह लय ही चुका है तो इन को घटा कर दो पैसे कर देना चाहिये।

जो लोग ब्लैक मार्केटिंग करते हैं, उन पर सख्ती से एक्शन लेना चाहिए। इस की वजह से सरकार की आमदनी पर धक्का लगता है। अ.प को ऐसे कानून बनाने चाहिये कि जो आदमी ब्लैक मार्केटिंग करता पकड़ा जाए, उस को लायफ इम्प्रीजनमेंट देनी चाहिये। अगर हो सके तो एक-धारा आदमी को शूट करने में भी कोई हर्ज नहीं है ताकि ऐसी एक्जाम्पलज सेंट हो जाय कि लोग ऐसे वाम करना बन्द कर दें।

हमारे यहा जमशेदपुर में एक बड़ा शीफ आदमी है, मोटरो के काम में उस की मौनोपली है, टाटा मॉनिडिज बेन्ज की एजेन्सी तार्य विहार (मिथला), ओम उडीसा (उनकल) नाम से है, और कई जगहों की एजेन्सी भी है, और वे आज भी मोटरो ब्लैक मार्केट में बेचते हैं। कुछ साल पहले जब वालन्ट्री डिस्कलोजर की बात आई थी, कई लाख रुपयों का वालन्ट्री डिस्कलोजर उस ने किया था, जिस से कई लाख रुपया गवर्नमेंट को मिले थे। मैं चाहना हू कि ब्लैक मनी के इस किस्म के वालन्ट्री डिस्कलोजर को एन्फ्रज नहीं करना चाहिये और जब भी ऐसे कौज पकड़े जायें, उन के खिलाफ सख्त से सख्त कार्यवाही करने चाहिये।

इन्कम टैक्स के कौसज को रियायत करने के लिये कोई टाइम लिमिट नहीं होनी चाहिए, इन्कम टैक्स आफिसर को शक पडने पर किसी भी केस को किसी भी वकत रियायत करने का अधिकार होना चाहिए।

श्री माधुर्य हालवार (मथुरापुर): हाउस में कौरम नहीं है।

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon Member may resume his seat. The quorum is being challenged. Let the quorum bell be rung. Now, there is quorum. He may continue his speech.

श्री स्वर्ण सिंह सौखी: चैयरमैन साहब, जो फिल्म आर्टिस्ट हैं और फिल्म प्रोड्यूसर हैं, इन के

बीच जो एग्जीमेटस होते हैं, वे गवर्नमेंटस कोर्ट में एक्सीक्यूट होने चाहिए और उम की सर्टिफाइड काफी इन्कम टैक्स डिपार्टमेंट को दी जानी चाहिए ताकि सरकार को भी उन एग्जीमेटस का पता लग सके कि उन्होंने कितने रुपये का आपस में एग्जीमेट किया है। इन लोगों के पाम ब्लैक का बहुत साग घन जमा हो जाता है, लेकिन इस किस्म की कार्यवाही से उस को रोकने में मदद मिलेगी।

दूसरे—जो टैम इवेडर्स हैं उनको किसी किस्म का क्रेडिट नहीं मिलना चाहिए। किसी भी बैंक में उन को क्रेडिट फैसिलिटीज बिन्कुल नहीं मिलनी चाहिए, कोई सिम्पैथी उनके साथ नहीं रहनी चाहिए।

16 hrs.

स्टेट लाटरीज पर जो टैक्स लगाया है वह बिन्कुल ठीक है इसके साथ ही मैं यह कहना चाहना है कि जो बाहर की लाटरीज हैं जिनमें सिक्किम की लाटरी है उम पर भी टैक्स लागू होना चाहिए।

सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट हेल्थ स्कीम के मासहत अस्पतालों में जो बहुत सारा पैस का नुकसान होता है उसको बैंक बिया जाना चाहिए। वहा पर दवाओं का दुरुपयोग होता है और बहुत सारी दवाइया चोरी चली जाती है। इनको रोकने की कोशिश की जानी चाहिए। सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट हेल्थ स्कीम का इलाहा बाद, कलकत्ता और दूसरी जगहों पर लागू है वह जमशेदपुर और दूसरे बड़े शहरों में भी लागू होनी चाहिए क्योंकि वहा पर भी बहुत सारे सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट एम्पलाईज काम करते हैं। इसके साथ ही डाक्टरों के ट्रान्स्फर भी टाइमली होने चाहिए। अगर कोई डाक्टर एक डिस्पेंसरी में 8-8 साल तक रह जाते हैं तो वे मनमानी करने लगते हैं और गुप्त रूप से बहुत सारी चीजें करके लगते हैं। अक्सर देखा जाता है कि अस्पताल और डिस्पेंसरीज के बारे में पब्लिक की जो कम्प्लेंट्स होती हैं उन पर वह ध्यान नहीं देते।

[श्री स्वर्ण सिंह सीली]

यहाँ तक कि एम पीज की कम्प्लेन्ट्स पर भी वे कोई ध्यान नहीं देते हैं। कोई एम्बुलेंस आगता है तो दो घंटे तक एम्बुलेंस ही नहीं आती, अगर एम्बुलेंस आती भी है तो उसमें स्ट्रैचर नहीं होता। इसी तरह वे अस्पतालों में कई बाते होती हैं जो चैक होनी चाहिए।

सी० पी० एम० के सदस्य ने अपने भाषण में फ्यूडल इन्स्ट्रुमेंट्स आफ कांग्रेस मिनिस्टर्स, तथा एम० पीज, सेल्फ सफीशिएन्सी, सेल्फ रेलायन्स, सोशलिज्म, लाइव सिंग और अनएम्प्लायमेंट जैसी बाते कही लेकिन यह सब इनकी मनगढ़त बाते हैं। इनका काम तो कोई न कोई बात लेकर हम लोगों का विरोध करना ही होता है लेकिन इनकी खुद की करतूतें क्या हैं वह सामने नहीं रखते।

इन सब बातों को हमारे फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब को देखना चाहिए। जहाँ जहाँ रुपया चोगी होता है उसको पकड़ें। इसके साथ ही मैं इस बजट का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL (Moradabad) Mr Chairman, probably Shri Y B Chavan is the first Finance Minister in the history of free India who has acquired the unique distinction of producing a sensible, sober and balanced yet the biggest ever Rs 6,800-crore Budget. This Budget has managed to meet the additional burden of defence and assistance to Bangla Desh without sacrificing the developmental goals. The Government's revenues are buoyant, its foreign exchange resources are at a comfortable level, the State's food granaries are bulging and the bank deposits have scaled a new peak. No economist in the country can afford to deny that this Budget is largely growth oriented and will ensure economic stability.

The first and foremost charge on the exchequer must be to ensure national security and sovereignty of our motherland. Still there are countries interested to reverse the course of history. The Chou-Nixon Communiqué has convinced me of another Indo-Pak confrontation. I take this opportunity of paying my tributes to the jawans

and for the excellent coordination of the three wings of our Defence forces and we must do everything possible which helps the jawans to defend our frontiers.

We spent on Defence in 1970-71, Rs 1408 crores. That the budgetary provisions would now be kept at the same level has been widely appreciated. The Bangladesh assistance amounting to Rs 200 crores has also been welcomed in the country.

At the moment, I would also urge upon the Finance Minister to make all necessary financial allocations for manufacturing an atom bomb so that we, as a nation, are not required to fall under one or the other nuclear umbrella in the world.

Secondly, the budgetary provisions for development are now raised from Rs 1455 crores to Rs 1787 crores that is, by Rs 332 crores or 1/4th of the total plan. That is to be appreciated because this is the one thing which will take the country forward.

At the moment, both defence and development are equally vital if we are keen to free our people from threat of external aggression and also to free our people from the bondage of poverty and unemployment. During the last three years, the Finance Minister made an allocation of Rs 1190 crores on social welfare. But it is rather surprising that only Rs 180 crores have been utilised during the last three years. It is neither mobilisation nor allocation of resources but it is the utilisation of resources which can make the country move forward. Therefore, the first and foremost emphasis we need to lay is on utilisation, a judicious utilisation of our resources.

Thirdly, I welcome the Budget largely for the reason that personal and corporate incomes have remained untouched. It is equally true that in the fourth plan, the tax limit has been placed at Rs. 2100 crores for the whole 5-year period. But during the first three years of the plan the Government had raised more than Rs. 2300 crores. During the last one year, the Finance Minister presented three Budgets and thus raised more than Rs. 500 crores. The Finance Minister has already acquired a dubious distinction of being the biggest fundraiser among India's Finance Ministers.

while he has raised Rs. 183 crores in this Budget. I feel, if we see the tax yield during the last one year, the whole nation had reasonably expected him to declare a tax-holiday at last for this year so that from the burdens which had been placed on the common man during the last three years, could promise the common man a little sigh of relief.

I am sure, the Finance Minister could have raised ample resources by raising adequate return from the public sector or by reducing the non-plan expenditure or by speedier tax collection. But I am rather surprised to know that the Finance Minister has not yet applied his mind to these problems by which he can raise ample resources.

It is equally true that in the Budget, the corporate sector would be providing Rs. 40 crores. It is almost certain that during the next one year, the corporate sector would itself give at least Rs. 550 crores, that is, an addition of Rs. 70 crores. I am certain that if he had not brought these additional taxation proposals, he could have produced Rs. 183 crores by these measures. I would plead with the Finance Minister that we have reached a point when we must abolish refugee surcharge which he had placed last year with a understanding that this surcharge would be withdrawn the moment the refugees went back. We would like to have a categorical assurance from the Finance Minister that the refugee surcharge would be withdrawn in a period of two or three months. I would also plead with him that while government revenues are in such a comfortable position they would have much more than what he has mentioned in the Budget— the surcharge on personal and corporal incomes should also be withdrawn.

The Finance Minister has talked a great deal in terms of radical and bold programme for growth and social justice. But it is rather unfortunate that the present Government has been following no economic policy whatsoever for the last 25 years, and if there is any policy, it is negative in character which has produced nothing but perpetuation of poverty, rising prices, large unemployment, much dependence on foreign aid and, above all, corruption. This is stagnation, rather than growth, which is the

key-word of the government's economic thinking,

We have also talked a great deal of self-reliance. It is true that the recent events have brought urgency that we must reduce our dependence on foreign aid. Economic growth cannot be bought on a platter by the miracle of foreign aid. It implies death-knell of local initiative and enterprise. Prof. Peter Bauer, a London economist, who had visited India recently, said that "foreign aid is not a social condition of development and is unlikely to promote it substantially". There is a lot of humbug and hypocrisy in foreign aid. We have found that foreign aid is always with strings attached, no foreign aid can ever be without strings. If it is so, then we have got no other choice but to depend on our own resources. Today India, as a nation, is better equipped than ever before to be economically self-reliant. But there are several pre-conditions to it if we are really keen to move forward towards building a self-reliant economy in this country, First and foremost, we must have a sound and vigorous economy; secondly, efficient utilisation of resources; thirdly, a reasonably high level of savings and investment; fourthly, a responsible administration and efficient management to ensure international competitiveness, and finally, above all, a degree of discipline and hard work.

In the Budget, the Finance Minister has included foreign aid as a very important item. that we would receive Rs. 383 crores during the next year, which includes Rs. 137 crores from the United States, I would request the Government not to accept any aid from any country, particularly from the United States in view of the new political situation and the climate prevailing in the world. Therefore, we should do everything possible to build a self-reliant economy. How can we do that ?

The Finance Minister, it seems to me, has almost forgotten about exports, Export industries today need all possible fiscal incentives so that we promote our exports. He has talked a great deal about import substitution but, in fact, he has done nothing in respect of export promotion or import substitution. If he wants the industrial growth to reach 8 or 10 per cent growth

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target—it is the target mentioned in the fourth Plan—then, during the next year, we have to import goods worth more than 2500 million dollars and export goods worth 220 million dollars and the deficit of 300 million dollars is to be met. How are we going to meet this deficit? Therefore, I suggest this. We have got foreign exchange reserves which are rather in a most comfortable position. They are meant to be utilised in critical times, and I see no reason why those reserves should not be utilised at a time when we find that the economy needs imports very badly.

Furthermore, if we really want to reduce or stop our imports in respect of fertilisers and all those items on which the Finance Minister has placed heavy duties, then there is no other choice but that steel and fertiliser plants must raise their utilisation capacity. At the moment, only 35 per cent of the capacity is being utilised. If we are not in a mood or are not in a position to raise the utilisation capacity from 35 to 85 per cent in the next year, than I am afraid we cannot meet the trade gap, and that means that we would still need foreign aid.

At the moment, I know, the Government is having a new thinking on the question of attracting foreign capital which is another way of meeting the trade gap. But, are we really keen? Are we clear in our minds that these foreign investors who want to come to India are really welcome? My own impression is that the Government have given an impression that the foreign investors from all parts of the world are not really welcome. This policy of foreign collaboration, of foreign investment is to be changed if we really want this trade gap to be reduced and if we want to rely on our own resources.

At the moment, this country has acquired a self-confidence, a sense of aggressive nationalism. This spirit of Swadeshi should be inculcated among the people of country and I really do not see any reason why we can't be really self-reliant so far as the economic structure of this country is concerned. But the people are expecting the Government to come forward with certain proposals. The people are really in a mood to

come forward to see that the imports into this country are reduced as much as possible.

The Finance Minister and the politicians in this country, irrespective of political affiliations, are talking a great deal in terms of social justice. But we really do not know what is the yardstick to measure whether economic disparities are growing or are being reduced. How just is the justice? That is the question which is being asked by the common man. We know that at times it is stated that social justice essentially implies a large number of social welfare schemes or legislation, price stability and large employment potential. It is true that the common man in this country hardly needs doles to be distributed. He wants employment. He wants work to be given to him so that he can purchase the essential items of consumption at reasonable prices. But, unfortunately, this Government, while it is committed to price stability, is pursuing a policy which aims at increasing prices. Steadfastly during the last 26 years, this Government has followed an inflationary policy which has resulted in rising prices all through. All the assurances which have been given by the Ministers year after year or by the officials after presentation of the budget are all humbug and in fact, the common man in this country refuses to remain in a fool's paradise that any increase in excise duties on steel or on fertilisers or on kerosene will not help in rising prices. Therefore, all the talk of holding the price-line in this country is almost a myth. So long as we do not pay the required attention to the wage-line, to the profit-line and to the tax-line, we are self-defeating on all these points. It is very good to talk like this, but, in fact, we, parliamentarians, we, as representatives of the people, are betraying the whole nation on the question of rising prices.

We are told that during the last one year, the prices have gone up only by 4.9%. I do not trust this figure offered by the Government of India. I feel some mischief is being done at some level. It cannot be that the prices have gone up only by 4.9 points. We know that the price increase, according to the Government figures, have gone up to 230 at 1951 prices, and deficit financing has gone to Rs. 3581 crores in a period of 20 years. The whole process of cost-push inflation will naturally result in

rising prices by at least 10% during the next one year. That is very simple to understand, I am sure that no economist in this country can afford to differ on this point that the Budget is entirely inflationary in character. On the other hand, we talk so much of a large employment potential and of eradicating poverty. But, actually, what have we done? In the last Budget, the Finance Minister had provided Rs. 50 crores for creating rural jobs. But, what has actually happened to these Rs. 50 crores?

The schemes for rural employment, amounting Rs. 46 crores were approved while only Rs. 3 crores have been utilised. If you go into this matter of rural employment you will find hardly anything has been done to improve the situation. We find exactly the same situation in rural area on which existed in this country 26 years ago.

It has been described as anti-kisan budget, largely for the reason that the fertilizer duty has been increased from 10 to 15 per cent and a duty at the rate of 10 per cent has been levied on power driven pumps. It is a tax on scientific farming. On the one hand, it is urged that we should have scientific farming so that we may be self-reliant in farm output. On the other hand, we are taxing scientific farming, We will not be surprised if the industrial scene is repeated in the agricultural sector also, and it may be that during the next few years we will be faced with the situation of agricultural stagnation. What we talk of green revolution may in fact turn out to be a red revolution. The Finance Minister claims himself to be radical and progressive but he relishes the idea of hitting the common man. The additional duty of Rs. 59.75 per kilo-litre on kerosene would really be a great hardship to the poor and I demand that this duty must be withdrawn, if they really want to claim that they are really socialists. Otherwise the people of the whole country will come to know that this Government only talks of socialism but does nothing, to relieve the burden of the weaker sections of the community.

Sir, I have been repeatedly urging that the exemption limit on the lowest income groups must be raised. We have been urging that this limit must be raised to Rs. 7500. I sincerely hoped that the

Finance Minister would have included this to help the poorer sections of our community, but it is surprising that we have found nothing like that in his Budget.

Sir, self-reliance and social justice are very vital for any economic system and the key to both lies in a higher growth rate. We should see what has happened to our concept of self-reliance and social justice and to what extent we have been able to provide relief to the common man of the country.

We are sorry to find that the Finance Minister has not made any alternative fiscal concession which is very necessary for industrial revival. When he withdrew the development rebate. The corporate surcharge, on the other hand, has been raised by 5 per cent which is likely to yield Rs. 30 crores in a year, though this is placed at Rs. 9 crores in the Budget. So, I feel that the Finance Minister should better consider the grant of certain fiscal incentives if he is really keen on industrial revival. This budget has provided an opportunity for enunciating a dynamic policy, but surprisingly and unfortunately he has missed the bus while presenting this Budget. This Budget really lacks a distinct sense of direction and reveals no particular strategy for growth and social justice. There is no significant spur in savings or investment. In the Fourth Plan it is very clearly indicated that the rate of investment expressed as percentage of net domestic product should increase by about one-third and the rate of domestic saving by no less than half, between 1968-69 and 1973-74. There has been no perceptible increase in the rate of either of the two and the rate of investment is still no more than about 9.5 per cent of NDP. The projected rate of savings in 1973-74 is likely to remain at the same level as at the beginning of the fourth plan period.

Sir, savings and investment is the crux of the whole economic development which really shows that at present we have a dismal picture and the budget, I may say, really does nothing to halt and reverse the recent slippage in the tone of the entire economy.

The Finance Minister has preferred to rely entirely on larger Plan outlays on the

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expansion of the public sector as a catalyst of industrial activity. But he has forgotten to appreciate that this sector unfortunately has failed to utilise the installed capacity or to generate the surpluses. I wish that his pious hopes that this sector as catalyst of industrial activity would be realised.

It is also to be mentioned that the net savings in the public sector have declined sharply from over 2.7 per cent of the net domestic product in 1965-66 to a little over one per cent in 1970-71. Marginal rate of savings in the public sector was almost negative during the last four years. This must strike to any one as an extravagant flight to fancy even in normal circumstances. At the moment, it is equally true that the Government had issued such a large number of licences to the industry and the industrialists must share the responsibility to meet the challenge for reviving the whole industrial activity.

We have heard the speeches today about the Wanchoo Committee's report. It is really unfortunate that aspersions have been cast on a man like Mr. Justice Wanchoo who is really a very distinguished jurist of our country. He has presented a very useful document, and it is for Government to consider this way or that way. Black money, as the committee has mentioned, must be unearthed. It is almost tainted money and it has really put a premium on vulgar and ostentatious display of wealth. We must do everything possible to unearth black money in this country and the Wanchoo Committee has recommended four measures which I would also like to mention for the consideration of the Finance Minister. The first is a change in the existing administrative arrangements on searches and seizures and plugging loopholes in the existing laws. The second is the appointment of an expert group to enquire into the utility of the existing controls and licence-permit system and the elimination of those that are no longer considered essential. The third is a thorough overhaul and streamlining of the intelligence wing of the Income-tax Department, and finally, the committee has said that it is neither the demonetisation of hundred rupee notes nor

the nationalisation of the import-export trade but it is the reduction in tax rates which can help in unearthing black money in this country. We must understand this very clearly, because a large number of efforts have been made during the last so many years in this regard, and yet black money has been growing every day.

During my recent visit to the European countries, I was rather amazed to find a high growth rate in West Germany and Sweden. How have they achieved this high growth rate? It is due to nothing but the fact that they have allowed free and full expression to the creative energies of the people. There is hardly in those countries whom you would find on the roads. Nobody is unemployed, and everybody has an income of more than Rs. 1800 a month. This is the type of society which they have created.

In our country, the Congress Party has received a massive mandate to redeem the pledges to hasten social and economic reforms and to create a situation in which they would be able to create a large employment potential, in any case, not less than 5 million jobs a year. I know that this task is stupendous and it is a very difficult task, but I am sure that if the present administrative machinery is overhauled, our economy can certainly surge forward and we can make efforts to bring down the cost per unit which is the crux of the entire problem, and I hope that they will do this and thereby do a little justice to the Daridranarayan.

SHRI BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI (Lakhimpur): The Budget presented by the hon. Finance Minister is, in a sense, a hangover of the budget presented last year. The budget proposals have been framed mainly to fill up the gaps created in our economy by the happenings in Bangla Desh. Our help and assistance rendered to the cause of Bangla Desh have borne fruit. In the last general election, our party received a massive mandate. Our party had given promises to the masses and the budget proposals should be in tune with the promises given and the mandate received.

It is heartening to note that in spite of heavy expenditure on refugees and for the defence of our motherland, our develop-

mental activities have not been abandoned. It goes to the credit of the masses that the price line remains somehow stable. As the Finance Minister has rightly pointed out, the effects of the Past few months will still continue and we should examine the budget in that context.

The task of a Finance Minister is not a pleasant one. He has to open the purses of unwilling owners to mobilise resources, resources for growth and development. There are various ways for resource mobilisation. I would like to name only a few: first savings, second loans, third taxation. I think there is sufficient inducement for savings. Our savings target is achieved.

I do not like to speak about loans. My friend, Shri Panigrahi, has dealt with the subject. We are now in a sense able to do without foreign loans. Therefore, I want to term the budget as one with a promise of economic self-reliance.

Taxation is a necessity for mobilisation of resources. It is also an instrument to bring about economic and social justice. To achieve this end, there should be orientation of policies. This can be seen since 1970. As the Banking Commission says:

“Commercial banks have been mainly concerned with certain, and to some extent, mid term financing of non agricultural activities.”

After nationalisation more attention is paid to the priority sector, agriculture, hitherto neglected.

This is orientation of policy in a sense. The figure of credit in agriculture has risen from Rs. 184 crores in 1969 to Rs. 387.5 crores in 1971.

The scope of direct taxation has been narrowed down. Only the small urban sector has been taxed. The vast rural sector is left out. I am not pleading for taxing the rural sector. What I want to say that the condition of the rural sector is such that it cannot be taxed. Therefore, more attention should be paid to the rural sector. It has to be nurtured so that resource mobilisation from the rural sector in future is possible.

The growth in the economy in certain sector has been slackening in last year. This has been admitted by the Finance Minister. He wants to counterbalance it, but does not say how far it is counterbalanced. In his budget speech, he has said:

“Many of our basic industries, notably steel, fertilisers are operating below capacity.”

This admission is surely lamentable. These are the industries reserved and allotted to the public sector. What is wrong there? What is the deficiency there? To me, as I see it, nobody is accountable for the failure of the public sector. Unless the accountability is fixed, the public sector cannot function properly. Therefore, it would be the first and foremost duty of the Government to fix the accountability.

As taxation is an instrument of bringing about economic justice, the growth has to be accompanied with social justice also. It is heartening to know that the budget provides for bringing about social justice. The lump sum provision of Rs. 125 crores to cover the requirement of rural water supply, rural home sites, slum clearance and improvement, primary education and schemes for the educated unemployed is a good one. If this scheme is properly implemented, I think we shall see a new face of society.

Expansion of primary education not only removes illiteracy, but it will also provide employment to thousands of educated young men and women.

Then, I would just like to refer to the levy on kerosene. Last year, during the discussion of the budget proposals, one hon. Member stated that kerosene as a petroleum product has been taxed, and the hon. Finance Minister was prompt enough to correct that “kerosene has not been taxed.” We presumed that he is eager to leave kerosene alone, but it is surprising that six paise is the levy on a litre of kerosene now. Kerosene is used as a fuel and used in machinery in urban areas. But kerosene is the only means of illumination in the countryside, particularly in States like Assam, Orissa, etc., where there is no rural electrification at all.

[Shri Biswanarayan Shastri]

The housewife in the countryside burns a small kerosene lamp to illuminate her small cottage, and the men after their day's hard labour and the children after their play sit around it and carry on their work—the men with their small handicraft and the children with their studies. The kerosene lamp burning dimly helps them. We are going to provide compulsory primary education up to the age group of 11 by 1975. Should the Government deprive the rural children from learning the three R's, that is, reading, writing and arithmetic by loving tax on the only means of illumination the kerosene? Should the Government push the children of the rural areas from light to darkness, whereas we recite *Tamaso Ma Jyotirgamaya*? We want to lead us from darkness upto light.

In this context, I would like to mention the price of kerosene in Assam. Assam produces crude oil and supplies about 20 per cent of the total petroleum consumption in the country. The price of kerosene is the highest in Assam, and the price of petroleum is also the highest in Assam. What is the logic and the reason behind it, I fail to understand. I hope the Government and the Finance Minister will give serious attention to this aspect.

Sir, it is stated that a good amount remains as tax arrears, and that there is tax evasion also. There should be a vigorous policy to hunt but the black money. In under-invoicing and over-invoicing, black money plays a prominent part, and in this way black money increases day by day. It is a vicious circle. If there is one crore of rupees of black money today, it will increase to Rs. 2 crores tomorrow. Therefore Government should devise new methods to detect the operation of black money ;

One of the reasons, as I see it, for hiding income is the basic fear in human mind that they shall have to part with their entire income. They earn money by putting in hard labour and if they are to pay a major amount as tax, there will be nothing for them. This fear has to be removed. Unless this fear is removed, there will be a tendency on the part of some human beings to hide their income and thereby deceive the Government. Therefore, the income tax

department should act as an adviser and educator, and not as policeman.

I shall now refer to Assam. Social justice means reducing economic gaps that exist between man and man. Similarly it also means bringing different regions of the country almost to an equal level of economic or industrial development. If certain regions lag behind in economic or industrial development, it will serve only as a backlog to the country's progress. This aspect has to be looked into in the interest of the entire country, and not of particular State.

It is in this context that I refer to the eastern region, where industrial development is lagging behind though it has vast potential and resources. The potential is not developed and the resources cannot play their full part ; they are not mobilised or ploughed back for the benefit of the people of that region.

It has been stated on many occasion that the development of the eastern region depends entirely on the transport system, that is, the railways. My friends from Assam have dealt with the subject on the Railway Budget and therefore, I do not want to go into it. I simply want to give one instance. While people in other parts of the country pay 30 or 35 paise for a kilo of salt a commodity, which is an essential item for even the poorest of the poor, it is sold at 80 or 100 paise per kilo in Assam, because of transport difficulty. Assam produces tea and jute which earn a lot of foreign exchange but the growers do not get remunerative prices. The Finance Minister has in his Budget speech stated that the special excise duty will be merged with basic excise duty. It is a good proposal. The States will get a share of it. In this connection, I want to point out that the central excise duty on tea levied on tea grown in upper Assam is 3 or 4 times more than the excise duty levied on tea grown in other parts of the country. This discrimination should be removed.

Assam is an agricultural State ; its economic depends upon cultivation. But Assam is a perennial victim of floods. The Brahmaputra Commission has been constituted but not adequate funds have been given for its proper functioning. If the

Finance Minister wants to save Assam from the ravages of flood, he must Provide adequate funds for the Brahmaputra Flood Control Commission.

16.44 hrs.

[SHRIMATI SHIELA KAUL in the Chair]

There has been no appreciable change in the employment position in the past twenty years in Assam.

During the period 1951-61, ten years, the percentage of employment was 63.8 cultivators, 3.6 per cent agricultural labourers and 32.6 per cent engaged otherwise. The corresponding figure for the subsequent ten years, 1961-71 are 56.4, 9.4 and 30.2. There has been no change in the pattern during these two decades. There is great pressure on land; the number of landless people has increased.

That is why the percentage of agricultural labour rose from 3.6 to 9.4 per cent, almost treble. The economy of Assam has not progressed or developed. If economic development cannot be diversified, there cannot be employment avenues. Therefore, I would like to suggest that the Finance Minister should take this aspect into consideration.

In this connection, banking facilities should be mentioned. Commercial Banks in Assam and Meghalaya have only 136 officers, that is 1.1 per cent of the total banking officers in the country. They serve and average of 1,71,000 people. The figure is the highest so far as the number of people is concerned, and the lowest so far as the number of officers is concerned. This snail's rate of progress in the opening of branches of Banks in rural areas in the Eastern region hampers economic growth. Only if there is a scheme for opening more branches and providing more facilities to the agriculturists and industrialists, will Assam and the Eastern region prosper, and only in that case will India prosper.

With these words, I support the Budget proposals.

श्री भार्गवश्वर द्विवेदी (मछली शहर) : सभापति महोदय, मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री को

इस बात के लिए बधाई देना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने जिस प्रकार का संतुलित बजट पेश किया है, उसका देश के लगभग हर एक वर्ग ने, हर तरह के लोगों ने, स्वागत किया है। बंगला देश की समस्या, "गरीबी हटाओ" अभियान के लिए योजना और पिछड़ी भीषण बाढ़ के बाद सहायता-कार्य पर ज़िम तरह से व्यय करना पड़ा, उसको देखते हुए हम बात की बड़ी शंका की जा रही थी कि देश पर टैक्स बहुत बढ़ेंगे। लेकिन वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने जो बजट पेश किया है, उससे वे सब शंकाएं निर्मूल साबित हुई हैं।

कुछ चीजें ऐसी हैं, जो सर्व-साधारण से सम्बन्ध रखती हैं। खेती की तरफ लोगों का थोड़ा सा रुझान हुआ है और वे उसमें दिलचस्पी लेने लगे हैं। इसलिए पम्पिंग सेटों और उर्वरक पर जो टैक्स लगा है, लोग उसका औचित्य को नहीं समझ पा रहे हैं। यही स्थिति मिट्टी के तेल के बारे में भी है। यह बात सभी को मालूम है कि अमरीकन मिट्टी के तेल का उपयोग गरीब लोग गाड़ों में करते हैं। माना कि पेट्रोल की जगह पर कुछ लोग उसका प्रयोग करके इसकी खपत बढ़ाते हैं। लेकिन ऐसे लोगों पर अधिक भार डालने के लिए सर्व-साधारण पर भार डाला जाना उचित नहीं कहा जा सकता है। मैं चाहूँगा कि माननीय मंत्री जो इस मामले पर विचार करें। अल्पमिनियम के बर्तन ही आज गरीबों के सहारे हैं। ग्राम भी पीतल के बर्तन चल रहे हैं न फूल के बर्तन चल रहे हैं और न दूसरे कोई भी बर्तन चल रहे हैं जिनका गरीब लो। उपयोग करें। छोटे छोटे बर्तन अल्पमिनियम के गरीब लोग क्या मध्यम श्रेणी तक के लोगों के घरों में इस्तेमाल हो रहे हैं। इस पर भी टैक्स बढ़ाना किसी तरह उचित नहीं कहा जा सकता है। सरकार ने जैसा पहले निश्चय किया था, जो अपनी नीति निर्धारित की थी कि गरीबों हटाओ के मिलासिले में अभियान चलाया जाय उस गरीबी हटाने के सिलसिले में.....

श्री हुकम चंद कछवाय (गुरेजा) : सभापति महोदय, मैं व्यवस्था चाहता हूँ, सदन में गण-पूति नहीं है।

सभापति श्रीश्रीव्या : घटी बज रही है।... अब कोरम हो गया है, माननीय सचस्य अपना भाषण जारी रखें।

श्री नामेश्वर द्विवेदी : गरीबी हटाओ आन्दोलन को मैं समझता हू कि इससे सबसे ज्यादा बल मिलेगा यदि ग्रामीण क्षेत्र के विकास के ऊपर अधिक से अधिक ध्यान दिया जाय। हमारे देश को सबसे अधिक आबादी आज भी गावों में पड़ी हुई है। गावों के विकास के लिए जितना ध्यान देना चाहिए उतना दिया नहीं गया है। अब उस तरफ कुछ ध्यान गया है। हम लोग इस बात को महसूस करते हैं कि अगर गाव गाव में पक्की सड़के पहुँच जाय, घर घर में बिजली पहुँचा दी जाय और कृषि योग्य जितनी जमीन है उस पर मिर्चाई की व्यवस्था कर दी जाय तो हमारे देश की गरीबी मिटाने में, देश के नवनिर्माण में, देश के विकास में एक क्रान्तिकारी परिवर्तन आ जाय। बड़े दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि जहाँ देश की तीन चौथाई से अधिक आबादी गावों में पड़ी हुई है वहाँ दूर दूर तक कोई सड़को का प्रबन्ध नहीं है। ऐसी दशा में जो चीजें गावों में पैदा होती हैं शहर तक पहुँचते पहुँचते वह बहुत मर्गी हो जाती हैं। न उनसे उत्पादक को लाभ पहुँचता है न उपभोक्ता को लाभ होता है। दूसरी तरफ शहरों में जो चीजें तैयार होती हैं वह गाँव वालों तक पहुँचते पहुँचते इतनी महंगी हो जाती हैं कि उनकी खरीदने की शक्ति के बाहर हो जाती है। इसी तरह से जो चीज ज्यादा उपयोग में लाई जाने वाली है उनका ज्यादा उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ पाता है। इसका परिणाम यह होता है कि बेकारी बहुत हद तक कायम रह जाती है और लोगों के रहन सहन का स्तर नीचा रह जाता है। इसीलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार ने जैसा ध्यान दिया है, जैसा इरादा किया है उस इरादे को पूरा कर दे कि गाँव गाँव तक सड़कें पहुँचा दे और घर घर तक बिजली पहुँचा दे तो वास्तव में देश के अन्दर बहुत बड़ी क्रान्ति हो जायगी और इसका बड़ा व्यापक प्रभाव होगा। देश के लोगों में पिछले दो चुनावों में हमारी प्रधान मंत्री इंदिरा गांधी

में जो विश्वास प्रकट किया है वह इसी भावना से प्रकट किया है कि प्रधान मंत्री ने जो कुछ वादा किया उसको क्रियान्वित करने के लिए उन्होंने पूरी तरह जोर लगाया। अगर बगला देश की समस्या हमारे सामने न आ जाती तो पिछले चुनावों के बाद उन्होंने जो वादा किया था, जनता को इतना विश्वास था और अब भी विश्वास है कि वह योजनाएँ ऐसी होती कि साल भर में ही चमत्कार उनका होता। लेकिन इन कठिनाइयों को जनता समझती है। वह जानती है कि हमारी प्रधान मंत्री के सामने क्या क्या कठिनाइयाँ आईं, सरकार के सामने क्या क्या कठिनाइयाँ आईं और उनको भी सरकार ने किस तरह से झोला, बदलन किया। इसके बवजूद जो भी विकास की योजनाएँ चालू की थीं उनको ठप्प नहीं होने दिया, उनमें कोई मन्द गति नहीं आने दी, वह बराबर चालू रही। इसी से जनता की निगाह बराबर इस तरफ ली हुई है और यह विश्वास किया जाता है कि हमारी प्रधान मंत्री इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में देश इतनी तीव्रता से आगे बढ़ेगा कि जिस की कोई कल्पना नहीं कर सकता।

शिक्षा की पद्धति के बारे में भी मैं इस समय अपने विचार कह देना चाहता हूँ। चारों तरफ से इस मामले की आलोचना हो रही है। एक तरफ स्कूल कालेजों से पढ़कर निकलने वालों की संख्या तेजी से बढ़ि पर है और दूसरी तरफ जो लोग पढ कर निकलते हैं, कुछ ऐसी उनकी शिक्षा की पद्धति है, पढ़ाई लिखाई का ढंग है कि सिवाय नौकरी करने के और किसी काम में वह नहीं आ सकते हैं। आज इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि उसमें आमूल परिवर्तन किया जाय। शिक्षा पद्धति ऐसी निर्माण की जाय कि जो लोग पढ़कर निकलें वह मजबूरी में ही नौकरी की बात सोचें, अन्यथा वह अपने पैरों पर खड़े होने की बात लेकर स्कूल कालेज से निकलें और इस तरह से स्वयं को मजबूत बनाएँ और देश विकास में सहयोग दे सकें। हमारी जो शिक्षा पद्धति ही वह नैतिकता पर आधारित, उद्योग प्रधान और स्वावलम्बन-परक हो।

वास तीर से परिहार नियोजन के सबष में भी मैं कह देना चाहता हूँ। यह आन्दोलन बहुत तेजी से चलाया जा रहा है। लेकिन जिस तरह से इसको चलाया जा रहा है, वह देखते हुए ऐसा लगता है कि केवल मजाक सा है। इस पर जिस तरह से पैसा खर्च किया जा रहा है वास्तव में उसके आंकड़े जो निकले हैं, उसका जो प्रतिफल निकला है उससे उम्मा कोई तालमेल नहीं बैठता है। इतना पैसा खर्च करने के बाद जो परिणाम है वह वही है जो पहले रहा है। मेरे क्याल में गरीबी और सतान बढ़ि का परस्पर सम्बन्ध सा है। अगर गरीबी मिट जाती है, लोगों की माली हालत सुधरती है तो मैं समझता हूँ उससे अपने आप ही इस तरह के आन्दोलन पर प्रभाव पड़ेगा। इसलिए सारा पैसा जो इस तरह खर्च किया जा रहा है वह न करके लोगों की गरीबी मिटाने और उनकी माली हालत सुधारने पर खर्च किया जाय, उद्योग धन्धे खड़े करने पर, सिंचाई के साधनों पर खर्च किया जाय तो उससे हालत ब्यादा अच्छी हो सकती है? सरकार का ध्यान हरिजनो की हालत सुधारने की तरफ गया है। उनको जमीन देने की तरफ गया है। लेकिन वह चाहे केन्द्रीय सरकार हो, चाहे प्रान्तीय सरकार हो, कहने के बावजूद आज भी ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में हम देखते हैं कि हरिजनो को जमीन देने के लिए जमीन देना तो अलग है, कितने ऐसे हैं कि जिनके पास अपने मकान बनाने के लिए भी जमीन नहीं है। हिदायत जाती रहती है, लेकिन नीचे के स्तर पर इस तरह की हरकतें हो रही हैं कि वह वास्तव में उसका लाभ नहीं उठा पा रहे हैं। यह काम कैसे होगा कि उनको अपने बिकाम के लिए जमीन मिल सके, उनको अपनी सच्ची सरकारी बोनो के लिए जमीन मिल सके, अपने जानबूट बांधने के लिए जमीन मिल सके इसकी व्यवस्था कैसे होगी यह सरकार सोचें। इसका प्रबन्ध होना चाहिए कि उन लोगों को इस तरह की जमीन मिले। आज कहीं न कहीं यह बावबद है। जहाँ से भी उनको हटाने की, फेंकने की शब्द कट्टर की कीमत हो रही है। इस बात को

निश्चित रूप से लागू कर देना चाहिए। वह जहाँ बावबद है कम से कम वहाँ से उनको हटाने के लिए कोई प्रयास नहीं होना चाहिए और जो लागू इस तरह का प्रयास करें, उनको रोकना चाहिए।

17 hrs.

हमारे पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश में ईटो के भट्टे निर्माण के कामों के लिये बहुत अधिक तादाद में लगे हुए हैं। उससे कुछ लोगों को काम मिल जाता है और उद्योगों को खड़ा करने में, मकान बनाने में, सड़कों और पुल बनाने में ईटो की आवश्यकता की पूर्ति होती है। लेकिन आज कोयले की कमी के कारण इस उद्योग पर बड़ा भारी सकट आया हुआ है। इस समय ईटो के भट्टों को चलाने का बड़ा अच्छा सीजन है लेकिन कोयला न मिलने से वे बन्द हो रहे हैं। हमारी उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार के उद्योग मंत्री जी ने भी केन्द्रीय सरकार को लिखा था, लेकिन फिर भी कोयले की कमी की पूर्ति नहीं हो रही है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह शीघ्र ध्यान दिया जाय जिससे कि उन भट्टों को चलाया जा सके।

हमारी सरकार ने जिस तरह से अपनी विदेश नीति का संचालन किया है, जिसकी पहले कुछ लोग आलोचना किया करते थे और अब भी कुछ लोग आलोचना करेंगे, लेकिन पिछले दो वर्षों में किस तरह से वह नीति सफल होकर सामने आई है, जिसकी सफलता की प्रशंसा हमारे देश में ही नहीं अपितु विदेशों में भी प्रशंसा हो रही है। मैं भारत सरकार की विदेश नीति का हार्दिक समर्थन करता हूँ। हमारे देश ने पिछले महायुद्ध के बाद बार-बार लड़ाइयाँ लड़ीं, इस बार बंगला देश के प्रश्न को लेकर पाकिस्तान ने हमारे देश पर जो आक्रमण किया और उसका जबाब जिन तरह से हमारी तीनों सेनाओं ने दिया, उसकी मिसाल हमारे देश के ही इतिहास में नहीं, बल्कि दुनिया के इतिहासों में नहीं मिल सकती। जिस शौर्य, अचभूत वीरता और वैतकता का परिचय हमारी फौजों ने दिया

[श्री नागेश्वर द्विवेदी]

है, उसके लिये हमारे पास सराहना करने के लिये शब्द नहीं हैं। ऐसे समय में हमारे देश के नेताओं और हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जिस तरह का कुशल नेतृत्व किया, उससे हमारे देश का मस्तक ऊंचा हुआ है, गौरव बढ़ा है।

जहाँ मैं इस बात का स्वागत करता हूँ कि भूमि की अधिकतम सीमा निर्धारित करने का प्रयत्न किया गया है, वहाँ जो एक तरह का आन्दोलन चला है कि सवा छः एकड़ से नीचे की भूमि पर लगान बन्द करो—मैं इस विचार से सहमत नहीं हूँ। मैंने अपने क्षेत्र में देखा कि किसान इस बात से अपनी असहमति प्रकट करते हैं। उनको शक हो गया है कि किसानों से आगे चल कर जमीन छीन लेने का षडयन्त्र है। किसान लगान देना चाहते हैं। अगर सरकार समझती है कि इन छोटे किसानों में लगान लेकर हम उन के साथ ज्यादाती कर रहे हैं तो आप उस पैसे को लेकर उन के लिए एक कोष कायम करें और उस धन का केवल किसानों के लाभ के लिए ही खर्च करें। उन के लिए सिचाई के साधन, बिजली की सुविधा आदि कामों में उस धन को खर्च किया जाए। किसान वह महसूस करता है कि लगान देकर उसको जो रसीद मिलती है, वह उस के पास एक तरह का सर्टिफिकेट है कि वह उस की जमीन है। इस लिए आप इस रकम को एक कोष के रूप में संग्रह करके किसानों पर खर्च करने का नियम बनायें।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बजट का स्वागत करता हूँ।

श्री स्वामी ब्रह्मानन्दजी (हमीरपुर) : अभी हमारे बहुत से सदस्यों ने कहा कि रुपये के बिना बिजली नहीं आ सकती, सड़कें नहीं बन सकती। सवाल यह है कि रुपया क्या है? रुपया क्या बस्तु है? रुपया मेहनत है, रुपया महाशक्त है। हम कहते हैं कि गरीबों की गरीबी मिट जाय। लेकिन गरीब क्यों हैं। जितने काम

करने वाले हैं, वे गरीब है। अभी मेहनत नहीं करता, गरीबों की मेहनत से सम्पत्ति अर्जित कर के अभी बन जाता है। जब गरीब मेहनत करता है तो यह सम्पत्ति तो गरीब के पास होनी चाहिए। जब मेहनत करने के बाद भी उस के पास सम्पत्ति नहीं है, तो इस का मतलब है कि उस की सम्पत्ति को किसी ने चुरा लिया। इस का अर्थ है कि आज के जो पूंजीपति हैं, वे चोर हैं। अब चोरों को कहा जाय कि तुम टैक्स के रूप में रुपया दो। उसमें भी वह चोरी करता है। आज एक गरीब आदमी पाँच रुपया भी चोरी कर लेता है या किसी खेत से चने को उखाड़ लेता है तो उस को सजा मिलती है, लेकिन जो बिना महाशक्त किये अरबों रुपये की सम्पत्ति चुरा कर जमा कर लेते हैं, उसको कुछ नहीं कहा जाता। हम उन की सम्पत्ति को निकाल लें तो फिर ये सारे काम हो सकते हैं, नहरें भी बन सकती हैं, सड़कें भी बन सकती हैं।

जमीनों के बारे में आन्दोलन चल रहा है। लोग मुझ से आ कर कहते हैं कि इनने अभी बँठे हैं उनका कुछ नहीं होता, लेकिन हमारी जमीनों का ही राष्ट्रीयकरण हांता जा रहा है। गरीबी का नाम मिट सकता है, यदि जमीनी मिटा दी जाय। जैसे जीव ब्रह्म हो जाता है तो न जीव रहता है न ईश्वर रहता है। इस लिए गरीबी तब ही मिटेगी जब अमीरी नेस्तो-नाबूद की जाएगी।

आज लोगों को बड़ा शक हो रहा है कि क्या वास्तव में गरीबी मिट जायगी। मैंने कहा कि भाइयो, अभी तो जवानी जमा-खर्च है, कहा समाजवाद है। जितने मेहनत करने वाले हैं, वे दुखी हैं, उनके पैर में जूता तक नहीं है। मुझे कई सज्जनों ने कहा कि स्वामी जी आप रुपये बदल लीजिए, मैंने कहा—भाई, जिन कपड़ों को मैं पहने हुए हूँ, अगर मैं इन को चार साल चलाता हूँ और किसी गरीब को दे दूँ, तो वह 8 साल चलाएगा। आज गरीब गरीब होता चला जा रहा है और अमीर अमीर होता चला

जा रहा रहे। जिन की लम्बी तनख्वाहें हो, वे और ज्यादा लम्बी होती चली जा रही है। हम को 50 रुपया रोज मिलता है, हम उस का क्या करते हैं? सैट्रल हाल में बैठे हुए चाय पिया करते हैं। हमारे यहाँ जो नी-र हैं, दूसरे काम करने वाले हैं, वे बेचारे बैठे रहते हैं पूरते है कि सेषद खत्म हुआ है या नहीं। हम कहते हैं कि खत्म हो रहा है। वे 12-12 घण्टे काम करते हैं, लेकिन उन को हमारे 50 रुपये के मुकाबले 10 रु० भी नहीं मिलते, इतनी बड़ी विषमता क्यों है ?

दारोगा जूम कबुलवा ने के लिए चोर को पीटता है। एक दफ्ता मैंने एक दारोगा को कहा कि तुम वे इस को क्यों माग। उस ने कहा कि महाराज, बिना पीटे चोरी कैसे बतलाता। मैंने उस के एस० पी० से पूछा कि क्या तुम ने कभी दारोगा को पकड़ कर ऐसे ही पीटा है कि बतलाओ तुम ने कहाँ कहाँ रिश्तत ली है। जो गरीब हैं उन के लिए ही ये सारी अदालतें हैं। वकील क्या काम करते है ? ये भी गरीबों का शोषण करते हैं, गरीबों को मदद नहीं करते है। एक बड़े आदमी ने एक गरीब ब्राह्मण को पिटवा दिया। वह मेरे पास आया। उस ने बताया कि उस आदमी ने एक हजार रुपया दारोगा को दे दिया है और एक हजार रुपया डाक्टर को दे दिया है, अब वह कहते हैं कि एक्स-रे करा लो, तब मुकदमा चल सकता है। मैंने दारोगा से पूछा तो उस ने कहा, “स्वामी जी, मैं क्या करूँ ? डाक्टर ने रिपोर्ट ही नहीं लिखी वह कहता है कि एक्स-रे के बिना रिपोर्ट नहीं लिखी जा सकती।” तब हम ने चन्दा कर के उस को एक्स-रे कराने के लिये भेजा, अब उस के बाद मामला चलेगा।

अदालतों में देखिये, बड़े बड़े जज हैं, 6-6 वर्षों तक मुकदमे चलते हैं, फैसला नहीं होता। कल्ल करने वाला छूट जाता है, निरपराधी फंस जाता है। होता क्या है ? अहमदीद गवाह बना दिये जाते हैं, लोग झूठी गवाही देकर कल्ल करने वाले को बच लेते हैं और निरपराधी को

फंसा देते हैं।

हमारे यहाँ कहा गया है—आत्मानम् सर्वं भूतेषु। सब प्राणियों में अपनी ही आत्मा को देखो। इसलिए सब बाँट कर खाओ। यदि हम इस सिद्धान्त का पालन नहीं करते हैं, भ्रम को बल नहीं देते हैं तो कोई मेहनत नहीं करेगा। जो मेहनत करने वाला है उस के कपड़े आज भी गन्दे हैं, वह अपने कपड़ों को साबुन भी नहीं लगा सकता है, लेकिन हमारे यहाँ ऐसे सफेद-पोश बेशम भी लोग है जो दिन में तीन-तीन बार अपनी पोशाकों को बदलते हैं, लेकिन ऐसे आदमी काम नहीं करते है। ऐसे लोग चार सौ बीसी करते हैं, और पूंजीतियों की दलाली करते है। हरिजन बेचारे सदियों से दलित रहे है। मैं तो खुली बात कहता हूँ कि जिस रामायण में हरिजनो की बुराई की गई है उस के लिए 80 लाख रुपया क्यों दिया गया ? यह रुपया कहा से आया ? 80 लाख रुपया रामायण के प्रचार के लिए दिया गया है जिस में लिखा है।

“जे वर्णाधम तेल कुम्हार”

वर्णों से अधम भी हैं तेनी और कुम्हार। तेली क्या करता है ? तेली तेल पेरता है, कुम्हार मिट्टी के बर्तन बनाता है और वह वर्णों से अधम है। उस मे यह भी लिखा है :

“होल गंधार शूद्र पशू नारी
वे सब ताडन के अधिकारी।”

“साहम धनतं चपलता माय
भय अविबेक अशीच अदाया ॥”

“भवयुग घ्राठ सदा उर रहही
नारि स्वभाव सत्य कब कहही।”

जिस रामायण में म्त्रिों और बेचारे गरीबों शूद्रों को पता नहीं क्या क्या बताया गया है उसी रामायण को हमारी केन्द्रिय सरकार ने, मैंने सुना है, 80 लाख रुपया दिया है और इस पाखण्ड को बढ़ाया है। मैं पूछता हूँ गुप्त ग्रंथ साहब को क्यों नहीं दिया है ? गुप्त ग्रंथ साहब में मानवता का ब्यथन है उसमें जाति पति

[श्री स्वामी ब्रह्मानन्द जी]

का वर्धन नहीं है। मैं मुझ नानक देव की एक पंक्ति कहता हूँ :

जो तू ब्राह्मण जनम से जाया
तो और ठौर से काहे नहीं प्राया।

हे ब्राह्मण अगर तू पेट ने ब्राह्मण है तो और जगह से आना था क्योंकि उस जगह से तो मेहतर भी आया है। तो एमे जो ग्रंथ हैं, जैसे कबीर बाणी है, रैदास बाणी है उसके लिए एक टका नहीं दिया। क्यों नहीं दिया ? इसमें तो पांखड़ियों का पोषण किया गया है, ब्राह्मण समाज का पोषण किया गया है और उस के लिए 80 लाख रुपया दिया गया है। और उसमें मानवता को ऊंचा करने की बात कही गई है लेकिन उसको रुपया नहीं दिया गया। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह कि वह 80 लाख रुपए गए तो बजट कैसे पूरा होगा। कहीं तो तीर्थों की सीढ़ियां बन जायेंगी और कहीं कुछ बन जायेगा तो फिर सड़कें कहां से बनेंगी ? तो गरीबी ऐसे नहीं मिटेगी, उसके लिए अमली तौर पर काम करना होगा। मुझ से कोई कहे तो मुझे तो जीवन भर हो गया, मैं आज भी रोटी मांग कर खा लेता हूँ और पैसा छूता नहीं हूँ। इसीलिए यह सब कहने का दावा रखता हूँ लेकिन आज भी हमारे जैसे आदिमियों का सम्मान नहीं हो सकता क्योंकि हम ब्राह्मण नहीं हैं हम एक किसान के लड़के हैं। बड़े बड़े शंकराचार्य और दूसरे बड़े साधु सन्यासी रुपया लेते हैं जब कि यह लिखा हुआ है कि सन्यासी रुपया छूए तो तीन दिन का व्रत करे। मैंने 55 साल से पैसा नहीं हुआ है। ऐसा भी नहीं कि गांठ में बांध कर चलूँ। जहां रहता हूँ खा लेता हूँ। सारी सम्पत्ति कालेज को दे दी है। बैंक में बैंक दे देता हूँ। मेरे नाम पर इन्टर कालेज है, डिग्री कालेज है और लगान संस्थायें हैं। उनको पैसा जाता है। मैं कभी एक पैसा नहीं छूता हूँ। मैं तो आपका देश का पास भी फँक रहा था। मैं पशुधे बैरक चला हूँ बीस साल तक। जब मैं स्टेशन पर पहुँचता हूँ तो श्रीस आदमी टिकट देने

के लिए आ जाते हैं। अगर तमाम लोग ऐसे निकल आवें तो टिकट भी छोड़ने के लिए तैयार हूँ। लेकिन आज कितने ही आदमी ऐसे हैं जिन्होंने मकान किराये पर दे रखा है, सर्वेंट क्वार्टर दे रखा है और मोटर गैराज दे रखा है किराये पर, लेकिन मेरे यहाँ बैसे ही अतिथियों के लिये पड़ा हुआ है। इसीलिए मैं यह कहने का दावा करता हूँ। हमारी मां के बच्चे नहीं होते थे, जब मैं हुआ तो मुझे एक मेहतरानी को गोद दे दिया गया, तो मुझे जातप-त से आस्था नहीं रही, क्योंकि मैं सबकी गोद में ही पला पुसा। 25 साल हो गए स्वराज्य को, यहाँ पर साल में एक कथा हो जाती है और बसोर-बसोर (मेहतर-मेहतर) ही बना हुआ है, चमार ज्यों का त्यों बना हुआ है, आप ऊँचे पर बैठे हैं और वह बेचारा नीचे पर बंटा है। बसोय क्या जुम करता है ? मां मैला साफ करती है, हम भी मैला रोज साफ करते हैं और बसी सारे मोहल्ले का मैला साफ करता है। डाक्टर मुर्दा चीरता है और उसमें कोई भेदभाव नहीं करता तो मेहतर क्या करता है ? तेली क्या करता है ? तेली तेल पेरता है। चमार क्या करता है ? चमार चमड़े के समान बनाता है। आज जुलाहा क्या करता है ? कपड़े बुनता है। आज बिड़ला भी कपड़े बुनता है तो वह भी जुलाहा हो गया। तो कहने का मतलब यह है कि जब तक यह जाति पात का झगड़ा समाप्त नहीं होगा तब तक काम चलने वाला नहीं है और चोरों ने जो सम्पत्ति चुराकर रखी है, गवर्नमेंट को चाहिए कि सीधे उसको ले ले क्योंकि उसके बिना काम चल नहीं सकता। इन प्रश्नों के साथ मैं इस बजट का सम्बन्ध करता हूँ।... (स्वव्यक्त)...

मैं आप को एक किस्सा बताता हूँ कि एक अंधा था उससे पूछा गया कि तुम किनको चाम्बी देते हो तो उसने कहा कि जिसको घर वाले देते हैं। पूछा गया कि घर वाले किसको देते हैं तो उसने कहा कि मुझे पता नहीं। उसी तरह से हमारे कांग्रेसी भाइयों ने इस बजट का सम्बन्ध किया है, मैं भी इसका सम्बन्ध करता हूँ।

PROF. NARAIN CHAND PARASHAR (Hamirpur): It would rather be a colourless attempt to speak after such a scintillating speech by Swami Brahmanand which symbolises the quintessence of socialism. I hope his points do not fall on deaf ears and they will ring the right chord in the hearts of the Finance Minister as well as in the heart of everybody else who is concerned with the implementation of the programme.

So far as the Budget is concerned, I am happy that the fears of the public have been allayed that a large number of taxes would be levied as soon as Congress Party will be able to have a sufficient majority in the States. For all that we have been able to come out with the true colour with which we fought the elections. We do not want to crush the common man nor do we want to enhance prices. Rather this is the one Budget the effect of which has not been in the shape of rise in prices. This is a Budget which is specifically Plan-oriented, and growth-oriented.

When I was listening to Mr. K. Manoharan of the DMK making out a quotation from the Third Finance Commission, I was rather wondering whether he had read the speech by our hon. Finance Minister. He was saying that the Third Finance Commission had said that the resources to the States are—being dried out and the Centre is devouring a large portion of the cake. May I invite his attention to an item in the speech of our Finance Minister. Item No. 61 at page 8. The Fifth Finance Commission has recommended that from 1972-73, the special excise duties which have been levied in the past exclusively for the benefit of the Centre are also to be included in the divisible pool. So, here is our Finance Minister agreeing to implement a proposal of the Fifth Finance Commission which gives a part of the levies to the States also.

I hope when we are discussing the Budget, we should not discuss it only in the partisan spirit but also look at what has been said in the proposals and what is being done. So, here is a reply to the quotation offered by Mr. K. Manoharan from the Third Finance Commission's report. Here is the Fifth Finance Commission's report

which has been presented to you and the levies are put in the divisible pool. It means that now onwards they will be shared by the States and the Centre together.

Similarly, he was pleading for a long rope for the State autonomy. He was forgetting that on occasions we have criticised the States for not implementing the programmes which the Centre wants in the States. So, we should be very careful in this respect. The question of autonomy to the States will have to be carefully considered at every time because there are already a large number of spheres where the Centre cannot intervene, and if our programmes go faulty, they cannot be implemented because we complain that the Centre has certain spheres and the States have other spheres. So, we have to be very chary and when the people are saying that they want a strong Centre, somebody questioned whether he wants a strong Centre or a weak Centre. Whether he wants a strong Centre or a weak Centre, that does not matter. He wants no Centre. He wants only the circumference. We have to look at things from the whole country's point of view. After all, when programmes in Tamil Nadu are to be implemented, we, in Himachal Pradesh, are happy and similarly, when UP gives a good performance, the people of Bombay will feel happy. We have to view the Budget in this light. We have to view the States-Centre relations in this light. Finance Commissions are instituted every five years for this specific purpose. The proper forum for pleading for State's autonomy in fiscal sphere is the Finance Commission. Similarly, there are the Law Commissions and other Commissions. We can put these ideas before them whereas when we come to the Budget, we have to talk of the measures which are presented according to the economic theory and not according to one's Party or another.

Of course, I have one complaint with Mr. Chavan—That is this. Our electorate, the vast majority of our people, have extinguished the Jan Sangh lamp; but he wants to extinguish the Kerosene lamp. That is not fair. Because, Sir, the kerosene lamp burns in the hearth and home of everybody; it burns in the villages where the power lines of Mr. K. L. Rao have not reached so far. The programme of rural

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electrification has not been pushed through to such an extent that electric lamp is scintillating in every village. Therefore, I would plead with him and say that 6 paise per litre is ultimately going to hit the poor and the common man. The reason advanced by the hon. Minister is that he has led this in order to check adulteration. This argument would fall through in the ultimate analysis, because, the fellow who is bent upon adulteration would go on committing this mischief even if you raise the rate by ten paise or twenty paise. The proper thing for this would have been to check adulteration and not to increase the levy. This is where the shoe pinches.

Now, the budget has done another trick which I would like to bring to the notice of the hon. Minister. It has increased the cost of paper. We are holding an international book fair in this capital city of ours. Here is a budget that is raising the cost of the paper on which we are to print these books.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN :
Not of text-books.

PROF. NARAIN CHAND PARASHAR :
Not text-books, Sir. But there are magazines. If your magazines have to compete with foreign magazines, if your books have to compete with foreign books, you have to give some kind of encouragement to the paper which is used for such printing. So, this is one point which I wanted to bring to the notice of the hon. Minister.

There is one thing to which Mr. Indrajit Gupta was referring to. I must also refer to that. I feel this pinch every day. Bangladesh refugees are going away; Bangla Desh stamps are still to be removed. We have to come back to a level to which we were used to earlier. Only then we would think we have solved the Bangladesh problem permanently. Then only we would have the relief.

The Budget is not without its highlights. There are many good things. For the first time Mr. Chavan has taxed the gambling instinct. He has put tax on the lotteries, the crossword puzzles and all that. So far,

this has gone on unchecked and we have seen the strange spectacle of people growing rich overnight just because they were able to invest one rupee in one lottery ticket and got the money without having to pay any taxes on that. It is a good thing that taxes have been levied now on these people and they will be able to pay something of their new-earned money for the development of the country.

Similarly, there are a few other items, such as increase on fertilisers and increase on pumpsets. I thought it would have been better to await the report of K. N. Raj Committee on agricultural incomes and taxation. When we are looking what is to be done in the entire sphere of taxation in respect of agricultural income, it would have been better to await that report because we must know their point of view also, to have an integrated approach.

There is also some sort of duty on what we call companies engaged in priority industries. Now the Finance Minister rationalised the proposals. Wonderfully enough, his rationalisation has gone up from 2.5 to 5 per cent. Of course there was one case and in his speech he also referred to lowering down of one item, that is, in the case of coffee from Rs. 102 to Rs. 100 per quintal. But people might ask : When we are entering into the age of industrialisation and when we are asking everybody to give incentive to industrialisation, what are the incentives for industrialisation in this budget? Unfortunately, they are lacking. In his speech Mr. Chavan was referring to Wanchoo Committee report on taxation. He said that ultimately the income that could be generated could be used for industrialisation in backward States. I hope this promise would be kept up because our experience in this House has been that industrially advanced States go on eating the bigger portion of the new industrial share and the industrially backward States remain industrially backward.

All the States which are industrially backward remain backward in many other spheres. When we present a demand for railway lines, we are told that there is no industry, and when we ask the Ministry of Industrial Development to start industries, we are told that there are no railway lines.

This kind of vicious circle is going on. But I am happy that this promise has been made, and we shall be happy if that promise is fulfilled. Those States where there is no industry are looking forward to the rest of the country and they are looking to the kindness of the Finance Minister and the kindness of the Minister of Industrial Development and other people so that they can also be co-sharers in development in this new age of industries.

Himachal Pradesh, the State from which I come, is sadly lacking in Industries, and it requires the notice of the Finance Minister as well as of the Minister of Industrial Development. It is sad that we have only to listen to big promises of industrialisation. Many industrial fairs are held but none is held in our State, and our people have to come here or go quite far away to cities like Bombay, Kanpur, Ahmedabad etc. for sharing the benefits of industrialisation, and the share that our people get is only earning of the daily wages.

We have also been able to see in this budget some of the novelties which the hon. Finance Minister has promised for the first time.

For income-taxpayers in this country for the first time in the history of our country, there is going to be introduction of an account number permanently. I think, this would be a good thing, because with the account number, we would be able to get the things done easily, and at the other end also, the officers will be helped to a similar extent, provided that this policy is enforced rather rigorously, and black money is also brought within the purview of taxation.

The Wanchoo Committee's report which has been referred to by other Members earlier has been published just in a summary form in the press today. That report gives an indication of the extent of black money that is outside the purview of taxation at present. If we are able to bring that also into the taxable pool, then we would be able to do a lot for the country.

The press criticism on the part of the Indian press regarding this budget has been

rather on a very low key. One of the newspapers has called it a non-event. What is a non-event? I do not agree to it. Perhaps, they had expected certain big reactions and certain sharp increase in prices because of some big increase in taxes, and this they would have called an event. But whether event or non-event, this budget for the first time has increased the size of the Plan for the States as well as for the Centre to a very high level, namely Rs. 710 crores. This is the amount of increase that has been promised, and if this is implemented sincerely and surely, then there is every hope that we would be able to have new job opportunities and new occasions for the people to enjoy the advantages of a correct and balanced budgetary financing.

My hon. friends from the Opposition Benches were referring to certain kinds of theories and the philosophy of budgeting which they were thinking of. They think that a rise in production will not necessarily lead to a decline in prices. I ask them why not. Is there any country in the world where reduction in production has led to stabilisation of prices? Of course it is bad economy which they were preach out of political partisanship. If we are able to increase production and production improves, ultimately it will cheapen the rates of things, and the prices would go down, and we shall be able to bring comfort to every home and life to every hearth.

Of course, there is the hope that the Bangla Desh problem will be solved permanently in the sense that the money that we have promised for helping them would be spent adequately there and some sort of aid would also be coming. But as hon. Members were told earlier also, our ultimate aim should not be to assume that aid would be coming, but that we should be able to stand on our own feet. All these sources of taxation and all the revenues that we can bring in should be ultimately harnessed for the economy of the country, because nothing is more important than a radical revolution in the economic sphere. The people have given a massive mandate both at the Centre and in the States, and they are very eager to know and see what we are able to do with this massive mandate. If we are unable to translate this massive

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desire for a radical revolution into a sort of economic dose for the welfare of our people of the common man who lives in the street, then we may not be able to secure the same massive mandate the next time. Of course whether we like politics or not, sound economics and sound budgeting requires that every poor man's budget also should be such that it is able to provide him with two square meals a day and enable him to send his children to the school and also give clothing and shelter to him and the members of his family.

These are some of the things that the Finance Minister has been able to promise us.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Has he been able to give two square meals a day ?

PROF. NARAIN CHAND PARASHAR : We will try. We will not kill. You want to kill the person before he can get two square meals. We want to give him two square meals.

SHYI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: That is why your central police budget has shot up from Rs. 101 crores to Rs. 195 crores or so.

PROF. NARAIN CHAND PARASHAR : That does not matter.

People listen more to the ballot than to the bullet. We are fortunate that they listened to the ballot in West Bengal and rejected the bullet.

I am happy that this Budget is being proposed as a sort of stabilisation budget and I support it.

श्री संघाचरण बीक्षित (खंडवा) : सभापति महोदय, यह निःसन्देह कहा जा सकता है सरकारी पूंजी-निवेश में बढ़ोतरी किये बिना अर्थ-व्यवस्था को संवर्धन नहीं बनाया जा सकता और पूंजी-निवेश में बढ़ोतरी कोई सूख से नहीं की जा सकती। यदि पूंजी-निवेश में बढ़ोतरी की जा सकती है तो कराधान से की जा सकती है, बचत से की जा सकती है। और इसी किये बिना अर्थ-व्यवस्था में यह कराधान युक्त आय व्ययक हमारे

सामने प्रस्तुत किया है। इस में कोई शक नहीं कि इस बजट को देखने से ऐसा महसूस होता है कि अगले पांच वर्ष की साहसिक यात्रा के लिये हमें अपना मनोबल तैयार करना पड़ेगा, और बिना साहसिक यात्रा का मनोबल तैयार किये हम इस दुनिया में वैसे यश के उच्च शिखर पर पहुंच सकेंगे। हम एक राष्ट्रीय नागरिक के नाम से कैसे पुकारे जा सकेंगे।

आज यह पहला ही घाटे का बजट नहीं है। 26 वर्षों से लगातार घटे के बजट प्रस्तुत किये जा रहे हैं। लेकिन इन घाटे के बजटों को हमने पचाया है, पचाते चले जा रहे हैं और इस घाटे के बजट को भी पचाकर रहेंगे। इन घाटे के बजटों के रहते हुए भी हमने नये कारखाने खोले, नई क्षमतायें पैदा कीं और नये कारखाने खोल कर तथा नई क्षमता पैदा करके हमने अपने मनोबल को तैयार किया और दुनिया के सामने यह बतला दिया कि भारतवर्ष एक मनोबल वाला देश है और इस की क्षमतायें क्या क्या हैं। घाटे का बजट होते हुए भी हमें साहस के साथ अगले पांच वर्षों में बढ़ते चला जाना चाहिये। यदि हमने अपने मनोबल को खोया, यदि हम चावल और गेहूं की महंगाई के चक्कर में पड़े—मौसमी बेरोजगारी है या आंशिक बेरोजगारी है—अगर इस चक्कर में हम पड़ते चले गये तो इस राष्ट्र का क्या होगा। हमसे सफलता कोसों दूर चली जायेगी।

बिरोधी भाई कहते हैं कि हम लोग धीमे धीमे नारे लगाते रहते हैं, हम स्वप्न देखते रहते हैं। वे कहते हैं कि हम स्वप्नशीलता में पड़े रहते हैं। लेकिन हम स्वप्नशीलता को कार्यशीलता में परिवर्तित करते हैं। जब स्वप्नशीलता कार्यशीलता में समन्वित होती है तभी इस स्वप्न को पृथ्वी-तल पर लाया जा सकता है। हम धीमे धीमे नारे नहीं लगाते। हमने एक नारा लगाया था कि हम युद्ध जीतेंगे हमने युद्ध जीता। हमने एक नारा लगाया था कि हम आरणाधियों को दमस्त करेंगे, हमने यह करके दिखाया दिया। हमने नारा लगाया है कि राष्ट्रीय विद्रोहियों को दमस्त

कोई शक नहीं कि आज भी गरीबी है। हम इसको मजूर करते हैं, लेकिन क्या गरीबी मिटाने की तरफ हमने कदम नहीं बढ़ाया है? क्या हमारी गति में तीव्रता नहीं आई है? क्या उस गरीबी को मिटाने के लिये हम तत्पर नहीं हैं? उत्तर यही मिलेगा कि हम गरीबी मिटाने की तरफ प्रयत्नशील हैं। हमने गरीबी देखा है। यदि हम अपने मस्तिष्क में एक पुराने काश्तकार का चित्र खींचते हैं तो ढलते सूर्य की लालिमा की पृष्ठभूमि के अन्तर्गत एक आदमी अपने कंधे पर हल रखे हुए कमर झुकी हुई, चला आता दिखाई देता है और उस व्यक्ति का नाम था काश्तकार। यह कुछ दिन पहले की बात है। लेकिन जब हम आज के काश्तकार की तरफ देखते हैं, पंजाब के काश्तकार की तरफ देखते हैं तो दिखाई देता है कि उसकी आंखों में तेज उसके कदमों में ताकत है, उसका सीना विशाल है। विशाल बक्षस्थल को लिये हुए, आंखों में तेज लिये हुए, कदमों में ताकत लिये हुए हमें आज का काश्तकार दिखाई देता है और हम महसूस करते हैं कि वह काश्तकार गांव का शिल्पकार है, वह एक सृष्टिमान, चित्रकार है भारत का, जो भारत का चित्र भविष्य के लिये हमारे सामने रखता चला आ रहा है।

भुझे तो आश्चर्य होता है कि जो मराठा रणस्थल में वीर बहुरा कहलाता था वह केवल युद्ध भूमि में ही सफल नहीं होता, वह मराठा आज आर्थिक जगत में भी सफल हो कर भारत-वर्ष के आकाश में चार चांद लगा रहा है। और हमें इसको देखकर गर्व होता है। हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने एक ऐसा बजट प्रस्तुत किया है जो विरोधियों को एक आश्चर्य में डाल रहा है। वे उसको देखकर परेशान हैं। वह इस बात की कल्पना करते थे कि युद्ध के बाद जो कराधान धारिया उसमें हमें हंसने का मौका मिलेगा, कोयों को बहकाने का मौका मिलेगा, उनसे यह कहने का मौका मिलेगा कि तुमने उनको युद्ध-स्वच्छ से बिरता प्रदान की, तुमने उनको युद्ध-विताया कि जिन्हें लोगों ने तुम्हारे ऊपर इतना कष्टकाय का बोझा डाला। लेकिन हमें हर्ष होता

है कि आज का जो बजट है, वह सतुलित बजट है। मैं तो कहूंगा कि गीता के समत्व ज्ञान का निचोड़ हमारे वित्त मंत्री आर्थिक जगत में लाना चाहते हैं। जो गीता का समत्व जीवन दर्शन है, जो फिलामफी है, उसको हमारे वित्त मंत्री आर्थिक जगत में लाये हैं। हाँ, एक शर्त बाकी है। बजट त्याग की अपेक्षा करता है। तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीया की शर्त को पालने का काम हमको अभी करना है। जब हम इस तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीया : की पहली को मुलझा पायेगे तब हम समत्व गीता के जीवन दर्शन के पूर्ण रूप से हकदार होंगे।

जब हम इस बजट का विश्लेषण मरसरी तीर कर रहे हैं तो हमें स्पष्ट दिखता है कि हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था ऐसी दयनीय अवस्था में पड़ गई कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री को सिवा इधर से कुछ तोड़ने और उधर से कुछ जोड़ने के और कोई दूसरा रास्ता नहीं सूझ पड़ा, लेकिन इस मजबूरी को उन्होंने अपने प्रवीण प्रमाणिक कौशल, मजिकल इन्स्ट्रूमेंट के द्वारा निभाया है कि सिवा तारीफ करने के और कुछ दूसरी बात हो नहीं सकती।

एक बात जरूर है कि कुछ बातें हमको इसमें ठीक नहीं दिखलाई देनी हैं, जैसे मिट्टी के तेल पर टैकम लगाना। हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो दलील बजट में दी है वह कुछ मस्तिष्क में घुसने की पानी। क्या बात है कि जो ग्रामीण क्षेत्र है, जहां ग्रामीण रहते हैं वहां हर गाँव में बिजली नहीं पहुँच पाई। आज वे लोग निमि-राच्छन्न होकर किम प्रकार अपना जीवन यापन कर सकेंगे। अब वहाँ बिजली नहीं है, जब आज ग्रामीण आदमी पेट में भूखा है, अन्धेरे में कुटिया में पड़ा हुआ नडपता है ऐसी स्थिति में अगर कोई भयानक माँप या बिरुद्ध उसको काटने आता है तो यह उसमें कैसे बच सकेगा क्या वह अपने यहाँ लकड़ी जला कर सोयेगा? अगर वह माँप या सन्यासी के रूप में लकड़ी जलाकर अपना जीवन यापन करे तो बात दूसरी है।

मैं इस बजट की सराहना करता हूँ, और

[श्री गंगा चरण दीक्षित]

सराहना इसलिये करना हूँ कि इसमें एक संयम और सन्तुलन है। इस बजट की एक खास विशेषता यह है कि सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के द्वारा गुप्त विनियोग को, गुप्त विनियोग को एक नई दिशा दी गई है। अभी तक हमने देखा है कि हमारे विकास को धक्का नहीं लगता रहा है। अब धक्का इस बजट में विकास को लगा है। खर्च के अन्तर्गत विशेष प्रावधान से जनता में पैसा अधिक फैलता है और उसके बाद हमारी मांगें बढ़ती हैं और मांग बढ़ने से उत्पादन बढ़ता है और उत्पादन बढ़ने से हमारा जीवन दुखी होता है।

मैं वित्त मंत्री जी का ध्यान मध्य प्रदेश की ओर भी आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। वह मध्य-प्रदेश के विस्तार को देखें, वहाँ की जन जानियों को और पिछड़े वर्गों को देखें। वहाँ के विविध साधनों को देखें। विविध साधनों से सम्पन्न होते हुए भी वित्तीय सहायता उसको न मिलने की वजह से, वह अपगम सा होता जा रहा है। उनके विशाल भूभाग में चावल का भंडार है। इस प्रदेश का गेहूँ विद्यमान अपना स्थान रखता है। कहा जाता है कि मध्य प्रदेश में छत्तीसगढ़ का इलाका ऐसा इलाका है जो भारत का अनामो हो सकता है। 1 लाख 76 हजार वर्ग मील भूमि में से 66 हजार वर्गमील में वन उपज पैदा होता है। सयुक्त राष्ट्रसंघ के एक खेती और खाद्य के विशेषज्ञ प्रो० विवस्ट ने कहा है कि वहाँ के वनों में इतनी अधिक क्षमता है कि उससे कम से कम 92 मिलियन घन मीटर औद्योगिक लकड़ी पैदा हो सकती है जबकि अभी केवल 9 मिलियन घन मीटर औद्योगिक लकड़ी ही पैदा हो रही है। मेरी प्रार्थना है कि वे मध्य प्रदेश के पिछड़ेपन को ध्यान में रखते हुए, उनके खनिज पदार्थों को ध्यान में रखते हुए, केन्द्र से अधिक से अधिक सहायता उस प्रान्त को देने की व्यवस्था करवाने की कृपा करें।

हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी उस प्रदेश से आते हैं

जहाँ विद्यमान बालित करके अधिक संख्या में चलते हैं। मध्य प्रदेश को भी जानते हैं। लेकिन मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि सात हजार पावर लूमज जिस शहर में हो उस शहर में अभी नवम्बर, 1971 तक केवल 138 यूनिट्स को केवल 7 लाख 25 हजार रुपये के ही ऋण मिले सात हजार पावर लूमज जहाँ हीं वहाँ गत नवम्बर तक केवल 138 पावर लूमज को इतना ही ऋण मिले यह आश्चर्य की बात है। मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि मंत्री महोदय महाराष्ट्र प्रान्त की तरफ देखें, मालेगाव को देखें, धूलिया को देखें, कोल्हापुर को देखें, ईचलकरंजी को देखें, शोलापुर को देखें और देखें कि वहाँ पर किस प्रकार पावर लूमज चलाने वालों को ऋण दिये गए हैं और उसका मुकाबला मध्य प्रदेश के बरहानपुर से करें जहाँ मान हजार पावर लूमज है और केवल 138 यूनिट्स को 7 लाख 25 हजार रुपये के ऋण मिले है। अगर उन्होंने ऐसा किया तो वह सोचने पर मजबूर हो जायेंगे कि इनके साथ ज्यादाती हुई है। मैं वित्त मंत्री का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करता हूँ कि मध्य प्रदेश के विस्तार को देखते हुए उसके पिछड़ेपन को देखते हुए, पिछड़े हुए वर्गों की संख्या को देखते हुए, उनके विशाल साधनों को देखते हुए, उनकी आवश्यकतायें हैं, उनकी ओर विशेष ध्यान दें। योजनाओं का जो आकार होना है, उसके अनुसार हम उनको बागे नहीं बढ़ा पाने हैं और यह इसलिए होता है कि पैके की बमी है। हमारी वित्तीय विवशतायें हमें मजबूर करती हैं कि हम उनको बागे नहीं बढ़ायें परिणाम यह होना है कि तो बड़ी बड़ी योजनाएँ होती हैं और जो रिताबों में लिखी रहती हैं वे केवल कित्तियों की घोषणा को ही बढ़ाती हैं लेकिन कार्यरूप में परिणत नहीं हो पाती हैं।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बजट का स्वागत करता हूँ और वित्त मंत्री जी का ध्यान पिछड़े हुए मध्य प्रदेश की ओर विशेष रूप से आकर्षित करता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि वह उस प्रदेश की आवश्यक सहायता करेंगे।

श्री विश्व पूजन शास्त्री (विषमपंज) : सभानेत्री महोदय, इस साल का जो बजट है वह पिछले साल जो नई दिशा दी गई थी, उसको और आगे बढ़ाता है। जो लोग एक ही तरह से सोचने के आदी हैं उन्हें कोई दूसरी दिशा दिखाई ही नहीं पड़ती है। पूंजीवाद और समाजवाद का नारा लगाने वाले लोग यह भूल जाते हैं कि दोनों के बीच में भी कोई रास्ता है। यह तय है कि हमें समाजवाद की ओर जाना है। लेकिन समाजवाद की ओर जाने के लिए एक ही बार में पूंजीवाद को खत्म कर देना अमभव्य मा दिखाई देता है। किसी भी मुल्क में और यहाँ तक कि जहाँ से साम्यवाद की शुरुआत हुई है, वहाँ भी पूंजीवाद को तुरन्त खत्म नहीं किया गया है। अब देखता यह है कि उस रास्ते की ओर हम जा रहे हैं या नहीं? यही कपोटी गत वर्ष भी ली गई थी और हम ने देखा कि तब भी बजट में उन लोगों के लिए काफी इंतजाम किया गया था जो लोग सुविधाहीन हैं, आज भी इस बजट में काफी रकमा, कई धरनों रूपया योजना के लिए रखा गया है। मार्क्सवादी कम्युनिस्टों और साम्यवादियों की ओर से इस बात पर बहुत आपत्ति उठाई गई है कि इस बजट के पीछे दर्शन क्या है, फिलामोफी क्या है? यह बात साफ है कि हम साम्यवाद में विश्वास नहीं करते और न ही हम पूंजीवाद में विश्वास करते हैं। कारण यह है कि साम्यवाद में हम तानाशाही देखते हैं और पूंजीवाद में भी मनुष्य का पूरा विकास नहीं हो पाता है। इस वाम्बे हम ने ऐसा रास्ता ढूँढा है जिस पर चल कर मनुष्य को पूरा विकसित होने का अधिकार मिले। जनतंत्र में हम विश्वास करते हैं और जनतंत्र को प्रमुखता देते हुए हम समाजवाद कायम करना चाहते हैं। इसी वाम्बे हमने प्रजासैनिक समाजवाद की बात कही है। प्रजासैनिक समाजवाद में नई विशेषता यही है कि वह जनतंत्र को कायम रखते हुए जनतंत्र को जिन्या रखते हुए मनुष्य द्वारा मनुष्य के शोषण का अंत करना चाहता है। इस नई

कोशिश में भले ही कुछ देर लगे लेकिन हमें इस के लिए सतत् प्रयत्न करते जाना है। इस नई कोशिश में उन लोगों का विश्वास नहीं हो सकता जो तानाशाही के आदी हैं, जिन लोगों को तानाशाही के अलावा दूसरा कोई रास्ता नजर नहीं आता। ऐसे मेरे भाई यही समझते हैं कि समाजवाद की स्थापना होगी तो तानाशाही के द्वारा ही होगी। ऐसे लोगों को सोचना पड़ेगा गम्भीरता के साथ कि तानाशाही के द्वारा कभी भी मनुष्य द्वारा मनुष्य के शोषण का अंत नहीं हो सकता। जहाँ तक रूम का सवाल है, जहाँ तक चीन का सवाल है, वहाँ पर भी यह साबित हो चुका है कि मनुष्य द्वारा मनुष्य के शोषण का अंत नहीं हुआ है वहाँ भी अभी विषमता बहुत है। लेकिन हम उसकी नकल करना नहीं चाहते हैं। हम उससे भी आगे बढ़ना चाहते हैं। इस लिए हम सहयोगी आर्थिक व्यवस्था को ढूँढ रहे हैं। हम मनुष्य को न तो राज्य का गुलाम बनाना चाहते हैं और न पूंजी का गुलाम बनाना चाहते हैं क्योंकि राज्य और पूंजी दोनों मनुष्य की रचना है। रचना कभी रचयिता की मालिक नहीं बन सकती है। रचना को हमेशा रचयिता की दामो बनना पड़ना है। यह इस बजट का दर्शन है, इसकी फिलामोफी है। इस दर्शन की पूर्ण के लिए हम काम कर रहे हैं। इसलिए अगर इस दृष्टि से हम बजट को देखें, तो यद्यपि हम यह दावा तो नहीं करते हैं कि हम समाजवाद कायम कर रहे हैं, लेकिन हमारा दावा इतना ही है कि हम उस दिशा की ओर जा रहे हैं।

कुछ समय पहले बंगला देश के सभी नागरिकों की आजादी खनरे में पड़ी। लेकिन इस दर्शन की वजह से हम उन की आजादी की रक्षा कर सके और उनकी आजादी की लड़ाई में भाय ले सके। लेकिन हम यह भी नहीं मानते हैं कि हमने अकेले ही उनकी आजादी की रक्षा की। हम उनकी आजादी की रक्षा इसलिए कर सके कि वे स्वयं अपनी आजादी की रक्षा करने के लिए तैयार थे। अगर वे अपनी आजादी की रक्षा के लिए तैयार न होते, तो हम उसकी

[श्री शिव पूजन शास्त्री]

रक्षा नहीं कर सकते थे।

इसलिए मनुष्य को सबसे पहले अपनी आजादी के लिए कोशिश करनी चाहिए। और आजादी का मतलब है कि जीने के लिए मनुष्य के सामने जितनी रुकावटें हैं, उनसे मुक्ति। वे रुकावटें सामाजिक, आर्थिक और राजनैतिक हो सकती हैं। सभी रुकावटों से मुक्त होने का नाम आजादी है हम धीरे-धीरे उन रुकावटों से मुक्ति पाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं।

SHRI ANNASAHB GOTKHINDE (Sangli) : Madan Chairman. I rise to congratulate the Finance Minister on performing the *Herculean* task of presenting in this current financial year virtually the fourth budget, a carefully framed budget full of hopes, representing a bold attempt to deal with the troubled and complex situation. As has been rightly pointed out by the hon Finance Minister in his budget speech, the budget proposals must be judged in their entirety against the background of the formidable challenge which the country faced and overcome. As we know, the year 1971-72 was one of the most difficult years since independence.

The people of India have responded to the demands made on them in the year coming to a close with a magnificent sense of patriotism. The total taxes amounting to more than Re. 500 crores which they have paid is a sacrifice of heroic proportion, befitting a new nation, pursuing the path of growth with social justice and self-reliance. Therefore, it seems that the Finance Minister, while farming new tax proposals, has dexterously searched and picked up his path, hoping that he will not hurt too many helpless people.

The question that comes before us is, how much was the scope for taxation? The Economic Survey suggests that there is a limit to the revenue from direct taxes either in rural or urban sectors. The scope for indirect taxes is also declining. Moreover, the indirect taxes press more heavily on the poor than on the rich. Accordingly, the Finance Minister has rightly decided to

shift the thrust of Government's economic policy from resource mobilisation to better utilisation of available funds.

The Plan outlays in the public sector, for the Centre, States and Union Territories which for 1971-72 were Rs. 326½ crores have been raised for 1972-73 to Rs. 3973 crores, i.e. an increase of Rs. 710 crores, representing about 22 per cent. This increase in the plan outlays is a pre-requisite for the much-needed industrial growth. But here lies the real test of the governmental machinery,

Let me give some instances. The Fourth Plan envisages the setting up of development agencies such as Small Farmers Development Agency and the Scheme for Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers so as to reduce the income disparities. The progress of both the schemes has unfortunately been slow. May I quote some figures? Under the Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Scheme the amount which has been utilized up till now was not more than 12 per cent of the amount sanctioned. Under the small Farmers Development Agency the amount utilized has been up to 25 per cent of the amount sanctioned. This is a pointer to the question whether the governmental machinery will be geared up to utilize the additional outlays of Rs. 710 crores. The schemes for jobless engineers and the rural poor are suffering for want of efficiency and coordination in governmental machinery. May I remind the Finance Minister that a thorough overhaul of the administrative machinery is necessary to enable the economy to march forward? The Cabinet Committee on Economic policy should see to it that the administrative machinery is so galvanised as to convert the budgetary provision into actual expenditure.

It has been rightly pointed out by the Finance Minister that the international monetary and political developments have awakened us to the necessity of a speedy realisation of the goal of self-reliance. The economy has shown responsiveness in meeting the challenges such as drought, floods, refugee relief and war. The hon. Finance Minister in his speech referred to the achievements also. He was right in saying at page 1 of the budget speech:

"Despite the extraordinary stresses and strains which were compounded by natural calamities over many parts of the country, it should be possible to end the current fiscal year with our foreign exchange reserves more than intact, Government stocks of foodgrains of nearly 8 million tonnes, the general price level reasonably stable and a deficit in the Central Budget significantly lower than what one might have apprehended."

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : That was a laughing gas.

SHRI YESHWANT RAO CHAVAN : You seem to be getting convinced.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Dazed.

SHRI ANNASAHEB GOTKHINDE : He has described some of the corrective measures taken during the last year, like the banning of forward trading on several sensitive commodities and the removal of the lacuna in the Forward Contracts (Regulation) Act to prevent forward trading under the guise of ready transaction.

The pertinent point remains that in spite of these coorrective measures there is priske rise. The average rise in general wholesale price index during 1970-71 was 5.5 per cent. The first two months of this year showed a reasonable price stability. But since January, 1972 the general wholesale price index was 4.1 per cent higher than what it was a year ago. Government must make every effort to hold the price line. It has been stated and admitted that the speculators can scarcely resist the temptation to exploit a situation of excess demand. May I know from the government what effective steps they have taken to check speculative pressures. besides the restrictive credit policy which was in operation ?

As far as the price rise in the case of sugar is concerned, it is a sad story. In December, 1971 the Government assured that the sugar price would not be allowed to rise above Rs. 2 a kilo. But we know how the sugar prices have risen nowadays. People feel that there is something basically wrong with the governmental machinery which has failed to curb effectively the rise in sugar prices.

18 hrs.

It has been stated that the sugar position requires discipline in pricing and distribution of the commodity. There is need to operate the stock policy for sugar in such a way that it imparts a greater degree of stability to prices and availability.

May I ask, if a wholly unjustified price rise in this case has proved uncontrollable, will the Government's determination to hold other prices in check meet with success ?

Now I would come to the question of levy of duties. There is 30 per cent duty levied on steel. A higher price for steel will have a widespread effect on a number of engineering products. Costlier kerosene and fertilisers will hurt two classes of people—the small farmer trying to grow more food and the common man in the rural and urban areas who use kerosene for a variety of domestic purposes. May I point out that the duty on kerosene will virtually amount to an assault on the common man ? I earnestly request the Finance Minister to reconsider the levy.

The rigour of the new imposts on fertilisers and power-driven pumps will be felt by the more well to-do farmers who, due to high procurement prices, can bear the burden though unwillingly; but care must be taken that these imposts do not adversely affect the small farmer and ultimately the green revolution.

It is said that the budgetary exercise manages to meet the additional burdens of defence and assistance to Bangla Desh with out sacrificing the country's developmental goals. As far as defence is concerned, in the year 1971-72 the budgeted amount was Rs. 1,241 crores and the estimated expenditure will be about Rs. 1,411 crores. Provision for the next year is made to the tune of Rs. 1,408 crores—and naturally so—for providing for normal increases in costs, salaries, dearness allowance and, more important, for making adequate provision for recouping the losses suffered during the war.

The Finance Minister has hoped for the emergence of a new spirit of peace and harmony in this great subcontinent as far as

[Shri Annasaheb Gorkhinde]

Pakistan is concerned, so that the 700 million inhabitants can devote their energies against their common enemies of hunger, want, disease and exploitation of man by man.

I am not for reducing the defence expenditure so as to jeopardise our national security and solidarity. But at the time of emergence of the new State of Bangla Desh we were given the hope that in Bangla Desh our country would be having a friendly nation in the eastern region and the defence expenditure that our country used to make in defending the 1,500-mile long Bangla border would be considerably curtailed in future. May I know from the hon. Finance Minister whether he has taken this factor into consideration while making provision for Rs. 1,408 crores for defence purposes ?

Lastly, before concluding, I have one suggestion to make for the consideration of the Finance Minister. The Direct Taxes Inquiry Committee under the chairmanship of Shri Wanchoo has revealed that black money is used in smuggling gold. It is common knowledge that in spite of the

Gold Control Order, gold is being smuggled in large quantities in the country. We have not been able to curb the desire of the people to purchase the yellow metal. Under these circumstances, the Government should embark upon State trading in gold, if necessary, even by purchasing gold at places from where it is smuggled to India and afterwards selling here. That will at least minimise the evil of gold smuggling, eliminate the undesirable elements engaged in this trade, help the people in purchasing gold at comparatively cheaper rate and accrue huge amounts to the exchequer.

With these remarks, I agree that the Budget proposals will take the economy one stage forward in the march towards our cherished goal.

Mr. Chairman : Now the House stands adjourned to meet again tomorrow at 11 A. M.

18.06 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, March 22, 1972 (Chaitra 2, 1894 (Saka)