

16.22 hrs.

FINANCE BILL, 1971

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN) : Sir, I beg to move* :

“That the Bill to continue for the financial year 1971-72 the existing rates of income-tax with certain modifications and to provide for the continuance of the provisions relating to special and regulatory duties of customs and excise and of certain commitments under the General Agreement on Tariffs and trade and the discontinuance of the duty on salt for the said year, be taken into consideration.”

Sir, I do not want to take a longer time for it you see the Bill itself, the Statement of Objects explains some very small modifications that are introduced in the case of income tax which are of consequential nature because we are continuing most of the provisions of 1970-71.

As far as the provisions about non-direct taxes are concerned, they continue in the same form as they were in last year.

I, therefore, commend the Bill for acceptance by the House.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Motion moved :

“That the Bill to continue for the financial year 1971-72 the existing rates of income-tax with certain modifications and to provide for the continuance of the provisions relating to special and regulatory duties of customs and excise and of certain commitments under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the discontinuance of the duty on salt for the said year, be taken into consideration.”

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE (Howrah): Sir, this Finance Bill is the reflection of the economic policy of the Government as the Budget is the reflection of the economic policy of the Government. The Finance Minister has claimed that a new orientation has been brought about towards socialist direction by the new Budget. He told that though the very word ‘socialism’ is not there, the content, is socialism. But, here, the real content of the Budget, if you see and analyse it, is 100% capitalist Budget and there is not an iota of socialism in it. Now-a-days everybody claims to be a socialist. Even big monopolists are claiming themselves to be socialists. This signifies that today when the crisis of capitalism accentuating when it is being exposed and discredited and rejected by the people, it cannot stand on its own name. That is why it is taking the cover of socialism.

16.24 hrs.

[SHRI K.N. TIWARY *in the Chair.*]

So, the name of socialism used by the Finance Minister as the content of this Budget is a cover to defend and develop capitalism in India. Sir, the world over capitalism is facing a deepening crisis and one country after another is coming out of capitalism and are passing into a new system of socialism. Already the superiority of socialism has become established on an international scale. So, socialism has become the main attraction is to the common masses. This talk of socialism by Congress leaders is done to hoodwink the masses, to keep the influence of the ruling party and the ruling class over the masses who are definitely swinging towards socialism. So these leaders themselves are posing now as socialists.

The basic policy which is behind this budget is not changed ; it is the old policy which is still being pursued.

I am citing some of the very vital points that are mentioned in the Budget speech. Though I am speaking on the Finance Bill, because this Budget speech forms the

*Moved with the recommendation of the President.

[Shri Samar Mukherjee]

background of this Finance Bill, I would like to refer to his Budget speech.

Please see page 9. It is stated there :

“But the fact remains that notwithstanding the rapid economic strides we have taken over the past two decades, the twin problems of mass poverty and unemployment remain as acute as ever.”

Rapid strides of economy continues for two decades Result ? Mass poverty mass unemployment. And, what is the solution suggested in this Budget speech ? The next line suggests the solution : It says :

“There can be no question that poverty and unemployment cannot be eradicated without a sustained process of growth.”

This growth has been continuing for two decades. The result is :

‘Mass poverty and unemployment remain as acute as ever.’

Again the suggestion comes of the same type of continuous growth of economy. Then, this sort of continuous growth of economy means further increase in poverty, further increase in unemployment. This is bound to happen because the system which is run by the ruling classes in India for the last 24 years is inherited from the British Imperialists. In compromise with them and in collaboration with British as well as American imperialists they are developing Indian capitalism, also in compromise with feudal forces. That is why mass unemployment is bound to grow and bound to develop. It will further grow and further develop and time will come when these unemployed will rise in revolt. There is no other alternative for them but overthrowing this very system and establishing a new social system which will be socialism.

Socialism means fundamentally and basically, the social ownership of the entire means of production and distribution. It means the end of Capitalism.

But here, for the last 24 years what has happened ? Many Congress MPs have spoken on this very floor today that during

Congress regime the poor have become poorer and the rich have become richer.

From public platforms the Congress leaders are raising the slogan--Garibi Hatao. They say, they are for abolishing poverty. They say, they are fighting against disparity. But what is it that they have developed for the last 24 years? Nothing but greater and greater disparity. This is the very logic of a Capitalist economy.

On the one hand there is concentration of wealth. On the other hand there is concentration of poverty. And, this economic polarisation is bound to have its reflection in the political polarisation. The toiling masses, when they become aware and conscious of the nature of this system and the nature of this exploitation, they will get organised and they will wage struggles. They do this through strikes, demonstrations and through mobilisations and then through revolt. See Bangla Desh. See what is happening in East Bengal. Hon. Members had spoken this morning about East Bengal. This is the logic of history. No forces can prevent that logic of history. That is why a serious re-thinking is essential and a reorientation is necessary and that requires a fundamental change in the basic economic policy and the entire outlook of the ruling Congress. But we know that no such change is possible by those who have served the capitalists, the Tatas and the Birlas and the big businessmen for the last twenty-four years and have helped them to grow into monopolists. On the contrary, we find that there are millions and millions of our people who die of starvation and who are being thrown out of jobs. This Government cannot bring about socialism in this country. That is why I submit that any talk of socialism by them is only to hoodwink the masses. This exposure is essential to get the masses out of the influence of the bourgeoisie and its philosophy. This very budget says that there has been no change in the policies.

We find from the budget itself that two decades of sustained and continuous growth of economy have resulted in mass poverty and unemployment. Still, we find that Government are pursuing the very same

policy. So, there is not an iota of socialism in this. It is pure and simple and hundred per cent capitalism in collaboration with foreign imperialism and in compromise with feudal forces. Unless these basic things are changed, unless feudalism is completely eliminated and the handless and the poor peasantry are given land, there is no question of India becoming free from the food crisis.

The grip of monopoly over food trade is so powerful that Government are pleading helplessness before them. When there is price rise, they fail to check it and they are pleading their helplessness. What are the devices to check prices, which have been suggested here? Nothing substantial has been done to check prices. You have to think in terms of developing the forces of production in agriculture. But that requires first and foremost a change in the relations of production in agriculture.

The peasantry, ground down by the oppression of the feudal forces, jotdars and big landlords are being thrown out of their land and ejected thus creating an army of unemployed. Millions and millions of poor people have become distitutes and are roaming about in the villages. There is nobody to look after them. On the other hand, the production from land is passing into the hands of the hoarders because they have links with the entire Government departments. That is why they are able to create artificial wants. Just now, the Finance Minister told us that such artificial want had been created. Who had created this artificial want in cotton and other raw material? It is these big monopoly traders who have created it and this Congress Government by their very policy have encouraged these monopoly-holders, because they themselves represent those very classes and are now in the position of administrators. Some hon. Members have said that officers have become corrupt. Yes, not only officers, but the entire administration from top to bottom has become corrupt. Even many political persons who are public figures are also not free from corruption. Why has the entire society been turned into a corrupt society? Is it an isolated incident? No, it is a logical result of the system which has been developed and nurtured by the Congress, which is a system based on exploitation and oppression.

Birlas are closing down their factories. What is the argument? "We have to reduce the cost of production because government policy is to encourage exports, and for that our prices have to be competitive in the world market." So cost is an important factor, but all the same, the big monopolists must maintain their profit undiminished; So the burden of reducing the cost of production falls on the workers. That is why the number of workers is being reduced and the workload on the remaining workers increased.

Not only that. Factories are closed on the plea of yield of insufficient profit. A society based on profit cannot develop all-round economic growth particularly for the common masses, for the workers, for the unemployed and the poor.

Our Constitution gives a fundamental guarantee to Birlas and Tatas and other big business houses. They have the right to close down their factories, throwing thousands of workers out of job, rendering them unemployed and leading them to sure death as they have no provision to maintain themselves. But whenever we demand that factories should be nationalised, there is provision in the Constitution for payment of full compensation to the owners. There is no provision in the Constitution for the workers thrown out of jobs; there is no provision for the protection of the peasants thrown out of lands. The Constitution is the defender of capitalists and vested interests.

We talk of parliamentary democracy. Friends say that it is the highest form of democracy in the world. But wherever there is Parliamentary democracy, capitalism has developed. In no country in the world under parliamentary democracy has there been socialism. In England, it is British imperialism. When we were under British domination, it was British parliamentary democracy operating. Under parliamentary democracy, American imperialism is now waging an aggressive war in Vietnam. It has developed the new form of aggressive imperialism.

SHRI B.K. DASCHOWDHURY (Cooch Behar): What about Chinese imperialism?

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE : In China, it is not imperialism, but people's democracy. You have no knowledge of socialism and no knowledge about China.

So if any orientation is to be introduced, basic changes must be made after thinking anew. In order to combat poverty and unemployment, the first essential is to give back to the poor peasants and landless labourers their land. There must be complete elimination of feudalism. Second, all foreign industries, banks, mines etc. should be nationalised. Without this, the state cannot play a dominating role in the economy. Leaving the main industries and Banks in the hands of monopolists, the State cannot intervene. There cannot be any planned economy when monopoly groups are left at liberty to exploit the people. So nationalisation is very essential if we are to fight poverty and unemployment.

The next thing is effective democratic control. Here the report the Finance Minister has stated that in the public sector things are not going well. That is because the whole management is in the hands of bureaucrats and officers. If the public sector industries and concerns are to run in an effective manner, there should be democratic control and the employees should be associated with the management. The scales of wages of the workers and employees should be substantially improved so that they can feel that they are participating in those concerns and industries, and that they are working for the whole country. Otherwise, they feel that they are working not for the country.

Vigorous measures must be taken to raise the wages and improve the living and working conditions of agricultural labourers, artisans and other sections of the rural population. There must be a special provision for that. Merely by allotting Rs. 50 crores not even the fringe of the unemployment problem can be touched. Your figures show that each year unemployment is rising very high, and so Rs. 50 crores cannot compete with the rate of growth of unemployment.

A total reversal of the procurement and

price policies is necessary in such a way as to benefit the poor and middle peasants on the one hand and the common consumers on the other.

There has been no change in the policy of taxation. Even in the memorandum on the Finance Bill it is stated that the existing tax structure for the coming financial year remains the same with only slight modifications. The policy of taxation has to be overhauled with a view to make the burden on the rich heavier while giving substantial relief to the poor. But all this requires a basic change in the Constitution which is very important, but I am not dilating on that now.

The States must be provided with a major portion of the central taxes because the States are burdened with the responsibility of solving the problem of unemployment and poverty, and more powers to the States is very essential. Otherwise, there cannot be growth of the economy in a healthy way.

For immediate resources I have some suggestions, though I know that the Government is not likely to implement them. You must improve relations with China and the neighbouring countries and reduce defence expenditure. Defence expenditure is rising very high and it is telling upon the economy seriously. That is why good neighbourly relations are essential. China is a socialist country and has no territorial ambition. About that you must be fully conscious, because a socialist country can have no territorial ambition.

There is a large amount of black money by evading taxes. According to the report of Professor Kaldor, nearly Rs. 4,000 crores of black money is there. You must close all the loopholes and take serious measures to get that money. That will develop your resources within a very short time.

The high monopoly concerns have big reserve funds. You must pass legislation to take over those reserve funds as compulsory loans and develop your resources. Those measures the Government can take immediately.

16. 45 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair.]

Another suggestion is that you must defer repayment of foreign loan for several years. The Congress Government during the last 24 years has virtually mortgaged India to foreign imperialists. Already our foreign loan has risen to more than 7000 crores of rupees and the repayment of the debts amounts to nearly Rs. 450 crores a year. It is a colossal figure. For repayment of these debts further loans have become necessary. Gradually our country is being completely mortgaged to American imperialism. There must be a complete break from this. You should stop repayment for several years; by that you will get large amount of resources.

AN HON. MEMBER : Why not watororium ?

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE : Yes, but there is not that courage in this Congress Government.

You must impose heavy taxation on big monopolists. I think this Budget and the Finance Bill do not reflect really any change. There have been tall talks about reorientation, bold initiative, firm determination, etc. We are hearing this from the days of Jawahar Lal Nehru. From 1955 he started talking about Avadi socialist pattern and democratic socialism. Mere talk of socialism does not bring in socialism. You should remember that Hitler established Fascism under cover of national socialism. Real socialism comes only when the State power comes into the hands of the proletariat and not under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. In no country has socialism come under bourgeois leadership. In India socialism will come, not under your leadership, but under the leadership of the proletariat; That day is sure to come.

श्री एम० एम० बनर्जी (कानपुर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने श्री चव्हाण के भाषण को गौर से सुनने की कोशिश की। उन्होंने कहा कि नौजवानों ने उन्हें बदल की इस चुनाव में और

नौजवान जो आज बेकार है, अनएजुकेटेड इमएम्प्लायड, उनकी बात वह कभी नहीं भूल सकते हैं, लेकिन इस बजट में, जो पिछले दिन इस सदन में पेश हुआ था, में समझता हूँ कि बेकारी दूर करने की तस्वीर बहुत भ्रंशली है। उस को पढ़ कर ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि भविष्य में नौकरी मिलेगी नहीं।

आज अगर आप एम्प्लायमेंट एक्सपेंज में रजिस्टर्ड बेकारों की तादाद को देखें, जो लोग इंजीनियर्स हैं, साइंटिस्ट्स हैं या बी० एस० सी० और एम० एस० सी० पास है, साइंस ग्रेजुएट्स और पोस्ट-ग्रेजुट्स हैं उन की तादाद को देखें तो पता चलेगा कि इंजीनियर्स की ही तादाद करीब 84,000 है। अक्सर यह देखा गया है कि कंबोकेण्ट्स में, चाहे रुड़की हो दिल्ली हो या जादवपुर हो, जो डिप्लोमा ग्रेजुएट्स को मिले है उन को उन्होंने फाड़ दिया है। इसका कारण यह है कि देश में एक हताशा की भावना पैदा होती जा रही है और मायूसी के बादल में लोग घिरते जा रहे हैं। हमारे नौजवानों के सामने एक ही नक्शा आता है कि या तो वह रेल की पटरी पर जा कर आत्म हत्या कर ले या फिर समाज की पटरी को ही उल्लाड़ कर फेंक दें, चाहे बदले में उनको कुछ भी देलना पड़े।

जब यह चीजें फेल रही हैं, और बेसी ही परिस्थिति हर एक स्टेट में है, तब हर एक फ़ैमिली में से एक आदमी को काम देने की कोशिश जो आप करना चाहते हैं वह बात पूरी नहीं होगी। कोई भी सूबा हो, चाहे उत्तर प्रदेश हो चाहे बंगाल हो या कोई दूसरा प्रदेश हो किसी के पास पैसा नहीं है, वह उम्मीद करते हैं कि सेंटर उन को पैसा देगा। आज आवश्यकता है कि हम दूसरे अक्षराज्य का काम

[श्री एस. एम. बनर्जी]
करें, जो भी फजूलखर्चियां हो रही है, जो हमारे व्यूरोकेट्स कर रहे हैं, उन को हम कम करने की कोशिश करें। इन तमाम चीजों को रोकने के बाद अगर हम कुछ रुपया निकाल सकें तो उस से बेकारी भत्ता हमारे नीजवानों को दिया जाना चाहिये। बेकारी भत्ता अगर दिया जाना हो तो यह कहा जायेगा कि पैसा कहाँ से आयेगा। हम अपने देश में कुछ ऐसे प्लान चलाने के लिए करोड़ों रुपये खर्च कर रहे हैं, जिन की जरूरत नहीं है। अगर बेकारी का भत्ता देने का नियम बना दिया जाये, तो सरकार सोचेगी कि चूँकि हम भत्ता दे रहे हैं इस लिए लोगों को नौकरी मुहैया करनी चाहिए और इस तरह लोगों को नौकरी मिल जायेगी। जैसा कि श्री समर मुकर्जी ने कहा है, अगर ऐसा नहीं किया गया, तो बेकार नीजवान जरूर इनबलाब के राम्ने पर चले जायेंगे और समाज को बदलने की कोशिश करेंगे, चाहे हम इस को पसन्द करें या नहीं।

दूसरा सवाल है कि पैसा यहाँ से आये। राष्ट्रपति ने अपने भाषण में यह ऐलान किया है हालाँकि दबी हुई जुबान में—कि हम प्रिवी पर्स को खत्म करेंगे, जिनके लिए हम वचनबद्ध हैं, लेकिन क्या सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जजमेंट को देखते हुए प्रिवी पर्स को खत्म करना सम्भव होगा? इसलिए आज हमारे सामने सवाल यह है कि क्या हम अपने संविधान में परिवर्तन करने जा रहे हैं या नहीं। देश में यह जो इतना बड़ा चुनाव हुआ है, उस में हम ने जनता के सामने केवल एक ही सवाल रखा कि हिन्दुस्तान की सबसे बड़ी कचहरी कौन है—जो बारह हाकिम बैठे हुए हैं, जिस का नाम सुप्रीम कोर्ट है या पचास करोड़ जनता के चुने हुए नुमायंदे। जबाब मिला कि हिन्दुस्तान की सबसे बड़ी कचहरी लोक सभा है, सुप्रीम कोर्ट

नहीं। इस लिए संविधान में परिवर्तन किया जाये और प्रपर्टी सम्बन्धी फंडामेंटल राइट को खत्म कर दिया जाये। आज हालत यह है कि एक के पास 75 हजार एकड़ जमीन है और दूसरे जमीन के लिए तरसते हैं। देहात के लोग जमीन के लिए तरसते हैं और निराश हो कर शहरों में साइकिल-रिक्सा चलाने के लिए आते हैं। इसी कारण हिन्दुस्तान में खून बेचना भी एक पेशा हो गया है। लोग ब्लड बैंक को दस रुपये में अपना खून बेचने है और पाँच साल में ही टी. बी. के शिकार होकर विना कफन के मरघट में पहुँच जाते हैं। समाजवाद के नाम पर इस सरकार को इतना बड़ा बहुमन मिला है। अगर इसके बावजूद वह प्रिवी पर्सिज को एबालिश न कर सकी, तो यह खेद की बात होगी राजा-महाराजाओं को कोई कम्पेन्सेशन न दिया जाये। आखिर क्या नहीं किया उन लोगों ने। आज इस हाउस में प्रिवी पर्सिज को खत्म करने की मुखालिफ कौन करेगा। इसको मुखालिफत करने वाले श्री बलराज मधोक का जो मुसलमानो का हिन्दुस्तानी करण करना चाहते थे, सब लोगों ने मिल कर इन्सानी करण कर दिया और उनको इस हाउस में नहीं आने दिया। ऐ सब लोग इस हाउस में नहीं आ सके हैं। जो थोड़े से राजे या राजमातार्ये रह गई है, अगर एक बार फिर मिड-टर्म पोल हो जाये, तो उनका भी सफाया हो जायेगा। लो लोग इस में रोड़ अटकाने की कोशिश करते थे, जनता ने उनको हरा दिया है।

जनसंघ और स्वतंत्रपार्टी की तरफ से कहा जायेगा कि उन को कम्पेन्सेशन दिया जाये, जैसे कि उन्होंने अपने मन्थूर इलेक्शन मैनिफैस्टो, में कहा है कि फारेन बैंक्स का नेशनलाइजेशन किया जाय, लेकिन उन को कम्पेन्सेशन दिया जाये। और क्या कम्पेन्सेशन? सुप्रीम कोर्ट के फार्मूले के अनुसार, जो कि हिन्दुस्तान की

सरकार नहीं दे सकती है। न तो मन तेल होगा और न राधा नाचेगी। हमने कोर्स कम्पेन्सेशन नहीं देना है। आखिर लोग यही कहेंगे न कि सरकार ने जबर्दस्ती प्रापर्टी ले ली। लेकिन जबर्दस्ती करनी पड़ेगी। क्या यह मुनासिब है कि 75 हजार एकड़ ज़मीन बिड़ला के पास रहे या राजमाता खालियर या राजमाता जयपुर के पास हजारों एकड़ जमीन बेकार पड़ी रहे? मैं यह देख कर दंग रह गया कि कानपुर शहर में चार सौ एकड़ जमीन इस लिए बेकार पड़ी हुई है कि सर जे. पी. श्रीवास्तव के मुपुत्र, सनी श्रीवास्तव साल में दो मर्तबा वहाँ डक के शिकार के लिए जाते हैं। इसी लिए वह जमीन बंजर पड़ी हुई है, जबकि किसान के पास खेती के लिए जमीन नहीं है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर सरकार वह प्रापर्टी ले ले तो क्या बुरा होगा। अगर कानूनी ढंग से ऐसी प्रापर्टी को नष्टी लिया जायेगा, तो लोग खुद उस को ले लेंगे, चाहे गोली या लाठी चले। इसलिए संविधान में जल्दी परिवर्तन करना चाहिए।

सरकार ने एक्सपोर्ट ट्रेड इम्पोर्ट के और नेशनलाइजेशन का वादा किया हुआ है, लेकिन अब कंट्रोल करने की कोशिश की जा रही है। मैं समझता हूँ कि उसको कंट्रोल न कर के पूरी तरह नेशनलाइजेशन कर देना चाहिए।

फ़ारेन आइल कार्टेलज इतने पावरफुल हैं कि जिसने भी विरोध करने की कोशिश की, उस को निकाल दिया गया। उनका भी नेशनलाइजेशन कर देना चाहिए। एक दिन सुबह हमें अचानक मालूम हो कि उन का नेशनलाइजेशन हो गया है। लोग यही कहेंगे न कि सरकार ने जबर्दस्ती की है। लेकिन सरकार को बहुत सी बातों में जबर्दस्ती करनी होगी। जैसे उसने किसानों और मजदूरों को दबाया और कहा कि

हम देश की खातिर ऐसा कर रहे हैं, वैसे ही देश की खातिर एक बार सरमायादारों को भी दबा दिया जाये। सरकार को इस चुनाव के द्वारा जो शक्ति मिली है, वह उसका सही इस्तेमाल करे। अगर उसकी मन्त्रिमंडल और रास्ता समाजवाद है, तो उसको नेशनलाइजेशन की तरफ कदम उठाना चाहिए।

काल्डर ने कहा है कि इस देश में 500 करोड़ रुपये इनकम टैक्स का बकाया है। कानपुर में ही 4.98 करोड़ रुपया इनकम टैक्स का बकाया है। सरमायादार सेल्स टैक्स, इनकम टैक्स और गिफ्ट टैक्स वगैरा नहीं देते हैं। इस तरह नान-पेमेंट आफ रेवेन्यू उन का कंपीटल बन गया है और वे उस पर श्राद्ध कर रहे हैं। 500 करोड़ रुपये के जो इनकम टैक्स के एक्टिव एरियर्स हैं, उनको बसूल किया जाये।

इसके अलावा अर्थ-शास्त्रियों के अनुसार हम देश में चार हजार करोड़ रुपये काले धन के रूप में हैं। मैं नहीं समझता कि डीमानिटाइजेशन करने में क्या खतरा है। हमारे देश में गलत तरीके से कुछ लोगों के कहने पर रुपये का डीवल्युशन किया गया। श्री अशोक मेहता, जो हार गये हैं, के कहने से और श्री मोरारजी देसाई की कनसेन्ट से रुपये का डीवल्युशन हुआ। अगर सौ रुपये के नोटों का डीमानिटाइजेशन कर दिया जाये, तो न जाने कितना काला धन बाहर निकल आयेगा, जो सरकार की लाठी में साफ हो जायेगा।

अगर हम कठखानों को सही तरीके से चलाना चाहते हैं, तो पार्टिसिपेशन आफ शेअर इन मनेजमेंट करना पड़ेगा। बैंक एम्प्लॉईज को नुमायंदगी देने के लिए मैं सरकार को बचवाई

[श्री एस. एम. बनर्जी]
 देता हूँ। यह भ्रष्ट चल रहा है कि नुमाइंदगी का हक किसको दिया जाये। मैं समझता हूँ कि बैलट के अनुसार फंसला कर देना चाहिए। जो रिजर्वेन्टेड यूनियन हो, उसको मौका दिया जाये। अगर सरकार पब्लिक सेक्टर प्राजेक्ट्स में एम्प्लॉईज के कर्षों पर जिम्मेदारी डाले, तो मैं विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि उन में हड़ताल नहीं होगी। लेकिन उनको कोई जिम्मेदारी नहीं दी गई है और वे अपने आपको पार्ट एण्ड पार्सल आफ दि अडरटेकिंग नहीं समझते हैं। इस दिक्कत को दूर करना सरकार का काम है।

जहाँ तक रिजनल इम्बैलेंसिज का सवाल है, श्री सरजू पांडे ने उत्तर प्रदेश के बारे में काफी कहा है। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि मध्य प्रदेश की हालत उत्तर प्रदेश से अच्छी है या उड़ीसा की हालत खराब नहीं है। उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों के बारे में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ पर रिहंद बांध बना।

कहा गया था कि उससे जो बिजली पैदा होगी, उससे नये नये उद्योग लगेंगे और उस क्षेत्र की हालत सुधर जायेगी। लेकिन ऐसा मालूम होता है कि 150 या 200 करोड़ रुपये से बना वह रिहंद डैम बिड़ला के ऐलुमिनियम कार्पोरेशन के लिए बना है। उसको वहाँ से बिजली किसानों से सस्ते रेट पर दी जाती है। हमने बिद्युत मंत्री से पूछा था कि क्या किसानों छोटे उद्योगपतियों, काटेज और स्माल-स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज के लिए बिजली का रेट कभी कम होगा या नहीं। उन्होंने कहा कि यह इस बारे में हिन्दुस्तान भर से स्टैटिस्टिक्स के रहे हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों में बलिघा, जौनपुर बनारस और मिर्जापुर बगैरह में गरीबी और कुपोषण में बौढ़ चल रही है। मनिराम के

उपचुनाव में कांग्रेस की जीत हुई। लेकिन उस इलाके में सात साल का लड़का नंगा फिरता है उसके तन पर कपड़ा नहीं है। यह कितने शर्म की बात है कि सात साल का लड़का या लड़की नंगे फिरें। वहाँ के गरीब लोगों ने कांग्रेस को बोट दिया, श्री टी० एन० सिंह को हराया, चौगुटे को—उस चडाल-चौकड़ी को हराया। अब सरकार को उन गरीबों का उद्धार करना चाहिए।

आज देश की हालत ऐसी है कि अगर गरीब के घर में भगवान आना चाहे तो वह रोटी या कपड़े की शकल में आये, बहू-बेटियों की लाज ढकने के लिए आये भूख-ध्यास से बचाने के लिए आये, वना वह मन्दिर-मस्जिद में रहे। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि कुछ वादे एलेक्शन में आप ने भी किए हैं और हमने भी किए हैं और पार्लियामेन्ट्री डेमोक्रेसी में लोगों का विश्वास रहे उनका एक ही इशारा हो सकता है कि हम कुछ न कुछ करने के लिए तैयार हो जाए।

17 hrs.

इंडस्ट्री के बारे में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ आज कानपुर में सारी टैक्सटाइल इंडस्ट्री बन्द होती जा रही है। वहाँ के जितने मालिकान हैं वह कारखाने को उठा कर दूसरी जगह ले जाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। जैसे कलकत्ते में फ्लाइट आफ कैपिटल की बात कही गई, क्या हुआ था कि बेराव हुआ था, मैं कहता हूँ कि इससे झूठ बात कोई और ही नहीं सकती। हमारी सुप्रजिज्ज बहन सुशीला जी कह रही थी कि जूट इंडस्ट्री में कोर्पो ने हड़ताल कराई। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ 30 लाख से जिनकी सनकाहें बढाई नहीं गई जन्हेने

अपनी तनकाह बढ़ाने की मांग की तो इस में उन्होंने कौन सा गुनाह किया? कानपुर में हालत यह है कि वहाँ से टेक्सटाइल इंडस्ट्री को धीरे धीरे शिफ्ट करने की कोशिश की जा रही है। नये उद्योग वहाँ शुरू नहीं हो रहे हैं। दो मिलों एथर्टन वेस्ट मिल और लक्ष्मी रतन काटन मिल में लाक आउट की नीबत हो गई है। रामरतन गुप्त के खिलाफ एन्क्वायरी हुई। लेकिन होता यह है कि जब उत्तर प्रदेश में इंडीकेट की सरकार आती है तो वह इंडीकेट की तरफ आ जाते हैं और जब सिंडीकेट की सरकार होती है तो वह सिंडीकेट की तरफ चले जाते हैं मुझे खुशी है कि पहली मर्तबा आपने उम शर्मा को दरवाजे से बाहर किया है। मैं इसके लिए बधाई देता हूँ।

एक बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ रिसेसेस के बारे में कि इस बजट में चाहे कुछ भी हो लेकिन कम से कम अगले बजट में गरीब की 'हैडिङ्स' में जोक लगा कर खून का कतरा निकालने की कोशिश न की जाएगी। चाहे प्लान कितना भी एम्बिशन हो लेकिन पैसा नहीं है लोगों के पास। पैसा वह दे नहीं सकते हैं। गरीबी बढ़ती जा रही है। गरीब और गरीब होता चला जा रहा और इस चीज को हम और आप मिल कर दूर करें। इस में आप अगर हमारा सहयोग चाहे तो वह सहयोग हम आप को देंगे। लेकिन अगर नाम हो कि हम जा रहे हैं समाजवाद की तरफ लेकिन पूँजीवाद दोबारा बनपने की कोशिश करे तो हो सकता है कि हम लोगों में और आप में इन्डिफरेंस हो, हम लोग जिन्दगी के एक मोड़ के सामने आ चुके हैं। हमारे नौजवान यहाँ आए हैं और उनसे हम बहुत कुछ आशा करते हैं। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ जो कुछ मैंने कहा है उस पर मंत्री

महोदय ध्यान दें और वादा करें इस सदन के सामने कि देश में इस पांच साल के अन्दर और कुछ नहीं हो तो कम से कम बेकारी का एक छोटा सा प्राबलम तो हम साब्य करके रहेंगे ताकि हमारे नौजवानों के चेहरे जो मुरझा चुके हैं उन मुरझाए हुए चेहरों पर मुस्कराहट वापस आए, यही मुझे कहना है।

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN : I have heard two very interesting speeches during the consideration stage of the Finance Bill. One was a very interesting discourse on Marxism which I have heard very carefully. The main object of this Bill is to continue that existing tax pattern with certain modifications in income-tax.

The only point that needs to be answered is the question that was raised by Shri S. M. Banerjee viz. large arrears of income tax. That question is certainly engaging our attention. I have myself looked into the subject. A major part of it is unrecoverable. A stage has been reached where it is not possible to recover anything from them. It is only in such cases that arrears have accumulated in the course of the last many years. I can certainly assure the House that I will go into this question again thoroughly and if any drastic steps are called for they will be taken without hesitation.

The other issues, raised by Shri S. M. Banerjee are also relevant. I need not repeat what I have said while replying to the budget debate. Questions of unemployment and poverty are real questions and we will have to go into specific solutions for them. It is not enough to talk in general terms. We will have to think in terms of concrete programmes and that is exactly what we have been called upon to do in the course of the coming five years, I think we have already made a beginning in this matter and we will continue this process with determination.

Unfortunately, I cannot agree with the other hon. Member there. He gave a picture of despair. He thinks there is no hope for

India unless we try to go the way he wants us to go. I also claim to be a bumble student of Marxism. I think theories he is advocating have somewhat become, out of date in the modern economic and political conditions of the world today. Basically, some of the things may be good. But really speaking, the present world is different, the present economic conditions are different and the present social forces are different. Some of the theories which he wants to apply mechanically to Indian conditions have become quite out of date. This is my humble submission. I know I will not be able to convince him about it. *(Interruption)* I know that. We are trying to remove some of the deficiencies in our approach. It is not something new that he has told us. It is on that basis we want to the people and got the mandate. We are very clear about it; we are very frank about it. For that matter, you will have to very carefully study the history of India and not of China. You have to understand what politically has happened in India for the last 25 years. The problem of poverty in India is a chronic problem not only for the last 25 years but for the last many centuries.

This is new approach and this is for the first time in India that we have given the slogan of war against poverty. I am sure we will succeed in that. I have no doubt about it I know the problem is not easy. But the problem is not amenable to mechanical solutions and by merely applying certain theories this problem can not be solved. The problem is a many faced problem and we will have to tackle it.

Sir, I do not want to go into further details of it. As far as the Bill is concerned, I recommend it for the acceptance of the House.

MR. SPEAKER : The speech of the Finance Minister has been very brief and we have finished it before time.

Now, the question is :

"That the Bill to continue for the financial year 1971-72 the existing rates of income-tax with certain modifications and to provide for the

continuance of the provisions relating to special and regulatory duties of customs and excise and of certain commitments under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the discontinuance of the duty on salt for the said year, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

MR. SPEAKER : We will now take up the clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill. There are some hon. Members who are anxious to speak. They may speak at the third reading of the Bill.

There are no amendments to clauses at all. So, I put all of them together.

The question is :

"That clauses 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted

Clauses 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 were added to the Bill,

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

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

The motion was adopted

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

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN :
Sir, I move :

"That the Bill be passed.

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :
"That the Bill be passed."

Mr. Shukla, do you want to speak?

SHRI B. R. SHUKLA (Bhraich) :
Yes, Sir.

MR. SPEAKER : We have fixed 5.45 for passing Finance Bill. If the House agrees, we can do it earlier.

Dr. Melkote.

DR. MELKOTE (Hyderabad) : Sir, I have heard with rapt attention the speech made by the Finance Minister. I felt that in a vote-on-account Budget like this, it would be really very difficult for any government to spell out the details; but even so; one expected an indication of the removal of poverty, unemployment etc. that it made in the election manifest. But I failed to target those sufficiently indicated.

There is also another point I would like to make. Just on the eve of the presentation of the Budget, we are faced with the lock-out of the workers in the I A C by the Government. Is this the first reward that the working classes get from this Government for returning them in sufficient majority to this House? The three points which I wish to emphasize are, one is the quantum of allowance, quantum of money that the workers of the I. A. C. are demanding and should get. Secondly, the quantum of time, the hours of work that they have been asked to put in. And the third is the productivity. Sir, to club all these things into a package deal is a thing we have not been able to sufficiently appreciate and understand for the simple reason that these take long time to negotiate. One could understand some kind of an interim arrangement with regard to the pay scales. But, with regard to the time, the hours of work that one has got to put in or with regard to the quantum of production that one has got to give, the Government is trying to force the workers to accept a particular deal which we have not seen anywhere. The working Class has got to have a say in the matter and decisions are taken after prolonged negotiations take place because various matters come into consideration and it is only then that these things get settled. If Government expect to force the workers to accept their deal just because the Government is strong enough to deal with them powerfully, I personally feel that this is not the occasion for the Government to do that. They can certainly come to some kind of an understanding for the present as an interim measure.

Sir, it is not merely the I A C workers that are involved in this. Whatever happens to them possibly will have serious effect on other workers in other fields of industrial undertakings. We are anxiously waiting

for the Government to negotiate in such a manner that this lock out is lifted and at the same time, give the working class time to deal with the whole problem in a satisfactory manner. I hope Government would appreciate what I am placing before them and deal with the question of quantum and hours of work separately and not link it up with the pay scales.

The other point that I would like to bring before you is this. A good deal has been said both in the President's Address as well as in the Finance Minister's speech regarding ending of poverty. Sir, poverty by itself cannot be ended merely because the Government say so. Poverty, employment and education, all go together and in all these things, whether it is the Zila Parishad or the Panchayat Samiti or various other non-official agencies, they have got to have a good deal to do in dealing with matter. The President sometime back said 'Jobs for the millions'. I do not know what attention has been paid towards that. But, merely putting up slogans by the Government in this particular manner will not end this problem.

We are very happy that for the first time after 1952 when with each election the strength of the Treasury Benches was going down, this year again they have come back with more than two-thirds majority in the House. That is because they raised a slogan which had an impact on the masses for improving their economic condition. We are happy that the Government is in a strong position to implement good measures. We feel that time has come when whatever they have said in their Election manifesto should be implemented. But all this cannot be done by merely the Government stating these things? There are various voluntary organisations which have got to come into being with a missionary zeal to take up the work and help the government. In this, if I bring in the views of Mahatma Gandhi, one may consider this as out-dated or out-moded. Employment has got to be given in sufficient measure if poverty has to be eradicated by giving employment to a large number at least the primary necessities of life get fulfilled. All this can be done if only work for the production of the primary

[Dr. Melkote]

such as food, clothing and housing is taken and attended to adequately by using minimum but efficient technical knowledge.

When I speak of this, I am reminded of what the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission said sometime ago. He said :

"Technology has gone wrong in assessing the situation."

Technology has gone wrong. In key industries, in industries for providing the basic necessities of life, employment of the largest numbers is a thing which is necessary. The *Khadi* industries and other which were dying out must get revived in such a manner that large and large numbers of people get employed in our village industries.

Educated unemployed are the greatest revolutionaries. We have first to tackle the problem of the educated unemployed. For this, education has got to be given a new reorientation.

I would like to mention to the Finance Minister that while some good suggestions have been mentioned in his speech they have not been spelt out adequately. I hope he would go into the details with regard to these matters in the next budget. Hence I do not want to say anything more now. Thank you.

SHRI B. R. SHUKLA : Before I offer my comments about the Finance Bill and the general features of the Budget, I deem it my duty and privilege to offer my thanks to the hon. Finance Minister for bringing out a Budget which is, I should say, bold, radical and realistic.

This is a Budget which is designed to eradicate poverty and unemployment from this vast land.

Our Marxist friends sitting opposite have demonstrated their complete lack of faith in the policies and formulations of this Budget for the eradication of poverty and unemployment.

According to their thinking, poverty and unemployment can be eradicated only on the lines adopted by China. They may be right according to their own light and reasons, but we have been returned in majority not on the basis of their manifesto, but we have been returned to power on the basis of our manifesto, which is the manifesto of Democratic Socialism.

The Swatantra party criticised the Budget in their own way. They say, it is socialist; my C P M friends say, it is capitalist. It is, say, neither capitalist nor socialist; but it is designed to usher in Democratic Socialism.

This is not a Marxist budget. If it had been a Marxist Budget, there would have been no opportunity for anybody to criticise it. What has happened in China in the cultural revolution? Newspapers are not allowed to speak out their minds. May I remind what Pandit Nehru said about Marxism? Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that Marxism is out of date.

Even orthodox communism is undergoing change; our Marxist friends say that they are not prepared to accept Russia on the same footing as they accept China. That is the position with regard to orthodox communism today. They say, Russia is a revisionist country. They say, Austria is a revisionist country. All this shows that various technological and economic forces are at work which make necessary to reconcile socialism and social justice with the concept of liberty.

We in India under the inspired leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, who was designated as a reactionary in the Encyclopaedia of Russia, have adopted certain principles. We think that the concept of liberty has to be kept alive along with social justice, and that concept has been given a concrete shape under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It has been left to us who have now been returned in a massive majority by the electorate, to eradicate poverty, squalor and ignorance from this country. Now, how are we to effect this? There has been a lot of talk based on theoretical considerations, but we have to take a realistic view of things.

To my mind, there are certain hurdles in the eradication of poverty and squalor. Some of them are of a negative character. Some are of a positive character in the sense that some concrete steps have to be taken. A negative aspect is that wealth is concentrated in a few hands and in a few business houses in this country. That monopoly has to be curbed. Except in the case of a few educated persons who hold the intellectual monopoly or who hold monopoly of character, all other types of monopoly whether in the shape of wealth or in the shape of political power are to be destroyed. In the earlier part of the day, it was said that the monopoly of Speaker and Deputy-Speaker had been maintained. I hope I shall not be misunderstood when I say that remark was rightly made. The concentration of economic and political power in any sections of the community in this country has got to be disturbed and destroyed. Even in the interest of private enterprise, it is necessary that the monopoly in the economic sector should be destroyed, because if the licences are widely spread out, then there would be competition and even for the growth of private enterprise it is necessary that there should be competition.

So, my first point is that economic monopoly and economic concentration of power has to be destroyed. Secondly, the productive resources of the State should be so distributed that every one who is prepared to work and who wants to be happy and prosperous would get an opportunity to chalk out his own line of action.

So far as the distribution of land resources of the State is concerned, we have imposed ceilings in many States. It has been suggested by some hon. Members that the limit of the ceiling on agricultural holdings should be further lowered. I am of the view that the ceiling on land-holding is not required to be further lowered, if we are to keep in view the interests of the cultivators themselves, because that would take away the incentives from the cultivators. Many cultivators have invested money and purchased tractors. They have invested money also for the improvement of agriculture. If we suddenly lower the ceiling, then it will shake their faith in the continuity of legislative

action. Therefore, they should be told that their holdings will not be disturbed by the sporadic and periodic onslaught of the Legislators who indulge in such onslaughts in order to get the support of certain sections of the society sometimes. One party, for instance, is keen to lower the ceiling to 6½ acres. The Communist Party in UP says that it should be reduced to three acres. The Congress Party says that it should be 60 beghas or about 12 acres. I would submit that there should not be a race in matters of socialistic measures.

It is true that the law should be dynamic. But it should not be so dynamic as to shake the very confidence of the people in legislative action. What I have been able to realise as a Member from UP is this that the fault lies not so much in the limit of the ceiling which has been imposed on landholdings but in the manner of the implementation of the ceiling policy. We have to plug the loopholes.

The officials, and I should say with due respect to them, politicians and members of legislatures, have all combined to thwart and defeat the provisions of the ceiling. Many big persons who have got their minor sons and daughters have designated them as landless persons and have got leases in the names of their own dependents, sons and daughters, although they themselves are big holders in the revenue records. Government officials have got lands from out of the surplus after the imposition of ceiling. So long as these officials are not curbed, so long as we do not rise to the real patriotic level, so long as we do not believe in practical socialism, it is very difficult to implement the provisions of any socialist policy, howsoever loudly we may indulge in protestations here or outside.

The second thing is how to produce consumer and other goods necessary for eradication of poverty. So far there has been lopsided development. Those who are vociferous, who have resources, who have approaches to the powers that we have got the lion's share out of the industrial investment, where as those who have not got good advocates to support their demands do not get even an iota of a share of this investment,

[Shri B. R. Shukla]

Take, for instance, my district of Bahraich. It borders Nepal. We share the characteristics of the economic backwardness of that neighbouring State. There is not even a single industrial unit in the public sector in that district. There is only one small sick sugar mill situation the southern extreme of the district which caters for the needs of Bahraich, Gonda, and Bara Banki. We have vast resources. We have fertile land, green forests. There are a number of rivers. But these resources still remain untapped. A paper mill was allocated to our district. Unfortunately, because of political pressure, that too has gone to a neighbouring district. I do not grudge my neighbouring district getting it. But my district should also have a paper mill. We have got a bund on the river Gaghra. On one side, there is the bund; the fields are all under flood; and no crop except sugarcane can be grown on the land falling between the bund and the main current of Gaghra. But there is no sugar mill in that area to utilise the cane. My submission is that in every district there should at least be one or two factories, preferably in the public sector, but if it is necessary, in the private sector, to utilise the produce of that area. In the formative stage of our industrial development, we cannot afford to ignore the private sector.

The third thing that needs mention is that vast area of land still remains unirrigated. In the First and Second Five Year Plans, some tubewells were sunk. One could see a board displayed on every road saying that under the First Plan so many tubewells were sunk. Since then a good-bye has been given to this Plan with the result that three-fourth of the cultivated area of my district remains without any source of irrigation.

The Sarjoo canal scheme was launched as early as 1960, but after a good deal of research it has been shifted to Lakhimpur. The headworks are established in my district and the river which falls within the limit of my district has to feed the canal. But the waters have to go to the neighbouring districts. Such is the case. So, we are without any canal, without any industry. Under these circumstances how can you expect that Bahraich should become prosperous. Bahraich cannot be prosperous and Gonda

cannot be prosperous if they are so neglected. I should not be accused of a feeling of regionalism when I ask for certain things. I ask for these facilities merely because poverty is indivisible. If there is poverty in one part of the country it will have its own repercussion even on the prosperity of another part of the country. Justice is indivisible, liberty is indivisible and similarly poverty is also indivisible. If I am poor, your prosperity and your riches are in peril.

One thing which has not been emphasised by anybody is this, that there should be intensive propaganda about family planning. Unless family planning is implemented in all its aspects, economic growth would be negatived.

I congratulate Mr. Bannerjee for his very sober speech taking the brighter side of the Budget proposals and also voicing his own sentiments about the shortfalls. We should duly take note of them and try to build India on socialist lines consistent with the concept of liberty.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): Just a few minutes to magnify the hoodwinking process that they launched today. The Finance Bill is only an outcome of that.

How have you devalued the Indian rupee which has failed the Indian people miserably! Today it is not more than ten per cent of its face value. You devalued it once and again you are under pressure. That is why we presume that Gen. Westmoreland the Vietnam butcher, has been your guest, visiting India at our cost.

Who devalued the rupee? The Prime Minister surely was then there. You are blaming Morarji Desai and Ashok Mehta. I agree they were there to be blamed. But the principal blame has to go to the Prime Minister who was a party to effecting devaluation in this country. You are walking into that trap once again.

Then I come to the growth of monopolists, both foreign and Indian. Today, after 23 years of golden Congress rule, you are talking about socialism. Today the average

Indian's expenditure is 36 paise per day. You ought to hang your head in shame. You talk about socialism.

Let us see the growth of monopolists. Foreign patents in drugs in India are near about 90 per cent while in America it is barely 13 per cent. A medicine that you can buy in the Continent for Rs. 250 a kilogram—through the USAID they are easily saleable to the stooges who profess themselves to be socialists—you are buying at Rs. 11,000 a kilogram. A medicine which costs eight annas to produce you thrust on the poor man to buy at Rs. 10.50. And you dare to talk about socialism.

Look at the price and profit. During August, under the pretext of control of drug prices, in 18 days you allowed the monopolists to reap a harvest of Rs 8 crores. No-doubt they made a fat contribution to your election fund for bringing socialism to the dying humanity of this country.

What about sugar? A kilo of sugar which costs ten annas to produce at the factory gate you have been allowing monopolists to sell at rupee two. For one year you had forced it on the consumer at rupees five to rupees six. And for partial de-control of sugar we know how much you got from the sugar magnates as you did in the case of cement from CACO.

You want to bring in socialism with monopolist money. That sort of story you can sell to innocent people, not to all. What about foreign loans? You are paying about 45 per cent of your total export earnings as servicing and interest charges, and the days is not far off, if I am to quote your friend that famous man in the World Bank today, when it would be 100 per cent Mr. Chavan, doctor of socialism treat thyself.

The growth of monopolies has been fabulous in this country. The Imperial Tobacco Company has assumed a new name, 'Indian Tobacco Company' It is an Indian Congress of today is practising socialism. They have a licence to produce 18 thousand million cigarettes per year. Instead they have been producing between 25 and 30 thousand millions. Why have you kept

your eyes shut and not prosecuted them? Because, I learnt reliably that they have made a very fat contribution to your election fund for selling socialism to the country. A brand of cigarettes India King, sells at. Rs. 3.70 for 20. It almost works out to 18 paise per cigarette. If you take away the excise duty of 9 paise the company gets 9 paise per cigarette. Out of this the farmer gets by way of tobacco value less than 1 paise. The balance goes to your socialist friends in Britain. They had a total turnover of over Rs. 170 crores in one financial year; and they made a gross profit of Rs. 50 crores. The socialist Mr. Chavan should take care of this.

In Bengal we instituted a jute enquiry commission. The poor farmer who produces jute for over hundred years, especially during the last 23 years, has giving you his pound of flesh every year because by resorting to trickery and crockery for Rs. 35 or 45 he has been made to part with jute worth Rs. 60. In foreign market that jute is worth Rs. 200/-. We had appointed a jute enquiry commission to look into these matters. After the imposition of the socialist President's rule, controlled by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the great supersocialist the enquiry has been torpedoed and sabotaged because the Marwari jute magnates in Calcutta threatened that if this enquiry continue they would not give enough subscription for the Congress election fund to bring in socialism.

What about demonetisation? We want you to demonetise. You cannot, because if you do so all these election money and the flow of wealth of Rs. 50-60 crores, as much money as you required to buy ballot papers and win the elections would never have come. Nobody will part with his white money to bring you back to power, How socialist are you.

Your defence expenditure has in the course of the last few years risen from Rs. 500 to 900 crores and from Rs. 900 crores to Rs. 1000 crores and then to Rs. 1,165 crores and this year it has again recorded an increase. The Police that you require for bringing in socialism and the three battalions of CRP the criminal reserve force, will cost you another Rs. 9.5 crores for having a paraffin net

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

work of policing in West Bengal and other doubtful areas you must have a net-work of Central Intelligence service. Therefore you require money. That is the type of socialism that you propose to bring.

I shall now refer to the unemployment figures which stand at 78 millions at the end of the Forth Plan. That is your creation. You want to undo it by you cannot. The moment you undo it you will be thrown out of power. We have gone industry-wise and have found in every major industry, Jute, Tea, Oil engineering textile, coal etc. The output has increased and the money earned has increased but employment has gone down. I can give the figures to Mr. Chavan if he wants. We had tabled a resolution in this House in August, 1970. It was finalised actually in November, 1969. The Government came forward with an assurance that they would form committee. We know how serious they are about the problem and how kind they are to the unemployed if I tell you that they took a good 13 months to constitute this committee after I had written a good 20 letters to the Prime Minister. What is the value one should attach to their assurances on the floor of the House? I leave it at that. What I am saying is, are they keen to do any of these things? If you ask me, not at all; these are all vote-catching stunts.

MR. SPEAKER : The hon. Member's time is up.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : I shall finish in just one minute, about minor irrigation rural electrification, what do you propose to do about them especially in those areas where minor irrigation and rural electrification are scanty, in those areas of Assam and Orissa and West Bengal, where you have the most backward regions? What do you propose to do? Without that, you can never have a generation of basic wealth, Mr. Finance Minister. Please understand it—generation of basic wealth. If you do not do it, you can never do any thing, you do not propose to do because these things do not get into your head, especially because all your programmes and plans are drawn by high powered salesman of foreign of Indian monopolists. That is what I am saying.

Lastly what have you done to the Indian

railways? It is the biggest public sector institution with a real value of Rs. 4000 crores, and under the pressure from foreign and Indian monopolists, you have gone into high over-capitalisation on the Indian railways. Make a note of it. Under the present set-up, it can never make a profit, because you have burnt your boats there. You have gone for dieselization because Mr Patil, once a railway Minister, had conspired with the Americans diesel manufacturers and diesel engine manufacturers. A big hole has been dug on the wall of the economy of the Indian railways, and that will be a drain on the Indian people's money. Either you pay by an enhanced rate of tickets or you pay through indirect taxation. There is no escape from it, it is the Congress Government in collaboration, for their own existence, during the last 23 years that have ruined the economy of the country and wrecked the future of the country.

SHRI YESIIWANTRAO CHAVAN :

Sir, I do not know whether I should reply at length to the debate on the third regarding. But I must thank Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu. He has raised certainly some points, though not very relevant, some of his points need clarification. I certainly take note of what Dr. Malkote said about certain aspects. My other friend, Shri Shukla, made a very good speech. He has endorsed politically whatever I have said. Of course, whatever he said about land ceiling, possibly I have got my own differences with him. I must say for the sake of the record that the party and the manifesto which we have accepted are somewhat different from what he has said. It is much better if he reads them again.

As far as Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu is concerned. He has disappeared.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : I am very much here.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN :

First of all, he mentioned about capacity the Indian rupee. Let me assure this House and let me assert that the Indian rupee is very much Indian rupee. Its value is in no way less. The capacity of the Indian rupee is to be measured in terms of its relation with other foreign currencies.

(*Interruption*) The Indian rupee is as strong as before. What is the use of raising the question of devaluation? That question was discussed on merits here in this hon. house I do not think we need respect all the same arguments again.

Then, he mentioned certain figures. I do not know about the manufacturers and black marketeers. I am not sure about the figures that he has manufactured here.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Kindly read the debate. You want money.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN : I can tell you only one thing. I must repudiate it with all the emphasis at my command all the things that he said ; that this was done because funds were 'required for the election by the ruling party.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : What about the cement allocation ? You took Rs. 1½ crores. Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed has confessed on the floor of the House. It is on record. I shall produce it. (*Interruption*)

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN : Whatever you produce. You can produce. (*Interruption*). But the point is, to think that one can win the election only with the help of rupees and purchase votes is not merely an insult to the Government, and an insult to the party, but it is an insult to the Indian people. That is what I would say. Millions of people have come out and supported our party. Does he mean to say that they supported it only for the sake of money ? This is your technique of winning the election. That is all I would say.

Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu has certainly uttered some words of wisdom also. He said this question of generation of basic wealth is a very important thing. That is the only wise thing he said. But what has his party done when it had the opportunity to rule West Bengal ? What have they done to Durgapur ? It is a tragic tale. That most important industrial complex of India is practically on the brink of ruination because of your politics in West Bengal and you, gentlemen, are talking about increasing the basic wealth and socialism ;

Because the percapita income of the Indian citizen is less, therefore, we are talking of socialism. There is nothing to be ashamed of it. It is only because of that we are talking about socialism. In this country, poor men are in overwhelming numbers. That is why we are talking of socialism. We are not taking of socialism for China's sake. We are loyal to our Indian people. We know the Indian people are poor. It is there demand that there should be socialism and therefore we are talking of socialism.

He mentioned about increase in defence expenditure. These are some of their typical arguments : Only because we are providing for our defence properly, therefore, we are not true to socialism ! Do they want us to remain defenceless and become a victim of some of the aggressive powers ? I do not want to make a mention of any power as such. But any country which wants to be peaceful and friendly with any neighbouring country has to be strong in its own defence. Therefore, this country will have to look after its defence. But it appears these people want this country to be weak on the point of defence. This gives an inkling to what they are thinking about India's defence. We are going according to a certain rolling defence plan. If the expenditure is about Rs. 66 crores more, it is a very normal natural growth as years pass. This criticism is politically biased. Any *bona fide* criticism from the the Indian point of view is certainly welcome. But I am afraid most of his criticism is not based on the concept of Indian politics or that of Indian sovereignty or Indian independence. There is something heterogeneous involved in it. That is why I totally reject all the allegations he has made.

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :
"That the Bill be passed."

The motion was adopted.

17.48 hrs

THE WEST BENGAL BUDGET 1971-72

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI VIDYA
CHARAN SHUKLA) : Sir, I beg to present