

14.50 hrs.

### ARREST OF MEMBER

MR. SPEAKER: I have to inform the House that I have received the following wireless message, dated the 9th March, 1975, from the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Sheopur, Morena (Madhya Pradesh):—

“Shri Hukam Chand Kachwal, Member of Parliament, courted arrest violating prohibitory order u/s 144 Cr. P. C. on 9.3.75 at 18.20 hours in Sheopur, District Morena (Madhya Pradesh). Arrest made by Police Sheopur. Crime No 73/75 u/s 188 143 I.P.C. registered at P.S. Sheopur. Bail demanded but he refused to furnish.”

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (स्वानियर) :  
अध्यक्ष महोदय शिवपुर वह जगह है जहाँ गोली चली थी और जहाँ चार लोग मारे गये थे। वहाँ पर दफा 144 लगाने की क्या जरूरत थी।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह तो वे लोग जानते होंगे। आपको इनकी दूर बैठ कर क्या पता है कि क्या हो रहा है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अगर पार्लियामेंट का मेम्बर अपने चुनाव क्षेत्र में शिवपुर उनके क्षेत्र का एक हिस्सा है, नहीं जा सकता तो वह अपनी जिम्मेदारी कैसे निभायेगा अगर वहाँ पर गोली चल जाए तो वहाँ जान क्या उसका जरूरी नहीं है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : पता नहीं क्या है और क्या नहीं है।

श्री दीनेन भट्टाचार्य ।

13.27 hrs.

### GENERAL BUDGET, 1975-76—GENERAL DISCUSSION

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Dinan Bhattacharyya.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA (Srempati): Mr Deputy-Speaker, I shall describe in the word the budget that has been placed here by the hon. Finance Minister, as anti-people, promonopoly Budget. People will gain nothing from it. So many budgets had been placed here for the last 27 years. Shri Subramaniam throughout his budget speech this time spoke eloquently about the economic and political objectives of his party. The steps he had suggested and the way he had dealt with the economic aspects lead me to conclude that the Budget will never fulfil any of the objectives enunciated here. Just before presenting the Budget, he stated: last year we passed through unprecedented economic strains in the history of independent India. At the same time, he said, it was also a year of determined action on the part of the Government demonstrating vividly the basic resilience of the democratic system in grappling with a crisis situation.

If we study the Budget, what appears to us is this. First of all, I have to mention here that he has again imposed taxes, the maximum of which will affect the housewives of the common man. He has taxed even tobacco, which is popularly known as the poor man's luxury, in the name of branded bidis. Sugar has been taxed, cloth has been taxed. What else is left? The duty on motor spirit has been increased by ten paise per litre. It is not a luxury goods because buses will now increase their fares. So far as I know, in Calcutta and even in Delhi, thousands of taxi-drivers have sold their taxis because of the rise in petrol prices. In the price of about Rs. 3,50 per

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litre, the major portion is attributable to taxation. That is why the prices have gone up so much.

So, my first point is that the Government has spoken so much about inflation and for some time past the Government spokesmen have been claiming that they have arrested the rise in prices to a certain extent, but now taxes of the order of Rs. 288 crores have been imposed, of which Rs. 278 crores would come from indirect taxes. So, after sermonising about the laudable objectives to be pursued by the Government. Mr. Subramniam has imposed new taxes which will not check but only increase inflation, because prices will increase and the profits of the big monopolists and industrialists will increase, giving rise to further inflation. So, where is the end to the situation that we are passing through? Nowhere is it to be found. So, I am bound to say that it is an anti-people Budget, and it has further opened the flood gates of looting our people by the big monopolists.

Even after the imposition of these new taxes, there will still be a deficit. Though it is claimed that the deficit will be only Rs. 225 crores, from last year's experience we can say that it is likely to be double or treble that figure in reality.

It will have a serious effect on the prices of essential commodities used by the common people. In the last three years, the highest increase in prices has taken place in India. I am not mentioning about the socialist countries. I know in Soviet Union from the day the underground railway came into operation, the fare has not increased. In China also there has been no increase in the prices of essential commodities. I know how cheap are the food articles in the Soviet Union. Luxury goods may be costly, but in the socialist countries, the prices of daily necessities are not increased every year. The rise in prices in 1973 over 1972 even in Pakistan was only 12 per cent as against

28.2 per cent in India. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was telling the other day that inflation was a world wide phenomenon. If so, why has not inflation touched the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries? The *Economist*, London dated 7th December, 1974 says:

"The Soviet retail price index has remained unchanged for 7 years and in China officially recorded local prices have risen hardly at all over two decades. The fares on the *Moscow Underground Railway* are still the same as they were in 1955 when it was built."

What reason can the Prime Minister and Finance Minister give? They have no reply. But I can give the reason. Soviet Union and China are building socialism while in India the Indira Government is building capitalism, not socialism. So, you cannot escape the capitalist crisis which has taken place all over the world, including America. In this period, the ownership of the means of production in agriculture and industry have been monopolised by a section of the people and they are highly concentrated in India. In industry, the gross fixed assets in the private sector increased over 4 times in a period of 13 years, between 1960-61 and 1973-74, from Rs. 3600 crores to Rs. 15000 crores. Tatas and Birlas have increased their assets by over 10 times during the last 25 years.

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola):  
At constant prices or current prices?

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA:  
You can calculate it both ways. I have taken it from the *Economic Times*. This concentration of wealth, land and agricultural produce in fewer and fewer hands has its effect on the standard of living of the people. It will be found everywhere. Only the other day there was a study by the Labour Department of the West Bengal Government according to which the agricultural labourers live on one meal a day with a pinch of salt because of

poverty and lack of work. The number of landless agricultural workers in the States from 1.77 million in 1961 swelled to 3.27 million in 1971 and to about 4 million by now, according to the *Economic Times* of 25th January, 1975. This is the picture you will see in every State. Whether it is Bihar, UP, Orissa or Maharashtra the number of landless agricultural labour is increasing and pauperisation is increasing beyond any calculation in all the States. The poverty is growing not only in the rural areas but also in the urban areas as well.

If for any reason the production comes down and the prices shoot up, the ruling party and the Treasury Benches say that it is because of the labour. But what is the actual position. If you calculate the cost of labour for any produced goods, you will find that it is far below the profits taken away by the monopolists. If I have the time. I can give you number of examples to prove my case. To give one example, in 1949 the share of labour cost to production was 53.3 per cent. As the Congress rule went on, by 1961 it was reduced to 39.2 per cent. And again it came down to 34.7 per cent after a year. These are all the facts given by the Survey conducted by the Government itself. So, the argument that is put forward here is how can you expect that the prices will come down because the workers' wages are going up and their dearness allowance is going up. These are all bogus theories. The real fact is that the profits are going up and the shares of the labourers and the workers are coming down and they are becoming

more and more pauperised. I can quote here to show how the indebtedness is growing not only among the rural people but in the urban areas also. In the Study made by the R.B.I. you will find that the indebtedness of about 50 per cent of the employees, white-collared employees, is growing and they cannot make both ends meet with the wages they are getting. The same is the condition of the Government employees. I do not find any reason why the dearness allowances which they are committed to give upto the point of 272, have not been given. The Pay Commission's recommendations were that upto the cost of living index figure 272, the employees will be getting DA and after that it fell due again on 21st November, 1974 and on 1st December, 1974 Government promised to negotiate with the employees on the question of wage revision on 15th March, 1975. There was an agreement on this point. But I have heard that from 1st June, 1974 to 31st December, 1974 the DA due to Government employees will be deposited in Provident Fund account. I do not know whether the Government will keep its promise or not and it is not known when the employees will be entitled to refund. Two more instalments are due from 1st November, 1974 and 1st December 1974. I do not know whether the Government is going to keep its promise. If the Government is behaving in this way, what will happen to the State Government employees? I know the West Bengal State Government employees are the lowest paid employees. Then there are Municipal employees, Panchayat employees, School employees, Hospital employees, etc. Everybody will take this plea that when the Centre is not giving money,

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wherefrom they will get the money to pay these employees. Then the same plea will be put forward by the private sector also. They will also take the same stand that as the Central Government is not paying the DA to its employees regularly, due to rise in price, they are also not bound to give the increased DA to their employees. I do not know on what philosophy Mr. Subramaniam will base his theory of deprivation and denial in so far as additional DA for rise in C.P.I. of the employees are concerned. It is a part of the earned wage. You are not giving anything gratis and you are not giving any charity. It is their earned wages, but you are denying them. I know in Parliament, we are putting so many questions to the Ministers but the employees working in Parliament also are not getting their dues. Justice is not done to them in many respects, not only in respect of dearness allowance or the wages but in other respects regarding their promotion, etc. I do not know who is to deal with and how to do justice to the poor employees of the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha.

Then, about food production, if you say there is less production, I can understand. But no Minister is saying that there is fall in production. Shri Jagjivan Ram went to West Bengal and said that there is plenty of food. Where is the bottle-neck then? The bottle-neck is in the distribution system. Not only in the distribution system but even in the procurement policy of the Government. The procurement policy that the Government is following is pro-landlord and pro-hoarder.

I can cite an example. Last year, the amount of foodgrains they wanted to procure in West Bengal was 5 lakh tonnes. But actually, it did not reach even to one-fifth. This year also, they fixed the target of 5 lakh tonnes. But they have not yet been able to procure 2 lakh tonnes. Even the Congress Members are accusing the Ministers that they are not taking proper steps to dehoard and procure foodstuffs which are being hoarded by hoarders

and the *jotedars*, as we call it in West Bengal. Wherefrom will you get it then? That is why we are facing semi-starvation conditions in spite of the food production being quite sufficient, as per the Government statistics. If you go round the villages, you will find hardly a family among the poor peasantry and the landless labourers getting two meals a day. So, the ultimate responsibility lies on the Government's policy of procurement and distribution.

I would conclude by giving some suggestions. As regards land reforms, they have not been seriously undertaken. The land is still concentrated in the hands of a few *zamindars* and the *jotedars* and some land sharks. All these people are hoarding the stocks and they are selling at a price as per their own interest. As a result, no modified rationing in West Bengal in rural areas has completely collapsed. Even the little amount of wheat that they were getting has been stopped.

I have to mention here that while this is the condition, I do not know why the Finance Minister is enamoured of exporting products which we require for our own consumption and which he cannot supply. Take, for example, sugar and Basmati rice. If you go round Delhi, you will never find it. The people will abuse saying, "You Parliament-walas, what are you doing?" These things are being exported to other countries. I can show you that, one by one, in agriculture, in industry and in all aspects of life, the Government's policy is to fatten the big industrialists, landlords and big land-holders. That is the reason why we are suffering. Why is there so much inflation? Why is there so much price rise?

You had spoken about eliminating the difference in income. How will you do it and what is the magic in your hands? I have not seen it in your budget on which you spoke for one hour. I could not get any inkling that even you are serious about it.

What to talk of difference in income. Under your rule, in March 1964, the Tatas had a capital of Rs. 480 crores, in 1971, they managed to increase it to Rs. 711 crores. The Birlas have also done it in the same way. At that time the number of monopoly houses was 75, and now, it will be 90 or near about 100. The number of monopoly houses is increasing. The capital and the profits of the monopoly houses are increasing and the ordinary people are getting poorer and poorer day by day. This is the sum and substance of this year's budget. It will bring no remedy for any damage that has already been done within the last 26 years. So, this year also, your policy of fleecing the poor is continuing. Your policy regarding earning of foreign exchange by export is also causing damage to our national exchequer if you consider it with an ultimate view. Whether it is America or any socialist country, ultimately, you will have to pay more than what you get now by way of export of some articles. You can take any number of articles such as tea, jute, etc. You are exporting them on long term basis. I know that you have recently made an agreement with Iran. In the same way, you have made so many agreements with the developed as well as the big countries. Ultimately, you will have to repay them, and at that time, you will pay more money including the interest than what you are getting by way of export earnings, aids and loans. I could have given you an example. You are giving a subsidy of Rs. 80 per tonne to the cement manufacturers for export. Here we want cement, but you are giving them subsidy to the tune of Rs. 80/- per tonne for exporting. You have exported Basmati rice to the extent of 35,422 tonnes, and you are going to import 4.9 million tonnes of wheat from the USA. On the one side you are exporting rice and on the other side you are importing wheat from the USA.

14.00 hrs.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please try to conclude.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: How much time is allotted to me?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have been allotted 34 minutes. You have nearly come to the end of it. Only one or two minutes are left.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: It is impossible, I will not be able to finish in one or two minutes. There are some other points also.

AN HON. MEMBER: Leave some points to others.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: Last year also we have discussed here how the expenditure on police—police means the Central Police—is increasing. The expenditure on military is increasing. The non-Plan expenditure is increasing. But if you take the statistics of health and other social services, you will find that lakhs and lakhs of our children are dying for want of food and medicines. This is the condition.

In 1960-61, the defence expenditure of the Government of India was Rs. 281 crores. Now, in 1975-76, it is Rs. 2,274 crores. It has increased almost ten times. I can show this regarding the expenditure on CRP; I can show this regarding the expenditure on BSF and other paramilitaries who are doing no service to the people; only for the suppression of the people's movement, they are being utilised.

Now, what is the way out? I can so many things. Regarding cutting down the expenditure, what has been your performance? The expenditure on the organs of the State, Parliament, the Secretariats of the President and the Vice-President, the Council of Ministers and the Judiciary will be Rs. 8432 crores next year. So, you are not curtailing the expenditure. You are increasing it. The expenditure on these establishments shows a 30 per cent increase as compared to the expenditure of Rs. 62.5 crores in this year, in 1974-75. During the year

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1973-74, the expenditure on the organs of the State totalled Rs. 51.19 crores. But, in 1975-76, it is going to be Rs. 84.32 crores. This is from the *Financial Express* dated 1-3-1975.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: That is a good point. You may now conclude.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: I will finish with my suggestions. My first point is this: give up your policy of putting the cart before the horses...

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT (Shahabad): Only one horse.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: Two horses—one is the industrialists and the other is landlords. Give up that policy and do something really for the agriculturists. And, there the first point is, take away surplus lands from all the landlords. There are thousands of bighas of land in Bihar and Maharashtra and in all the States, which owned in Benami by landlords. If you take away those lands and distribute to the landless labourers and the poor peasants, you will get results and not only more food will be available but hoarding will be less and less.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA (Tumkur): He is repeating the same points.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: Mr. Lakkappa, I will repeat the same points because so long radical land reform is not there, no problem will be solved. The second point is that there should be a ceiling on profits on all the industrial and commercial undertakings owned by Indian businessmen and take over all excess profits. You have frozen the wages of working class. Workers and employees would not get their full DA as per your decision. The Industrial Policy Inquiry Committee also reported about fixing ceiling on profits but you have not done anything in regard to the ceiling of profits.

Then about food policy, there should be monopoly procurement of the entire marketable surplus from big landholders at more or less uniform prices throughout India which provide an adequate rate of return. There should be equitable distribution by statutory rationing in urban areas, maintenance of sizable buffer stock of foodgrains to meet contingency, Peoples' Committees at Panchayat level to make the procurement and distribution a success. Better industrial relations should also be established which are regularly deteriorating. Workers are not getting fair deal either from the Government or from the employer. Employment should be given to all able-bodied men or unemployment relief.

This year is International Women's Year. I will give you one example. Some years back, there were 30,000 women workers in jute mills which is one of the pioneer industries in our country. Now you will find hardly 2,000. Is it not shame on our part that women workers are not getting chance anywhere? They are being denied justice.

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN (Kangra): They are getting better chances and that is why, the number has been reduced.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: Are you hearing my speech or dreaming something?

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN: Both.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: There should be recognition of the principle of equal pay for equal work. There should be no differentiation in wages between man and woman. Steps should be taken to ensure democratic functioning of trade unions and there should be consultations with trade unions at all levels while chalking out labour policies. These are my suggestions. I hope, Mr. Subramaniam will seriously consider them and do something.

**SHRI B. R. BHAGAT (Shahabad):** Considering the very delicate balance in the economy to-day and the serious constraints on the Finance Minister, the Budget that he has produced this year is a well-conceived one and he has made an excellent effort to do his job. The economy and, particularly, in the last 3-4 years, the inflationary spiral that was building into it has left very little elbow room to the Finance Minister to raise resources. But, even then, he has done his job judiciously, and scientifically and tried to raise his resources so as not to hurt the people unnecessarily.

The hon. Member has described it as an anti-people budget because the Finance Minister has put levy on tea or cigarettes or even on petrol. But he has not gone deep into this matter. I think he has merely repeated what he has said last year, that any budget produced from this side is anti-people and it shows more his ideological slant than even a critical analysis of the budget proposals. I will try to do that.

To do an analysis of the budget in depth, what do the budget proposals indicate? They indicate that his proposals do not depress or reduce the disposable income of the common people in a significant manner; only the affluent classes have been touched and whatever the burden, that has fallen on the lower and the middle income groups, there is some compensation in the fact that the way the expenditure will be used in raising production will ultimately bring down the price-line and the compensation will be much more than the burden that it will impose. Therefore, this is the only way, and I say this is the only way, the Finance Minister can approach an almost impossible and difficult task that he faces to-day.

The levies on tobacco, bidis, cigarettes, rayon, synthetic rayon, fine and super-fine cotton textiles are the obvious choice for a Finance Minister to-day because they not only bring in a good revenue but the burden is very fairly distributed. I am only surpris-

ed why he has not touched liquor. I know he has no special fascination for liquor, but he should have brought in that also.

The second category of the levies is like those on tea, etc. Now, many hon. Members have referred that tea is an article of common consumption and, therefore, any levy on tea is going to be rigorous on the common people. But one should not forget that to-day tea has a very good market outside for the first time in several years when the unit price of tea was going up. It is good that because of a short-fall in production of East-African tea, our tea is fetching a good price and, therefore, I think it is the duty of the Finance Minister to curtail consumption by all means and leave more tea for exports so as to bring not only better prices from outside but also augment his much-needed external resources.

Similarly, about cement, the whole policy to-day is that the Government has gone in for reduction of construction activities and any increase in production of cement or a part of it should be exported. His thinking seems to be so.

Then, take kbandsari. It is linked up with sugar. Now, the hon. Member says that the Finance Minister has taxed sugar. But everybody knows that the tax is on the non-levy sugar. Levy sugar is not taxed which goes to the consumption for the common people and if there is increase it is not proper to just brand it like that without going deep into the matter; this is a salutary provision. Last year we had almost Rs. 600 crores of foreign exchange from the export of sugar. I think he will advise the people concerned to export another half a million tonnes this year; and that can happen, if he not only reduces the consumption but taxes kbandsari also which will drive sugar cane for being crushed in the mills. If there is more production of sugar, he will be able to export without raising prices internally. Therefore, this levy is also a very correct one.

[Shri B. R. Bhagat]

Similarly he has brought in General Tax. This is a new innovation, which is a welcome feature. Our economy is a diversifying economy and our attempt is that it should grow faster and if there is any stagnation, the bottleneck should be broken. Therefore, he has brought in General Tax-1 per cent of the produce in the mill. This will bring more revenue. 1 per cent can be increased. Protagonists of the industry may say that it is the thin end of the wedge, to-morrow it can be increased. It can be increased if it is economic. If economy is in a resurgent mood, certainly, there will be a case for regulating it in a manner not only to raise resources but to use this fiscal measure to bring about elasticity in our economic system and also in the fiscal system. So, this is a welcome measure.

I am surprised that people come and describe it as anti-people. I do not think that they speak with conviction; much less they can convince the people here or outside.

He has rightly not touched the 'personal taxes'. Only last year the exemption level was raised from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 6,000 and at higher level certain exemptions were given. There was no point in imposing higher taxes. Any further taxation would have eroded the real income of the middle income group and this would have really created hardship to the people. He is right in avoiding it.

The other point is about the Corporate Tax. My point is that the measures that he has taken in this regard are also very correct measures. He has tried to revive the economy. He has given dividend relief by deferred payment and tax holiday to the priority sector industries as also exemption from Wealth Tax to certain categories. He has taken these measures to revive investments. It has produced the desired effect.

My point is that counter-inflationary thrust is not fully complete. It is partial. Take the case of dividend. Suppose somebody sells the share to-day, will he get the benefit of it? He would not get the benefit of that.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM): He will get the corresponding price.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: If that can be taken care of, the thrust will be more complete. Whenever a part of the dividend is kept, it is available to the companies and it is not distributed to the shareholders. Therefore, it is the company which benefits. To the extent that the company can retain its profits and to the extent it is able to invest and expand, well, the purpose is served. That is the idea. It really depends upon the position of the company. There are various schemes, various facilities; but the point is, only some companies can benefit those which start a new company or undertake expansion and various other things, but as a whole, it will not benefit the other companies. The various relief items he has proposed in the corporate sector will improve the investment climate. But if he accepts some of the suggestions I have made, this can be taken up one step further, they will do much more than what they are now doing, and will achieve his objective. This is what I would say about the analysis of the Budget.

He has said that the more important thing is the objective; let us examine his proposals in view of the objectives which he has mentioned. The short-term objective of the budget is to provide viability and vitality to the economy. Over the past three or four years, the economy has been under severe strain due to almost run-away inflation and the entire process of development was retarded, resources were dwindling, costs going up, savings getting eroded, prices rising, and there was gradual disintegration of the economy. Therefore, the first task of



the Finance Minister has been to integrate the situation, to consolidate the economic, to reduce, to neutralise the inflationary potential. If that is the first objective, let us now examine it from that point of view. The second objective is long-term and medium-term one. Ultimately it is to make way for increase in production and contribute to greater income and employment, reduce inequalities, make a frontal attack on poverty, increase the income standards of people, standards of living of people and consumption standards of people in general. These are medium-term or long-term objectives.

We have to examine the Budget from both these points of view because the Budget is a socio-economic measure. We have to see to what extent the proposals formulated, plan developments, allocations made, etc. are going to achieve these very objectives.

Let us come to production and see how it is going to be increased. Even as a short-term thing, money supply is reduced and non-developmental expenditure is reduced and it is a very creditable thing. Towards the containment of non-developmental expenditure the Government's effort has been noticeable. In this year's plan developmental effort is 55.5 per cent of the total outlay as against 48 per cent of last year. It is a major effort. The Member who preceded me said, Government expenditure is going up and they are not doing anything in the matter of containing and reducing non-developmental expenditure. Certain things cannot be reduced. I cannot dispute the fact increase in defence expenditure. This cannot be reduced. Interest charges, loans and advances to States cannot be reduced. All these constraints are there. In spite of these, the Finance Minister has succeeded in curtailing or bringing down non-development expenditure. As I said earlier, this year's development component is 55.5 per cent. This is a welcome effort.

Now I come to the programmes which he has mentioned. Obviously, it is a well known fact and the economists all over the world agree that the peculiar feature of the Indian economic crisis is that unlike in other countries, it is triggered off by our failure in agricultural production. This is the kernel of the economic crisis. In the United States, it was different. It was excessive expenditure in the Vietnam war; 100 billion dollars in the last many years brought down the mighty dollar and created disorder in the international monetary system and there was the resultant stagnation and various other things. Not only in America, but in Western Europe and other developed countries, they are facing either excessive demand or growing unemployment; that is the nature of the crisis. But in our country, basically, the crisis has been created by our failure on the agricultural front. Since 1966-67, the rate of growth in agriculture has been about 2 per cent despite the fact that the irrigation potential has almost increased double. We have 42.43 million hectares under irrigation and it is an irony that in spite of the fact that irrigation potential has been doubled, the total double cropping area has not increased to that extent. Therefore, the irrigation facilities has become, what might be called in the old jargon, merely 'protective investments' to borrow a term from the famine code. Against drought or famine, when there is shortfall in rain, you use the water, but there has been no scientific management of the waters for raising productivity in agriculture. That is one reason. But the fact is that over a period since 1966-67, agriculture was stagnating and we had the ups and downs. Even today in the 4th Plan, we said that we would produce 129 million tonnes. We reached a maximum in 1971-72, 108 million tonnes. We have not reached that maximum today. This year, I do not know, whether we may be able to produce 104 million tonnes. As we expect, if the kharif crop is of the order of 62 million tonnes and if the rabi bumper crop is 42 million tonnes, I think, it should be 104 million tonnes.

[Shri B. R. Bhagat]

If you see the per capita consumption of food—that is the one item of consumption—it is going down successively. The cloth consumption is going down because the population has been increasing. The consumption of food, cloth and the consumption of oil and fats and other essential items which are vital in the life of man has gone down. Six million children are blind; they are condemned to blindness in this country because they do not have enough protein food. These are the problems because agricultural failure has been there. I feel, the Finance Minister is well advised in putting the highest priority on this. In any anti-inflationary measures in introducing vitality and viability to the economy, success cannot be achieved without agricultural resurgence. He has rightly put the highest priority and provided money for it. But the question is, whether the provision of money above will do the trick, unless other measures are taken. He has rightly identified seeds, fertilizers, irrigation, credits etc. But much more has to be done. Unfortunately for him, agriculture is not under his control—I mean under the Central Government. Food is grown in all the States. There are millions and millions of farms in the country. How are the Seeds Farms managed today? Of course, National Seeds Project is there and I hope, it does a better job. One of the reasons why productivity in agriculture was going down was that good quality seeds were not available.

In our country, I think the only States where productivity in agriculture has increased are West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Andhra. In other northern States, productivity per acre is going down. Take for example the States like Punjab and Haryana where there was a green revolution some time back, there too the productivity is going down. The fact is that last year the fertiliser was not lifted by the people. The stocks were lying and the farmers were not lifting the

stocks because of high price. Because of that productivity goes down. They could not increase the productivity in agriculture because they could not lift the fertilisers. In Bihar and U.P.—in the heartline of the Gangetic Valley—breakthrough in agriculture has got to be achieved. While there cannot be any major attack of poverty in all these States, the picture is very dismal. I am telling him that we have to do much more in the matter of implementation to the administration down to the block level. Not only that land reform is very important but we have also to distribute the lands properly. Whatever legislation in this respect we have passed, we have still not been able to implement them. I warn that the land reforms have to be done and they have to be implemented with all vigour. Agricultural labour has become very very restive. In the rural areas there is labour unrest. Everywhere you will find murder and violence taking place. There is violent conflict between the farmers and the landless labour. That being so how can you expect our programmes to be implemented?

I am saying this because—I am warning the Finance Minister—in 1972-73 when we had to face the worst year, we provided Rs. 175 crores of crash programme for rabi production. But, what happened to that crash programme? Nothing happened. The programme only crashed. And Rs. 175 crores went down the drain. It added to our inflation and it did not produce a single additional ton of wheat. Therefore I am saying with all the emphasis at my command that it is the reform of the land administration—not only land reforms—which alone can bring the desired results. So, everything should be made available to the farmers. To-day imagine that only 15 per cent of the credit goes to the

farmers owning below 5 acres of land, 85 per cent of the credit goes to farmers with above 10 acres of land. But the farmers who have got below five acres of land get only 15 per cent of the credit. How can you expect better results? Apart from everything, you are only creating a political instability in the rural side. The gap between the big and small farmers is increased. It is also absolutely necessary that unless the marginal farmers—small farmers and the landless labours—are also involved in it, there cannot be any agricultural resurgence in this country. And whatever money we spend on it will not be able to bring in the results. We have, over the period of years, achieved a growth of 2 per cent in agriculture. This is inadequate. And this country will be plagued by the crisis of stagnation in production. We have been facing various agricultural crises and, therefore, it is necessary to see that we follow up the programme and implementation of the same at the lower level, at the farm level to increase productivity significantly.

Coming to the employment programme it is stated that we have given up this programme. It is unfortunate. Our party's programme was to provide jobs to half a million people every year—which has been given up. It is given up in the sense that it is integrated into the development plan. This can only be done if the industries are developed in a proper way. The agricultural development can absorb the under-employed in the rural areas. The explosive situation today is that 5 lakhs of educated people are unemployed every year. According to the live registers, five lakhs have been added to the unemployed. Out of eighty lakhs or so, 45 lakhs are educated unemployed. It may be much more if you take those who have not even registered their names. Out of about addition 5 lakhs, nearly 2 lakhs come from Bihar and West Bengal. Imagine the massive educated unemployed people. Already unemployed educated people are growing in numbers. We are today facing urban un-

rest. Diversification of industries is the only answer. We should take measures like dispersal of industries, diffusion of industries and so on and so forth. The more important task is to consolidate the base of industries.

The growth rate is only at the rate of 2.3 per cent over the last year. We have planned for 8 to 10 per cent growth annually of industries in the last five years or so. In the last five years or so, the industrial growth of this country was only 3.8 per cent annually.

There has been a period when there has been zero growth or negative growth which is most unfortunate. The future is also bleak as in the Fourth Plan period there has been a significant fall in the rate of investment. We provided for Rs. 3,800 crores investment in the public sector whereas the real investment was Rs. 3,000 crores at the current price level which means in actual terms it is a little over half of the Plan provision. When there is no investment how could you expect to achieve a growth rate of 8 to 10 per cent in coming years. You cannot achieve it. Therefore, the Finance Minister has adopted the strategy to take selective sectors in this year. He has selected the power, coal and the oil sectors. The outlook in coal is better. We have produced more and are going to produce at least 10 million tonnes more. There are good industrial relations and managerial efficiency is also better. But let us have a look at the other critical sectors like steel, cement and fertiliser.

It is true that both the public and the private sectors are looking up, more particularly the public sector. The public sector has come to assume the role which we enshrined in our Plan namely that it will control the commanding heights of economy. It has come to assume that position and in the coming years it will further grow and play a dominant role. This is the one institutional change which

[Shri B. R. Bhagat]

has taken place in our economy and it is heartening to see that when we made the efforts, the public sector has responded. At one time it was said the public sector is a drag and the friends on the other side and the conservative parties believe that these are white elephants, they cannot pay. But the fact of the matter is, in the last two to three years the public sector has come back and has contributed to the national resources. For example, in 1972-73 they contributed Rs. 83 crores; in 1973-74 they contributed 150 crores and this year, I am told, their contribution will be Rs. 233 crores. It is a net profit. This contribution could have been more if the organisations like Bokaro, Neyveli and HEC were not losing. But it is heartening the losses have come down. So, it is a very welcome feature that the public sector has come to play a positive role and they have to go further in this.

This does not apply to all sectors and I will only take up two sectors, namely, Steel and Fertiliser. I do not want to go into the details—Steel was under my charge for some time—but it is not a great tragedy in this country that we have a capacity of nine million tonnes, but, we are not able to use more than 50 per cent of it? Steel is an industry where more production will mean still more industrial production. There can be increased exports. Today, steel fetches a very high price. If we produce one million tonnes more of steel, we can earn 100-120 crores of rupees and this can help in the attempt towards increasing the industrial growth, increasing the economic growth and revival of the national economy. In 1968-69, the capacity utilisation of our steel mills was 71 per cent. Today, it has not registered more than 57 per cent. In this year, during the last few months, there has been a better performance. But, this is not enough. If you compare it with last year, there has been a 01 per cent increase. Last year was a very bad year. We produced only a little over 4.4 million tonnes of steel

and this year we have produced 5 million tonnes of steel and therefore we say that we have done well. But, we cannot sit on it. There is something wrong in the management of the steel industry and in regard to operational and managerial efficiency. It is criminal in a country to have 9 million tonnes of steel and produce 5 million tonnes today. Now, it is said that we will produce one million tonnes more a year later. Similarly about Bokaro, Bokaro is one of the largest plants. But, it is limping towards progress. Next year, they say that they may get one million tonnes from Bokaro. There are various reasons, some justifiable reasons. We have to go seriously into this. Perhaps, what we have done in the case of HEC, we can do in regard to Bokaro. Earlier, HEC was making heavy losses. Similar was the case in regard to the MAMC Plant near Durgapur. There was a recommendation of the Public Undertakings Committee in regard to this plant. The Public Undertakings Committee said that this should be written off. I was the Minister in-charge. I said 'No'. I said 'We will try to improve the performance'. Now, I am happy to learn that MAMC is making profits today. It can be done. The trick is that you have to put the proper people and give them incentives. Similarly, in regard to fertiliser...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: When the Demands for the Steel Ministry are taken up, you can make these points. You can go into it more elaborately at that time. Try to conclude now.

SHR B R. BHAGAT: This is very vital I am not going into the details.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: There will be another opportunity.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I am only giving an example. I do not propose to go into the details. I will give another example, namely, fertiliser. We have a capacity of 2.3 million tonnes. But the capacity utilisation is only 14 lakh tonnes this year. You can say

that there has been power shortage and so on. You can put the blame on these. But, the fact of the matter is that there is something wrong in the management. We have to take a fresh look at it. As we have done in the case of machinery group, we should do in the case of steel and fertiliser. The Ministers concerned should go into these matters and I am quite sure that they will be able to achieve the targets soon.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please conclude.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Since the time is running out, I do not want to take up more points. These are the things that can upset the balance, and the Finance Minister has tried to provide for these things in his Budget. Another thing which can upset the balance is the deficit. The Finance Minister has made a commendable effort in regard to this. He has reduced the deficit from Rs. 460 crores to Rs. 225 crores. But, the deficit is going to be much more. He has taken into consideration some of the things. But, oil credit of Rs. 230 crores and the recycling of oil funds of Rs. 100 crores are not in the nature of permanent subsidy. Another important factor which can upset the balance is the defence expenditure. We have made certain assumptions and we have provided for an increased defence expenditure. Because of the US decision to resume arms supplies to Pakistan and because of some special reasons, a situation might arise during the course of the year when we will have to increase the defence budget. Similarly, if the agricultural production falls and if the prices go on increasing, we will be faced with a similar situation next year as was the case this year. These are the things which can upset the balance. But, this risk he can always take.

On the balance, this year he is in a better position. The inflationary spiral is slowing down. There is even a drop in prices. Increase in revenue is

there. The tendency to save has increased; last year household savings were Rs. 5,000 crores; I think this year it will be Rs. 6,000 crores. He should budget for Rs. 7,000 crores of savings next year. The investment climate is improving. Because of the silver lining of improvements in the economy, his hopes may be realised.

I would conclude by this that the Finance Minister as the captain of the economic ship of state is steering through the grand rapids and cataracts of inflation, of high prices, of stagnation in production, administrative inefficiency and the hidden rocks of smugglers and even corruption. He has to steer clear of these. He must not fail because the hopes of millions and millions of people rest on his coming out successful and we all wish that he succeeds.

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL (Mor. Jabad): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, we as a nation are passing through a period of unprecedented economic crisis. During the last three years, supply of money expanded by 51.8 per cent while real national income increased only by 6.2 per cent. The claim about national income having increased by one per cent in 1974-75 is still a question of doubt. There are calculations to show that it may be only zero, but in no case it will reach one per cent. Prices have shot up by 80 per cent during the last three years, while the rupee value is no more than 25P.

Only during the last 15 months, from April, 1973 to September, 1974, prices shot up by 55 per cent. The latest study of the RBI indicates that the percentage of those who live 'below' the poverty line today has increased from 40 to 70 during the last six years. This is the achievement!

The number of unemployed increasing every day exceeds 11,000. Famine, drought and hunger are so widely prevalent in the country that a large number of people have suf-

[Shri Virendra Agarwal]

ferred, though we are told now and then that the food situation is well under control. People are living under hard conditions, such conditions which can hardly be described in words. Their status has virtually been reduced from that of beggar to cattle. There is no drinking water even after 27 years of independence. This is the situation which is, of course, a grim situation, a very dangerous one, for any civilised government with a democratic apparatus to let grow.

If you look at it from the political plane, whenever the Opposition champions the cause of the very poor and raises its voice against corruption, mismanagement of the economy, black money and unproductive expenditure, the Prime Minister comes down heavily on them and describes them as traitors, criminals, fascists and CIA agents.

AN HON. MEMBER: And Right reactionaries.

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL: Is this graceful? Her utterances are so irresponsible that she is functioning more as a group leader rather than as the Prime Minister of the largest democracy in the world. She is a leader but she lacks grace. I suggest that people of her stature must have the magnanimity of Pandit Nehru and should learn how to treat the Opposition in the country.

AN HON. MEMBER: During his days your party used to say the same thing about him also.

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL: About his magnanimity, there can hardly be two opinions.

If you try to describe the total economic situation in the country, six major factors emerge which show exactly which way we are going; declining rate of growth, almost continuous increase in unemployment, stagnation in respect of the rate of saving and capital formation, poor

utilisation of capacities in basic industries like power and transport, increasing prevalence of black money and large increases in consumption and inequalities in income.

I think the overriding imperative in this situation was to reverse the long term economic decline and step up the rate of savings and investment climate once again. I know that the Finance Minister had an enormous and difficult task. The Finance Minister had the reputation of ushering in the green revolution during the last decade and is known for pragmatic and practical ideas and that is why the country had expectations from him that he would help in reviving the economy. He is a man of experience, having worked in the Ministries of Food and Agriculture, Industrial Development and other Ministries and the experience accumulated in various Ministries as also in the Government of the State will stand him in good stead as the Finance Minister of India.

To begin with, I should like to congratulate the Finance Minister on three counts. Firstly, the Finance Minister had raised the defence outlay by Rs 117 crores to Rs 2274 crores. The recent decision of President Ford to supply arms to Pakistan is fraught with dangerous consequences to our country and I say that the entire country will stand by the Finance Minister if he steps up defence expenditure for safeguarding the integrity and sovereignty of the motherland. Secondly, he has increased the Plan outlay by 23 per cent; he has raised it by Rs. 1116 crores to Rs. 5960 crores. I doubt if the increase is 23 per cent or 17 per cent. I must also point out that it is against the price rise of 27 per cent during the last year. Thirdly, the Finance Minister has rightly reversed the order of priorities. Agriculture and energy had been accorded the highest priority and I feel that was the need of the hour. He has raised the provision for agriculture from Rs 193 to Rs 270 crores but in terms

of percentage it has come down from 10.4 to 8.3. Similarly in respect of power, the provision has been increased to Rs 140 crores but actually the percentage has declined from 4.8 to 4.3 per cent. Therefore, mere allocation of resources and playing with the figures as he has done in the Budget, I do not think will take us very far. Ultimately it is utilisation that counts. The hard core of entire planning is utilisation. If the resources allocated are not well-utilised, effectively utilised, I can say that it will not bring about the desired results.

The Finance Minister's Budget speech had two parts, "A" and "B", and his Budget of great hope is couched in many more words than needed to have been poured out. I certainly support the philosophy that he has propounded in the first part. I think there is hardly anybody in this country who would dare to oppose that philosophy, but the real point is that the second part defeats what he has mentioned in the first part. Nobody would be able to swallow what he has mentioned in the second part. He has certainly employed an intelligent language to make an impact on the nation but it cannot go very far to alleviate the sufferings of the common man.

Shri Bhagat rightly tried to judge the Budget from three angles. I would certainly like to follow him in respect of all his figures and the philosophy propounded in respect of those three points. The first is whether this Budget will be able to fight inflation or not. This is the first question and a right one. The second question is whether it will ever be able to make a major attack on poverty as such or not. The third question is whether it will really accelerate the rate of growth in the next one year. These are the three major questions on which I think the Union Budget has to be judged.

Taking the first point, namely the Budgetary gap, you know that last 3868 LS—10.

year Mr. Chavan had claimed that deficit financing would remain confined to Rs. 125 crores and he continued to stick to that figure throughout the year though I continued hammering that it was going up to such an extent that he would never be able to hold the price line. We have seen that this figure has ultimately gone to Rs. 625 crores, in spite of the fact that he had presented a Supplementary Budget and in spite of the fact that he had imported crude oil for Rs. 230 crores in foreign exchange. Again, Shri Subramaniam has left an uncovered gap of Rs. 225 crores. It is believed that it would remain at Rs. 555 crores after taking into account the new fiscal measures. That means the uncovered gap is really not Rs. 464 crores, but Rs. 794 crores. The statistical jugglery includes an assumed oil credit of Rs. 230 crores and a re-cycling of allegedly frozen funds of Rs. 100 crores. That means that the figure of Rs. 330 crores has not been added to the figure of Rs. 225 crores.

Thirdly, the Finance Minister has preferred to remain silent on the vital issue of dearness allowance. It has been calculated that dearness allowance by itself will cost not less than Rs. 400 crores during 1975-76. If you add up all these figures including the taxation of Rs. 288 crores, it comes to Rs. 1,200 crores. My estimate is that whenever any burden of more than Rs. 1,000 crores is placed on the people of a country, particularly in a developing country like ours, it should produce a price rise of 30 per cent. If all my figures go correct in respect of deficit financing, I am cent per cent sure that prices will shoot up by 30 per cent during 1975-76. But there is a very important condition which I lay down, i.e. the supply situation should remain static. Otherwise if the growth rate exceeds 3 or 4 per cent and the supply situation does not remain static, this projection can go wrong. If the growth rate remains zero as it is today and if this burden on the people of the country exceeds Rs. 1200

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crores, prices will shoot up by 30 per cent.

15.00 hrs.

It is true that the prices have come down to a certain extent and the Government policy in respect of anti-inflationary measures had something to do with it. But what is the major factor responsible for bringing down the prices? Is it only the measures taken by the Government or is there something else also? The hyper-inflation which was ruling the country till September 1974 has taken the form of stagflation. This lack of demand of industrial products in particular and a false notion of price stability is the side-effect of stagnation. Stagnation means lack of demand. That is why when they do not go to the market, naturally prices come to their old level. I certainly appreciate the anti-inflationary measures taken by the Government, but if the magic has been done, it has been done by the process of stagflation.

Immediately after the presentation of the budget, the Finance Secretary calls a press conference and makes an assessment. In 1974, after the budget, the Finance Secretary announced that the impact of the new levies would hardly be 9.33 per cent on the wholesale price index and 0.5 per cent on the cost of living index for industrial workers. But prices shot up by 5 per cent just in one week's time. Similarly, after the presentation of the supplementary budget, the Finance Secretary declared that the impact will be absorbed by the middlemen, but again the prices shot up by 5 per cent in one week. This year again the Finance Secretary has made a prediction that this budget would not have any significant impact on the price level. I feel that the Finance Secretary plays a fraud and deception on the nation. The Finance Secretary should not be allowed to make such statements. If he continues to mislead the House and hoodwink the nation, I do not think we can call ourselves to be a full-fledged democracy.

The Finance Ministry, if it knows anything, it knows only one thing—how to loot and grab. It needs to be renamed as Ministry of Loot and Grabbing Affairs rather than Ministry of Finance.

While talking about inflation, I repeat the 7 points to arrest the inflationary phenomenon which persists in the country's economy: (1) Money supply must not be allowed to go beyond 3 per cent if the growth rate remains zero. (2) Selectivity in respect of bank credit should continue to be pursued while agriculture and exports must be accorded the highest priority. (3) A dialogue with the Government employees is necessary. Credit certificates on attractive terms for at least 50 per cent of the dues should be the basis for agreement between the Government and the Government employees. (4) Stern action needs to be taken against smugglers, tax-evaders, hoarders and profiteers. It is a matter of disgrace that the Government have been able to recover only Rs. 14 crores from tax-evaders. It is a very meagre amount as compared to the total blackmoney or the parallel economy that we have in this country. (5) While, on the one hand, the tax machinery needs to be streamlined, on the other hand, I will say that the Government's own image must improve. If the Ministers are known to be corrupt, how can they preach what they themselves cannot practise? If the Finance Ministry people are really sincere in their objective, I would suggest that in order to inspire the people of this country they should conduct raids and searches not only in respect of common assesseees but also in respect of Ministers, top Government officials, party functionaries and income-tax officers. (6) The public distribution system should not remain a matter for ridicule but should be effectively introduced and it should be so effective in its functioning that the people at the lower income group get foodgrains at a cheaper rate. (7) Plan holiday is a



hard reality of life for the last two years. Therefore, I would say that large outlays with long gestation period must be drastically slashed in favour of such schemes which can bring in quick results. (8) All unproductive expenditure in the Government must be cut by at least 10 per cent. Here I would suggest four things. Firstly, the Rashtrapati Bhavan staff should be cut by half; secondly, the Research and Evaluation Division of the Prime Minister's Secretariat should be abolished; thirdly, there should be full-time control over the payment of overtime and staff cars.

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE:** Rajya Sabha should be abolished.

**SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL.** If these things are done, I am sure we will certainly be able to hold the price line

Next I will come to the question whether the budget has really helped the poor about whom we have talked so much and for whom we pay lip sympathy every-minute. I would like to judge this only from one angle, and that is the indirect taxation. The yield from indirect taxes on commodities increased from Rs. 632 crores in 1971-72 to Rs. 3,681 crores in 1973-74 and now that particular tax has reached the staggering figure of Rs. 4,300 crores. The levy on items of mass consumption is increased every year by the Finance Minister on the ground that they are luxury items.

According to an estimate made in 1972, the indirect tax levied by the Union Government is responsible for 50 to 75 per cent of the total ex-factory price in respect of six major industries, namely, cloth, sugar, steel, paper, cement and rayon. That means that if the price of an item is one rupee, the Government charges 75 paise as tax. Take the price of petrol. Today the price of petrol is Rs. 3.38 per litre. Out of this the excise duty is Rs. 2.20 and the actual cost is only 90 paise. In the western countries,

where the consumption of petrol is much more, the tax is not so high. In no country in the world will you find petrol being sold at such a high price.

In fact Indian petrol price is the highest in the world today. Sir, this is one major factor responsible for our poverty line going from 40 to 70 per cent and because of the prices which are continuously shooting up, it is only the poor and nobody else who suffers. Year after year, additional burden is placed on the poor and the Government has not yet set up a Department to assess the cost of a cup of tea or a piece of bread or a soap cake or a kilo of sugar that is consumed. I would make a request that the Government could immediately set up a Cell to make a fuller assessment of the tax content of the price paid by the poor to the Government. Sir, poverty is being accentuated and perpetuated and on the policies which are being pursued today I can definitely say that they are never meant to eradicate poverty. I would just make two suggestions and afterwards I would move to the next point. One is that if you really want to do something for the poor, if not much—I know you cannot do much—then the tax exemption limit should at least be raised from Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 10,000 for the simple reason that the value of the rupee today is 25 paise. So, Rs. 6,000 means only Rs. 1,500. And the second is that there should be reduction in the excise duties on all essential items. This is the criterion for the common man to judge whether you really stand for the poor or you just pay lip sympathy to the poor.

Then the third point is that I would like to judge the budget on a very crucial point and that is whether the budget has really helped the rate of growth. The growth is the real thing by which you judge whether the country is moving forward or backward. The Finance Minister has rightly said in his budget speech that the problems of poverty cannot be solved by merely holding the price line and

[Shri Virendra Agarwal]  
we can hold them only through growth. But what is growth? Growth is zero. For the last so many years it remains zero.

Now, Sir, if you claim here that we have got bright rabi crop, I say we have the bright rabi crop but it is not going to produce more than 40 million tonnes. That means that for 1974-75, we will not have a total production of a hundred million tonnes. I refute the figure made by the Government Department that during the current financial year, we will have a production of 104 million tonnes. Therefore, on the agricultural front, we have already failed. We are lagging behind on the industrial front, because of industrial recession; and industrial recession means lack of demand. A large number of industries are not able to work full time. It is true that the Finance Minister has granted a few tax relief measures for reviving the economy. They have been received well, but they have left the market very highly depressed. At the moment the share market is so depressed that one cannot believe that the Government has granted any relief for economic recovery. What are the real factors for it?

Now, Sir, during the last two or three years, the Centre's own Plan outlay was cut down to about 20 per cent to 25 per cent and the initial capital issues by Companies in the first nine months of the current fiscal year fell to Rs. 20 crores from Rs. 37 crores. Then in respect of rate of saving which is the crux of the total problem, it was 11.1 per cent in 1965-66 and it came down to 8.2 per cent in 1971-72 and similarly in respect of rate of investment it was 5 per cent in 1950-51 and it went up to 13.4 per cent in 1965-66. It declined to 9.6 per cent in 1971-72 and is still going further down during the last three years.

These figures clearly indicate that the economy is declining and that economy is not going up. If you see, again, the figures of the capital raised

by the private companies, they got only Rs. 89 crores in 1960. Now, it has come down to Rs. 70 crores.

The industrial production is hovering around at the level of 100 right from 1971-72. The industrial stagnation has stopped the country marching towards economic prosperity. To ensure 10 per cent growth rate, the industrial production must be accelerated at 18 or 20 per cent. It is nothing beyond our reach. But anti-production laws and lack of fiscal incentives are the real culprits. I know, in this House, there are powerful lobbies which have acquired a vested interest and they do not let industrial production to grow further.

Here, I would like hurriedly to make ten suggestions for reviving industrial production, and also on the total supply side.

- (1) Remunerative price for agricultural produce at Rs. 125 per quintal.
- (2) Supply of essential inputs at subsidised rates to farmers;
- (3) Tax exemption limit on dividend incomes must be raised from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000
- (4) Continuance of development rebate;
- (5) Abolition of Capital Gains tax;
- (6) Reduction of excise duties to half in respect of such industries suffering from recession;
- (7) uniformity of sales tax in the whole country; and
- (8) rationalisation of tax structure.

Mr. Chavan has already brought the tax rate structure to 77 per cent. Now, the incidence of all taxes put together should have a maximum limit at 80 per cent. I think, if the Finance Minister works in that direction, only then the rate of savings

[Shri Vasant Sathe]

can move up in a big way. (9) Production in excess of the base year should be given a rebate in the excise duty or in some form of tax credit certificates. (10) There should be removal or relaxation of price controls in strategic industries.

The old-fashioned theory that the tax rates must be raised to provide larger revenues for the State has long been thrown into the limbo of exploded fallacies. India pathetically clings to it despite inevitable disillusionment year after year. The modern fiscal policies pursued by the most progressive countries make revenues grow, not by increasing the tax rates but by the income to grow and the G.N.P. to grow. This is the only way to realise our national objective.

Only in July, 1974, the U.K. Chancellor of Exchequer had reduced VAT from 10 to 8 per cent. In this way, there was a loss of \$150 million to the British economy and \$500 million in a full year. If this trend which we have been pursuing in the last few years is not reversed immediately. I am afraid, we will continue to go towards what we can call the gutter.

Finally, the politics of murder rather than economics of the poor is dominating the national scene. You pay lip-sympathy to the poor but patronise the elite. The exploitation of the poor; his curse will bring your downfall. It is very clear. Ultimately, the people of this country will judge you not by what you say but what is our real performance. And the performance today is that the hopes of the people are being shattered and are shattering every day while the rulers are still talking and thinking in terms of policies which have not brought any results either to the economy or to the poor.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I have a request from the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs to allow the speakers from the Congress Party a

maximum time of 15 minutes each. I hope they will keep this thing in mind.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): Too much, Sir.

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola): The first point that I would like to make is to congratulate the Finance Minister for not having burdened the people of this country beyond limits. As it is, in the last year, we saw that the people, due to additional taxes had come to a point where the prices started shooting up, and they did not have the capacity or the purchasing power to meet even the basic necessities of life. But, this year, due to various factors, I must say, that at best what has been taxed, as far as common man is concerned, is his cup of tea and his small luxury, that is, bidi. Although petrol and other indirect taxes will ultimately get passed on to the common man, but at least, the direct impact will not be felt by him. Today, in this debate, I want to raise altogether a different issue and that is about our whole economic scene. I agree with the Finance Minister, when he says:—

“But about the overriding concern and commitment to pull the masses from grinding poverty, there can, of course, never be any doubt or vacillation. He would spell out a little later the concrete steps contained in the Budget to take the nation forward in this direction.”

SHRI PILOO MODY: You believe them.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: As far as fiscal and monetary policies are concerned, the immediate concern has been naturally to bring inflationary pressures firmly under check. It is this theme that I want to take up. Let us see where our economy stands. This is not a matter of this party or that party. We all here in this House owe a duty to the country, to the people (56 crores), and I am afraid,

[Shri Vasant Sathe]

we are failing in this duty. By this time, there will be 60 crores people. There is too much waste on energy and we are losing sight of the basic economic issues. That is why, I beg your permission to draw the attention of my colleagues on all sides to certain facts that would themselves show where the shoe pinches, where the malady lies and where the remedy has to be applied. For this purpose, I would like to draw your kind attention to the well-known Direct Taxes Enquiry Committee's Report known as the Wanchoo Committee's Report. I am reading out to you from page 8 of the Report. It says:—

"Even after taking all these limitations into account and after making rough adjustments on the basis of information available, the estimated income on which tax has been evaded would probably be Rs. 700 crores and Rs. 1,000 crores for the years 1961-62 and 1965-66 respectively. Projecting this estimate further to 1968-69 on the basis of the percentage of increase in the national income from 1961-62 to 1968-69 (during which period the national income increased nearly by 100 per cent), the income on which tax was evaded for 1968-69 can be estimated at a figure of Rs. 1,400 crores."

They have further pointed out:—

"The money value of deals involving black income may, therefore, be not less than Rs. 7,000 crores for 1968-69."

Now, take this projection further. If the same projection taken for 1968-69 is taken for today, the income on which tax is evaded would be to the tune of Rs. 2,000 crores. I would, for the sake of argument, accept that it remained static at Rs. 1,400 crores. Even then, it would be an addition of about Rs. 7,000 to Rs. 8,000 crores in the last seven years. This means that the black money today in the country—I would say, 'black wealth'—is to the magnitude of

Rs. 15,000 crores, erring on the safer side or under-estimating. And these Rs. 15,000 crores are in the hands of how many? That is why, another figure is very important. The All India Income-tax statistics, 1971-72, gives on page 76 the data on income-tax assesseees of all cases. Out of a total number of 38,44,000 assessments, the number of those assesseees on whom actually the demand was made, who were assessed, came to 21,09,108. Out of these, the number of those whose income was below Rs. 20,000 was 17,45,678; those whose income was between Rs. 20,000 and Rs. 1 lakh were 3,35,988; and those whose annual income was above 1 lakh were only 27,442. And these 27,442 assesseees paid 80 per cent of the tax payable, that is, about Rs. 807 crores out of a total of Rs. 1,149 crores. 17 lakh assesseees whose income was below Rs. 20,000 paid only Rs. 99.26 crores, that is, less than ten per cent.

Therefore, from these figures, we know where the black money is concentrated. Obviously, this amount of Rs. 15,000 crores is not held by those whose income is below Rs. 6,000 or below Rs. 10,000 or below even Rs. 20,000; it is held by the big people who have the capacity to hoard, who have the capacity to have it in the form of gold, bullions and stock; it is held by this small number of smugglers, this small number of black-marketeers, this small number of wholesale traders, this small number of businessmen-cum-industrialists—not the real entrepreneurs.

It is they who are controlling this black money. And whatever we were able to achieve, you are trying to go in for more and more resources. Sometimes, there is 200 crores deficit financing or 400 crore deficit financing; it means that you are not wanting in resources. Although the national income has increased three-fold since independence—the Government figure itself shows that in 1960-61 it was 13,267 crores and now it has increased to 19,724 crores—but the per capita income has risen from 289 in 1960-61 to 340 only in 1973-74.

Where has the national income gone? Therefore, if you are talking of resources and if the main object of the entire Budget exercise is to try to mobilise resources and find resources, I would like to know why we have not thought of getting hold of this huge stock of black money? Our effort to unearth smuggled goods resulted only in hundred crores. See, what percentage it is of 15,000 crores. This 15,000 crores is not in the form of currency; it is in the form of gold, bullion jewellery and a major part that is in commodities, in stocks. Are we to believe that our tax machinery consisting of 3,000 officers and more than 2,000 inspectors, is not adequate enough to get hold of this wealth and income? This is only because of that fact that their entire energy is wasted today in the Department on the 17 lakh assesseees from whom they get 99 crores. They don't apply their minds or energy to look at these 27,000 or 50,000 or may be one lakh. If they were to concentrate on this sector, all this black money could be available. I am afraid this is the first thing that has to be kept in mind if we are really interested in finding resources for transferring to the agriculturists. We say, we want agricultural growth; we say that we want to increase the living standard of 80 per cent of the people who live on agriculture. But how is this to be done? Naturally, they must have greater purchasing power.

If purchasing power is to be increased, that means you must give remunerative price to what they produce. I am not here on the question of land reforms, which is a must. Even the smaller farmers should be given remunerative price; the medium farmers should be given remunerative price. Otherwise, how can you improve their living standard? But the moment we say that there should be remunerative price to wheat growers, paddy growers, cotton growers, jute growers etc. we are told that this will have an inflationary effect. That means, more money to the

farmers, to the landless labourers, is inflationary. To distribute more wage goods throughout the country essentially commodities of life—food and cloth—are inflationary! But to allow a few thousand individuals or institutions to hold the entire wealth, to corner it in the form of black money, is not inflationary? I can't understand this economics, to be very honest with you. I find that this Budget, although it proclaims that our major thrust or effort is in the direction of containing inflation, chasing smuggling, unearthing black-money, encouraging agriculture, unfortunately, I find that there is inadequacy in our efforts.

Here, I would take the last point and it is this. I am glad my friend, Shri Virendra Agarwal has at least paid compliments to the late Prime Minister retrospectively....

SHRI PILOO MODY: I cannot punish him for that

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I am sure they wake up too late. The entire opposition used to criticise Jawaharlal Nehru when he was alive. Now, they are paying compliments....

SHRI PILOO MODY: The entire Opposition does not pay now.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: My friend Shri Dinen Bhattacharyya....

SHRI PILOO MODY: Poor fellow

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Talk. I talked of sugar socialism and petrol socialism. I really could not understand in whose favour he was talking. Unfortunately, to-day a stage has come when, instead of concentrating attention on non-issues on which the Opposition is being rallied to-day by their great leader....

SHRI PILOO MODY: He did not mention it.

**SHRI VASANT SATHE:** ...we should concentrate and rally the entire country on the economic issues which are the basic issues facing the country to-day....

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Let us catch hold of the Rs. 15,000 crores.

**SHRI VASANT SATHE:** On this they will not agree including Pilloo Mody, Marxists and the Jana Sangh and everybody. On non-issues like the electoral reforms....

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Let us not go into that. Electoral reforms is not part of the budget.

**SHRI VASANT SATHE:** All these are non-issues. I would beg of the opposition to at least now concentrate and turn the attention of the country from the non-issues....

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** It is to follow the leader.

**SHRI VASANT SATHE:** ....to the issues facing the country, which alone will help us to solve our problems and help the poor of this country.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Mr. Pilloo Mody.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** I have got to go just now.

**SHRI AMRIT NAHATA (Barmer):** Nobody from the opposition to speak?

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** He does not want to speak.

**SHRI AMRIT NAHATA:** The Finance Minister, while placing the Budget before the House, talked of a philosophy of budget.

15.38 hrs.

[SHRI VASANT SATHE in the Chair]

From his Budget speech I find the philosophy that he tried to propound was the philosophy of growth with

stability. Now, the two terms are contradictory. The dividing line between stability and stagnation is very thin. This is perhaps the Finance Minister's brand of dialectical finance. I fail to understand how it would achieve stability with growth.

Another aspect of the philosophy that he propounded was that he wants to create a climate for private savings and private investment. It seems the Finance Minister is going back to economic classicism. I am all for classicism because political, economic and social romanticism propounded by Rousseau can only produce a Hitler or a Jayaprakash Narayan.

**SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA:** Not Mr. a Pilloo Mody?

**SHRI AMRIT NAHATA:** Yes, a Pilloo Mody too....

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** What about No. 1 there?

**SHRI AMRIT NAHATA:** Classicism. But which classicism? Classical theories in economics have been tested in practice in various countries of the world. If the Finance Minister wants to go back to the classicism of Adam Smith or the neo-classicism of Kense .

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** A well-educated boy.

**SHRI AMRIT NAHATA:** ...the recent history of the developed countries as well as of the developing countries have proved that these theories are no more valid.

Sir, I would quote from a document which I personally think is one of the most important documents produced recently and which could be called a manifesto of mankind not only of this century but also of the next century. This was adopted by the economists and scientists of the whole World participating in a con-

ference called by the UNCTAD. It was held in Cocoyoc in Mexico. This symposium was held on 'Patterns of Resource Use, Environment and Development Strategies.' I would quote a few paragraphs and commend them to the speech makers of the Government who have often resorted to plagiarism. I wish they could plagiarise this document.

"Nor are the evils which flow from excessive reliance on the market system confined to international relationships. The experience of the last thirty years is that the exclusive pursuit of economic growth, guided by the market and undertaken by and for the powerful elites, has the same destructive effects inside developing countries. The richest 5 per cent engross all the gain while the poorest 20 per cent can actually grow poorer still. And at the local as at the international level the evils of material poverty are compounded by the people's lack of participation and human dignity by their lack of any power to determine their own fate."

This declaration goes on to say:

"Our first concern is to redefine the whole purpose of development. This should not be to develop things but to develop men. Human beings have basic needs; food, shelter, clothing, health, education. Any process of growth that does not lead to their fulfilment—or, even worse, disrupts them—is a travesty of the idea of development. We are still in a stage where the most important concern of development is the level of satisfaction of basic needs for the poorest sections of the population in society which can be as high as 40 percent of the population. The primary purpose of economic growth should be to ensure the improvement of conditions for these groups. A growth process that benefits only the wealthiest minority and maintains or even increases the disparities between and within

countries is not development. It is exploitation. And the time for starting the type of true economic growth that leads to better distribution and to the satisfaction of the basic needs for all is today. We believe that thirty years of experience with the hope that rapid economic growth benefits the few will 'trickle down' to the mass of the people has proved to be illusory. We, therefore, reject the idea of growth first, justice in the distribution of benefits later."

Lastly, I quote:

"We believe that one basic strategy of development will have to be increased national self-reliance. It does not mean autarky. It implies mutual benefits from trade and co-operation and a fairer redistribution of resources satisfying the basic needs. It does mean self-confidence, reliance primarily on one's own resources, human and natural, and the capacity for autonomous goal-setting and decision making. It excludes dependence on outside influences and powers that can be converted into political pressure. It excludes exploitative trade patterns depriving countries of their natural resources for their own development. There is obviously a scope for transfer of technology, but the thrust should be on adaptation and the generation of local technology. It implies decentralization of the world economy, and sometimes also of the national economy to enhance the sense of personal participation. But it also implies increased international co-operation for collective self-reliance. Above all, it means trust in people and nations, reliance on the capacity of people themselves to invent and generate new resources and techniques to increase their capacity to absorb them to put them to socially beneficial use to take a measure of command over the economy, and to generate their own way of life."

[Shri Amrī Nabata]

I have quoted three paragraphs. The concept of growth, as it is, for its own sake, does not hold valid for developing economies. Secondly, development must mean the minimum needs fulfilment. Thirdly, self-reliance is a right for the developing countries. All these are basic concepts but they fail to find a place in Finance Minister's speech

There is necessity for stability, there is necessity for re-establishment of equilibrium. But let us not make virtue out of necessity. Let us not make philosophy out of compulsion. Let us not lose sight of the perspective before us. Let us try to achieve distributive justice and self-reliance, that means, attending to the basic needs of man, the innerlimits of this planet. These aspects should inspire and inform any economic or financial approach to the economic situation today. I hope the suggestions I am going to make are imbued and informed with this basic approach that is held as valid by the world-famous economists at Cocoyoc.

What are the causes of the present difficulties today? I will not go into the circumstances which are beyond the control of anybody, any Government or any man, droughts, wars, global phenomenon and all that. There are other factors also. Mr. Agarwal dealt with this point and said, let us not put investments in projects with long gestation periods and so on. Now, what we find is, this country has passed through a decade of stagnation. For one full decade we did not invest, we did not expand the capacity in regard to power, fuel, steel, basic heavy industries and heavy chemicals and so on. We are where we were before a decade. Many of the economic ills today are products of this economic stagnation, plan-holiday, this virtual refusal to proceed towards full economic growth. Another factor contributing to present difficulties is stagnation in agriculture. Finance Ministry begins with the alphabet F. Many of the maladies which we face

concern words which start with the alphabet F, that is, food, fuel, foreign exchange and fertilisers. The Finance Minister was the person who heralded the Green Revolution in this country. Let us admit the fact that the Green Revolution has reached a plateau if it has not started declining. It has reached a plateau. It has been confined only to wheat. Our country has its classical land-hunger. There is tremendous pressure on land. A new orientation is to be given in this regard. Some of the present constraints in agriculture are there because we have placed too much reliance on inputs. While wanting to attain self-reliance in food, we want, at the same time, to increase our dependence upon foreign countries for fertilisers. What is the use? Various economists who have taken interest in India's development programmes from Borlaug to Gunnar Myrdal have said that the fundamental and basic solution for Indian agriculture lies in land reforms. Unless land is given to the tiller, unless we have small peasant proprietorship in our country, we cannot achieve the desired results. Incidentally Sir, the modern farm technology which we have learnt we have learnt from small countries like Mexico or Taiwan or Japan, not from large countries like the United States or the Soviet Union, which are very backward in agronomy. The small peasant proprietorship is the ideal agricultural structure for our agriculture. I agree that America had introduced land reforms in Japan at the point of the bayonet; and China and Soviet Union introduced these reforms through their revolutionary organizations. Today, we do not have the organization, the political organization, the organization of the beneficiaries or the requisite State machinery or the requisite climate in our country. I agree. But we can make a beginning. Take for example Bihar, where we have the world's richest water table. There is water twenty ft deep, but people die of starvation, people die of small pox, people die of sunstroke, people die of cold waves and



the poorest people we have there. And it is a land, where land relations are still feudal, not even capitalist. Vast lands are lying fallow, unused; nobody takes interest in agriculture. Let us have real land reforms beginning from there.

In my State, Rajasthan, we eliminated feudal intermediaries, and agricultural production doubled in my State. When the farmer became the owner of the land it was done many years ago—there was immediate spurt in agricultural production. Though we are still far away from real land reforms, where the tiller becomes the owner, still the moment the feudal intermediaries were abolished, we had a spurt in agricultural production. This can be done in Bihar, where you can abolish absentee landlordism. The man, who does not till the land or manage the land, has no right to own the land. Let us make a beginning.

One of the sources of agricultural increase in our country has been to bring more land under the plough; more irrigation facilities, fertilizers etc are also there.

Sir, our soil has a very intensive bacterial activity. In cold countries, I can understand, chemical fertilizer is all that they require. But for our soil, tropical soil, where intensive bacterial activity is there, organic manures are very important; green organic manures are very important.

We have vast lands under water hyacinth in Bihar, Assam and West Bengal. Water hyacinth is all nitrogen. We have cow-dung and other sources. There has been no concerted and planned effort to mobilise people to generate this type of organic manure. We can impregnate chemical fertilizers and synthetic fertilizer with green manure. The scientists say that the ratio should be 1:10; one part of chemical fertilizer and ten parts of organic fertilizer.

We have our own sources. We have vast deposits of gypsum in our country. We are told that gypsum techno-

logy is old. This craze for ultra-modern technology should go. We have vast deposits of gypsum. Now it has been established that gypsum can be used as a direct fertilizer. On the other hand, we have seven million hectares of saline land in our country. We have deposits of gypsum. You have only to dig it out, pulverise it, i.e. make a powder of it and apply to the saline land. The land becomes productive. What prevents us from doing that? We have millions and millions of hectares of ravine lands. Why can't we reclaim them? We have a vast army of unemployed youth.

Can't we have a land army for reclamation purposes? Let us have land reclamation. Let somebody with imagination who can inspire confidence among the people—young men—undertake this job. They just have to dig out the gypsum, pulverise it apply it to saline lands. We need only bulldozers to reclaim the ravine lands. The cost too is not as high as we seemed to fear. Give them the lands. We can at least bring 14 million hectares of land under plough within three years. That will help us.

Dry farming has been ignored, pulses have been ignored. Rice is not given as much attention as it deserves. Of course there is a programme and our Finance Minister suggests that it has been further strengthened. That programme is known as D.P.A.P. (drought prone areas programme) to help the Indian deserts so as to bring them under this programme. I do not know what has happened to the DPAP? Sir, I represent the Indian desert. The officers who are sitting in airconditioned rooms who have never seen the deserts and who never know the problems of the desert or who do not know the strategy to be adopted there are put in charge of this programme. It is they who prepare the programmes for the drought prone areas—minimum needs programmes. The result is that no breakthrough is possible in the Indian deserts unless the people who know the situation on are associated with the programmes and those programmes are implemented.

We have coal; we have gypsum and we have green manure. Why should we be dependent on foreign countries for the increase in the supply of fertilisers?

I shall now come to prices. I am afraid, the prices have reached a hypersensitive stage. In our economic conditions, to-day, we have reached a stage of hypersensitivity—you impose an excise on sugar, on tea or on biri, this direct incidence affects common men a great. It is all right that you may impose excise on some of the luxury articles such as petrol, this, that and the other which do not directly affect the consumers. But, what happens is this. You increase the excise on petrol. The price of vegetables goes up. There is a rise in price level. Law of sympathy operates there. Inflation is not just money chasing a few commodities. That classical definition for inflation does not hold good any more. Shri Agrawal rightly pointed out that we have reached a stage not only of inflation, but also of hyper inflation or stagnation. In the present conditions of stagnation, on the one hand we have inflation and on the other we have stagnation. Recently Mr. K. N. Raj, one of the greatest economists said that so long as we have a growth rate of 3.5 per cent, we can expect only political turmoil in this country, unrest, tension, anarchy and chaos. If you want political stability, if you want democracy to survive and if you want a reasonable stability in your country, you must aim at a growth rate higher than 3.5 per cent. But, what is happening? Our growth rate is less than 2 per cent. The prices are shooting up; deficit is already there. I am convinced that this budget is going to be inflationary and it is not going to check inflation. Unless we build an effective and viable public distribution system, we cannot meet the challenge of inflation or price rise. I am afraid this budget does not give us an inkling whether Government wants to establish such a viable and effective public distribution system at all because I find that no

money has been allocated for this purpose.

16.00 hrs.

Coming to resources, I shall take up two more points. We were just now talking about a fair price to cotton growers in our country. They are denied the fair price; jute growers in our country are also denied the fair price; sugarcane growers too are denied the fair price. Even oilseeds growers are denied the fair price. In fact the commercial crop growers are denied a fair price. I am convinced that unless the textile industry, sugar industry, jute industry, vanaspati industry and foreign drugs industry are all nationalised, we shall neither raise the resources nor earn foreign exchange; nor shall we be able to ensure fair price to the growers. We also cannot expect a reduction in prices of textiles.

Sir, we have taken over sick textile mills and injected health into them. Why can't we take over healthy textile mills? There is a total loot and anarchy in the textile industry. Japan is not a socialist country but they have legally fixed one thousand varieties whereas in our country we have eleven thousand varieties. The smaller the scale of production the greater the cost. Then there is cross-transport. The Delhi Cloth Mills cloth goes to Madras and the Binny cloth comes to Delhi. Lacs and lacs of rupees are spent on advertisements. You should take over the textile industry, standardise it and bring down the cost by 60 per cent and then you export the cloth. The production of mass consumption cloth and coarse cloth should be increased. We nationalised the coal industry and there has been unprecedented growth in coal production. The present balance-sheets of the textile industry show that they earn 10 per cent profit. Despite this loot, anarchy and mis-management they

have earned 10 per cent profit which they have shown in their books, which means actually they would have earned more than 20 per cent. If you take them over, reorganise the management on modern lines and standardise, your profits would be enormous.

Similarly, about sugar. There is economic compulsion to take over the sugar industry besides the fact that we are committed to it because of the promises made to the people. If you take over sugar we can export more sugar. For internal consumption, I am not opposed if the sugar prices are raised still more thereby limiting its consumption to the elitist sections. Let us export sugar more and earn foreign exchange. Let us nationalise the sugar industry, export more sugar and for internal consumption let us encourage consumption of khandsari.

Lastly, I come to films—another 'F'. The Finance Minister said that he wanted to rationalise the levies as between the black and white and colour films. The result is, now the excise levies on films have been doubled. I want you to appreciate the implications of this. A new class of films like Bhuvan Shome, Sare Akash, Rajni Gandha, Garam Hawa Ankur, etc. have come into existence. They have been acclaimed as good films and they were all small-budget films. They were colour films and each film has cost the producer only Rs. 5 lakhs. Now, such films shall never be made. You may take it from me. The whole cost of such films is Rs. 5 lakhs. If you impose an excise levy of Rs. 5 lakhs then no good Director who wants to experiment will ever come forward to make a good film. These films are short budget films and their length is not more than 4,000 metres. The length of Rajni Gandha is 4,090 metres. Then we will be having a film like 'Sholay'. Although the length of this film is also 4,000 metres, yet its cost of production is more than Rs. 1 crores. Now, the Director of this film can afford to pay the higher

incidence of excise duty. It means good films shall not be made and films depicting crime, sex, glamour, etc. will alone be made.

What I want to say is this. The source of tax evasion in films is to escalate the cost. If I make a film and if the cost of the film is Rs. 8 lakhs, I show Rs. 15 lakhs in the books. There are any number of non-verifiable sources of expenditure in film-making like travel, shooting expenses, lunch, break-fast, hotel stay etc., and a film producer can very easily show his expenses at almost double the actual expenses. This is the source of tax evasion. This is the major and only source of tax evasion in film industry, evasion which is to the tune of crores and crores of rupees. If you ask a film maker to disclose his cost and impose an excise levy on that cost, you have plugged this hole. If he wants to reduce his cost for fear of paying higher excise duty, he will be caught in the income-tax net. If you want to encourage good films, small budget films, let this excise duty on films be levied on the cost of the films. Exempt small budget films up to Rs. 5 or Rs. 8 lakhs from excise levy, encourage good films and impose a higher incidence of duty on big budget films which are bad films. This will help plug the evasion of income tax, and also bring more revenue to the Government.

Lastly, I would like to congratulate the Finance Minister for having launched these raids for the purpose of detecting the evasion of income tax, wealth tax and violation of foreign exchange regulation. For example, recently, the Finance Ministry has launched a raid and this is still going on on the Jaipur royal house, ex-royal house. There are many more like this. Crores and crores of rupees worth of wealth is being confiscated and there are many more hidden treasures. Sir, there is the Jaigarh Fort in Jaipur. Please look into that fort also. But, the point which I want to make is this. This wealth belongs to the people of

[Shri Amrit Nahata].

Rajasthan and not to the Maharajas. Deduct your tax. But, you must hand over the rest to the State Government. This belongs to the people of Rajasthan. Sir, there are so many houses like this in India, in Gwalior, in Baroda and so on. Do not forget them also. You have to put your hand on the huge hoards of wealth which have been produced by the sweat and labour of our farmers and our people. Deduct the tax due to you and hand over the rest to the State Government.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBALAH (Nandyal): Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is a happy coincidence that you, the champion of the small and marginal farmers, are in the Chair. I am trying to highlight the problems of the small and marginal farmers.

Sir, the Finance Ministry has set a trend of terror in the minds of the anti social elements. This has created a favourable psychological atmosphere in the country and this augurs well for the Finance Minister to go ahead with his tax collection and I wish him all success in this venture.

Sir, while presenting the Budget, he has started with the problems of agriculture. He is an agriculturist by himself. The instinct of agriculture is imbibed in his blood. When he took charge of the Ministry of Agriculture, he ushered in a new era by revolutionising agriculture and much credit goes to him for ushering in an agricultural revolution and for having initiated several measures in that direction. Sir, while presenting the Budget, the Finance Minister has said:

"Our ability to meet the minimum basic needs of our people depends crucially on the trend in agricultural production. It is in this light that I regard the claims of agricultural growth as the first charge on our developmental resources."

Again, while referring to the water management and utilisation of surface and ground water to the

maximum, he has said:

"Programmes designed to ensure optimum utilisation of surface and ground water to aid agricultural production will be pushed through. Command area programme under major irrigation projects will be supported by sufficient inputs of men and materials so that the new potential is taken advantage of by farmers with the least delay and for maximum social benefit. Inter-State river disputes, which unfortunately have been dragging on without solution for a number of reasons in the past, are now being looked into with a special sense of urgency".

I will highlight the problems facing proper agricultural growth in the country. Agriculture is a composite culture in the sense that agriculture, irrigation, better inputs remunerative prices and special assistance to farmers, especially the small and marginal farmers form part of a package programme which will accelerate agricultural production in the country. The first and primary input is irrigation, but till now it has reached only 25 or 30 per cent of the cultivated area in the country because it has its own limitations. Add to this, there are several river valley projects started by State Governments where crores of rupees are involved and are adding to inflationary trends since they are not completed as per the schedule. The Finance Minister has not indicated in his speech or in his proposals how to bring them out of the quagmire in which they have been stuck.

For instance, there is a project in my State, the Nagarjunasagar project, in which nearly Rs. 200 crores have already been sunk, and Rs. 100 crores more will be required for its completion which is beyond the financial capacity of the State Government. Is the Central Government going to sleep over it, not help it, allowing inflationary trends to grow and

still say that priority attention will be paid to utilisation of irrigation potential? I would have been happy if the Finance Minister had come forward to say that such projects have been identified and instead of importing foodgrains, paying a huge foreign exchange bill, they will finance these projects, get them completed and thus become self-reliant in agricultural production. I hope even now he will come forward with such a proposal and see that all these are completed.

Power projects based on hydroelectric power are also in the same position. Irrigation and power go together for accelerating agricultural production. The same is the case with another project in my State, the Srisailem project. Yesterday the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh had said that the Central Government and the State Government were going in for collaboration with the Government of Kuwait, seeking a loan assistance of Rs 100 crores for completing this project. If that is so, I will be very happy to see that that loan assistance is coming.

Thirdly, we have these river water disputes which have been going on for decades. Though the State Governments involved in these disputes belong to the same party, they have not been able to settle these disputes. Some have been referred to tribunals, but so far nothing has come out.

I am glad that the Narmada water dispute is nearing settlement. I hope the same formula will be applied to other rivers and other States also. Unnecessarily legal obstacles are put in the way of settlement of some of these disputes. Especially in regard to the Krishna water dispute, the Karnataka Government has taken a strange attitude. I said in the morning that it was an accident of geography that certain States were in the upper reaches and certain other States in the lower reaches. They should not arrogate to themselves all the water. Water belongs

to the nation and it belongs to the person who wants to make the best use of it.

**SHRI K LAKKAPPA:** Andhra Pradesh cannot grab the waters that legitimately belong to the Karnataka.

**SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH:** Take again the Cauvery water dispute. There should be just and fair settlement of that dispute also. Whether he is a farmer in Tamilnadu or a farmer in Karnataka or Maharashtra or Andhra Pradesh, everyone is engaged in the task of agricultural production. That should be our attitude.

The schemes formulated for assisting small and marginal farmers have not been fully and properly implemented. There had been distortions in implementation. The attitude of national banks are far from satisfactory and they must be made to bestow some more attention so that the small and marginal farmer could benefit.

Government was speaking very eloquently about the cotton growers. It looks as if the Government at times adopts a 'pennywise and pound-foolish' policy. We import large quantities of long staple cotton at a cost of huge foreign exchange. When the farmer comes forward and says that he will produce at half the price, you do not give him encouragement. On the other hand you penalise him for having grown it at great cost to him. This attitude has to be given up; otherwise there will be a lot of discontent among the farmers. It is the same with regard to paddy growers. Government of India are subsidising to the tune of some crores to foreign wheat. Subsidy to wheat procurement is Rs. 58 per quintal. No subsidy is given to paddy. 40 or 41 per cent of the people are rice-eaters and rice production also constitutes about 40 per cent of our total foodgrains production.

[Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah]

If we have to be self-reliant in food production, we have to produce 140 million tonnes of foodgrains by 1978-79. The time is only 3 or 4 years. Even conceding a growth rate of six per cent, we may not be able to realise that target. Last year's production was 104 million tonnes. For this a very effective programme had to be drawn up. All help has to be given to the farmers.

Voices had often been raised here about correcting the regional imbalances. The steps suggested by members had not been implemented properly. At least mineral based industries like cement and steel in the backward areas should be started. Assistance has to be given to the local people.

Assistance has to be given to the small and new entrepreneurs. Even the subsidy given for the improvement of the backward areas is being taken away by the big monopolists and industrialists. I want the Finance Minister to have a periodical review on that point.

Shri Bhagat was commencing upon the non-utilisation of the steel plants. He said that as against the total capacity of nine million tonnes, we are producing only five million tonnes of steel and that it has to be looked into. In this context I am very unhappy to say that an impression has been gaining ground that Government has no intention of going ahead with the steel plants in the South because only Rs. 5 crores has been allotted. I do not know the real state of affairs.

**SHRI DINESH JOARDER (Maida):**  
There should be atleast quorum. All are in the Central Hall!

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** You came just now and as soon as you enter you are bothered about quorum. Your own party people are not there.

**SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH:**  
Five cement factories have been licensed, three in the public sector and

two in the private sector. Steps have to be taken for their completion.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour):** There is no quorum. How are you conducting the proceedings?

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** The quorum bell is being rung. . . Now there is quorum. The hon. Member may continue.

Now there is quorum. He may continue.

**SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH:**  
The Chairman of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission, Shri Ramachandran, said in Kerala the other day that if more funds could be provided for it, more people could be employed. This is one industry envisaged by Mahatma Gandhi for removing rural unemployment.

I will end by giving two or three suggestions. The tax exemption limit should be raised to Rs. 7,000. Secondly, I welcome the concessions given to the parents of children who receive medical or technical education, but only persons with income upto Rs. 12,000 per annum will be eligible for this. I do not think this is enough. It should be extended to people whose income is upto Rs. 30,000 per annum. Then the excise duty of 1 per cent on projects which employ more than 49 labourers has to be reviewed, because it is administratively not possible to collect excise duties in this manner. Mr. Nahata has already spoken about the film industry. They are levying an excise duty on old prints and that is causing unhappiness to film goers. The minister should bear this also in mind. The excise duty on old prints should not be levied.

**DR. HENRY AUSTIN (Ernakulam):**  
Sir, it is gratifying to see that the budget proposals of our able Finance Minister have brought certain satisfaction, acceptance and even appreciation from, leave alone the ruling party, even the opposition. That is why the

Opposition benches are practically empty and the one or two who came in did so only to challenge the quorum. Even the two opposition members who have participated in the debate even on the opening day were not leaders or deputy leaders but back-benchers. This shows that quite apart from the big noise they make on the political front, they do not have anything in substance to contribute to the nation, when the most important aspects of our economy are being discussed.

I am one of those who think that we should try to get over the western trappings of long budget speeches, elucidations of our philosophy etc in connection with the budget proposals. In this respect, the small State of Kerala has set an example. Only day before yesterday the Finance Minister of Kerala presented the budget and finished his speech in 15 minutes. He thought, a little action is much better than a long speech. I do not say that in a vast country like ours with great commitments, a long budget speech is not called for. But the most important thing is, instead of bringing in all kinds of statistics, elitist interpretations and excitement over these things, we should look for really constructive ideas to satisfy the aspirations of the people.

It is in this context that I say that our Finance Minister has been able to produce a document which is at once functional and practical. It is these qualities which are really required in a budget which is being brought in the last year of the Fifth Lok Sabha. Before offering my suggestions, I would like to take a little time to make a cryptic analysis of the budget, as I see it.

The striking feature of the budget proposals for 1975-76 is that it is practical and functional in nature and approach. The thrust of the proposals is clear in favour of economic incentive to stimulate productive activity and improve the investment climate

on a broad front, instead of on mere administrative regulations. The goal aimed at is growth with stability and justice. I am sure that the justice aspect, which has been our main concern, has not been relegated, because growth with justice will also take care of the stability aspect, which is also one of our most important concerns.

In spite of a record tax effort in two instalments and a partial freeze on wages and dearness allowance payments, the year 1974-75 is going to end with a huge deficit of Rs. 626 crores. Therefore, the need to bridge the gap was compelling. This has been done and the imposts are estimated to bring in as much as Rs. 325 crores in a full year, an impressive effort by any standard.

The manoeuvrability of a Finance Minister is extremely limited, particularly at a time like the present, when he can neither dare be expansionist nor shirk the duty to stimulate such fugitive impulses for growth, as have recently manifested themselves under the given constraints. This budget should be judged as a creditably pragmatic effort.

I have noted the critical approach of some of the members who have preceded me, where an effort has been made to approach the budget proposals in isolation. One should realise that the Finance Minister cannot just produce an economic document, an instrument which aims at socio-economic transformation, without taking into account the conditions obtaining in our country and abroad. For instance, look at the unprecedented and tremendous erosion of our economic fabric consequent on certain unpredictable, or even uncertain, international environment. Take, for example, the action of the United States converting Diego Garcia into a naval base, which is almost a dagger on our throat. Our defence budget certainly has to take note of this, which, in a way, affects our in-

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vestment scope and our economic programmes. This aspect has to be borne in mind. Similarly, the lifting of the arms embargo on Pakistan by the United States has created a certain situation, which has to be taken into account. The members of the opposition have not so far mentioned this. Again, take the international economic situation and its impact on our country, especially of the unexpected oil crisis. Again, because of the recent successive drought situations faced by our country, in spite of our earlier decision not to import food-grains, we had to import this commodity on a large scale. These are aspects which impinge on our economy so heavily that the Finance Minister has to take note of these situations. These considerations will certainly be reflected in the investment policy and will have a bearing on the relative emphasis on industry and agriculture.

The additional revenue will almost entirely come from indirect taxes. This is again one of the more striking features of the budget proposals. The fiscal incentives and marginal concessions in the field of direct taxation to promote savings and investment may not add anything substantial. But it will undoubtedly create a good psychological impact.

The Finance Minister has raised the Plan outlay for 1975-76 by a hefty 23 per cent to Rs. 5,960 crores or say nearly Rs. 6,000 crores, an increase of Rs. 1,116 crores. This will certainly help development of petroleum and petro-chemical industries, electric power generation, agriculture and the fertilizer industry to ensure the early completion of all on-going projects. These are very important sectors of our economy which require our concentrated effort.

Prior to our independence, during the British period it was widely accepted even by accredited economists that there was no scope for petroleum indigenously. Rather, the production of

petroleum indigenously was completely ignored. But what is the situation today? Our Petroleum Minister was saying recently that by about 1980 we will have made a break-through, nearing almost self-sufficiency. The exploration in Bombay High has given us so much of optimism.

Wells after wells are being dug and this is giving us a synoptic vision of things to unfold. If we can find more and more money and acquire expertise in this vital and critical segment of our economy, the possibilities of development in this field will be tremendous. Finance Minister is fully conscious of the possibilities and he has provided adequately for the development in this field and the development of petroleum industry will automatically generate the possibilities of petro chemical industry which again will not only go a long way in creating an innovative entrepreneurial base but will also absorb a lot of technically qualified men in the petrochemical fields. So, the Finance Minister can certainly claim that his priorities are unexceptional.

The budget has laid down twin priorities of food and energy with the supporting facilities before other calls are met. Investment in agriculture would go up by 40 per cent and in fertiliser by 50 per cent. Rs. 140 crores will go to power production and coal production will be aided by Rs. 229.0 crores of investment.

Sir, as has been pointed out actually what has happened in our economic development is that although we have been very much concerned about the making of plans the real difficulty was in fixing the priorities and much more in the realm of implementation. It is clear that this budget is striking in the sense that in the fixing of priorities, emphasis on agriculture has again been revived, and, as has been pointed out ably by some of those who spoke before me, agriculture under Shri Subramaniam's guidance, will get adequate attention; half of our national income comes from this sector and unless we inject elements of vitality and viability



in this field, our economy itself will suffer from stagnation. Therefore, the priority given to the agricultural sector is quite welcome. I am not going into the further details of this problem. To my mind, there is not so much of a rationale behind making cigarettes, bidis, and some other mass consumption items costlier. However, enhancement of levies on airconditioners, cosmetics, toilet products and rayons are welcome though in the past it has not helped to curb the production of such luxuries and release more resources for the production of wage goods.

Concessions in direct taxes through higher tax-exemptions for provident fund payments and insurance premia will give a welcome relief to fixed salary earners apart from promoting savings. I am sure it is welcomed by the fixed salary income group because they have been the worst sufferers of the runaway inflation that afflicts our economy.

The increased excise duties on sugar, tea and cement together are estimated to bring a revenue of about Rs 700 crores in a full year. These duties are conceived not as a mere revenue earning effort but mainly as export promotion measures. These commodities command favourable market abroad and their export earns not only foreign exchange but commands budgetary gains. This fiscal instrument is used also to curb domestic consumption to create export surpluses.

Sir, the development plan in the public sector has been safeguarded to a considerable extent—thanks to the resource-raising effort. The outlay is proposed to be stepped up to Rs 5960 crores which will be a step up in financial terms of 23 per cent over the last year. This may not be enough to neutralise the escalation in costs, but at least the high priority areas such as agriculture, power and fertilisers will be adequately provided for.

I need not waste much time of the House, by digressing from the main

theme, to impress on the House how important it is to strengthen the structure of our public sector. National sector idea has created some confusion, but I am sure, we will have occasions to discuss it separately—I say, it is vital that even as we give emphasis to agriculture, it is important that we strengthen the base of our public sector.

It is a pity, however, that social services continue to receive a low priority. It is important that we should have made a larger provision for it. An impression is created that social services apparatus is being neglected. In this connection I would say, the Kudumbi community of Kerala which is poorer than any of the recognised Scheduled Caste community should be included in the Schedule. More emphasis should be given to social services. I am sure, an effort will be made in this direction as well.

The latest Economic Survey of India is hopeful that on current expectations the overall rate of growth of industrial production in 1975-76 is likely to be higher than in 1974-75, i.e., the trend rate of growth of 3 to 3.5 per cent. However, India's economy in 1975-76 as it is pointed out in the Economic Survey will have to reckon with a highly uncertain international environment. Nevertheless the overall outlook will be greatly influenced by the trend of agricultural output. The resumption of an orderly process of growth with stability is therefore, crucially dependent on our ability to impart a new element of dynamism to Indian agriculture.

Fully heeding to the conclusions of the latest Economic Survey of India, the supreme Ledger Keeper of the nation has given top priority to agriculture and power generation and supporting facilities. This financial document is truly remarkable, in that it is both functional and pragmatic ensuring growth with stability and justice.

In this background I just want to highlight two or three aspects which

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pertain to my State and to my constituency, in particular.

As I pointed out earlier, the development of Diego Garcia base in the Indian Ocean has created much anxiety in our minds. My constituency Ernakulam is hardly a thousand miles away from that island. It is now high time that we strengthen the naval base in Cochin. There is the big Vempanad lake adjoining Cochin harbour which can be easily converted into a submarine base or a large naval base. The Defence Department should take immediate action to convert this Vempanad lake into a submarine base or a naval base. This will be a fitting response to the nefarious activities being carried out in Diego Garcia which lies across my constituency.

After the completion of the Iddikkil Hydro-electric project, we will have sufficient electricity for our own use and we will also be in a position to supply electricity to neighbouring States as well. I would say, in this five year period—the Opposition should not be allowed to take advantage of it—it is a fact that we have not been able to start many major industries in my State under the State plans. When so much electric energy is available in the State, it should be utilised for starting a nexus of small-scale industries throughout the State. I have seen the experience of Haryana and Punjab. Certainly, Kerala can be converted into another Haryana or Punjab by starting a number of small-scale industries.

These small-scale industries will be able to absorb many of the educated unemployed people. The H.M.T. is there. If we can provide some of the lathes that are produced to educated unemployed with technical background on deferred payment basis, I am sure they will be able to start some small scale industries. Taking advantage of the surplus electric energy, available now in the State, I hope, the Finance Minister will take suitable action to instruct the nationalised banks to provide long-term loans on interest-free

basis to the educated unemployed youth.

I thank you for giving me this much time. I hope, the Central Government projects that have been started in my constituency, such as, Super-tanker berth project, the Cochin Ship Yard and exploration of off-shore oil drilling off Cochin will be completed expeditiously.

With these words, I welcome the Budget proposals and congratulate the Finance Minister for presenting this Budget which is both functional and pragmatic.

SHRI N. K. SANGHI (Jalore): I rise to support the Budget proposals for the year 1975-76. On the very first day of the Budget discussion in this House, we find that there is a complete absence of the Opposition Members. The Opposition Members are not here. Actually, we would have welcomed to see them here so that if they had made any points, we could have appreciated them. Anyway, that opportunity is lost. I would only say that their absence indicates that the Budget proposals presented by the hon. Minister in this House meet with the tacit approval of the Opposition Members too.

This House heard the Budget proposals last month. The Finance Minister was good enough to say in the very opening line that "the formulation has been no easy task." He also appreciated that many corrective measures have been applied in the past months which has brought the inflationary position to a sensible reckoning.

The year 1974-75 has been a very crucial year and we have passed through a critical period. There has been inflation not only in this country but throughout the world; it is a global phenomenon. The value of the rupee has gone down. There has been rise in prices. We have to make heavy payments by way of dearness allowance to the Central Government employees—in the Railways, in the Def

ence and so on. Similarly, all the State Governments have to pay an enhanced D.A. There have been labour strikes in the Railways, in the Indian Airlines, in Air India, in Jute and in the Textiles. They had created a difficult situation and have caused heavy drain on our resources. Not only this there has been foreign exchange drain by the import of food-grains and fertilizers. You will have to give a look to these problems. The country has done well in 1974-75 in spite of these problems. To improve the food situation, we have imported a large amount of food. To improve the agricultural production, we have imported a large amount of fertilizers. We have imported crude oil in spite of the rise in prices. All this has created a heavy drain on our economy. However, the prices have stabilised in the last three months. There has been a semblance of stabilization, the inflation has been brought under check. It is a healthy sign.

But there has been one phenomenon. When the Railway Budget was presented to this House, there was no rise proposed in the fare and freight structure. This naturally gave a feeling to the people that in the Central Budget also it being an election year, as we call it, there would be no increase in the excise duty and other taxes, and that possibly the General Budget would also be of the same type as the Railway Budget. However, this has not come about as expected. This naturally has given a little dent to our hopes, to the hopes of the people.

Now, what have we seen in the fertilizer production? We are trying to invest more on fertilizers. We are trying to import fertilizers. But we have also to look into the maladies. The production in our public sector fertilizer factories has hardly been 44.9 per cent as compared to the private sector industry which is producing 74 per cent of their capacity. This is a serious situation. We have been told by the Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals that, this year, they are going to increase their production by 5 lakh tonnes and thereby reduce our foreign ex-

change drain by about Rs. 360 crores. This is a very healthy sign. But, all the same, we cannot lose sight of the fact that the public sector undertakings should increase their production, come to an optimum level of their capacity and give a good competition to the private sector fertilizer factories. Then only we can be proud of them. The position in respect of public sector factories leaves much to be desired. Some of these factories have been losing. If you go through one of the reports of the Comptroller and Auditor General (1974) you will find that there is a tabulation of certain public sector companies in which it is said that some 14 companies have lost as much as their capital, the capital of these 14 companies was Rs. 129 crores and they have lost Rs. 172 crores in the last so many years. This is a grave situation which I believe has to be remedied. The Government of India has to see that the public sector factories are put in order. There is one more thing that is very important which I would like to point out. When we are trying to combat inflation, what we find is that Rs. 239 crores have been left with the State Governments unrecovered in connection with the distribution of fertilizers from the central pool of the Agricultural Ministry. Why we have left this money with the State Governments and not recovered—I am sure the money has been recovered from the farmers by the Government—an indirect inflation has been created in the country. On the one side the Central Government says that they will not give even Rs. 5 crores of overdraft or Ways and Means Advances and on the other side an amount of Rs. 239 crores has been left unrecovered. Today if we have to tackle this question of inflation seriously, we have to see that none of these actions leads to indirect inflation. Otherwise, a serious inflationary situation is going to be created.

We find in the Budget proposals that no provision has been made for the payment of dearness allowance. I quite realise that neutralisation of the consumer index, above 272 points, is a

[Shri N. K. Sanghi]

matter for negotiation with the Government. Whatever may be the negotiation, when conclusions are arrived at by the Government, I am sure some payments will have to be made. I do not think that a situation has come where we can say that no payment will be made for the neutralisation of the consumer index going above 272 points. Some outlay should have been provided for that. What we feel is that the Government may have to come again with a supplementary budget for some sort outlay for this, which may not be reasonable. Today people are afraid that taxes should come only once a year; otherwise, it is a heavy dose on them as it definitely increases prices.

We have also seen from the Budget proposals that Rs. 100 crores are being withdrawn from the Compulsory Deposit Scheme by the Government for utilising for productive purposes. I am sure that this money will be utilised by the Government for productive purposes. But the people who have made these deposits must be made beneficiaries in the process. The rate of interest that the Government give to the people who have made these compulsory deposits has to be increased. These people deserve a better rate of interest. Rs. 100 crores are being utilised. You may utilise that money. But when you pay the money back to the people, you make them beneficiaries in the process. Let them have the feeling of participation; let them feel that their money is being utilised by the Central Government and that they are also getting some benefit out of it.

The Third Pay Commission has made a very good recommendation. They have proposed that there should be an Insurance Policy for Rs. 5,000 in the case of every employee—for the benefit of those who die in harness. An amount of Rs. 5 is to be recovered every month from every employee for that purpose. That is a very good suggestion that should be considered and implemented by the Government because the man who dies in harness

would get some benefit out of this insurance. If he does not die in harness and retires, he only gets that money back. It is a good suggestion which should be considered by the Government.

Now I come to the Provident Fund. You have been good enough to say in your Budget speech that you want to put some sort of a check on people withdrawing money from the Provident Fund. We have read in the newspaper that the rate of interest has been increased from 6½ per cent to 7 per cent. Don't you think that this is a very small increase? Today in this climate of credit curbs and in the context of the rate of interest given by the banks and by the people, the rate of interest of seven per cent is very low. I hope Government would give another thought to this and increase it to nine per cent, so that people feel that they are getting some sensible rate of interest for their deposits in their Provident Fund and would keep the money without withdrawing it.

Much has been said about the increase of excise duty on petrol. Here I want to make one point. Today we are in a unified country. We talk of integration and all that. There will certainly be heart-burning if we find that in some of the States petrol is sold at a price higher than in Delhi. Some of the States charge a sales-tax of 15 per cent on the price of petrol, and when they charge 15 per cent sales-tax on the price of petrol, the price increases by another 55 Paise per litre. In Rajasthan if you have to buy a litre of petrol, you have to pay 55 paise more than what you pay in Delhi. Here you pay, I think, Rs. 3.50; in Rajasthan you have to pay about Rs. 4. It is a difficult situation. Rajasthan is not a prosperous State like Delhi. I think, people have the right to get petrol at the same price at which it is available to every other consumer. Some sort of rational, fiscal arrangement should be made with the States, by which they can get their source of revenue and a price parity is maintained. We have had so many Commissions to go into

the question of Centre-State relations, but no thought has been given to this fiscal aspect. It is high time that we gave some thought to this.

I am glad that some concessions have been given by the hon. Minister on direct taxes. He has given some concession on wealth tax on equity shares; he has given some deduction on LIC and Provident Fund; he has given some concession on children's education; something on house-rent, something on depreciation of motor-cars; some exemption from wealth tax for foreign company shares. We very much appreciate it. But one thing goes to my mind that there is no benefit to the lowest income-tax slab payers. Although the Boothalingam Committee in 1966 had recommended tax exemption upto 7500, Government last year raised it to 6000 only. Today, the lower slab of people are very much hard pressed and they should be given tax exemption upto 7500. If you do this, this will help these people and also it will reduce your workload. The Income-tax officers would be more free to tackle bigger cases. The man who is unable to pay for his LIC policy and is unable to put money in his provident fund savings, must be given some relief in income tax and I think, upto 7500 he ought to have exempted. The Government should think over it.

Today, the investment climate has been very poor in the country. The capital investment market has been very sluggish. We have given some benefits to the new industries by way of taxation. But the gestation period of new industries is very long and their profitability is also very low. Would you consider some development rebate to these new industries? Unless we have some radical policy like development rebate, it is not going to help these industries. 20 per cent initial depreciation allowance has been given to these industries but I do not think it is going to help at all. Today, we have at least half a dozen industrial licences issued for putting up cement factories in Rajasthan. What has

happened to these factories? I have been asking Government as to what has happened to these licences which have been given for establishing factories in Rajasthan. Cancel the licences if they are not in a position to put up factories and give these licences to those who can really put up factories.

You have recently put in 1 per cent levy as excise duty on all exempted or not hitherto taxed industries. Currently, there is a thinking in the country that we should reduce our taxation. We should reduce our taxation; we should reduce unnecessary work; we should reduce people's work. If you reduce taxation, I am sure, it will reduce a little bit of corruption. These small manufacturers who are manufacturing small material, will have to spend 5 per cent of the income in maintaining the accounts for payment of this 1 per cent excise duty. Government will also have to incur some expenditure in realising this 1 per cent. So, I say that this levy of excise duty should be restricted only to a few industries. We are told that this requires statistics, but I do not think it is necessary to have statistics for levy of excise duty. It is high time that we should reduce our workload and workload of the people and rationalise the whole thing.

We have got both excise duty and sales tax. What is the situation in the country? I appeal to you to increase excise duty on certain commodities and sales tax removed from those commodities. This increased excise duty will give more revenue to the Government and this revenue be given over to the State Government. We may have another 10 per cent of excise duty so that the levy of tax is at one point only and the State Governments do not have to recover sales tax from those articles on which excise duty has been levied. It will save clerical work; it will also streamline the tax procedure and it will also bring more revenue to the Government. This is the matter on which you have to think over.

[Shri N. K. Sanghi]

Now about LIC benefits. You were good enough to give exemption of Rs. 4000. But what has happened? People have no faith in that because in 1961 we were given 25 per cent exemption on the premium upto 8000; in 1962 again it was 25 per cent; in 1965 the exemption was 60 per cent on first 5000 plus 50 per cent; in 1966 it was 25 per cent of the premium; from 1968 to 1971 it was 30 per cent; in 1973-74 you have given exemption on 2000 deductions and partial, deductions later on. Now, you have given exemption upto 4000. I do not think, people can have faith in this changing policy. Today, we see lot of advertisements in the newspapers. I quote a Punjab National Bank advertisement. They say that if you deposit a sum of Rs. 5000 today, after 20 years you will get Rs. 36,640. Now, I have to choose whether I should pay Rs. 4000 every year for 20 years to get 1 lakh rupees or deposit Rs. 5000 today once and get Rs. 36,640 after 20 years. This is the contradiction today. The LIC has become a Sick Insurance Corporation. The bonuses are not increased. Their expenses are increasing. The mortality rate has decreased. They are not able to give anything to the man who insures himself with them. Sir, I feel that it is high time that we have four different corporations in the LIC so that they may compete with each other and give a better service to the insured.

17.00 hrs.

All these points that I have made are very small points in the big carpet that has been laid before us. Nobody can deny that we have gone long ahead in the last few years not only in regard to our external relations but also in the matter of solving our internal problems. If we look at Kashmir, to-day with the dis-satisfaction with Sheikh Abdullah removed, we have brought the people of Kashmir closer to India. Not only that, in Punjab and Haryana we have a green revolution which is sweeping and feeding other parts of the country.

If you go to Rajasthan, at Pokhara we have had the (thunder-ball) explosion which the world has taken notice of.

If we go to the coastline, to-day smuggling and other anti-social activities have been brought to a grinding halt.

If you go to Bengal, the industrial relations have improved. Today, I would like to say, a man can walk in the dead of night in the streets of Calcutta without any fear which was not so only a few years ago. We have also improved our relations with our neighbours, viz., Ceylon, Nepal and Burma and other countries. There prevails a peaceful atmosphere in the country and I am sure my friends will agree that these are no mean achievements of this Government. I am sure, Sir, with these budget proposals our country will be put on a better keel and we will be able to fulfil the aspirations of the people.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE SINHA (Muzaffarpur): I congratulate the hon. Minister for Finance for having succeeded in keeping the deficit at Rs. 600/- odd crores. According to our prophets of doom, the figure could easily have been anything between Rs. 800 to 1000 crores.

The hon. Minister has taken steps to stimulate the economy. In the present context of inflation, it is necessary to plan for more output and full and complete utilisation of our capacity. Sugar has already yielded a profit of Rs. 125 crores on exports. It will do so more in the coming year. Sugar and some other consumer goods subjected to fresh imposts will yield larger profits contributing to the easing of our balance of payments position.

The Finance Minister has raised the plan outlay by 23 per cent to nearly Rs. 6000 crores in the coming year. This will enable him to provide for the development of agriculture, electricity and fertiliser industry. In 1975-76 there is a provision for Rs. 270 crores (Rs. 77 crores more than the current

year) for agriculture, Rs. 140 crores for electricity and Rs. 182 crores for fertilizer.

The stress laid by the Finance Minister on Agriculture and electricity cannot be over-emphasized. So far as agriculture is concerned, the most disconcerting feature of our economy is that we are compelled to import 5.5 metric tonnes of foodgrains in the current year. 45 per cent of our industrial production is dependent on agricultural production. When we import agricultural produce, we import inflation. The Economic Survey of 1974-75 has noted that the agricultural production during the Fourth Plan period has gone up by hardly 2.8 per cent, a sorry figure. High-yielding varieties of wheat seeds are available to the extent of only 30 per cent of our need. Our agricultural scientists have not made any mark in the field of producing high-yielding varieties of paddy seeds.

The cost of fertilisers has gone up and it is now well beyond the reach of the poor farmer. I would like to know why instead of importing and subsidising the foodgrains, we cannot import and subsidise fertilisers. Why cannot we pay a little more to our farmers for their produce and choose to pay such a high price for imported foodgrains?

The Economic Survey of 1974-75 has noted that production of commercial crops in adequate measure suffers for want of irrigation in areas where they are grown. It is a sad commentary on the efforts made by us during the last 27 years. The knowledge that half of our industries are based on agriculture is not new and yet we have waited so long. The areas were identified. They were known since long. We saw the results of irrigation facilities in the case of sugarcane in Maharashtra, Andhra and Karnataka. What prevented us from extending it to other areas? But when cash crops are produced, Jute Corporation will not buy jute, Cotton Corporation will not buy cotton. How

can one enthuse farmers to grow more cash crops if our commercial arrangements are like this?

There is wide-spread distress sale. If this is planned economy, what is the reverse of it?

Together with agriculture, substantial provision has been made for electricity. This is as it should be. During the last two years, both agricultural and industrial production suffered for want of power. The Situation has been retrieved to some extent. But adequate energy has yet to be generated in the country. We are thinking in terms of super-thermal power stations in this country. According to me, our know-how in the field of technology regarding construction and maintenance of super-thermal station is not such as to admit of such projects. Once more we will become dependent on foreign technologies. Besides, situated as we are strategically, we should not keep too many eggs in the same basket. We arrived at a point in the history of our planning when our great seer, late Pandit Jawharlal Nehru warned us of dangers of "gigantism" which he had himself advocated in the beginning.

Even if the decision to set up super-thermal power stations is adhered to, may I know why no provision has been made in this budget for Tennghet Thermal Project in Bihar which is a backward State? This project had been dangled like a lollipop when proposals to set up smaller power projects were given a go-by. This is, to say the least, unjust.

In this context of irrigation, the story of Gandak Basin springs to mind. According to the Irrigation Commission, in this basin, "The frequent recurrence of famine and drought is explained by the rainfall pattern over the past 25 years which shows that the crucial "Hathia" rain fails once in every four years in the North Bihar. The statistics underline the critical

[Shri Nawal Kishore Sinha]

importance of irrigation in Bihar as a means of protection against drought."

It again observes, "Gandak Project has now been under construction for the last 10 years and with the present pattern of financing its completion is likely to be prolonged indefinitely."

I suggest that either the Centre take over and complete the projects or allocate adequate funds for its early completion. If we have to increase irrigated area from 1 million hectare to 2 million hectare per year from now on, we have to complete these backlogs of irrigation projects.

For developing countries appropriate technology has become doubly appropriate due to world wide energy crisis. When the present Finance Minister was the Minister In-charge of Industrial Development, he had set up a cell to explore how best appropriate technology can serve to accelerate the national economic growth together with ensuring large-scale employment. We would like to know what progress has been made by the Cell. Economic growth and generation of employment has been so meagre during the Fourth Plan period that we feel constrained in Gandhiji's words to "turn the searchlight inward".

All said and done, I once again congratulate the Finance Minister for having undertaken a great and difficult task with dedication and dogged determination.

श्री श्रीकिशन मोदी (सीकर) : चेयरमैन साहब, मैं इम बजट का अनुमोदन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

मैं टैक्सेज के बारे में यह नही कहना चाहता कि क्यों टैक्स आप ने लगाया है लेकिन जनता में टैक्सेज के बारे में ज्यादा असंतोष है। उदाहरण के तौर पर मैं यह कहता हूँ कि अगर एक ट्रक दिल्ली से बम्बई जाता है, तो उसे 100 जगहों पर रकना

पड़ता है और 100 जगहों पर टैक्स देने पड़ते हैं और 15, 16 बंटे उसके इसी में खर्च हो जाते हैं। इसी तरह से अगर एक सेल्स टैक्स इन्स्पेक्टर बाजार में चला जाता है तो सारी दुकानें बन्द हो जाती हैं। सबाल यह है कि इस तरह की जो चीजें चल रही हैं उनको कम कैसे किया जा सकता है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि भाज जो ब्लैक का घंघा चल रहा है या काला बाजारी हो रही है उसकी जड़ में आप नहीं जाते हैं और पत्तों पर धाप जा रहे हैं और अगर इसी तरह से चलता रहा, तो यह ब्लैक मार्केटिंग आप बन्द नहीं कर सकेंगे। जब तक आप छोटे व्यापारी को बड़े व्यापारी से भ्रमण नहीं करेंगे, तब तक कुछ नहीं होगा। मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आप के जितने बड़े व्यापारी हैं वे डाइरेक्ट पब्लिक के टच में नहीं रहते हैं और न वे डाइरेक्ट ब्लैक करते हैं। वे छोटे व्यापारियों की मारफत ब्लैक करते हैं, चोर-बाजारी करने हैं। इसलिए आप को सब से पहले इस बात पर ध्यान देना पड़ेगा कि आप छोटे व्यापारी को बड़े व्यापारियों से भ्रमण करे और यह खास तौर पर जरूरी है कि आप इस तरफ ध्यान दें और इसके लिए मैं कुछ सजेन्स मंत्री महोदय को देना चाहता हूँ, जिसे से यह असंतोष कम हो और टैक्सों की चोरी न हो और जो लोग चोरी करते हैं, जो ब्लैक करते हैं, उनको खास तौर से सजा मिले। मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि सारे टैक्स जो हैं वे मैन्यूफैक्चरर पर क्यों नहीं लगाये जाते हैं। आप को जो सेल्स टैक्स है और जो दूसरे टैक्स हैं, वे आप मैन्यूफैक्चरर में ले लें। कितना भी आप को टैक्स लगाना है वह आप मैन्यूफैक्चरर पर लगाइए और उसको आप बेच नम्बर दीजिये, उसे ट्रेड मार्क का नम्बर दीजिए और जब तक वह टैक्स न दे दे, आप मार्केट में चीज को न भ्राने दीजिए। उस पर टैक्स फिक्स कर दीजिए ताकि ग्राहानी से वह मार्केट में आ कर बिक सके और टैक्सों को चोरी भी न हो सके।



प्राज प्राप देखिए कि टैक्स देने वालों को हिसाब कितना रखना पड़ता है। अब प्राप का जो पान की बुकान करने वाला है, वह कैसे हिसाब रख सकता है, परचून और नमक मिर्च का काम करने वाला कैसे हिसाब रख सकता है, और आपका सब्जी बेचने वाला कैसे हिसाब किताब रख सकता है। इस तरह से टैक्सों की चोरी करने का वातावरण पैदा होता है और टैक्सों की चोरी होती है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आप इसे बारीकी से देखिये कि एक घी का जो बेचने वाला बड़ा व्यापारी है, वह डाइरेक्टली ब्लैक नहीं करता है। वह छोटे व्यापारियों की मारफत ब्लैक करता है। इसलिए जब तक पूर्णतया सुविधाएं छोटे व्यापारियों को नहीं देंगे, तो उनको हमेशा परेशानी रहेगी। अगर कोई मामला हो जाता है, तो छोटा व्यापारी ही पकड़ा जाता है। एडल्ट्रेशन एक्ट के अन्दर भी छोटा व्यापारी ही पकड़ा जाएगा। परचून वाला पकड़ा जाएगा और जो बाजार में ठेले वाला बैठता हुआ है, वह पकड़ा जाएगा बड़ा व्यापारी नहीं पकड़ा जाएगा। दूसरे लफजों में अगर हम कहें तो छोटे व्यापारी का मतलब है सैलफ एम्प्लायड लेबर। तो यह जो सैलफ एम्प्लायड लेबर है इनकी तो आप को कम से कम रक्षा करनी ही चाहिए और इनकी अगर आप रक्षा नहीं करेंगे, उनके हितों की आप रक्षा नहीं करेंगे तो यह जो आज आपकी ब्लैक मार्केटिंग है, यह जो चोर-बाजारी है, यह बन्द नहीं हो सकती है। इसलिए मैं मंत्री जी से कहूँगा कि टैक्सेशन के मामले में जो ये छोटे लोग हैं, इन के बारे में गंभीरता से सोचें, दोबारा सोचें और आप मैनूफैक्चरर्स पर टैक्स लगाएँ। आज आपका जो सैलफ टैक्स है या और दूसरे टैक्सेशज है, उनको कनेक्ट करने के लिए आप ने बहुत मारे धादमी रखे हुए हैं और उसमें टैक्सों की चोरी होती है और जितना टैक्स आपको मिलना चाहिए वह नहीं मिलता है। अगर आप मैनूफैक्चरर्स पर टैक्स लगा देंगे, तो टैक्सों की चोरी कम होगी। उसमें जो धादमी गलती करेगा, उसको सजा मिले।

इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि इस बारे में आप खास तौर से देखें।

जहाँ तक स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज का सवाल है, आप ने एक परसेन्ट एक्साइज इयूटी लगाई है। मैं इतना ही निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि एक तरफ तो आप चाहते हैं कि स्माल स्केल इण्डस्ट्रीज को बढ़ावा मिले, दूसरी तरफ आप उन पर यह एक्साइज इयूटी लगाते हैं। अगर आप एक परसेन्ट उनसे लना ही चाहते हैं, तो आप किसी दूसरे तरीके से लीजिए। कोई ऐसा तरीका अपनाइए जिससे आपको जो रेकारिंग एक्सपेंडीचर 5 परसेन्ट पड़ता है, वह न हो। इसके बारे में आपको सोचना पड़ेगा।

आप ने यह भी स्पष्टीकरण नहीं किया है कि जो मजदूरी करते हैं, जो डलाई का काम करते हैं और जहाँ पर 50 से ज्यादा धादमी खाली मजदूरी का काम करते हैं और वे कोई बिक्री नहीं करते हैं, उन पर यह कैसे लागू होगा। इसलिए मैं मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करूँगा कि इस बारे में स्पष्टीकरण करें कि यह बोझ जो मजदूरी करने वालों पर पड़ता है, जहाँ पर 50 से ज्यादा धादमी काम करते हैं, उनकी क्या स्थिति होगी। मैं ने पिछले सत्र में भी कहा था और यहाँ तक कि बेयरमैन महोदय, आप ने भी और अपोजीशन के सभी लोगों ने यह निवेदन किया था कि स्मालस्केल इंडस्ट्रीज के लिए जो साठे सात लाख रुपये की लिमिट है, उसको बढ़ा कर 15 लाख रुपये कर दिया जाये। मुझे मालूम हुआ है कि इसको आप 10 लाख रुपये करने जा रहे हैं। मेरा कहना यह है कि 10 लाख रुपये बहुत कम हैं क्योंकि आज के युग में आप देखें कि मशीनरी की कीमत कितनी ज्यादा बढ़ गई है। 1952 में जो मशीनरी की कीमत थी, उससे आज तीन गुना और चार गुना दाम हो गये हैं।

[श्री श्रीकिशन मोदी ]

इसलिए उस लिहाज से भी यह लिमिट ज्यादा होनी चाहिए। मंत्री महोदय प्रेक्टिकल प्रादमी हैं और वे इंडस्ट्रीज में रह चुके हैं और सारी बातों को जानते हैं और समझते हैं। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन यह है कि 15 लाख रुपये की बात को वे मान लें।

मैं आपका ज्यादा समय न लेते हुए, कुछ सुझाव आप को देना चाहूंगा। जैसा कि मैंने पहले निवेदन किया है, छोटे व्यापारियों की आप रक्षा कीजिए और मैनूफैक्चरर्स से उनको भ्रमण कीजिए। इससे आपकी जो बिनरण की पालिसी है, उसमें भी आप को फायदा होगा और आपका सारा का सारा काम सुचारु रूप में चलेगा और जितना यह असंतोष फैला हुआ है, यह दूर हो जाएगा।

इस प्वाइन्ट पर ज्यादा न कहते हुए मैं यह निवेदन करने जा रहा हूँ कि राजस्थान के कुछ हिस्सों में और ५० पी० के कुछ हिस्सों में एक तरह का पीछा बोया जाता है, जिसको ये तम्बाकू करने है लेकिन वह तम्बाकू नहीं है। उसका कोई कर्मागल मार्केट नहीं है। न उसमें जरदा बनता है, न बोडी बनती है और न गिगरेट बनती है और वह बाजार में बिकता नहीं है। वह सिर्फ एक पत्ता है और वह इसलिए बोया जाता है कि मिचं अच्छी पैदा हो और वह खाद के काम में आता है, लेकिन तम्बाकू का टैक्स काश्तकारों से लिया जाता है, जिससे उनमें बड़ा असंतोष है। वह कर्मागल प्रोडक्ट नहीं है और वह फर्टिलाइजर्स के काम में आती है और उस पर आप तम्बाकू का टैक्स ले रहे हैं। मेरा कहना यह है कि अगर आप को टैक्स लना ही है, तो लीजिए लेकिन तम्बाकू समझ कर उस पर टैक्स मत लीजिए। इस पर आप दोबारा विचार कीजिए और दोबारा जांच करवाइए। वह कर्मागल नहीं है और कोई चीज उससे नहीं बनती है। वह खाली फर्टिलाइजर्स के काम में आता है लेकिन आप उस पर तम्बाकू का टैक्स ले रहे हैं। इस टैक्स को आप बन्द

कीजिये। इससे काश्तकारों में बहुत बड़ा असंतोष है। इसके अलावा इसमें यह होता है कि जो टैक्स बसूल करने वाले हैं, वे दो साल के बाद या तीन साल के बाद उन काश्तकारों पर जिन्होंने एक बीघा जमीन में उसको बोया है, 500, 1000 और 2,000 रुपये तक टैक्स लगा देते हैं और उसकी न कोई अपील है और न कोई मुनवाई होती है। इसलिए मैं वह निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि जब तक आप की जांच हो, आप यह समझें कि यह तम्बाकू नहीं है और तब तक आप उनको यह सुविधा दीजिए कि जो तम्बाकू बोने वाले काश्तकार हैं, उनके लिए जो रेट आप ने फिक्स कर रखा है उसे हिसाब से बैंक के अन्दर एक हैड के अन्दर वह पैसा जमा कर दे और जो पैसा न जमा कराए, उस पर आप पेनेल्टी लगा दें। आप के आफिसरों की यह इ्यूटी होनी चाहिए कि वे इस चीज को देखें और काश्तकारों को परेजान न करें। यह छोटी सी बात मैं मंत्री महोदय से बड़ंगा क्योंकि इस छोटी सी बात को लेकर काश्तकारों में बहुत बड़ा असंतोष है और इससे गावों में बड़ी उल्टा और खराब वानावरण पैदा हो रहा है जिनके कारण गावों के अन्दर हम लोगों को हमका जवाब देना मुश्किल हो जाता है। इसलिए मैं मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करूंगा कि इस बारे में वे खास तौर से ध्यान दें।

मैं अब राजस्थान के बारे में एक दो बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। राजस्थान एक पिछड़ा हुआ इलाका है और सारी स्टेट्स के मुकाबले में वह बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ है। अगर आप उसको ऊंचा नहीं उठावेंगे, तो वह उठ नहीं सकेगा। उसको अगर आप फंड्स नहीं देंगे और उसकी तरफ खास ध्यान नहीं देंगे, तो वह ऊंचा नहीं उठ पावेगा।

बिजली के मामले में मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हम ने एक प्रार० ए० पी० पी० राजस्थान में लगाया है, जिसमें

सारा का सारा कैपिटल राजस्थान में दिया है लेकिन उससे बिजली ली जा रही है। इस समय मैं इस बारे में ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता क्योंकि बिजली की समस्या आपके सामने है, लेकिन आपको कम से कम राजस्थान की दूसरी बातों पर ध्यान देना पड़ेगा। राजस्थान में बिजली के लिए जो चार सी मेगावाट बिजली का जनरल प्रोजेक्ट चल रहा है उस पर आपको जल्दी विचार करना चाहिए। इसके अलावा जब आप कृषि को बढ़ावा दे रहे हैं तो राजस्थान में जो छोटे छोटे बांध और छोटे छोटे कुएं हैं, उनके लिए आपको पैसा देना चाहिए। मैं अपने डिस्ट्रिक्ट के बारे में कह सकता हूँ, अपनी कांस्टीट्यून्सी के लिए कह सकता हूँ कि 10 हजार से लेकर 15 लाख रुपये के बांधों के लिए वहां पर डेढ़ करोड़ रुपया चाहिए और अगर इतना पैसा हमें मिल जाता है, तो मेरे डिस्ट्रिक्ट में ही डबल अनाज पैदा हो सकता है और पूरी वहां की समस्या हल हो सकती है, लेकिन पैसे के अभाव में वहां पर वे बांध नहीं बढ़ रहे हैं। मेरा निवेदन है कि उन बांधों की ओर आप ध्यान दें।

राजस्थान में हजारों एकड़ जमीन ऐसी है जोकि समतल न होने के कारण बेकार पड़ी हुई है। उनको आप बुलडोजर चलवा करके सुधार सकते हैं, उसको समतल बना सकते हैं और इस तरह से उसमें खेतों हो सकती हैं और खेतों की पैदावार बढ़ सकती है और देश को लाभ हो सकता है। इस ओर भी आपको ध्यान देना चाहिए।

हरिजन, पिछड़ी जातियां, सासी, कजर आदि राजस्थान की बहुत सी जातियां हैं जिनके वाम्ने सेटर् में विशेष मदद मिलनी चाहिए। जब तक ऐसा नहीं होना है वे जानिया आगे नहीं बढ़ सकेंगे, उनका पिछड़ा पन दूर नहीं हो सकेगा। आप ताजुब करेंगे कि हमारे राजस्थान के तीन चार लाख हरिजन हरिभाणा, पंजाब, दिल्ली आदि में

बीस बीस साल से काम कर रहे हैं लेकिन सब एक्ट के अन्दर उनको नहीं लाया गया है, कोई लेबर लीडर उनको ओर ध्यान नहीं दे रहा है। हालत यहां तक खराब है कि पांच पांच सी रुपये में वे चिके हुए हैं, उनको पांच सी रुया कर्जा दे दिया जाता है जिसको वे सारी उम्र चुका नहीं पाते हैं। यहां तक हालत है कि उनकी लुगाइयां, उनकी औरतें जो हैं उनको भी वे ले जा नहीं सकते हैं। उनकी औरतों को पांच सी रुपये में गिरवी रख लिया जाता है और जब तक रुपया चुकाया नहीं जाता है उन औरतों को वे लोग ले जाने नहीं देते हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इसकी आप जांच करके देख लें। यह एक फेक्ट है। पांच सी रुया बीस वरन हो गये हैं वे चुका नहीं पाये हैं। उनको कोई बोनस नहीं मिलता, उनके लिए कोई फंड नहीं है राजस्थान की जो पिछड़ी हुई जातियां हैं। उनका ऊंचा उठाने की ओर आप विशेष ध्यान दें।

अन्न में पीने के पानी के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। आज भी जब रेलगाड़ी स्टेशन पर आ कर रुकती है तो पांच पांच सी आदमियों की भीड़ इकट्ठा हो गयी पानी फेंकता है उसको मटकों में लेंने के लिए लग जाती है। वहां जो पानी बरसता है, एक दो या दस डच उसको लोग तालों के जरिये से टैंकों में ले जा कर रख लेते हैं और बारहो महीने उस पानी को पीने रहते हैं। इसके सिवा उनके पास कोई इलाज नहीं है। वहां दूध सरता है और पानी महाा ग्राज भी। ऐसा भी पानी वे पीते हैं जिनमें ऐसा जानवर पैदा होता है जिसको नारू करने हैं और जिसे आदमी मर जाता है। इस जगहों में भी पीने के पानी की सुविधा राजस्थान का न मिले तो कितनी आश्चर्यजनक बात है। क्या लोगों को जा कर हम कह सकेंगे? राजस्थान गवर्नमेंट के पास रातों हैं तो वहां पैसों की

[श्री श्रीकृष्ण मोर्ब]

कमी बता दी जाती है और वह पानी की हमारी समस्या हल नहीं कर पाती है। मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि आप वहाँ से कुछ रुपया दें ताकि ड्रिंकिंग वाटर की समस्या तो कम से कम हल हो।

जहाँ तक बैंक का सम्बन्ध है, अगर आप ने सख्ती से काम नहीं लिया तो सारा मामला बिगड़ जाएगा। वहाँ का डिजिटल बिगड़ रहा है। आपने हाल ही में ब्रह्मवारी में पढ़ा होगा कि बड़ोदा बैंक में एक शिकायत आई है कि एक आदमी ने रुपया जमा करवाया और वह रुपया निकाल लिया गया और अभी तक उसका कुछ पता नहीं है। पता नहीं उसको मिलेगा या नहीं मिलेगा। शिष्टाचार की वहा कमी है, प्राम्प्ट सर्विस नहीं रह गई है। चैक्स की हालत बिगड़ गई है। पंद्रह पंद्रह, बीस बीस दिन तक दिल्ली के बैंक कॅश होकर नहीं जाते हैं, बिल्डिग इधर से उधर चली जाती है। आप तो जानते ही है कि कितना डैमरेज पड़ता है। अगर एक बार बैंको का डिजिटल बिगड़ गया तो आप धागे चल कर उसको मुधार नहीं पायेगे। इस वास्ते अभी इसको आप सुधारें। बैंको के अनुशासन को बिगड़ने न दें। जैसे पहले वहाँ शिष्टाचार था, अनुशासन था, प्राम्प्ट सर्विस थी वैसी अब भी आप देने की व्यवस्था करें। इस वास्ते आप सख्त कदम उठाये, यही मेरा आप से निवेदन है।

**SHRI K LAKKAPPA (Tumkur):**  
Mr. Chairman, Sir, the budget proposals presented by the hon. Finance Minister have been described by various speakers in different ways. It is just like six blind men describing an elephant in a different manner. I would like to say that the Budget is operated by the Ministry in order to see that the needs of the country are met, and faithfully our Finance Minister has tried to understand the budget in the real sense. Some hon. speakers described it as capitalist-oriented and the others as having socialist character. To reach a definite

conclusion the budget has to be examined from all the angles.

The Finance Minister has stated there is a deficit of almost near Rs. 625 crores which will ultimately get reduced to Rs. 300 crores. He has further stated that the budget has no inflationary character. In this connection I would like to say that already in more than 13 States budgets have been presented which show deficit to the tune of Rs. 145 crores. So, this deficit should also be taken into account. The State budgets have been announced and the same will have an impact and effect on the economy of our country.

Now, I would like to know what steps the Government of India have taken in this direction. There is a lot of expenditure on non-productive items in various sectors in various States. The agricultural production and its impact has also not been fully explained in the budget. How the resources can be mobilised has also not been completely explained in the budget.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, India has got vast natural resources and manpower resources which have not been fully utilised during the past 27 years of independence. Because of this non-utilisation of the vast natural resources and the man-power resources our country has not been able to create wealth which is very necessary in order to meet the present difficult situation in this country. Our country has been facing terrific financial crisis for the last three years and we have been told that the factors responsible for this situation are manifold. The factors may be due to international situation or may be due to internal situation but the overall picture that we present in the budget should reflect the aspirations of the people of this country. The Finance Minister no doubt has made certain efforts by giving certain concessions in the form of taxation measures. It is a welcome feature that the people

of this country have not been burdened with a heavy dose of taxation this year and the credit for this goes to Mr. Subramaniam.

I would like to know why investment of finances in the public sector has been increased enormously and also given a wide scope to expand. No explanation has been given in the budget as to why investment has not been increased in the public sector. There should be expansion of the public sector. In this connection I may also say that at present the public sector undertakings are not functioning in the way we expect them to function. The return on the huge investment in the public sector is not so good. We have to meet the situation and create what is called production.

The production oriented programmes have come to a complete halt and we have been spending crores of rupees on non essential items like construction of television studios and so on. We have not been investing in essential items. The investment should be in the productive items. In regard to the production of essential items, there has not been any improvement and no investment has been made in various States. Take for example agriculture. Why should we depend so much on other countries for importing foodgrains, when our lands remain fallow? We have not distributed land among the landless and land reform measures in various States have not been effectively implemented. We have not fully utilised the available water resources and we have not fully utilised the mineral wealth that is available. We have not involved the people, the crores of people who live below poverty line, in these programmes. This is one of the reasons. We have not scrupulously and prudently reviewed our investment policy from time to time.

Sir, the agricultural production per acre has been going down during the last few years. The situation is distressing. There is class conflict and unrest in every village and the village economy has come to a complete halt.

Even in the rural areas of the country, we can see that the people are not happy because of the wide gap between the rural rich and the rural poor. The same is the case in regard to the poor people residing in towns. In many urban areas, the economy is completely controlled by a few organisations, either in the form of companies or in the form of factories. The private traders are getting more help from the nationalised banks. The nationalised banks are showing more sympathy to the rich people and not to the poor people. Even the rules that they are following are not helpful to the poor people and the poor people are not able to get the benefits of nationalisation. Therefore, from the point of view of the common man, the nationalised banks should be operated in such a manner that they are helpful to the poor people. There should be a proper control by the Government on the nationalised banks. Sir, the bureaucracy has got a lot of protection under Article 311 of the Constitution. I would demand that Article 311 should be altogether deleted from the Constitution. So long as it is there, it would not be possible for any Finance Minister to bring a prudent Budget, from the point of view of the poor people.

Sir, I would also like to take this opportunity to give a commendable certificate to the Government of India for having initiated various measures to unearth black money, to catch hold of the smugglers and to destroy the smugglers' links. But, still this is not enough. In spite of the various steps that have been taken and in spite of the various methods that have been adopted, there has not been a complete let up in the operation of the smugglers and we have not been able to completely destroy the links through which they have been operating. Sir, these smugglers are also operating through religious institutions. Sir, you will find that in the muths, gurukulas and in gurdwaras,

[Shri K. Lakshappa]

there is tremendous wealth. Why should not the Government initiate taxation measures against them? Government should take steps to unearth all the money that is available in these religious institutions and tax them. All these institutions have become hot beds of corruption and a place for reactionary forces. In addition to the economic crisis that we are facing, problems are created by these institutions. These institutions are run by vested interests and reactionaries. They have a lot of money and they evade taxes. They add to the economic crisis and create a terrific unrest in the country. They are also represented in the Parliament today. Therefore, Sir, we have been asking for a long time that Government should take steps against such institutions. I would like to congratulate the Finance Minister for having taken steps to unearth crores of rupees concealed by the Maharajas and Maharanis in this country.

I do not know how many institutions they are running, how many crores of rupees they have invested in these in various parts of the country. Even this has not been properly studied. I think all this has to be done in an organised manner. Our Government should see that black money is unearthed in a very systematic manner.

Coming to my State, Karnataka, it is suffering because of the non-completion of certain programmes and projects. Even an important national project like the Kali project, like the Vijayanagar steel plant and various minor and major port development schemes—these have not been pushed through. The DPÁ programmes and the programme to help small farmers have not been proceeded with. Distribution of loans through nationalised banks has not been properly organised. Starting of small scale industries and other industries in backward areas has not been proceeded with. The financial assistance given by the Central Government is very meagre. With this it is very difficult

for us to withstand the economic crisis and the deficiency we are facing in Karnataka.

As I said, several important national projects have got locked up. The river disputes we have with other States have not been settled. As a consequence of this, we are facing deficiency in our food distribution system. Unless the food situation is given serious attention and proper distribution arrangements are made, this problem cannot be tackled. Top priority should be given to the Kalinadi project. The financial assistance we have been demanding has not been given. With the meagre resources at our disposal, we in the State cannot complete it. Because of the non-implementation of such projects, there is a power famine also. The Kali project is one of the important projects which should be taken up on a priority basis as it is a national project. For this financial assistance should be given magnanimously.

Regarding other projects, I have already mentioned about them. There should be a time-bound programme decided upon. All matters which are in dispute regarding irrigation should be settled in time according to this time-bound programme. Unless this is done, it would be very difficult for a State like Karnataka to face the situation. Till the vagaries of nature continue, till the poverty of the people remains, we will be facing this difficult situation. Therefore, I urge that these projects should be completed in time.

The hon. Finance Minister represents the south. I would like to know from him whether he would promise these things. I also want liberal assistance so far as Karnataka is concerned so that our projects and programmes can be implemented quickly.

Now, I would like to suggest certain measures...

**SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:** There should be a time-bound speech also.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** The hon. Minister is saying that for a time-bound programme, there should be a time-bound speech also.

**SHRI K. LAKKAPPA:** There should be imposition of a ceiling on profits in the corporate sector and business and industry. Profits in excess of the ceiling should be taken over as compulsory loans. Every excess income of private property should be taken over. The distribution system should be improved. Basic items of production, cement, sugar and everything should be taken over by Government. As regards the sugar industry, in UP and Bihar and other places, the private sector sugar factories are playing havoc with the national economy. About 300 MPs have urged Government to take over the sugar industry. Government should not turn a deaf ear to this plea. This industry should be taken over in the interest of the nation.

The present policy of public sector undertakings should be redesigned with a view to help the consumers. There should be a tightening up of administrative expenditure in the public sector in order to drastically cut down the continuing loss in public sector which is an additional burden as an indirect taxation.

With these suggestions, I conclude my speech.

**SHRI D. BASUMATARI (Kokrajhar):** I welcome the Finance Minister and congratulate him. I do not know if it would be out of place if I speak about some demands of my State. I was not given a chance on the Railway budget. Our demand from Assam is meagre but even that is not granted. When here is a hon. Member who says that he comes from the South. I do not know whether he will take interest only of South and I should oppose him. I welcome him as Finance Minister, no matter where from he comes.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** You can appeal to Mr. Mukherjee.

**SHRI BASUMATARI:** And, the Deputy Minister also; I should be fair to her also. I welcome them. There was a missing railway B. G. line. After the war I used to say, thanks to Mr. Chou-En-Lai we got the railway line. There is a broadgauge line from Calcutta to New Bongaigaon. Our request has been to extend it to Gauhati. It was included in the last year's railway budget but this year due to financial stringency, I am told that it had not been included. Is it not unfair to Assam? This is a missing link and I request the hon. Finance Minister to allot money to the railways so that the railway line from Bongaigaon to Gauhati could be extended.

Everybody knows about the scarcity conditions in respect of food in our State due to Brahmaputra floods. Our cry has been a voice in wilderness, we have not been able to reach their hearts and ears. We want that it should be controlled, just like the Damodar Valley Corporation or some arrangement should be made. I am not an expert but I can say that our State should be saved from the ravages of this river.

As I am the Chairman of the Committee on the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, I will be failing in my duty if I do not speak about the tribals and scheduled castes. The country has been developing like anything but there are still areas in the tribal pockets where communications are difficult. We want the officers and the Ministers to pay more heed to the problems of these areas. In the Eastern zone the tribal people have been given separate statehood such as Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya etc. But unrest is still there. Government must examine carefully the reason for this discontent and unrest and find out why these tribals are not co-operating with the Government in spite of the fact that their demand for statehood had been conceded. Only the other day three officers were killed in Mizoram.

[Shri Basumatari]

There is another agitation in all the states. There are more than 600 dialects and there is a hue and cry that these languages in the Roman script should be introduced as a medium of instruction. I do not know wherefrom this agitation has come. Wherever I want as a chairman of the Committee of the welfare of SCST, I have been asked; why do you not ask the Central Government to introduce the tribal language in Roman script. I appeal to the Deputy Minister and the Minister of State to consider why this type of agitation is there. Only recently nine tribals were killed along with 2 CRP men in Assam. What is the reason? It has to be examined why there are tribals who still feel disgruntled and who fight for small things, why government failed to create confidence in their mind.

The tribal people have not been able to come up to the level of the Scheduled Castes even. As Chairman of the Committee on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes I can say this with all authority. Wherever I go, I have been asked by the tribal people why, in spite of the Committee on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes having been constituted, their position in the services and their economic conditions have not improved.

Coming to the services, article 335 seems to stand in the way, and so it should be suitably amended. It is a case of God proposing and man disposing. What the Constitution has given, what Mahatma Gandhi was pleading for, is being denied to the tribal and scheduled castes people under the pretext of this article. The article reads:

"The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of administration, in the making of appointments to services

and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State."

So, the question of efficiency comes, it seems, only in the case of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Why? So many people are promoted from one Class to another. The question of efficiency does not arise there, but in the case of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes this question comes up.

As Chairman of the Committee I have examined the Secretaries of the various Ministries, the Chief Secretaries of the States and the Ministers concerned, and they generally say that suitable candidates are not available. What do they mean by suitable candidates? When they talk about suitable candidates in the case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, they have a mental reservation. I say this from experience.

For instance, I examined the Headquarters of a Railway and they said that suitable candidates were not available. Actually, twelve Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe candidates had applied for the post of a clerk, but they said they had received no applications. I took the applications and the candidates along with me to the formal Committee. Then they searched the office, they took half an hour, and they collected all the twelve applications and brought them. They were caught, and they had to admit fault and the candidates would be appointed within three or four days.

Similarly, when I examined the Ahmedabad Branch of the Reserve Bank of India, the same question came in. The minimum qualification required for a particular post was only matriculation, but nine graduates had been appointed ignoring the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe candidates who were disqualified. When the matter was brought to their notice, they promised to do the right thing, and they have now been appointed.



Therefore, it is not a question of suitable candidates not being available, it is a question of the mental reservation of the authorities concerned. So, this mental reservation must be removed. I cannot remove it as Chairman of the Committee or as a Member of Parliament. Only the Ministers can do it. If they speak to the officers concerned, they will obey. That is my suggestion to the Ministers.

What is the position of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the field of services? Up till now the percentage of employment of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is very low.

In the Class I, Class II, Class III categories in Central Government service is only 2.58, 4.06, 9.59 respectively in case of Scheduled castes. In regard to scheduled tribes, the corresponding figures are 0.48, 0.43 and 1.73 per cent. This is the condition of the poor scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in Government services. In the public sector undertakings, the corresponding figures are 0.67, 0.88 and 8.07 per cent in the case of scheduled castes. This is the condition in public sector where the reservations and promotions policy has been accepted, and in the case of scheduled tribes figures read like that—0.18, 0.19 and 2.21 respectively.

When I was examining the various Secretaries of the Ministries, you will be surprised to know that they tried to convince me saying, "Why do you want reservation? Will it not lower down the standards?". I had to use some harsh words and I told them, "Whether you admit it or not, Parliament is the highest forum of this democratic country. This committee has been constituted by that highest forum and you have to implement this." Then, only they said, "We shall obey you, Sir." This is the mentality of the officers, which I have found after examining them for four years. The question is how to remove this kind of mentality of the officers and sometimes even ministers.

In the field of education, the percentage of literacy for the whole country which was 5 per cent in 1945 has now increased to 29.45 per cent. But still the percentage of literacy in the case of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes is 14.71 per cent and 11.29 per cent. But we should remember that the percentage of literacy is as high as 55 in 1 district of Khasi Hill, 53.79 in Mizoram and 27.40 in Nagaland. If you deduct these figures, the percentage of literacy in parts of the eastern region comes to only 5 or 6 per cent of the literacy in the case of the whole scheduled tribes in India. This is the development of the scheduled tribes in the country! I appeal to the Prime Minister that as the mother, she should look after the interests of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the country.

I am grateful to the Government of India for opening pre-examination centres for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes for the IAS and IPS Examinations in Allahabad, Punjab and Madras. Because of this the percentage of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the IAS and IPS is higher than in the Class I and Class II services of the Government of India or State Governments or public sector undertakings. I request the Government to establish such pre-examination centres for recruitment to the other Central Services also. They should also set apart money to be given to the State Governments so that they can also set up pre-examination centres for Class I and Class II services in the State Governments. Unless you do this, you cannot develop the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. You have already seen the agitation among the tribal people in the western zone.

Reservation for promotion has been accepted by the Department of Personnel. So, in addition to the pre-examination centres for new recruits, there should be pre-examination centres for the employees in service so that no Scheduled Caste or Tribe employee is disqualified for promotion. There

[Shri D. Basumatari].

should be opportunity for in-service training for them. Many of the Organizations and departments have accepted this in principle subject to approval by the Central Government, which means the Ministry of Finance. So, if the Ministry of Finance accept this proposal, in every department there can be in-service training for promotion in which case the question of unsuitability of employees among the Scheduled Castes or Tribes will not arise. If you really want to give fair representation to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes at all levels of administration, this should be done.

The Government of India were very kind enough to establish tribal development blocks and some 504 blocks have been constituted in all areas which have a tribal population of 66 per cent. What is the purpose? The purpose is to bind the infra-structure and develop the blocks areas on all fronts I have been visiting these tribal blocks from time to time. It is true that some of the objectives of the tribal blocks have been achieved. Roads have been built in inaccessible areas, medical facilities have been provided and schools have been opened. But while this improvement has taken place, the land has been taken away from the tribals, mostly by the *sahukars*. Even though they were owning lands, now they have become tenants in their own lands, what we call "Adhias." Then, even though schools and colleges are there, if you go inside you will see cowdung and no boys and girls. This is the plight of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the tribal blocks. So, I want something more to be done for the development of the tribal blocks.

In the earlier days, the then Minister, Shri Datar, used to say that so far as the development of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes is concerned, so much of money has been set apart. We are not concerned with the mere allocation of money. We are concerned with the representation given to the

Scheduled Castes and Tribes. What is the implementation done, what is the work done for the development of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, that is the main question. If something is not done, why is it not done? Only the other day I read in the newspapers that 90 people were killed. Was any enquiry made into it? When something is going on inside, you have to look into that.

18.00 hrs.

श्री सुखदेव प्रसाद वर्मा (नवादा) : सभापति महोदय, मैं केन्द्रीय बजट का समर्थन करते हुए माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी को धन्यवाद देता हूँ जो उन्होंने इस कठिन परिस्थिति को सुधारने के लिए एक ऐसा बजट प्रस्तुत किया है जिससे एक आशा बंधती है कि देश के अन्दर जो महंगाई, तस्कर व्यापार, टैक्सों की चोरी आदि चल रही थी उस में कमी लाने की चेष्टा की गई है। साथ ही साथ जो सब से आवश्यक चीज है इस वक्त देश के अन्दर जिन चीजों की जरूरत है खास कर कृषि का उत्पादन बढ़ाने की उस की ओर विश्वास दिलाया गया है। इस वक्त इस बजट के माध्यम से कृषि का उत्पादन बढ़ाने में, बिजली पैदा करने में, उर्वरक बनाने में श्री क खर्च किया जायेगा जिससे उत्पादन बढ़े, स बात की व्यवस्था की गई है।

सभापति महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से वित्त मंत्री जी का ध्यान आकर्षित करता हूँ कि यह बात सही है कि आप की मंशा कृषि उत्पादन बढ़ाने की ओर है लेकिन उस के लिये केवल बजट में धन की व्यवस्था करने मात्र से ही उत्पादन बढ़ जाय यह आवश्यक नहीं है। देखना है कि अब तक के जो कार्य हुए हैं उत्पादन बढ़ाने के सम्बन्ध में, उनका कार्यान्वयन किस हद तक हुआ है। यह कार्य चाहे केन्द्र सरकार से सम्बन्धित हों या राज्य सरकार से। इसका विवरण रखना चाहिये। आप जानते हैं कि कृषि उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिये जमीन तो आवश्यक

है ही, सिंचाई, उर्वरक, अच्छे बीज, सुधरे औजार भी आवश्यक हैं, लेकिन इन सब के अलावा श्रम का बहुत बड़ा स्थान है। इसलिये जब आप उत्पादन बढ़ाने की बात करते हैं, और सभी आवश्यक साधनों की मुहैया करने के बाद भी अगर श्रम करने वाले को यह आशा न हो कि जो उत्पादन जमीन या कारखाने से होन वाला है उस उत्पादन के बढ़ने से हमारा भी लाभ होगा, तब तक उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ सकता। अब तक के जितने भी नियम और कानून बने, उत्पादन में लगे हुए श्रमिकों के सामने जो खेती से सम्बन्धित हैं, उनकी तरफ आज तक सरकार का, चाहे केन्द्रीय सरकार हो या राज्य सरकार हो, ध्यान नहीं गया। आपको जानकर आश्चर्य होगा कि बिहार में 10 साल पहले खेतिहर मजदूरों को न्यूनतम मजदूरी क्या मिले इसका प्रयास बिहार में पांच सात जिलों में किया गया था। मैं उस वक्त विधान सभा में था। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि 10, 12 साल के अन्दर एक गांव में भी उस कानून के मुताबिक एक भी खेतिहर मजदूर को जो सरकार द्वारा निर्धारित न्यूनतम थोड़ी सी मजदूरी मिल सकती थी, एक गांव में भी नहीं मिली। वह था एक दिन में एक किलो चावल दिया जाना। तय की गई न्यूनतम मजदूरी आज तक किसी गांव में नहीं दिला पाये। सारे साधन आप मुहैया कर लें, बीज, खाद, सिंचाई, अच्छे औजार आदि, लेकिन श्रमिकों को, जिन के आधार पर खेती की उत्पादन बढ़ता है, अगर उनके दिमाग में यह अंशर नहीं आया, कि बढ़ने हुए उत्पादन में उसका भी कोई हिस्सा है तब तक कृषि उत्पादन कभी नहीं बढ़ सकता है। इस भावना के अभाव में आपका सारा परिश्रम बेकार हो जायगा।

हम कहते हैं कि खेतिहर मजदूरों को, छोटे किसानों को, हरिजनों, आदिवासियों और पिछड़े वर्ग के लोगों को उठाना चाहते हैं। कैसे उठा सकते हैं जब कि भर पेट खाने के लिये अन्न नहीं, पहनने के लिये वस्त्र नहीं, और रहने के लिये घर नहीं। ऐसे लोगों की तादाद

देश में बहुत काफ़ी है। आज चर्चा होती है कि गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे 50 प्रतिशत से अधिक लोग रह रहे हैं। ये कौन हैं? छोटे किसान, हरिजन, आदिवासी गरीब और पिछड़े वर्ग के लोग हैं, जो लगातार गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे जा रहे हैं। तो जिस देश के अन्दर आबादी का आधे से अधिक हिस्सा दिन रात प्रति दिन गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे जायगा, तो संज्ञना पड़ेगा कि जा हमारी बुनियादी नीतियां हैं उनमें कहीं खामी है, और जब तक उन खामियों का दूर नहीं करेंगे तब तक न सिर्फ उनकी स्थिति सुधरेगी बल्कि इस देश के पिछड़ेपन का नहीं दूर करेंगे, गरीबी को हटाने की भी बात नहीं कर सकेंगे। इसलिये बुनियादी सवाल है कि देश के अन्दर रहने वालों वह आबादी जो आदिवासियों, हरिजन, खेतिहर मजदूर और छोटे किसान के रूप में पिछड़े वर्ग के लोग हैं, ऐसे लोगों के लिए जो हमारी बुनियादी नीति है उसमें हमें परिवर्तन करना पड़ेगा।

आप चाहते हैं जमीन से उत्पादन बढ़ाना। आपने बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया, सहकारी बैंकों के माध्यम से ऋण दिलाने की व्यवस्था छोटे किसानों, बटाईदारों एवं खेतिहर मजदूरों के लिये की है। लेकिन आपके पास आंकड़े होंगे, आप बतायें कि छोटे किसान और खेतिहर मजदूर और बटाईदारों का, जिनका सम्बन्ध खेती से है, बटाई खेती है, ऐसे कितने प्रतिशत लोगों को आप ने राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंकों से, सहकारी बैंकों से ऋण दिया? मैं समझता हूँ कि 1 प्रतिशत भी नहीं होंगे ऐसे लोग जिन्हें ऋण उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिये मिला होगा। आज हरित क्रांति

[श्री सुखदेव प्रसाद वर्मा]

लाने की बात हम सोचते हैं। खेती में दो, तीन तरह के लाग हैं, प्रथम जिन के पास जमीन है, लेकिन खुद खेती नहीं करते। यह तबका ऐसा है जिनके पास 80 प्रतिशत से अधिक जमीन है, भले ही बेनामी कर के कम कर लो हें सीलिंग के डर से। लेकिन वास्तविकता यह है कि जमीन का 80 प्रतिशत भाग उनके कब्जे में है। दूसरे वह हैं जो छोटे किसान हैं जो स्वयं खेती करते हैं, और तीसरे वह लोग हैं जो खेतिहर मजदूर हैं और बटाईदार हैं। 27 वर्ष के बाद भी खेती में उत्पादन बढ़ाने की तरफ जा धन हमने खर्च किया है वह केवल 15 प्रतिशत लोगों की जेब में गया है जो स्वयं खेती नहीं करते हैं और 85 फीसदी लग उसमें वंचित रहे हैं। अगर आप चाहते हैं कि हरित क्रांति हो तो ऐसे लोगों के लिये आप दरवाजा खोलें, और साथ ही जो आपका प्रसिद्ध है बैंकों से ऋण लेने का उस को भी आमामान करे। अभी हात। यह है कि अगर कोई किसान जून में प्रार्थना-यत्र ऋण के लिये देता है तो उसको रुपया भ्रगस्त में मिलेगा। परिणामस्वरूप उस रुपये का दुरुपयोग ही होता है, क्योंकि खेती का समय समाप्त हो जाता है।

जमींदारी अबालीशन के बाद जमीन का रिकार्ड आपके हाथ में है। आपको मालूम है कि किस के पास कितनी जमीन है। आप उसका मूल्यांकन कराइये। आपको कृषि विभाग के लोग जानते हैं कि खेती करने के लिये किम फसल में कितने रुपये की आवश्यकता प्रति एकड़ होगी। उसी के अनुसार ऋण की रकम की सीमा तय कीजिये और हर किमान को एक पास बुक दे दीजिये। उम पासबुक को राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंकों से या सहकारी बैंकों से सम्बद्ध कर दीजिये, ताकि किसानों को मालूम हो उनको इतना रुपया कर्ज मिलेगा निर्धारित बैंक से और वह अपनी पास बुक ले जाकर बैंक से रुपया प्राप्त कर सकते हैं। इसलिये वृत्तियादी परिवर्तन

कीजिये ताकि किसान समझ कि जो जमीन उनके पास है उस का मूल्यांकन बैंक के पास है और उसी के अनुसार ऋण की सीमा जो भी निर्धारित की जाय उस के अनुसार वह कर्जा आसानी से पास बुक दिखा कर बैंक से मध्यकालीन, अल्पकालीन और दीर्घ कालीन लोन के रूप में ले सकें। अगर यह व्यवस्था नहीं होगी, तो छोटे किसानों को, और जो खेती पर आधारित हैं, उन को आप समय पर धन नहीं दे सकेंगे और उनका विकास नहीं होगा, और न उत्पादन ही बढ़ेगा।

साथ ही साथ, सभापति महोदय, अब मैं चाहता हूँ कि अपने क्षेत्र एवं जिला और बिहार राज्य के बारे में कुछ कहूँ। आप ने तय किया है कि पिछड़े हुए राज्यों को अधिक सुविधाएं दे कर विकसित राज्यों के मुकाबले लाएंगे। यह बड़ी सुन्दर बात है। मैं आप का ध्यान बिहार की ओर ले जाना चाहता हूँ। आप यह जानते होंगे कि बिहार में कुछ इलाके ऐसे हैं जैसे कि उत्तरी बिहार जहाँ पर बाढ़ से काफी बर्बादी होती है और दक्षिण बिहार में झारा, पटना, गया, नवादा तथा औरंगाबाद जिला और शाहबाद में खुखाड़ के कारण बर्बादी होती है। सभापति महोदय, आप नवादा और गया जिले का इतिहास 20, 30 और 50 साल का देख लीजिए। वहाँ पर आप पाएंगे कि तीन साल में एक साल भी अच्छी फसल नहीं हुई है, पांच साल में एक साल भी अच्छी फसल नहीं हुई है। वह खुखाड़ का इलाका है। आप वहाँ पर सिंचाई दे सकते हैं ऐसे प्राकृतिक साधन हैं। अपर मकरी का रिजरवायर, तिलैया डाइवर्शन स्कीम, मोहाना रिजरवायर स्कीम, पुनपुन और नार्थ कोयल स्कीमें हैं, जिन से आप उन जिलों को सुखवाड़ से बचा सकते हैं लेकिन आज तक उन पर इन्व्स्टीगेशन भी पूरा नहीं हुआ है। यह आज स्थिति है कि यह सभी जिले मानसून पर निर्भर करते हैं। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि आप सिंचाई में जो

धन लगाना चाहते हैं, तो उन इलाकों को जहाँ पर सुखाड़ बराबर बना रहता है आप प्राथमिकता दें और जो बाढ़ वाले इलाके हैं उन की तरफ भी आप को विशेष ध्यान देना होगा। आप को वहाँ पर धन लगाना होगा जहाँ पर उर्वरा शक्ति वाली जमीन मरभूमि बन रही है। आज जिन की चर्चा मैंने की है, मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय से कहना चाहूँगा कि आप सिंचाई मंत्री जी का ध्यान इस तरफ दिलाए। तिलैया डाइवर्शन स्कीम जो है, उस के बारे में दो साल से यह बात चल रही है कि इस स्कीम का विवाद बंगाल और बिहार के मुख्य मंत्रियों को बैठक बुलाकर हल किया जायेगा पर आज तक नहीं हुआ। उस को स्वीकृति दी जाए क्योंकि वह कई साल से खटाई में पड़ी है। दोनों राज्यों के मुख्य मंत्रियों को बैठकर बात करने दीजिये। अगर ऐसी नीति रहेगी और इस रह के काम में शिथिलता रहेगी, तो मैं नहीं समझता कि पानी होते हुए भी, हमारी समस्या हल होगी। मैं दोष इसलिए दे रहा हूँ क्योंकि इन के जो अधिकार हैं, इन के जो टेक्निकल आफिसर हैं और जो अप्रैरशाही चल रही है, उन लोगों को वह उम को आगे नहीं बढ़ने देना चाहती। जब तक आप इस को कन्ट्रोल नहीं करेंगे तब तक आप जो बजट में रुपये की व्यवस्था करते हैं, उस का सही रूप से इस्तेमाल नहीं हो पाएगा। सारी योजनाएँ और कार्यान्वयन आफिसरशाही के चंगूल में पड़ा है।

मैं निवेदन करता हूँ कि मुझे आप थोड़ा समय और दीजिए।

मैं सिंचाई के सम्बन्ध में कह रहा था। दूसरी बात यह है कि आप ने यह तय किया है कि हम लेण्ड रिफार्म करेंगे, भूमि सुधार करेंगे। कानून सब जगह बने हुए हैं, इस में कोई शक नहीं है लेकिन अगर आप इस का मूल्यांकन करेंगे, तो पाएँगे कि अमल में वे नहीं लाए जाते हैं। मैं आप को बताऊँ कि हमारे यहाँ बिहार

में 20 हजार एकड़ जमीन एक आदमी ने अपने कुत्ते के नाम दिखा रखी है और उस का नाम टिकू लिखाया है। यह उसने सीलिंग से बचने के लिये किया है। ऐसे ऐसे बेनामी दस्तावेज तैयार किये हैं कि वहाँ पर इस न.म का आदमी है ही नहीं और न कभी वह जमीन पर आयेगा। आप इस की जांच करवाएँ कि वहाँ कोई इस नाम का आदमी है जिस के नाम इनकी सारी जमीन है।

अब मैं कुछ शब्द चकबन्दी बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। चकबन्दी के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि 5 कट्टे या 10 कट्टे के छोटे-छोटे टुकड़ों को मिलाकर चक बनाना चाहिए। और चकबन्दी का काम शुरू हो गया लेकिन एक भी चक आज क नहीं बन सका है क्योंकि चकबन्दी में जो लोगलगे हैं वह अपना विकास कर रहे हैं, किसानों की जमीन का विकास करने की उन्हें चिन्ता नहीं है। तो मेरा कहना यह है कि इन की अप्रैरशाही, इन के सारे कारकून इन की जो स्कीमें हैं, उन को फेल करने पर तुले हुए हैं। अगर आप इन को दुस्त नहीं करेंगे तो आप की सारी योजनाएँ वे फेल करवा देंगे। आप को इस बारे में सोचना पड़ेगा कि इस नौकरशाही से कैसे बचा जाए।

एक और बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज खेत मानसून पर निर्भर करते हैं लेकिन जो जमीन के नीचे जल उपलब्ध है, उस का सही उपयोग नहीं होता है। पर बिहार में क्या हुआ जो बड़े-बड़े किसान थे उन्होंने अपने इलाकों में ट्यूबवैल लगा लिये हैं और अपने इलाकों को ठीक करवा लिया लेकिन अब यह कहा जाता है कि 15 हजार रुपया पहले जमा करो। कहां से लाया जाए इतना रुपया छोटे किसानों के पास, जो वे ट्यूबवैल लगा सकेंगे। वे कहते हैं कि पीछे इस को मुजरा कर देंगे, लेकिन उस के पास इतना पैसा कहां है। बड़े बड़े किसानों के इलाकों में और शासन के बड़े-बड़े अधिकारियों, मंत्रियों से संबंधित इलाकों में ट्यूबवैल लग गये, लेकिन छोटे किसानों के यहां ट्यूबवैल नहीं लगे। जब

[श्री सुखदेव प्रसाद वर्मा]

गरीब की बात आई, तो कहते हैं कि 15 हजार रुपया पहले जमा करो। यह चीज नहीं चल सकती है। स्टेट ट्यूबवैल कारपोरेशन बना कर गरीबों का शोषण क्यों किया जा रहा है और ग्रामीरों को उस से फायदा पहुंचाया जा रहा है। कहां से एक गरीब आदमी 15 हजार रुपया जमा करेगा। आप इस को सोचिये कि यह कैसे हो सकता है। और इस तरह से हम गरीबों का कल्याण कैसे कर सकते हैं। इस तरह की योजना से तो ग्रामीर ही लाभ उठावेंगे।

ग्रामी हमारे बसुमतारी जी ने आदिवासी और हरिजनों की नौका यो के सम्बन्ध में कह रहे थे। इस के लिये आप को नीति बदलनी होगी। आप देखिए आज सर्विसेज में हरिजन आदिवासी और पिछड़े वर्ग के लोग कितने हैं। जिन की संख्या 85 प्रतिशत है, वे लोग सर्विसेज में 5 परसेंट, 7 परसेंट हैं और जिन ऊंचे लोगों की संख्या 15 परसेंट है, वे सर्विसेज में 95 परसेंट हैं। इसलिए आप खेती पर बंध डाल रहे हैं चाहे मजदूरों के रूप में और चाहे छोटे किसानों के रूप में। आज आप को सर्विसेज के मामले में अपनी नीति को बदलना होगा। जो छोटे किसानों हैं, जो गरीब हैं, उनके परिवार के लोग को आप को ज्यादा सर्विस देनी होगी चाहे वह क्लास 2 और क्लास 3 और क्लास 4 का सर्विस हो। उन की बजाए दूसरे लोग सर्विसेज में ज्यादा लग जाते हैं, यह बात नहीं चल सकती है। मैं आप को एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं। मैं अभी अपने जिले में गया था। वहां पर मुसहर जाति के लोगों की संख्या दो, तीन लाख सारे जिले में है। उस जाति के मात्र चार लड़के प्रेजुएंट हैं अब तक और वे टाइप शार्ट हैंड की ट्रेनिंग कई साल से पा कर

बैठे हैं लेकिन फिर भी उन को नौकरी नहीं मिलती है। हरिजनों में मुसहर जाति सब से गिरी हुई है। आज दूसरे लोगों को सर्विस देने से ही फुरसत ही नहीं है। इस चीज को आप को खत्म करना होगा। चार-चार लड़कों ने बी० ए० पास किया हुआ है और शार्टहैंड टाइपराइटिंग की ट्रेनिंग से कर वे जाते हैं लेकिन उन को नौकरी नहीं मिलती है। मैं आप को बताऊं कि एक श्री धनुषधारी मासी है, जो ग्राम चिरेला, प्रखंड खिजरसराय, जिला गया का रहने वाला है। वह बार बार इंटरव्यू में जाता है लेकिन उस को नौकरी नहीं मिलती है। इस तरह से लोगों की भ्रम-हेलना होगी, तो गरीब लोगों का आप पर विश्वास नहीं जम सकेगा। इसलिये मेरा कहना यह है कि जो बानें मैंने कही हैं, उन पर आप ध्यान दीजिए और अपने अफसरों पर अंकुश रखिये। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बजट को सपोर्ट करता हूं।

18.20 hrs.

BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE  
FIFTY-THIRD REPORT

THE MINISTER OF WORKS AND HOUSING AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH): Sir, I beg to present the Fifty-third Report of the Business Advisory Committee

MR. CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned to re-assemble at 11.00 A.M. on 12th March, 1975.

18.22 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, March 12, 1975/Phalguna 21, 1896  
(Saka)