

[कुमार मणिवेन पटेल]

फंशाना हो उनके ऊपर धारिकी में मिनरानी रखे और गलतियां बूढ़ कर मीमो दिया जाय। तीन बार मीमो मिलने पर नौकरी खतरे में आती है। होशियारी से उसको ज्ञान किया जाय कि नौकरी में रहना ही तो सबको खुश रखे।

एक विधवा की एक लडकी को फराने के इरादे से शनिवार, रविवार दो दिन अपने घर आने को कहा। लडकी ने अपनी मा का सारी धति बताया। जिस पर मा ने कहा अपने नौकरी को छोड़ना पड़ यह नहीं हो सकता।

इस बारे में सरकार जाच करके सदन को जानकारी देगी क्या, और इस मनीटर की नश्यत की जायगी क्या ?

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Chirayinkul) I seek your permission to raise a very serious matter

MR SPEAKER. There are very many serious things. You should have better come in the morning. I think all of you should come and see the list and then select one. This is not also as a matter of right.

SHRI N. SREEKANTAN NAIR (Qulon) Our important Onam festival is coming in three weeks' time, but there is no rice available in Kerala. The Railways have not allotted necessary wagons for transport of rice....

MR SPEAKER: I am sorry. I have allowed only one and the hon Member has spoken.

Now, we will go to the next item.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): I have made a request to you. Of course, it was submitted late. Would you kindly consider it for tomorrow if you cannot consider it for to-day? That is about currency notes bearing duplicate numbers.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): I have given a call attention motion as also a notice under Rule 377. This is about 20 five rupee currency notes with the same number....

MR. SPEAKER: I am not calling the hon Member.

Now, we go to the next item.

12.32 hrs.

FINANCE (NO 2) BILL, 1974—
contd.

MR SPEAKER Now, we take up the next item. I think we have enough points of order raised. Hon Member, have been given enough opportunity.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO (Chatriapur) Let us now hear the Law Minister.

श्री मधु लिंगये (बाका) मेरा एक नया प्वाइंट ऑफ ऑर्डर इसके बारे में।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : जो भी कहना था उसी वक्त आओ कह देना चाहिए था।

श्री मधु लिंगये यह नया प्वाइंट ऑफ ऑर्डर है।

MR SPEAKER. Mr Hiren Mukerjee.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta-North-East): I am grateful for this opportunity and I take advantage of it because I anticipate from you a truly meaningful and momentous ruling about the manner of exercise of Lok Sabha control over Government financial business.

I recall the very recent obiter by the Deputy Speaker a very felicitous one, that precedents are not rigidly and entirely and invariably obligatory on this House which is sovereign within the ambit of the Constitution.

पुत्राणाम् इत्येव न सद्यः सर्वम्

Whether has been decided earlier is not obligatory' If on some occasions in the past some lacunae have been allowed to pass muster, then to-day something should be done to rectify the position

Incidentally, for example, we have relaxed our rules and ignored the unconstitutionality of taxation under the ordinance-making power of the executive and I hope before long the position in that regard would be rectified and the principle regarding no taxation without representation would be fully respected But that apart the issue before us is very important

The Finance Minister's package nets in an additional sum of Rs 232 crores which,—if I am not wrong — is a bigger dose of taxation than was included in his normal annual Budget All that partakes, of course, of politics and there is always a great deal of politics in whatever happens here—but politics apart it just cannot be tolerated from a purely constitutional point of view that Government is allowed to circumvent the entire methodology of presentation and passage of financial proposals In the UK, as well as here, it is a time tested and constitutionally incumbent practice which has been ignored by Government on this particular occasion My friends here have pointed out in their arguments the main outlines of the case We have no estimates before us of receipts as well as of expenditure We are asked to impose financial burdens on our people on the plea that Government would have to incur expenditure but that expenditure is unexplained, unestimated and undisclosed The very fact of the notification very generously made by Government that they would have to incur additional expenditure is not good enough for this House to provide additional supply Sir if by presenting a series of Finance Bills Government can do away with the Constitutional requirements which must be satisfied, first of all, in Lok

Sabha as the people's election House and they dispense with the entire apparatus of the Budget, then it is a dreadful challenge to the Parliamentary system We may not like it—but so long as we have it, we have got to respect its provisions and principles

Sir in Britain, there have been centuries of struggle and their people had to undergo a lot of sacrifice before the supremacy of the House of Commons in matters of Finance could be set up and there are four main principles which emerged

Firstly no tax without the authority of the legislature

Secondly, no expenditure without the sanction of the legislature

Thirdly no tax to be imposed or expenditure to be sanctioned unless asked for by the Executive Government

And fourthly all expenditure except that specifically charged is to be sanctioned on an annual basis

I stress that this principle of annuality is extremely important If I am not wrong if my memory is not playing me false, it was the year 1689 when the Mutiny Act was passed that annual meetings of the House of Commons were guaranteed The King would not have an army to prop up his sovereignty unless the Parliament met at least once a year to provide funds for maintaining the army and for civil expenditure Since 1689 the annuality of the provision of expenditure has been exercised

I am grateful to my friend Mr Shyamnandan Mishra for having already referred to this matter regarding the defects in tax legislation which have crept in surreptitiously or deliberately, I do not know On the last occasion Mr Mishra referred to what happened even before independence, in regard to taxation being imposed, to be operative for a

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

period of time after the lapse of the year under review. Now this was against the principle of annuality which was won by the British people fighting for their Parliamentary freedom and that seat of Parliamentary freedom has been inherited by us. And, if we let go of it, that would be a betrayal of the principle which we would not like to do. I am grateful to Mr. Mishra for having drawn my attention to the fact that in the Finance Bill that we are now considering, there is a provision in Clause 2 that in the Income-tax Act of fact would be given to certain cases from the 1st of April, 1975. And in the Explanation of the provisions relating to Direct Taxes, in regard to Clause 2, there is Paragraph 4.

The elucidation is that:—

“The change set forth will come into force from 1st April, 1975 and will, accordingly apply to the assessment year 1975-76 and subsequent years”

This is the kind of provision which we might have adopted earlier, but, having adopted earlier, we need not make a rule of it. There is a provision of law—constitutional principle behind this kind of financial legislation—which we should not violate. Sir, I am referring to *May's Parliamentary Practice*, 18th edition, page 772 where the scope of the Finance Bill is discussed. I am quoting May's words:—

“The scope of a Finance Bill is not limited to the imposition and alteration of taxes for the purpose of adjusting the revenue of the year. It is not intended to be an annual act in the same sense as the Appropriation Act....

It goes on to say:

“But, although the taxation it imposes may extend beyond the current financial year, a Finance Bill is regarded as exceeding its proper scope if it imposes a tax,

payment of which is not to be demanded until after the close of the current financial year.”

This is very clear. This is a bad practice: this is a mischievous instance of the potentiality of bureaucracy to put forward its arm a little too far which should not be permitted. Government should take great care when the Finance Bill is making this kind of prospective financial legislation. Government must make it very clear to the House that for some emergency reasons, this procedure is called for I am not going into the merits of the matter. From that angle, something may be said, but quite apart from the merits of the matter that, the procedural constitutional issue from the point of view of principle, requires that the Finance Bill should not, generally speaking, extend beyond the ambit of the year under discussion.

But, I am sure that, judged by this, the Government has to give, an explanation by coming before the House as to what the provision is. There are about four principles that should be respected. Articles 112 of the Constitution refer to the Financial business and how that should be proceeded with. Under Article 113(2) it specifies the form in which the demands for grants have to be presented to the House of the People. Art 115(1)(a) and (b) refers to the Government's duty to inform the Lok Sabha of “some new service not contemplated in the annual financial statement for that year” before supplementary or additional expenditure can be sanctioned.

So, before an additional taxation can be imposed to cover that expenditure, intimation of the New Services which the Government has in mind has got to be given.

The Finance Minister has said, of course, that he has already presented one regular annual budget. But, it does not give him the right to circumvent the financial procedure or

Parliamentary procedure placed by the Lok Sabha in the Rules of Procedure under Rules 204 and 205. There is a reference to not one but to more than one budget. We had the railway but set which is said to represent the demands for grants also separately presented.

Rule 213 provides for the presentation of budget in part and each part has to be dealt with in accordance with the rules as if it were the Budget. As already stated by Shri Sezhiyan, in the House of Commons, the Finance Bill is presented after the whole House in Committee gives the line clear. Here the substitute is that we have demands for grants and then the Finance Bill and, later, the Appropriation Bill which, of course, goes to the other House. They are all presented.

Therefore, to sum up, the Lok Sabha has just got to know Government's estimates of what additional money is now required to be taken out of the Consolidated Fund and what should be pumped in by way of fresh taxation till we give the line clear after adequate discussion of the requirements of Government. We have to satisfy ourselves as to what Government required and how much. Till we have got that information Rajya Sabha cannot come into the picture. We have respect for the other House but we cannot just pass this legislation and push it there. The Rajya Sabha does not come into the picture till we have got the demands for grants and sanctioned additional revenues. After that you can go to the Rajya Sabha with the Finance Bill No. 2. I say, therefore, this Finance Bill No. 2 is just not an ordinary legislation which we push to the other House in a desultory fashion. It is the right of Lok Sabha to go to the root of the matter and that right must be respected.

I am sorry to have to say that the Law Ministry does not seem to be these days as careful about its job as it is expected to be. Only the other

day we discovered how the Petroleum and Chemicals Minister, Shri D. K. Borooah had to mind its unwanted baby not knowing what to do with the Secret Bill. I do not know whether on this occasion things moved in an authoritarian fashion in the counsels of the Cabinet Room and the Law Ministry was circumvented and the Finance Minister comes before the House with Finance Bill No. 2 without even getting the considered views of the Law Minister. If, of course, the Law Minister is a party to what the Finance Minister has done then, of course it shows the character of Government functioning at the present time. I feel after the discussion which we have had and after the ruling which, I hope, would be of a momentous, qualitative character, Government would sit up and do something to rectify the deficiencies.

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO (Bollu): Mr. Speaker, Sir, with your permission I would submit that the points of order raised by my friends do not have much substance. The crux of the entire points of order is that no tax can be levied by this Parliament unless the prior demands and grants have been voted.

First of all, I have to make the submission that the various authorities quoted, namely, British Constitution and *May's Parliamentary Practice* have to be seen in their historical perspective. In U.K. the problem is a constant struggle between the House of Commons and the Crown. So, the procedure laid down therein are not of much guidance to us. We have to look to our Constitution and the rules of procedures to arrive at the conclusion.

Further, Sir, the first power of a sovereign State is to levy taxes subject only to the limitations that are provided in the Constitution. So far as India is concerned—this is accepted all over the world—this power to tax is only subject to limitations of Article 265. No tax shall

[Shri K Narayana Rao.]

be levied or collected without the authority of law. The authority of law is now being sought from Parliament. The Bill has come only for the purpose of getting that authority. So far as that limitation is concerned, therefore, it has been satisfied.

Then, ours being a federal policy, we have the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution which deals with the taxation powers of the State and those of the Centre. So far as that aspect is concerned also, this Finance Bill satisfies the requirement.

So, so far as the constitutional constraints in substance are concerned, this Bill satisfies those things.

So, far as the constitutional concerned, article 117 in the Constitution provides for the procedure so far as Finance Bills are concerned. There are two clauses in that article. One says that no Finance Bill can be introduced in Parliament without the recommendation of the President. So far as the present Finance Bill is concerned, it satisfies that particular condition. The second clause says that no Finance Bill shall be introduced in the Rajya Sabha. Inasmuch as this Bill has been introduced in this House, that condition is also satisfied thereby. So, far as the constitutional procedure are concerned also, this Bill has amply satisfied the requirements of the constitutional process.

Now, I come to the procedural side so far as our Rules of Procedure are concerned. My hon friends have quoted rule 219. Rule 219 does not specifically say that no taxation proposal or no Finance Bill can be introduced without prior voting of the Demands for Grants by the House. It is nowhere stated like that in that rule, except that there is a reference to that in the book by Mr Kaul and Mr Shakhder, from which hon Members have profusely quoted in this House, where they have stated that the Finance Bill will have to be

passed only after the Demands for Grants and the Appropriation Bills have been passed. That is only an inferential deduction and not backed or covered by any legal compulsions.

So, so far as our Rules of Procedure are concerned, this Bill is not prohibited by any of the rules. No rule in the Rules of Procedure warrants the conclusion that the sovereign power of taxation should be pre-conditioned by prior voting of the Demands for Grants and the Appropriation Bill.

Coming to the sequence of the constitutional provisions etc the Constitution clearly says what we generally call as budget is. Actually, these fiscal provisions have been there in the Constitution right from Article 110, which defines a Money Bill, up to Article 117. Article 117 prescribed the procedure for introduction and passing etc. In between, there are a number of other provisions.

So far as the budget is concerned, there is only one provision in the Constitution which provides a definition of what we call a budget, and that is article 112 which says that an annual statement of anticipated or estimated receipts—I am emphasising the words 'receipts'—and estimated expenditure is the budget. Receipts include not only proceeds from taxes, but also loans and so many other sources. Some of the loans repaid will also be included therein. So the expression 'receipt' is a much bigger expression.

My submission is that in the financial statement or budget which had already been presented, the picture has already been given of the anticipated receipts and expenditure. Suppose after the presentation of the budget, there is nothing for the Finance Minister to come forward with by way of presentation of Demands for Grants before the House and also the Appropriation Bills; then there is nothing in the Constitution which prohibits that. We have been

following this practice for this simple reason that the Appropriation Bills and Demands for Grants should be completed before the fiscal year. For the sake of convenience, we have been following this procedure but then there is no legal compulsion.

The most important point is this. Is there anything in the Constitution which says that the Demands for Grants or the expenditure in connection therewith should be drawn only from taxation, or that the Demands for Grants can be met only from the proceeds of taxation? It could as well be met from other sources of receipts contemplated in article 112

I may as well put it the other way. It is not necessary that there shall always be Demands for Grants presented before the House to withdraw money from the Consolidated Fund of India, because according to article 112 there are certain items charged on the Consolidated Fund of India, and certain items have to be drawn from the Consolidated Fund of India. Now, there are seven items enumerated in article 112....

MR. SPEAKER: This has no relevance to the points of order raised. Let the hon. Member conclude.

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO: You have allowed so many Members to speak from the other side. I am just completing my submission.

MR. SPEAKER: I had allowed them because what they were saying had some relevance to the point.

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO: I am speaking nothing but relevance.

So far as charged items are concerned, they can be drawn from the Consolidated Fund of India without being voted by the House. Therefore, it is not necessary that before any expenditure is incurred from the Consolidated Fund, it should be passed in this House by way of Grants, because in this case it is

automatically charged, like the salaries of the Speaker, Judges etc.

Therefore, the sum and substance of my submission is that there is no warrant for the conclusion that there shall have to be a clear demand before we pass a taxation law. Taxation is an important sovereign function. There cannot be a precondition to it, unless it is specifically mentioned in the Constitution or the Rules. My submission is that there is no provision in the Constitution which prohibits the introduction of this Bill or its consideration, nor is there any provision in the Rules which says that prior grants are required to be passed before this is taken up. Therefore, my submission is that the points of order do not have any substance.

MR. SPEAKER: The Law Minister.

श्री मधु लिनये : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा प्वाइंट ऑफ आर्डर है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप तो कह चुके हैं। अब बार बार क्यों उठते हैं ?

श्री मधु लिनये : आप मुनिये तो। अगर प्वाइंट ऑफ आर्डर नहीं है तब कहिए। लेकिन पहले आप उठाने क्यों नहीं देते हैं ?

MR. SPEAKER: It is not a question of my allowing or not. I gave a chance to you and you had your say.

श्री मधु लिनये : अध्यक्ष महोदय यह प्राज के अखबारों की खबर पर आधारित है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह तो रोज चलता रहेगा। अखबार की कमेंट तो चलती रहती है।

श्री मधु लिनये : मैं इसलिये कह रहा हूँ कि अपनी इफेंटा व्हू जवान वे हैं। वह प्रेम वालों की कमेंट नहीं है। वित्त मंत्रालय की कमेंट है....

MR. SPEAKER: It is a question of principle.

SHRI SEZHIYAN (Kumbakonam): He is on a different point, about criticism raised in the House being answered in the press before it is done here.

MR. SPEAKER: Answered in the press? I do not listen to the press. I listen to the members.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: I am not objecting to a press discussion. They are free to say what they want.

MR. SPEAKER: I have not been able to follow.

श्री मधु लिमये : प्रत्यक्ष महोदय आज मद्रास के हिन्दू में और मद्रास के इंडियन एक्स-प्रेस में दिल्ली का खबर है और वित्त मंत्रालय के द्वारा इसपायड खबर है उस में यह कहा गया है कि द्वितीय वित्त विधेयक के बारे में जो आक्षेप उठाए गए हैं वे बे-बुनियाद हैं इसलिए कि मेकेंड फाइनेंस बिल बजट के आनपाव नहीं है। (व्यवधान) . . . यह बिलकूल वित्त मंत्रालय द्वारा इसपायर किया गया है। यह अखबारों की अपनी कमेंट नहीं है। मैं फिर एक दफा यह कहना चाहता हूँ। फिर उन्होंने आगे कहा है मेजर हेडस-आफ एक्सपे-डिचर उस में बताए गए हैं। (व्यवधान) अब आप बोलने नहीं देते हैं। आप की यह बात मेरी मसल में नहीं आती है मेम्बरों के द्वारा उठाए गए मुद्दों को आप सुनते नहीं हैं।

MR. SPEAKER: The press has got the right to comment. There may be a number of issues to comment on I listened to his point of order. Now he is trying to impute motives to the Minister. It is not proper. It is not very fair.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: Can the criticism made in Parliament be answered in the press?

प्रेस की कमेंट यह नहीं है फाइनेंस विनिस्ट्री के द्वारा इस्पायड है। आप कह रहे हैं कि प्रैस की कमेंट के ऊपर मैं बोल रहा हूँ।

मैं बार बार कह रहा हूँ कि वित्त मंत्रालय के स्पोकसमैन द्वारा यह कहा गया है। जब बहस चल रही है तो मेरा यह कहना है कि भाप की श्लिंग को विष्टिट करने के लिए लोक मत को प्रभावित करने के लिए ऐसा इन कं ओर से किया जा रहा है।

MR. SPEAKER: How can you impute motives to the Minister? If it is in your favour, it is not inspired; if it is against you, it is inspired.

Mr. Gokhale.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): He cannot speak: We want to listen to you. Either somebody from the Opposition or you speak. We do not want to listen to him till you have had your say.

MR. SPEAKER: I want to know what is the reply of Government

SHRI PILOO MODY: Wait till the point is made

श्री मधु लिमये हमारा आक्षेपों का जवाब मदन में दिया जाना चाहिए। (व्यवधान) आप ने भी यह खबर हिन्दी में पढ़ा होगा। आप भी अखबार पढ़ते हैं हम भी पढ़ते हैं। क्या यही तरीका होना चाहिए, कास्टीट्यूशनल बहस का जवाब देने का प्रैस लोकेश के द्वारा आप का हालग का प्रभावित करने का प्रयास किया जा रहा है।

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): If you check the report, it is not a comment of the press; it is a report from the spokesman of the Ministry.

13.00 hrs.

THE MINISTER OF LAW, JUSTICE AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (SHRI H. R. GOKHALE): When this Bill

was introduced, I believe, on the 31st July 1974, some of these points which were raised in this discussion also were raised and I had occasion to briefly intervene and I dealt with what I understood was the correct constitutional position. When I stated that the word 'budget' was not used in the Constitution—which incidentally is not disputed...

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: You called it a misnomer when our Rules of Procedure mention it.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE: I was referring to the Constitutional provisions and it was in that context I was saying that, not one reference was made to the word budget in the Constitution.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): Thereby did you not belittle the significance of the word budget?

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE: That is why even at that time, even though I said that the word budget from the constitutional point of view was a misnomer, even then we did say... (Interruptions). While all the others had their chance, I believe I should have the same chance. Even on that day I said that the word budget was understood to mean annual financial statement which gave an estimate of receipts and expenditure for the ensuing year, and this was not what the Finance Minister was proposing to do on that day. I did say 'popularly called budget'. Article 112 referred to the estimate of receipts and expenditure for the ensuing year. Normally people use the word 'budget' when they talk of this. I agree that on that day I did not refer to the rules. In Rule 204, there is the word 'budget'. In my respectful submission it only strengthens my contention. The rule gives the definition of the word budget like this: the Annual Financial Statement of the Statement of the Estimated Receipts and Expenditure of the Government of India in respect of each financial year. This

is what is referred to in article 112—hereinafter referred to as the budget. Therefore even in rule 204 the reference to budget is to give a kind of definition of the annual financial statement of the estimates of receipts and expenditure, which expression you find only in article 112 of the Constitution. Therefore, the rules are not in conflict; I submit respectfully that the rules also have underscored my point. I do not want to go into other matters to which perhaps my senior colleague the hon. Finance Minister would like to reply; I am confining myself to the constitutional and legal position.

Articles 112, 113 and 114 were referred to by hon. Shri Somnath Chatterjee, who is not here now. These are to be read together. 112 refers to the Annual Financial Statement. 113 says how moneys can be drawn from the consolidated fund, which are chargeable to the Consolidated fund and which are not. 114 says that if any money is to be spent, it could be spent only after a certain procedure, namely asking for demands for grants and later on by passing an Appropriation Bill. 115 really comes into play when, in respect of amounts already sanctioned, they ask grants additional grants or supplementary grants. When the Government wants to spend something more and wants to have the sanction of the House, 115 is invoked. They can come for supplementary or additional grants. I have no hesitation in saying, I am quite sure my senior colleague will agree with me, that if any money has to be spent—today there is no proposal that the money is going to be spent in a particular way—no money can be spent from the Consolidated Fund of India without the authority of law, and at the appropriate time the Finance Minister will come to this House for the necessary sanction, if the expenditure is to be incurred.

The other aspect which was referred to was the practice and procedure. We, of course, follow the procedure

[Shri H. R. Gokhale]

in the House of Commons and, therefore, the reference to *May's Parliamentary Practice*, I do submit, is not irrelevant at all. But to the extent to which the Constitution provides for things specifically, we follow the Constitution. So far as India is concerned, we talk of precedents. I have carefully looked into the precedents to the best of my ability. Except for election years, where the position is different for obvious reasons, or in the case of the annual financial statement to which I have already referred, there has been no precedent in this House where simultaneously with the proposal for taxation it has been necessary, it has been regarded as obligatory, to lay also an estimate of expenditure on the Table. In fact, the only precedents which are available, and to which I made a brief reference, are of 1956 and 1965, when fresh taxation proposals were brought but the statement of expenditure was not laid on the Table of the House. Therefore, if you take the precedents only, the precedents so far established, what the Finance Minister has done is according to precedents. In my submission any other precedent would be of no value, unless of course a new precedent is going to be set up. That is a different matter altogether. I have personally no doubt in my mind that the constitutional and legal position does not require that a statement of expenditure be placed on the Table simultaneously with the proposal for fresh taxation.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN): The procedural and legal aspects have been explained by my colleague, the Law Minister. I think I would try to refer only to one aspect of the problem which the hon. Members have raised, namely, the prospective application of Income-tax Act, as far as clause 2 of the Bill is concerned. There I will have to go to the considerations that prompted

the composition and the structure of the Finance Bill, as it is. I have explained the economic objectives of the taxation proposals in my statement. That is to say, this Finance Bill proceeds to raise resources, both direct and indirect. Naturally, we have to make an effort in the case of direct taxation. As far as direct taxation is concerned, I propose to move another Bill which is a taxation on interests. Then, capital gains tax will have to be raised.

The Convention the Government is following, with the approval of this House, for the last seven or eight years, from 1967 onwards, is that as far as taxation proposals are concerned, as far as possible they will be prospective, with reference to the income earned on that year. It is in consonance with this convention that provisions have been made in this way. Though the taxation law will be effective from the 1st of April, it will relate to the capital gains of this year. This is the explanation I can give.

I will add one more thing. When specific points are raised I have to refer to those aspects. If I am not mistaken, the hon. Member, Shri Shyamnandan Mishra, conceded one point, namely, that such a practice can be resorted to in unusual conditions. I think I am right in saying that.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: You have said in your speech that in unusual circumstances it has to be agreed to.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: The impression I gained from your speech was that this can be done in unusual conditions. Then the only thing that I have to prove is that the present day conditions are rather unusual, the present economic situation is an unusual one. This is absolutely an exceptional, extra-ordinary and emergent situation. If this is an emergent situation and if we do not

make an effort to raise resources to meet the national economic crisis, when are we to do that?

What are we doing? We are coming for the vote of this House. Are we to shut out the House on a technical ground from considering measures which are necessary for meeting an extraordinary situation? It is none of our intentions to spend money without the consent of the House. We cannot draw a single pie from the Consolidated Fund of India without the sanction of the House

I have given the reasons for coming forward with this Bill. There is a distinction between the first Finance Bill and the second Finance Bill. When the first Finance Bill is brought before the House, there is no picture before the House. Therefore the practice of having the expenditure sanctioned before the Finance Bill is taken into consideration is a valid one. But when we are considering the Finance Bill (No. 2), at the present moment, we are not in a vacuum. We have given a clear picture as to what an exceptional, extra-ordinary and emergent situation there is. The major effort to be taken to meet the present inflation is to reduce the deficit financing. This is one thing on which everybody who understands the Indian problems has emphasized, including the leaders opposite. If you see paragraphs 9, 10, 11 and 13 of we expect that there to going to be definitely indicated the areas in which we expect that there is going to be an additional expenditure. I have not given the precise estimates...

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: Why not? That is the point.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: When we think it is absolutely essential, then, certainly, we are going to come with the supplementary demands. Without the sanction of this House, it is not our intention to do anything. I, therefore, hope, it will

meet the points raised by the hon. Members opposite.

SHRI SEZHIYAN: Sir, I want to raise one or two points before you give a ruling.

MR SPEAKER: May I suggest you now leave it to me?

SHRI SEZHIYAN: This is a very important question. I want to raise one or two points.

The hon. Minister of Law conceded that there is no intention to spend any money at present. The Finance Minister said that it is an unusual, exceptional, extra-ordinary, situation today, and that these taxation measures are to meet the emergent situation. He also said that the Opposition would agree with him that it is an imperative need of the hour to control, if not reduce, the deficit financing. Nobody is doubting these things.

My simple point is, whenever the Finance Bill is brought, certain things precede that I quoted *Kaul and Shakdher, May's Parliamentary Practice* and also the rulings given by the previous Speaker in 1956.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO: He allowed the Bill to be passed in 1956.

SHRI SEZHIYAN: That point was not raised then.

The previous Speaker categorically said

A Finance Bill is intended to raise taxes which would subsist only for that year. The main object is to provide funds for the expenditure which had been voted by the House. That is the simple object of the Bill."

Again, in December, during the same year, when the Finance Bill No. 2 was brought, he said

'It is true that I said and I still stick to that view that in a Finance Bill, only provisions relating to the

[Shri Sezhayan]

taxation measures to meet the expenditure that has been voted upon by the House ought to be there. Otherwise, there is no meaning in a Finance Bill.

Only this aspect I want to emphasize. If you have got the expenditure, you bring the statement of expenditure, get it passed and then consider the Finance Bill. That is what I am insisting. Members said that this is to meet the national emergency and all these things. These are all terms of policies. What is relevant here is whether the expenditures have been voted and whether the Finance Bill will meet those expenditures. That is the crux. Mr Rao and others quoted other things and said that May's Parliamentary Practice is not relevant here.

As per Article 105(d) which has been specific and categorical—this is a very important issue that I raise—while we were saying that the precedents come there it says

"In other respects, the powers, privileges and immunities of each House of Parliament, and of the members and the committees of each House, shall be such as may from time to time be defined by Parliament by law, and, until so defined, shall be those of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and of its members and committees, at the commencement of this Constitution."

That was about the powers of the Parliament. The powers and privileges of the Parliament will be those of the House of Commons until they have been defined by law. Because we have not defined by law, therefore, I have been recounting what has happened there.

With this one remark I will conclude. I am saying this because the other day I did not bring it. It has been specifically stated by May

"The rules of financial procedure, whether based on practice or upon the standing orders, are unquestionably observed by the House of Commons, and any disregard of them would now only be due to misunderstanding of their applicability in a particular case, or to inadvertence. Questions of interpretation are decided by the Speaker, or if they arise in Committee, by the Chairman. In discharging its duty of disallowing any proceedings which would infringe the rules of financial procedure, the Chair relies in the last resort upon its power to decline to propose the necessary questions. It is principally by the action of the Chair that the financial practice of the House has been developed, its principles defined, and any deficiencies in the standing orders supplemented."

I know a number of cases in the British House of Commons—I can quote them—where whenever it was found deficient or whenever it went against the procedures laid down it has been the Chair which pulled up the Executive.

Therefore, I would appeal to you. No time is lost if, though the Finance Bill has been introduced, the motion for consideration and passing is taken up only after the expenditures have been voted by the House. Till then it will be against the procedures well laid down by parliamentary practice.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA

The hon. Law Minister said that since it was not accompanied by the annual financial estimates, so it was not a Budget. Now, that happens because of the fact that only one Finance Bill is ordinarily moved in the House—ordinarily. Otherwise, if there are more Finance Bills, can the Law Minister point out a single instance in UK when it has not been accompanied by financial estimates? Ordinarily only one Finance Bill is presented to the House and that is why only one Annual Estimates have been given.

Secondly, it is said that we go by the precedents in this House. We have submitted earlier that if the House did not exercise the necessary vigilance and alertness in this matter in the past, should that be considered to be a plea to regularise an irregular thing? That has not been met by the hon. Law Minister. Then, he has also said that it has been permitted. But, as has been very ably pointed out by my colleague, Shri Sezhiyan, in the past there had been admonitions and strictures that it should not be done in the manner in which it is being done. In spite of that, it has been done. That is in relation to what has been done in respect of the ordinances.

Then, the hon. Finance Minister said—his sole argument seems to be that—it was mainly based on bridging the deficit gap in the Budget. Mainly that seems to be the intention. Here, the prospective measure which would take effect in the financial year, 1975-76, would then by his argument, be accepted to bridge the gap next year. The taxes are going to be operative in the next year. Now, if the taxes are going to be operative next year, then it means that these resources will be available for bridging the gap next year, according to his own argument. We have pointed out that no prospective taxation can be levied. Here the Finance Minister says that it is so done according to a scheme which tries to meet the deficit in the resources. Now, if the taxes are going to be effective from the year 1975-76, they are going to meet the deficit the next year. Resources are not going to be available this year. Are we expected to support the measures which are going to be effective the next year? Why don't you come forward with that measure the next year in the Finance Bill for the year 1975-76? I ask you, Mr. Speaker, as guardian of our rights: are we not entitled to know what we are voting for? They say it in a general and vague way. Are the taxes to be levied only for such vague and general purposes? We, as representatives of the people, ought to know what exactly are the purposes for

which these taxes are required. This is my submission. If they are not related to certain purposes, and the taxes are always related to the Demands, which Demands have not been voted by us so far, we want you to assist us in this regard to understand the rationale behind it and the purpose behind it, and if we are not enabled to understand this, I think, it would be grossly unfair to the House and the general public who ultimately have to bear the burden.

MR. SPEAKER: Honourable Members, this debate has been really very very useful.

Very useful contribution has been made by distinguished Members of the Opposition. I had also in the meantime, the opportunity to go through the Rules, the Constitution, *May's Parliamentary Practice* etc.

The interpretation with reference to Budget and the Finance Bill given by the Law Minister may have been strictly correct according to the Constitution, but it is in contradiction with the practice which we have been following.

We have always mentioned it as a Budget in our proceedings, in our rules and everywhere. And, I think, this term, which is so much understood by the Members and the people outside should continue, and we refer to this as Budget, whatever be the strict Constitutional provision or understanding, and I propose that this will continue.

Points of order were raised by Mr. Chatterjee, Mr. Sezhiyan, Mr. Mishra, Mr. Madhu Limave, Prof. Hiren Mukerjee and Mr. Rao. I think the interpretation given by them starting from Mr. Chatterjee is very much relevant. Now, the only difficulty that comes is the sequence. I believe that according to the Constitution, according to the rules, this Finance Bill is in the form of a Budget.

[Mr. Speaker]

It should come in the normal form as a budget and sequence is very clearly laid in Art. 112, 113, 114 and 115 and other rules—204, 205 and 209. There is no doubt about it. The sequence should be the same as mentioned in them. We have been mentioning it in the form of supplementary demands, supplementary budget or whatever you call it. After all, we cannot deny that this is a sort of a supplementary budget or an additional budget. When we laid down certain rules, it is very much correct that we must know, as the House, as to in what form it has been given. That form and those rules and provisions are already laid down. I must appreciate the point which Prof. Mukerjee so effectively made, namely that the annual statement should be up to the end of the year. That should really be up to the end of the year. This is an additional point that he has made.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA : I have made it earlier.

MR. SPEAKER : Of course you made it earlier. Two days have passed since then. I have been trying now that at least, as the Speaker of the House, it is my duty to see that the proper financial procedures are followed. Government has relied on the past practices, 1956, 1957 and 1967 and many years when such a thing has happened and this practice was followed. It is indeed a very interesting contradiction that Shri Sezhiyan referred to the provision and the procedure set by the Chair that should be followed. I have been looking for the procedures that are set by the Chair. Only observations were made, and nothing else followed.

I thought that something will pull me out. When my predecessors laid down something, it is not a question that it did not occur to them. It did occur to them as to what we should do. Mr. Chavan gave some reasons for this procedure followed by him and I agree with him that an extraordinary situation and an emergent situation has arisen. Everybody agrees

with this. He has quoted Mr. Mishra also. I am not abdicating my rights. I have been following the procedures laid down by my predecessors. They have relied on the past practice, and I accept that. They may rely on it. But, I am not going to allow this for the future. As for the other matters, Mr. Chavan must come before this House with details of all the expenditure and demands for grants. He must also come forward with the Appropriation Bill in this very session—not some time later, thinking that it will start from 1975. But, for the future, if the House agrees with me, we must be allowed to lay down certain procedures. In that procedure, I may have to make a little departure from the precedents established by my predecessors. I am very much, out and out a person to follow the old conventions practices and precedents. When I have to depart from the practices and procedures, I never take upon myself this responsibility unless I consult the Secretary-General or unless I consult even the prominent Members. I propose to consult the Rules Committee also. I do not want to lay it down off hand. In such matters it is very risky. I should not lay it down off hand without consulting on the broad principle. They are mentioned in Art. 112 and 113, 114 and 115 along with the rules 204, 205 and 219. This is not a question that expediency requires, emergency requires or conditions require it and hence we should ignore the specific rule or articles in the Constitution.

I fail to understand this. I am the last person to agree with this interpretation.

Only because of certain precedents which have been relied upon, on the spur of the moment I am not going to change it, except that I have told the House that I am not going to follow this sequence for the future. I am allowing you to proceed through the Bill but with the specific direction to come with the Demands and the Appropriation Bill before the House.

Thank you very much.

The time allotted for the general discussion is seven hours, two hours for clause-by-clause consideration and one hour for the third reading

SHRI BIREN DUTTA (Tripura West) Mr Speaker, Sir

MR SPEAKER He may continue after the Lunch-break

The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till Thirty Minutes past Fourteen of the Clock

The Lok Sabha reassembled after Lunch at Thirty-five Minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

[MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

FINANCE (No. 2) BILL, 1974—
 contd

*SHRI BIREN DUTTA (Tripura West) Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, the hon Finance Minister had to face many a difficulty for introducing this Finance Bill (No. 2). From the ruling given by the Speaker, it is amply clear that this Bill had been introduced in the Lok Sabha in an illegal and illegitimate way. While giving his consent to the introduction of this Bill the hon Speaker has stated in unambiguous terms that in future permission will not be given for the introduction of such Bill in this illegal way. I do not know whether the Finance Minister will draw any lesson from this episode. Because it is no sudden development and it only reflects the thinking and policy of the Congress Government. Although the Government always advocate the cause of the poor masses in their talks and cry hoarse that they want to usher in peace, prosperity, social justice and progress for the common people but in reality they only try their utmost to uphold the interests of the monopolists, the capitalists and big landlords in their policies and actions even by violating the Constitution of

India and other laws of the land. As stated by the hon Speaker today the Government came forward with similar illegal Bills on several occasions earlier also thereby hoodwinking the people and using such Finance Bills as a technique of deceiving the masses. They trampled under foot all legal and constitutional provisions and norms in introducing this Finance Bill. Sir while asking for permission again and again to introduce this Bill the Finance Minister said in justification of his action that the country was faced with a terrible economic crisis and if no steps are taken and this Bill is not introduced immediately, the country will go to the dogs. He therefore prays to the Speaker to allow him to introduce and start discussion on this Finance Bill. Sir he had brought forth similar Bills on many earlier occasions also in the same illegal way. His economic and fiscal policies during the last twenty-five years has brought this country to the brink of this terrible crisis. Who else has created this crisis? It is solely the creation of this Congress Government. Today they are begging for permission to introduce this Bill so as to speedily impose somehow, a load of fresh taxation on the people irrespective of legal sanctions and irrespective of constitutional provisions. It may be noted that the Finance Minister has carefully avoided any mention of the causes that has given rise to the present crisis. I will request the Finance Minister to honestly ponder over the policies followed by the Government that have generated this crisis today. Was there no way of combating the present crisis other than the type of taxes he is now going to impose to raise the additional revenue? Why he is not taking any measures to curb the blackmarketeers and to unearth the colossal black money existing in the country? There are huge arrears of Income tax. About 20 per cent to 25 per cent of the income tax payable by the big business and monopoly houses are

*The original speech was delivered in Bengali.

[Shri Biren Dutta]

lying in arrears. What steps is he going to take to recover those arrears? Sir, the big landlords in the rural areas have amassed huge wealth but the Government is reluctant to lay its hands on their wealth and to tax them because they are working to protect and uphold the interest of these big landlords. The Congress Government is acting as representatives of these big landlords in every State. The Government is advancing loans to the speculators and hoarders through the nationalised banks. As a result, all the daily necessities of life which are already very scarce, are being cornered by these people thereby raising their prices beyond all proportions. It is creating untold misery for the masses. The Government's policy is again responsible for this pathetic situation. In the field of inflation, India today occupies the top position among all democratic countries due to the defective economic policies of the Government. The taxation proposals that have been presented in the name of curbing inflation will totally fail in its objective of bringing down the prices. It will in fact further aggravate the situation. It has been reported in today's newspaper itself that since the introduction of these taxation proposals, the prices of all commodities have risen by about 25 per cent. Mr Deputy Speaker Sir, we find that the main aim of the Government behind their budget and economic policy is on the one hand to safeguard and protect the interests of the monopolists, capitalists and the big landlords and on the other hand to impose heavy doses of taxation on the common people. The poorer classes of people like the workers, labourers, small farmers, agricultural labour etc., have become paupers and totally bankrupt. They have hardly any purchasing power left with them due to the terrible inflationary pressure that have built up. But the Government's present taxation proposals will further push up the prices and these lower strata of our society will be the hardest hit. The Government is reluctant to

touch the pockets of the rich people. Who are sought to be trapped by these fresh tax proposals of the Government? The Government's aim is to impose the burden of fresh taxes on the professional classes like doctors, lawyers, middle class farmers, small traders and other middle class of people. We should understand clearly that due to this policy of the Government production capacity in the country will be bottled up. Today during question hour it was seen from a reply by the Agriculture Ministry that agricultural production in the country has fallen. Our industrial production has also come down and there is a crisis in our foreign trade. We are actually in the midst of crises in every sphere of life. Does this budget hope to reduce this around crises? We do not see any possibility of that. This is actually framed to further aggravate the crisis. This budget was sought to be rushed through to deepen the present crisis. This Government's policy is responsible for the steep rise in the prices of all commodities. Due to the Government's policy the blackmarketeers have been enabled to carry on their nefarious activities fearlessly without any check. The Government's policy again have enabled the monopolists and big business to increase their assets and wealth manifold. Their income are not going down. From the accounts of the Reserve Bank it is seen that their wealth are increasing by leaps and bounds. The income of the poor people are going down whereas the income of the rich people are continually going up. Today there is terrible power crisis all over the country, there is scarcity of fertilizer and agricultural production is falling fast. The Government instead of paying attention to solve these problems is again going to impose fresh load of taxation on several commodities and to achieve that aim they have to bring forward this Finance Bill in the Lok Sabha in an unconstitutional manner. Sir, I want to say in clear terms that by bringing forward this supplementary budget and by imposing more taxes on cloth, steel and other daily

necessities of life, our problems will not be so'ved. We find from the tax proposals that more taxes have been imposed on cloth, tyres, paper etc. Sir, even many Congress members have discussed in this House the other day that the price of paper has already gone so high that all aducational activities have come to a standstill. Do we want to solve our economic problems by imposing more taxes on it? Sir, we are already underclothed, the people in our villages are going about half naked. The price of cloth has already sky-rocketed and more taxes are being imposed on it. We cannot support this Finance Bill under any circumstances. This Bill has been opposed on legal grounds and it has also been called unconstitutional. Sir, I on behalf of my party totally oppose this anti people Bill. We will oppose it at every stage. We oppose it lock, stock and barrel. The hon. Speaker has given clear ruling that such Finance Bills should not be brought forth in future in this illegal and unconstitutional way. I do not know whether the Government will pay heed to his directions. This Government does not have any concern or feeling for the poor masses of the country. They have no thought to spare for the interest of the workers, the farmers and the middle class people. Sir, after driving out our foreign rulers after prolonged struggle, our constitution was framed. The directive principles were enshrined therein where the rights, privileges etc. of the poor masses were reflected. But this Government have trampled underfoot all that was contemplated in our constitution and have against and again brought forth such atrocious Finance Bills to the detrement of the poor people and against the spirit of our Constitution. This way the Congress Government is taking the country on the path of destruction. Hence we totally oppose this Bill

श्री जिवलाच सिंह (शुभन) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वित्त मंत्री जी ने सदन के सामने कुछ कर पन्नाव रखे हैं और अपने भाषण

में उन्होंने आज जो देश के अन्दर आर्थिक स्थिति है उस का भी एक दिग्दर्शन करवाया है। सदन के अन्दर और बाहर भी सब इस बात को जानते हैं, मसूचा देश इस बात में इतनाफाक करता है कि देश के अन्दर आज आर्थिक स्थिति जैसी सुदृढ़ होनी चाहिए वैसी नहीं है और इसी संबंध में हमें और आप को इन कर-प्रस्तावों को देखना चाहिए। आज देश के अन्दर कीमते बढ़ रही हैं और जीवन की जो बहुत ही आवश्यक चीजें हैं वह भी आम आदमियों को मिलने में मुश्किल हो रही हैं। मनी-सर्कुलेशन बढ़ रहा है। केन्द्रीय सरकार ने अपने दो-तीन आर्थिक-नेसज के द्वारा मनी का सर्कुलेशन कम हो उस को चैक किया जाये इस बात का प्रयास किया है। मेरे ख्याल से वह एक सही कदम है। जितना देश के अन्दर रुपये का सर्कुलेशन कम होगा कीमतों में उतनी रुकावट आयेगी और किसी किसी क्षेत्र में उस का असर भी दिखने लगा है। आज अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में देख रहे हैं कि कापर की प्राइस ने डाउनवर्ड ट्रेंड लेना शुरू कर दिया है। मैं नहीं कहता कि अपने यहाँ करो की वजह से बहुत बड़ी गिरावट आवश्यक चीजों के दामों में आ गई है लेकिन कर एक इस प्रकार का साधन है जिससे अर्थ-व्यवस्था को हम चैक कर सकते हैं, चाही हुई दिशा में उसे मोड़ सकते हैं।

जो कर प्रस्ताव रखे गये हैं चाहे वह टायर पर है, कापर पर है, स्टील पर है, सीमेट पर है एक दो आइटम को छोड़ कर जितने प्रस्ताव रखे हैं समाज का ऐसा वर्ग उन को काम में लाता है जिन के ऊपर इस का भार पड़नी आवश्यक है। आज हम कहते हैं कि आम वास्तकार को और गरीब आदमी को सीमेट की आवश्यकता है लेकिन आज उस का उपयोग गरीब आदमी नहीं किन्तु एफ्लेएट सेक्शन कर रहा है। फिर जितने इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स हैं और उद्योगपति हैं उन के बीच का जो मिडिल

[श्री शिवनाथ सिंह]

मैन है वह मिडिल मैन इन ने बहुत मुनाफा कमा रहा है। वित्त मंत्री ने कहा भी है कि कीमतों को बढ़ोतरी की वजह से अवश्यक रूप में मिडिल में बहुत काफी मुनाफा कमा रहा है। तो उस का कुछ हिस्सा हम इस में लाना चाहते हैं।

मोटे रूप में मैं इसी कर प्रस्ताव का स्वागत करना हूँ। यह ठीक है कि देश के अंदर जिस प्रकार की अर्थ-व्यवस्था हम चाहते हैं उस की ओर यह सही कदम होगा लेकिन इन कर-प्रस्तावों का जो सही दृष्टिकोण है वह मिल जाय यह मुझे सम्भव दिखाई नहीं देता। इस के लिए हमें अपने दिमाग को थोड़ा सा बदलना होगा। आज आप देखते हैं कि इन करों के लगाने से जिन वस्तुओं पर आप न कर नहीं लगाया है उनका कीमतें भी बढ़ी है ऐसी कई आइटम्स हैं जिनका इन कर प्रस्तावों में टैक्स नहीं किया गया है लेकिन उन के दाम बढ़ गये हैं। हमें इस का खेता करना पड़ेगा। इस के लिए जहाँ तक हम किसी सही मशीनरी का उपयोग नहीं करेंगे तब तक जो भी कर हम लगायेंगे वे गलत साबित होंगे।

वित्त मंत्री जो कि जाणकारी के लिए कदम चाहता है—आज हम ने बैंकों की वृद्धि की आवश्यकता पर चर्चा लगाया है दूसरी तरफ बैंक रेट बढ़ा कर कुछ कारगर कदम उठाये हैं लेकिन जब तक कन्ज्यूमर गुड्स पर बैंकों द्वारा दिये जाने वाले लोन या एडवांस को बन्द नहीं करेंगे तब तक उस का कोई लाभ नहीं होगा। हालांकि आप का यह कदम बड़ा बढ़ा कदम है। इसमें आपको हार्डशिप भी आ सकती है लेकिन यदि हम बैंकों पर कन्ज्यूमर गुड्स के होर्डिंग करने के लिये जा रूपा एडवांसज किया जाता है। पाबन्दी लगावे

तो स साधान कन्ज्यूमर के पास आयेगा और मिडिल मैन जो बैंक के रुपये से जा प्र. के रुपये में चीखा को जमा करके मुनाफा कमाता है वह नहीं कमा सकेगा, उस का प्रॉफिट कम हो जायेगा, इस से चीखों के दाम बढ़ने रुक जायेंगे। यह एक सख्त कदम हो सकता है लेकिन केन्द्रीय सरकार चाहे किसी भी सीमा तक करे, उस को यह कदम अवश्य उठाना चाहिये।

हम ने पिछले बार इण्डस्ट्रीयलिस्ट्स को प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाने के लिये काफी इन्तियतें दी थी। लेकिन हमने देखा कि इण्डस्ट्रीयलिस्ट्स ने देश के साथ गद्दारी की है। जो छूट उनको दी गई थी उसका उन्होंने उपयोग नहीं किया। उन सुविधाओं से जहाँ इण्डस्ट्रीयलिस्ट्स को अपनी प्रोडक्शन बढ़ानी चाहिए थी वह उलटा उस को कम कर रहा है क्योंकि जितना कम प्रोडक्शन होगी उस की चीजों के दाम बढ़ेंगे और एक सीमा तक कम प्रोडक्शन से उस का मुनाफा बढ़ेगा। इस लिए मेरा यह सुझाव है कि इण्डस्ट्रीयलिस्ट्स का पिछले बजट में जो सुविधायें दी गई थीं उनको फिर से रिवाइज करनी चाहिए। जहाँ जहाँ छूट देना बाजिब नहीं है वहाँ उनको फिर से इम्पोज करे।

एग्जीक्यूटिव सेक्टर में किसान अपनी प्रोडक्शन को बन्द नहीं कर सकते। क्योंकि काफ़्तकार की जिन्दगी का आधार ही प्रोडक्शन है। अगर काफ़्तकार सोच ले कि मुझे 50 मन पैदा करना है तो वह कर सकता है लेकिन इन में उस की जिन्दगी तबाह होती है। लेकिन इण्डस्ट्रीयलिस्ट्स समझता है कि जहाँ वह 100 यूनिट पैदा करता था अगर उस के वजाय 50 यूनिट पैदा करता है तो उस का टोटल प्राफिट 100 यूनिट के मुकाबले 50 यूनिट पर अधिक होगा इसी लिये इण्डस्ट्रीयलिस्ट्स यह तरीका प्रस्तुत कर रहा है—इस पर तुलना पाबन्दी लगानी चाहिये।

कुछ आइटम ऐसे हैं जिनका प्रोडक्शन हम को बढ़ाना होगा। ये कुछ ऐसे आइटम हैं जिनका हम एक्सपोर्ट भी करने हैं। मैं मानना हूँ कि एक्सपोर्ट करना आवश्यक है, इस में हमें फोरन-एक्सचेंज मिलना है। लेकिन जो मास-कन्सम्पशन की चीजें हैं, जैसे मोटा कपड़ा, सीमेंट, चीनी, इसी तरह के और भी अनेको आइटम हैं, जिन के लिए हमें देश की कन्सम्पशन को भी ध्यान में रखना होगा। गरीब आदमी उन आइटम का खिना कन्सम्पशन करता है, उस की आवश्यकता को दृष्टि में रखते हुए अधिक प्रोडक्शन करे और उस की आवश्यकता की पूर्ति के बाद जो बचे उस को एक्सपोर्ट करे तब तो ठीक है अन्यथा जब तक उस की कन्सम्पशन की पूर्ति न हो हमें उस वस्तु को एक्सपोर्ट नहीं करना चाहिए। आज हमारे यहाँ 100 में उपर टेक्सटाइल मिले हैं उन में मोटे कपड़े का प्रोडक्शन तो हम के लिए बहुत प्रतिवर्धन देता है तब हमारे देश में मोटे कपड़े की कमी नहीं होगी। इस से वस्तुओं के दाम जो ऊँचे होते चले जा रहे हैं वे नीचे आ सकते हैं।

ऐसी बहुत सी चीजें अभी बाकी रह गई हैं जिन को कर-प्रस्तावों में छोड़ दिया गया है। यदि उन पर भी कर लगाते तो अच्छा होता। जैसे लकड़ी की आइटम हैं, रेफ़िजरेटर्स हैं, एअर-कण्डिशनर्स हैं, शराब पर भी कर लगा सकते थे। इस प्रकार की आइटम को इन कर-प्रस्तावों में शामिल करते तो इन में स्टेट-एक्सचेंज को काफ़ी फायदा हो सकता था और उन का अक्षर गरीब आदमियों पर भी नहीं पड़ता। आज गरीब आदमियों की कन्सम्पशन की चीजों पर बहुत कम कर लगाया जा रहा है और दूसरी चीजों पर कर का वजन बढ़ाना चाहिए। मास कन्सम्पशन की चीजों पर कर नहीं बढ़ाना चाहिए।

उपाध्यक्ष जी, वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपने भाषण में कहाँ है कि हमें बहुत सा रुपये

ग्रेन-सिन्ड्री पर खर्च करना पड़ता है यह हमारे एक्सचेंज पर बहुत बड़ा बड़न है उन्होंने कृषि पैदावार को बढ़ाने की श्रम करके भी किया है लेकिन आज देश के अन्दर कृषि की पैदावार बड़े हम के लिए मही प्रयास नहीं हो रहा है क्योंकि पैदावार को बढ़ाने के लिए जो आवश्यक चीजें हैं हम उन को मुहिया नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। छोटे किसान को गरीब किसान को उपादन के माध्यम मिलने चाहिए लेकिन हमारी पालिसी ऐसी है जिस की वजह से छोटे किसान को लाभ नहीं पहुँच रहा है। आज साइम की जो नई नई चीजें कृषि की पैदावार के लिए बनी हैं उन का लाभ उभे नहीं पहुँच रहा है। इनपुट का फायदा उभे नहीं मिल रहा है। उस के पाम उन चीजों को खरीदने के लिए रुपया नहीं है। आप ने बैंको द्वारा सहायता दिये जाने की जो स्कीम बनाई है उस में मिन्क्योरिटी की जरूरत है, सिमा सिमरिटी के तब उभे रुपया मिलेगा। वह मिन्क्योरिटी वह मे लार्गे? हम के लिए आप अपनी पालिसी को रिव्हाइज करे। जिस के पाम मिन्क्योरिटी नहीं है उस को भी बैंक के रुपये का लाभ मिले तब ही उस क फायदा हो सकता है। वह अपनी पैदावार को बड़ा सकता है और इस में हमारी सिन्ड्री घट सकती है वित्त मंत्री जी बाहर के अनाज मयाने जा रहे हैं—ऐसा संकेत उन्होंने दिया है। लेकिन यदि हम किसान को साधन मुहिया कर दें तो हमारा किसान इतना पैदा कर सकता है कि हम न केवल प्लेफ सफिसेट हो सकते हैं बल्कि एक्सपोर्ट भी कर सकते हैं। लेकिन हमारी सरकार इस तरफ ध्यान नहीं दे रही है, छोटे किसानों को फायदा नहीं पहुँचा रही है।

सिन्ड्री का जहाँ तक सम्बन्ध है—आप 105 रुपये निवटल में खरीदते हैं और उस की डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन प्राइस 136 रुपये है, 142 या 143 में भी बेचा जाता है। मुझे आश्चर्य होता है—105 रुपये खरीद कर 37 रुपये

[श्री सिधनाथ सिंह] :

किबंटल का मुनाफा किस हिसाब से दिया जाता है ऐसे कौन से खर्च हैं जिन की वजह से इतना फर्क आप ने रखा है। एक साधारण व्यापारी सिर्फ 5 रुपये किबंटल पर देश के एक कोने से दूसरे कोने में ले जाकर बेच सकता है, लेकिन हम इतना रुपया सक्सीडी में खर्च करते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह सब मिसमैनेजमेंट की वजह से है, इसके लिए चाहे आफिसज दोषी हो या दूसरे कारण हों। मेरा सुझाव है कि यह फर्क 10-15 रुपये में ज्यादा नहीं होना चाहिए, इसमें सक्सीडी काफी कम हो सकती है। आज मदन के भीतर और सदन के बाहर माग की जा रही है कि ओवर-हेड एक्सपेंसेज कम किये जायें, लेकिन यह खर्चें दिन प्रतिदिन बढ़ते ही जा रहे हैं। मेरा निवेदन है कि आप इस पर ध्यान देना कि आप को कर प्रस्ताव न लगाने पड़े और लोगो पर बर्धन कम हो सकें।

इसके साथ ही मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इण्डस्ट्रीयलिस्ट्स के मामले में हमारी पालिसी क्या हो, इसके बारे में निर्णय करना पडेगा। कुछ आइटेम्ज हैं—जो एसेन्शाल गुड्स कहलाती हैं, ग्राम कन्जम्पशन की चीजें हैं उन पर प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाना होगा, उनके लिये एक निश्चित पालिसी तय करनी होगी। देश में जितनी इण्डस्ट्रीज हैं, चाहे पब्लिक सेक्टर में हो या प्राइवेट सेक्टर में हो, उन पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाना होगा कि वे अपने यहाँ अमूक-अमूक चीजें ही पैदा करेंगीं। सब से पहले ग्राम आदमी की जरूरत की चीजों की पूर्ति होनी चाहिये। इस तरह से जो लम्बर गुड्स हैं उन को हम एक्सपोर्ट करे लेकिन जो गरब आदमियों के चीजें हैं उन का एक्सपोर्ट बन्द करना होगा। हम इन उद्योगपतियों को बार-बार टैक्सेशन में छूट देते हैं उन को बैंको से ऋणा देते हैं हमारी जो दूसरे फाइनेन्सल इस्टिब्लिशन्स हैं, उन की सहायियों भी इन को मिलती हैं,

लेकिन वे अपने, इच्छा के मुताबिक खर्च पैदा करते हैं, वे ऐसी चीजें पैदा करते हैं जो ग्राम आदमियों के कन्जम्पशन का न हो कर कुछ खास लोगों के लिये होती हैं। ऐसी चीजें बनाने से यदि हम उन को डिबार कर दे तथा गरीबों के कन्जम्पशन की चीजों को बनाने के लिये विवश करे तो इस से हमारे फारेन-एक्सचेंज में कमी नहीं आयेगी साथ ही गरीबों के कन्जम्पशन की चीजें मिलती रहेंगी।

कृषि के सम्बन्ध में मैं दो शब्द और निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। हमारी जो आज की पालिसी है उस से खेती की प्रोडक्शन नहीं बढ़ रही है। हमारे सामने जितने आकड़े आने हैं वे करीब करीब सही नहीं होते हैं। खेती के लिये जो आवश्यक चीजें हैं उन को मुहिया करने के लिये हमारी स्कीम बल्ल्याण्ड नहीं है। ध्योरी में हम चाहे जो बहे लेकिन किसान वास्तविक रूप से क्या चाहता है, उस के अध्ययन के लिये एक इस्टीमेशन कायम हो, जो इस बारे में स्टडी करे। वह स्टडी प्रैक्टिकल स्टडी हो, थ्योरेटिकल स्टडी तो बहुत होती है लेकिन प्रैक्टिकल स्टडी नहीं होती है। हमारे यहाँ छोटे किसानों के लिये मार्जिनल किसानों के लिये बहुत सी स्कीम बनती है लेकिन उन का फायदा किसानों को नहीं पहुच रहा है। हमारे यहाँ कंश प्रोग्राम बना, इसके अन्तर्गत एग्जीक्यूटिव प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाने के लिए रुपया रखा गया। 100 करोड़ रुपये के लगभग इस पर हमने बेस्ट किया लेकिन प्राणतों में उसका उपयोग सही ढंग से नहीं हो सका इसलिए हमें अपने खर्चों की तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिए, जो किसानों की वास्तविक आवश्यकताये हैं, हमें उन पर रुपया खर्च करना चाहिए, करना नतीजा यह होता है कि देश का धन खर्च होता है। नकिन नतीजे नहीं निकलते हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस के लिए एक एक्सपोर्ट कमेटी बने जो इक्की प्रैक्टिकल सल्यूट को देखे और एक प्रैक्टिकल प्रोग्राम बनायें।

15.00 hrs.

टेक्सेज के जो आइटम्स हैं उसके सम्बन्ध में भी मैं संक्षेप में दो-तीन शब्द निवेदन करना चाहूंगा। माननीय वित्त मन्त्री जी ने लांग-टर्म-वेस्ट टैक्स करने और महूलियतों कम करने का बात रखी है वह स्वागत योग्य है क्यों कि जो प्राइसेज बढ़ रही हैं उन पर लाभ भालिकान को बिना कुछ किंग मिल जाना है इसलिए उनको जो लाभ मिलता है वह अगर पब्लिक को मिले तो बाजिब होगा। बैंक्स के मुनाफे पर जो टैक्स लगाया है वह दुनिया में एक अजीब मिसाल पेश की गई है। ऐस, पहले कभी भी नहीं हुआ है। इससे 60 करोड़ की रकम आती गई है लेकिन उस भी कहीं और अधिक रकम मिल सकती है। बैंक जितना ऋण देगे उतना ही अधिक इन्ट्रेस्ट आयेगा। आज आर्गुमेंट दिया जाता है इसको करने की आवश्यकता नहीं थी, बैंक रेट बढ़ा सकते थे लेकिन उससे बैंक्स का मुनाफा ही बढ़ता है हमारे पब्लिक एक्सचेंजर में खपता नहीं आता है। तो यह एक बहुत ही सुन्दर और स्वागतयोग्य कदम है।

इसी तरह में इण्डस्ट्रीज में कॉम्पनीज के लिए, कॉन्सोल्डेटेड सेक्टर के लिए भी आपने कैपिटल गेन्स की जितनी छूटें भी वह कम की हैं—यह भी बहुत अच्छी बात है।

कर प्रस्तावों में जैसे कागज पर आपने कर लगाया है, टायर पर लगाया है, इसी प्रकार और आइटम्स जिनकी शार्टेज है जैसे आज कागज की शार्टेज है उनके सम्बन्ध में यह सोचना कि टैक्स बढ़ाने से उनका कंजम्शन

कम होगा—यह बात सही नहीं है। किसी भी चीज का कंजम्शन तभी कम होगा जब कि उसके लिए आप दूसरी आल्टर्नेटिव कमोडिटी देंगे। आज जिस चीज की डिमांड है उसका कंजम्शन यदि आप उस की दुगुनी प्राइसेज करके कम करना चाहें तो वह नहीं होगा। जब तक कि आप उसके लिए आल्टर्नेटिव आर्टिकल नहीं देंगे उसका कंजम्शन कम नहीं होगा। आज लोग गेहूं खाना छोड़ सकते हैं यदि उनको बाजरा खाने के लिए मिल जाये। गेहूं से बाजरे पर वे स्वीच कर सकते हैं। लोग गेहूं खाना छोड़ नहीं सकते हैं चाहे आप उसका दाम पांच रुपया किलो ही क्यों न कर दें। इसी प्रकार से यदि आप मोटा कपड़ा लोगों को मोहैया कर दें तो अच्छे कपड़े का कंजम्शन कम हो सकता है। आप अच्छे कपड़े पर, फाइबर पर और अच्छे यार्न पर कर बढ़ा सकते हैं लेकिन अगर माम कंजम्शन के लिए मोटे कपड़े की सप्लाई नहीं करते हैं तो फिर प्राइसेज का बढ़ना ही बढ़ा होगा, प्राइसेज कम नहीं होगी। इसी प्रकार से जो टायर्स हैं वह भी आम आदमी के काम आते हैं। तो यह दो तीन आइटम्स हैं उन पर अगर टैक्स न लगाया जाता तो अच्छा होता। आज बाजार में कागज की कितनी शार्टेज है? लडको को एक्ससाइज बुक्स और किताबों नहीं मिल रही है। उस हा त में कागज पर टैक्स बढ़ाकर हम उन दिक्कत को और बढ़ा ही रहे हैं, कम नहीं कर रहे हैं।

इन शब्दों के साथ मोटे तौर पर जो कर प्रस्ताव हैं वह जनहित में हैं, अच्छे हैं उनसे

[श्री शिव नम्र सिंह]

कुछ न कुछ प्राइमेज कंट्रोल में आयेगी इसलिए मैं उनका स्वागत करता हूँ इन दो तीन मुद्दाओं के साथ धर्मवाद।

श्री सरजू पांडे (गाजीपुर) उपाध्यक्ष जी, माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी 232 करोड़ के नये टैक्सज लेकर सदन के सामने उपस्थित हुये हैं। इस समय देश की जो आर्थिक दशा है वह अकथनीय संकट में पडी हुई है जिसका वर्णन करना कठिन है। चीजों के दाम बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं, भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ता चला जा रहा है, काम्प्यूटेशन के जो काम हैं वह रुकते चले जा रहे हैं, सारी प्लानिंग और अर्थ-व्यवस्था बिल्कुल रूटी के खाले में पडी हुई है और यह टैक्सज के नये नये प्रयोजन्य लेकर सदन के सामने आये हैं कि हमसे देश में मुद्रास्फीति रूकेगी, कीमतें कम होंगी और देश का नयी दिशा मिलेगी जो कि मैं समझता हूँ बिल्कुल गलत और निराधार है। केवल हिन्दुस्तान में नहीं बल्कि दुनिया के किसी भी पूँजीवादी देश में इस रास्ते से चलकर संवट वा हान नहीं निकला है। आज दूसरे पूँजीवादी देशों में भी यही हालत है जैसे अमरीका, जापान और ब्रिटेन में इन्फ्लेशन और भ्रष्टाचार ज्यों का त्यों फैला हुआ है। केवल समाजवादी देशों में ऐसी स्थिति नहीं है। मैं इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ चीन में कीमतों के बारे में डा० कोटनिस स्मारक समिति के मन्त्री दाहिया, लर्सीफ, चाडन गए थे। चाडन से हमारा बहुत डिमार्शमेन्ट है, उन की बहुत सी बातें को हम मानने भी नहीं है लेकिन यदि हम चाडन में दामों की क्या हालत है उम्मा अपने मुन्बः से मुवाबला करने तो हमें पता चलेगा कि स्थिति क्या है। 15 साल पहले चाडन में जो चीजों के दाम थे वह आज फिर गए हैं। उन्होंने लिखा है चाडन में गोश्त का दाम 4.86 रु० प्रति किलो, चिकन

6 रु० प्रति किलो, फिश 2.40 रु० प्रति किलो और घण्टा 2.40 रु० वर्जन। दूसरी तरफ हमारे यहां दामों की क्या हालत है। लेकिन मन्त्री जी कहते हैं इस तरीके से हम कीमतों को गिरायेगे, जिन बेचारे चपरासियों और बाबुओं की 2-4 रुपये तनख्वाह बढ़ाई जाती है उनको सरकार जबरदस्ती जमा करयेगी और दूसरी तरफ टाटा, बिडला, डालमिया और सिंघानिया की तरफ उनकी नजर तक नहीं है। वह समझते हैं उन बेचरों को इतना पैसा देने में ही बाजार में मारी मंहगाई आ जायेगी। पता नहीं देश कैसे इनकी बातों को समझेगा। देश के लोग जवाब भी दे रहे हैं लेकिन फिर भी इन नेताओं को बुद्धि नहीं आ रही है। देश में आन्दोलन हो रहे हैं जनता पागल हो गई है लेकिन आप ऐसे जवानामुखी पर बैठे हुए हैं जिसका आपका पता नहीं है। इस रास्ते पर आप जायेंगे तो इस देश का धुरा हाल होने वाला है यह मैं आपका वार्निंग देना चाहता हूँ।

आप देखें तो देश के नमाम अखबारों में इस बजट की आलोचना की है। यदि आप समय दे तो मैं आपको पढ़कर सुनाऊँ कि चव्हाण साहब इन कर प्रस्तावों के द्वारा सिवाय कंज्यूमर गुड्स के दाम बढ़ाने के और कोई भी दूसरा काम करने वाले नहीं है। आप जाकर बाजार में देखें हालत क्या हो रही है। आपसे सीमेन्ट का लोहे का दाम तांबे का दाम, तांबे के तारों का दाम बढ़ाया है। आपने तांबे का दाम बढ़ा दिया, मैं पूछता हूँ जो सरकारी क्षेत्र है जो खेतड़ी का प्रोजेक्ट है उसकी क्या हालत होगी या बहर भी वह इस्तेमाल होता है वहां क्या हालत होगी? आपने सीमेन्ट का दाम बढ़ा दिया लेकिन क्या सीमेन्ट का इस्तेमाल इस देश में केवल पूँजीपति ही करते हैं? आपने रु० का दाम बढ़ाया लेकिन क्या नखीव आकर्म उसको इस्तेमाल नहीं करे ?

प्लास्टिक का दाम बढ़ाया, क्या गरीब आदमी उसका इस्तेमाल नहीं करते ? आप ने इस तरह से सारे कंप्यूमर गुड्स के दाम बढ़ाये और फिर कहते है इससे गरीबों को राहत मिलेगी और बड़े लोगों पर ही टैक्स बढ़ेगा— मैं कहता हू यह बिल्कुल गलत है ।

आप यहां सेंटर । हर माल घाटे का बजट बनाते है और प्रान्त वाले भी घाटे का बजट बनाते है । हिन्दुस्तान में जो काला धन है उसके निकालने के लिए मन्त्री जी के पास कोई भी प्रोग्राम नहीं है । मैंने अखबार में पढ़ा राज्य सभा में आया कि नोटों को डिमानेटाइज कर दिया जाये तो मन्त्री जी कहने लगे उससे मुद्रा । लोगों का विश्वास उठ जायेगा । मैं पूछता हू आज भी किमको उसमें विश्वास रह गया है ? आप भ्रष्टाचार करते है कि रुपये की कीमत 29 पैसे रह गई है । एक बार और बजट लायेंगे तो एक रुपये की कीमत 5 पैसे ही रह जायेगी तो रुपये की किमो का कोई विश्वास नहीं रह गया है । इस देश में करोड़पति और काला बाजार करने वाले इस देश को गलत रास्ते पर ले जा रहे है लेकिन आपको टच करने की कोई भी व्यवस्था इस बजट में नहीं है निवाय इसके कि आम आदमियों पर टैक्स बढ़ाओ—कागज पर और दूसरे आम जरूरत की चीजों पर । जो काला बाजार करने वाले है उनको छुन का भी कोई प्रोग्राम इस बजट में नहीं है । जैसा मैंने शुरू में कहा काला बाजार करने वालों से पैसा निकालना ही तो उसका निवाय डिमानेटाइजेशन के दूसरे कोई रास्ता हू नहीं हू लेकिन उस के लिए आप तैयार नहीं है । मैं तो कहता हू आप इस को छोड़ दीजिए, आप क्यों बना बजट ला रहे है, जितने टैक्स जमा बकाया है जन्ही को अगर आप वसूल कर लीजिए तो सारी कमी पूरी हो सकती है । उत्तर प्रदेश के मिर्जापुर में हिडालको जो बिड़ा है कन्सर्न उस पर लगभग दो करोड़ रुपये टैक्स का बकाया है लेकिन वह वसूल

नहीं हो रहा है । इसी प्रकार कापयुग के मारे करोड़पतियों और देश के तमाम करोड़पतियों पर टैक्स बकाया है उसी टैक्स को यदि आप वसूल कर लीजिए तो नये टैक्स लगाने की जरूरत ही नहीं रहेगी । लेकिन उस तरह आपका कोई ध्यान ही नहीं है ।

इसी तरह के चीनी के कारखानादायों का मवाल है। बीस साल हो गये, हम लगातार चिन्ताते है, इस पक्ष के लोग ही नहीं, कांग्रेस पक्ष के लोगों ने भी कहा कि यह जो चीनी के कारखानेदार है वह टूट मचाये हुए है । वे न तो कारखानेकारा का पैसा देते है और न ही सरकार के खजाने में पैसा देते है । लगातार कहा गया कि इन का राष्ट्रीयकरण कर लें जिये और इस तरह जा पैसा सरकार खजाने में आये उस को देश के निर्माण में लगाये । लेकिन उस तरह कोई ध्यान नहीं है । वृत्ति फिर वर गरीब आदमियों के हितों के खिन्ता कर कि । जाना है और पूर्जाधितियों को टच तक नहीं किया जाना है । क्या समाजवाद को यही आप की अर्थ व्यवस्था है ? उस तरह कैम काम चलेगा ? आप का चीनी मिलों का राष्ट्रीयकरण करने में क्या दिक्कत है ? स्पडा मिलों ने नष्ट मन्थी है, लगभग 100 कांडे की मिलें निकल है उन को लेने में क्या हर्ज है ? जो करोड़ों रुपया मिले कमा चुकी है उन को लेने में क्या आपत्ति है ? उन पर आप टैक्स क्यों नहीं लगाते । रफाजरी पर, विलायती शराब पर और लखनऊ गुड्स पर टैक्स नहीं लगाया, आप का समझ में लोहा, सी ट, कागज बन्ब लखनऊ की चीजों में आता है । पता नहीं जिन आप को शिक्षा देता है । टी०व० पर क्यों नहीं आप टैक्स लगाते है । आज ही मैं अखबार में पढ़ रहा था कि एक मेठ जी के यहा 5 टेलीवीजन सैट्स है । उन पर टैक्स नहीं लगाते । शरब जनता पर टैक्स लगाते चल जाये तो ऐसे समाजवाद नहीं आयेगा ।

(भी सरजू पांडे)

अभी मैं अपने जिले से आ रहा हूँ वहाँ 8, 10 दिन पहले गेहूँ का भाव 1.62 पैसे था जो आज 2.00 प्रति किलोग्राम हो गया और एक महीने बाद और दाम बढ़ने वाला है देश में लोग भूखी परने लगेंगे। अगर आप समाजवाद के रास्ते पर जाते ता बड़े बड़े वेतन भोगियों को तनख्वाह घटाते, मन्त्रियों को तनख्वाह घटाते। कांग्रेस कमेटी में लोग ने कहा कि मंत्री लोग जो शाहाना जिन्दगी बिताते हैं इस को घटाया जाय। जब 30 करोड़ जनता बिनोपावटी लाइन पर जिन्दा है तो हन को और आप को क्या हक है इतने ठाठ बाठ की जिन्दगी बिताये क्या देश की जनता इस को नहीं देखता है। बड़े अफसरो की तनख्वाह घटाते, कम्पलमरी डिभाजिट का कानून बड़े मेठो के लिये बनाने। बनाया है तो झूठमूठ का कि डिबिडेंड का रकबा लाकर जमा कर देंगे। अगर देश को जनता के लिए ही सारे कानून बनाने चले जा रहे हैं जिम का नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि गरीबों बढ़नी चली जा है और रात दिन सकट बढ़ रहा है। देश के मोनोपली घरो के खिलाफ कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी ने आन्दोलन किया, प्रदर्शन किये, पत्रक दिया कि 7-5 मगरमच्छों को पकड़िये। मगर उन के उपर आं को कोई हाथ नहीं। क्यों? मुझे ताज्जुक हुआ यह जान कर कि उत्तर प्रदेश के इसी चुनाव में भारत के बड़े बड़े ब्लैक मार्केटियस ने रुपया दिया। तो अब उन से रुपया ले कर चुनाव लड़ेंगे तो कैसे लड़ सकते हैं आप उ स? यह सम्भव नहीं है। राज्य सभा में समाज पूछा गया है। .. (व्यवधान) जो भाँ पैसा लेता है तो अपराधी है। अपराधियों को कतार में बैठ कर कोई आदमी न्याय नहीं कर सकता है। एक कहानी सुनाना चाहता हूँ कि भग्य पितामह उर्सा सभा में बैठे थे जिस में द्रौपती नंगी की जा रही थी। उसने कहा कि औरत को सभा में नंगी करना न्याय नहीं है। भीष्म पितामह ने कोई विरोध नहीं

किया। जब महाभारत की लड़ाई खत्म हो गई और भीष्म पितामह सुमर क्षेत्र में लेंटे थे तो उन्होंने पाण्डवों से कहा कि तुमने बड़ा अच्छा काम किया कि अर्जुन का विरोध किया। उन्होंने कहा कि अर्जुन के खिलाफ लड़ना ही धर्म है। तो द्रौपती ने उर्सा वक्त पूछा कि उस समय आप ने जबान क्यों नहीं खोली जब मैं सभा में नंगी की जा रही थी, जब मेरे साथ अर्जुन ही रहा था? तो उन्होंने कहा कि मैंने अर्जुन का अन्न खाया था इसलिए मेरो बुद्धि मारि गई थी और मैं बोल नहीं सका। यही हाल आप का है जब आप अर्जुन। लोगों से पैसा लेते हैं तो आप समाजवाद कैसे ला सकते हैं। अगर हम भी अर्जुनियों को कतार में चले जायेंगे तो हम भी वहाँ मुनेगे। इसलिए जो आप देश की शरब जनता पर बोझ डाल रहे हैं हम से देश की जनता का कल्याण नहीं होगा। इसलिए बड़े बड़े पूजोपतियों को छोड़ना और माधारण जनता पर टैक्स लगाना, खुद ठाठ की जिन्दगी बिताना और दूसरो से कहना कि मन्न से काम लो, भजन करो भगवान का, इस से काम नहीं चलेगा। लोक सभा के डार पर लिखा हुआ है - 'धर्मप्ये वाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन यह सरभन देश में चलने वाला नहीं है। आज जनता भूख है, परेशान है और उस पर यह टैक्स लगाना इस से मुद्रा स्फूर्ति होगी और बाजारों में अभी से इस के आसार नजर आने लगे हैं। इसलिए इस लाइन को छोड़ दीजिये। अगर देश में सचमुच समाजवाद लाना है तो जो समाजवाद देशी ने किया उस रास्ते पर चलिए। घराने की कोई बात नहीं है यह सोच कर कि दुनिया कहेगी कि हम नकल कर रहे हैं। दुनिया में हर अच्छा बात को नकल करनी चाहिए। अगर आप यह करते हैं कि किम तरह से मनी इ फ्लेश; रोक जाय, इंग्लैंड, जर्मनी, जापान ने कैसे इस को रोकना दो दूसरे देशों से यह भी सीखें कि गरीबों को रोकना जा सकता है। इसलिए अगर आप मुद्रास्फूर्ति रोकना चाहते हैं तो ब्लैक मनी

को सब से पहले कंट्रोल करना चाहिए। कोई भी तरीका निकालिये। लेकिन अभी जो तरीका आप ने निकाला है इस से कभी काला धन नहीं रहेगा। जो बेज कीज आप ने किया कम्पलसरी तौर पर डिपोजिट का तरीका लगाया है इसने गरीब लोगों का नुकसान होने वाला है। जिस की तनख्वाह, 6, 8, 10 15 रु० बढ़ गई वह आदमी क्या चीज खरीद लेगा? बाजार में कितनी चीज खरीद कर घर में रख लेगा? इसलिए इस को वापस लीजिये क्योंकि इस से लोग बहुत परेशान हैं।

आप ने सीमेंट और दूसरी जरूरी चीजों पर टैक्स लगाया है। यह सब रा-मैटिरियल है। अगर इन पर टैक्स लगेगा तो उत्पादन की कीमतें बढ़ेंगी और देश में माल महंगा मिलेगा। जरूरत की चीजें जो गरीब आदमी इस्तेमाल करते हैं उन पर आप टैक्स न लगायें। इस पर आप को ठंडे दिल से विचार करना चाहिए। अंत में फिर कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारत में जो मोनोपॉली चलाने हैं उन को टच कीजिए। उन के पान कोई बंद नहीं है। उत्तर प्रदेश के चुनाव से सिद्ध कर दिया है कि अगर गरीब आदमी आप का साथ नहीं देता तो आप चुनाव हार जाते। 99 प्रतिशत लोगों ने ऐसे ही आप का साथ दिया, विपक्ष हरिजनों ने वोट दिया जिस की वजह से आप उत्तर प्रदेश में शासन से आये। करोड़पतियों की बदौलत आप शासन से नहीं आये। जो गैर जरूरी तौर पर चीजों का उत्पादन कम किए हुए है और दोष यह देते हैं कि चूनि हड़ताल हो रही है इस लिए उत्पादन गिर रहा है, चूनि गडबड आप करते हैं अर्थोपेक्षन के लोग सहायता नहीं करते हैं इसलिए उत्पादन गिर रहा है। यह बात सरासर झूठ है। पैदावार गिराने की जिम्मेदारी करोड़पतियों की है, वह देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को गडबड करना चाहते हैं इसलिए उनके हाथ में खेलने की जरूरत नहीं है। अगर आप देश का समर्थन चाहते हैं, जो कि हम देना चाहते हैं, हम जयप्रकाश नारायण के

पक्ष में नहीं है जो बिना प्रोग्राम के झगड़ा मचाने हैं। उन से पूछा जाय कि अष्टाचार रोकने, महंगाई रोकने का क्या रास्ता है तो कोई प्रोग्राम उनके पास नहीं है सिवाय इसके कि कांग्रेस की हुंदा से और कांग्रेस की जगह पर उसने भी बड़े मगर मच्छी को बैठा दो। हम चाहते हैं आप का सहयोग देना जिसे से आप गरीबों की भलाई के रास्ते पर चले तभी देश का कल्याण होगा वरना संकट और बढ़ेगा, आंदोलन और होगा और इसे कोई नहीं रोक सकता। गरीब जनता जब भूखों मरेगी तो हम चुपचाप तमाशा नहीं देखेंगे। सारे देश के लोग जो इमानदार हैं और जिनकी चिन्ता है वह मैदान में आयेगी। जिससे स्थिति विषम हो जायेगी। इसलिए वित्त मंत्री हमारी बातों पर विचार करेंगे और कम से कम जो काला धन है उस को निकालने का प्रोग्राम बनायेंगे तथा जो सारे देश में काला धन का जाल छाया हुआ है, पोलिटीशियन अफसर, दफ्तरों और जजों को जो पैसे की बदौलत खरीदते हैं उन की खरीद भी तभी बंद होगी। अभी मैं विचार के एक नेता के बारे में क्लॉटिज में जो छपा है उस को पढ रहा था वहां जो नेताओं की छांछालेदार होती रही है यह सब पैसे की ही माया है और जब तक यह बीमारी रहेगी तब तक नाम नहीं चलेगा। इसलिए टैक्स के प्रोपोजल को वापिस लीजिए। यह बजट आप जब दरती देश पर लगा रहे है इस को लाने का कोई नैतिक या वैधानिक औचित्य नहीं है, कोई अधिकार नहीं है। इस लिए इस को वापस लीजिए। और हिन्दुस्तान के बड़े पृथिवियों पर हाथ लगाइये, पूरी तरह उस में हम आप का साथ देगे और डट कर आप का समर्थन करेंगे। अगर देश की गरीब जनता पर अगर आप अन्याय पूर्वक टैक्स लादेंगे और महंगाई बढ़ेगी तो हम डटकर उसका विरोध करेंगे। आज जो देश की स्थिति है वह बड़ी भयानक है। उसके साथ इस को चलाया नहीं जा सकता।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं इस का विरोध करता हूँ।

SHRI Y. S. MAHAJAN (Buldana): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I welcome the Finance Bill presented by the hon. Minister of Finance. It shows the determination of the Government to reduce the yawning gap between public expenditure and the total resources in sight during the current year.

Though the main thrust of the Budget for 1974-75 was to restrict the growth of public expenditure, mobilise additional resources on a substantial scale and to reduce reliance on deficit financing as part of the overall strategy to contain inflation, these objectives have not so far been realised. In fact, the strength of the inflationary forces has continually increased and prices have been pushed up more steeply than before, the average monthly increase since January 1974 being about 2.6 per cent.

As the inflation in our country is due to factors working on both sides of the equation, that is inflationary demand on the one side and insufficiency of supply on the other, Government has to take determined steps not only to augment agricultural and industrial production but also to reduce the monetary demand in the economy.

As a result of some factors which are largely beyond our control such as uncertainty of rainfall, shortage of fertilisers in the world market, the lack of adequate power supply and transport difficulties, the prospects of growth in agricultural and industrial production are minimal. In the meanwhile, if soaring prices continue, they will debauch our currency, play havoc with the lives of our people and mar all prospects of progress in the near future.

It is to prevent such a catastrophe that the Finance Bills seeks to raise more resources and reduce the gap between the income and expenditure of Government for the current year.

The Finance Bill, it should be noted, is also part of a package of measure designed to check inflationary pressure; and to stabilise prices at a reasonable level or at least prevent upward rise in the near future. But the question that we have to answer is whether this Finance Bill, or call it Budget, will remove the potential gap between revenue and expenditure. The hon. Finance Minister has had no illusions on this point. The gap will be reduced, though not eliminated. The deficit is still increasing and it is not possible to say at the moment what that deficit will be.

The hon. Finance Minister has reiterated his intention to ensure that deficit financing does not exceed the limit of Rs. 126 crores as projected in the budget for 1974-75. Some people contend that though the object is to fight inflation, it will in fact have the reverse effect. Here again the Finance Minister has been frank enough to admit that all the measures taken so far under the three Ordinances and the changes in the monetary policy would not be adequate to deal with the inflationary situation. Hence he had to come forward with the Finance Bill for increasing the income of the Government and reducing the inflationary pressures in the economy. The tax on interest earnings of the commercial banks will lead to an increase in the lending rates. By making credit dearer the traders and manufacturers will have to spend more. This will it is hoped dampen their enthusiasm for speculation or speculative building up of inventories. Since there will be a tax on the interest earned by banks and there is a tax on the profits banks, I want to ask whether this does not amount to double taxation. Increasing the bank rate by two per cent is not a sufficiently strong measure. The bank rate could have been increased by two or three per cent more. As far as the increases in excise duties are concerned most of them are on

industrial intermediates and, therefore, it is difficult to estimate the probable increase in prices except to say that the increases will be negligible. The hon. Minister has only attempted to see that scarce commodities are used more effectively. He has also attempted to discourage conspicuous consumption and to intercept the windfall or blackmarket gains being made by the traders and manufacturers. It may not be wrong to expect that most of the burden of such taxes will be cushioned at various stages.

The most significant feature of the Finance Bill is that the Finance Minister has avoided fresh levies on articles of mass consumption. The common man who already bears the heaviest burden under inflationary conditions has been spared. None of the items that figure in the consumer price index have been taxed. The Finance Minister has not taxed bank yarn or yarn of lower count groups, tyres and tubes of scooters, mopeds or anomaly driven vehicles, cheaper varieties of cigarettes, standard varieties of cloth and common varieties of writing and printing paper and newsprint. Certainly he reserves to be congratulated on this aspect of the Finance Bill.

He has promised a number of supplementary steps to follow the Finance Bill to counter the inflationary situation. We are anxiously awaiting for them. Hope he will soon be ready with economy measures and drastic steps against black money which has made the Government's control and management of the economy largely ineffective. There could be no doubt that a sizeable increase in agricultural production will have the greatest effect in dampening down inflationary pressures. I am glad that the Prime Minister has herself undertaken a campaign to go round the different States to ensure that steps are taken to boost agricultural production. In addition

to these essential steps, we should tighten up the fiscal system and recover revenue arrears. This will immediately reduce the spendable amount in the hands of people most of whom are likely to be tax dodgers or speculators.

Lastly I should like to suggest a rule of the thumb for regulating our monetary policy, namely, that the money available in the economy including currency notes and bank credit should not increase in a year by more than the increase in real output. Many eminent economists have said that the increase in the amount of money supply should not be more than five per cent. The Finance Bill, the three Ordinances and the changes in the monetary policy are clear evidence that the Government is dead set against inflation. I hope the Government will not slacken its effort to pursue them vigorously upto the point when it can break the inflation psychosis which turns everybody who has money into a speculator. The manufacturer builds up a big inventory; the trader becomes a hoarder; and he who has black money buys up anything he can lay his hands upon for speculative purposes and even consumers who can afford keep unnecessarily large stocks.

Under such conditions, even an appreciable increase in production will not have any desired effect. The Government has now moved in the right direction and taken the necessary steps. No right-minded person can withhold his assent or approval to such a policy. With these words, I support the Finance Bill.

*SHRI J. MATHA GOWDER (Nilgiris): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to place my views on the Finance Bill No. 2 on behalf of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.

[Shri J. Matha Gowder]

At the very outset, I would like to say with all the force at my command that the basic cause for the present unprecedented economic crisis being faced by the country is the ruling party's misplaced economic priorities, defective fiscal policies and extravagant expenditure. I am sure that this contention will be countered by the Government with the argument of fall in agricultural production during the current year on account of insufficient rains. But, Sir, it cannot be denied that the country had bumper crops in the earlier years and inspite of that such an economic crisis has overtaken the country. It is inexplicable to me how the Government, with a sprawling bureaucracy at their back, could not foresee this economic crisis and take precautionary steps to avert it or to reduce its impact.

Here, I would like to point out that the Opposition Parties in this House had frequently stressed the need for cutting down all the unproductive expenditure and for curbing the attitude of spending spree on the part of the Government. I am sorry to say that the Government did not pay heed to the earnest pleas of the Opposition Parties in this august House. Sir, today morning there was a Short Notice Question about the cancellation of International Trade Fair. Before the Government took a decision to cancel the International Trade Fair, more than a crore of rupees had already been spent on the International Trade Fair. Could the Government have not taken this decision to cancel this International Trade Fair six months before which would have effected a saving of more than a crore of rupees to the Government? I would like to know why the Government did not take this decision six months before. Does it mean that the Government were not aware of the impending financial crisis? If the Government could not take decisions at appropriate

time, if the Government could not administer the country properly, it would be better for them to resign and get out. I am compelled to say this because the Government could not foresee the coming events, which resulted in the unnecessary expenditure of more than a crore of rupees. This is not a solitary instance.

When the coking coal mines were nationalised, I pleaded with the Government in this House that they should not give any compensation to the erstwhile mine-owners. Many hon. Members referred to this in this House. But the Government were munificent to compensate the former mine-owners with Rs. 30.35 crores as if the public exchequer was overflowing with money. If anyone came to the conclusion that the ruling party stood to benefit from the payment of compensation to the mine-owners, he would not be very far from truth. Similarly, for more than two decades there was demand for the abolition of privy purses to the former rulers. But when the Government took the decision to abolish the privy purses, after having paid a sum of about Rs. 110 crores to the former rulers, unashamedly the Government came with a proposal to pay them a lump sum as compensation which meant draining the public exchequer by several crores of rupees. Likewise, for many years the people of the country were demanding the nationalisation of big commercial banks which served only the interests of big monopoly industrialists. When at last this Government nationalised 14 big commercial banks, though there was no need to give any compensation, there was a proposal from the Government to give a compensation of about Rs. 105 crores to the erstwhile managements. The Government, unmindful of the economic implications, have also agreed to pay Rs. 15 crores in foreign exchange as compensation to the ESSO Oil Company which has been taken over by them.

At every step, the members belonging to the Opposition Parties were pointing out to the Government that such huge payments of compensation were detrimental to the economic interests of the country. But the Government were generous, as if money would flow perennially from the public exchequer. When this was proved otherwise, when the exchequer is dried up, the Government are shedding crocodile tears about the worsening economic situation. Are they not ashamed of having brought the country to the brink of economic destruction? Either they should have had a sense of perspective and managed the fiscal resources prudently or they should have given their ears to the earnest pleadings of the Opposition Parties in this House. I am constrained to ask of this Government: are you not really ashamed to take the money from the poorest of the poor in the country by the presidential ordinance that 50 per cent of the increase in their wages should be compulsorily deposited with the Government?

Take for example the plantation labour, who with their sweat and blood contribute greatly to the foreign exchange earnings of the country. Their wage is Rs. 3 per day. On account of ever-increasing prices of essential commodities, they are not able to make both their ends meet. Now, they may get an increase of 50 paise per day, if their wages are increased by the plantation owners and a bonus of Rs. 20 or 30 a year. Out of this, they have now to deposit with the Government 50 per cent. I should say that this heartless Government want 25 paise from the paltry 50 paise increase given to a plantation labour. Many Unions of Plantation Labour have already sent a telegram to the Prime Minister in this regard. I have already written a letter in this connection to the Finance Minister requesting him that the Plantation Labour should be exempted from the Provisions of the Ordinance regarding 50 per cent compulsory deposit. Who is responsible for this state of affairs? It is only the

economic mismanagement of the country by the Government. It would have been all right if the Government had extended this Ordinance only to the highly-paid bureaucrats and heavily drawing management personnel in the private sector. It would have been proper if the Government had tried to replenish their depleted exchequer by taxing the monopoly industrialists. I wonder what the foreign Government will think about the Government of India trying to raise resources from the people living below the poverty line. It is time that this Government give serious thought to this question.

I would also refer to the paradox of food scarcity especially in the Congress-ruled States. Sir, in our country, in only one State there is an Opposition Party in power, i.e. the D.M.K. in Tamil Nadu. Till recently there was no food scarcity in Tamil Nadu. The D.M.K. Government of Tamil Nadu, by implementing an effective agriculture-oriented policy, made the state self-sufficient in foodgrains, and also a surplus State in foodgrains but the Central Government would not tolerate the efficient administration of a State by an Opposition Party. If it is allowed to function in the interests of the people of the State, naturally the Opposition Party will continue to be in power for some more years. The Congress Party at the Centre should somehow end the happy state of affairs in any part of the country. The Central Government, even without consulting the State Government, removed the Control on the movement of coarse foodgrains and in consequence there is acute shortage of foodgrains in the State today. The entire blame for this unfortunate situation in Tamil Nadu rests squarely on the shoulders of the State today. The entire blame for this unfortunate situation in Tamil Nadu rest as it took in discrediting the D.M.K. Government in augmenting foodgrains production in the Congress-ruled States, there would have been no scarcity of foodgrains in any part of the country. But, the history of the ruling Congress Party is replete with

[Shri J Matha Gowde]

such instances of deception and leg-pulling. The Congress Party did not allow the Opposition Party to be in power in the Punjab even for a few months. I have pointed this out many times on the floor of this House. Instead of spending the precious time in devising ways and means for dislodging an Opposition Party Government or for dislodging it from the seat of power if the ruling Congress Party starts thinking and acting constructively in the interests of the people of the country, then it is worth the while for the country to be administered by such a party. If the Government charged with the responsibility of feeding the people of the country fail to do that they have no right to rule the State. It would be better for the people of the country if the Government resign forthwith and entrust the responsibility to somebody else.

SH: I think in 1956 the first Supplementary Budget was presented by the Central Government and in 1963 the second Supplementary Budget. Now this is the third Supplementary Budget. The very fact that for a third time the ruling party has come forward with a Supplementary Budget shows that the day of reckoning is fast approaching for the ruling party. I would only say that the Government may dig their own grave but they should make every endeavour to save the people from certain destruction. If the ruling party after 25 years of uninterrupted stay in the seat of power, cannot deliver the goods to the country if the Congress Party Government at the Centre have got any compunction left in them they should quit honourably before they are completely overtaken by the events. I should say that they by that act would only do good to the country and its people. Again I would say that that would be better than extracting money from the poor people to fill the coffers of the Government.

SIR: It is common knowledge that the Government have many thousands of crores of rupees as aid and loans from foreign governments during the past two and half decades. Our country perhaps tops the list of heavily taxed countries. With all this, we are facing the economic crisis today. This is mainly because economic prudence is an alien phrase for this Government. Even today lakhs and lakhs of rupees in foreign exchange are being spent in the foreign tours of the Central Minister. The splendour and extravagance of the living of monopoly industrialists bears no comparison. It is widely believed that black money in thousands of crores of rupees is in circulation. The blackmarketeers and speculators are holding the country to ransom. If only the Government had taken energetic steps to eradicate the evil of black money in our country this country would not have been overtaken by this financial crisis. It is not enough if the Government capture Rs. 50 lakhs or Rs. 60 lakhs in a corner of Bombay City as reported in the newspapers. The Government have not got a time-bound plan to rid the country from the evil effects of black money. I should say that the Government are also not interested in such a time-bound plan. For the ruling Congress Party black money is the perennial source for fighting and winning the elections. Without the support of black money the ruling party would not be able to survive even for a day. The ruling party can perpetuate it hold on the country for another two decades only with the help of black money. I have no hesitation in saying that the Government are still peddling the issue of black money and the country has been mortgaged to black marketeers and speculators. The only unalterable aim of the ruling party is that it should perpetuate its powers and that no opposition party should be given any opportunity to rule the country. The financial crisis being faced by the country today is the consequence of the ruling Congress Party's mismanagement of the economy and subserving the economy to its political ends.

It is time that the Central Government mend their primary objective of keeping the Opposition Parties at bay by taking constructive interest in the economic well being of the nation. Before I conclude, I would urge upon the hon. Finance Minister that he should repeal the Ordinance affecting the meagre resources of the poor people of the country.

SHRI NIMBALKAR (Kolhapur): Through the taxes he has proposed the hon. Finance Minister expects to raise about Rs. 123 crores in the present financial year of which less than Rs. 30 crores will be in the form of direct taxes.

The purpose of raising these taxes is to meet the deficit in the Railway Budget and then the rise in the Defence Budget as also to curtail the deficit financing and keep it within Rs. 126 crores and to meet the increased expenditure on the import of foodgrains of which Rs. 100 was first thought of and for which we now have to pay anywhere around Rs. 400 crores.

As far as direct taxes are concerned, particularly, the tax on bank interest, I think, the same effect can be achieved by raising the bank rate by 3 per cent instead of 2 per cent as was done in recent times. But since then an Article has appeared in the *Economic Times* in which hope is expressed that some of these taxes will be absorbed today by the banks and if that is the case I welcome this measure. This is a better and a welcome way of raising resources. I have also heard the opinion of Mr. Mahajan who has quoted Semibombla and said that bank rate should have gone up by 3 per cent rather than 3 per cent. In the case of indirect taxes, experience in respect of any nation is this. No Finance Minister likes to raise money by indirect taxation. Our Finance Minister is really an optimist and he thinks that that money will be absorbed by the traders and producers. This optimism is clear in the statement made by Finance Minister when he said that

he wanted to mop up surplus gains. If they are not passed on to the poor and common man that only this sort of mopping up will do good. But I am quite sure, knowing the psychology of the traders and the industrialist, that this will be passed on to the poor man, to the common man. The state of the common man as far as indirect taxes are concerned, is worse than that of a dog. A professor once asked a student to delineate what he thought was indirect taxes and to give example and the student said, for instance, Sir, the indirect tax. The Professor asked, how comes? He said well, Sir, the dog does not have to pay the taxes. In the case of indirect taxes it is the common man, the poor man, who has to pay it. So he is worse than a dog and we call him usually an under-dog.

The fact of the matter is this. We have to ask ourselves why these taxes were made necessary. It is easy to say, we are in the grip of rising prices, galloping prices, etc. and economic crisis. But we should ask ourselves whether we have not in a way helped this crisis to come about by the kind of spending that we resorted to. Only today in the *Indian Express* you will find that there is an article under caption: States messed up crash food plan. In the crash food plan 1972-73 it was expected to have 15 million tonnes of foodgrains. Layout of Rs. 250 crores was made. Not even one grain more was produced than what was expected, and Rs. 250 crores were spent in a wasteful manner.

Regarding conspicuous consumption, let us talk of what happens in Civil Aviation. Some of us travel by air. You will find not even thereof four persons pay the fares themselves. Otherwise what you find is that MPs like us travel who are paid by the State and there are others who travel by air who are paid by the industry. What you find is that the entire load is more or less paid by the State itself.

[Shri Nimbalkar]

I call this also a kind of conspicuous spending. In the public sector undertakings, particularly, if you think of them in a commercial sense and if you invest hundreds of crores of rupees, then you should be earning by at least tens of crores of rupees. If you invest by thousands of crores of rupees, you should be earning hundreds of crores of rupees. Actually, we are investing in public sector undertakings thousands and thousands of crores of rupees. But, what is the return that we are getting in return? We talk about socialist countries. In a socialist economy, a public sector undertaking must run on a profit and that profit must work as a cushion with which the Finance Minister can really operate in such a manner that our country can come forward. I cannot blame our Finance Minister. He has, of course, made enough money available to these public sector undertakings and we are looking after these public sector undertakings. Considering the fact that we are looking after these public undertakings, you do not run them with a commercial consideration. Take for example the Civil Aviation, Tourism or even Heavy Industry and so on and so forth. You have to run them with a commercial consideration. In fact, we are running them like post offices. It will ruin the economy if we were to run them as if they are post offices. I would urge upon our Finance Minister that after all he is financing these undertakings and he should prevail upon his colleagues to see that take a commercial attitude towards them and not run as post offices. If he is going to do like this, then he is in for a trouble. If he were to run them on a profit, surely, he would have at his disposal between Rs. 700 and 800 crores. The point is that the amount has been spent wastefully. If there has been no wasteful expenditure, he would not have to resort to tax at all and he would have got Rs. 250 crores. I feel that after all our public sector undertakings should be run in an effi-

cient manner and they should realise that the time is now over and we cannot think, all the time, this post office economy on the ground that it would be the poor who get everything from the public sector undertakings. They get nothing at all from the public undertakings. Public utility is quite different from the public sector undertakings. I am rather surprised about what he said in this House and outside about black money. That means we have got into the clutches of the black money. Some people want a frontal attack while some others want a complete eradication of black money. Ultimately, I am sure that cure is going to be worse than the disease. I want the Finance Minister to see that the black money is completely eradicated. Much of our industry may even use the black money to the extent of 45 per cent. You have, therefore, to ask yourselves whether our economy is not also run on black money. The question is; how to get rid of this black money? We have to take a little responsibility in our own fiscal policy and against the people who create the black money. That is the point on which we have to ponder on. I say you will have to take a pragmatic view of all these things. If you really want to get rid of the black money, that will have to be done in a manner which would ultimately be helpful to both the industries as well as to the economy of our country. At the same time, I think that at least 80 per cent of the controls that we have today will also have to be removed. One of the biggest reasons for the creation of black money is mostly the controls.

Sir, now it might sound odd but I want to propose one more tax which the Finance Minister should consider. He will remember we had those refugees on our hands I proposed the tax and I am happy to say he made use of that at that time. It is called need-based tax. The need of the hour is to eradicate foods. The Finance Minister himself is a doctor. He

knows in the field every run that is saved is worth two runs that are scored. Why I want to impress this point is tell me in the last 27 years one thing that we have completely cured. Even malaria is coming back. Let us have a levy of that and money should be completely used for the eradication of floods. I am an optimist and I am quite sure the Finance Minister is also an optimist. He will look this difficult time which we are facing not something to cow us down but as a new challenge and a new opportunity.

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL (Moradabad): Mr. Chairman, at the outset I would like to congratulate the Finance Minister for having acquired the proficiency not only to bluff himself but to mislead the entire nation on the economic front. The diagnosis of the disease and the remedy are so contradictory that one gets the impression that either the Finance Minister does not appreciate the fundamentals of economic principles or he allows himself to remain in dark.

During the budget debate last year I had the honour of asking the Finance Minister whether the country was moving forward or going back but he had compared my question with that of Hamlet's 'To be or not to be' and thus evaded the answer. But today every Indian is convinced that we as a nation are passing through the worst crisis of hyper-inflation and the Government is still groping in dark. Even the senior Congress leaders suspect whether Mr. Y. B. Chavan would ever succeed as Finance Minister. The fact that calculations made barely four months ago have been proved wrong shows the Government has completely lost control over economics. Shri Chavan's mini-budget is an open admission that the Government of India is a flat broke and is living from hand to mouth. The price index has shot up to 303.24 at 1961-62 level. Why? During the first six months of 1974 the prices have shot up by 34 per cent.

16.00 hrs.

The official value of the rupee has dwindled to 29 paise while the non-official value happens to be no more than 25 paise. In this situation and in these circumstances, the Finance Minister has presented the second Finance Bill which is primarily a resource-raising exercise. The Finance Minister claims it as anti-inflationary, because he feels that the resources so raised would be able to keep the budgetary deficit at Rs. 126 crores. I would have certainly supported the Finance Minister if his statement would have been correct. Here, I would like to argue with the Finance Minister. During the current year, is it not a fact that Government will be required to add at least Rs. 1100 crores to the budgetary deficit on the following basis? There are seven major items under which he will have additional expenditure added to the budgetary deficit. They are: Railway budgetary deterioration: Rs. 200 crores; expenditure on fertiliser subsidy: Rs. 100 crores. Expenditure to save the core sector projects: Rs. 300 crores; additional dearness allowance: Rs. 200 crores, additional food subsidy: Rs. 165 crores; additional expenditure on defence outlay: because of Pakistan's military build-up: Rs. 130 crores. In this way, the Finance Minister still has got the responsibility to finance the country's resources by Rs. 100 crores. On the credit side, the Finance Minister has got only two items. There also, according to the Pande and Kaul Committee, they have proposed a cut on the expenditure on account of both plan and non-plan outlay for 1974-75, and that figure has been kept at Rs. 200 crores. If we add this Rs. 136 crores raised during the supplementary budget, the total amount comes to about Rs. 336 crores. Thus, there is a sum of Rs. 1100 crores on the debit side and a sum of Rs. 336 crores on the credit side. It means that during the current year, the Finance Minister will leave the budget with a clear-cut budgetary gap of Rs. 800 crores. With this Rs. 800

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crores I really do not know how the Finance Minister claims that this budget is anti-inflationary. This is what I want to argue with the Finance Minister and understand.

Secondly, I hold the view, and this view is an economist's view, that this budget has nothing to do with our sole objective of fighting inflation. Whenever he raises excise duties, will they not add to the cost of production? Will they not be passed on to the consumer? If they are, how can he describe this as anti-inflationary? Either he feels that the entire world is a fool or he allows himself to live in a fool's paradise.

In fact, what has happened is that these excise duties which he has imposed on very crucial industrial items have already raised the prices and this cost-push-inflation will not merely be inflationary this time but it will also add the signs of recession. Therefore, this supplementary budget is not wholly inflationary but will also produce the signs of recession. When inflation and recession join a situation, Mr. Finance Minister, you can very well understand that you will create a situation which you as Finance Minister will not be able to meet. The present Government of which you happen to be the Finance Minister believe that the best way to reduce the price level is to mop up the purchasing power of the masses....

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:
Let him better address the Chair.

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL: I am addressing the Finance Minister through you, Sir, because he is the main object of criticism here. I want to convince him and through him the country. The facts prove that the higher the taxes; still higher are the prices. I would request him to understand and appreciate that during the last 25 years the excise duties have increased by 83 times.

In 1950-51, excise duties were only Rs. 357.06 crores while they have risen to Rs. 3,472 crores in 1973-74.

SHRI B. V. NAIK (Kanara): Calculations are wrong.

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL: No, these are all foolproof. Every sentence of mine is foolproof. I would like Government to verify these figures and let me know if they are wrong. This is one major factor responsible for galloping prices.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:
Figures are correct, but inferences are wrong.

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL: You cannot say the inferences are wrong because whenever you add up the excise duty, they are surely inflationary in character.

It has been suggested that the better course would have been to raise not excise duties but the ex-factory prices of these commodities. This is because an increase in excise duty will push up black market prices and widen the gap between manufacture and retention price; and black market price. If Government raises the ex-factory prices of these commodities, it will reverse the current trend and tempt manufacturers into selling more or their actual output through legitimate channels of distribution. It will actually reduce the flow of goods and cash into the parallel economy. If Government can come forward with a proposal of a wage freeze and dividend freeze, I do not have any objection, but I will demand a tax freeze. Wage freeze and dividend freeze should always go with tax freeze. The former have no meaning if taxes are allowed to go on increasing.

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalohandi): And price freeze also.

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL: This is the only answer to meet the present critical situation.

Next I would like to say this. Government has been pleading for the last 25 years that resources are being raised for the twin objectives of defence and development. Of course, resources must be raised for development. But I want to know, where is development? I will just give you one figure. During 1969-70, the Central and State Governments collected nearly 14 per cent of the national income by way of taxes, and savings out of tax revenues which could be used for investment amounted to barely 0.8 per cent of the national income. If the resources so raised either through taxation or budgetary deficit are utilised for development, one can very well understand the situation. But the real situation is entirely different. The resources raised are squandered on unproductive purposes. That is the real situation. All the resources you are raising today from the pockets of the poor, the common man or anybody else are being squandered. And so long as they are allowed to be squandered, you can very well appreciate that the economy can never grow. The blunt truth today is that Government now prefers to cut the plan and starve industry and cripple investment rather than take drastic steps to cut down its non-productive spending.

Government is committed to fight inflation. It has taken a series of steps during the last one or two years. I do appreciate Government has shown a certain determination in that direction, but these five steps namely, takeover of grain trade, credit squeeze, three Ordinances, raising the bank rate from 7 to 9 per cent and finally the supplementary budget, are not going to serve the purpose. Out of the five, at least three are negative in character while two steps, that is, the three Ordinances and the raising of the bank rate, which the Finance Minister has described as right steps in the right direction, are half-baked and half-hearted efforts which will not take him to his destination. These measures are so half-hearted that on the one hand, you will have a budget-

ary deficit of Rs 800 crores and a net bank credit exceeding Rs. 1,000 crores, on the other hand, on the supply side, zero growth rate. You can very well visualise the situation for tomorrow. I can predict that by 1975 will witness a new standard so far as the galloping prices are concerned. Prices will shoot at the rate of fifty per cent a year and 1975 will witness the rupee value at ten paise. That is what I predict to the Finance Minister, if he does not reduce the budgetary deficit and cut down the banking credit. If there is no reasonable growth rate, you can never fight inflation.

The Opposition has been charged that they do not have a plan to fight inflation. I should like to present my ten point anti-inflation plan for the consideration of the hon. House. First recasting of the Fifth Plan with a clearcut infrastructure laying a great deal of emphasis on transport, power and fertiliser. The present Fifth Plan is out of date and therefore it needs to be discarded. The Planning Commission as a body needs to be liquidated and I propose there should be a planning cell in the Finance Ministry to prepare a plan on the lines I suggested earlier. Secondly, money supply must be kept in relation to growth rate. If the growth rate is zero, money supply in no case should exceed two or three per cent. If the growth rate is 5 per cent, money supply should not exceed 8 per cent. During the last five years, the growth rate has been 2.7 per cent but money supply has been 13 per cent during the last two years. This gap between aggregate demand and aggregate supply is further widened by the money supply which has gone up to 16 per cent while the growth rate has come to zero. The widening demand and supply situation has further created a critical situation on the prices front. Thirdly, I propose that the Government must define its policy so far as production is concerned. Government leaders talk rather lightly and loudly about raising production while the

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Government has done very little to raise production. I suggest five points: utilisation of the installed capacity; price controls must go in respect of raw materials in strategic industries; power shortages must end, central supply of inputs to farmers and auto production laws must go, streamlining of procedural delays. Fourthly, the public distribution system needs to be streamlined. Vulnerable sections of the community must get essential items at reasonable prices. Next, there should be effective enforcement of the Essential Commodities Act. It is not necessary to amend the Act; if you enforce the provisions of the Act, I do not see the reason why hoarders, profiteers and blackmarketeers cannot be brought to book. It is argued: who symbolises these traders and why are they not brought to book? The Congress Party is maligned. If you want the Congress Party to be kept above board, you have to see that the Essential Commodities Act is enforced effectively.

There is so much talk of black money. If the Government tightens its tax machinery—it has got ample powers in respect of raids, seizures and searches—I do not see why the Government cannot unearth a sizable portion of the 'black money'.

The net bank credit rate, which is often talked here in this House, has already crossed the limit of Rs. 460 crores now and it should be kept under control. If you do not have a proper check on that, if you allow that to grow up at the present rate, I can assure you that inflation will remain beyond your reach.

The bank rate, which has already been raised from 7 to 9 per cent, I propose, should be raised to 13 or 14 per cent.

I expect the Government to present a white paper on unproductive expenditure. I would say that it should

be cut by Rs. 1,000 crores. So far as this item is concerned, here I would suggest seven points: (1) There should be a 50 per cent cut in the strength of the employees at the Rashtrapati Bhavan. (2) The Research and Evaluation Section at the Prime Minister's Secretariat be abolished. (3) The Planning Commission should be radically changed in composition. (4) There should be 10 per cent cut in civilian expenditure. (5) The staff cars should be maintained and used to the very minimum in which case a great saving can be made. (6) Overtime allowances, which amount to Rs. 51 crores, should be abolished. (7) Travel of Ministers and Government employees should be restricted, so far as foreign travel is concerned and, in the case of domestic travel also, it should be kept to the minimum.

Then, the rate of savings, which is the crux of the entire productive apparatus, should be looked into. Here the role of small savings can hardly be over-emphasized. I would also suggest that the limit for income-tax exemption for dividends should be raised from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 5,000 and all deposits in post offices should be exempted. The income-tax rate exemption limit should also be raised. In this way, the Government should draw up a programme by which the rate of savings is increased.

If this plan is worked out, if this ten-point plan is really brought into action, I really do not see why the prices cannot be kept under control. If the Finance Minister does not act in this direction, I can assure the Finance Minister that either he would not be required to present the next budget or he will have to present a supplementary budget again towards the winter session to manage the situation. That is to say, if he has to manage with a deficit of Rs. 800 crores, he may have to present a third budget.

We as a nation are moving rapidly towards a major disaster. There are visible signs of disintegration and a sense of enveloping chaos. If the

country is adrift and the Government rudderless, it is because there has been a failure of leadership. The Prime Minister has no programme, no work view, no grand design. Thus, bereft of a frame, she has merely reacted to events and failed to shape them. This has been her tragedy. She lacks economic wisdom and administrative expertise. She has a mandate but no mission. The two unique achievements to her credit are growing poverty and widespread corruption at the top. There is a moral crisis and the collapse of moral authority. She may dub the opposition as immoral, narrow, and sectarian vested interest but she and her policies are entirely responsible for economic, political and moral crisis. If the Prime Minister has been unable by herself to evolve a grand strategy for India and give the country the national goal, it is all because she has not allowed a body of advisers to develop such a frame for her. The immediate political backlash, the absence of a well-ordered follow up programme and the neutralisation of some of the anticipated benefits by the ensuing drought and floods created a sense of insecurity in her mind and left her with a psychological complex which has produced a split personality in her. She may claim to have an historical personality. But the history may reveal things differently. The Prime Minister has always been good to react but she has still to act for the good of the country. The crucial question which is being asked today is whether the leadership has actually betrayed the nation.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO (Coat-rapur) Mr Chairman, Sir I was listening to my hon friend Mr Virendra Agarwal who proclaims himself to be an economist. He gave a 10-point programme for economic development and to fight inflation. If you were to accept his 10-point programme for economic development and to fight inflation I do not know where the country will go to.

His first point was to abolish the Planning Commission. Planning is necessary at a time when the resources are limited. Planned development is necessary in a country like ours. It is due to planning that economic development has taken place. There may be some areas which are yet to be developed. There may be certain imbalances created. We have to set them right. But to say that the Planning Commission should be abolished.

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL I did not say that I said that Planning should be a part of the Finance Ministry.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO First he said that the Planning Commission should be abolished.

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL I said that planning should be a part of the Finance Ministry.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO We have got enough economists in the country. The party in power has a certain plan for economic development. We will stick to the plan and see how the country develops. If there are certain imbalances and distortions in the economic development certainly they will be set right.

It is true that our country is passing through an economic crisis. It is not that the Government is not alive to this, not that the Finance Minister does not know his job. That is why he is forced to come forward with the second Finance Bill. I welcome it. Not only that. If he were to come forward with the third Finance Bill, I will welcome it. Even my hon friend Mr Agarwal, agreed that there is a deficit of Rs 800 crores. The Finance Minister has to cover the deficit. He cannot resort to deficit financing. We should be prepared to make the sacrifices to see that we are not run down and that we are not chased by inflation.

It is the duty of Finance Minister to see that inflation is arrested. Inflation cannot be arrested only by one

[Shri Jagannath Rao]

Budget. A series of steps have to be taken. As a matter of fact, I will not call this Finance Bill as anti-inflation because its impact on inflation is not to such an extent as he would like it to be. This is one of the steps which he has taken. The effect of this Bill will be seen in the next year. He has to take steps now so that impact is produced in a few months.

There is a three pronged attack on inflation through the three Ordinances which were issued last month. These Ordinances have been attacked by certain sections of the House saying that they are against workers, that they have the effect of wage-freeze. I respectfully disagree with them. These Ordinances have put a curb on the white liquidity of cash in the hands of persons. Wages also include salaries. The idea, as is evident from the Finance Minister's speech is to reduce the demand because the demand is going up and the reduction is less. I would respectfully submit that a mere reduction in demand will not reduce the prices. The demand may be reduced but the prices may still go up. The prices are going up. They will go up unless there is a price control.

I would suggest that in respect of all manufactured goods, the Government should go into the cost structure and fix ex-factory prices of all the goods. Then only, with less demand and increased production in course of time, we can bring down the prices. The Government should have control over the private sector. The private sector is given certain fields of operation. They are operating. But there is no control, no check, over them. They produce more but they show less in their inventories. If 100 is the capacity, they produce 125. But 25 is not shown in their accounts. Therefore, I would suggest that the prices of all manufactured goods should be controlled.

I was happy to hear the other day on the radio Mr. K. R. Ganesh saying

that they were going to post excise staff in all the production units so that they know how much is produced. Unless you have a check and control on the private sector at the site of production, the prices cannot be controlled unless the prices are controlled, mere reduction in demand cannot have the desired effect.

It is then said that the ordinances will have the effect of a wage-freeze. I say, 'No'. The payment accrues only when orders are passed and Government orders are passed in July after the ordinances are promulgated. Unless the orders are issued by the Government, the wage-earner will not be entitled to get the allowance. Even then, only 50 per cent will be deposited into an account in the bank for two years. I would submit: what is the value of the rupee to-day? 29 paise. Now, the value of the rupee is bound to appreciate, thereby it will be to the advantage of the employee who is forced to save in the bank as the rupee will have a better value and a better price two years hence. It is said that it is an anti-worker measure I do not agree there. The idea is that we have to undergo sacrifices for a better tomorrow. We should be prepared for years to come, if not, at least for one year more to see that our economy develops and the prices are controlled.

would point out another defect. When the capacity in the country is estimated at 100, we have in the past not been allowing more capacity to be installed in the country. The result is that while 100 is the capacity, 100 is not being produced for various reasons. You see the performance of the public sector and the private sector where if the capacity is 100, production is only 60 or 70 or 80. Therefore, when the demand is 100 as the capacity is licensed according to the demand, then, production not being upto the optimum, there is less production and the demand is more. Therefore, if the demand is 100, the capacity should be 200 so that even if it has not reached 200, it may be 150 and there

may. be a competition and the prices also will be competitive. That is the case in other countries. So, if the demand is 100, the capacity in the country should be double.

SHRI B. V. NAIK: Liberalisation of industrial licensing is what you suggest.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO. I do not say that. As I said, there should be control over the production and everything produced should be strictly brought to the Government account so that there is no evasion of excise duty and the production does not go underground. I am not for encouraging private sector, but to the extent the private sector has a right to operate under the Industrial Policy Resolution which is operating to-day, they should be under the discipline of the Government. Now, there is no discipline and I want the Government should exercise more discipline. While speaking on the Industrial Development Ministry's Demands, I have said, 'You have no control over the private sector'. The Minister said that he is considering how and in what manner they are going to have control is yet to be spelt out by the Government.

We are in the whirlpool of black money. Black money has to be checked from its very inception. If you post excise staff in the factories, you can check production and nothing produced will be underground and the prices are controlled so that black money is not allowed to be developed.

A word about foodgrains. The Government is trying to procure about 10 million tonnes of foodgrains out of a total production of 100 million tonnes on an average. 10 million tonnes is to be procured to cater mainly to the vulnerable sections of the society. This 10 million we are not able to procure. I would suggest that you remove these wholesale traders who are brought into the picture last year to procure for the Government and they also have a right to export at a

higher rate. Instead allow the State Government to procure whatever foodgrains are available in the country and let them stockpile the stocks and from their stocks they can give foodgrains to the Central pool whatever you require and they can also sell it to the other State Governments if any State Government requires any quantity of foodgrains. Yesterday, the Food Minister of Orissa was here. He went to Punjab and he wanted foodgrains and struck a deal with Punjab Government to purchase 20,000 tonnes of wheat at Rs. 150 per quintal. There should be a Government to Government account and the middleman is eliminated and States which need foodgrains can get them from the surplus States.

That is one way of controlling the prices, and also having an equitable distribution of whatever foodgrains are there. Foodgrains could be equitably distributed through public distribution system. Not only vulnerable sections but all other sections can have foodgrains at reasonable prices. I will not call it a Budget, it is the Second Finance Bill which we have now, which is intended to raise resources. But nevertheless the impact produced on inflation is not very much. Perhaps the Finance Minister will have to think of more measures to check inflation. He cannot allow himself to be 'changed' by inflation, but he should 'change' inflation. I am sure he knows his job and he is at it and I am sure he will take whatever measures are needed to check inflation so that prices do not rise from day to day. Thank you.

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi). Besides the procedural and constitutional points raised in this House I must respectfully submit that this Second Finance Bill lacks foresight. It has proved that the Finance Minister did not anticipate five months back what economic condition our country is going to face. This abnormal phenomenon did not come as bolt from the blue. It is a continuous process due to pursuit of wrong economic policies

(Shri P. K. Doo)

for all these years which has resulted in this economic mess

We discussed the Budget 5 months ago and from these benches we pointed out regarding the new imports on various consumer goods, on indirect taxation, on lack of incentive for production and for growth, anticipated deficit of Rs. 126 crores, saying all these will have adverse effect on India's economy. As the future events have unfolded themselves, this has corroborated our prediction. The Finance Minister said 'Measures adopted by Government to curb inflation have had limited impact and upward pressures on prices has persisted'. Who is responsible for these things? It is the same pursuit of wrong policies which has led this country to this economic crisis. We are told that this is a phenomenon which is worldwide and India being a part of the world has been subjected to this also. I quote from the Article in Yojana magazine Volume XIII of 15th of June, where it says that the prices in India are stated to have increased between 125 to 150 per cent in the last 5 years, and for the same period prices have risen by 45 per cent in UK, 25 per cent in USA, 40 per cent in Japan, 37.5 per cent in West Germany, 32.5 per cent in France, 10 per cent in Belgium, 47.5 per cent in Italy, 35 per cent in Canada and 36 per cent in Australia. Wages in India during the last 5 years have increased only by 20 to 30 per cent whereas in UK it has risen by 67.5 per cent, 37.5 per cent in USA, 87.5 per cent in Japan, 40 per cent in West Germany, 65 per cent in France, 75 per cent in Belgium, 62.5 per cent in Italy, 45 per cent in Canada and 52 per cent in Australia. These figures indicate that whereas the real income of the people of India has eroded due to inflation this has not happened in other countries. Let there be no alibi that something unusual has taken place in this country and the Government has been taken completely un-awares.

We want an honest and stable rupee

The purchasing power of our rupee has been constantly eroding. It stands at 29.8 paise a rupee to-day. This devaluation had already an adverse effect in our foreign exchange. Even the State Bank of U.S.S.R. has been announcing that the rouble rupee exchange rate is to our detriment. So, even for a friendly country where the transaction is in rupee, this is the state of affairs.

Much has been spoken about savings. I would like to point out that the people would be able to save voluntarily and substantially if they are convinced of the government's ability to prevent erosion in value of rupee. Sir, if they know that the purchasing power will remain as the same, the people will voluntarily come forward to increase their savings.

The inflationary pressure is due to the result of the wrong economic policies pursued by the Government for all these years. The Finance Minister blames this due to sluggishness of our agricultural production, shortfall in procurement of foodgrains despite increase in procurement price and stagnation of industrial growth. India still depends to-day on the vagaries of the monsoon erratic behaviour of monsoon has been responsible for the crop failure, and the impending famine and acute distress in the surplus State of Orissa is a warning that I give to this Government to immediately take steps on war footing. Otherwise there would be starvation in millions.

So far as agricultural surplus is concerned, I would say that irrigation and power projects are decided and are being sanctioned, being guided by narrow political partisan considerations. So far as famine is concerned, my constituency witnessed the worst famine of the century in 1965 when our Prime Minister had been there and she promised to take up the Indravati project which could irrigate three lakhs of acres of chronically drought affected area and, at the same time, that would generate 600 m.w. of electricity.

which, would go a long way to fulfil the power shortage of this country. Nothing has been done so far. Much has been told about ceiling. I feel that as if there is a competition between the various States to lower the land ceiling; because the lower the ceiling, the more progressive the image of the State. So as Orissa is concerned it has got the lowest land ceiling in the country with an uneconomic holding of ten acres. This ceiling will hardly be sufficient for mechanised farming and improved technique of agriculture is not possible. And hardly a family can sustain, what to speak of surplus for the community. Whatever measures we may take in this regard, the prices will be determined by the natural law of demand and supply and as stated by the previous speaker, higher production and more production is the only answer to stop inflation. I would like to know what incentive has been given by the Finance Minister towards more production? We have seen that there has been more production in the luxury goods whereas, the consumer goods are absolutely scarce in the market. You cannot buy a cake of soap, you cannot have vanaspati; you cannot have baby food and even kerosene oil. Impetus for more production should be given in the agricultural field. More fertilisers assured water supply and power for energised pumps should be readily available to the agriculturists.

Regarding the impost of indirect taxes, I would like to suggest that there should be no further imposts on cigarettes, tyres, rubber products, cement, asbestos sheets, iron, copper tubes, zinc, rayons as they will be the last straw on the camel's back. They will lead to further inflation and add to the misery of the common man. The provision for a small house or shelter under a roof for the common man will be costlier. Further rise on iron and steel means agricultural implements will be more expensive and the higher cost of tyres will completely immobilise our transport system. Costlier papers and books will only

add to our ignorance. Sir, since the last seventeen years or so I am in this House. I have always seen that only on those items levies are being imposed. They are being repeated again and again. This Bill is the same old wine in a new bottle. The repeated levies on iron, copper and all those things have reached a saturation point and so I would like to know if the Finance Minister is not able to find out other avenues of taxation in this regard.

Sir, the crux of the problem is parallel circulation of black-money. Unless it is effectively tackled we can hardly touch the fringe of the problem. The Rajas and Maharajas have gone to the dust bin of history but new Rajas and Maharajas are adorning the chairs of the Treasury Benches. The creation of black-money is their own baby. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan said in a statement when somebody suggested that he should meet the Prime Minister that the moment he told her that she should not accept unaccounted money for election purpose the meeting would come to an abrupt end. Taking into consideration all these facts I request the Finance Minister to completely do away with the licence-permit quota system and stop patronising black-marketeers. The other day Jayaprakash Narayan said that Smt. Nandini Satpathy had spent Rs. 30 lakhs in her Cuttack Assembly seat by-election. It has not been contradicted so far. You cannot tackle the mosquito menace by killing one or two mosquitos here and there. To tackle the mosquito menace it has to be tackled at its breeding place and the breeding place of blackmarketeers is in your own house and that has to be tackled first before anything could be done in this regard.

Another phenomenon to which I want to draw the attention of the Finance Minister is the circulation of counterfeit currency. According to the Government source in 1972 it was 1.33 lakh; in 1973 it was 5.83 lakh whereas in 1974 it is 7.40 lakhs. This is the official version and we do not

[Shri P. K. Deo]

know the actual magnitude of this counterfeit currency which must be much more than the official version. That is also adding to the further pressure of inflation.

Regarding hesitancy of the Government to demonetise hundred-rupee notes I again stress from benches that it should be taken up immediately. **The leakage of the Government policy** has created a scare in the bullion market for which the Finance Minister had to make a statement in the House and because of this hesitancy the price of gold rose from Rs. 475 to Rs. 530 and it benefited only speculators and black-marketeers.

Regarding the financial discipline, I would like to suggest so much has been said against the private sector—I do not hold any brief for the private sector—they may be treated as scapegoats for your failure but I would request the Finance that they should improve the working of the public sector undertakings where Government has invested Rs. 5,426 crores and a working capital of Rs. 1,015 crores and the overall profit was only Rs. 19.85 crores, which works at 0.31 per cent. If it would have been in a cooperate sector, the management would have been thrown out of office.

Before I conclude, I would request the Finance Minister to take a leaf from West Germany or from Japan where the economy was in shambles after the war. In post-war Germany they took bold steps for currency reforms. They introduced the new Deutschmark instead of the Reichmark. In 1949 they devalued it by 20.6 per cent. After that, the economy gathered momentum, and today I think Germany is the largest exporter in international trade. We shall have to export more if we have to survive. As a result of economic stability, the Deutschmark has again been revalued, in 1961 by 4.75 per cent, in 1969 by 8.5 per cent, in 1971 by 4.6 per cent and in 1973 by 3 per cent. Thus, the

value of the Deutschmark has been rising and is a strong currency. Similar is the economic phenomenon in Japan. It is something fantastic. I request the Finance Minister to go and make a thorough study and try to streamline our economic policies in this country if he wants to save us from this mess.

SHRI SYED AHMED AGA (Bara-mula): I support the taxation proposals. I say that they are a step in the right direction. But I am afraid that the tax proposals by themselves are not enough. The problem is that black money enables hoarding, and hoarding leads to profiteering, and profiteering leads again to black money, and thus it is a vicious circle. It is really the black money which, therefore, must be checked.

The hon. Finance Minister in his speech as well as his statement on the ordinances has said that a many-sided attack will have to be made. So, a many-sided attack will have to be contemplated for dealing with the problem.

When there is inflation, high prices are bound to be there. So, first we must attack black money. We can deal with black money and attack it only if we understand one simple or basic fact namely that the private sector stands for profits, it deals for profit and it must earn profit and therefore it is that we see that the prices go up. If we have to deal with black money, we must see that we organise a proper distribution system and all the people must get the essential necessities of life at reasonable prices. If they could get the things which are essential for the life of the community, perhaps, the prices will not go up. But the problem is that they are not getting them. So, the whole thing depends on distribution. But distribution again depends upon procurement. If we do not have adequate procurement, the distribution system will collapse. Procurement again depends on production. If we

do not have enough production, procurement cannot be done properly. Therefore, I come to production first.

When we come to production, we must first start with food. Today we find that the prices of wheat, rice, bajra etc. are rising; the prices of mustard and other food articles are all going up. When we come to production of foodgrains, I say that it is because of the uneconomic holdings of the farmers that we have low production because of the fact that they are not using new methods of cultivation, they just cannot; they are not using proper seeds, they are not using proper inputs and so on; therefore, they do not produce more. It is only the big zamindars or the big landlords who are supplied with fertilisers, who are following modern methods of cultivation etc. who are able to produce more. But we must remember that a large amount of land is under those people who have uneconomic holdings. Therefore, what we need most is land reforms. Land reform is an unavoidable must. It distresses me to say that it has taken 27 years for us just to go on discussing about land reforms and we have not effected any land reforms actually. To some extent, there may have been land reforms, but except in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, land reforms have not been implemented in any other State properly in the country. I am proud to say that in Jammu and Kashmir alone in the whole country, we have effected land reforms.

But in the rest of the country, land reforms have not been implemented. So the first requirement is that land reforms must be there and the chota or small kisan has to be enabled to have a bigger size of holding so that he can produce by putting the inputs.

Then the production of sugar, drugs, coal etc. should be in the public sector. So also vanaspathi and textiles. If these are produced in adequate quantities and properly distributed, black

money will not be generated. As I have said, black money is generated because people do not get what they want.

What is important is that all these commodities which are essential to the life of the community which include, besides food, sugar, vanaspathi, kerosene oil, edible oil and cloth must be distributed through a proper distribution system.

Talking of cloth, what do we see? What is produced is the finer varieties of cloth. We want to export. All right, who says 'no' But produce also enough coarse cloth, the cheaper varieties, to cloth the people. If you go to the shops, you do not see the cheaper varieties. Go to Bombay. See them almost naked. See where the people live in drams. They live on pavements. They live in huts made of tin sheets and rags and things like that. Side by side you see the Oberoi-Sheraton. We ought to be ashamed of ourselves that this state of affairs exists. 22 crores live below subsistence level.

The point is that there must also be sufficient production of the cloth required by the poor, the common man. If there are 108 sick mills, why cannot we utilise them for the production of coarse cloth also.

Then I do not understand why we cannot tax the finer varieties of cloth, cosmetics and so on. Why cannot we overtax these items? People who buy these things have enough money and can pay. They will go in for cosmetics at any cost. Rather than tax the poor man, tax the rich. Also we must discourage the production of luxury goods.

Banks have been nationalised. But what do we see? Even after nationalisation, banks are providing money to the monopoly houses. Only a few days ago, the Finance Minister said in the Rajya Sabha that Rs. 186 crores had been advanced by the banks to

(Shri Syed Ahmed Aga)

five business houses owning 393 firms whereas to 10.82 lakh small units in the small sector only Rs. 349.92 crores have been advanced. All these things are happening. So we cannot rely only on tax proposals. Something more has to be done to control the situation and that must be done.

Coming to income tax, I do not think every practising doctor pays income tax; certainly not. Similarly we cannot say that every lawyer practising and minting money is paying tax. The tax net should be widened. Architects are there. Chartered accountants are there. All of them are perhaps not in the tax net.

Then I do not see why Government is not discouraging the building of luxury buildings. On the other hand, the houseless must be housed. Small housing schemes must be encouraged. Big luxury houses must not come up. This must be stopped.

Then again there are urban lands which absorb black money. Why cannot these be taken over? It will at least stop the operation of black money. At present black money is turned into white money by purchasing these urban lands at any cost.

I see there is shortage of newsprint and white printing paper. In Kashmir we have plenty of raw materials but unutilised. There are forests which are not exploited. Why cannot the Government set up a very big factory in the public sector in Kashmir and utilise the raw materials for producing white printing paper and newsprint. Finally it is necessary for the Government to deal ruthlessly with evasion of taxes. Taxes are being evaded by very big people. Hoarding, blackmarketing and smuggling should be put down with a firm hand. Unless we do that it would be difficult to solve the problem. I conclude by saying that it is not enough to have taxation proposals only; a many sided

attack will have to be there if we want to see that this problem is solved.

श्री जलेश्वर मिश्र (इलाहाबाद) : सभा-पति जी, मैं इन राय का हूँ कि इन की सरकार को एक भी कोर्डी नहीं दो आनी चाहिए। इस के दो कारण हैं—एक तो इस समय देश की जनता इस लायक नहीं है, उस की हालत इतनी बिगड़ चुकी है कि वह आप को कोई पैसा दे सके। दूसरे—इस समय हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार का मुह भी इस लायक नहीं रह गया है कि वह इस देश की जनता से पैसा ले सके, क्योंकि सभी सभी इन्होंने खुद ही कुबुल किया है कि जिस तरह से मुद्रास्फिति बढ़ रही है—इस कारण यह है पैदावार का कम होना। ऐसा लग रहा है कि पैदावार के कम होने के पीछे कोई दूसरा कारण है और यह एक तौर से, हालांकि कहा नहीं है, लेकिन उस का मतलब है कि इसका कारण कुदरत है। मुझ अच्छी तरह से याद है कि—सर्वा 6-7 महीने पहले कितनी तेजी से हरित-क्रांति का नारा चला करता था। यह भी देखा है कि जब फसल बढ़िया हो जाती है तो श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी, चन्नाण माहब और हमारे ये नौजवान साथी—मुंशी जी—ये लोग छोटे-छोटे बच्चों को तिरगा बना कर नाने लगवाया करते थे—

बाहूरी इन्दिरा तेरी जान

हरा भरा है हिन्दुस्तान।

जब फसल बढ़िया हो जाती है तो कहते हैं कि सरकार के चलते यह हरा भरा हो गया है, लेकिन जब फसल सूख जाती है तो ये लोग चुपके से कह देते हैं कि सूख बन्द करें, पैदावार कम हो सभी। इस का अर्थ है कि ये लोग उल्लेख कम होने की कुत्सेवारी करते उपर देने को तैयार नहीं होते हैं।

अब अब इन्होंने कबूल कर लिखा कि पैदावार कम हुई है तो मैं तो यह मान कर चलता हूँ कि यह इस सरकार के चलते कम हुई है। अब बढ़ती है तो कहते हैं कि मेरी बजह से बढ़ी है, अब घटी है तो यह भी सरकार की बजह से घटी है, इन की प्रदूरदर्शी से घटी है, खेती के बारे में, पानी के बारे में इन्होंने कमी ध्यान नहीं दिया बड़े बड़े शहरो को सजाने की योजनाएँ बनाई लेकिन खेती के लिए कुछ नहीं किया, इस लिए यह पैदावार तो घटनी ही थी, यह इन की 27 सालों की कमाई है जिन की बजह में खगवी घाई है।

मुझे याद है—कि अविश्वाम प्रस्ताव पर प्रधान मंत्री जी भाषण दे रही थी और भाषण देते देते उन्होंने कह दिया कि अगर लोकी का दाम बढ़ना है तो उसके लिए प्रधान मंत्री को बोध दिया जाता है। अगर लोकी बेचने वाला साबुन महंगा खरीदेगा, कपड़ा महंगा खरीदेगा, तेल महंगा खरीदेगा, प्लास्टिक का सामान अपने बच्चे के खेलने के लिए महंगा खरीदेगा, तो तब बात है कि लोकी बेचने जाएगा तो महंगी लोकी बेचेगा अब भारी चीजों के दाम बढ़ेंगे तो लोकी का दाम भी महंगा होगा, उसको कौन रोक सकता है यह बात उनको सूचना चाहिए थी, लेकिन उन्होंने कह दिया कि अगर लोकी महंगी होती है तो हम का बोध दिया जाता है।

ज्यादा दिन नहीं हुए, मायद हफ्ता भर हुआ है—प्राप के ही मंत्री—श्री मोहन धारो या ने भाषण दिया कि हिन्दुस्तान की दो-तिहाही आबादी केवल 20 रुपये महीने पर गुजर कर रही है।

17.00 hrs.

इस समय इस देश की आबादी जोड़ी आये तो साठ करोड़ से कम नहीं होगी। 60 करोड़ के दो तिहाही का मतलब 40 करोड़ लोग केवल 20 रुपये महीने पर गुजारा कर रहे

हैं। प्राप जरा गौर कीजिएगा कि इस के बाप भी प्राप रुपये का दाम बढ़ा रहे हैं, साबुद का दाम बढ़ा रहे हैं। जिस तरह से प्राप बाजार बिगारने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं उसमें ग्राम भादमी का जीना मुश्किल है। इस लिए मैंने प्रार्थ किया कि एक तो ग्राम जनता की हानन खगव है, वह पैसा देने लायक नहीं है और दूसरे प्रापके हाथ में उतने खराब हो चुके हैं कि ग्राम जनता में पैसा लाने लायक नहीं रहे।

मैंने चम्हाण साहब का भाषण पढा जिधमे उन्होंने लिखा है कि इस अर्थ व्यवस्था में हम इस बात पर रोक लगायेंगे कि अनुत्पादक कामों पर जो खर्च होता है वह खर्च न हो लेकिन ग्रामनोर में हिन्दुस्तान में जो कुछ भी इस समय काम काज होते है, नये काम घरे शुरू किए जाते हैं, नयी नोकरिया दी जाती हैं वह ज्यादातर दफ्तर की फाइले सम्भालने के लिए, चपरासी इकट्ठा करने के लिए और पुलिस इकट्ठा करने के लिए होते हैं—इनमे से कोई भी उत्पादक कार्य नहीं होता। दूसरी तरफ फोनाद बनाने, खाद बनाने, और खेती के काम को कोई तरक्की नहीं दी गई है। इसलिए यह कहना कि अनुत्पादक कामों को रोकने के लिए हम ऐसी व्यवस्था करने जा रहे है वह गलत है एक तरफ करते है कि खेती के उत्पादन पर जोर दिया जाय। इन्होंने अपना यह लक्ष बताया है लेकिन दूसरी तरफ कृषि उत्पादन की चीजों के दाम बढ़ाने की कोशिस न करके कारखाने को चीजों के दाम बढ़ायेंगे। उगा हालत में कारखानेदार का मन खिल जायेगा हम अपना सामान महंगा बेच रहे है, हमारी ग्रामदनी बढ़ रही है। इन्होंने कबूल किया कि हिन्दुस्तान में जिस भाव पर गेहूं लिया उससे ज्यादा दाम पर विदेशों से गेहूं लेना प रहा है। यह उनकी स्कीम में लिखा हुआ है वह सच है तो जिस भाव पर प्राप ने गेहूं से गेहूं लिया और वहा से लाने में जो खर्च हुआ,

[श्री अनेकर मिश्र]

जो विदेशी मुद्रा खर्च हुई, उस सब को जोड़ लेते और उसी भाव पर किसानों से यहाँ गेहूँ ले लेते तो हम समझते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान के किसानों का मन एक बार खिल जाना कि उसके पसीने के वाजिब दाम मिल रहे हैं। लेकिन आप ने हिन्दुस्तान के किसानों से 105 रु० क्वींटल लिया और अमेरीका में गेहूँ खरीद कर यहाँ लाने में डेढ़ मी रुपए में ऊपर का खर्चा हो गया। अगर वही पैसा यहाँ के किसानों को दे दिया जाता तो गरीब किसान की हिम्मत करके अपना गेहूँ देना और समझता कि हमारा पसीना पूरा पड़ रहा है। लेकिन इन्होंने यह नहीं किया। इस अन्याय का शिकार होने के बाद भी किसान के बेटे को आप दोष दे रहे हैं कि वह खेती छोड़ कर शहरों में नौकरी के लिए आता है या दूसरे रोजगार करना चाहता है लेकिन वह समझता है कि खेती कर के हमारा पेट नहीं भर रहा है। खेती में माल भर में जो पैदावार होनी है उस का दाम तो बहुत धीमी रफ्तार में आप बढ़ाते हैं लेकिन कारखानों में जो चीजे पैदा होती हैं उनका दाम बहुत तेज रफ्तार में बढ़ा रहे हैं।

चोरबाजारी का जिक्र किया गया तो आज से चार महीना पहले खाद का भाव 52-55 रुपए बोरी था और चोरबाजारी में वह 100 रुपए बोरी था लेकिन आज सरकारी रेट, चह्माण साहब या सुशीला जी का रेट 105 रु० बोरी हो गया है जो कि चोर बाजारी में भी 5 रु० ज्यादा है। इसके लिए कौन दोषी है? यह कह देंगे कि खाद बनाने के लिए उसमें मिलाने के लिए जो मसाला हुआ करता है वह उपलब्ध नहीं हो रहा है इस लिए हम इसका दाम बढ़ाते चले जा रहे हैं। जब कभी कहा जायेगा किसान को आज जिन चीजों की जरूरत पड़ रही है, पानी की जरूरत है, खाद की जरूरत है, मजदूर

की जरूरत है उसके दाम बढ़ाये हैं या नहीं तो उसके हिसाब से उसकी चीज के दाम नहीं बढ़ाये जायेंगे। कारखानों की चीजों के दाम जरूर बढ़ते जायेंगे। मैं इस सरकार पर आरोप लगाना चाहता हूँ कि कारखानों के द्वारा पिछले 27 सालों में खलिहानदारों का इतने शोषण करवाया है इस लिए एक भी पैसा इसके खजाने में इस देश की जनता की तस्क से नहीं मिलना चाहिए। यह पैसा मायते हैं किम बात के लिए?

पिछले तीन चार दिनों से जब यह त्रिल पेश हुआ तो इस मदन के विरोधपक्ष के कई माननीय सदस्यों ने बगबर क्वाट डाला कि जब आप पैसा मांग रहे हैं तो उमका खर्चा क्यों नहीं दिखा रहे हैं? क्या वरगे पैसा ले कर सेन्ट बनायेंगे? फौवारा लगायेंगे? दिल्ली के कनाटप्लेस में एक फौवारा लगाया गया जिन पर 36 लाख का खर्चा हो गया। हिन्दुस्तान के सारे शहरों को मजाने के लिए यह लोग फौवारा लगाया करते हैं और फौवारा लगाने के पीछे केवल एक मकसद रहा करता है कि जब कोई परदेशी आयेगा तो वह दिल्ली के कनाटप्लेस में जायेगा, वह पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश की बाढ़ देखने के लिए नहीं जायेगा, वहाँ का मुखा देखने के लिए नहीं जायेगा, जामा मस्जिद में जो गरीब लोग जाड़ के दिनों में 8 आने का विस्तर करिये पर लेकर लोटने हैं उन को देखने के लिए वह नहीं जायेगा। माननीय मधु लिमबे, धामानन्दन जी विश्व और विरोध पक्ष के दूसरे माननीय सदस्य कहेंगे कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के राज्य में देश तरक्की नहीं कर रहा है तो उस समय रूस का कोई आयेगा, कोई इंग्लैंड और लन्दन का आयेगा और जब वह फौवारा देख लेगा तो कहेगा यह देश बहुत तरक्की कर रहा है। और जब श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी कहेगी कि विरोध पक्ष के लोग झूठ बोल रहे हैं, देखो यह परदेशी

हम को स्पष्ट दे बया है कि हमारा देश तस्करी कर रहा है । इसलिए सारे शहरों में फौवारा लगायेगा क्या इसी लिए पैसा दिया जाये ? बढ़िया बढ़िया सड़कें बनायेगी इसीलिए पैसा दिया जाये क्या ?

इपना ही नहीं, हिन्दुस्तान की प्रधान मंत्री से लेकर छोटे मंत्रियों तक, सूबे के मंत्रियों तक सारे लोग इतने ठाठवाट और एसी एशरत के साथ रह रहे हैं कि एक दिन से हिन्दुस्तान की प्रधान मंत्री पर 35 हजार रुपया खर्च होगा है । वह जहा कहीं मीटिंग में जायेगी वहा वाम जल्दी, फाटक सजावट और दूमरी बाना पर 15 लाख रुपये का खर्चा हो जाता है । कलकत्ता में एक कॉन्फेस हुई थी —हमको किसी ने बताया —वहा पर एक झोपडी बनी थी जिम प लाख रुपया खर्चा हो गया । अभी गोखपुर की बाढ में ममान गिर रहे है, वहा के लीग वेधरवार हो जायेगे तो गोखपुर के कलक्टर उन लोगों के रहने के लिए, जिस मकान में उनके बीवी बच्चे रहेंगे, पूरा परिवार रहेगा, गाय-भैंस और बवरी रहेगी उन सभी के रहने के लिए 40-45 रुपया देकर कहेंगे कि अपना घर बनालो । आप गौर कीजिए हिन्दुस्तान के एक ग्राम आदमी को घर बनाने के लिए, जिसमें उसको जन्दगी भर रहना हो, पूरे परिवार के साथ रहना हो केवल 50 रूपए मिलेंगे और दूसरी तरफ प्रधान मंत्री तीन दिन के लिए कलकत्ता जाये, वहा पर कोई सम्मेलन हो, उनके लिए वहा पर झोपडी बने तो उस पर एक लाख रुपया खर्चा कर दिया जायेगा । वह पैसा कांग्रेस पार्टी का नहीं, देश की जनता की गरीबी कमाई का पैसा खर्च होता है । इसलिए मैं कहूँगा इस तरह की फिजूलखर्ची करने वाली सरकार को एक कौड़ी भी नहीं मिलनी चाहिए । अगर यह सरकार अपनी फिजूलखर्ची, अपने कर्मचारियों की फिजूलखर्ची एक सिवट के लिए रोक दे

तो हिन्दुस्तान के खजाने में हथारो करोड़ की आमदनी हो सकती है । मैं भ्रज कॉन्ग्रे हिन्दुस्तान की आम जनता पर टैक के बजाये अगर यह सरकार अपनी फिजूलखर्ची रोकें, अपनी एंयासी रोकें तो हिन्दुस्तान की वीलन दूमरे बड़े कामों में लग सकती है ।

अब मैं दो तीन बातें बहुत जल्दी मैं कहूँगा मैं ने बग्हाण साहब का भाषण पढा है, उन्होंने कहा है ऐसा कोई मामान जिमपर आदमी ऐश्वर्य करता है, ठाठ-वाढ करता है, हम चाहते है, उनके दाम बढ़ाये जाये । यह उनका अपना बयान है लेकिन मुझे याद है एक बार प्रधान मंत्री जी भाषण करने गई थी पटना में उनका भाषण हो रहा था चूकि महगाई बहुत थी और लोग चावल के लिए हलना मचा रहे थे तो उन्होंने कह दिया कि आप लोग चावल खाने का शोक जग कम कर दीजिए । मेने दारू पीन का शोक सुना था सेन्ट लगाने का शोक सुना था लेकिन पहली बार हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार की मब से बडी मालकिन से सुना कि चावल खाने का भी कोई शोक हुआ करता है । यह बात मेने पहली बार सुनी । तो इस तरह से वह बोला करती है ।

आपने कागज के दाम सारे 33 फीसदी बढ़ाये है । इसके साथ आपने यह कहा है कि हम ने अखबारी कागज का दाम नहीं बढ़ाया है । एक ही उत्पादन है एक ही कारखाना है जो गत्तेका कागज बनायेगा दूसरे कागज बनायेगा और अखबारी कागज भी बनायेगा । आप एक कागज पर टैक्स बढ़ायेगे तो वह यहगा हो जायेगा और उस से कारखानेदार को ज्यादा आमदनी हो जायेगी । वह फिर उसी कागज का ज्यादा उत्पादन करेगा और सारा माल सैक में जायेगा । आज से चार सहीने पहले जो अखबार 10-12

[श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र]

पेज का होता था वह घाज 6 पेज का रह गया है । कीम है जिम्मेदार इस के लिए ? क्या अखबार चलाने वाले जिम्मेदार हैं ? घाज स्कूल कालिज के लड़कों को किताबें और कापियां नहीं मिल रही हैं । हमारे सूबे के मुख्य मंत्री श्री बहुगुणा जी ने एक महीने पहले बयान दिया था कि उत्तर प्रदेश के स्कूल कालिज पहली भ्रगस्त से खुलेंगे तो हमने हल्ला मचाया कि अगर जुलाई से नहीं खुले तो फीस नहीं दी जायेगी । तब उन्होंने जल्दी से 27 जुलाई को ही स्कूल खोल दिए । केवल एक माह की फीस देने के लिये दो दिन को स्कूल खोले । कही देश में बच्चों की कापी कागज पैसिल नहीं मिल रही है । कीम है इसके लिए जिम्मेदार ? किस बात के लिए आप कागज पर टैक्स बढ़ाने जा रहे हैं ? अगर कागज पर टैक्स बढ़ाने के बाद चग्हाण साहब यह कहते कि भारत के बच्चों को कागज की किसी तरह की कमी नहीं होने दी जायेगी तो भी टैक्स लगाने का भीचित्य है । लेकिन इन्होंने कोई वायदा नहीं किया कि इतना टैक्स बढ़ाने के बाद क्या करेंगे ।

इसी तरह से प्लास्टिक का दाम बढ़ा । यदि गरीब धादमी अपने बच्चे को दूध फल नहीं दे पाता तो प्लास्टिक का खिलौना दे दिया करते हैं । गरीब धादमी महंगे बरतन नहीं खरीदता है तो प्लास्टिक का बरतन खरीद लेता है । घाज बच्चों का खाना छीन लिया दूध छीन लिया कपड़ा किताबें छीन लिया और यहां तक कि हमारे बच्चों के हाथ का खिलौना भी इन्होंने छीन लिया । इनको एक भी कौड़ी नहीं मिलनी चाहिए ।

इन्होंने एक और कारण बताया है कि टैक्स इसलिए बढ़ाया गया कि रेल हड़ताल के कारण बहुत नुकसान हुआ । घाज जो रेल चल रही उस के कारण क्या नुकसान नहीं

हो रहा है ? पूरे का पूरा कंस्ट्रक्शन एयर कंडीशनड सीनूम में जो लोन चला करते हैं एक भी पैसा नहीं देते । ज्यादातर पस होल्डर होते हैं । क्यों नहीं वह सारी क्लस खत्म कर दी जाये और एक ही क्लस रखी जाये ? हम को कई बार सुनने को मिला है कि रेल मंत्री जी जब कभी भी सरिया के माल गाड़ी चलती है तो हर माल गाड़ी पर 1 लाख २०' की घूस बंधी रहती है । पूरा का पूरा रेलवे प्रशासन भ्रष्टाचार का भ्रष्टा बना हुआ है । कीम है इस के लिए जिम्मेदार ? किसने रेल मजदूरों से बातचीत के दौरान उन नेताओं को गिरफ्तार कर के उनको हड़ताल पर जाने को मजबूर किया ? यह पूरा का पूरा बजट इस सरकार के दिवालयेपन का एक नजारा है और यह इस समय केवल भ्रष्टाचार व्यवस्था चलाना चाहते हैं । गरीब धादमी की जेब पर कंची चनाना चाहते हैं । जो घाज गरीब धादमी की गाड़ी कमाई पर आप लोग कंची चला रहे हैं इस को वापस ले लें । अगर यह वापस नहीं लेते तो मदन इस कंची को आप के हाथ से लेकर फेंक दे ? और अगर मदन नहीं फेंकता तो देश की जनता आप के हाथ को इतना कमजोर कर दे कि आप कंची चलाने लायक ही न रहे जाये । यह बजट देश की जनता को कुछ न दे सकेगा और लगातार इस प्रकार के बजट लाते जायें लगता है अजीब किस्म का प्रशान्त महासागर की तरह इस सरकार का पेट बन गया है जिस थे कोई बाह नहीं लगती जितनी दीसत दीजिये उस का पता नहीं लगता ।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ ।

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI (Calcutta-South): It is very formal to support the Finance Bill and as a Member of the Ruling Party I do feel that there is no other alternative open to us than to support these measures as they are aimed to meet the crisis situation in the country.

I will not speak, I will only make certain suggestions to the Ministry and I hope the Ministry may consider my suggestions. Some of the friends have raised the important point due to which the present economic situation has become difficult. From one side it has been stated that there is no production and on the other side it was contested that production is there and there is no efficient distribution. Whether there is production and there is no distribution, of course, is a matter of great importance to judge and discuss.

I feel that Government may still adopt such measures which can really fight inflation and bring the economy to order. Having said this may I say that black money is the most important aspect, the real monster in our country in view of the present economic situation? It is that sector due to which the arrangements, the plans, the policies of the Government, are all getting collapsed. My first suggestion to the Minister is this. If the Government is determined enough to fight inflation apart from the ordinances and general provisions in the Finance Bill, they should proceed towards preparing for effective control over essential commodities and also effective public distribution system immediately. That is one of the most important steps to fight inflation and to save the poor people.

My second suggestion is that since we talk of black money we must know where the black money goes. Black money goes to gold and ornaments jewellery and then it goes to properties and to various schemes and you have got various benami properties. I suggest that for 10 years let there be no sale and purchase of gold and other jewellery for domestic consumption in our country. The poor people cannot afford to purchase gold and other jewellery. If you take the main jewellery market in Jaipur, Bombay, Delhi, Ahmedabad etc. gold and jewellery to the tune of Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000 are sold to those sections of people who can afford it and this comes from black money. So far as the benami properties

are concerned, let me say this. As per congress policy decision, as per congress manifesto, if the Finance Minister is determined to fight inflation, the second important measure should be to have urban property ceiling and this would help us to know how the investment was made and the role of black money and we will know what is the value of property to date and how much we can immediately confiscate. So, with this second suggestion my additional suggestion or supplementary suggestion is this. For 10 years any citizen in India whether rich or poor who wants to buy land or construct a house, should obtain from the Government authorities an eligibility certificate for that purpose. Let that be Government authorities or any corporation. Even then the question of corruption will come in and no doubt we have to fight it wherever it occurs. But then, we should ensure that without getting this eligibility certificate no citizen in the country will be allowed to purchase a piece of land or construct house. Of course it is full right and democratic right for any citizen to purchase land or construct house. You know about the landgrab cases in Delhi and many other places. Let Government make an investigation immediately. Take the case of retired personnel of the Government of India various State Governments, various private sector managements etc. You will find houses have been constructed all over the country in various parts in the names of daughters or wives or other relations. How the money comes from? Take the registration deeds. You will find, if you want to start prosecution, it will take such a long time when this country will have to face another inflation and another deficit budget. This is the position. So, this eligibility certificate must be obtained and there should be complete investigation in respect of those who have already constructed houses all over the country. In the case of skyscrapers how the steel, cement and other things came? How they managed to construct such huge buildings?

[Shri Priya Ranjan Das Munsi]

It comes through black money. I hope that if the Government is very keen to fight inflation, they should first put a stop to the inefficiency or lacunae in administrative set up. Government is not keen enough in taking that drastic measure at the moment which it should have.

Sir, I can read out to you certain names. I am sorry I have to do it. Somebody may ask when they are not present to defend themselves, no name should be mentioned. But, I feel that it is better to mention only a few of the names. It is better not to compel assembly members or Parliament Members to resign. It is high time that we take these people into custody and put them behind the bar—let it be done either by the people or by Government. I am citing only a few names. They are: Shri Kapadia, Amin Chand Pyarelal, Karam Chand Thapar, Chiranjee Lal Bajoria (jute magnate), Sahu Jain, Goenka and Birla. If you take only last three years' transactions of these people i.e., from 1971—74—I have made a complete survey for these three years—you will find that in various black names and fraudulent documents, they have generated black money. Government has no knowledge about this. Or, if Government has knowledge about it, it does not even know how to control them and how to put them behind the bar. Take the character of this industrialist. Take either Goenka or Birla or Chiranjee Lal Bajoria. Their main target is to export items but, they would not like Government to export much and try to blackmail the country. They have done it in jute goods items, textile, steel and engineering products.

If Government really is serious to control inflation, the Minister must come out immediately with a sort of measure, without, of course, the help of income-tax authority or the C.B.I. who are not considered as efficient and who are free from corruption, against this as it leads to our economy being collapsed.

Take the example of jute. Jute Corporation of India is a Government undertaking. Either the Corporation or Government has to protect the jute growers and peasants. If Government feels that they are going to export more, they should go in for export of more and more jute. While the government goes, they go with white money in the form of cheques but in the case of Shri Chiranjee Lal Bajoria and Goenka, they go only with black money. As a result, they have the purchasing power and they can even lead the Government's policy to collapse. Unless the Government takes steps to see that they are controlled by them this cannot be checked. There should not be any role given to private sector. Mixing the private sector and public sector finance in one corporate sector will entail the whole policy of Government into a collapse. Deficits will be much more. There are two or three suggestions that I want to make. I am not an economist. I am making my suggestions on my own. Take the case of textile. 80 per cent of the population of our country requires coarse cloth, medium and fine cloth. You know that these textile magnates produce more than the required quantity. They have got the capacity to produce the needs of this country. In spite of the penal provision by Government, they make use of the penal provision to make a profit. So, my question is: Will the Government come out with a revolutionary spirit to take over complete management of all productive goods which are important items of export? You can leave aside the essential items for the general consumption of the vulnerable sections of the society. Without taking effective measures I do not think Government will be able to fight the inflation.

About black money there is a slogan that political parties are taking black money. It may be true or may not be. I do not like to curse the Congress Party or for that matter any political party. My feeling is that before any election takes place in the

country—whether in Assembly election in Gujarat or the next Parliament election—Government must come out with a proposal under which election expenses of the recognised political parties, whatever provisions they may make, must be met by the exchequer. The provision for printing posters should be made and also for designs. Arrangement for everything should be settled by the Commission. Same is the case with election expenses also. It this is done, I feel that we can put an end to the corruption.

Sir, lastly, I would like to submit, without going into any other argument, one thing to what Shri Janeshwar Mishra has said

My other submission is that now in our country, if you consider the role of the private sector and the public sector, it will be unwise to say that black-money is only applied in private sector and not public sector. Take the example of coal mines. The whole of coal mines authority, I think, is going to be collapsed and also the steel authority due to the inflow of black-money from the private sector to the officials of the coal mines management. I throw it a challenge and suggest a Committee may be immediately appointed by the Government to go into the assets of those who were earlier on the pay-role of the private management before take over in the Asansol-Ramganj area and now on the pay-role of the coal mines authority. You will find their assets have increased ten times. They are looting the money like anything. Without paying bribe and without paying money you cannot get the things done. I do want the Minister should protect the interest of the honest officers but there is no reason why the corrupt officers be protected.

There is no provision in law whereby Birlas and Tatas are required to go into jail. Such persons should be hanged immediately. They have looted the country and are still collapsing the nation and the Government is just telling them to be good citizens. Apart from this Bill and apart from other measures we want the Government

to take drastic measures otherwise the whole people of this country without having any political affiliation—should once again generate their force to launch a serious mass upsurge from which even the police and the military would not be able to protect their lives and they should be lynched.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI-MATI SUSHILA ROHATGI): The hon Member has thrown a challenge to the Government. I would like to assure him it is not our intention to protect and shelter any officer who is corrupt. If the hon. Member has any material I would be happy if he sends the same over to us.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI: I am saying you immediately appoint a Committee by the Government. If I cannot prove these officers have more than doubled their properties I will resign from the House. They are thieves.

SHRI B V NAIK (Kanara): Mr Chairman Sir, since there is hardly half-a-minute

MR CHAIRMAN: Now, we take up Half-an-Hour discussion. You may continue your speech tomorrow.

17.30 hrs.

HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION

DELHI SCHOOL TEACHERS COOPERATIVE HOUSE BUILDING SOCIETY

MR CHAIRMAN: Now, we shall take up the half-an-hour discussion regarding Delhi School Teachers Co-operating House Building Society Limited, Delhi.

SHRI JAGANNATH MISHRA (Madhubani): Mr. Chairman, Sir, before I begin my speech, I would request you to give me a patient hearing for a few minutes because it is a very important subject, which affects the teachers who are examples of poverty.

The co-operative societies, as their name itself implies, stand for doing and undertaking such acts as may