

"तीसरी चीज मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो आनन्दमार्गियों की ऐक्टिविटीज हैं इनका एक चित्र तैयार करके पार्लियामेंट के फ्लोर पर रखना चाहिये।"

इस के जवाब में श्री पन्त ने कहा :

"जहाँ तक आनन्द मार्ग की तस्वीर ससद के सामने रखने की बात है, अब तो सारे देश के सामने यह तस्वीर धरा रही है, और खुले कोर्ट में यह कैसे चल रहा है। इस लिये सारी चीजें सामने आगयीं और मुझे विश्वास है कि उम में जो माननीय सदस्य चाहते हैं वह काम भी पूरा हो जाएगा।"

आप को स्मरण होगा कि उस दिन गृह मंत्री श्री उमा शंकर दीक्षित सदन में मौजूद थे। वह चाहते तो आनन्द मार्ग के सम्बन्ध में सदन को विश्वास में ले सकते थे लेकिन ससद में उन्होंने मीन धारण कर लिया और ससद के बाहर जा कर उन्होंने प्रेम काफरेस बुलाई और उममें आनन्द मार्ग के बारे में एक लम्बा चौड़ा वक्तव्य दिया जिस में यह कहा गया कि आनन्द मार्ग हिमा में विश्वास करता है, आनन्द मार्ग डिक्टेटरशिप लाना चाहता है। यह भी कहा कि आनन्द मार्ग विदेशों से पैसा ले रहा है। मेरा निवेदन है कि यह एक औचित्य का प्रश्न है। अगर गृह मंत्री सदन में मौजूद थे, और आप जानते हैं कि ये, तब उन्हें जो कहना था वह पार्लियामेंट में कहना चाहिये था न कि प्रेस काफरेस बुला कर गृह मंत्री वक्तव्य देते फिरें। यह मंत्री महोदय को शोभा नहीं देता और इस ससद की मर्यादा के भी अनुकूल नहीं है।

मेरा आप से निवेदन है कि आप गृह मंत्री को बुलाइयें और उनको बोड़ी ही सिटकी दीजिये। जो मामला पार्लियामेंट में आता है उसके बारे में पार्लियामेंट में बोलना ज्यादा उचित है, प्रेस काफरेस बुला कर वक्तव्य देना उचित नहीं है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय जब भी किसी मिनिस्टर को ब्राड क्वेश्चन आफ पार्लिसी प्रनाउस करना हो और हाउस बैठा हो तब उसको यहाँ आना चाहिये, लेकिन जो डे टु डे इस तरह की बातें होती रहती हैं, गेडमिनिस्टरिव या दूसरी तब उसकी जरूरत नहीं है। और मेरा खयाल है वह यहाँ बैठे हुए नहीं थे।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी मैं जानता हूँ बैठे थे।

अध्यक्ष महोदय बैठे थे ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जहाँ इस समय राज बहादुर विराजमान है वहाँ वह विराजमान थे। (अध्यक्षान) वजाय इस के कि वह पार्लियामेंट में कुछ बहें उन्होंने बाहर कहा। यह औचित्य का प्रश्न है प्रोप्रायटी का सवाल है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय आनन्द मार्ग के सम्बन्ध में बाहर तो झगडा होगा टम हाउस में भी वह रोज धरा घुसना है। आनन्द मार्ग है क्या, आप किसी दिन मुझ को बतलायें।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी मैं आनन्द मार्गों नहीं हूँ मैं मध्यम मार्गों हूँ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय मैं नहीं मान सकता कि कोई वैचलर आनन्द मार्गों नहीं होता है।

12 20 hrs

FINANCE BILL, 1973

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

"That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 1973-74 be taken into consideration."

I have already outlined the salient features of the financial proposals in my Budget speech. The specific provisions have also been spelt out in detail in the Explanatory Memorandum which was circulated to Hon'ble Members. I do not, therefore, propose to cover this ground once again.

In the past nearly 2 months that the Bill has been before this House I have had the benefit of receiving valuable suggestions from Hon'ble Members of both Houses. A number of others have also written to me offering their views and recommendations on the proposals. I would like to take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to all of these who have given the benefit of their comments. I have also met and discussed the proposals that affected them with the representatives of various Associations. I had also asked the concerned officers of the Ministry of Finance to hold similar discussions with Associations and other agencies representing the different sectors of trade and industry and also to undertake on-the-spot studies for assessing the difficulties, if any, that they might be experiencing on account of the Budget proposals.

The proposals made by me in the field of direct taxes have generally been well received in this House as well as outside. The scheme of partially integrated taxation of non-agricultural income with income derived from agriculture represents an important step in mobilising resources from the agricultural sector. It will also be helpful in combating tax evasion by reducing opportunities for camouflaging 'black' money. We have received several comments on the various provisions of the Scheme. It has been represented that the disallowance of agricultural income-tax in computing the net agricultural income will operate harshly in the case of taxpayers in States which levy agricultural income-tax. I feel that, in the interest of equity, it will be desirable to allow agricultural income-tax paid under a State law as deduction in computing the net agricultural income for purposes of the scheme of partial in-

tegration of agricultural and non-agricultural incomes. This will place taxpayers in States having agricultural income-tax on par with taxpayers in other States. I accordingly propose to move a specific amendment to the Bill to secure this objective.

Under the proposal for partially integrated taxation of non-agricultural income with income derived from agriculture, the agricultural income will be taken into account in determining the rate of tax applicable to non-agricultural income in the case of individuals, Hindu undivided families, unregistered firms, associations of persons, bodies of individuals and artificial juridical persons who have non-agricultural income exceeding Rs. 5,000. The Bill sets forth the manner in which income-tax will be calculated in such cases. For this purpose, the agricultural and non-agricultural components of a taxpayer's income will first be aggregated and income-tax calculated on the aggregate as if such aggregate were the total income. Income tax will then be calculated on the net agricultural income as increased by an amount of 5,000 rupees, as if such increased net agricultural income were the total income. The difference between the two sums thus arrived at will be the income-tax payable by the taxpayer on his non-agricultural income. As hon'ble Members are aware, the Bill seeks to continue the differential rates of surcharge on income-tax in the case of individuals, Hindu undivided families etc., depending upon whether the taxable income exceeds 15,000 rupees or not. The application of these differential rates is likely to cause some difficulty in cases where the net agricultural income of a taxpayer does not exceed 10,000 rupees and the aggregate of the agricultural and non-agricultural incomes exceeds 15,000 rupees. This is because, in such cases, surcharge on income-tax on the aggregate income will be calculated at the rate of 15 per cent, while the surcharge on income-tax on the net agricultural income as increased by 5,000 rupees will be calculated

[Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan]

at the rate of 10 per cent. The result will, therefore, be that the liability to income-tax in such cases will be somewhat higher than intended. I, therefore, propose to move an amendment in the relevant provision to secure that in cases where the aggregate of the agricultural and non-agricultural incomes exceeds 15,000 rupees, the surcharge on income-tax on the net agricultural income as increased by 5,000 rupees will be calculated at the same rate as is applicable in respect of the aggregate income. This will benefit taxpayers having agricultural income not exceeding 10,000 rupees if their aggregate income exceeds 15,000 rupees.

On the Central Excise side, my assessment is that the reaction to the proposals have not been too unfavourable and they do not, therefore, require any major modification. However, there are certain areas where I think some changes are necessary mainly with a view to providing some relief to the small manufacturers and to remove certain disparities.

It may be recalled that I had modified the criterion for giving relief to small manufacturers of banded or compounded lubricating oils and greases by doing away with the power criterion and substituting in its place a slab exemption based on quantity limits of clearances. I had proposed exemption up to 100 metric tons of such oils and greases in respect of a manufacturer whose total clearances during the preceding financial year did not exceed 200 metric tons. Though this has fairly served the purpose I had in view, it has been represented that these quantity limits might affect a few marginal units somewhat adversely. I, therefore, propose to remove this hardship to these units also by increasing the limit of total exemption from duty from 100 to 200 metric tons and correspondingly modify the other ceiling from 200 to 300 metric tons.

Carbon black was earlier classifiable as paints and varnishes but was exempted. It has now been brought under

a new tariff item carrying a rate of duty of 10 per cent *ad valorem*. In the process of making changes by notification for giving effect to the Budget proposals, some manufacturers of certain pigments and dry colours prepared in admixture with carbon black, who had been wholly exempted from excise levy earlier, have been brought in the dutiable sector. Since the manufacturers of such mixtures of dry colours are mostly in the small sector, I propose to restore the pre-Budget position.

Hon'ble Members will recall that in the proposals I had made in respect of the concessions for smaller paper mills having no bamboo pulp plants attached to them, there is a stipulation that such mills, while availing of the concessions would not be permitted to avail of a parallel concession for the usage of unconventional raw material, like bagasse and cereal straw in the form of pulp. Some of these smaller paper mills have represented that where they have clearances in excess of one thousand metric tons, this restriction would adversely affect them in respect of varieties of paper containing such unconventional raw material. I, therefore, propose to make a suitable modification so as to provide that such mills would also get the concession up to 9 paise per kilogram for the use of unconventional raw material where the quantum of relief because of the slab exemptions already prescribed for clearances falls short of this figure of monetary relief.

With the withdrawal of the exemption in favour of electric motors designed to work at a pressure not exceeding 50 volts, certain mini-motors used in battery-operated toys and educational kits have also been brought into dutiable category. As a measure of goodwill towards children and students who might derive pleasure or profit through the use of such toys and kits propose to exempt electric motors designed to work at a pressure not exceeding 5 volts from duty.

The levy of excise duty on glass-wool as against the continued exemption of slagwool is reported to have caused an inequitable burden on certain varieties of glasswool whose prices are comparable to those of slagwool. Glasswool is known to be manufactured by two different processes one of which is called the Hager process. The product manufactured under this process is said to be much cheaper than the one manufactured by the other process. I therefore propose to reduce the duty on glasswool manufactured by the Hager process to 20 paise per kilogram, so as to ensure an overall equitable incidence of duty on glasswool. While doing so I also propose to remove the advantage in favour of slagwool by imposing on it the same concessional rate of duty as on the cheaper variety of glasswool.

Coming next to customs duties, a number of representations have been received from the film industry associations and some renowned film producers against the proposal to enhance the import duty on raw cinematograph films from 15 paise to 50 paise per linear metre. The fears that have been expressed are that the higher duty will impose an unbearable burden on the entire film industry. I must confess that I am not fully able to share this feeling. Even according to the industry's own assessment, the additional burden on account of the higher duty may be of the order of Rs. 1.5 lakhs on a colour feature film with 50 release prints. Big producers who invest lakhs of rupees in such films should not find it difficult to absorb this additional burden by effecting economies elsewhere in production.

I, however, agree that in the case of small budget pictures which are mostly in black and white produced in regional languages, there could be a certain amount of hardship. To provide necessary relief to the producers of such films, I propose to reduce the import duty on black and white raw film, both positive and negative, from

50 paise to 30 paise per linear metre.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: (Gwalior): Even that would be too much for the regional language films.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Let us see and watch. I have also decided to extend the same concession to sound film negatives also as their use is in....

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: This will also be too much for them.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: We have certainly worked this out taking that into account, and I think that this should be reasonably helpful to them, but certainly we shall watch the results of it.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपयी . रीजनल लैंग्वेज के बारे में आप चाहे तो ड्यूटी में जो आमदनी होती है उसे वापस कर सकते हैं, ऐसा प्रोजेक्ट है।

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: आप की बात मैं समझ गया, लेकिन इस वस्तु तो मैं कुछ नहीं कह सकता।

I have also decided to extend the same concession to sound film negatives also as their use is in the production of not only colour but black and white films also. Both these things will certainly help them.

Another item in respect of which a large number of representations have been received including letters from some hon. Members is plastic materials. Plastic materials excepting a few on which the duties were bound under the GATT have already been paying the basic customs duty at 100 per cent *ad valorem*. As I had mentioned earlier, I have only rationalised the rates of duty on the GATT-bound items to bring them at par with the general rate of duty on other plastic materials.

One of the items affected by this increase, however, is cellulose nitrate sheets. I understand that these cellulose nitrate sheets are used in the manufacture of combs popularly

[Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan]

known as Jessore combs. These combs are stated to be traditionally manufactured by the people who had migrated to West Bengal on the eve of partition and that presently about 25,000 of such people depend for their livelihood on such comb manufacture.

As cellulose nitrate sheets are not manufactured in India, they have to depend solely on imports for their production, and the representation is that the industry will not be able to bear the incidence of the higher duty. In order that the higher duty does not adversely affect this traditional and labour-intensive industry, I propose to reduce the basic customs duty on cellulose nitrate sheets from 100 per cent to 60 per cent *ad valorem*. This will reduce the cumulative incidence of import duty from 208 per cent to 138 per cent. This, I hope will provide adequate relief to this industry as well as to the manufacture of optical frames and bangles which too are labour intensive.

There are also about 115 small-scale units producing polyethylene woven bags from high-density polyethylene tape which is also one of the plastic materials affected by the increase in import duty. High density polyethylene is indigenously available but because of inadequacy of supply, imports have been recently liberalised for actual users. It has been represented that with the revised rate of duty the cost of the imported material would be much higher than the price of indigenous material. This industry which has been started mostly by self-employed engineers is still in its infancy and needs encouragement if it is to compete with jute bags. In view of this consideration, I propose to reduce the duty on high density polyethylene used in the manufacture of woven fabrics for polyethylene bags from 100 per cent to 60 per cent *ad valorem*. With this relief the overall incidence of import duty would come down from 208 per cent to 138 per cent.

The net effect of all these reliefs that I have proposed so far will be

a loss of revenue of about Rs. 2 crores in a full year.

Sir, I move.

SHRI S. R. DAMANI (Sholapur):
What about import duty on cotton?

MR. SPEAKER: Not at this stage. He will have enough opportunity later. Motion moved:

"That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 1973-74 be taken into consideration."

15 hours have been allotted for all the three stages of the Bill. If the House agrees, we may have 10 hours for general discussion, 4 hours for clause-by-clause consideration and one hour for the third reading.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN (Palghat):
Mr. Speaker, Sir, the country is facing a serious economic crisis, the dimensions of which cannot be hidden any longer. Inflation has reached a galloping speed, the consumer price index has doubled over the decade 1960-70 and neither the growth rate nor the rate of domestic savings in real terms has been attained as planned specially since the Third Plan. Resources mobilised at the expense of the masses of consumers through commodity taxation and inflationary financing have been frittered away in luxury consumption and also in non-development outlays, in an expanded police and defence complex to enforce 'law and order'. Self-reliance is a far cry when the pace and pattern of development remain retarded.

This, in substance, is the position so far as the situation in the country is concerned. I want to deal with each subject, prices, industry, agriculture etc. As regards prices, I do not want to say more except that the *Economic Times* of March 25, 1973 has said that industrial raw materials registered a price rise of 32 per cent

and food articles 19.8 per cent over a 12-month period. Among the food articles edible oils reported the highest increase of 48.9 per cent, pulses 26.5 per cent, vegetables 19.3 per cent, cereals 18.9 per cent sugar 15.1 per cent and milk and milk products 12.2 per cent.

Coming to the condition of the people and their living, a Survey Report of the Reserve Bank of India in 1970 stated that the percentage of rural population with an income below Rs. 18 per month was 70 in 1967. It further stated that the nutritional intake of the large number of people had deteriorated in 1968 and 1969. Add to this the millions of urban people and we have the picture of Indian poverty. And yet in the Approach document to the Fifth Five Year Plan, Government have the courage to say that poverty exists only for the lowest 30 per cent of the Indian population.

Another thing is that the official figures themselves show that, despite the alleged success of the Plans, the worker's real income has not increased, but has fallen compared with the pre-independence wage levels, in spite of the most blatant manipulation of the cost of living index by official compilers. This is as far as the living condition of the people is concerned.

There is scarcity of yarn, scarcity of cement, scarcity of fertiliser, scarcity of steel, there is scarcity of everything except the CRP and the police. The handloom sector is languishing under the callous policy pursued by the Congress Government. There is an acute shortage of yarn and also the prices of yarn have sky-rocketed. The handloom weavers have virtually been thrown out of their traditional occupation in every part of the country on account of the non-availability of yarn. At the same time yarn has accumulated at the producing mills and is not being lifted because the State Governments have no machinery for distribution.

On the one side, in the mills there is accumulation of yarn, and on the other side in the same town there are handloom weavers who have had no work for the last so many months. As far as Kerala is concerned, the papers who support the Congress have written editorials saying that they have waited for two months. Why is it that the weavers are not getting the yarn? When there are reports that yarn lies accumulated in the mills, why did the Government keep silent. The yarn prices are shooting up. Ultimately, when the Government came out with a control order, why is it that the Government did not care to create a distribution machinery? Why is it that Government is not able even today, after two months, to create distribution machinery and see that the yarn is distributed? Who is responsible for such a mess in the distribution after the control was imposed? If people fight against the Congress Government, how can they charge the Opposition that they are standing in the way of progress? Are we standing in the way of distribution?

Today, there is a report in the papers about the power looms in Delhi. There is a total closure of power looms in Delhi. There is a report that almost all the power looms and the handloom units in Delhi have been forced to close down for want of yarn. It is nearly 50 days since the Government imposed control over prices and distribution of yarn in the country, but none of the units in Delhi have so far received any yarn resulting in the closure of looms rendering over 7,000 workers unemployed. It is understood that the estimated production loss in the capital due to non-availability of yarn is about Rs. 6 lakhs per day.

In Kerala there are 3000 bales of yarn lying idle and 5,000 bales in the Cannanore Spinning Mills alone, where we have got a foreign-exchange oriented handloom mill. According

[Shri A. K. Gopalan]
to the South India Millowners' Association, there are 35,000 bales lying idle. This is the position. The report is that for the last two months yarn has been lying idle in the mills and for the last two months the workers have also been lying idle. I can understand if it is for one week or two weeks, but for two months they are lying idle. Who is responsible for this?

Was not the Government able to understand this? At least the yarn that has accumulated can be distributed. One can understand that there is no yarn because of the power cut. But one cannot understand this when there is yarn lying idle in some places. The workers are roaming; they are idle, and they have no work. It is not so far one month; it is for months together that they have no work. Who is responsible for this, is it not the Government that is responsible for this?

I think the Finance Minister will excuse me when I ask; have they no responsibility for the life of the people? I can understand natural calamities, and I can understand the power cut or anything like that. But what I cannot understand is, why two months have been taken for distribution of the yarn that is there. Why not at least distribute it? Why not make arrangements for distributing the yarn? And if you see that the distribution is not equitable, you can make some other arrangement. But that is not being done. So, today the yarn prices are rising all over the country and lakhs and lakhs of people are unemployed.

Our slogan is: *garibi hatao*; give jobs to the people. The gap between our slogans and their implementation is so wide. People who are in jobs are not able to stabilise their jobs. The yarn is there, lying idle. The Commissioner from Bombay says: do not issue the yarn. Nobody knows the reason. On the other side, there are handloom weavers; they are agitating for the yarn; they are struggling and in many places police arrest

them and punish them, not those who were responsible for this situation.

Take the power situation. The Congress Governments, Central as well as State Governments, try to find an alibi for the present power crisis in the monsoons that failed. By saying so, they are conveniently covering up their own failures. But why have the thermal power stations given such a bad performance? Why has the Tarapur atomic power station become a failure? Why have they installed only 17 million kw of power against the targeted 27 million kw of power in the Fifth Plan? You cannot attribute to the rain gods all your failures. It is said that due to bad or inferior coal the thermal power stations output had been affected. Who is responsible for the use of inferior coal? Have they been found out and punished? Did not the Government know that there would be power shortage, several months ago? What action did they take to prevent the crisis? Instead of self-reliance, they rely on foreign machinery and collaboration and bureaucratic corruption. Again, if there was proper maintenance of the thermal plants, at least their capacity could be fully utilised.

What is the result of the power cut? Several lakhs of people are unemployed. The entire set-up, the electricity boards, the Central Water and Power Commission and the department of electricity and power are rampant with corruption. It is a den of corruption. Massive unemployment had been created in Tamilnadu by power cut. According to the *Times of India* report yesterday, as a result of the power failure and the consequent set back to the small scale industries, five lakhs of daily wage workers have been rendered jobless and almost an equal number of permanent employees have to remain idle for 5 or 6 days in a week. It has also affected major industries in and outside Tamilnadu. This is about only one State and there are so many other States where power cut has

played havoc. What is the position of lakhs and crores of workers who had been affected by power cut?

If the Government had thought about it and planned properly, it could have utilised the capacity of the thermal plants to the utmost. We had four plans and we knew that the most important thing was power. We spent so many crores wastefully. If we had used them and given priority to power, we could have met the situation.

At least six months back, if he had seen that there was no rain and water was not there and if the thermal plant had been used, this calamity would not have occurred. We did not do that. Whose responsibility is it? When I speak about power, I want to say something about irrigation. In 1947, just at the time of Independence, the net area irrigated from all sources was 19.4 million hectares. It rose to about 20.85 million hectares. The crop area has increased fast resulting in the decrease of the percentage of irrigated area to 17.6 and at the end of Third Five Year Plan, it rose to 20 per cent in 1967-68 in irrigated area, from 19.7 in 1947.

Sir, in a written reply the Government told Parliament that the percentage of irrigated areas was 23 per cent. I quote from page 2,000 of the Report of the Irrigation Commission headed by Shri A. P. Jain, published in 1972.

'The irrigated area up-to-date from all sources is 23 per cent.'

This is as claimed by Government. Government claims that by the end of the Fourth Plan, that is, by 1972-73, the irrigation potentialities will cover about 42 million hectares. Even with the whole potentiality, the utilised crop area remains the same. It is quite unlikely that the percentage of irrigated land will exceed 25. Then,

what is the achievement? The Irrigation Commission Report itself speaks eloquently about the failure of the irrigation policy of the Government. So, when there is failure in irrigation there is failure of power also. The failures are in both. Both these affect employment. We see today that there is unemployment. Not only that. As far as yarn is concerned, some yarn is available but there is no machinery to distribute it. That also has added to unemployment.

As regards cement, that is in short supply. At the same time, the consumption price has shot up to fantastic heights. Despite the so-called price control, the price of cement in the black market has gone up to Rs 30 a bag. What is the Government doing? They have no machinery for the proper distribution of Cement. And the Government is sitting as a silent spectator. In the *Kerala Manorama* two days back there appeared a news item regarding scarcity of cement. There is a factory at Kottayam known as Nattakam. This is the name of the cement factory. They say that there is no place to keep the cement because nobody takes the cement out. Nobody purchases it. And so, they are in a difficulty as to where they should keep it. There is scarcity of cement outside. Here there is no place to keep the cement. They say that this is the position. What is happening? When there is scarcity outside in the country, they say this. There is no proper distribution machinery. The people in the Nattakam Cement Factory say that they have no place where they can keep the cement that is produced there. That is another drama.

What is it due to? That is the position about Cement as also yarn. Production of cement is there; production of yarn is also there. But, nobody is getting this yarn. Those who want to get it do not get it at the controlled prices. They get it at

[Shri A. K. Gopalan]

the higher prices. Those who have got yarn and cement, give it at a higher price.

Take for example fertiliser. The other day we had a discussion about scarcity of food in Bihar, Maharashtra and other places. We also discussed about land reforms and about giving the surplus land to the peasants. I do not want to go into them. Whatever land be there, if you gave cheap fertiliser to the peasants and if there had been a plan to produce more and cheap fertilisers, then the peasants would have got the fertilisers and improved the production. Improved fertiliser will certainly improve the food production in the country.

In the case of fertiliser, a part of the real reason for its scarcity may be sought in the rigidities of its distribution. Instances have been noted when, at least for a short duration, fertiliser stocks under the Central quota, meant for areas no more in urgent need of fertilisers due to drought conditions, piled up with factories while other areas which could profitably use the fertilisers went without them. Instead of stepping up domestic production of fertilisers on the basis of real self-reliance and creating an effective distribution system, the Government is going in for collaboration agreements with Japanese monopoly companies. Engineers of FACT and FCI have expressed confidence in India's ability to put up any number of fertiliser plants using Indian technical expertise. But the Government of India seems to be more interested in enabling Japanese companies to come to India and exploit us. If we had put up fertiliser plants with indigenous know-how, we would have been able to increase our fertiliser production and consequently our food production also even before the end of the fourth plan. The farmer today is interested in using fertilisers because he knows he

can increase production. But in the villages he can get it only in the black market.

Coming to capacity utilisation, in many key sectors of the economy a good chunk of the installed capacity remains unutilised. For example, in the case of cement mill machinery, rubber machinery, ceramic machinery etc., the utilisation of capacity is below 20 per cent. In heavy electrical industries and cables and bare copper conductors, it is 11.8 and 8.5 per cent respectively. In precision instrument castings it is 13.9 per cent. In power tillers, three wheelers and moped scooters it is 6, 5.9 and 12.9 per cent respectively.

In tea processing machinery, cranes, railway wagons and light and medium structurals, the capacity utilisation may mark barely over 20 per cent. In road rollers, scooters and motor cycles, jeeps, etc., the case is the same, whereas in consumer durables such as electric fans (100 per cent), dry cells (114.9 per cent), sheet glass (90 per cent), vacuum flasks (100 per cent) etc., there exist full or over utilisation.

Government has said that 1972 witnessed an improvement in capacity utilisation. But it must be remembered that the main factor responsible for this is the vastly additional capacity created in many sectors following the liberalisation of the industrial licensing policy. This is the reason. We do not know whether in 1973 this full capacity can be used. The number of licences issued have jumped from 363 in 1970 to 877 in 1972. But the hopes of better utilisation of enlarged capacity in many industrial sectors was belied in many cases. Hence, in spite of a rise in actual production during 1972 compared to 1971, the mean capacity utilisation ratio for certain sectors declined because of enlarged capacity. For example, in the case of industrial

machinery, the percentage of utilisation fell from 75.9 in 1971 to 58.5 in 1972.

13 hrs.

There is another interesting point. It must be remembered that the re-survey nature of procurement, producers production in the official index was mainly contributed by the textile industry which accounted for 30 per cent in the official index. It follows, therefore, that but for the improved performance of textiles last year, it was a period of stagnation and the Government figure of improved capacity utilisation was based on this increase in the textile industry.

I do not want to say anything about drought and famine. Even today that question was raised immediately after question hour. But I want to point out that in Ahmednagar district of Maharashtra the drought-affected people are required to undergo vasectomy operations before they claim relief. I hope the Minister will enquire into this because everybody cannot undergo this operation even though he may need relief. Then there is a scandal about relief and it is alleged that the relief ware is not paid. It cannot be denied that the recent riots in Nagpur and Nasik have clearly demonstrated the distress and misery of the masses. Yet, Government have done practically nothing in the matter.

Coming to procurement, the other day the Prime Minister laid great stress on procurement of foodgrains. It is a fact that Government have failed to achieve the procurement target. Against a procurement target of 4 million tonnes of rice, as recommended by the Agricultural Prices Commission, hardly 1.5 million tonnes were procured by the end of February. The Government launched a crash programme for the rabi season which later proved to be an utter failure. The alibi for this is put for-

ward as power shortage, fertiliser bottlenecks etc.

With the shortage following widespread drought and the non-compulsory nature of procurement, producers were sure to find alternative profitable outlets or to store it until they found them. If the Government is serious about the food problem, it must compulsorily procure the surplus of the landlords and the rich peasants through a producer levy. Unless the Government does that, it is not going to get the grains. If the Government is not prepared to do it, then there is no question of accusing anybody. Whatever the landlords and rich peasants want for their use must be left with them and the surplus must be compulsorily procured by the Government. If they procure only what comes to the market, nothing will come to the market and there will be very little procurement.

Now the procurement is very poor. In Punjab, for example, in the case of maize crop, as against the APC recommendation of 3 lakhs tonnes, only 80,000 tonnes were procured up to last March.

In Haryana, against the target of one lakh tonnes, nothing had been got till last March. This is the position. How are we going to procure and distribute?

AN HON. MEMBER: Harvesting has not been completed.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN: I wish after harvesting all this comes available.

At the distribution end, there are reports that in many parts of India, the card holders could not get their weekly allotments. The Government have failed in spreading the public distribution outlet throughout the country. Especially, coarse grains are not available in many shops. If the public distribution system is aimed primarily at alleviating the conditions

[Shri A. K. Gopalan]

of the vulnerable in a drought year, the price increase among food grains certainly does not testify it. During the year, while the prices of rice rose by 13.1 per cent and that of wheat by 15.9 per cent, the price of bajra increased by 37.5 per cent.

As regards self-reliance, I am glad to say it is a good slogan and it must be achieved also. It is a noble aim. But take a look at our balance of payments position. The Approach Document to the Fifth Five Year Plan estimated heavy debt service obligations at Rs. 2,360 crores over the Fifth Plan. On the top of this is 'maintenance imports' of spares and components constituting 80 per cent of total estimated imports.

Twenty-three years of planning has brought the country to this stage of abject dependence. In actual practice, self-reliance is a catchword behind which the Government is forging new bonds with foreign capital. It is showing no signs of dissolving the old bonds either. The new industrial policy resolution announced by the Government of India in February last amply bears this out. It has thrown the flood gates wide open to foreign capital enterprise and subsidiaries. Commercial vehicles, paper, cement, plate-glass, tractors and a whole lot are now open to foreign concerns on par with Indian entrepreneurs. Only shouting self reliance from the house tops is the policy of the Government, but actually more scope is being given to private foreign capital and collaboration agreements.

In the first half of 1972, 99 collaboration agreements were approved. Among these are 9 involving foreign equity participation as well. Among the agreements, there were some to import razor blades, footwear with PVC soles, plastic toys, beer, locks and latches, cigarette filters and automatic door closers. Can you imagine this? If this is the position, I think very soon we shall have foreign technology imported to teach us how to boil

rice, how to make tea and also how to make idli and sambhar:

About the joint sector, as I have no time, I do not touch that point.

13.10 hrs.

[SHRI K. N. TIWARY in the Chair]

Now I come to taxation. In the name of taxing the rich, the structure of taxation is being redesigned in favour of indirect taxes. The direct taxes proposed in the 1973-74 budget are only Rs. 18.6 crores as against an overall increase of Rs. 274 crores in indirect taxes. And the real burden of indirect taxes falls on Mr. Chavan's best friend, the common man!

Additional excise duties of the order of Rs. 118 crores in the 1973-74 budget will push up consumer and manufactured goods prices by about four per cent. Taking into consideration the impact of customs duties and the normal price rise of three to four per cent a year which has become common in India, the overall general price increase will not be less than eight to ten per cent.

We are spending more money on non-development outlays also. I want to say that the police expenditure by the Central Government and the Union territories has increased from about a crore of rupees in 1948-49 to nearly Rs. 150 crores, including Civil Defence, in the new budget. I can understand this increase because, without increasing the strength of CRP and the police, you cannot control the shoutings when there is strike and all that. Either give food or crush the people who are shouting. Without increasing the battalion of CRP and police, you cannot function; I can understand that. But I have only one request to make. After 25 years of independence, for which I also made my humble sacrifices, will the Government stop people being beaten in lock ups and women being raped inside the lock-up? When such cases come to their notice, will the

Government look into them and stop them? The police has no right to beat people inside the lock-up; they have no right to punish them. It is the magistrate who has to punish. Beating people to death is also there. That is something good because the person will not come out and there is no problem of getting treated in the hospitals. Being beaten but not to death and having no money to go to the hospital is worse than being beaten to death. There are several cases of beating. There must, be legislation, if necessary, to say that when a man is inside the lock-up, having lost his liberties, he must not be touched by the police. Will this at least be done after 25 years of independence when we say that we are marching towards socialism? You can place him before the court. If there is something, let there be a legislation about punishment. Has the police the right to beat a person inside the lock-up? Every day, both in the morning and in the evening, it is done. Every morning just as we offer our prayers to God, they call all of them, beat them and put them back inside. In the evening also, similarly, just as we offer our prayers to God, they call all of them, beat them and put them back inside. This has become the practice in some places. And there is no use complaining. So much money is spent on police, CRP and others; when we have no money for power, when we have no money for producing yarn, we have money to increase the strength of CRP and police. Our Home Minister has said that, within the next six months, every village will have a police station, because the health of the people will improve if there is a police station in every village!

One more point and I will conclude, and it is about regional imbalances. You have been talking about it in the First Plan, Second Plan, Third Plan and Fourth Plan. But regional imbalances are still there. You ask my friend, Mr. Unnikrishnan, about Kerala. There are backward areas in Kerala. There are backward areas in

Maharashtra also; though there are industries in Bombay, there are backward areas also in Maharashtra. If you do not make any plan to see that the backward areas also are developed, the unity of India will be destroyed. You have seen in Andhra today where they say 'Cut into pieces every district, every village. We also want to become forward.' Like that, the unity of India will go if something is not done.

For Kerala, you have done something, but it is a promise. Every year there will be a promise. After two years the promise will go. Regarding the Phyto Chemicals, the promise was that it would come. How the Government have taken the land, the peasants are driven out. Then about the Precision Tool factory here also the Government took the land... (Interruptions) Mr. Unnikrishnan says it is coming up. He is satisfied with that, but I am not. I am more experienced than the hon. Member there. I am not satisfied. When it comes up, then only I will be satisfied. If the foundation is there and if the work begins, then only I will be satisfied. One factory is promise and after two years another promised and after two years another promise comes. Then the earlier promise is gone. A promise is made about Calicut aerodrome. After five or six years, another promise comes, 'We will try to enlarge Cochin.' So Calicut is gone. After two years the Cochin promise will also go. Now, nobody will think of Calicut. Now about the Cochin super-tanker berth. Shrimati Indira Gandhi promised, Mr. Raj Bahadur promised, all the Ministers said 'Yes, yes'. How did it go? Then again it has come. How did it come? How was the promise given? Was it a *tamasha* to give a promise about the super tanker berth? How did it suddenly come today? He will say, 'It will come'. It will come when the elections come, it will go after the elections....

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:
That is the real *tamasha*.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN: There was a railway project—Mysore to Tellicherry. It really came before the Second Elections. After the elections when we put the question, we were told "There was no question of Mysore-Tellicherry railway line. The survey was for some other reason." Then why spend the money on survey when you do not want to take it up? Why do you do like this? Why do you make a promise? Even when the people know they cannot have it, you make a promise. Then you break the promise and make another promise. Now, about the super-tanker berth, the Government says it must make a promise; then, if you make a promise, keep the promise.

Now, another thing, the sons of the soil movement. People of Kerala go elsewhere outside Kerala. Now they cannot go there because of this movement. I am a son of the soil of India. My soil is India, not my village. You say 'sons of the soil'. There is a fight. The fight goes on in Kerala also between one district and another district. You raise the question of the 'sons of the soil' between Mysore and Maharashtra. Then between this district and that district, the 'sons of the soil' question comes. Where is the soil? Can you not say that as far as the Central Government is concerned, there is no question of 'sons of the soil'. Why create this thing, 'appointments only for the sons of the soil'? We are sons of what? We are all sons of the soil. Can each one take a separate soil?

Sir, unless some provisions is made so that the backward States and also backward areas in backward States make up, nothing may be done.

One thing for you and Mr. Ganesh. Then I will finish my speech. Certain things, certain black deeds are done. It is also a part of corruption. I want to say that and I wrote a letter also. The other day it was said there was an auction of the seized goods, customs-seized goods. So many things are seized by the customs smuggled goods. All people went there as it

was said that there would be an auction. The officers dividing the booty were there. Our paper correspondent and the photographer went there. Therefore, what was the auction? The Collector was there. The Collector's wife was there. All the officers were there. He took a photo. Immediately the policeman came and took hold of the camera. Sir, the film is non-violent. In any part of the country the photo-film is non-violent. The man who took the photo may be a Marxist, or a bad man. How can the film be a Marxist film? Films are innocent, they are non-violent, because they will show only the people who were there. That is all.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Then do you concede that Marxists are violent?

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN: Marxist are sometimes violent, only when violence is shown against them, when naturally they also become violent. I wrote to him about this incident. I don't know whether any enquiry was held. The photographer has been arrested. The reporter concerned has been arrested. That person came just to take a film there. He is arrested. As I said already, the Collector was there. The Collector could have stopped it. He went there to get some saree for his wife. How can he stop him? He wanted some smuggled sarees, good sarees. How can they stop these things? Unless you take very strict action, these things will continue. Unless the strictest steps are taken, nothing will come out of it and corruption will continue unabated. I have nothing more to say about this. You say you have given concessions; they are not concessions at all. So far as the overall things are concerned, no concession is given. Price level is going up. Taxation is going up. So far as the economic situation is concerned, it is developing into a deepening crisis. It is very bad, and the hon. Minister understands it. He also knows that Maharashtra is in the grip of a big, deepening crisis. As a petri-

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:
I am an Indian first.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN: Indian and Maharashtrian. That is why I say that you can take the necessary steps.

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO (Bellary): Mr. Chairman, Sir, to follow the scintillating performance of the hon. Member,—the leader of the Marxist Communist Party,—for an ordinary congressman like myself is somewhat difficult. Mr. Gopalan has taken up the whole spectrum of the Indian economy and has gone as far back as 1948, to find out what has happened since then and to link it up in some curious fashion with the Budget of 1973-74 and the Finance Bill which the Finance Minister has presently moved. I don't wish to go into details. I don't have documented materials for all these things. But I wish to take up certain points which he raised.

13.25 hrs.

[**SHRI SEZHYAN** in the Chair]

Before I go to other points, I think, on one aspect Mr. Gopalan will agree with me, and it is this,—that there has been economic progress for the last 25 years. It may not be adequate. That is one thing. I would be the first person to admit that progress is not according to, or up to, our expectations. But nobody can deny that certain progress has been made on the economic front. What was the production of cereals in 1948-49? With all the drought that you have, what is the total production of cereals today? The production of cereals in 1948-49 was 50 million tonnes. We faced terrible drought in various parts of the country. Anyone cannot but admit that our people have under gone terrible hardships as a result of droughts. But inspite of that if you take the production of the years 1971-72 and 1972-73 I will not be surprised if the production were anywhere round about 100 million tonnes. It is certainly not going to be 60, 70, 80 or

90 million tonnes. It is going to be 90 million tonnes plus and the likelihood is that it will be somewhere near 100 million tonnes. This is a fact. You may say in the last 25 years our condition has not improved as much as we wanted it to, but we must not forget that it is not the fault of any political party. In the last 25 years our population has increased by 150 million and let us not forget that we have been able to provide food and other things for the increased population. 150 million persons would be one third of the population with which we started our Independence. I do not want to go into other details about imports and exports, self-reliance and all these things, as I am sure Mr. Gopalan and his advisers are as well aware of them as we are. All that I want to say is that the kind of picture Shri Gopalan has drawn—and for the benefit of the country at large—is not a kind of picture which is going to help us in solving the problems to which he has drawn our attention. There is no doubt that we are in difficulties. But, I think that when an economy is in difficulties, one way of dealing with the problem is not to gloss over the difficulty. Defects must be mentioned; criticism should be made; defects must be pointed out but along with that there should be some feeling of confidence some stimulation of confidence among the people. I know our government is a party government and certainly it is the legitimate right of an Opposition to criticise the government in power. But with all that—if what Mr. Gopalan started with is true and I think there is a considerable amount of truth that we are in a state of economic crisis in this country,—I think that it becomes necessary for all of us irrespective of the political party to which we belong to take a much larger view of the subject at least for the time being as the elections are quite far off.

I think the House knows that I am not a fanatical party man. But I would really like to appeal to my friends who are sitting in the Opposi-

[Shri V K R Varadaraja Rao] tion benches—and who I am quite certain are as much concerned, when it comes to brass tacks, with poverty, production of fertilisers, employment etc—that when they are all so much concerned with all these things it should be part of the function of this Parliament and part of the function of the Opposition to create an atmosphere in the country which would be conducive to solving these problems and not create a sense of frustration. As it is, I am sure Shri Gopalan knows there is an atmosphere of violence in the country today. There is an atmosphere where people are only willing to seize on anything which they think has not satisfied them. People are not willing to realise the good aspect of anything at all.

Take, for example, the year that has just ended, namely 1972-73. I think during that year we have had a drought which has been one of the worst droughts that we have ever had in this country. I think it had been even worse than the one we had in 1965-66 or 1966-67. And yet, the promptness, the speed and the rapidity with which Government have moved in this drought year is something for which I think the Government do deserve credit. They were not responsible for the drought, but they are responsible for the fact that they took prompt action. Here, I would like to pay a personal tribute to the Finance Minister. I do not very much like him as a tax-gatherer, but I must say that he is very good as a person who sanctions money for things which are important from the point of view of the country's welfare. If you look at the money that was made available last year, you will find that there was no stinting of money at all. What is the fun of saying that UP got more, Maharashtra more but Mysore got less and so on? I think that the fact of the matter is that we have spent on drought relief on a massive scale in 1972-73 as much as we have not done so far. We not merely spent on what you may call drought relief, but we were also prepared to spend on something more positive

We did not merely rest content with giving relief to the people, but there was a well calculated and well organised programme for minor irrigation, for increasing rabi production, for what was called the emergency agricultural production programme. I do not have the figures with me just now, but the report of the Ministry of Agriculture gives the figures in regard to the number of tube-wells dug and so on. I do not want to go into all those figures now, but I do want to say this. Of course, the rabi emergency production programme has not produced all the millions of tonnes that we expected that it would produce. But there cannot be the slightest doubt about the fact that the rabi emergency production programme has added something like three to four million tonnes at least of wheat and that probably will see us through, till we are able to get to a good kharif monsoon in the course of the next few months. I do not want to dwell any more on this particular point of view, but I would only say this that while the conditions in the country were not something over which we could dance with joy, and certainly we are undergoing an economic crisis and there is no question about it that we are in trouble, yet we are not in as bad a trouble as we were in 1947-48, and we are not in as bad a trouble as we were in three or four years ago. There is increase in agricultural and industrial production and there has been improvement in the production technology. There has been import substitution, there has been expansion of exports and so on. By any criterion that you apply, there has been progress. If you say that the progress has not been adequate, I have no quarrel with it, but to deny that there has been progress during the last 25 years of Independence and that we have just been doing nothing is not fair to the country, it is not fair to the people of this country, and it is not at all conducive to the kind of future which I am sure all of us would like to see emerging for the common man.

Now, I come to the Finance Bill proper. I do not want to discuss the details of the budget, which have been discussed in this House over a long number of speeches because there is no point in my trying to repeat anything that has been said before. But I would certainly like to say that there are two or three things that have happened in 1972-73 as far as the expenditure side is concerned, which I like. One of them has been mentioned by me already, namely the massive programme of drought relief that the Central Government undertook during the drought period. It may be that it did not work somewhere, or the wages paid were not as much as it should have been; or it may be that somewhere some money was eaten up and so on. But you can just imagine what the fate of the country would have been if there had been no such massive programme.

If we really want to compare the pre-Independence period with the post-Independence period, I think that we should draw a comparison between 1943-44 and the great Bengal famine when the fall in production was very much less, with what has been happening in this country today with a much larger fall in production. I do appreciate what the Finance Minister has done in this regard. He ought to be really very hard-hearted, and he looks not too soft, I must say, though his speech is very soft; but in spite of his traditional image of having to be hard-hearted, I think he has been rather good not only in giving money for drought relief which you may say he had to do but also in making large sums of money available for special emergency production programme and increasing the special accommodation for the States, and increasing the special assistance for the States. All these account to a certain extent for the very large deficit that grew up in 1972-73 from an estimated Rs. 250 or 260 crores to something like Rs. 550 crores.

Then I would like to say one thing more about what he has done which

I like again, though I may not agree with all the details of what he has done. It is the programme for social services specially intended for looking after the requirements of the poorer sections of the people. Of course, what has been sanctioned is very little. It is not going to solve the problem or to meet it.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: That too is not implemented.

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO: Excuse me, what I am referring to has been implemented. If you take, for example, the special employment programme, primary education, slum clearance, rural house sites, by and large, the Rs. 125 crores which the Finance Minister provided in last year's budget have been spent. The tempo has picked up and I have no doubt that a repetition of this amount in this year's budget is going to see to its implementation.

I am also glad that the Finance Minister has provided in this year's budget for Rs. 150 crores as advance action for the Fifth Five Year Plan. I wish he had taken the House into confidence about what precisely will be the components of this advance action because some of us are worried—I think Shri Gopalan expressed his worry and many other members also share it—about the problem of power, because the problem of power today has become not only the problem of industry, not merely the problem of the consumer, but the problem of agricultural and industrial production, of water—everything. Power has become a kind of basic thing.

While I will not go so far as Shri Gopalan did, I do think—and many people who are really non-party people and those who are very staunch members of the ruling party think—that this is a problem about which people are very much worried. They do not understand why is it that this power crisis has come on this country

[Shri V. K. R. Varadaraja Rao] in this big kind of way. We are not satisfied that there is not something behind it which is capable of discovery, identification, remedying and accountability. So I would really like know how the provision of Rs. 150 crores set aside for advance action in the Fifth Plan is going to be distributed and what are things on which it is going to be spent. If Shri Chavan could spell it out when the replies to the debate on the Finance Bill, it might give some confidence to the country that something is being done during the year preceding the inauguration of the Fifth Plan to see to it that the Fifth Plan at least gets a better start off than the other Plans have been able to do in the past.

Now I want to go to some general aspects of the whole fiscal position in this country. I would like to say that I am really worried, if I may say so quite frankly, not because I think the country is not going to come out of the economic doldrums; basically I think—and I say it not merely as a member of the party but as a humble student of Indian economic development—we are today in a position in the country when both on the agricultural side and on the industrial side, we are capable of making a really good increase in output. I would have preferred a slightly higher target than the kind of target that the Planning Commission has laid down, for a 5.5 per cent rate of growth. It is absolutely capable of achievement. The capacity in the country, is there the skills, in the country are there, the farmers are responsive and it is not that we cannot get out of the economic problem. I think we are in a kind of position in the country when all the potentials for economic development have enormously increased, and yet we are not getting the full advantage of these potentials. This is a matter to which I should particularly like to draw the attention of Government. Why is it that we have not got the full dividends on our investments in economic development? Why is it that we are

not getting the full potential of what we have created, whether it is in the matter of industry or in the matter of agriculture or in the matter of power or in the matter of irrigation or in the matter of technical services and technical education? Why is it that we have created so much potential but are deprived of the full advantage of it?

I will come to the major reasons in a moment, but one reason which, I am sure, would be accepted is that there is something not quite right with our administration. I do not want to go further than that—I am not in the habit of indulging in anything which may be considered to be cheap criticism. But there is something wrong. If when all the potentials are there we are not getting the full dividends from the potentials there are many reasons for it and I think one reason is that the administration does not seem to be able to cope up with this problem. When I say 'administration' administration includes everybody who has got to do with administration both with making decisions and implementing those decisions. I am not prepared to suggest that administration only means those who give orders. Those who give the orders and those who implement them together form the whole, which is called administration. I know the Administrative Reforms Commission made their recommendations and they have made their suggestions for reform. I think it would be worth-while if it is possible either for the Minister of Finance, Mr Chavan or, later on may be the Minister of Planning when he speaks in the course of the discussion on the fifth Plan document in this House, to tell us what are the potentialities we have created, to what extent we have succeeded in realising those potentialities and what we are trying to do to realise these potentialities. I am not trying to catch this man or that man and so on. It is a fruitless exercise which does not take us anywhere. I think it would be worth-while for the

Finance Minister or the Planning Minister to make a simple statement; sector by sector, showing what potentialities we have created during the last 25 years and the extent to which we have been able to convert the potentialities or realize the output of goods and services and what remains to be done and how we propose to set about doing it. I think a statement like that, which will be a documented statement without any gloss or without any political slogans or advantage and so on, will give a tremendous amount of confidence to the country because many people feel why it is that we are not going ahead much faster. They say we can go ahead faster, but why are you not? Every body turns round and blames every other person. It is, therefore, necessary for us to find out to what extent we have done and what are the factors. Identify the factors that are standing in the way of our realising the full potentialities.

In this connection, if I may say so—I hope you will forgive me, and I do not want to be political, but you cannot help it; when we are discussing economic matters and economic development you cannot escape a certain amount of political comments—I think one of the things that is standing in the way of full realisation of the potentialities in this country is a fantastic amount of violence and unrest that has seized this country in the course of the last year and a half.

I can understand the situation as it was in 1971 when we had the war and the situation afterwards. I am not again trying to blame any political party. I know this is democracy and there will be elections, and it is the democratic right of every party in the Opposition to try to displace the party in power. The only trouble is, when you are nowhere near displacing the party which is in power, then, all that you do, which is

not displacing the party in power, is to make the economic situation much worse, which does not help anybody at all.

I would, therefore, like to suggest one thing that has been standing in the way of the realisation of the full potentialities, and that is, a certain amount of opposition merely for the sake of opposition, opposition for the sake of finding out defects. I do not think anybody would object, and I would welcome it and I am sure the Finance Minister and his Government would welcome it too, but it seems to me at the same time that we are in a situation where we are not living in a wonderful world; that is to say, we have got enemies and we all know we have enemies, people who are jealous all around you. When we won the war and liberated Bangladesh, it has brought more enemies to us than friends, and people are looking at us with very great jealousy. In a situation like this, I do think there is such a thing as responsive role of the Opposition. The situation in which the ruling party finds itself is, the situation of the country at the moment, rightly or wrongly, is that the ruling party is in governance of the country, and, therefore, anything that we say which will make the governance more difficult, more unproductive, more fruitless and more frustrating, is not going to solve the very big economic problems to which my friend, Shri Gopalan, referred in his nice, charming and humorous kind of way in his speech.

Leaving out the political aspect, our biggest headache is prices and it is time we made an attempt to solve the problem of prices. Without solving the problem of production, we can not solve the problem of prices and production takes a little more time. Prices have become the dominant enemy of Indian economic progress. If I may make the suggestion to the Finance Minister, our Budget meets very close scrutiny from the point of view of its relationship with price

[Shri V. K. R. Varadaraja Rao]

level which has been increasing in the course of the last six or seven years I know prices rise because there is drought but even when there was no drought or when the commodities were in surplus even then the prices were rising.

After all the Fifth Plan is coming next year and the Planning Commission has put forward that something like Rs. 2500 or 2600 crores will be the money which should be raised by the Central Government over the next five years. Probably that amount will increase by another thousand crores because of the Finance Commission's possible awards and a number of other factors. In other words the Finance Minister will have to come again before this House next year with a bill, not for Rs. 320 crores as he had done this year but for Rs. 400 crores. Next time you will not have customs. He went more and more on excise; this time he thought; excise had been beaten sufficiently, and so he turned to customs, which I think was a wise and sensible step because it helps economic self-reliance; incidentally it also puts up prices.

The time has now come when the Government should consider this problem seriously. Because I have been saying that there should be a commission to study these taxation proposals, people might think: Dr. Rao has now got a lot of free time and would like to sit on this commission and study the taxation of this country. Nothing of that kind; I want to say this straight away. I have got quite a useful bit of work to do and I am trying to do it. You may ask the Planning Commission to do it. They are taking more and more experts let them take some taxation experts. Let the Planning Commission sit down and have a proper public enquiry into the Indian taxation system; how far we can improve the existing structure of taxation, how much more

we can raise without causing inflation.

I know the Finance Minister, out of the generosity of his heart and social impulse says: what can I do if there is deficit financing; I would rather have deficit financing than let people starve. Nobody can disagree with him on that. But at the same time he has also to fulfil a number of objectives of economic policy for which people are not willing to pay and he is not able to make up the gap. Deficit financing has become normal, routine feature of our budgetary system. The very heavy weight to deficit financing and indirect taxation falls not only on consumption commodities but also on intermediate commodities; it falls on cement, it falls on steel and other basic raw materials.

On whom does this incidence fall? I said sometime back that Government itself was paying substantially. The other day I read an article and somebody has said that the Government itself will have to pay more than fifty per cent of the new taxes. We should know how much is the Government paying of this new taxation, how is it affecting production and how is it affecting the prices? We give a lot of export subsidies directly and indirectly; we want to restrict import and consumption and we want expansion of the exports. All this has affected prices. The time has now come when we should keep prices in the forefront of the picture and something should be done by the Government to examine the taxation system and the deficit financing, commodity taxation and even market loans.

I have developed tremendous respect for the Finance Minister. Of course he is an adroit politician but as I said I have developed respect for him in the last year or so as an economist and a financier the way he has been arguing our case before the International Monetary Fund and the exposi-

tion he gave the other day in this House on the international monetary crisis. I am feeling almost jealous, I hope he does not mind it. I was struck by the lucidity and the depth of knowledge with which he was discussing that intricate problem.

So he knows very well as to what he is doing. Last year our market loans would have been about Rs. 250 crores. But, we got Rs. 270 crores more of market loans. Where do they come from? Have they nothing to do with our deficit financing at all? Have they nothing to do with the inflation? About Rs. 500 crores is lying idle. Everybody knows this; Shri Chavan knows this better than I do that we are in such a nice—*kushi*—position for raising market loans. There is something wrong somewhere. Therefore I want to suggest that let us not be carried away by the response of market loans; let us not be carried away by this innocuous deficit financing. Unfortunately, in this House, some time back, a very respectable Finance Minister talked about safe deficit financing and that deficit financing had come to stay as part of the miscellaneous public savings. Let us not be carried away by the indirect taxation. Therefore, I would ask the Finance Minister to ask the Planning Commission to call a meeting or let him call a meeting himself and let there be study groups formed and let them analyse the whole thing before the Fifth Plan comes. We would then be in a position to put the financial house in order and we may be in a position to know the kind of revenue that we can raise.

Then, I want to say one thing more about prices. I do not know whether my suggestion would be acceptable to the Finance Minister or not. Should we not think of having something like a safe limit of deficit financing? By all means, if you want to raise this limit you may do so. But, come before the House and ask for the raising of the limit. At least give us an opportunity in the House to go into the whole of

the economic policy of the Government and to know how far these things are being used for productive as well as for non-productive purposes. I would suggest that the limit may be at Rs. 500 crores or whatever may be the safe figure. Let the Finance Minister say that the Government of India accept in principle that this would be the safe limit. They are trying to keep up the minimum limit to meet the objectives.

Then, Sir, I would like to say something about production. I want to congratulate the Finance Minister. I am glad that this time in spite of some of my aggressive socialistic ideas he has left the private sector alone as far as income tax, corporation tax etc. are concerned. I think he has done a good thing in this regard. This is one of the reasons why there is an increase in the production. In fact he has not touched the corporation tax. If things go on like this, then there will be an increase in production and you can make the industry to go on. With all the signs of recovery shown in the last calendar year, I think that he has shown a great deal of courage therein that he will not tax the common man because he is a friend of him. You can take the liberty with your friends. You cannot take the liberty with the persons who are admittedly not your friends. They too have got something to do with the production. They can hold your economy to ransom. Rightly or wrongly, this has happened during the last twentyfive years or so. The position being what it is I think it is necessary for us to see that the production increases by them. From that point of view I think that the budget has done a good thing.

Lastly, I want to say one thing. I have no doubt in my mind that we cannot solve the problem merely by resorting to deficit financing. I do not think at the same time, that the Finance Minister will be able to escape from resorting to the further increase

[Shri V. K. R. Varadaraja Rao]

in the indirect taxation. It may have to resort to it as it had done in the past. So, there is bound to be an increase in prices. I would suggest to him two important policy matters—one way of dealing with the problem is to increase the supply of various goods that are consumed by the common men and reduce the supply of goods being consumed by the others. If you produce the goods wanted by the commonman this will solve the problem to a little extent. The Approach to the Fifth Plan document says that we shall increase the consumption of the lowest 30 per cent. By at least 40 per cent or 50 per cent and reduce the consumption of top people by something like 15 per cent. This is the broad thesis in the Plan. I would like the Finance Minister to indicate in his reply as to whether he would put a stop to the tax imposed on cement and other building materials and encourage the people to use other local materials? Will he be able to stop the building of houses with more than three bed rooms? Will he tell the conspicuously well-to-do people that for the next 5 or 10 years you should remain where you are and not increase your consumption so that all the increase in the productive capacity will be used for the production of wage goods and consumption goods?

Even with this increase in production of consumption goods, we cannot escape a public distribution system and nationalisation—I do not like the word, but there is no other word which one can use—of the trade in the matters relating to essential goods like cloth, kerosene, edible oils, etc., which the people want very badly and which constitute 80 to 85 per cent of the consumer goods. I know there are many snags and administrative problems which will have to be sorted out. But I do not see any escape from this.

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL (Moradabad): Sir, we have heard two very esteemed colleagues—Shri A. K.

Gopalan and Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao—on various aspects of the economy. I am really happy and I agree with every word they have said on the economic situation. Both have rightly pointed out that we as a nation are passing through the worst type of economic and political crisis. We profess socialism and pay lip sympathy to socialist reconstruction and political stability while we are witnessing today economic destruction, political confusion and erosion of democratic values. The national leadership has not merely failed the people but has betrayed the poor. Severe drought conditions and starvation deaths have almost engulfed the nation while strikes, demonstrations, lock-outs, rape and murder have dominated the political scene. Economic stagnation galloping prices growing unemployment and widely prevalent corruption have made the common man's life not only miserable but wholly frustrating. Political stability has been reduced to despotism because of the deteriorating economic situation. We profess socialism but we allow our own consumption rate to grow in geometrical progression. The politician has become a parasite on the nation because he is most unproductive to check the misery of the poor.

Government's fiscal policy has produced cost push and demand-pull inflation which has created an economy of scarcities. There is hardly any item of major consumption whether it is cement, fertiliser, oil, steel, power or coal, where we do not find scarcity. We are very fond of indulging in wishful thinking that it is a temporary phase and the Government leaders are very fond of employing all possible alibis and scapegoats which have outlived their utility because they now impress none. But the Government leaders go on maligning the technocracy, bureaucracy, judiciary and press and the intellectuals. I really do not know what harm they have done to the economy except that they have strengthened the democratic forces, and the credit goes to them if you are not allowed to play with it.

14 hrs.

Dr. Rao has just now pointed out that there is opposition for the sake of opposition and the national leaders have been saying that the opposition is the biggest obstacle and the greatest hurdle in the path of progress of the country, while we all know that the opposition is vital to democratic functioning. Immediately after the 1971 elections I had extended my co-operation and pledged my support to the Prime Minister in any programme to banish poverty and she had assured me that the Government would take all possible resolute steps to move towards eradicating poverty within three years. Now three years have passed. I concede that the Government have taken several steps, but all these steps are negative in character. They can never banish poverty because they have already produced very poor results, but they have perpetuated poverty for all times to come. History will judge their performance and certify their bravery only in hoodwinking the nation and bluffing the poor.

Your slogan of *Garibi hatao* has proved to be the biggest fraud ever played on the poor in the history of this country. The poor is cursing the present leadership. I do not know where this will end.

गरीब की हाथ थीर थाप हम सब को
मिट देंगे ।

This is a clear warning which I think the national leadership should take note of. Dr. Rao has just now derived a lot of inspiration from the Finance Minister. There is no doubt that the Finance Minister is a man of outstanding qualities. He is a successful politician and a wonderful administrator. He has done excellent job in Defence and Home. But it is also a fact that there is a whispering campaign going on in the country that Shri Y. B. Chavan has miserably failed as the Finance Minister of the country, and people much bigger than Shri Y. B. Chavan are involved in that campaign. Enlightened public

opinion may also share this view. If the collective responsibility of the Government has any meaning then he cannot be held responsible for the failure of the Government. It is because of the economic policies and it is the entire Congress Government which has failed. So, it is high time the Government pondered and evaluated their failures so that the economic policies are so re-fashioned as to meet the needs and aspirations of the people. It is obvious that this process cannot last longer because the people are now fed up with the slogans and promises. The common man is rather in a hurry that the goods must be delivered to the poor. The situation is so explosive that it may turn into a nation-wide violent upheaval.

While replying to the budget debate the speech of the Finance Minister this year was a great disappointment because the Finance Minister preferred to remain silent on both the issues of growth and prices. He did not like to elaborate the point that the nation is rapidly moving towards zero growth-rate nor did he say a word on the point that next year also the prices will gallop at the rate of 15 per cent. This is the situation which we as a nation must appreciate that the country today is moving back at a rapid pace and that is why one wants to ask the question whether there is any hope for the poor to survive.

The Finance Minister had claimed that the net bank credit is not an essential part of deficit financing. I would like to plead with the Finance Minister that the net bank credit is essentially a part of deficit financing. I know that both the Planning Commission and the Reserve Bank agree with this view. Apart from that, even the economic experts of the Ministry of Finance may like to share that view. In this context, I would like to quote from a book to show that this is a very important aspect which should be borne in mind in determining the future policy of the Government.

[Shri Virendra Agarwal]

I quote:

"The Reserve Bank of India in its monthly bulletin as well as in its annual publication 'Currency and Finance Report' presents tables on factors affecting money supply with the public. In this, one of the items shown is Reserve Bank of India Net Credit to Government sector. This is derived thus: from (i) the changes in total financial assets (including rupee coins) of the Reserve Bank also called claims on Government, (comprising Reserve Bank's holdings of rupee coins and notes, Reserve Bank's loans and advances to the Government sector, Reserve Bank's holdings of Government securities, including Treasury bills) are deducted; (ii) changes in Government deposits kept with the Bank. This represents the net amount of borrowing by the Central and State Governments from the Reserve Bank to meet their deficits.

This is the concept of deficit financing adopted by the Planning Commission in India since the Third Plan when it presents the pattern of financing public sector, investment outlays; under earlier plans, the concept was different."

Then, the net bank credit in the country has grown at a rather rapid pace. In 1965-66, it was Rs. 512 crores; in 1966-67, it was Rs. 273 crores; in 1967-68, it was Rs. 261 crores; in 1968-69, it was Rs. 359 crores; in 1969-70, it was Rs. 108 crores and in 1971-72, it was Rs. 515 crores. As on January 25, 1972, it was Rs. 6205 crores; as on January 26, 1973, it shot up to Rs. 7446 crores, that is, an increase of Rs. 1241 crores. This one figure, I feel, is one of the major factors responsible for inflation built in our economy. That point has been disputed at times. But let us understand it very clearly that today the net bank credit is one of the major factors responsible for rise in prices. So long as the Government does not have a full control on net bank credit, the process

of budgetary deficit by itself cannot help in holding the price line. The Government, generally, says that budgetary deficit should be reduced. But it is not only budgetary deficit but also there must be an emphasis on controlling net bank credit as well.

About the money supply, we all know that the money supply is also shooting up at a very high level. The Planning Commission has consistently said that, in no case, it should be more than 7 per cent a year if the growth rate touches a level of 5.5 per cent. That means, the money supply, in no case, should have exceeded by 2 to 3 per cent in ratio to growth rate last year. While our growth rate last year was only 1.5 per cent, the money supply had gone up by 11.5 per cent. That is one of the major factors today responsible for inflation built in our economy. This year, if the growth rate is likely to be zero per cent or 1 per cent, I will most humbly plead with the hon. Finance Minister that the money supply, in no case, should exceed 3 per cent in the full year if the Government is really keen to hold the price line. The people in the country believe that the Government is really not genuinely interested in holding the price line.

I would just make a few suggestions for the consideration of the hon. Finance Minister. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao had said about the taxation system. I think, this point has been repeatedly made in this House that the Government should constitute a Taxation Commission which should go into the total functioning of the extent of taxes on various items and their impacts on rise in prices. This point was made last year also. This Commission should also be charged with the responsibility of finding out how to increase the rate of savings because that will ultimately constitute the crux of the entire process of economic development. At the moment, the rate of saving is going down with the result that our economic development is not coming up. Therefore, I would request and urge upon the Government that the

Government should immediately constitute a Taxation and Savings Commission which should elaborate the point as to how exactly the various taxation measures, either in respect of direct or indirect taxes, customs or excise, should be framed while formulating the budget proposals so that they do not have an adverse impact on rise in prices.

Further, though the hon. Finance Minister has given certain incentives in respect of development of industries in the backward areas, we have also talked a great deal about regional imbalances. That is one of our national objectives. I think, the Government should really do something for removing regional imbalances. If we see what the British Government had done in this respect, in Britain, what they had done was that the capital goods, all new machinery and plant, for use of industrial purposes were qualified for a 100 per cent allowance, for the period in which the expenditure is incurred. I would urge on the Government, if they are really keen to do something to improve the position in respect of regional imbalances so that the backward areas or regions or districts are able to come up, they have to give 100 per cent incentives to the industries so that they are attracted to those areas.

Another point which Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao made and with which I am entirely in agreement is that Government should lay a larger emphasis on production of mass consumption goods. This is the basis. If we are not able to produce mass consumption goods like cotton, cloth, sugar and edible oil in respect of which we know that the per capita consumption rate is going down—and that is the sign of growing poverty in the country—I do not think that we can really build any future. Therefore, Government and the Government's total economic machinery should lay greater emphasis on production of mass consumption goods. This is very, very important.

The next point—and this point has been made repeatedly—is that, while formulating the budget, Government

should try to raise resources by regeneration of additional wealth rather than having higher tax rates and raising revenues through deficit financing. This is what we have been doing in the last 25 years, and we know what result it has produced. It has produced nothing but black money. We have reached a point—the saturation point—in the notional history where we must raise additional resources by fuller utilisation of installed capacity in the public sector, curbing black money, cutting down unproductive expenditure and streamlining the growth rate, both in industry and in agriculture. If we are not able to do that, it means that we are accepting our failure; it means that we really cannot cope with the situation. This is what I understand. Therefore, Government should seriously think whether they are really in a position to create additional wealth, additional resources, by such forces which do not have an adverse impact on growth or on production.

Industrial growth, we all know, is not showing up. We, as a Party, are not opposed to nationalisation or takeover by Government provided it produces results. But what have we seen? Whenever Government takes over an industry or trade or nationalises anything, in what does it result? Does it really benefit the poor or does it help the economy, that is what everybody should ask. I feel that, whenever an industry is taken over by Government, it always results in loss of production, higher prices and low employment. These are the things which we have seen in respect of every fact of economy, wherever Government has gone into; it has only resulted in higher prices and low production. We have seen that recently in the case of coal-mines. We all know that the thing disappeared from the market, and production does not go up, with the result that the poor man suffers by way of his having to pay higher prices. We have reached a point when the Government must sort of White Paper on its policy of nationalisation or take-over because at the moment there is source every

[Shri Virendra Agarwal]

where; nobody is interested in putting his money. We have reached a point where we must think about it seriously. Government's policy should be announced in unequivocal terms, so that people may know where they stand. If the Government is convinced that nationalisation has produced results, let all the industries and trade in this country be nationalised. There is nothing wrong in it. But Government should announce its policy so that there is no scare, so that the atmosphere of uncertainty does not create a bad situation in the economy. At the moment, this atmosphere of uncertainty has gone to such an extent that, rather than helping the economy to grow it has brought it to the point of virtual stagnation. There was also a talk recently that Maruti should be nationalised. In this way, there are people who, masquerading as palace guards, are determined to malign and expose the Prime Minister. But the most important question is this: whether nationalisation of any one industry, A or B or C, can really help the economy to grow or whether it will really benefit the poor. I feel that most of the mills and factories in this country have gone sick because they do not really get the required or desired facilities and there is a constant threat which is looming large on the industrial horizon and which has really paralysed the economy. Let the Government think over and present its policy in clear terms so that we really know where we stand.

At the moment we are talking a great deal in terms of professional management. I feel professional management is a must. But professional management does not necessarily mean a degree-holder. Professional management implies vast experience as a co-ordinate or, co-ordination is the biggest art in the industrial management and I feel professional management will certainly go a long way in building the economy. The Government to-day really lacks professional management because there is no co-ordination in

the Government functioning. There is no Ministry which is responsible for the co-ordination. I think it is high time that the Prime Minister starts thinking in terms of co-ordination and appoint somebody who can really do this job of co-ordination and produce a growth rate of not less than 10 per cent a year. Of course, the obvious choice may fall on Mr. Chavan or Mr. Dhar but the Prime Minister may like to have Mr. P. N. Haksar. But some-one should be appointed as Minister of Economic Co-ordination. I do not have any objection if he is designated as Deputy Prime Minister, but there must be a person who should be charged with the responsibility of co-ordinating all the economic activities of the Government so that really the growth rate is accelerated and he must accomplish the job. We are not concerned with anything else but the nation wants the goods to be delivered. How are you going to do it? What is the real point. I feel that so long as our economic decisions are not put under a unified command, the Finance Bill will remain as one more isolated exercise in the series of *ad hoc* policies that certainly characterise this Government's performance.

Lastly, rule of law and decentralisation of economic and political power constitutes the essence of democratic socialism. The Government has gone so totalitarian in its thinking that it has refused to base its policies on sound economic principles. The Government has no alternative but to pray at this moment to Rain God. That is what the Finance Minister did last time. I really do not know whether he believes in God or not but the Government is entirely dependent on the Rain God because the economic policies pursued have resulted only in a virtual famine, run-away inflation and industrial recession. This is the only hope left with the people that if we have better rains, we will have a better Rabi crop and then we will be able to solve the problem. If we do not have rains, naturally everybody knows our future.

The Government have claimed that it is moving rather towards pragmatism. I really do not know what sort of pragmatism the Government is pursuing. If it is so, it is nothing but an ideology of corruption and inefficiency of the ruling clique for what is not so shameful is inept in Government's policies. It is not yet too late to begin streamlining of the economic decision-making. Therefore, I feel that the Prime Minister should better employ her guts and ruthlessness in the national interest, rather than holding to the chair at any cost.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO (Chattrapur): The budgetary proposals reflect the social and economic objectives of the Government and the country namely, accelerated economic development coupled with greater social justice and accordingly, the Finance Minister has made generous allocations to the various sectors of the economy, more so, for the minimum needs of the people in the rural areas. In doing so, he is confronted with the two main difficulties. One is inflation and the other is raising of the resources. Sir, the Finance Minister gave a correct assessment of the economy as it stands today. He also said about the difficulties that he is faced with for raising resources and for balancing the budget. In part 12 of Part A of his speech, which I consider to be important, the Finance Minister stated as follows:

"The immediate tasks for the economy may be summarised as follows. Firstly, inflationary pressures have to be contained through a judicious combination of demand management, increased production of basic wage goods and strengthening of the public distribution system."

This is one of the things. One main reason why inflation is there is the increased money supply. From 1964-65 the increased money supply has more than doubled, whereas there has been no corresponding increase in

production of goods. It leads to further and further inflation. How can this be contained? Unless you contract this money supply you cannot contain inflation. Secondly, there should be greater restraints on wasteful expenditure, both by the Central Government and the State Governments. Conspicuous consumption has to be restrained. There has been no attempt made in the Budget to impose restriction. Expenditure Tax should have been there, but it is not there.

He speaks of strengthening of the public distribution system. Government have done the correct thing in taking over the wholesale trade in wheat and rice. I welcome it. I go one step further and say that Government should have a built-in machinery for all times to come, not only in times of scarcity or war, but in peace-time also, in normal times also. This built-in machinery should be there not only for rice and wheat, but also for all the essential commodities, not only foodgrains, but for all the things the commonman needs, including cloth and basic drugs and so on. So, this is my respectful submission. There should be a proper and well-regulated distribution system throughout the country, more so in cities with a population of one lakh and above. Unless this is there there will not be equal and proper distribution throughout the country. After all the deficit in agricultural production may be of the order of 5 per cent or 10 per cent. The distribution is so uneven that all the people do not get it. There should be built-in machinery not only for procurement but for distribution. The Finance Minister continuing said:

"Secondly, in order to improve growth prospects, vigorous efforts have to be made to increase the rate of savings and investment."

On savings and investment what has been done in the budget? I am glad by 1972-73 the savings are expected to go up to Rs. 300 crores.

[Shri Jagannath Rao]

There should be double of this savings, and it should be at least 600 crores or even 1,000 crores, that was originally estimated in the Third Plan. The market loans are taken by the banks mostly. How many citizens take these loans? I want the Finance Minister to tell us as to how many have contributed towards the public market loan of Rs. 500 crores which were floated yesterday? It is only banks who contribute. It is only rich people who could do it. They purchase one bond. They mortgage them with the bank and then repurchase another thing under the new scheme. No additional investment is made. This is what happens. The real savings are the small savings, the investments made by the small people. I would like the Finance Minister to explain this in his reply to the Debate. There should be more savings from the common people. There is the 61 months Fixed Deposit at 7½ per cent interest. Upto Rs. 3,000, this interest is not taxable. I wish to ask: Why cannot he raise this limit to Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 6,000? Those will be real savings. The limit should be raised in respect of these fixed deposits.

Second important thing is about higher exports and restraint on imports. How are higher exports possible? The cost of raw-material is high; certain scarce raw-materials are being imported and the industry is not cost conscious. Therefore, it is not possible to improve the exports to a considerable degree except the traditional items and engineering goods. I am afraid the real increase will not be there.

He also stated that determined efforts are necessary to reduce disparities in income and consumption. Taxation is an instrument whereby disparity between the rich and the poor could be reduced. The tax proposals this year do not tend to achieve this object. Which are the taxation proposals of the Finance Minister this year which are going to reduce the disparities? The Industry

has got all that it wanted. They were all Jubilant when they had the budget proposals. In 1957 the Wealth Tax Act was introduced and the wealth of the companies was also taxable which is constitutionally valid. In 1960 this tax was removed by Section 13 of the Finance Act 1960 which says: "Notwithstanding anything contained in the Wealth Tax Act, 1957, no wealth tax shall be payable on the net wealth of a company from 1st April, 1960." But for this Section 13, the 1957 Act still stands. Through the wealth tax you can reduce the assets of the monopoly houses. Unless you try to tackle this problem you are not going to achieve this reduction in disparities of income.

Finally he says about moving towards the goal of an expanding self-reliant economy based on social justice. He has made generous allocation for employment programmes. But how are we going to achieve these objects as long as inflationary pressures are there. The inflationary pressure has been rising slowly from 1960 and now it is at the peak and there is no assurance that the inflationary pressure will be reduced. It is pulling back the economy. There is growth on agricultural and industrial sectors but the growth that we achieve is being pulled back by the inflationary pressures that exist in the country today. The measures taken to contain these inflationary pressures, according to me, are not sufficient and the growth that we may achieve in agricultural and industrial sectors may not be sufficient to lead the economy forward. Something more has to be done. Therefore, the Finance Minister should have a second and deeper look as to how the inflation can be contained. You must see that money supply is contracted; savings are utilised and the burden of taxation is equitably distributed. Now, what has been done. Rs. 31 crores have been raised by direct taxation and Rs. 274 crores by indirect taxation. Indirect taxation means passing on the burden to the con-

summer. The money given to the employees by way of dearness allowance results in rise of prices. Therefore, the policy of giving more dearness allowance while not being able to produce more will not achieve the object which the government has in view. Production has to be increased. The two enemies for the growth of the economy are: inflation and population. These two have to be contained. We have not been able to contain the population growth as much as we would like to and similarly we have not been able to contain inflation also. I am not, however, pessimistic. With a good kharif crop, I am sure that our economy will be able to absorb not only Rs. 85 crores uncovered deficit financing but also about Rs. 200 crores which Government may have to pay for implementing the Pay Commission's recommendations, and it will certainly be able to go forward. But then, some steps have to be taken.

First, we must strengthen and have a built-in machinery for procurement and distribution of essential commodities so that the common man and the middle class man and the weaker sections will be in a position to have the goods which they want.

One of the main reasons why the economy has not been progressing as much as we would like it to is the lack of growth of the public sector. The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 has given to the public sector a major role to play. But the public sector has not expanded as much as it should have done, while the private sector has been allowed to grow and it has grown into disproportionate size so that it has now become a monster, which we are trying to contain but we are not able to contain; there has been monopolistic growth and we want to contain it and break up these conglomerates, but we are not able to do it. The only way to check the growth of monopolies is the expansion of the public sector in a big way. All the basic

industries must be in the public sector. Either Government may like to nationalise the existing industries or they should start new industries, but the basic industries must be in the public sector; then only the public sector can control the growth of the economy and it can reach commanding heights and lead the economy farward on an even basis.

I do not want to criticise the individual budget proposals or the concessions which the Finance Minister has given which he thinks would help particular industries and so on.

In conclusion, I would say that the economy would certainly go forward and the prices are bound to get stabilised by the end of the year, provided the kharif crop would be good so that as a result of it, the inflationary pressures also may come down to some extent and the people will not feel the harshness of the rise in prices.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBIAH (Nandyal): I have had the occasion to listen to very learned speeches on this Finance Bill, especially the one from the leader of the CPM group, namely Shri A. K. Gopalan, and also the ones from the two Raos from our side.

The burden of song of the Opposition including Shri A. K. Gopalan has been that for the development of a healthy parliamentary democracy, the Opposition must be strengthened and their criticism must be taken very seriously. After the m.d.-term elections, it looks as if the position of the Opposition parties or groups in the Lok Sabha is such that they have lost complete hope of ever coming into power. The criticism of the Opposition in a healthy parliamentary democracy has to be on very healthy grounds so as to improve the working of the Government and better the lot of the masses for which the Government has given a pledge and the party has come into power.

[Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah]

When I look at the speeches of that have been made on various occasions, I do not think any serious problem has been brought to the fore in the Lok Sabha by the Opposition. Instead of acting as an effective Opposition to strengthen parliamentary democracy, I think some of the Opposition parties have done a great disservice to it. The matters focussed before the public through Parliament must have a lasting impact on the people of the country. This year has been a critical as well as crucial year. Many economic, social and political problems have come up and Government have to face them courageously and find solutions to every one of them.

To keep up a healthy parliamentary democracy not only the role of the Opposition but the role of the press also is great and important. But how has that role been played? Take, for instance, the issue of the takeover of the wholesale trade in foodgrains. If we analyse the factors objectively and dispassionately, it is not such a revolutionary thing that Government have undertaken when they decided on takeover of the wholesale trade in foodgrains. But the distorted picture sought to be painted by the Opposition and some of the monopoly press is doing a great disservice to the country and the people. Nobody can ignore how the people who were carrying on this trade for generations together—7 am speaking only of a few individuals—have played with the lives of millions and millions of our people. Can we deny that there has been wholesale adulteration of foodgrains? How many innocent people have had to play with their lives in order to satisfy certain vested interests in this country? When Government took up the responsibility of feeding the millions of the people, they thought that these essential commodities should not be in the hands of a few individuals who can hold the whole nation to ransom. Hence the takeover of wholesale trade in foodgrains. But how is it being received? It is being

given a distorted picture by some Opposition parties as well as some of the monopoly press. Everyday if you open the newspaper, you will find the bad side presented, a side which is not akin to realities. People are fed on false impressions of this challenging task the Government have undertaken.

श्री हुकम चन्द कडवाय सहायति जी :
सदन मे गणपूर्ति नहीं है ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: The bell is being rung... Now, the quorum is there. Mr. Venkatasubbaiah may continue

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: Sir, speaking about the economic position that is prevailing in the country, it requires a lot of courage for a Finance Minister to steer clear of the impediments in the way of economic progress of the country. The Home Minister also, with his rugged common sense, I am sure, will be able to get over these difficulties. One thing I wanted to highlight. The economic situation, as it is, is being bedevilled by many maladies and it is high time that the Government took note of these things and tried to put the economy on sound and right lines.

In spite of the fact that so many taxation measures have been taken to curb monopoly and also to curb certain vested interests who have taken advantage of the situation in the country, we are yet to find suitable measures to see that this black money is checked. As a matter of fact, there is a parallel economy running and black money is galore in the country and it is one of the reasons for the inflationary trends in our economy. Secondly, if I remember aright, two or three years back, I raised the point here about the forged currency circulating in this country. Mr. Ganesh, if I remember correctly, said that there were a few places where this forged currency existed but that it was not that much enormous as to affect the economy of the country. But I would submit to the Minister of State, Mr. Ganesh,

that it is not so. In our practical day-to-day life, we see people becoming rich overnight; they do not do any business and they do not have any business acumen, but overnight they have become rich and are constructing cinema theatres and running buses and have become fabulously rich. The common talk is that they have indulged in forged currency. I do not know how many crores of this forged currency are getting circulated; it is also one of the reasons for the inflationary trend in our economy. Tax evasion is leading to this paralleled economy of black money and forged currency. These are having a painful influence on our economic structure. A method has to be found out to check these things and to see that these elements are eliminated from our economic life.

Another factor about the economic situation which I want to point out is the defect in our distribution system. We have taken up the stupendous task of wholesale trading in food-grains, and we are having a monopoly hold over the distribution of other essential commodities like cement, kerosene, diesel oil, petrol and also, to some extent, textiles.

We see that what we cannot get at fair price, we could get in plenty at the black market price. Buildings are coming up in large numbers in cities, with cement and steel bought at black market price whereas the poor farmer is denied these things to pursue agriculture. It is a paradox. What is the Government doing to right this wrong? There is a power cut and the farmers are denied power for agriculture purpose. It has become an All India phenomenon, be it Andhra or Kerala or Madras. One State imposes 50 per cent cut while another imposes 75 per cent. The worst sufferers are the farmers and persons engaged in small scale industry. The price of diesel oil is skyrocketing and people are indulging in all sorts of malpractices. Diesel is available in plenty, only one has to pay black market prices.

These are the maladies which the Government had to put down with an iron hand. Unless that is done, the situation in which the rich people become richer and the poor, poorer will continue. The regional imbalances are also growing every day. After 25 years of Independence, nothing concrete has been done to remove economic disparities and regional imbalances. Disparities are growing wider, especially in areas affected by drought and adverse seasonal conditions. The impact of Governmental policies had not been felt there; the incentives given to people to start industries in such areas had not produced results in the way they should have because the infrastructure are not there. Some persons take licence in the name of X, Y or Z. They are bogus licences and they benefit enormously. The local people do not get the benefit. The regional imbalances and backward areas remain as they were 25 years back. This should be looked into as quickly as possible. Unless that is done disparities will grow and the economy also will suffer.

I said the power shortage had become an All India phenomenon. There is force in the criticism on the floor of the House: could not this have been anticipated? What were the planners doing all these years? Power generation should have been planned to meet the growing needs of our people. The days of hydel projects are gone. But in some places only such projects can give us the benefit. But such projects are not attended to. In my constituency, there is a big hydel project, Srisaillam project. Work had been sanctioned a few years back; still it has not come up. The estimates had gone from Rs. 35 crores to Rs. 75 crores; God alone knows how many more crores it would have cost when it is actually completed? Such projects which give—immediate benefit and which will also be instrumental in bringing down regional disparities should be taken, if need be even outside the Plan.

[Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah]

Power not only helps the industrial growth but it also helps the agricultural growth. Growth of agriculture in our economy will go a long way to bring down the regional disparity.

Coming to the State of Andhra Pradesh, of course, we have had experience in the President's Rule in that State. That was because of an agitation for a separate State. And I am glad that better counsels have prevailed on them and normalcy is returned there. I hope that the leaders of both the regions will come together and evolve a certain broad consensus within the framework of an integrated State and see that a popular Government is restored there as early as possible.

I strongly urge that this time either the Prime Minister or the central leadership should not be involved. After all it is the primary duty of the leaders of that area to come to a sort of an agreement. I am glad that the leaders of Telengana are coming forward with a declaration that whatever may be the impediments or irritants that come in the way of an integrated State, they should be removed. We all welcome such a gesture and I feel that the good will and mutual understanding for a common formula or consensus may be evolved so that the Andhra Pradesh will remain as an integrated State and will be able to play a very useful role in the affairs of this country. I want to lay stress on one more point. That is about drinking water. There is scarcity of drinking water prevailing in the country. That is because of successive failure of monsoons. And the problem has become more acute now in spite of the efforts made by the government for implementing the schemes. I have a doubt in my mind that the bureaucracy does not want the schemes to be implemented properly. They are not behaving well. They do not want to implement the scheme envisaged by the Government. They are only worried about their seniority. I feel

that it will be better if steps are taken earlier to see that the guaranteed tenure of office that is being given to these bureaucrats is being taken out of the Constitution. They must be made responsible. The principle of hire and fire has to be accepted. And they must be accounted for the failure in regard to the government's policy.

As regards the social welfare programmes, the hon. Minister in charge of Social Welfare and Education imposed a drastic cut for implementing the social welfare programmes. There are vast numbers—millions and millions—of harijans/advivasis and other backward people who do not even find an inch of space to live on leave alone the housing and other programmes. Some State Governments have, of course, under taken big programmes in this regard. I welcome them. But that is not enough. For centuries together these downtrodden and depressed people had been neglected. Unless they are being guaranteed the minimum necessities of life like food, clothing and shelter, we cannot call ourselves that we are an independent nation. What have been done for these people anything substantially over these twentyfive years? Great stress has got to be laid on social welfare activities. Unless we take immediate and effective steps. We will not be able to bring socialism in this country.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Patan); Mr. Charman, Sir, Shri A. K. Gopalan, at the outset, said that our country is facing an economic crisis. I am entirely in agreement with his statement that our country is facing an economic crisis unprecedented in the history since our country attained its independence in 1947.

14.54 hrs.

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

There are distinctive signs of deterioration in our economy during

the last three years or so. That is evident from the speeches made by the hon. Members about the rate of growth. According to the published figures, the rate of growth of our national income was 5.3 per cent in the year 1969-70 but that was 4.7 per cent in the year 1970-71, 4 per cent in the year 1971-72 and 1.5 per cent in the year 1972-73. Under the present circumstances, I am afraid it will not be better in 1973-74, which is the last year of the fourth plan. The rate of growth of national income envisaged in the fourth plan was 5.5 per cent. This targeted rate high-sounding slogans like *garibi hatao* and bungling on the part of the ruling party. The steady decline in the rate of growth of our national income was due mainly to the continuous decline in the targeted rate of growth of agricultural and industrial sectors. The House will remember the much publicised greed revolution. Government said at one time that the country had attained self-sufficiency in foodgrains and it should not be necessary for our country to depend on imports from other countries like the USA.

Out of the total installed capacity of power generation, not more than 40 per cent has been utilised. If it has been utilised to the extent of at least 60 per cent, our country would have been saved from the acute shortage of power. In Gujarat, there is only thermal and atomic power generation. But the installed capacity has not been utilised to the maximum, with the result Gujarat is suffering from acute power shortage.

The food position is also very bad. There is shortage of foodgrains and starvation deaths are taking place. There have been four starvation deaths in South Gujarat. Reports have been received of food riots in some States, particularly Maharashtra and Gujarat, where people were killed by bullets instead of being given foodgrains. Hungry men are angry men and it is but natural that they would rise in revolt and cannot

be suppressed by bullets. It can only be suppressed by giving them food.

Dr. Rao said that we should not blame the Government for drought, famine or floods. Everybody knows these are natural calamities and Government has no control over them. But the Government has got the convenient excuse to attribute the shortage of goodgrains to floods in some parts and drought in the other parts. Is it not one of the main objectives of our planning to see that our country should be free from the vagaries of the monsoon and to provide alternative sources of power and irrigation?

We know that the waters of our big rivers Brahmaputra, Ganga, Godavari and Narmada are going waste to the sea and there are inter-State disputes about the sharing of river waters by each State. The Government have failed to play an effective role as a co-ordinating authority and they have failed to solve the problem of river waters in general and the Narmada waters in particular.

15 hrs.

Coming to deficit financing, which is the main cause of inflation, the Finance Minister has said that at the end of 1973-74 it is likely that the deficit financing will be Rs. 85 crores. The statement is qualified by certain conditions. If that be so, why not give the correct figures based on best estimates of the extent of deficit financing? Why fool the public by giving the low figure of Rs. 85 crores? Here I would like to quote the former Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, who said:

"If a deficit of Rs. 252 crores can amount to Rs. 550 crores in spite of the buoyancy of Rs. 718 crores in resources, there is no knowing what the actual deficit will be in 1973-74. The figure of Rs. 85 crores is plainly illusory."

[Shri K. S. Chavda]

The overall deficit financing in our country in 1969-70 was Rs. 58 crores, in 1970-71 it was Rs. 431 crores, in 1971-72 it rose to Rs. 710 crores and in 1972-73 it rose to Rs. 971 crores. I would like to quote the former Finance Minister again:

"Previously it had always been possible to reduce the anticipated budget deficit by better economy, increased tax recovery or other measures. But since 1971-72 there is a tendency to increase the deficit financing as the year progresses so that it is not possible to tell what would be the deficit at the end of the financial year."

This is the position.

Coming to the rise in prices, there is a lot of black money in circulation, there is wasteful spending by the Government and there is a steady increase in the money supply with the public without commensurate production in the country with the result that there is inflation and consequent rise in prices. The Reserve Bank of India has observed in the *Financial and Economic Review*, February, 1973 issue that "as compared to the level a year ago, the general price index was higher by 15.3 per cent." This Reserve Bank bulletin refers to the wholesale prices. There is no record regarding the retail prices. We are all feeling the pinch of higher prices, particularly of essential commodities like foodgrains, edible oils, sugar etc. The common man judges the Government not by slogans, not by lofty professions but by the action the Government have taken to provide them at reasonable prices the essential commodities of life.

Now, I would like to say about the problem of unemployment. This is also another disturbing feature of our economy because unemployment is growing year after year. The number of unemployed people on the live registers of employment exchanges

has increased from 4 million in 1970 to 5.1 million in 1971 and to 6.9 million in 1972. As we all know, the actual unemployment is much more than what is registered with the employment exchanges. This does not take into account a large number of under-employed people, particularly in the rural areas.

In this regard, the Bulletin of Reserve Bank of India has observed:

"Reflecting the Government's concern for social justice, a sum of Rs. 100 crores is provided for crash programme for creating employment opportunities for half a million educated persons in addition to continuing the provision of Rs. 125 crores for special welfare schemes introduced in 1972-73."

But a pertinent question is: How much of this provision has been actually utilised and what is the impact which it has produced on the problem of unemployment? The Reports show that a number of States have not been in a position to utilise the allotment made to them fully. It is no use making a paper provision in the Budget

We are complaining of indiscipline among student community. But the youngsters are a disillusioned and frustrated lot. They feel that a university degree is a scrap of paper and will not give any employment to them

Then, the Government shows lip-sympathy to small farmers. But what is the actual performance? In the same Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, the earlier Report says:

"Of the total outlay of Rs. 67.50 crores provided for in the Fourth Plan, hardly 20 per cent was released by the Government to the smaller farmers development agencies upto October, 1972. Further, the agencies had yet to utilise about one-third of the amount thus released."

This is the position. In a nutshell, the *garibi hatao* programme of the Government has failed miserably. The *garib* has remained *garib*—it has not become *un-garib* as yet. Therefore, the Government should read the writing on the wall: You can fool some people for all time, all people for some time but not all people for all time.

I would like to bring to the notice of the hon. Finance Minister a few questions regarding labour for his sympathetic consideration. One question is regarding the claim of provident fund accumulation of the worker who is dead. The claimant is required to produce an estate duty clearance certificate if the amount exceeds Rs. 5000. Everybody knows that industrial workers working in mines or in plantations or in factories are not rich people. So, if they are exempted from producing estate duty clearance certificate, then they will get a great relief from visiting income-tax offices and from paying fees to income-tax experts. Another thing is that the worker who is retrenched is required to pay income-tax on the amount of retrenchment compensation paid to him under I.D. Act. The compensation is given to him because he loses his job. Therefore, he should be exempted from paying income-tax in such cases.

Another problem is this. Due to rise in prices, the workers in larger industrial centres get a higher quantum of dearness allowance as it is connected with the cost of living index. But in such cases the workers are required to pay income-tax which results in reduction of their emoluments. I would, therefore, request the hon. Finance Minister to exempt the workers from paying income-tax in such cases. The office-bearers of Ahmedabad Textile Labourers Association have represented this case to the hon. Finance Minister. I hope, the Minister will look into the matter and decide it in their favour.

श्री सुभाषचंद्र प्रसाद वर्मा (नवादा) : सभापति महोदय माननीय वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने यहां पर जो वित्त विधेयक प्रस्तुत किया है मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ और विधेयक का समर्थन करते हुए आपके माध्यम से अपने कुछ विचारों को यहां पर रखना चाहता हूँ। मैंने बहुत गौर से इस सदन में विपक्षी दल के नेता श्री मोपालन जी, तथा अपने दल के डा० राव साहब और अन्य माननीय सदस्यों के भाषणों को सुना। उन्होंने बड़ी सतत भाषा में विद्वत्तापूर्वक देश की प्रगति नीति, आर्थिक संकट, मूल्य वृद्धि आदि अनेक बातों पर अपनी अपनी राय और अपने सुझाव जाहिर किए हैं। मैं आपके माध्यम से छोटी-छोटी बातों की ओर माननीय वित्त मंत्री का ध्यान आकषिप्त करना चाहता हूँ जिनका सम्बन्ध देश की सामान्य प्रगति जनता से है।

इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है कि देश में गरीबी है, देश में बेकारी है, उपज की कमी है और उपज की कमी के कारण देश में महंगाई है—चाहे कृषि क्षेत्र में या औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में—यह सारी बातें हैं लेकिन हमने उत्पादन बढ़ाने के दृष्टिकोण से समाजवादी व्यवस्था के अन्तर्गत बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया। हमने और भी चीजों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया। लेकिन मैं सर्वप्रथम वित्त मंत्री जी का ध्यान राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंकों की ओर आकषिप्त करना चाहता हूँ। राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंकों से वास्तव में कृषि के क्षेत्र में छोटे किसानों तथा मध्यम श्रेणी के किसानों को जितने लाभ की आशा की गई थी यह नहीं मिल रहा है। उसका सबसे बड़ा कारण यह है कि बैंकों से कर्ज लेने के जो तरीके हैं, जो प्रोसीजर हैं, एव नियम हैं उनके अन्तर्गत किसानों को जल्दी से कर्जा नहीं मिल पाता है और न समय पर ही मिल पाता है। मैं इस सन्दर्भ में कुछ सुझाव माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी को देना चाहता हूँ। आपने छोटे तथा मध्यम श्रेणी के किसानों को कर्ज देने की जो व्यवस्था की है वह उनकी जमीन के मूल्य एवं आवश्यकता पर दिया जाता है। जमींदारी

[श्री सुखदेव प्रसाद वर्मा]

उम्मुलन के पश्चात भूमि सम्बन्धी सारे रिकार्ड कि किसके पास कितनी जमीन है, वह आपके हाथ में है—चाहे राज्य सरकार के हाथ में हो या आपके हाथ में हो परन्तु वह आपके नियन्त्रण में है। उन रिकार्ड्स के आधार पर यह सर्ववित्त है कि छोटे किसानों अथवा मध्यम श्रेणी के किसानों के पास कितनी कितनी जमीन है और उसका सारा लेखा-जोखा आप के पास है। मैं चाहता हूँ उन सारी जमीनों का आप मूल्यांकन करायें कि वह कितने रुपये की सम्पत्ति है और प्रत्येक किसान को वर्ष में कितने अल्पकालीन, कितने मध्यकालीन कर्ज की आवश्यकता होगी उसी के आधार पर आप उन छोटे और मध्यम श्रेणी के किसानों को कर्ज दें चाहे वह खाद के लिए हो, बीज के लिए हो, पानी के लिए हो, धीजार के लिए हो या पर्पिंग सेट के लिए हो अथवा बैल खरीदने के लिए। इस लिए आप उन जमीनों का मूल्यांकन करायें। आप हर ब्लाक में किसी न किसी बैंक की शाखा खोल रहे हैं तो उस ब्लाक के सारे किसानों की सूची आपके पास हो इसके साथ साथ साथ हर किसान को एक पास बुक मिल जाये। इस आधार पर साल में निर्धारित कर्ज की राशि उसको आप समय पर देंगे जायें। इस प्रकार से किसान इस सुविधा का आसानी से लाभ उठा सकते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ माननीय वित्त मन्त्री को इस पर गौर करना चाहिए या फिर इससे भी कोई और सुलभ तरीका हो तो उसको अपनाना चाहिए। जमीन के मूल्यांकन एवं कर्ज की राशि निर्धारण में राज्य सरकार के राजस्व और कृषि विभाग से मदद ले कर निश्चित करावे।

मैं अपने अनुभव के आधार पर कहता हूँ कि मैं अभी अपने गांव गया था, वहाँ पर पांच किसानों ने कर्ज के लिए दरखवास्त दी थी क्रॉस प्रोग्राम में पर्पिंग सेट्स के लिए, तीन महीने तक वह दौड़ते रहे लेकिन उनकी कोई सफलता नहीं मिली। जब मैं वहाँ पहुँचा तो मैं भी तीन चार दिन तक

परेशान रहा, ब्लाक और बैंक में दौड़ा फिर भी पांच में के केवल दो को कर्ज विसर्ग सका और तीन परेशान होकर हट गए तो वह स्थिति है कि एक किसान को 3-4 महीने लग जाते हैं फिर भी सफलता नहीं मिलती। यह बात मैं अपने अनुभव के आधार पर कह रहा हूँ। यदि इतनी परेशानी के बाद किसान को कर्ज मिलेगा तो जिस उत्पादन वृद्धि की हम आशा करते हैं, जिस हरित क्रांति की हम बात करते हैं, देश को अन्न के मामले में स्वावलम्बी बनाने की बात सोचते हैं उसमें हम कैसे सफल हो सकते हैं? इस लिए मैं समझता हूँ जबतक आप छोटे और मध्यम श्रेणी के किसानों के लिए सुलभ तरीके से कर्ज देने की व्यवस्था नहीं करेंगे तब तक सफलता नहीं मिलेगी। किसानों के लिए दो तरह के कर्ज की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए—मध्यकालीन और अल्पकालीन। अल्पकालीन कर्ज में खाद, बीज इत्यादि के लिए राशि तय कर दी जाये तथा मध्यकालीन कर्ज के लिए पम्प, बैल कुएं, सिंचाई आदि साधनों के लिए राशि तय कर दी जाये। किसानों को पासबुक उसी निर्धारित राशि की मिल जाये तथा अपनी जमीन के आधार पर किसान बैंक में जाये और कर्ज प्राप्त करें उसकी जमीन आपके यहाँ मार्गेंज रहती है, वह अपनी जमीन बेचता नहीं है, उसी जमीन पर ही कर्ज देना है उसके बाद भी यदि आप उसको परेशान करके कर्ज देंगे तो उससे जो आपका मकसद है कि राष्ट्रीय-कृत बैंकों के माध्यम से किसानों को तथा छोटे उद्योग वालों को कर्ज देकर उत्पादन बढ़ाया जाये उसमें सफलता नहीं मिल सकती है। किसानों को सुलभ तरीके से कर्ज देने की व्यवस्था से ही आप इसमें सफल हो सकते हैं। मेरा सुझाव है माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी इसकी ओर विशेष ध्यान दें।

इस सन्दर्भ में मैं आपके माध्यम से निवेदन और करना चाहता हूँ। आप जानते हैं मैं बिहार से आता हूँ। माननीय सदस्यों ने यहाँ पर बिजली की कमी की बड़ी चर्चा

की है। बिजली की सभी जगह पर बढ़ी कमी है। बिहार की स्थिति तो और भी दयनीय है। हमारे बिहार में 67,665 गांव हैं जिनमें से केवल 16 प्रतिशत गांवों का ही विद्युत्-करण किया गया है इन 16 प्रतिशत गांवों में उन गांवों का भी जोड़ लिया गया है जिनके पास से होकर बिजली की लाइन तो गई है परन्तु कुओ के लिए बिजली की लाइन नहीं मिली है। इसके बाद आप बिहार के आकड़े देखें कि बिहार में औसतन 67 यूनिट प्रति व्यक्ति का कजम्शन है जिसमें नार्थ बिहार में केवल 10 यूनिट प्रतिव्यक्ति ही खपत है। कारण यह है कि वहां पर पावर पैदा ही नहीं होती है। ऐसी बात नहीं है कि लोग पावर लेना नहीं चाहते हैं बल्कि पावर पैदा ही नहीं होती है। आपको चाहिए कि वहां पर ज्यादा इन्वेस्टमेंट करें। जहां तक इन्वेस्टमेंट का मवाल है, बिहार में 36 रु० पर-कैपिटल है जबकि पंजाब में 91 रुपये, हरियाणा में 82 रुपये, तमिलनाडु में 52 रुपये और महाराष्ट्र में 61 रुपये। बिहार में केवल 36 रुपये हैं। यह 1968-69 की फीगर है। इसका परिणाम यह है कि गर्मी के तमाम पेड़मने किमानों को 2-2, 3-3 फगने उगाने के लिए प्रोत्साहित किया, उन बेगारों ने जेतों में गन्ना, धान, मकई, आदि फगने लगाइ लेकिन बिजली की कमी के कारण उनकी पूंजी डबनी जा रही है।

मझे इस बात की प्रसन्नता है कि बिहार में कॅन्सिडरिबल बोर्ड के मोजूदा चेयरमैन श्री बी एन शोभा जी ने बहुत अच्छे तदम उठाए हैं लेकिन उनको न बिहार की सरकार से अच्छी मदद मिल रही है और न केन्द्रीय सरकार से मदद मिल रही है। उन्होंने बड़े योजनाबद्ध तरीके में काम चलाया है। उनका एक प्रपोजल पाचवी पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिए 800 करोड़ रुपये का थाया है। 1973-1974 में तत्काल उनको कितनी राशि की जरूरत है इस सम्बन्ध में भी उन्होंने जो प्रपोजल भेजा है वह 17 करोड़ रुपये का है जो कि केन्द्रीय सरकार के पास पहुंचा हुआ है।

मैं समझता हूँ कि तत्काल उन्होंने जो 17 करोड़ रुपये की मांग की है, क्योंकि सभापति जी, आप जानते हैं कि पतरातू और बरोनी थर्मल पावर स्टेशन की कितनी कैपैसिटी है उतना वह काम नहीं कर रहा है। उस का विस्तार और मरम्मत करने की जरूरत है। जिनकी बिजली की जरूरत है उतनी पैदा नहीं होती, और जो कैपैसिटी है उसके अनुसार काम नहीं हो रहा है। इन सबकी देखभाल करने के लिए और साथ साथ जो गांवों का विद्युतीकरण करने की केन्द्र द्वारा स्वीकृत स्कीम है, उस को पूरा करने के लिये, उन्होंने 17 करोड़ रुपये की मांग की है, जिस को शीघ्र स्वीकार करना चाहिये।

बिहार बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ क्षेत्र है, उस की परकैपिटल इन्कम सब में नीचे है और केन्द्रीय सरकार तथा योजना आयोग ने यह निर्णय लिया है कि पिछड़े राज्यों का पिछड़ापन दूर करने के लिए अर्थिक महायत्ना दी जाएगी। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उन निर्णय के अनुसार यह मानना होगा कि बिहार की गरीबी के कारण बिहार सरकार की आर्थिक स्थिति अच्छी नहीं है, उसके अपने रिमॉनिंग वह काम नहीं हो मानना है जिनका आप चाहते हैं, इस लिए बिहार के विकास के लिये केन्द्रीय सरकार को सक्रिय कदम उठाने चाहिये और उचित आर्थिक महायत्ना उपलब्ध करनी चाहिये। जिनने पिछड़े राज्य है उन का अगर विशेष रूप से धन देकर अगर आगे नहीं बढ़ायेगें तब तब देश आगे नहीं बढ़ सकता है। बड़े हुए क्षेत्रों को और आगे बढ़ाने जाये और पिछड़े क्षेत्रों का विकास ना किया जाय, इस तरह में देश आगे नहीं बढ़ सकता। इस लिये जिनने पिछड़े हुए राज्य है उन को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये केन्द्र को विशेष रूप में कदम उठाने चाहिए। प्रसन्नता की बात है कि इन्होंने निर्णय लिया है, उस आधार पर मेरा निवेदन है कि बिहार में विद्युतीकरण के लिये, सिचाई के लिये जो योजनायें हैं उन को कार्यन्वित करने के लिये जो धन राशि की आवश्यकता है

[श्री सुखदेव प्रसाद वर्मा]

उस को देने का भाप प्रबन्ध करे। साथ ही साथ मेरा निवेदन है कि बिहार के अन्दर पाचवी पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्दर का कम से कम दो बिजली पैदा करने वाले बर्तमान केन्द्र, जैसे थर्मल पावर स्टेशन पतरातू है, बरोनी है, इन दोनों का विस्तार करे, और तेनू घाट में हायड्रो इलेक्ट्रिक और कटिहार में थर्मल पावर विद्युत उत्पादन के लिये नये पावर स्टेशन बनाने चाहिये थे, लेकिन अभी तक उसके सबध में केन्द्रीय सरकार ने कोई घोषणा नहीं की है जबकि देश के दूसरे क्षेत्रों में जो पहले से ही आगे बढ़े हुये हैं उनके बारे में घोषणा हो गयी कि वहाँ-वहाँ क्या बनेगा। लेकिन बिहार में अभी तक इसके सम्बन्ध में कोई निर्णय नहीं लिया गया है जबकि प्रपोजल बिहार सरकार में केन्द्रीय सरकार के पास भेज दी है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बिहार के साथ अन्याय किया जा रहा है। मेरा अनुरोध है कि बिहार के अन्दर तेनू घाट में हायड्रोइलेक्ट्रिक पावर स्टेशन और कटिहार में थर्मल पावर स्टेशन बनाने की जो बात है उसकी स्वीकृति अविलम्ब देने की केन्द्रीय सरकार कृपा करे और केन्द्रीय सरकार द्वारा धन देकर उसको बनाये ताकि बिहार अपनी आर्थिक हालत को सुधार सके। बिहार सरकार की आर्थिक स्थिति अपने बल पर इन योजनाओं को पूरा करने की नहीं है।

सभापति जी बिहार में आप जानते हैं आंध्र देखें स्थायी रूप में सिंचाई के लिये बिहार में बहुत कम नहरें बन पायी हैं। भगर्भ के पानी में अत्रिक अन्न उत्पादन बढ़ाने का काम करना है। प्रसन्नता की बात है कि स्टेट ट्यूबवैल्स और बोरिंग की व्यवस्था चल रही है। लेकिन यह सारा निर्भर करना है विद्युत पर। इसलिये आवश्यकता है कि विद्युत के मामले में बिहार को अधिक धन राशि दे।

सभापति जी, आप जानते हैं मैं गया के नवादा ससदीय क्षेत्र जो अब स्वतः एक जिला बन गया है, से आता हूँ जिसकी एक एक

इच जमीन की सिंचाई के लिए स्थायी रूप से पानी मिल सकता है यदि मुद्दाने रिजर्वायर स्कीम, अपर सकरी स्कीम, तिलैया डायवर्जन स्कीम और नार्थ कोइल डैम स्कीमों को कार्यान्वित कर दिया जाये। लेकिन खेद है कि 10, 12 साल से ये स्कीम इन्वैस्टीगेशन में पडो हुई हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उन की तरफ ध्यान दिया जाये। अगर ऐसा नहीं करेगे तो देश अन्न के मामले में कभी भी स्वावलम्बी नहीं हो सकता। इन योजनाओं से सिर्फ गया, नवादा और आरगाबाद जिलों को ही लाभ मिलेगा ऐसी बात नहीं हम से पटना, नालन्दा, रोहतास, भोजपुर तथा पालामा जिले लाभान्वित होंगे।

सभापति जी, इस समय बिहार के अन्दर लाखों लोग बेकार हो गये हैं खामकर ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में लोग बेकार हो गये हैं। जो पठे लिखे बेकार हैं उनकी बात तो अलग गावों के लोग भी जो खेती कर मजदूर हैं कोयले के दाम बढ़ जाने से बेकार हो गये हैं। आप जानते हैं कि कोयला हम समय 8 रु० 10 रु० प्रति मन विक्रम है जिससे रण उन वन जो खेती कर मजदूर होत थे वन में छट्टी के बाद मार्च से जन के महीने में गावों में रोज बनाने थे और अपनी छोटी मोटी कमाते थे। लेकिन कोयले के मत्वा में बढ़ि और कमी के कारण इत वनने का काम बिहार के अन्दर बंद हो गया है जिससे चलने लखों मन्द जो काम पाते व नीन मनीने में बने सब बेकार है और उनके सामने शूयमरी का मवाल है

इसी तरह से पेय जल की समस्या भी विवट समस्या है। हाहाकार मचा हुआ है कृष्ण में पानी सूख गया है। उन के पीने के पानी की भी व्यवस्था करनी है। बेरोजगारी के सम्बन्ध में मुझे यह कहना है कि जो अब तक हमारी रोजगार और नोकरी देने की नीति है उस पर पुनर्विचार करना चाहिये। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि हम को देखना पडेगा कि पठे लिखे लोगों के सामने इजीनियरी के सामने रोजी रोटी का सबाल है, एक आदमी

के पास जमीन है या जीवन यापन के दूसरे साधन हैं, और एक श्राद्धमी के पास कोई साधन नहीं है। तब हमारी नीति नौकरी के सम्बन्ध में ऐसी होनी चाहिये कि जिस के पास कोई दूसरा साधन नहीं है ऐसे व्यक्तियों को योग्यता के मुताबिक नौकरी में पहले लेने के लिये नीति निर्धारित करनी चाहिये। अगर ऐसा नहीं करेंगे तो देश के अन्दर वही हाल होगा कि कोई खाते खाते मरेगा, कोई खाने बगैर मरेगा। हम लिये यह दृष्टिकोण हमें अपनाना होगा।

अन्य में वित्त मंत्री का ध्यान एक खास बात की ओर दिलाना चाहना है और वह यह कि राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंकों के अलावा कोऑपरेटिव के माध्यम से किमानों को ऋण दिया जाता है। मैं बिहार की कोऑपरेटिव के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह चाहे बिहार कोऑपरेटिव बैंक हो, लैंड मार्गेज बैंक हो या स्टेट बैंक कोऑपरेटिव बैंक हो, ये व्यक्ति विशेष की समस्याएँ बन गई हैं। उन में किमानों को लाभ नहीं हो रहा है। मैं चाहूँगा कि इस के सम्बन्ध में एक कमेटी बनाये जो जांच करे कि तथा सहायता का जो लक्ष्य है ग्राम जनता की सहायता करने का तथा ग्रामीण आर्थिक विकास का, उस लक्ष्य को पूरा कर सके और राज्य की सहायता संस्थाएँ ग्राम ग्रामीण जनता की सहायता कर सकें। अभी तक बिहार राज्य में सहायता संस्थाएँ व्यक्ति और व्यक्ति विशेष वर्ग की सहायता नहीं कर रही हैं। ग्राम के दिये गये ऋणों का दुरुयोग हो रहा है तथा अन्धकार का अन्धकार बना हुआ है।

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI (Bhubaneswar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Finance Bill. We are passing through a period of transition—a transition from a feudal and capitalist economy to a socialist one. This process is really a very hard and strenuous process and today the take-over of wholesale trade in foodgrains is part of this process of marching from a feudal economy to a socialist one.

I do not know how many times the word 'garibi hatao' has been mentioned from the Opposition benches. It seems they are obsessed very much with this word. Whatever, I understand so far as our policies and programmes are concerned we stand committed to this programme of removing poverty from this country where more than 41 per cent of the population live below poverty line. That is a challenging task before us. If at all we have not been able to succeed to a certain extent we are moving in that direction and we hope that we shall have to fulfil the programmes that we have placed before us so far as removal of poverty from this country is concerned.

I would like to bring to the notice of the Finance Minister some of the salient aspects which are really disturbing our economy today. I think that our whole economy is a kind of a loan economy that we have built up in this country. The total amount of Central loans outstanding against the States as on 31st March, 1971 comes to Rs. 6,400 crores, and if we add the figures for 1972-73, it would already cross the mark of Rs. 10,000 crores. Similarly, the total foreign debt outstanding against the Government of India today is nearly Rs. 8,000 crores. Sir you may be aware that many State Governments including the Orissa Government have been writing from time to time to the Central Government that just as the Government of India are asking the aid-giving agencies all over the world to reschedule their debts, the Government of India also should reschedule their debts to the Central Government or else to write them off; when it comes to Rs. 8,000 crores probably, by no stretch of imagination can any State Government be expected to pay the amount.

I am glad that the Finance Ministry has referred this matter to the Sixth Finance Commission, and we hope that the commission will give substantial thought and deep consideration to this problem which the State Governments have placed before them. What

[Shri Chintamani Panigrahi]

I am worried about is this. I feel that this budget should have provided a very strong base for the Fifth Plan because we are going to the Fifth Plan next year. Therefore, we shall have to consider whether this year we have provided a very strong base for the Fifth Plan to take-off or a very weak base only. When we analyse this, we should not forget that the capitalist economies and their international organisations and their agencies, including the vested interests in this country itself, are making surreptitious efforts to weaken our will to achieve self-reliance and also to go ahead with our programmes of economic development, and they are advancing theories and ideas which would defeat our whole purpose and our attempt to move in that direction.

In the First Plan, deficit financing was Rs. 333 crores. In the Second Plan, it went up to Rs. 954 crores, and in the Third Plan, it went up to Rs. 1153 crores. The total deficit financing by the Centre and the States in the first three years of the Fourth Plan amounted to Rs. 1127 crores which exceeds the entire Third Plan deficit financing. As I could think of it, for the Fourth Plan, perhaps we are going to have another deficit financing of Rs. 700 crores for the last two years of the Fourth Plan, and naturally the total would come to Rs. 2000 crores of deficit financing in short period of five years. This is one of the biggest obstacles so far as our economic growth is concerned and so far as checking the price rise is concerned. Had this been invested in productive activities in this country, we could have had so much of goods and services in this country that we would not have had to take recourse to this order of deficit financing and this problem of price rise would not have assumed the proportions that it has assumed today.

Another feature which is also very disturbing is the amounts that we are raising by public loans from the banks and lending institutions, because all this money is being spent on unpro-

ductive items and not for producing items of consumption. The net additional bank credit to the Government sector in 1971-72 was Rs. 1025 crores as against Rs. 511 crores in 1970-71 and only Rs. 29 crores in 1969-70.

We are glad that the bank deposits are proliferating, and we are in control today of Rs. 8000 crores of deposits. But can we afford to take away these deposits by way of raising of loans, and utilise them on unproductive items? I think that the bank credit to the Government sector in 1973-74 is going to increase still further from Rs. 1025 crores which was the case in 1971-72.

Another phenomenon I have to place before you and the Finance Minister is this. Why do we face this difficulty so far as the financial burden is concerned? It is not because that we are not producing anything in the country. As Dr. Rao has said, the potential in this country is so vast and so big that we can make much bigger efforts in the Fifth Plan. We can do it; there is nothing to be worried about it. The difficulty is presented by the drain of resources from which we are suffering in the last so many years.

So far as debt servicing and amortisation of foreign loans are concerned, you will be surprised to know that in 1972-73, we paid interest amounting to Rs. 200 crores on these debts. If we add the amortisation part of it, it comes to Rs. 600 crores. Some friends are suggesting that we may not pay this at all. But a country like India cannot say that we will not repay the foreign loans we have incurred.

Then what about the drain by way of profits on the foreign private investment repatriated from this country? I was looking into the names of the firms which are monopoly-controlled and are manufacturing cosmetics in this country. There are ten such foreign firms in the country: Messrs. Bochham Pvt. Ltd. (100 per cent foreign controlled), Colgate Pal-

molive 100 per cent, Burroughs Wellcome & Co. 100 per cent, Ciba (India) Ltd., 85 per cent, Duphar 50 per cent, Glaxo 77.5 per cent, Hindustan Lever 85 per cent, Johnson and Johnson 75 per cent, Reckitt & Colman 100 per cent and Geoffrey Manners 45 per cent. These are the ten foreign private firms which are manufacturing cosmetics in this country. We should at least think over this matter and do something about it. Of course, we are going to consider the Foreign Exchange (Regulations) Bill which will help to control this to a great extent. You will be surprised to know that the rate of return enjoyed by Hindustan Lever and Glaxo on their investments here is 22 per cent whereas in their own home country, it is only 7 to 9 per cent. This is the size of the profit they are making here. If we include the amount repatriated by these firms by way of profits, which is Rs. 250 crores annually, in the amounts sent out by way of interest charges and amortisation on loans, it comes to an annual drain of nearly Rs. 900 crores from this country.

Unless we produce more goods and services to serve as a cushion, how shall we be able to pump in so much of deficit financing? It is, therefore, no wonder prices have risen. I am only surprised that the prices have not risen to the extent they should have. They should have gone up 100 per cent, the way things are moving in this country. Therefore, there needs to be a little more discipline so far as our financial management of the economy is concerned. The main drawbacks are the decline in production, increase in money supply with the public, speculative hoarding by profiteers and others and a psychology of shortage created all over the country. Because of this psychology of shortage everywhere, even when a person wants to sell something in the market, he feels he had better keep it in his home. This is also adding to the trouble we are passing through.

So far as agriculture is concerned, the target was fixed with a growth

rate of 5 per cent per annum. We have invested Rs. 1,000 crores in agricultural development in this country in the last four years, an average of Rs. 250 crores every year. But why is it that the growth rate has come down to 2 to 3 per cent. Should we not ask this question as to why when we have invested Rs. 1000 crores on the development of agriculture, the growth rate of 5 per cent has not been realised?

Another big stumbling block in the way of the recovery of the economy is the proliferation of undisclosed wealth and income. Government should take stringent measures to curb this evil which is playing havoc with the economy today. This is a kind of parallel black money economy operating in the country today.

I now draw your attention to the serious problem of drought in Orissa. You will be surprised to know that letters have been written in newspapers saying that drinking water is not available in Orissa; it is being charged at 50 P to a bucketful of water. This is the terrible water famine we are facing in Orissa today. There are scarcity conditions. Then, wheat is not available and in regard to procurement you will again be surprised to note this. We fixed the procurement target for the State Governments, and how can we blame the Government here, if the State Governments are not procuring according to the target? You will find that in Uttar Pradesh, the target for procurement of wheat was fixed at 18 lakh tonnes. But to date, it has been able to procure only 45,000 tonnes. In Rajasthan, the target was three lakh tonnes. But only 974 tonnes have been procured. In Orissa, the target was 18,000 tonnes, but not a grain has been procured up to now.

For rice, the target was three lakh tonnes for Orissa. The procurement is 1,50,000 tonnes. For West Bengal, the target for wheat was 7 lakh tonnes, but only 4,000 tonnes have been procured. In Maharashtra only 6,000 tonnes have been procured. In Madhya Pradesh, 40 lakh tonnes was the target.

[Shri Chintamani Panigrahi]

The procurement is only 60,000 tonnes. For Bihar, 60 lakh tonnes was the target but only 800 tonnes have been procured. How can we say that we shall control the prices and control everything and that we shall live in peace and prosperity? This is something astounding. Why not the Central Government here ask the State Governments, what is the game you are playing, we have taken up the wholesale trade in foodgrains and not a single grain is being procured. How can you say that this will be successful? It cannot be a success. It is a very serious matter to which the Finance Minister must give thought. Without stringent measures, you cannot check the inflationary pressure on the prices. It cannot be checked.

Another greatest hindrance is the shortage of power. I would just take one or two minutes more to refer to the power shortage. There has been a steady fall in the target of power fixed by the Planning Commission and the Government themselves. You will find that from 1.63 million kw which was fixed for 1968-69 it was reduced to 1.32 million kw in 1969-70 and again to 1.22 million kw in 1970-71. You will find it was further reduced to 1.18 million kw in 1971-72. Thus gradually the target has been reduced. Even energy which was being produced was lowered. You will find that in 1970-71 the rate was lower, at 9.2 per cent. The production in 1971-72 had further fallen to about 7 per cent. How can we say that we will be able to meet the rising aspirations of the people and the rising demand for power, with this shortfall in production and shortfall in the targets? Therefore what I feel is that while the second plan and the third Plan were really something which were helping us in a better way so far as the fourth Plan is concerned something has gone wrong everywhere and therefore we find shortage in power, water, irrigation, cement, food and so on and everywhere you find that the shortage is there all over the country. It is not that we do not want to increase production. It is not that the peo-

ple in the country do not want to put in more labour; they are putting in more labour. But something has gone wrong somewhere. Therefore, it has so happened.

I therefore submit that the able Finance Minister and the Finance Ministry would try to deal with this acute problem in this country today and I hope that he will apply his mind seriously to the ills of the present economy that we are facing. I hope that, within the coming one or two months, with the kind of a little financial discipline and control, the difficulties that we are facing today will be over, and we will be able to march forward again with confidence if we go ahead and work out the fifth five year Plan which is the biggest venture we have evolved for the planned economic development of the country towards achieving the socialist goal.

SHRI P G MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad) Mr Chairman Sir, the hon Finance Minister has moved the Finance Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 1973-74 and while doing so and even on an earlier occasion this year, the Minister has drawn an optimistic picture and promised a brighter future. It has to be expected of any Government particularly of a Finance Minister when he introduces a budget and brings out certain proposals that he will try to paint as rosy a picture as possible but knowing as I do the hon Finance Minister Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan I wonder why he should have given a picture which is wholly out of tune with the reality of the day. We find all over the place a continuously depressing situation and rapid deterioration all round.

I shall now try to briefly mention some of those areas where there has been tremendous deterioration. But I cannot resist the temptation to refer first and foremost to the acute situation of drought resulting in shortage of food, and in the last

couple of days or weeks perhaps, in a few starvation deaths. Only the other day the hon. Prime Minister emphatically denied reports about starvation deaths. What concrete evidence has the hon. Prime Minister in her possession to deny such facts? We know that people died in various parts of India even when there was no drought because of malnutrition and lack of medical facilities. This year has been so bad; it has been slow death, gradual death, not of a few; but thousands are dying. After all this, if the Prime Minister says that nobody has died of starvation I submit that it is a statement which is completely out of tune with the reality of the situation.

In Maharashtra the situation is particularly serious, as also in Gujarat and several other States. We had food riots and revolt by people wanting to get some small quantities of food. It is no use saying that Opposition parties are exploiting the situation. If there are shortages and if Governments have bungled, parties or even individuals in Opposition opposed to the policy of the Government are bound to take advantage and exploit the situation. When people are asking for food and bread, they are getting bullets and stones. Is this an indication of the rosy picture or a brighter future which we were promised by our esteemed friend the hon. Finance Minister?

The rate of economic growth is low. It is a tragedy that in spite of various kinds of natural and manpower resources, we have the lowest rate of growth. Unemployment presents a dismal picture; the figures of unemployment are not diminishing; they are in fact rising. This is not a bright or rosy picture.

They say they want to achieve socialism. I am for socialism, if it means social justice and egalitarian society, where not only production is increased, but there is also more

equitable distribution. Under that system the weaker sections of the community would be protected. But what are they doing? Under their scheme, only statism is increasing. Instead of society becoming the owner and controller of things, it is the state, the rigid rugged power of the state that comes into prominence so that the common man is forgotten and the powers of bureaucracy increase... (Interruptions) As my friend says there is more of autocracy and more of bureaucracy. Power is concentrated in the hands of the Government. We saw that recently in the case of yarn control and also in the matter of taking over the whole-sale trade in wheat. Nobody says that if something is going wrong the Government should not take the matter into its own hands. But has the Government got the necessary talent and manpower, technique and the tools? If you do not have them you go on merely adding to your machinery. What do you do? You only create a giant Leviathan.

The big power hungry State is full of bureaucrats in government machinery. We know what the net result would be. There would not only be delays but something else also. For example, if we write letters and send telegrams, nobody replies. We have to come down or go up to New Delhi or which ever way you may put it and ask for a reply, but still they do not do it. Nobody takes any decision; there are delays and there is corruption; there is nepotism. Instead of welfare measure being increased, the paper is increasing. Welfare measure is decreasing in proportion to the increase in paper work. This is the reality of the situation. I therefore request the hon. Minister for Finance to see to it that the common man is helped. The people are awakened and they know in which direction the Government goes. If something is not done to put an end to this delay etc. they are bound to feel desperate. Therefore I say

[Shri P. G. Mavalankar]

the situation is very grave now I request the Finance Minister as also the entire House to see to it that we try to avoid this situation which is dangerous and disastrous. We have to do something radical and quick.

Having said all this, I want to say a word about the taxation proposals made. I would like the Finance Minister to see to it that the direct taxes are levied in such a way that there is no avoidance of tax at the higher levels. The people at higher levels would not like to pay the tax. It is no use saying that Government have done something to earn more revenue from taxation. There are very few honest people who earn more and who also pay the taxes. Generally people want to avoid paying taxes. I would like the Minister to look into the rate of direct tax and find out how far he is able to tax the people at higher level so that he may also indicate in his reply on how he is able to control the black money that is being put into the country's economy. I would like him to see to it that the black money hills and suns are eliminated or avoided in this country.

I would also like him to tell the House as to what exactly is the amount of tax which is in arrears because I do not know whether he also includes in the arrears the amount of tax which is in dispute. If the officers say that a certain tax has to be paid by the assesses but that is in dispute, then till the inquiry is made that should not be taken as a tax evasion. Otherwise that will give a sizeable figure which some people criticise as tax evasion. I would like him to tell the House accurately the precise nature of tax arrears. If necessary, he may even appoint a small inquiry committee to go into this question and then tell the country as to what is the exact amount of tax that is to be paid as arrears in this country.

Coming to the industrial production, that is not growing. There is power shortage and there are power cuts. Scarcity of power, as has been rightly pointed out by many people, is much worse than scarcity of food-grains. Unless you plan sufficiently in advance as to the requirements of power in a good way and unless you take an initiative in our plans and projects, the industrial growth will be hampered in the country. I would therefore like that great emphasis should be laid on the development of electric power.

You know, Sir, that there was an unprecedented power cut—50 per cent power cut—in Gujarat and many other places recently. So also, the other States like Rajasthan, West Bengal, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu had some difficulties with regard to the power cut. In fact there is no State which remains without power difficulty. I would like the Government to go into this question from a long term point of view and quick and energetic steps should be taken by them to see that power scarcity is removed as early as possible so that our industrial production is not hampered.

May I now briefly touch upon the green revolution? I have recently visited some agricultural institutions and state farms. I found that some of them are doing good work. Some of our talented people have achieved a good deal and they can stand competition with any other people anywhere in the world. And we are proud of this. Therefore, I feel all the more unhappy that in spite of these talents we have, we are not able to make India *suqalam* and *suphalam* about which we have been signing both during independence struggle and after. If you want the green revolution to take place successfully the river waters should be sent to the farthest, remote, down-trodden, backward areas. Where there is need for water, let water go there through irrigation.

Many of us from Gujarat have been asking, why is the Prime Minister delaying her award on the Narmada? This is not a question of Gujarat alone getting the benefits. It is a national project. If the project is successfully and quickly implemented, the Narmada waters can be very well harnessed. Already 25 years have been lost. Let us not lose even 25 days more. If this project is successfully implemented, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, and Maharashtra States will stand to benefit. So, I would request the Prime Minister to expedite her award. Unlimited quantities of water are now going waste. Let us harness them as early as possible and make them available to the people.

Although I welcome the passing of land ceiling legislations by various States, I hope this will not lead to uneconomic holdings and fragmentation of land in such a way that it will mean less production per acre.

I come from Ahmedabad, a city of textile labour. It is a picture of contrast. On the one hand you have a few millionaires and on the other a vast number of people living in miserable conditions. To say that they are living in a travesty of facts; they are just existing. If you go to their huts, you cannot stay there for even five minutes. But they have been living there for 25 years. The other day the Finance Minister was referring to Professor Harold Laski. It was Harold Laski who said, "Men who live differently think differently". Because our way of living is so different from the way these people live in the slums, we have no experience and understanding of their problems. These slums are a veritable hell on the earth. They do not have sanitation arrangements. Heaven knows how they ease themselves. There is no distinction between the kitchen, the dining room and the sanitary block. And yet, we still say India is marching rapidly towards

socialism. So, the conditions of labour need to be looked into immediately.

Bonus at 833 per cent was given in 1971. What about the accounting years 1972 and 1973? Will it not be given for these years also? Then, in those industrial houses where there have been larger profits, why should not the workers get a larger bonus? What about gratuity? Under the existing rules, if a worker has not completed 248 days in a previous year, he loses that particular year. I do not know what has happened to the creation of gratuity trust? Then, the workers must get in addition to bonus and gratuity, their provident fund money back at the end of 20 years. Prices of all things have been rising and I want the workers to get back their own money. But if the Government argument is that the provident fund money is invested in plan projects and its return will upset the national investment, then I would say that we should see that the workers get a larger interest rate on their provident fund amounts. Otherwise, they lose at both ends—they cannot get back their money and they get a very poor rate of interest. And whenever they want money, they are forced to go to money lenders and get loans at exorbitant rates of interest.

16 hrs.

Coming to *Adibasis* and *harijans* in spite of 25 years of freedom *Harijans* happen to be beaten, looted and murdered because they happen to be *Harijans*. They are not getting equal treatment. They cannot get drinking water or educational facilities. They are still looked down by the upper caste people. I would, therefore, like to stress the need for uplifting the conditions of the *harijans*.

A word about youth and student unrest. While we do not want student violence, we do want student unrest because the existing educational facilities are very poor. There is no life

[Shri P. G. Mavalankar]

or blood in those educational facilities. They are mechanical. That is why education is missing while the buildings are increasing. This is education which is not going forward but backward.

Even in planning they are going astray. because the right priorities are not fixed. Now, if you look at our country it from the point of view of the world. India's image is not going up but it is going down, because our image outside depends upon our progress inside. So, our image is bound to lose when we are not progressing.

Then, I want the Government to take the initiative in regard to our contribution to the Commonwealth and see to it that India's membership of the Commonwealth brings greater credit to the Commonwealth and more credit to India because the Commonwealth is a useful forum, an informal club where the various countries meet and exchange views.

Then, in regard to Israel, if we recognise Israel why not start diplomatic relations? Why are we afraid of that? We should have diplomatic relations with Israel so that we can know what Israel does and say in fortnight terms when it does something wrong.

I would conclude by what I said in the beginning. We are sitting on a volcano. Our political life and public life today are disfigured because the conduct of the leaders at the helm of affairs is not in tune with what they say. The gap between what they say, and what they do is gradually increasing and therefore we find this chaos and shamelessness. Let us not forget that while political life is important, public life is more important. And if public life is more important, let us try and do something by which we will have men of honesty and integrity getting a better place in public life in this country.

We want intelligence, independence, imagination and integrity, these four qualities to be encouraged and strengthened in this country because only then we shall have selfless and upright and straight individuals who will carry on the onward march of democracy and socialism. It is from these angles that I want to say that while fortunately and happily we are still a democracy and we have got a democratic framework we should not do something by which we try to undermine, rather we try to enhance the independence of the judiciary, about which we will have something to say two days later, a free press where in facts are sacred but comments are free whether radio and television net work are not departments of the Government but independent corporations on the pattern of the BBC, where the television and radio are means of communication not with a view to making propaganda for the government but with a view to educating and informing the people because it is only on the strength of informed and educated people that we can build a sound public opinion, and if we have an enlightened public opinion it shall be our safeguard and a sure guide. If we want to work for that, let us not sit quiet ever for a minute. I hope the Finance Minister will proceed in the lines I have indicated.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (ग्वालियर)

सभापति महोदय, नियम 109 के अन्तर्गत मैंने आपकी अनुमति मांगी है कि आप डम विवाद को स्थगित कर दें। दिल्ली में एक गम्भीर स्थिति पैदा हो गई है। 27 हजार कपडा मजदूर जो पिछले 25 दिन से हड़ताल पर हैं वे आज अपने घरों को छोड़ चुके हैं और दक्षिणी दिल्ली में अनेक दूकानें लूटने की घटनाएँ हुई हैं। वहाँ बँकरी का एक ब्रान लूटा गया है। पुलिस गन्म लगा रही है। यदि सरकार आज हस्ताक्षेप नहीं करेगी तो परिस्थिति रात में और बिगड़ सकती है। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि बिना विधेयक पर सारी चर्चा एक

अज्ञातस्थिति, अर्थव्यवस्था पर परिस्थिति में हो रही है। दिल्ली में विधान सभा नहीं है, पालियामेंट दिल्ली के प्रति उत्तरदाई है। आज सबेरे भी यह मामला मैंने उठाया था तब सरकार के कान पर जूँ तक नहीं रेंगी, अब ठूकानें लूटी जा रही है और परिस्थिति काबू से बाहर जा रही है। मैं चाहता हूँ सदन इस सवाल पर विचार करे और गृह मंत्री इस बारे में क्या कदम उठा रहे हैं इसके बारे में सदन को अवगत करायें।

सभापति महोदय : यहां पर शानियामेन्ट्री अफेयर्स के मिनिस्टर बैठे हुए हैं, आपने जो कहा वह रिकार्ड पर आ गया है। आपने जो लिखकर दिया है वह मैं अध्यक्ष महोदय को भेज दूंगा और जो उनकी राय होगी उसके मुताबिक आप कल सुबह कीजियेगा।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : इस समय तो आप आसन पर हैं।

सभापति महोदय : इस में कोई ऐसी परिस्थिति नहीं है जिसके लिए कार्य स्थगित किया जाये जोकि इस समय चल रहा है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : परिस्थिति तो बहुत गम्भीर है, आप स्वीकार करें या न करें वह अलग बात है।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri R. V. Swaminathan—absent; Shri Shivnath Singh—absent; Shri Chandrika Prasad—absent; Shri M. Sudarsanam—absent; Shri Kartik Oraon—absent; Shri Inder J. Malhotra—absent; Shri Chandulal Chandrakar—absent; Shri Dhan Shah Pradhan—absent; Shri Mallikarjun—absent.

Shri Rudra Pratap Singh.

श्री रुद्र प्रताप सिंह (बाराबंकी) : अघिष्ठाता महोदय, मैं आपका हृदय से आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे वित्त विधेयक, 1973 पर अपने विचार प्रकट करने का अवसर दिया। इस रजत जयन्ती वर्ष में हम लोग जो वित्त विधेयक 1973 पर विचार

कर रहे हैं यह अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण है। जैसा कि आप जानते हैं और माननीय सदस्यों को यह बात ज्ञात है कि लोकसभा के मध्यावधि निर्वाचन में और देश में जो विधान सभाओं के साधारण निर्वाचन हुए थे उतमें प्रखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी की ओर से जनता को इस बात का वचन दिया गया था कि हम देश में सामाजिक और आर्थिक विषमताओं को समाप्त करना चाहते हैं। देश के अन्दर जो क्षेत्रीय असन्तुलन है उसको समाप्त करना चाहते हैं। हम देश के अन्दर गरीबी, बेकारी और बेरोजगारी को दूर करना चाहते हैं। जनता ने उस पर हमारे दल को भारी बहुमत प्रदान करके देश की लोकसभा में और प्रदेश की विधान सभाओं में भारी बहुमत प्रदान किया। हम इस बात के लिए अपनी सरकार को, अपनी प्रधान मंत्री जी को बधाई देते चाहते हैं कि इस दिशा में वे निरन्तर प्रयत्नशील हैं और बराबर इस दिशा में महत्वपूर्ण कदम उठाए जा रहे हैं।

माननीय सदन को ज्ञात है लोकसभा के मध्यावधि निर्वाचन के पश्चात् हमने यहां पर संविधान का 24वां संशोधन विधेयक पास करके समाजवाद का मार्ग प्रशस्त किया उसके पश्चात् देशी नरेशों की शैलियों और विशेषा अधिकारों को समाप्त करके हमने जनता को गए अपने वचन को पूरा किया। उसके पश्चात् यहा पर पिछले जो दो आय-व्यय प्रस्तुत किए गए और राष्ट्रपति जी के जो अभिभाषण हुए उनके द्वारा सदन के सामने हमारे दल की गिनतियों को स्पष्ट किया गया इस वित्त विधेयक के द्वारा भी इस बात का प्रयास किया गया है, कि जहाँ तक हो सके उा वस्तुओं पर कर लगाया जाये जिनसे कुछ व्यक्तियों को, कुछ परिवारों को या कुछ कम्पनियों विशेष आय हो रही है, जिनसे वह अधिक लाभ उठा रहे हैं। समाजवादी व्यवस्था में यही एक उपाय है जिसके द्वारा हम सामाजिक और आर्थिक विषमताओं को समाप्त कर सकते हैं।

[श्री वर प्रजा सिंह]

इस दिशा में मैं कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ। जब हम इस बात का संकल्प कर चुके हैं कि हमें देश में सामाजिक और आर्थिक विषमताओं को समाप्त करना है तो निश्चित रूप से हमारी दृष्टि प्रथम देहातो की ओर ही जाती है जहाँ पर इस देश की 90 प्रतिशत जनता रहती है। हमें इस बात की प्रामाण्यता है कि हमारा दल इस बात के लिए बराबर प्रयास कर रहा है कि श्रीघ्रातिशीघ्र भूमि संधारो को लागू किया जाये। भूमि की सीलिंग को देश में लागू किया जा रहा है। हमारे दल के घोषणा पत्र में इस बात की घोषणा की गई थी यदि हमारा दल बहुमत में आया तो 10 एकड़ से 18 एकड़ की सीलिंग हम करेंगे। देश भर में उसी के अनुसार भूमि की सीलिंग की जा रही है। हम चाहते हैं कि जिन प्रदेशों में अभी भूमि की सीलिंग 18 एकड़ से अधिक है वहाँ पर उसको कम से कम 10 एकड़ और अधिक से अधिक 18 एकड़ तक करना चाहिए। किसी भी दशा में 18 एकड़ से ऊपर नहीं होना चाहिए। इसी प्रकार से हमें शहरों की ओर भी ध्यान देना होगा। मेरा इस मामले में विचार बहुत स्पष्ट है, मैं उस को यहाँ पर निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। जो दल की नीति है वह भी स्पष्ट है, लेकिन जो मैं कहने जा रहा हूँ यह मेरा व्यक्तिगत विचार है कि जब 10 एकड़ की निश्चित भूमि की बात करना है तो किसान की वह 10 एकड़ भूमि सम्पत्ति हानी है और वह उस की आय का माध्यम होता है। तो जब शहरी क्षेत्र में सीलिंग करने की डग बात का ध्यान रखें कि 10 एकड़ निश्चित भूमि का जो मूल्य होता है उस से अधिक पर शहरी सम्पत्ति पर सीलिंग होनी चाहिये। निश्चित रूप से 10 एकड़ क्षेत्र की जो कीमत हो उनी के आधार पर शहरी सीलिंग भी होनी चाहिये। 10 एकड़ से जो आय होती हो उस से अधिक जो आय हो उस पर भी हमें सीलिंग करनी चाहिये उस से अधिक आय का कोई भी अर्थ नहीं है

किसी व्यक्ति के लिए, किसी परिवार के लिये, किसी कम्पनी के लिये तभी हम सच्चे मानेंगे में समाजवाद की तरफ बढ़ेंगे। चाहे सीलिंग की व्यवस्था करे, चाहे प्रत्यक्ष कर द्वारा चाहे अप्रत्यक्ष कर द्वारा ऐसी नीति प्रस्तावों जिसके जरिये इस बात की व्यवस्था हो सके। क्योंकि इसी आधार पर हम सामाजिक और आर्थिक विषमताओं को दूर कर सकते हैं। हमारे दल ने 10 सूत्री कार्यक्रम में इस बात का निश्चय किया था कि हम शहरी क्षेत्र की सीमा करेंगे, और इस के साथ साथ चीनी मिलों का राष्ट्रीयकरण करेंगे। श्रीमान, समय आ गया है कि यथाशीघ्र सरकार को शहरी क्षेत्रों में सीलिंग करनी चाहिए। शहरी सम्पत्ती की, और यथा शीघ्र चीनी मिलों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाना चाहिए। और इस के साथ साथ जो अन्य ऐसे विषय हैं, उद्योग हैं जो कि भारी मनाफे में चल रहे हैं उन को सरकार को निश्चित रूप से निजी क्षेत्र से हटा कर सरकारी क्षेत्र में लेना चाहिये, इस में दो राय नहीं हो सकती और तभी हम सामाजिक और आर्थिक विषमताओं को समाप्त कर सकेंगे।

कृषि आयकर और दूसरी आय का नॉर्मल-लिट कर के आय-कर लगाने की व्यवस्था की गयी है। मैं उस के लिये सरकार की मर-हना करता हूँ क्योंकि देश के बहुत सारे पूजीपति छोट फार्म छोड़ कर ब्लैक मनी को वाश्ट मनी में बनवट करने की राशि कर रहे हैं। और स्थिति यह हो गई कि हमारे देश में बड़े पूजीपति और बड़े संग्रह के दार इस बात का प्रयास करते हैं कि 10 एकड़ का फार्म रख लो और उस पर लाखों रुपये ब्लैकमनी को वाश्ट मनी में बदलने हैं।

एक बात और है सरकार के पास जो रिपोर्ट आयी है कि कृषि के द्वारा जो आय होती है वह बहुत कुछ उन लोगों की आय के आधार पर है जो लोग ब्लैक मनी को

व्हाइट मनी में कनवर्ट करते हैं, जो खेती के द्वारा आय नहीं करते हैं, केवल काले धंधे चलाने के लिये अपनी आय दिखाते हैं। तो सरकार के सामने यदि आंकड़े हैं, सम्भव है वह सही न हो, इसलिये मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि कृषि आय को और दूसरी आय को निश्चित रूप से एक साथ सम्मिलित करके आय-कर लगाया जाये, मगर पहले यह देखा जाये कि इस देश की धरती से कृषक को सचमुच वह आय हो रही है जो भूमि की श्रेणी है उस के आधार पर उन्हें क्या कोई उपज मिल रही है और क्या हम उस को उचित खाद, सिंचाई के साधन और उचित प्रकार की सुविधायें दे पा रहे हैं कि जिस के आधार पर हम आशा करते हैं कि उस भूमि से उन्हें इतनी आमदनी होनी चाहिये ?

मान्यवर, इस वित्त विधेयक में फिल्मों के बारे में कहा गया है कि कुछ टैक्स लगाना चाहते हैं। पेज 53 पर चल-चित्र फिल्म पर जो अनएक्मपोज्ड होती है उन पर भी टैक्स लगाने का बात कही गयी है। इसके बारे में मेरा निवेदन है कि आ जानते हैं कि हमारी जो फिल्में हैं ये हमारे विदेशों के साथ हमारे सांस्कृतिक सम्बन्धों की आधार-शिलायें हैं। यदि इन पर हम टैक्स लगायेंगे तो हमारे सांस्कृतिक सम्बन्धों में कठिनाई आ सकती है। हमारे देश में अभी रंगीन फिल्में नहीं बनती हैं, विदेशों से उन को मंगाना पड़ता है। या तो देश रंगीन फिल्म का उत्पादन करे, और जब तक ऐसा नहीं करते हैं तब तक बाहर से आये जाने वाली फिल्मों पर अगर हम टैक्सेशन करेंगे तो निश्चित रूप से फिल्म इंडस्ट्री को आघात पहुंचेगा। जैसा कि आप जानते हैं भारत विश्व में नम्बर दो पर फिल्में बनाता है। और हिन्दी में नम्बर एक पर फिल्में बनती हैं। तो इस तरह से न केवल हिन्दी में बल्कि सभी भाषाओं में बनने वाली फिल्मों के हिसाब से भारत का स्थान नम्बर दो का है, तो उसको बहुत आघात

पहुंचेगा। इस लिए मैं चाहूंगा कि उस पर कर न लगाया जाये।

इस विधेयक में एक बहुत बड़ी कमी है जो अनुभव हो रही है और वह इस बात की है कि इसके पहले भी जब हमारे सामने बजट प्रस्तुत हुआ और जब वित्त विधेयक प्रस्तुत हुआ उन में कभी भी मदिरा के ऊपर टैक्स नहीं रखा गया। हमारी अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस पार्टी के घोषणा पत्र में या जो दल का विधान है, उस में स्पष्ट रूप में लिखा हुआ है जब हम सदस्यता का फार्म भरते हैं तो उसमें लिखा हुआ है कि हम किसी प्रकार की नशीली वस्तुओं का सेवन नहीं करते हैं। तो जब हमारा ऐसा दल है जो नशीली वस्तुओं का विरोधी है तो हमें ऐसी नीति बनानी चाहिए जिस से किसी नशीली वस्तुओं पर टैक्स लगे। इसलिए शराब पर भी अधिक से अधिक टैक्स लगाना चाहिए जिस से देश की जनता को आदत पड़ सके कि वह नशीली वस्तुओं का सेवन न करे।

इस बात का प्रयास किया जाना चाहिए हमारा मस्तिष्क स्पष्ट होना चाहिए कि देश के अन्दर जो इस प्रकार होने वाली आय है उम के ऊपर अधिक से अधिक कर लगाये जाये। हमारी समझ में इस विधेयक के द्वारा जो देश के बड़े पूंजीपति और सरमायेदार लोग हैं उन के ऊपर कितना कर लगाया जाना चाहिए, उतना कर नहीं लगाया गया है। मैं चाहूंगा कि मंत्री जी पुनः तमाम मार्ग की ओर दृष्टि डालने की कृपा करें जहां तमाम ऐसे पूंजीपति और सरमायेदार अभी अपने को छुपाये हुए हैं कि कर उन्हें न देना पड़े। इस लिए उनके ऊपर भारी से भारी टैक्स लगाया जाये जिस से देश के नव-निर्माण में, एक नवीन समाज की संरचना में हम आगे बढ़ सकें।

हमें विश्वास है कि हमारे माननीय मंत्री महोदय को इस बात में सफलता मिलेगी और वह ऐसे समाज की रचना में, जिस का हमारे दल द्वारा संकल्प किया गया है और आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक विषमताएं समाप्त

[श्री रुद्र प्रताप सिंह]

करने की दिशा में एक दृढ़ कदम उठायेँगे और इस रजत जयन्ती वर्ष में इस विधेयक द्वारा एक ऐसी व्यवस्था करेंगे जिस में जनता के बीच में जो भी अन्तर है, सामाजिक और आर्थिक विषमताएँ हैं वह समाप्त हो जायेगी और हम इस बात को गर्व के साथ कह सकते हैं कि हमारा दल देश की आर्थिक और सामाजिक विषमताएँ समाप्त करने की दिशा में कार्यरत है, दृढ़ सकल्प है और हम इस घोर मजबूती से बढ़ रहे हैं। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस विधेयक का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI P. NARASIMHA REDDY (Chittor): I have listened with great attention and some appreciation to the views expressed by several hon. Members, from different sections of the House with regard to the subject under discussion. No doubt the Finance Bill, 1973, which is under discussion is an important instrument—a chief instrument,—but not the 'sole' instrument—for achieving the objects of the budgetary control. The Finance Minister while presenting the Budget reiterated the objectives to which the Government is dedicated, namely the achievement of "an accelerated growth within the framework of increasing social justice and self-reliance." Many Members said so many things ignoring the several unforeseen and unexpected calamities and catastrophes that have overtaken this country; some of them said that the Government has failed in its objective and that the Finance Bill and Budget Proposals do not go in any way to help us go forward to reach this goal or this objective. It would be totally irrelevant on their part if they ignore the several important and unforeseen factors that have intervened in the meanwhile. It is really unfortunate that one of the greatest of legal luminaries and eminent jurist Mr. Palkiwala in giving his assessment of the budgetary policies and the financial, fiscal-measures,

contemplated in the Bill, expressed his sweeping remark that this Budget is not relevant to the actual realities of the situation. I consider it to be a most irrelevant remark and criticism against the Budget. Why? It is because these critics and some of our friends of the opposition said that we have erred in coming to certain judgment; they just ignored several important developments which have overtaken this country which are none of our seeking. They forgot the massive deficit financing which had to be resorted to safeguard the integrity of the nation, against unforeseen invasion. This came in the wake of massive defence expenditure and defence spending due to refugee relief and refugee rehabilitation. Coupled with this has been a series of unfortunate and unprecedented droughts. Drought, the like of which was not seen for two decades, has unfortunately overtaken this country. Nobody can say that it will not reappear again. I find that in the Budget speech about 50 years back the then Finance Minister of the British regime said:

"The Budget of this country is almost a gamble in the monsoons" Even today the position is just the same—it is almost a gamble in the monsoon. Neither the Government nor the people can say that they have seen the last or the worst of the monsoon failure. Drought is a natural phenomenon with which we have to live with. But one thing I would like to stress and say that this recurrence of drought has exposed certain weaknesses, certain failures, certain faults, in our planning and in our performance. The main thing that has tilted the economic balance in my opinion is the unprecedented failure of dry crops. Nearly two-third of this country's agricultural economy, that is dry farming, has not received sufficient attention and support inspite of our three or four plans. It has now tried the balance

and taken this country almost to the brink of disaster.

Many friends pointed out why on account of this drought a total power shortage has come up in this country? Why was it not foreseen? A normal shortage of this kind was anticipated and several steps were taken towards the beginning last year to step up the thermal output of electricity. But over and above this expectation on account of unexpected drought the crippling power crisis has grown into a gigantic proportion affecting our industrial, agricultural and other sectors of our economy. This unfortunate and unforeseen development has cost the country in crores and crores of rupees. I wish you to take a lesson from this and realising that the occurrence of such droughts are not ruled out we should reshape our planning and make necessary preparation to encounter such calamities if they unfortunately recur again.

In this connection I really consider the Finance Minister has made courageous and heroic efforts given the constraints existing to face up to the task and then give our economy a push in the right direction in order to achieve our socio-economic objectives. This cannot be considered a total failure as many friends seem to think. In fact, I would like to differ, here with the role of the Opposition as put forth by Shri Mavalankar, that is, pointing out the faults and lacunae in implementation and formulation of government policy. To that extent, I agree, it is the legitimate right of the Opposition to point out the faults and lacunae of the government in implementation and formulation of government policies but I differ from him when the Opposition over-steps the bounds of parliamentary criticism or legitimate criticism—as the role of the Opposition is understood to be—and tries to obstruct the implementation of the policies of the ruling party in order

to discredit the ruling party little realising that in the process we will be ruining everybody and the country as a whole. My respectful submission, therefore, is the country is now passing through a crisis of unprecedented nature which called for an unstinted cooperation of all sections of this House and all sections of the people outside this House. In that spirit and with that noble idea I hope everyone of us will undertake the task of rescuing our economy from the present doldrums and setting it again on the road to progress which we all have at heart.

I congratulate the Finance Minister for not yielding or surrendering to any feeling of helplessness in the face of overwhelming difficulties and against such heavy odds which he has to face.

Though, no doubt, our goal of social justice and self-reliance which we have set before ourselves cannot be reached in one Plan or two Plans, yet, it is correct in my opinion, and efforts must be made consistently, and consistent sacrifices must be made and consistent leadership must be provided so that the country can march as fast as we can towards this desired goal which everyone of us cherishes.

I appreciate very much that in the course of this budget, in spite of the massive difficulties confronting us, the Finance Minister has made substantial provision to allot as much as he can to schemes for social justice and for relief of unemployment. This is a step in the right direction, and I hope that the Finance Minister, knowing the difficulties and the lapses and lacunae in implementation experienced in the past two or three years, will take steps to see that these schemes and allocations are actually implemented and fully utilised in the manner in which they are intended.

[Shri P. Narasimha Reddy]

An hon. Member who spoke earlier pointed out a very big shortfall in the matter of the small farmers' development agencies; similarly, the differential rate of interest which was another social justice measure has also not been fulfilled to the extent which was necessary. Similarly, the schemes for which allocations were made previously have not been fully utilised or implemented with the result that they have remained mere paper-schemes the results of which we have not seen.

In order to avoid such frustration and failure, I am sure the Finance Minister will take steps to see that a special machinery is developed to monitor and see that these are implemented and fully utilised in the different spheres where they are intended. In my opinion, the objective of social justice which we are seeking to achieve along with accelerated growth is vitally dependent on our effort and our success in achieving the elimination of regional imbalances. This very aspect of regional imbalances has been highlighted by the hon. Members who have spoken before me. This cannot be ignored by anybody in this country, if the goal of social justice and a fully integrated economic development of the country as a whole is to be achieved.

So far as Andhra Pradesh is concerned, an authoritative account is to the effect that Andhra Pradesh is really backward, and it ranks fifth among the States in area and population but it ranks tenth in the matter of companies with only 798 companies out of 32240 in the country. Andhra Pradesh has 16 Government companies only out of the 352 in the country, and the total investment in these comes to Rs. 36 crores only out of Rs. 2369 crores in the country. Andhra Pradesh ranks fifteenth among the twenty-one States in the matter of *per capita* value added by

manufacture at Rs. 15 per year as compared to Rs. 102 in Maharashtra, Rs. 50 in small Pondicherry and Rs. 60 even in Orissa. The reason for my citing all these facts is to show that the regional imbalances have been allowed to grow and grow from Plan to Plan to this extent that it has become a menace, so to say, to the achievement of our goal of a uniform integrated development of this country. Steps must be taken and attention must be paid to eliminate these regional imbalances by consistent efforts.

I may recall that last year, as many as 70 or 80 Members of this House had held a seminar in this connection, and several memoranda had been presented to the Planning Minister and the Finance Minister, urging that greater attention should be paid to this problem of eliminating regional imbalances by providing suitable planning innovations and by making district plan allotments and seeing that these are implemented in order that the regional imbalances may be successfully removed, as we all desire.

The unprecedented drought as well as power shortage have created problems all over the country, and acutely in many parts of the country.

This has not only crippled industrial production but agricultural production too. Agricultural production dependent on lift irrigation has been grievously hit. I come from an area in the southern districts of Rayalaseema which are the traditional drought and famine areas. There electricity has been cut even to the extent of 75 per cent so much so that not even two hours supply is being provided to agriculturists for lift irrigation. Even diesel oil which is an alternative fuel which the agriculturists need for their diesel engines for pumping water is not available. The supply of this to the area is to be made from Madras. Though

Madras has been receiving special attention in the matter of such supply—the other day the Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals mentioned that special arrangements were being made to rush stocks of diesel oil to Madras—the entire stock of the supply is taken by Tamil Nadu and nothing is coming to this area. I request the Minister to make a note of this and see that the supplies are extended to this area also so that the worst type of drought conditions prevailing there may be at least relieved to some extent.

SHRI TARUN GOGOI (Jorhat):
Mr. Chairman, the country is passing through a most difficult period of economic and financial stress and strain. The Finance Bill has to be considered in the context of the country's overall situation, social, political and economic. Considering all these factors, the measures taken by Government can be said to be in the right direction and a significant beginning has been made to achieve our social and economic objective, economic growth with social justice, stability and self-reliance.

It is also heartening to note that there is a sense of determination a sense of seriousness and a sincerity of purpose and optimism on the part of Government which has been well reflected in the various progressive and revolutionary measures such as the takeover of wholesale trade in foodgrains, nationalisation of coking and non-coking coal mines and steel, the provision of Rs. 100 crores for the educated unemployed, Rs. 125-crores package deal, increased provision for power, fertiliser, irrigation and so on.

It is true that to achieve our objective, we have an arduous task and miles and miles to go and many more revolutionary measures have to be taken. But what is encouraging is that a good beginning has been made in this direction.

Poverty and unemployment are the two greatest problems, the greatest challenges before the country. These two problems are getting more and more acute, more and more alarming as the years roll on. It is really a pity to see millions of our people who are ill-clad, ill-fed, who do not have two square meals a day, who do not have shelter to live, not to speak of the minimum facilities of a modern life, not to speak of education or health facilities. In our country we have 40 per cent of our population living below the poverty line, whose income is less than Rs. 20 per month according to the price-level of 1960; on the other, we find a section of people floating on wealth, minting money becoming more and more rich, who have been much benefited by the development projects and by the financial institutions. As a result, the disparity between the rich and poor has been widening.

Though the country has made progress in the field of agriculture, even in the year of green revolution, the *per capita* daily availability of food has been less than that in 1961. Cereal availability per individual per day in 1961 was 14.6 ounces but in 1970 it came down to 13.91 ounces. In regard to pulses, in 1961, the availability was 2.44 ounces per day whereas in 1970 it came down to 1.80 ounces.

India is also a country which produces the largest amount of cotton, but her standard of clothing is the lowest in the world. The *per capita* availability of cotton cloth is also the lowest in the world. It has also declined. In the year 1961, the *per capita* availability of cotton cloth was 14.17 metres. In 1970, it came down to 13.06 metres.

Then, unemployment is also getting more and more acute. It is really a pitiable sight to see that millions of our youth, able-bodied youth who have got the energy and who are

[Shri Tarun Gogoi]

willing to do work, unfortunately, are without any employment. You can very well imagine what mental strain in every able bodied unemployed youth has to pass through every moment of his valuable life. This lead to further frustration, disappointment, unrest among youth, and the millions of frustrated youth are a danger to society, a danger to the country. They are just like sitting on a volcano which may erupt at any time.

The number of unemployed has also increased alarmingly. It has increased to 35.2 lakhs in 1972 over the figure of 1970. It has risen from 41 lakhs to 69 lakhs. What about educated unemployed? It has also gone up. From 1970, when it was 18 lakhs, it has gone up to 33 lakhs now.

Then, one of the important policies of the Government is the removal of regional disparity. But in practice, there have been regional imbalances in economic development, as a result of which some States are left behind while others have made considerable progress. The case is, while eastern India consisting of Assam, West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa have got rich mineral and natural resources, these are the States which continue to be backward while other States having less potentialities for development have made much progress. While the biggest States fail to secure justice, what about the case of the smaller States in the north-eastern part of the country, consisting of Assam, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh, Tripura and Manipur?

I would like to say a few words about my State of Assam from which I come. Assam occupies a strategic place in the map of India. It is a State full of natural resources and mineral resources, but the State continues to be a backward area. During the British times, the State was exploited by the foreigners for their own interests, and after Independence also, it did not receive a fair

treatment. What was the Central Government's investment in the Central projects in my State of Assam? For the first two Five Year Plans, there was no investment in the Central projects in industries in Assam. In the third five year Plan, the investment was only 1.06 per cent as against 17 per cent, 14 per cent and 16 per cent in some of the States of the country.

Then, Assam is the State which is the largest producer in respect of tea, and tea is the second largest foreign exchange earner. It is a major industry in Assam, and Assam's development is also lined up with the development of the tea industry which provides jobs for lakhs of people. But this industry has not developed to the desired extent. The export has not increased. The quality of tea has also deteriorated, and the excise duty has also risen 15 times. Then there is also an inequitable imposition of excise levy on the teas in different parts of the country. The excise levy varies from 25 paise to Re. 1.50

Assam is included in Zone V and has to pay Re. 1.15 as excise duty in comparison to 25 paise in other parts of the country. This is also unrelated to the cost of production and prices; I hope the Ministry will look into the matter and see that Assam does not pay more than the average excise duty which is being paid by other parts of the country.

Assam has been known to have the largest reserves in oil. It has got more reserves in oil and natural gas than Gujarat, 69.27 million tonnes of crude oil and 42,460 million cubic metres of natural gas, while Gujarat has 62.02 million tonnes of crude oil and 16,780 million cubic metre of natural gas. Still it is not in Assam, where the petro-chemicals and oil industries are being developed in the way Assam deserved. The head-quarters of petroleum industry should have been in

Assam. There is a refinery at Gauhati and a petro-chemical complex in Bongaigaon. There should be greater capacity at Gauhati Refinery and a large project at Bongaigaon that the ones sanctioned.

There is also lack of infra-structure such as communications, roads, railways, irrigation and power facilities and public financial institutions also. It is the State, where the consumption of electricity and the facility of irrigation are the lowest in the country. Floods have been causing havoc to the whole of Assam. It has become an annual feature causing extensive damage to thousands of acres of land. Thousands of houses are being washed away rendering the people homeless causing death to a number of people and cattle. The whole of Assam's economy has been affected by the annual floods. It has been estimated that during the last 14 years, the average loss to Assam on account of the floods was about Rs. 7.7 crores

As regards employment in the Central Government service and public undertakings, there has been discrimination. Some States are well represented in the Central Government services and in the public sector undertakings, while others are less represented. Not to speak of employment in other parts of the country, in my own State great injustice has been done to the local people as a result of which there has been great resentment. It has been the declared policy of the Government to recruit people to posts carrying Rs. 5,000 or less through the local Employment Exchanges, so that local people can get due justice. But this practice has been honoured more in breach than in compliance, in Assam. I request the Government to remedy this situation. With these words I extend my support to the Finance Bill.

SHRI CHAPALENDU BHATTACHARYYA (Giridih): While rising to support the Finance Bill, in view

of the fact that the demands of certain Ministries were guillotined and we have had no occasion to vent our feelings, I should like to cover some aspects of the situation which impinge most upon the region we come from Chotanagpur Plateau of Bihar. It is now plagued by over investment, glittering automated new township and industries at some spots and side by side utter wretched poverty of people, whose income is not more than Rs. 40—50 per acre of land.

So, starvation, wretchedness and poverty create a value of tears at the door-step of such an important industrial complex as Bokaro Steel and the Heavy Engineering Corporation Limited. After the nationalisation of the coal-mines, the colliery worker is able to get a square deal. But, a question has been raised by our hon. Members on the opposite side about the high price of coal and about the underutilisation of various industries including thermal power plants. Generally, the rate of inflation which is gathering momentum is reflected in the price increase.

It is very true that the thermal plants run by the D.V.C. as also Chandrapur Thermal Power Plan and Bokaro thermal power plant is efficient from 45 to 65 per cent of its capacity. That is a major concern for mechanisation of mines for increasing the output of coal and for utilisation of the surplus energy for electric traction and so on and so forth.

More than that, we had a grisly accident in Jitpur colliery. Unless we have stand-by-subsidiary—power centres all over the coalfields, such accidents may lead to a chain reaction. One has to be on guard against the carbon monoxide which causes asphyxiation of miners. In order to give a boost to the coal output and in order to limit the hazards in coal-mining industry, it becomes extremely necessary that the existing thermal power plants should be supported with a chain of smaller thermal power plants dispersed over the coal-

[Shri Chapalendu Bhattacharyya]

fields. Otherwise, as I said, our mechanisation programmes will be hampered. Hazards to our coal miners will remain. We do not want our coal-mining industry to be faced with the grisly fire-damp accidents. All these collieries disasters such as Chinakuri, Giridih, Jitpur and Dhori disasters—are sign posts. In Chota Nagpur plateau and Santhal Parganas, in the course of my visit to Raj Mahal, I came to know of the difficulties with which the people are faced with. There is no drinking water within a mile and a half in a place where even the Ganges is flowing by. This was the situation. A large number of Paharis have to come down from the hills to the plains for begging. These are certain failures. Our Government's policy is quite clear. Failure of the implementation of the policy is responsible for this. There is failure at the organisational level in the Forest Department. In Chota Nagpur Plateau, the tribal's economy depends upon the forest wealth. This is a major labour-intensive industry. I may now refer to mica, shellac tassore etc. The export duty on mica has almost brought the mica export industry on the verge of ruin. You have reduced the export duty from 40 to 20 per cent very late. We have to pay for this by 50 per cent smuggling of mica via Nepal. That gives us a thumb rule by which to judge how much we have been losing through smuggling.

We are having Rs. 500 crores, for development of coal. I would urge respectfully that the Government should insist upon a comprehensive research, design and development wing, industry by industry. You have it for steel. We must have it for coal and HEC. Whereas the strength in CEDB for steel has gone up to 2,000 that of HEC has come down from 211 to 125. That way lies the path of peril. It takes us away from the path of technological independence.

In Chotanagpur, a crucial role in the development of villages should be

played by the nationalised banks. The banks' performance in this region should be scrutinised. We are afraid the lead banks in Chotanagpur have been dragging their feet. Those committed development officials of the bank, who have made a success story of some of these blocks, should be put in the crucial sector.

I suggest we should link up the grant of credit and inputs to the villagers with a levy. A part of their grain should be given as levy. The Agricultural Prices Commission recommended levy price in green revolution regions. But in our conditions of agriculture, that price is rather low. We have to take note of the rising prices of so many other articles which the cultivator has to consume.

I have a suggestion about the Pay Commission's recommendations. The costs will be of the order of Rs. 175 crores. Previously we had a compulsory deposit scheme. I would suggest an amended scheme in which it will be more or less voluntary with 7 or 8 per cent interest payable on the deposits. But the person who deposits voluntarily should be protected against future erosion of his savings in terms of money value. If the price index goes up, he should be compensated to that extent. I am just suggesting an idea. It should be clothed in a form which should be acceptable to the employees voluntarily and they should be made partners in the development programme we have placed before us.

17 hrs.

As the hon. Members who have preceded me have said, we are passing through critical times. It is a phased and delayed shock of the Indo-Pak conflict, the refugee influx and so on. The position certainly is not only difficult but also delicate. No easy method lies out of this difficulty and what will actually take us over the hump, as it were, is mass mobilisation of enthusiasm for definite developmental process. Chotanagpur, as I have suggested, is a very backward area. If we succeed in develop-

ing necessary response for development in Chotanagpur, that expertise will come in handy for developing the other regions.

श्री गंगह उइके (मंडला) : सभापति महोदय, मैं फाइनेंस बिल का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। वित्त मंत्रालय से मुझे एक प्रार्थना करनी है कि इन जो बैंको का नेशनलाइजेशन हुआ, कोओपरेटिव मूवमेंट के कोओपरेटिव बैंक के जो कायदे बने ये अपठ देहाती आदिवासियों के लिए काफी दुखदायी हुए। इस लिए मेरी वित्त मंत्रालय से प्रार्थना है कि अगर हो सकता है तो कुछ ऐसे सरल कायदे बैंकिंग के आदिवासी इलाकों में बनाये जाये ताकि 95 फीसदी लोगों को जो धोखे हो रहे हैं बैंकिंग सिस्टम में उमने वह बचें कि सारे वे लोग भ्रंगूठा लगाने वाले हैं 100 रुपये के यजाय 1,000 ₹ पर उनसे भ्रंगूठा समवा लीजिये उन्हें पता ही नहीं रहता। कोओपरेटिव की प्रथा में 10 आदमियों की समिति तथा तब तक न बने बैंक में कर्ज मिलता नहीं। मैंने कुछ समितियों की इनकवारी करायी तो पता चला कि एक आदमी ने पैसा लिया और 9 आदमियों ने पैसे नहीं लिये दूसरे के भ्रंगूठे लगे हुये बंध और जिन्होंने पैसा नहीं लिया उन के ऊपर नोटिसेज निकले। तो ऐसा फंसाव न हो गरीब आदिवासियों का, इस लिए दूसरे सरल नियम बनाने चाहिए।

जो बहुउद्देशीय कोओपरेटिव की दूकानें खोली गई हैं, फोरेस्ट के ठेके लेने की भी कोओपरेटिव खोली गयी, भेरे प्रांत में 1350 कोओपरेटिव सोसायटीज आदिवासियों के बीच में हैं जिन में 4 करोड़ रुपये का पता नहीं है। उस में आदिवासियों के 3 लाख ₹ का जो सर्क्लिप्सन होना चाहिए उस का पता नहीं है 1350 दुकानों में सैंकड़ों दुकानें तीन, चार साल से बन्द हैं लेकिन उसके मैनेजर को किसी भी कायदे से भ्रमण नहीं कर सकते हैं और सरकार उस मैनेजर को 200 ₹ महीना तनकबाह का दे रही है। आदिवासियों को उस से कोई लाभ नहीं है, जो नमक,

तम्बाकू, मिर्ची उनको वहां से मिलती थी व ह बन्द हैं, फिर भी मैनेजर को भ्रमण नहीं कर सकते। इसलिए कुछ कायदों में परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता है।

मैं ने चार प्रदेशों का सघन दौरा किया है। उड़ीसा, आन्ध्र, महाराष्ट्र और मध्य प्रदेश में कुल मिला कर 29 जिलों का दौरा किया और जो बातें मैंने पाई वह मैं आपके सामने रख रहा हूँ। तो जिस तरीके से कायदे बदल सकते हैं, मैं तो नहीं जानता, लेकिन आप देखिये किस तरह से ऐसे भ्रंगूठा लगाने वाले लोगों के बीच में सरल कायदे बनाये जायें। कोओपरेटिव बैंक, लैंड मागज बैंक में जाओ, कोओपरेटिव बैंक में 200 ₹ के चैक का पैसा मिलेगा, उस पैसे को लेकर फिर लैंड मागज बैंक में जाना पड़ेगा वहां उन्हें कितने ही कम पैसे दिये जाते हैं तो चाहे उनको कितना ही पैसा दे दीजिए, उन को कुछ पता नहीं रहता क्योंकि वे बेचारे अनपढ़ है। तो ऐसे जो नियम हैं वह बन्द होने चाहिए।

गृह मंत्रालय को वहम पर बोलते हुए मैंने बताया था कि हजारों आदिवासियों के पास कच्ची रसीरें बैंक की दी हुई हैं वसूली की हैं, लेकिन अब वह उम की रिफ्यूज कर रहे हैं। और एक जिले में 93 लाख रुपये दिये उम में से 22 लाख ₹ का रिफ्यूजल आया है और वहां के कलक्टर और रजिस्ट्रार कहते हैं कि भाई इन को पैसा मिल ही नहीं सकता, फिर इनके ऊपर पैसा कैसा है? इस को भी देखना चाहिए। यदि नहीं, तो हम जितना भी अच्छा करने जा रहें हैं प्रतिभित लोगों का वह नहीं कर सकते। मैं 50, 60 साल से सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता हूँ और सारा जीवन आदिवासियों के समाज के अन्दर गुजरा है, लेकिन इतना एक्सप्लायटेशन मैं ने पहले कभी नहीं देखा जो आज हो रहा है। और इसका कारण आप के कायदे है। हालांकि हम गरीबों का भला करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन फायदा उन लोगों का नहीं होता।

[श्री मंगह उद्देशे]

शुभ प्राप सिचार्ड विभाग की लीजिए, जहाँ प्रदेश में 9 प्रतिशत जनरल इरीगेशन है वहाँ 0.5 प्रतिशत इरीगेशन प्राविवासियों के इलाके में है। प्राविवासियों के मेरे प्रदेश में 23 जिले हैं जगह जगह सर्वो हो गए हैं, 10 10 साल से पड़े हुए हैं, लेकिन प्राविवासी इलाकों में कोई माइनर एरीगेशन टैक्स का काम नहीं हुआ। भीडियम इरीगेशन स्कीम्स की तो बात दूर रही। हमने गरीब लोगों में बड़ा प्रमत्त फीलता है क्योंकि जो भूमि सिचार्ड सर्वो के अन्दर आ जाती है उस पर वे बेचारे खेती नहीं कर सकते। प्राप बताइये कि वे बेचारे कहा जायेंगे? यह क्या परेशानी है? इस तरह से उनको जमीन आ रही है। तो इरीगेशन का जहाँ सर्वो हुआ है, 10, 10 साल का सर्वो पड़ा हुआ है, बिना मंत्रालय को देखना चाहिये कि प्राविवासी इलाकों के लिये इरीगेशन की कोई स्पेशल स्कीम स्टार्ट की जाय। जितने सर्वो हुए हैं क्यों अभी तक उन पर काम नहीं हुआ है? और 5, 5 साल के सर्वो वाले जो स्थान हैं वहाँ तात्काब क्यों बन गये और 10 साल वाले क्यों नहीं बने? सैटल गवर्नमेंट इस काम के लिये प्रान्तीय सरकार को ज्यादा पैसा देने की व्यवस्था करे ताकि सिचार्ड के साधन प्राविवासी इलाकों में उपलब्ध कराये जा सकें।

इसी तरह में खाद की बात देखिये कि किस तरह में गरीब प्राविवासी उसका उपयोग कर सकते हैं जबकि उनके पास सिचार्ड ही नहीं है? खाः जाता है वह जबरदस्ती दिया जाता है प्राविवासियों को कोटा पूरा करने के लिये दिया जाता है और व्यर्थ में उनके ऊपर कर्जा बढ़ता है। किसी ने धरम डाल दिया तो उसकी फसल जन जानी है क्योंकि सिचार्ड के साधन नहीं है। बैंक से जो पैसा मिलता है, कर्जा दिलाते हैं, जितनी सबसिडी मिलती है उसका कोई सदुपयोग नहीं हो पाता। इसलिये कायदे ऐसे बनाइये, जो भी बन सकते हैं, जिससे प्राविवासियों की रक्षा की जा सके।

तीसरी बात मुझे बह कहानी है कि अलग अलग जगह में अलग अलग लैंड रिफार्म कर रहे हैं बड़े और से क-सीलीडेसन कर रहे हैं, कन्दूर बन्दी कर रहे हैं, लेकिन इस बात को कभी अधिकारी ने ध्यान तक रिपोर्ट में नहीं लिखा है कि गरीब प्राविवासियों का नाम ही नहीं है जमीन के ऊपर। तो न प्राप सीलिंग कर सकते हो, न कन्दूर बन्दी हो सकती है, और न कुछ हो सकता है। न सौयल कन्जर्वेशन का कुछ लाभ मिल सकता है। इसलिये प्राप बताइये कि जब जमीन पर उनका नाम ही नहीं है फिर लैंड रिफार्म का उनको क्या फायदा होगा? नाम ही नहीं है उनका। मेरे प्रदेश में 36 रिवास्तों मर्ज हुईं, सिर्फ 14 पुराने जिले हैं, उन्ही के अन्दर लैंड के कायदे कानून है। बाकी जो रिवास्तों मर्ज हुई हैं उनके अन्दर कुछ नहीं है। कटाव का जगल और जमीन है, कोई रेकांड नहीं है। तो जब तक सैटिलमेंट न हो तब तक प्राविवासियों को भूमि सुधार का कोई लाभ नहीं मिल सकता। और सैटिलमेंट के लिये 10 करोड़ ६० की जरूरत है जो प्रान्तीय सरकार खर्च नहीं कर सकती। इसलिये केन्द्रीय सरकार को धरम प्राविवासियों का कल्याण करना है तो जमीन उनके नाम पर हो जानी चाहिये। वरना जमीन श्रम उनके पास नहीं रहेगी। बड़े बड़े लोग जो अर्क मनी को व्हाइट मनी करने जाते हैं वह क्या करेंगे, मैं नहीं कह सकता। मैं वे बातें प्राप के सामने रख रहा हूँ जो प्राप तक नहीं पहुँचती हैं।

अभी एक हमारे भाई ने जो गुजरात के हैं, नर्मदा का सवाल उठाया। मेरे चुनाव क्षेत्र में नर्मदा पूरब से निकलती है और रश्चिम को पार करती है और जितने एरिया में वह जाती है मध्य प्रदेश के, करीब करीब वह प्राविवासी इलाका है। दो तरफ में दो पहाड़ हैं, एक तरफ मत्तुडा और एक तरफ बिन्ध्य, दोनों पहाड़ों का पानी बह कर नर्मदा में जाता है नतीजा यह होता है कि वह मिट्टी को बहा कर ले जाता है और खाली

मुकम रह जाती है जिस पर आदिवासी भाई कोई और कूटकी लगते हैं।

हरियेसन नहीं हो रहा है, बहा माइनर हरियेसन भी नहीं हो रहा है, लिफ्ट हरियेसन भी नहीं हो रहा है। कुछ भी नहीं हो रहा है। सर्वे हो जाने के बाद भी दस पन्द्रह सालों से प्रोजेक्ट छुटी हुई पड़ी है। सैकेन्ड फाइव इग्रन प्लान में नर्मदा का सर्वे हो गया था लेकिन काम सगरे में पडा हुआ है। जिन का जोर पड़ेगा उसी तरफ वह चली जायेगी। हमारा जोर तो कुछ भी नहीं है। मालूम नहीं, स्टेट गवर्नमेन्ट किम तरह से नर्मदा के बारे में रिपोजैट करती है, लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिस इलाके से नर्मदा 500-600 मील बहती है और सारी मिट्टी बहा कर लाती है, अगर उस आदिवासी इलाके को पानी नहीं मिला तो यह आदिवासियों के साथ बड़ा अन्याय होगा। शायद इसका फ़ैमला प्राइम मिनिस्टर के हाथ में है, लेकिन मेरी यह बात भी प्राइम मिनिस्टर तक जानी चाहिये।

अभी कुछ दिन पहले मैंने चार प्रदेशों में घूमने के बाद आदिवासियों के बारे में कुछ प्वाइंट्स हाई लाइट किये हैं। मैंने प्राइम मिनिस्टर को भी हाइलाइट किये प्वाइंट्स दिये हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ इन सब को प्लानिंग कमिशन के पास भेजा जाये और साथ ही कैबिनेट में उन पर विचार किया जाये। इस तरह से अगर कुछ हो सकता हो तो किया जाये। जो रिपोर्ट है उन से आदिवासियों का कुछ मला होने वाला नहीं है उनका एक्स्प्लायटेशन रकना चाहिए साथ ही और भी छोटी छोटी बीजों की ओर ध्यान दिया जाये जिन में नर्मदा का सगडा भी है जो हम से सम्बन्ध रखता है।

अस के बारे में जो कुछ आप ने किया है वह ठीक ही है। वह बड़ी अच्छी बात की गई है, लेकिन खरीदने से ज्यादा कठिनाई उसको खाने वालों के पास पहुंचाने में आवेगी बास तौर से आदिवासी इलाकों

में आदिवासी लोग मोटा भनाज खाते हैं, वह गेहूं या चावल नहीं खाते। उन इलाकों में चावल या गेहूं पैदा भी नहीं होता। वह लोग सिर्फ कोर्स ग्रेन खाते हैं। इस साल बारिश की गड़बड़ी से वह भी कम हुए हैं। व्यापारियों ने कहा है कि वह 7 मई तक ही कोर्स ग्रेन का धन्दा करेगे। उसके बाद नहीं करेगे इस से आदिवासी इलाकों में कोर्स ग्रेन प्रा नहीं पायेगा। इन आदिवासियों इलाकों में कोई रोडम नहीं है। 15 जून के बाद उन इलाकों में खाने का सामान नहीं पहुंच पायेगा। स्टेट गवर्नमेन्ट को तो जो करना है वह करेगी, लेकिन जब तक सेंद्रल गवर्नमेन्ट इस बात को ध्यान में नहीं रखेगी तब कुछ नहीं हो सकेगा। हो सकता है कि मध्य-प्रदेश गवर्नमेन्ट बहा की डिफिकल्टी को महसूस न कर रही हों, लेकिन एक आदिवासी लोगों का कार्यकर्ता होने के नाते मैं कह सकता हूँ कि यह 80 लाख आदिवासियों की डिफिकल्टी का सवाल है। जो बारिश का समय आने वाला है उसमें वह लोग भूखा मरेगे, वह खत्म हो जायेंगे। कोई उनकी तरफ से बोलने वाला नहीं है, कोई एक्टिवेशन करने वाला नहीं है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि 15 जून को बरसात शुरू होने के पहले ट्रांसपोर्ट के लिए जो दे सकते हैं वह राज्य सरकार को दे दे। मध्य-प्रदेश के गस्तों की हालत बड़ी खराब है। अगर 15 जून के पहले आप बहा पर गल्ला नहीं पहुंचा देंगे तो लाखों आदिवासी कष्ट में पड जायेंगे। ईश्वर करे ऐसा न हो, लेकिन बारिश शुरू होने के बाद किसी का भी पना नहीं चलेगा। वहाँ पर तो सोय पैदल नहीं जा सकते, गाड़ियों में बोरे कैसे पहुंचायेगे इसके ऊपर विल मन्त्री जी को विशेष ध्यान देकर अधिक से अधिक पैसा उन इलाकों में घनन पहुंचाने के लिए ट्रांसपोर्ट पर रखना चाहिए और ऐसा नहीं हुआ तो आदिवासियों का बड़ा नुकसान हो जायेगा।

में अन्त में यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि इन क्षेत्रों में हर एक बात के बारे में कठिनाइयाँ हैं, लेकिन मैं ने मोटी मोटी बातें बतलाई हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय उन पर ध्यान देंगे।

SHRI ARJUN SETHI (Bhadrak):
Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset I would like to support the Finance Bill moved by the hon. Finance Minister in the House.

17.15 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

While speaking on the Bill, in the earlier part of the debate, some members from the Opposition have criticised the Government like anything; they have blamed the Government for its failure; they have said that Government has failed to control the price rise and also to provide food and drinking water to the people. I can say that this is certainly an extreme remark. The Finance Minister, while presenting the Budget in the House, has not overlooked the hard facts, nor has he tried to find any alibi for the Government's failure. But while making such remarks one should understand or one should realise whether he is from the opposition or from the Government side. The main reason for this is that the Government is facing and the country is facing a very serious situation. This is mainly due to the failure of monsoon or due to drought conditions prevailing almost in all parts of the country. We all know and the hon. Members from the opposition know that we have no control over monsoon and it is very difficult to control the

monsoon in a very short period because to control the monsoon or to provide irrigation facilities to all our lands is such a gigantic task that it is not possible within such a short period of 25 years. There are so many big rivers, not small rivers, which require a tremendous investment and without a tremendous investment of money we cannot control and it is not possible on the part of the Government to devote or invest all the amount only on irrigation purpose or to control floods or to fight the drought situation in the country ignoring other developmental projects.

The Finance Minister, while moving the Finance Bill, has reiterated his resolve to bring the economy back towards health and to that end, he has envisaged and taken measures to mobilise additional resources for investment through both direct and indirect taxes. He has also tried to put restraints on public consumption and to encourage private savings. I may only point out that whatever difficulties we are facing today in our country are due to the regional disparity or due to the regional imbalance either in the field of communications or road transport development. In various fields our development programme is not uniform or there are so many areas in our country which are even today inaccessible and there is no road connecting those places and it is not possible either in a car or a jeep to approach those places. That is why it is not possible to move food-grains or food articles to those inaccessible areas in the time of acute need. As a result, we are facing and

[Shri Arjun Sethi]

our people are facing the troubles and problems because the Government is unable to provide them food articles or consumer articles in time. As a result, the problems of these areas are increasing day by day. Such is the case of Maharashtra or Gujarat or Orissa or Bihar today. Everyday we read in the papers that somewhere, either in Maharashtra or in Bihar or Orissa there is some trouble, some riot or something like that. It is due to the fact that either the Government machinery or the officers who are posted on the spot are not able to distribute or provide the food articles in time. That is why the problems of the people are increasing.

While speaking on this regional imbalance, I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Finance Minister to the problems, particularly, of my State of Orissa. Orissa is one of the States in the country where the people are living below poverty-line. To develop this area the State Government submitted a number of projects but the Central Government has put them in cold storage and has not taken any decision. As a result these projects are not implemented and the condition of the people is getting worse. Orissa is rich in mineral resources. To develop this area, the State Government requested the Central Government to develop Malantoli, Sargipally and Sukinda areas where there are abundant mineral resources but Government at the Centre has not taken any measure. Orissa Government every year or almost

every month is urging upon the Central Government about this. They asked for a new railway line running from Jakhapura to these mineral areas. But Government has not taken any measure in this respect.

The Railway Minister in his budget speech said that survey is to be made for assessing traffic potentialities of this area. I would submit that this is not a new line for which survey had to be made afresh. The representatives of people here have been urging the Centre to construct this line which will be of use to adivasis and scheduled caste people living in this area. Government has not taken a decision. I am sorry to say that the Government is trying to blackmail the people of Orissa. What is the need for a fresh survey? Engineering and traffic survey has been conducted already in 1964-65. That will serve the purpose. They should take a decision to implement this rail link construction, so that the people can get the benefit of this infra-structure.

Orissa people are asking for a separate Excise Collectorate. Orissa is the only State in the Union which has not got an Excise Collectorate. Fortunately the Finance Minister is here. He has made special mention about development of backward areas. I request him to look into this request of the people of Orissa and take an early decision in this respect.

Sir, after about three years of functioning as a major port Paradip is being connected with rail link for a

short stretch of 80 kilo metres from Cuttack. This port which was originally designed to have 9 cargo and three iron-ore berths has to remain content with one iron-ore and perhaps one cargo berth at the end of the Fourth Plan period. This port is mainly built for export of iron-ore, but as the areas from where iron-ore is extracted have not been fully developed, the capacity of Paradip port remains idle and the full capacity is not utilised.

In my constituency there is a natural harbour called Dhamara for which the Government of India have already finalised the scheme to develop this harbour as one of the fishing harbours in the country. But I do not know why so much delay is there and no final decision has been taken to implement the scheme which will give relief to the people living in this area.

We are told and the hon. Minister of Industry replied during Question Hour during 1970 and 1972, seven industrial licences have been issued, but no unit has come into existence so far. Therefore, I request the hon. Minister that they should establish a special cell in his Ministry to expedite these industrial licences so that these backward areas can be developed.

Similarly, for the last 10 years we have been hearing that a jute industry is coming up in Orissa—while Mr. Dwivedi was here he tried his level best to materialise this industry—but

yet no decision has been taken. So, I request that this project should be taken up as early as possible so as to solve the problems of Orissa.

श्री रामनारायण शर्मा (धनबाद)

अध्यक्ष महोदय, फिनांस बिल का समर्थन करने हुए मैं चंद महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्नों की ओर सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। हमारे एरिया के लिए, और खास कर धनबाद जिले के लिए, खाद्य के सम्बन्ध में एक सफ्ट पैदा हो गया है। धनबाद में खाद्य का उत्पादन नहीं होता है। कोयला और खाद्य का उत्पादन होता है। वहाँ जो धान की एक फसल का उत्पादन होता है वहाँ की करीब आधी आबादी ही तीन महीने के लिए उम पर निर्भर कर पाती है। क्योंकि वह मांग एरिया छोटा नागपुर के प्लेटों का जो है वह एक ही क्रान प्रोड्रग एरिया है। आज स्थिति ऐसी हो गई है कि वहाँ खाद्य का बिलकुल अभाव हो गया है और राज्य सरकार ने अपना फैसला किया है जिम् फसले के अनुसार छोटा नागपुर और संघाल परगना को एक साथ बाँध दिया है। जो ये 6-7 जिले हैं उम में मे किसी में भी गेहूँ पैदा नहीं होता और वहाँ पर कार्ड रमद पहुँच नहीं पाती है। व्यापारी लोग जो लुक छिपकर के पहले में ग्राहक रखे हुए हैं जिन के गेहूँ में उस स्टाक को लिया नहीं गया वह 200 रुपये क्विन्टल आज बेच रहे हैं। यह इतना महत्वपूर्ण विषय है और मैं चाहूँगा कि सरकार ऊपर विशेष ध्यान दे। यह एरिया मदा में डेफिसिट एरिया रहा है और बराबर खाद्यान्न का कोटा भारत सरकार सीधे देती रही है।

[श्री रामनाराण शर्मा]

लेकिन अभी ऐसी स्थिति उपस्थित हो गई है कि भारत सरकार राज्य सरकार को देती है और राज्य सरकार ने उस तरह का प्रतिबन्ध लगा रखा है जिस के द्वारा वहां पर खाद्यान्न पहुंचना बहुत ही कठिन हो गया है। जब द्वितीय महा युद्ध चल रहा था भारत सरकार ने सीधे वहां गल्ला देने की व्यवस्था की थी और वह व्यवस्था 1956 तक चलती थी। सारी कोलीयरी वाल गल्ला देते थे। अभी स्टील और खान मंत्री जब पिछले महीने दौरे पर गये हुए थे तो उनके सामने सारे लोगों ने यह बतलाया कि अगर कोई विशेष व्यवस्था नहीं हो पाती है तो अन्त में उन सब लोगों को उस स्थान को छोड़कर चलेके जाना होगा। आज यह स्थिति है कि आप हर रोज यहां सुनते हैं कि कोयले की कमी हो गई है। तो कोयला काटने वाले जां है उन को खाना नहीं मिलेगा तो वह कोयला काटेंगे कहां से और अधिक कोयला मिल कहां से जायेगा ? तो यह ऐसी स्थिति वहां है जिम की तरफ मैं सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं और भारत सरकार से आग्रह करूंगा कि उस के ऊपर विशेष ध्यान दे कर इस चीज को देखे ऐसे औद्योगिक क्षेत्रों की ओर सरकार विशेष ध्यान दे जिन का सीधा सम्बन्ध भारत सरकार से है क्योंकि अगर नहीं ध्यान दिया गया तो वहां फाटिलाइजर उत्पादन होता है सिन्द्री में या कोयला उत्पादन होता है धनबाद और हजारी बाग में या बोकारो में लोहा उत्पादन होता है ये सारे देश में सारे ठप पड़ जाने वाले हैं।

जहां तक कोयले के उत्पादन का संबंध है, एक और बहुत बड़ा फ़ैक्टर उस में है, और वह है बिजली की कमी, वहां लोड शेडिंग सरकार कबूल करती हैं कि 20 परसेंट तक होता है। लेकिन इससे अधिक मात्रा में ही होता है और इस की वजह से ही उत्पादन गिरा है और अभी तो दामोदर वैली जो कोयला खानों को 575

मेगावाट बिजली देती थी, उस ने 225 मेगावाट देना शुरू कर दिया है। ऐसी हालत में 575 मेगावाट जिन की खपत थी उन को यदि 225 मेगावाट बिजली दी जायेगी। तो आधे से अधिक बल्कि 60 प्रतिशत उन की शक्ति क्षय हो चुकी है और उनमें भी लोड शेडिंग का कोई समय निर्धारित नहीं है। जब चाहते हैं तभी बन्द कर देते हैं जिस की वजह से बहुत से लोगों को आनो जिन्दगी में नये नये अनुभव करने पड़ रहे हैं। आप को पता होगा कि ये कोयला खदानें बिहार के धनबाद और हजारीबाग जिलों में लगभग 700 की संख्या में है। इन 700 खदानों में अधिकतर लिफ्ट से काम होता है। 1 हजार फुट, 1500 फुट नीचे जाते हैं। तो कभीकभी तो बिजली ऐसे बन्द हो जाती है कि वह बीच में ही त्रिशंकु की तरह लटके हुए रह जाते हैं। न ऊपर रहते हैं न नीचे रहते हैं। इस लोडशेडिंग से सारे इम्प्लीमेंट्स डैमेज हो रहे हैं और उसका फल बहुत ही भयावह सारे उद्योग पर पड़ने जा रहा है। दामोदर वैली कारपोरेशन जिस की कैपेसिटी 1061 मेगावाट बिजली पैदा करने की है वह 600 मेगावाट बिजली पैदा करती थी और अभी उसकी कैपेसिटी सवा दो सौ मेगावाट की हो गई है। तो ऐसी हालत में सरकार को चाहिए कि वह इसका जांच करे कि क्या कारण है कि यह उत्पादन 6 सौ मेगावाट से सवा सौ मेगावाट हो गया है जिम का असर वहां के सारे उद्योग पर पड़ रहा है। डी वी सी का ऐक्ट यह भी प्रोवाइड करता है कि उनकी एरिया में कोई दूसरे प्लांट का इन्स्टालेशन भी नहीं कर सकता। यह भी पावर उन्होंने ले रखी है जिस से कि राज्य सरकार या कोई और बीच में आना चाहे तो वह भी नहीं आ सकते हैं। भारत सरकार के सामने टेनूराट का भी प्रोपोजल

है 400 मेगावाट बिजली तैयार करने का लेकिन उसका भी सौंक्षण अभी तक नहीं हुआ है। समूचे पूर्वी क्षेत्र के लिए कटिहार से एक बर्मील पावर स्टेशन को देने की बात थी। वह भी नहीं हो पा रहा है। उसका भी फौसला धाज तक सरकार ने नहीं किया और इस तरह से धाय अग्रर देखेंगे तो सारे बिहार का जो एलेक्ट्रिसिटी का कन्जम्पशन है वह देश का जो एवरेज है उस का धाधा है। ऐसी हालत में जहा हमें रीजनल इन्वैलेसज को खत्म करना है, उस दिशा से सरकार के जो प्रोपोजल्स है उस में भी कुछ नहीं नजर आता है और राज्य सरकार ने जो कुछ प्रस्ताव रखा है उन सारे प्रस्तावों की तरफ भी सरकार का ध्यान नहीं गया है। तो मैं यह चाहूंगा कि डी० वी० सी० के कानून का समोधन करके डी० वी० सी० से वह अक्षय्यारात ले लिए जाय। डी० वी० सी० के द्वारा बिहार को पानी भी देने की बात थी। वह पानी भी सिंचाई के लिए नहीं देता है, बिजली का भी जो क्वाटम होगा चाहिए था वह नहीं देता है। डी० वी० सी० का 1964 का फौसला था कि उस का हेडक्वार्टर शिफ्ट करके मैथन में ले जाएंगे। लेकिन वह कलकत्ता छोड़ना नहीं चाहते क्यों कि वह बहुत आकर्षक शहर है। इस तरह से धाय देखेंगे कि बिजली के मामले में जो परिस्थित डी वी सी ने पैदा करके रखी ह उसने सारे बिहार को इस तरह की तरह द में दिया है। नार्थ बिहार को देखें जिस का डेमिटी धाय पम्पुनेशन पर स्वचायर मण्डल हिन्दुस्तान में सब से ज्यादा है वहा, पर-कैपिटल कन्जम्पशन 10 यूनिट है। लोयस्ट इन दि कन्ट्री है। इन तरह की स्थिति है। मैं सरकार का ध्यान उस तरफ दिवाना चाहता हूँ कि वह तारकालिक मामला है, सारे कोयला उद्योग को बिजली नहीं मिलती, कोयला नहीं पैदा होता तो मजदूरों को रोटो नहीं मिलती। उनी तरह से वहा के मजदूरों के सामने पोने के पानी का समस्या है। पानी की व्यवस्था के लिए जो टेनुवाट को स्कीम है उसके

ऊपर अभी तक सरकार की ओरसे कोई कदम नहीं उठाया गया है। ऐसी हालत में जब तक उद्योग में लगे हुए लोगों की समस्याएं दूर नहीं होंगी, ऐसे क्षेत्र में जिनको रूदुर धाय इडिया समझा जाता है तो वह सारे उद्योगों को पीट हो जाएंगे।

एक विषय पर मैं सरकार का ध्यान और आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ वह है टेलीफोन की व्यवस्था। कोल फोल्डम का दावा है कि वे टेलीफोन डिपार्टमेंट को अधिक से अधिक रेवेन्यू देते हैं बरिफ यहा तक उका बाबा है कि बड़े बड़े शहरों में भी अधिक रेवेन्यू देते हैं। लेकिन इन तरह को वहा व्यवस्था है, इस तरह का वहा प्रबन्ध ह, इस तरह की बर्किग है, और मशीन इतनी पुरानी हो गई है कि वह काम नहीं करती तथा उनका हैंडिल करने वालों जो ह्यूमन मगान है वह भा इम तरह की है कि बिना कुछ लिए हुए कुछ करते नहीं है यदि धाम इन्वैयगे के लिए टेलीफोन कोजिए न, वहा से जबाब नहीं देते है, कम्प्लेन्ट के लिए काजिए तो कोई अटेंड नहीं करता है, असिस्टेन्स के लिए करिए तो कोई बात नहा करता है। सारी व्यवस्था इस तरह से गडबड चलती है जिसकी ओर मैं सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ और मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार वहा के लोगों को राहत पहुंचाने के लिए इन आवश्यक चीजों पर तुरन्त ध्यान दे और ध्यान देकर राहत पहुंचाए।

इन शब्दों के माय मैं इन बिज का समर्थन करता हूँ।

डा० गोविन्द दास रिडारिया (भासी) : अध्यक्ष जी, मैं बड़ा धाधारी हूँ कि धायने इन महत्वपूर्ण बिज विधेयक के ऊपर बोलने का मुझे समय दिया। मैं बिज विधेयक का समर्थन करते हुए कुछ धानुरोध साननीय

[डा० गोविन्द दास रिठारिया]

मन्त्री जी से करना चाहता हूँ। जहाँ हम लोग समझते हैं कि बंगला देश को लडाई में भारतवर्ष की जो अर्थ-व्यवस्था का जो परीक्षा हुई थी उसमें भारतवर्ष की अर्थ-व्यवस्था पास हुई थी, शर्थाधिकारी का इनका बड़ा बोझ और इनकी बड़ी लडाई उसमें बड़ी मजबूती के साथ बड़ी अच्छी तरह से हमारे देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था पास हुई थी लेकिन वहाँ हम यह भी मानते हैं कि जब दौरो विपत्ति आती है, जब दौरो हमला आता तो उसमें हमारे देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था उसका मुकाबला करने में अपनी अच्छी माबित नहीं होती जितनी कि मनुष्यों द्वारा पैदा हुई विपत्ति में या लडाई में खरी उतरती है। भारतवर्ष में हम वर्षों जो देश विपत्ति आई है सूखे के रूप से उसमें निश्चित तौर से कुछ चीजें हमारे सामने आई हैं। आज मारा देश बिजली की कमी से बिजला की कटौती में पीड़ित है। उसको वजह से निश्चित तौर से मेरा निवेदन है कि माननीय जित-मन्त्री जी से कि हमारा जो योजनाओं की प्राथमिकताये हैं हम उन वर्ष में अग्रणी पंचवर्षीय योजना बनाने जा रहे हैं तो पिछली चार योजनाओं से मूने तो नहीं परन्तु प्राथमिकताये निश्चित करने के ऊपर जा हमने गौर नहीं किया और उसके कारण जो सूखे से जा हम पर आज विपत्तिया आई हैं उसको देखते हुए निश्चित तौर से प्राथमिकताओं को बदलने की हम आवश्यकता समझते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि राष्ट्र की रक्षा के बाद अग्ररकिली चीज को महत्व देने की आवश्यकता है तो वह महत्व बिजली उत्पादन को और सिंचाई को मिलना चाहिए।

बिजली उत्पादन और सिंचाई को प्राथमिकता देने के साथ साथ कुछ ऐसी चीजें इसके साथ जुड़ी हुई हैं जिनको कह देना मैं उचित समझता हूँ। जहाँ तक सिंचाई का सम्बन्ध है, हम आये दिन सुनते हैं कि देश में बहुत सारी ऐसी नदियाँ हैं, अभी

हमारे साथी कह रहे थे कि नर्मदा नहीं बहती है, दस वर्षों से विवाद चल रहा है, उसी प्रकार से और भी नदियाँ हैं जो कि दो या उससे अधिक प्रदेशों से होकर बहती हैं, वह नदियाँ बहती रहती हैं, प्रदेश लड़ते रहते हैं और उनके किनारे को जमीन सूखा रहती है। इसलिए आज हम बात की अत्यन्त आवश्यकता है कि हम अपने विधान में परिवर्तन करे ताकि जा नदियाँ दो या उससे अधिक प्रदेशों से होकर बहती हैं उनके ऊपर निश्चित तौर से केन्द्र का अधिकार हो। वैसे तो सारा जल राष्ट्र की सम्पत्ति है लेकिन अग्रर इतनी शांतिशांति उसको न कर सके ता यह करना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि जा नदियाँ दो या उसमें अधिक प्रदेशों से होकर बहती उन पर केन्द्र का अधिकार हो जाए और वहाँ पर याजनार्य बनाकर जो भी बिजली या पानी हो उसका प्रदेशों में बटवारा कर दिया जाय ताकि जो प्राकृतिक सम्पत्ति बह रही है और जमीन सूखी है तथा उन नदियों को लेकर प्रदेशों में झगड़े हैं वह सब सब हटा जाए।

इनके अतिरिक्त जहाँ तक बिजली उत्पादन का सम्बन्ध है, उसका प्राथमिकता देने के साथ साथ उसमें कुछ परिवर्तन करने की भी आवश्यकता है। आज तीन तरीके से जो बिजली पैदा की जाती है उसमें एटामिक पावर पर ज्यादा जोर देने की आवश्यकता है। अर्धन पावर के स्टेशन ऐसी जगहों पर बनाए जाएँ जहाँ पर कोयला पैदा होता है। उन जगहों पर आप तीन सौ या चार सौ मेगावाट के प्लांट लगाकर बिजली पैदा करे और उनका एक थिड बनाकर के सारे देश को बिजला दे। इसी प्रकार से आप एटामिक पावर से भी बिजली पैदा करे और सारे देश को बिजली सप्लाई करे। जल विद्युत भी जो आप पैदा करते हैं वह भी ऐसी नदियों से पैदा

की जाये जिनमें सर्वेस पायी रहता है। आज यहाँ पर आसाम के साथी तह रहे थे कि ब्रह्मपुत्र की बाढ़ से आसाम पीड़ित रहता है। यदि हम उस बाढ़ के पानी को रोक कर उससे बिजली पैदा कर सकें तो उससे बाढ़ का भी नियन्त्रण होगा तथा बिजली भी पैदा होगी और वह बिजली हम सारे देश में भेज सकेंगे। इसी प्रकार से गंगा यमुना जहा से निकलती है, हिमालय पर्वत से, वहाँ पर बड़े बड़े कारखाने लगाकर बिजली पैदा की जाये ताकि एक ओर बाढ़ का भी नियन्त्रण हो सके और दूसरी ओर अधिक बिजली पैदा करके सारे देश को दी जा सके।

इसी तरह में एक और चीज है जिसपर योजना आयोग को विशेष रूप से ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। योजना बनते समय पछली चार योजनाओं में कुछ भी हुआ हो लेकिन पाचवी योजना में कुछ मूलभूत सिद्धान्तों में परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता है। आज प्रायः दिन इस बात पर बहस होती है और यह समझा जाता है जो सही भी है कि पिछली चार योजनाओं में हमारे देश के कुछ क्षेत्र पीछे रह गए तथा कुछ क्षेत्र आगे बढ़ गये। निश्चित तौर से मैं समझता हूँ कि आपके गए के बटवारे का जो सिद्धान्त है उसमें कहीं न कहीं दोष है।

मेरी यह राय है कि आप का जो बटवारा हो उस के दो तर्क हो। कुछ योजनाएँ मनुष्य से संबंधित होती हैं, कुछ योजनाएँ पृथ्वी से संबंधित होती हैं। आप यह निश्चित सिद्धान्त रखे कि आबादी के आधार पर और जमीन के रकब के आधार पर पैसे की बटवारा होगा जिन योजनाओं का सम्बन्ध मनुष्य से है, समाज कल्याण योजना, शिक्षा योजना, स्वास्थ्य योजना तथा अन्य इस तरह की योजना जो मनुष्य से संबंधित हैं उन का पैसा आबादी के आधार पर बाँटा जाय। इसी तरह से जो योजनाएँ पृथ्वी से सम्बन्ध रखती हैं, सिंचाई योजना, ऊर्जा योजना या जमीन के रकब से

सम्बन्ध रखती हैं, जितना रकबा थाप का, वेली के अन्दर जिस प्रदेश में हो उस की उसी रकब के हिसाब से वेली और सिंचाई का पैसा दें। निश्चित तौर से जो आप की अनुमानता है, जिस को चार योजनाओं से दूर नहीं कर पाये हैं, वह अनुमानता दूर हो सकती है अगर यह निश्चित सिद्धान्त आप योजना आयोग में या भारत सरकार द्वारा कार्यान्वित करवा दें।

इसी तरह से जो पैसा प्रदेशों में जाता है आप आदेश दे, जैसा आप का सिद्धान्त है, कि योजनाएँ जिले में बनती चाहिए तो इस आधार पर पैसे का बटवारा कर के प्रदेशों को यह आदेश हो कि वह जिलों तक इसी आधार पर पैसा बटवाये। जमीन में सर्वाधिक योजनाओं को रोकने के आधार पर और मनुष्य से सर्वाधिक आबादी के आधार पर पैसा हर प्रदेश जिले तक बाँटे तो प्रदेश के अन्दर भी जो अनुमानताएँ हैं, या कुछ क्षेत्र ऐसे आ गये हैं जो पीछड़े हुए हैं, उन को भी तरक्की होगी, ऐसा मैं समझता हूँ। ता आपकी योजना में ऐसा परिवर्तन होना चाहिए, और इस वर्ष जो आप पाचवी योजना बना रहे हैं उम में आप निश्चित तौर से परिवर्तन करने की रुपा करेंगे।

इसी तरह में सब में बड़ी चीज जो आप को करनी है, जो इन मारी चीजों में महत्वपूर्ण है वह यह कि आगने लोकतन्त्र के आधार पर मानव को समाजवाद तक पहुँचाने का बहुत बड़ा सक्ल्प लिया है, और मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ कि संसार में जब पृथ्वी में कायम हुई है तब से ऐसा महान प्रयोग आज तक संसार में कहीं नहीं किया गया। लेकिन आप के पास जहा देश की रक्षा के लिये एक फ़ौज है वही पर निर्माण के लिये या बाजारों को चलाने के लिये या देश की तरक्की के लिये या योजनाओं को लोकतन्त्र के आधार पर समाजवाद तक पहुँचाने के लिये एक दूसरी फ़ौज है। ये दोनों फ़ौजें भारत सरकार के अन्तर्गत काय करती हैं। एक फ़ौज खून बहाती है और जब नौका

[डा० बीजिन्द दास रिछारिया]

पहा युद्ध का तो आप की फौज ने खून बहा कर बलिदान दिया जिस से आप का मस्तक ऊंचा हुआ इस फौज के कारण । वहीं पर दूसरी फौज है जो लोक सभा से लेकर गांव मभा तक फौजी है, आज सारा देश जानना है की आप यह फौज निष्ठावान नहीं है समाजवाद के प्रति यह जो दूसरी फौज है जिसे सरकारी कर्मचारियों की फौज कहते हैं, मेरा कहना यह नहीं है कि आप के सारे सरकारी कर्मचारी निष्ठावान नहीं है, मैं यह नहीं कहना हू कि आप के सारे के सारे कर्मचारी खराब हैं, लेकिन यह निश्चित सत्य है कि जितनी अच्छी आप की योजनाएं बनती है उन को कार्यान्वित करने वाली फौज की लोकतन्त्र के प्रति समाजवाद के प्रति निष्ठा न होने के कारण, जितना अच्छा स्वरूप हम ममाने हैं, जितना अच्छा आप चाहते हैं, प्रान्तीय सरकारें चाहती हैं, आप की जिन की धनियन चाहती हैं उनना अच्छा स्वरूप उन योजनाओं का नहीं रह जाता है ।

आप ने बहुत अच्छा काम किया है अभी गल्ले का राष्ट्रीयकरण । कितनी अच्छी योजना है । जितनी उम का स्वरूप क्या है जिलों में जिला स्तर पर यह अभी भावप्य मे है, और उस के प्रति बड़ी बड़ी शक़ायें है इसलिये कि जो सरकारी कर्मचारी है उस पर उन की निष्ठा देश के निर्माण के प्रति और खामतौर से लोकतन्त्र के प्रति समाजवाद लाने के प्रति, अच्छी नहीं है । इसलिए जहा आप नमान परिवर्तन करते हैं, तथा संशोधन लाते हैं विधान में एक महत्वपूर्ण संशोधन लाने की आवश्यकता है कि आप की यह जो मशीनरी है यह कमिटेड हो, समाजवाद के प्रति इस की व्यवस्था हो । कोई इस तरह का परिवर्तन लायें कि आप परीक्षा कर सके हर व्यक्ति की कि वह देश मे समाजवाद लाने के लिये, निर्माण करने के लिये उस की निष्ठा ठीक है या नहीं ? तब तब उस को अपने वहाँ स्थान दें । जब आप इस तरह से फौज को तैयार करेंगे तभी सफलता आप को अच्छी मिल सकेगी ।

एक बात मैं उद्योगों के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हू । आप के जितने भी उद्योग चल रहे हैं इस देश में, जितने भी सरकारी उद्योग है, भाये दिन यह शक़ायें रहती है कि उन मे नुकसान होता है, घाटा होता है । जब समाज वाद का हमारा मिद्धान्त है तो निश्चित तौर मे सारे उद्योगों का राष्ट्रीयकरण करना चाहिए । अगर अभी नहीं करते तो भागें चल कर करना पड़ेगा । जितने भी उद्योग हमारे हैं उन मे घाटा होता है तब यह सोचना पडता है, या मुकाबले में उठना पडता है कि कौन सा रास्ता हो ? मैं समझता हू कि जो काम करने वाले मजदूर हैं उन की हिस्सेदारी बनाये प्रशासन मे और मुनाफे मे । जब हम प्रशासन में और मुनाफे मे उन को हिस्सेदार बनायेगे तो उन को मालूम होगा कि जहा देश स्वनन्त्र हुआ है वहा हम को अपने इस उद्योग से भी ऐसी का अधिकार मिला है और हम को इस में समानता मिली है । प्रशासन और मुनाफे में अधिकार मिलने से मैं समझता हू कि निश्चित तौर मे उद्योग की उत्पादन क्षमता बढ़ेगी, उद्योग का मुनाफा बढ़ेगा और अच्छा काम होगा ।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं वित्त विधेयक का समर्थन करता हू और आभारी हू कि आप ने मुझे इतना समय दिया ।

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I will not allow it to go on record. This is not the way to get up and raise it during the debate.

श्री राम सहाय पांडे (राजनदगाव) : अध्यक्ष जी, मैं वित्त विधेयक का समर्थन करता हू । दुर्भाग्य से यह वर्ष अभाव का वर्ष है । कुछ प्रकृति भी हम से नाराज है कुछ व्यवस्थाओं के चेरे में भी हम घा पडे हैं । वेने जिन परिस्थितियों में आप वित्त मंत्री की हैसियत से, और आप का मंत्रालय काम कर रहा है उस का प्रहसास कर सकता हू, अनुभव कर सकता हू कि कितना कठिन काम और कितने दायित्व के साथ इस कठिन काम का निर्वाह करना

पड़ रहा है, विशेषकर जब अभाव का वर्ष है। कहीं भी दृष्टि डालिये, बिजली, पावर, पानी, सिंचाई, भनाज सीमेंट, लोहा, कोई ऐसी प्रावश्यक सामग्री नहीं है जो घासानी से उपलब्ध होती हो। और इसी का कारण है इस का प्रतिबिम्ब हमारे समाज के उस सर्वहारा समाज पर पड़ता है जिस के पास पहले भी कुछ नहीं था और इस अभाव के कारण और पिस गया। मैं सोचता हूँ कि बहुत बम्बी यह बहस होती है और प्रायः दो महीने लगातार सभी मंत्रालय अपनी अपनी भांसे ले कर आते हैं, धूम फिर कर पिसा, धूम फिर कर न्यूक्लीयस, केन्द्र बिन्दू वित्त मंत्रालय बनता है। मैं सोचता हूँ कि क्या करेगा, वित्त मंत्रालय कोई चमत्कार नहीं कर सकेगा क्यों कि जब तक उत्पादन की स्थिति इस देश में अच्छी नहीं होती तब तक कुछ नहीं हो सकता। आज इस देश में वैसी राजनीतिक चेतना, पोलिटिकल कांसेन्स, पैदा होती है, मैं नहीं समझता कि वैसी आर्थिक चेतना, एकनामिक कांसेन्स, पैदा हुई है। इस में मंत्रालय आ गये, प्रदेश सरकारें आ गईं, हमारी तमाम कार्यपालिका आ गई। मैं नहीं समझता कि यदि हम उत्पादन की दिशा में क्षमता, कल्पना, दूर-दर्शिता और शक्ति के साथ बढ़ते तो यह दिन हम को देखने को मिलता। हम ने पानी और बिजली पैदा करने का प्रावधान किया। हम यह बात भूल गये कि यदि वर्षा न हुई तो जो हमारी स्टेटस गवर्नमेंटस के हाइड्रोलिक पावर के कमिटेमेंट हैं उस को हम कैसे जेनरेट कर सकेंगे। साथ ही बर्मल पावर पिट-हेडस पर नहीं बनी। इन कारणों से हमारे देश में बिजली का अभाव सामने आ रहा है।

18 hrs.

HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSIONS FERTILIZER MANUFACTURING UNITS

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब आप अपने दिन अपना आषण जारी रखियेगा। इस के बाद हम हाफ-एन-आवर डिस्कशन लेने।

बी ई० बी० बिच्च पाठिक (कोपरगांव) :

अध्यक्ष महोदय, 10 महीने के प्रथम संख्या 695 के सम्बन्ध में जो कृषि मंत्रालय पर रखे गये हैं उन से पता चलता है कि जो हमारा फर्टिलाइजर प्रोडक्शन है, चाहे वह पब्लिक सेक्टर में हो चाहे प्राइवेट सेक्टर में हो, जितनी इन्स्टाल्ड कैपसिटी है उस से बहुत कम हो रहा है। नाइट्रोजन की इन्स्टाल्ड कैपसिटी 8,24,000 टन है और उत्पादन 4,47,000 टन है, फास्फेट की इन्स्टाल्ड कैपसिटी 1,84,000 टन है और उत्पादन 1,03,000 टन है। यह तो पब्लिक सेक्टर का हाल है, प्राइवेट सेक्टर को भी देखिये। नाइट्रोजन की इन्स्टाल्ड कैपसिटी 6,40,000 टन है और उत्पादन 3,16,000 टन है। इसी तरह से फास्फेट की इन्स्टाल्ड कैपसिटी 3,15,000 टन है और उत्पादन 1,93,000 टन है। इस से पता चलता है कि हमारी इन्स्टाल्ड कैपसिटी ज्यादा होती है और उत्पादन कम होता है, ज्यादा से ज्यादा 50 या 60 फीसदी होता है।

अगर आप मद्रास फर्टिलाइजर्स लिमिटेड के आंकड़ों को देखें तो पता लगेगा कि जो लाइसेंस या इन्स्टाल्ड कैपसिटी है और जो उत्पादन है उस में बहुत फर्क है। अमोनिया की इन्स्टाल्ड कैपसिटी 2,47,000 टन है और उत्पादन कुल 61,000 टन के लगभग है। यूरिया की इन्स्टाल्ड कैपसिटी 2,92,000 टन है और उस का प्रोडक्शन 66,000 टन के लगभग है। इसी तरह से एन पी के की इन्स्टाल्ड कैपसिटी 4,55,000 टन है और उस का प्रोडक्शन कुल 67,000 टन के करीब है। इस तरह से पता लगता है कि चाहे पब्लिक सेक्टर हो चाहे प्राइवेट सेक्टर हो, उस का उत्पादन बहुत कम है।

जब कभी उत्पादन कम होने की बात आती है तो उस क बहुत से रीजन बताते दिखे जाते हैं जैसे कि पावर शॉर्टेज है या इन्वियमेंट ठीक नहीं है। आप किसी की डिफाईमेंट को ले लें और देखें कि उत्पादन कम हुआ है या नहीं। हर एक डिफाईमेंट