

18, 1968, Government had decided upon certain relaxations in the original orders in regard to the action against the employees who had participated in the strike of September 19, 1968. Some more relaxations were announced on January 7, 1969. Government have considered the question of further liberalisation, and have now decided that except where there is a complaint of violence, intimidations or active instigation, the employees still under suspension would be permitted to rejoin duty. Liability to appropriate disciplinary action under the Service Rules would continue in cases in which there is conviction for an offence other than one under section 4 of the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance, 1968/Act, namely, for more absence from duty.

A careful scrutiny will be made of the pending prosecution cases and in cases in which there is not sufficient evidence steps would be taken with a view to termination of the legal proceedings according to law.

A number of temporary employees had been discharged on giving them a month's pay in lieu of notice. The relaxations announced at the beginning of January had provided that such of these employees whose part in the strike was limited to absence from duty on September 19, 1968 and whose services had been terminated consequent to their arrest or prosecution for an offence only under section 4 of the Ordinance would be reinstated after factual verification. Steps would be taken to ensure that these relaxations are implemented fully and expeditiously so that the order of termination would remain only cases in which there were stronger grounds for action.

The cases of employees who have been placed under suspension in connection only with disciplinary proceeding would be dealt with on the same liberalised principles as employees who have been prosecuted, and re-instatement ordered accordingly.

Government trust that the liberal spirit in which they have taken these decisions would be reciprocated by the employees through devoted and disciplined service.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY (Kendrapara) : What about those Unions which had been de-recognised ?

MR. SPEAKER : Evidently, he has nothing to say on that.

श्री रवि राय (पुरी) : इसके साथ ही प्रायः रिक्निशन भी दे दीजिए । डिक्निशन को वापिस कर लीजिए उदार नीति अपनाइये ।

SHRI NATH PAI (Rajapur) : Kindly ask him whether there is any reply. What is the policy with regard to restitution of their recognition, because it was withdrawn as a result of participation ?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : One clarification.

MR. SPEAKER : If I allow one, one will come from everybody else.

SHRI NATH PAI : He is willing provided you permit him.

MR. SPEAKER : I have no objection—He is not willing.

SHRI S. KUNDU (Balasore) : Kindly find some time for a discussion. This is a very important matter.

MR. SPEAKER : That is a different matter.

11.38 hrs.

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—Contd.

MR. SPEAKER : The House will now resume further discussion of the General Budget for 1969-70. Shri Sudarsanam may continue his speech.

SHRI M. SUDARSANAM (Narasaraopet) : Mr. Speaker, the budget should have a tremendous impact on the economy of the country. At the outset, I congratulate our Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister on his very straight forward and realistic analysis of the economic situation and also for the tax reliefs he has provided in export and excise-duties. So also proposals regarding continuation of development rebate and amortisation of preliminary expenses are salutary features.

[Shri M. Sundarsanam]

There is also the other side of the coin. For instance, there is increase in tax on personal incomes yielding a revenue of 17.30 crores. This will certainly hit the middle classes who are the major clients for equities. Proposals regarding personal taxation and excise duties will hit the saving capacity of the middle class and will affect development performance of the economy in 1969-70.

I am aware that there has been some rise in the share prices recently and also subsequent to the presentation of the Budget. But this rise should not be taken as reflecting's basic improvement in the savings capacity of the people. This rise is due to purchases of equities by financial institution. If adequate savings are not available, capital Market will remain starved of funds. For the past six years the capital market has been in a severely depressed condition. Capital raised by companies against consensus in the private sector by the issue of equities, preference shares and debentures had declined from Rs. 102.06 crores in 1965-66 to Rs. 84.8 crores in 1967-68 and only Rs. 56.1 crores in 1968-69. The slackness in the capital market was due to the fall in the savings rate on the one hand and the lower rate of dividend paid by companies on the other. It was therefore expected that the budget for 1969-70 would improve the dividend paying capacity of companies by reducing the burden of company taxation. But the tax measures contained in the budget will depress savings further and will not in any way improve the capacity of companies to pay dividends. It, therefore, appears unlikely that the capital market would revive and provide the companies with larger funds for investment, even though the budget extends tax-exempted dividend from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. Coming to corporate taxation, lasting improvement in the capital market cannot come about so long as the aggregate burden of income tax and surtax on public limited companies remains as high as 66.25 per cent. In the developing countries ours is the highest taxed; nowhere among the ninety developing countries do have this high taxation. In many developing countries to corporate sector is not taxed beyond fifty per cent. With the result, this leaves little with the

companies for expansion. To provide a real fillip to investment in equities, it is necessary to bring down the incidence of corporate tax and withdraw the proposal for increase in the incidence of personal tax at middle income level.

The demand generated by larger outlays on the Plan may to some extent improve conditions in private sector industries. But expansion of capacity may not be fast enough because there is no propitious climate for investment of adequate risk capital. The incentives like amortization over a period of ten years for promotional expenses which are not at present eligible for depreciation allowance are too insignificant to go a long way. It cannot, therefore be expected that the budget will stimulate investment activity all round.

The budget speech underlines the importance of exports. In spite of the recent increase in exports, only two thirds of our import requirements are financed from export earnings. The foreign loans have actually shown a decline and debt servicing will also be higher. This emphasises the need for stimulating exports to the extent possible. The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance has endeavoured to do this by this by reducing export duties on items like jute hessian and sackings, tea, degreased raw wool and mica. But the reduction provided for is both inadequate and does not cover the necessary range of items. To compete in the world markets and to remove the present glut in unmanufactured tobacco, it is very essential that the export duty on tobacco is abolished or considerably reduced. The export duty was introduced when the rupee was devalued and U. K. is our importer. Now U. K. has devalued sterling but still the export duty on tobacco continues in the same old way. A barter deal had recently been arranged through a company at Bombay for the import of some chemicals in exchange for our unmanufactured tobacco. But nothing has cropped up. There is a tremendous glut in this, and it is going to affect the economy to a great extent. The tobacco exports are to the value of about Rs. 35 crores in foreign exchange in a small place, Guntur and this would be deprived this year of its potentialities unless the Government of India

comes to the rescue by accommodating barter deal for real shippers instead of leaving it to speculators. This is urgently required, and the STC can also get into this field and they can deal with the barter and clear off the heavy stock of tobacco which has accumulated and is lying in the tobacco world.

It is equally necessary to stimulate exports of non-traditional items. Although the provision in respect of market development fund has been increased by Rs. 10 crores, no special incentives have been devised for making such exports attractive and remunerative. There was also clear need for providing fiscal incentives for import substitution.

The investment in the Central Government industrial and commercial enterprises which number over 80 is now of the order of Rs. 3,500 crores. 55 undertakings are in working condition. During 1967-68, 31 of these enterprises showed a net profit of Rs. 48 crores and the other 24 a net loss of Rs. 83 crores. There was thus an overall loss of Rs. 35 crores after providing for depreciation. The losses incurred were mainly by Hindustan Steel, Heavy Engineering Corporation, Bharat Heavy Electricals, Heavy Electricals, Ltd., and Mining and Allied Machinery Corporation. The loss in business operations underlines the need for more efficient use of these vast resources. Government have initiated some measures, but these are half-hearted. I suggest that the best people from the private sector or of public sector should be chosen for the management of these concerns and the top executives must have some discretionary powers. They must also be entitled to some commission as an incentive; otherwise, they cannot really work for the betterment of the institutes.

It is essential that Government urgently undertake the task of improving efficiency in the working of these enterprises which can be a potential source of resources for the Plan. Even a 10 per cent return would ensure an annual income of Rs. 350 crores.

Government should come forward with such additional relief as may be called for to enable continuous increases in exports of both traditional and non-traditional industries.

As regards levy of 4 per cent tax on registered firms on incomes between Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 25,000 a number of expert bodies have expressed themselves against tax on registered firms. This tax should be removed as it amounts to double taxation of income.

The decision to continue development rebate and to treat textile and jute industries as priority industries for this purpose is welcome. It is, however, necessary that the rate of development rebate is not reduced after 31-3-70 because it may not be possible to instal new machinery by that specified date. I further suggest that these industries should also be treated as priority industries for tax purposes.

The proposal to allow amortisation of capital expenditure, not qualifying at present for depreciation allowance or any other deduction against business profits will gain significance only when it is provided that all preliminary as well as pre-operational expenses qualify for amortisation.

I am personally of the view that it will be against the spirit of Hindu Law to deem the income of the Hindu undivided family as the income of individual. It is also not fair to bring all transfers effected since 31-3-1965 within the purview of the proposed provision.

I apprehend that on account of the change over from specific to *ad valorem* basis for excise taxation, there might be in some cases sizeable increase in the incidence, and also disputes in respect of valuation. It is necessary that the entire question relating to excise levy should be reviewed to ensure that the mills do not suffer losses and the interests of consumers and growers are also safeguarded. The Finance Minister's best minute's concession in Budget speech to Agriculturists in Wealth Tax is welcome. Spurious Agriculturists must come under the purview of Wealth Tax.

Before concluding I would like to refer to a few problems of my State.

Reports have appeared that the second Cable Factory at Hyderabad has been dropped due to lack of financial resources. In this connection I submit that there is a considerable demand for this product in this country and many preliminary steps

[Shri M. Sudarsanam]

have been taken for this purpose. Foundation stone was also laid by the Union Industries Minister four years ago. It is, therefore, necessary to proceed with this project.

There have been reports in the Press regarding the dropping of the zinc smelter project due to lack of financial resources. In view of the considerable demand in the country for zinc (117,000 tons) and possibility of export, the Government should go ahead with the project at Visakhapatnam.

A final decision is yet to be taken on the coal-based fertiliser plant at Ramagundam for which the State Government have offered various facilities. In view of the poor demand for coal, it is necessary that alternative use is to be found for coal which would also help agricultural production. In view of the need for stepping up the fertiliser capacity in this country, the coal-based fertiliser plant at Ramagundam may be taken up on the immediate basis.

With the industrialisation in the State, it is expected that by the end of the Fourth Plan, there will be shortfall in the power in the State of Andhra Pradesh. Hence there is need for atomic power plant in the State to cover this gap. Further, a portion of the power from Neyveli should also be reserved for utilisation in Andhra Pradesh.

The copper reserves at Agnigundala in Guntur District have been surveyed by the Geological Survey of India. Although a collaboration agreement has been entered into with an American firm, the latter has backed out some time back. It is necessary to take up the exploitation of the copper reserves in view of the scarcity of the copper in the world market.

Two cement plants have been proposed to be set up by the Cement Corporation of India at Tandur and Yerra guntla. Both of them, however are said to have been dropped out due to lack of resources. In view of the availability of limestone and the spurt in the demand for cement, would be desirable for the Government to take up these two cement projects without any delay.

It is also very essential that a refinery is brought up at Kakinada, on east coast, so that some petro-chemical plants may

also come up, for the development of the backward Andhra State.

In view of heavy investment in the Nagarjunasagar project which is a national project supplying food to South Zone, with potentialities of supply to other regions also; and also saving several crores of foreign exchange for import of food, Andhra Pradesh has become a debtor. This must be rescheduled taking the importance of all irrigation projects of Andhra Pradesh.

Andhra Pradesh has a very long coast line and is best suited for a Fisheries Harbour. Several overseas experts already visited the coast and selected Visakhapatnam and Kakinada for the purpose. I urge upon the Government of India to accord necessary sanctions for this harbour.

Thank you, Sir.

श्री राम चरण (खुर्जा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज इस बीस साल की आजादी के बाद भी इस बजट को सोशलिस्ट पैटर्न के बेसिस पर बना बजट नहीं कहा जा सकता। बीस साल की आजादी के बाद जो स्थिति भूमिहीन किसानों हरिजनों या गरीब तबके की पहले थी उससे भी ज्यादा खराब हो गई है। पहले भी उसके तन पर कपड़ा नहीं था, रहने को मकान नहीं था और खाने के लिये रोटी नहीं थी, अब भी वही हालत है। मैं इस बजट का विरोध करते हुए कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस समय तक गरीबों के लिये, मजदूरों के लिये और भूमिहीन हरिजनों के लिये सरकार ने कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की है। इस बजट का अधिकतर पैसा व्यूरोक्रैटिक आफिशल्स पर खर्च होता है। यदि हम व्यूरोक्रैटिक आफिशल्स की की सही तरीके पर स्कुटिनी करें तो पायेंगे कि 60 परसेंट आफिशल्स ऐसे हैं जिनके पास कोई काम नहीं है। उनके ऊपर खर्च होने वाले पैसे को डाईवर्ट करके गरीब भूमिहीन मजदूरों और किसानों पर खर्च किया जा सकता है। लेकिन इस बजट के अन्दर इस तरह की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है।

मैं इस बजट का इसलिये भी विरोध करता हूँ कि कृषि पर टैक्स लगाया गया है और किसानों के ऊपर बोझ डाला गया है। और चीजों पर टैक्स लगा कर उनकी कीमतों को बढ़ाया गया है।

इस बजट के अन्दर दिल्ली को सुन्दर बनाने की व्यवस्था की गई है, लेकिन दिल्ली में रहने वाले 50 हजार हरिजनों को पिछले दो सालों के अन्दर बेघर बना दिया गया है। एक तरफ कश्मिस्तान बनाने के लिये 400 एकड़ जमीन मिलती है और दूसरी तरफ गरीबी में रहने वाले हरिजन की भुगगीभोवड़ी बनाने के लिये 20 गज भूमि पाने का हक नहीं है। यह समाजवादी विचार के बिल्कुल खिलाफ है। इस समय सरकार पूंजीवादी तत्वों के हाथों में खिल रही है, पूंजीवादी विचारधारा के साथ वह रही है। आज देश में गरीबी मजदूरों के जिन्दा रहने की कोई सूरत नहीं है। इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस बजट में दिल्ली की मास्टर प्लान के लिये जो प्राविजन किया गया है उसको खत्म करके जिन हरिजनों की जमीनों को छीना जा रहा है उनको उससे आजाद किया जाये।

आज हरिजनों के ऊपर बहुत जुल्म और ज्यादती हो रही है और दिन-ब-दिन वह बढ़ती जा रही है। दिन दहाड़े उनके कत्ल हो रहे हैं, उनके मकान जलाये जाते हैं। उनकी सहायता के लिये सरकार ने कोई प्राविजन नहीं किया है। मैं सरकार से अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ कि उस को एक स्पेशल डिपार्टमेंट कायम करके उन की स्थिति की जांच करानी चाहिये। लेकिन इस बजट में उसके लिये भी कोई प्राविजन नहीं है। बीस साल की आजादी के बाद भी हरिजनों की आर्थिक स्थिति दिन-ब-दिन गिरती जा रही है। उसके सुधार के लिये बजट में कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं किया गया है। यह बजट बिल्कुल पूंजीवादी तत्व को सपोर्ट करने के लिये बनाया गया है। यह 80 फ्रीसदी गरीब किसान मजदूरों के हित में नहीं है, इस बजट का अधिकतर पैसा

आफिशल्स और डिफेन्स पर खर्च होता है। मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि बीस सालों के अन्दर सरकार ने जितना पैसा फारेन एक्स्पेन्ज की शकल में गल्ला इम्पोर्ट करने में खर्च किया है, अगर उतना पैसा किसानों के हित में खर्च किया होता तो 4,000 करोड़ रुपया फारेन एक्स्पेन्ज को जो बाहरी देशों को दिया गया है, उसकी आवश्यकता न पड़ती। अच्छा होता अगर सरकार की नियत थोड़ी सी बदली होती और किसानों को वह मदद करती, लेकिन मुझे आशा नहीं है ऐसा हो सकता है क्योंकि कांग्रेस सरकार में भी ऐसे तत्व पैदा हो गये हैं जो उसको किसानों की बात सोचने के लिये मजबूर नहीं करते हैं। वह पूंजीवादी तत्वों की तरफ देख रही है और इंडस्ट्रियल डेवेलपमेंट की बात ही सोचा करती है।

मैं थोड़ी सी बात यू० पी० के बारे में भी कहना चाहता हूँ। यू० पी० इंडस्ट्रीज के मामले में बिल्कुल नेगलेक्ट है जब उसकी आबादी 8 करोड़ की है। आजादी से पहले हम उसको बैंकबर्ड नहीं मानते थे, लेकिन आजादी के बाद हम उसको बैंकबर्ड मानने लगे हैं। पिछले बीस सालों के इंडस्ट्रियल और एग्रीकल्चर डेवेलपमेंट में उस को बिल्कुल नेगलेक्ट किया गया है और किसी तरह की व्यवस्था उसके लिये नहीं की गई है। यद्यपि यू० पी० के तीन प्राइमरी मिनिस्टर हो चुके हैं, फिर भी जिस ढंग की वहाँ के गरीबों की हालत थी वही आज भी है, 80 और 90 फ्रीसदी आदिमियों को समय से रोटी नहीं मिलती। इस बजट में ज्यादा से ज्यादा, पैसा हरिजनों के डेवेलपमेंट, बैंकबर्ड क्लासेज के डेवेलपमेंट और एग्रीकल्चर के डेवेलपमेंट के लिये रखना चाहिये।

मैं इस बजट का विरोध इसलिये करना चाहता हूँ कि इसके अन्दर बिल्कुल भी समाजवादी की भूमिका नहीं है, यह पूंजीवादी विचारधारा से बनाया गया है और इससे इस देश का विकास होने वाला नहीं है। अगर यहाँ पर इसी तरह से बजट बनते रहें तो कम्यूनिस्टों को बढ़ावा देने वाला यही मामला होगा। पूंजी

[श्री राम चरण]

आप पूंजीवाद को लिफ्ट बना चाहते हैं, इस लिये निर्बल लोगों का रुख कम्यूनिस्टों की तरफ होता जा रहा है। आज जो भेद-भाव पैदा हो गया है उसको दूर करने के लिये ऊँचे तबके को नीचा किया जाये और नीचे तबके को उठाया जाये।

मैं इतनी ही बात कह कर अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ कि इस बजट को तब्दील कर के इसके अन्दर अधिकतर पैसा भूमिहीन किसानों, मजदूरों और गरीबों के हित और उन्नति के लिये खर्च किया जाये।

13.00 hrs.

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

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

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker in the Chair.]

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—Contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Shri Umanath.

SHRI ANANTRAO PATIL (Ahmednagar) : On a point of clarification, Sir. We are discussing the Budget for the last one week. Some hon. Members have spoken and many Members do not get a chance to speak. We, the back-benchers and new Members, have been trying for the last one month to speak in this House. I know that the system is that the party gives you a list and if our name is included in the list, we get a chance to speak. But there is a monopoly of some hon. Members and our names are not there.

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकान्तम्मा : (खम्मम) : हमें भी मौका मिलेगा या नहीं मिलेगा ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I have got a big list. As far as possible we try to accommodate representatives of all States. I do not consider Shri A. Y. Patil

as a back-bencher. But I have to follow some rules and accommodate as many as possible. You must remember that there is some time limit also. However, those who do not get an opportunity now will be given an opportunity at the time of the debate on the Finance Bill.

श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कान्तम्मा : एक ही प्रान्त से आप दो-दो को बुलाते हैं। जिन प्रान्तों में गड़-बड़ हो रही है, उनसे आप किसी को नहीं बुलाते हैं। हमारे प्रान्त में गड़बड़ हो रही है, वहाँ से आपने नहीं बुलाया है। हम कैसे अपने विचार प्रकट कर सकते हैं ?

SHRI ANANTRAO PATIL : We have been given to understand that those who did not get a chance to speak on the President's Address or on the Railway Budget will be given a chance to speak on the General Budget. But we find that the same persons are speaking on every subject.

SHRI UMANATH (Pudukkottai) : Disciplinary action will be taken against them if they speak about internal party matters here !

SHRI ANANTRAO PATIL : We are seeking the protection of the Chair.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I may assure all hon. Members that the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs is looking to all these aspects. If I find that no State is represented, I also include that person's name. But normally this is being done. If there is any lapse here and there, we shall correct it.

श्री बाल गोविंद वर्मा (खेरी) : अगर किसी पार्टी की तरफ से नाम दिये जाते हैं तो आपको सिरियल वाइज बुलाना चाहिये। अपोजीशन पार्टीज की तरफ से जो नाम दिये जाते हैं, उनको आप कटाते नहीं हैं और उन नामों के अलावा आप दूसरों की नहीं बुलाते हैं। लेकिन हमारी पार्टी की तरफ से जिस आर्डर में नाम दिये जाते हैं, उस आर्डर में आप नहीं बुलाते हैं। अगर किसी का नाम चौथे नम्बर पर है तो उस

को अपने बारी से न बुला कर आप छाठवे नम्बर पर जिसका नाम है, उसको बुला लेते हैं। ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये।

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकान्तम्मा : हमको रेलवे बजट पर बोलने का मौका नहीं मिला, प्रेजीडेंट्स एंड्रेस के वक्त नहीं मिला। फिर हमें कहा जाता है कि हिन्दी के लिये कुछ नहीं कहते हैं।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : May I assure hon. Members that there is no desire to omit or change names as far as possible but sometimes from this side or that side a Member requests that he has to go or has some difficulty; then, we have to accommodate him. We accommodate Members from this side also. But Member may rest assured that beyond that there is no question of any change. So far as the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs is concerned, he is trying to see—and we are also trying to see that—every State is represented. That is the main concern that we are showing here

SHRI GADILINGANA GOWD (Kumool) : Their complaint seems to be that their names do not come to the Speaker at all.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : What can I do for that?

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीबाई (मेडक) : जो साधु बनकर बैठते हैं, उनको तो मौका नहीं मिलता है लेकिन जो हल्ला गुल्ला करते हैं, उनको हमेशा मौका मिलता रहता है। जो सदन का समय बरबाद करते हैं, उनको तो आप बुलाते हैं लेकिन हम जैसों को नहीं बुलाते हैं। यह क्या जुल्म है, हमारी समझ में नहीं आता है। प्रेजीडेंट के अभिभाषण पर जब बहस हुई तब मौका नहीं मिला। रेलवे बजट पर नहीं मिला। अब जो जनरल बजट है, इस पर तो मिलना चाहिये।

श्री जार्ज फरनेन्डीज बम्बई (दक्षिण) : काँग्रेस के जुल्म को खत्म करना चाहिये।

THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI MORARJI DESAI) : May I say that the

maximum number of people may be given a chance during the next few days when the Demands of ministries will be considered? Here also as many as can be given a chance may be given a chance, but more can be given a chance later and again in the discussion on the Finance Bill. There will then be three or four days probably and in that the same speakers may not be allowed.

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकान्तम्मा : तब भी यह हाल होगा। हमेशा ऐसा ही होता है।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The difficulty of some of the speakers is that they want to speak on a few topics. But I know the old lady Member. She is a good worker and she should be given a chance. We try to accommodate even lady Members also.

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीबाई : मैं इस सदन में पन्द्रह साल से हूँ। पहले हमेशा रिकार्ड रहता था कि फर्ला मैम्बर कौन-कौन से सबजेक्ट पर बोला है। अब कुछ रहता ही नहीं है। अब तो जो हल्ला करते हैं, उनको ही बोलने का समय मिलता है।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I will request Members from this side to confine their remarks to ten minutes so that I can accommodate more of them. That is the only thing that I can do now. Shri Umamath.

SHRI UMANATH : In the course of his budget speech, the hon. Deputy Minister made certain observations with regard to the objectives of social values *v/s a-v/s* the budget that he has presented. The relevant paragraph reads :

"In a year that is dedicated to the memory of the Father of the Nation, we cannot but remind ourselves that the ultimate objective of economic development is to serve certain larger social values. We have, therefore, to respond also to the natural urges of our people for basic amenities such as drinking water, for education, medical aid, for opportunity to work and indeed for a growing measure of equali-

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ty in general which is the essence of a socialist society.”

I would like you to mark the words ‘growing equality in general and amenities to the people’. Let us see how he has provided in this budget *vis-a-vis* these two social objectives.

In regard to the question of growing equality in general, he has provided by granting tax holidays or by continuing the tax holidays to the big business groups; he has provided for equality in general by providing for development rebate and extending the development rebate to various units, by granting export relief, by granting excise relief to various industries on certain items etc. On the one hand, in the Rs. 10,000 slab which consists of mostly lecturers, professors and such sort of middle class salaried employees, the tax has been increased, that is, the income-tax has been increased. On the other hand, in contrast, he gives tax holiday or continues the tax holiday to big business groups. This is how he provides for growing equality in general, which is the essence of socialism or a socialist society.

I would like to know from the hon. Deputy Prime Minister, when he said equality, whether he meant equality between the Tatas and Birlas and big business groups and he wanted to eliminate the inequality between them or whether it was equality between the Tatas and Birlas on the one hand and Morgans and Phillips and other international big business groups on the other. What was the equality that he was trying for? Perhaps, it was a printer's devil. I hope the Deputy Prime Minister will verify and tell us. I think it should read:

“...indeed for a growing measure of inequality in general which is the essence of a socialist society.”

I do not know whether there is some printing mistake. I would like the hon. Deputy Prime Minister to tell us what the correct position is...

THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI MORARJI DESAI) : He will know it tomorrow.

SHRI UMANATH : Now, how does

he provide for amenities, another social value objective? He provides for it by taxing sugar, by taxing kerosene, by taxing cigarettes and so many other commodities which the common as well as the middle class people use every day. In effect, he was making the availability of these things scarce for them and making these things costlier for them. This is how he is trying to increase the amenities for these people. I think there may perhaps be another printer's devil here, or it seems to be his steno's mistake, I think it should have read:

“We have, therefore, not to respond also to the natural urges of our people for basic amenities.”

I am referring to paragraph 5 at page 2 of his speech. I think the steno might have committed a mistake.

Some hon. Members have said that these taxes will hit the common man. Quite right. But I want to tell them that it is to hit the common man that these things have been provided by the Deputy Prime Minister. The philosophy of the Congress and the Congress leadership is to hit the common man. All along we have been saying that, and it is only in pursuance of this that we are having these levies. These levies coming after the mid-term polls, it looks to me as though they have been levied with a vengeance. Because the Congress has been defeated, they want to wreak vengeance on the people and, therefore, these levies have been imposed. In short, the best name for this budget of vengeance and not for the country's development or for the common people.

What does this budget reveal? This budget reveals that so far as the basic policies are concerned, this Government has not made any change. And what has been the basic policy? The basic policy has been that at the cost of the poor, or whatever may happen to the poor, the ordinary workers and peasants and the middle class, the monopolists should prosper. The latest confirmation of this policy is contained in the report of the Department of Company Law Administration, The report says:

“The Tata Group is, however, still by far the largest business group in India on the basis of total assets worth

Rs. 551 crores as against Birlas' figure of Rs. 510 crores in 1966-67. However, the Birla group's assets are increasing at a rate more than twice as fast as that of the Tata group. According to the survey, Birla Group's assets rose by 74 per cent between 1963-64 and 1966-67, while Tata group maintained a much lower pace of 32 per cent during this period."

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Metter) : So, there is every reason for an inquiry.

SHRI UMANATH ; This is the latest confirmation. How has it come about ? Government pose as though this growth of monopoly has been beyond their comprehension and without their knowledge, as though it was because of the ingenuity of the Birlas or the Tatas. That is absolutely not so. So far as we are concerned, I would say that this growth of monopolies has been the result of Government policies of directly developing the monopolies. Let me give you an example.

You know what is meant by underwriting. Many of these major groups do not sell their new shares directly in the market. But certain investment companies will take over the shares and when they find the best of opportunity they will sell the shares, or if they find that it is a risk to sell, they would keep it to themselves. Thereby, they protect these business groups by putting them in a safe position.

The latest information that I have got so far as this matter is concerned is this. The underwriting of the shares of major big business groups was being undertaken by the private investment companies. Who is doing that ? I would again quote from the report of the Company Law Administration. Referring to Birlas, they say :

"Almost the entire amount offered to the public had to be underwritten by various underwriters including the LIC, the ICF, the ICICI, the IDB etc."

With regard to the shares of the Tatas, the *Economic Times*, dated the 6th February, 1969 and this to say :

"At the initial stages, the entire amount sold to public had to be underwritten by underwriters. The underwriting of share issues was by and large done by almost all important

Government-controlled financial institutions, namely the IFC, the Unit Trust, the IDB the ICICI and the LIC."

So, it is obvious that the Government-controlled institutions are directly undertaking the work of underwriting new shares so far as these big business groups are concerned, on the basis of the taxpayers' money. This is what has been happening.

The other day, when a question was asked as to the details of the investments by the LIC, the hon Deputy Prime Minister refused to give the information on grounds of public interest. I would like to know what the public interest is in giving the details of the LIC's investments. The LIC's money is the policyholders' money. It is public money. If the public wants to know how their money has been invested by the LIC, how could that information be withheld and how could it be said that the public shall not know and that this Parliament shall not know ? Why does he want to keep it a secret ? What was the reason for it. The reason is that if those details were given, then all the secrets as to how the public money of the LIC was being used to strengthen the monopolists and the big business groups which have been ruling in this country all these decades would have come out. It is to cover up those things and it is in order to protect those things, that he pleaded that in public interest he should not disclose the information. I think what he really meant by public interest was the interest of Tatas and Birlas and the monopoly groups and not the interests of the ordinary people whose money it is.

SHRI NAMBIAR (Tirucharappalli) : And more so Birlas' according to Shri Chandrasekhar.

SHRI UMANATH : Let me give you another example. A company has earned about Rs. 1 crore in five years. How did that company get that amount ? Aluminium has been served under the Industrial Policy Resolution exclusively for the public sector and not for the private sector. But in Mirzapur, an aluminium factory under the private sector was permitted by this Government in defiance of their resolution.

The Rihand dam electricity was given to that factory dead cheap, at below cost

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price which means at a loss. That is how about Rs. 1 crore was cornered by that particular company. Who was the beneficiary defying their own Industrial Policy Resolution and selling electricity at dam cheap rate? It was the great god Birla. The Birlas' concern was given that permission. This is how they directly build up monopolies. It is not a question of governmental policy resulting in encouragement of monopolies.

Then, I give you another instance. About the Sone Bridge contract involving crores of rupees, Jessops submitted a tender, it was an earlier tender and it involved lesser foreign exchange. Jessops was a Government controlled company. Naturally, anybody would expect, here is a contract involving crores of rupees, lesser foreign exchange and an earlier tender and it will go to Jessops. But it was left. Another company which submitted a tender later and which involved more foreign exchange than Jessops and which was a privately-owned company was given the contract throwing to the winds all the advantages to the nation as well as to the parliament and to the exchequer. Who was the beneficiary of that also at the cost of Government-owned company? Again, it was the great god Birla. A concern of the Birlas was given that Sone Bridge contract.

What is the policy of state Bank in giving advances? I would like to tell you that the policy of the State Bank in making its advances is also to directly build up monopolies. I may give you another quotation from the Department of Company Affairs. It says :

"It would be observed that the Government-controlled institution like ICICI, IFC, LIC etc. account for nominal amounts in terms of loans outstanding in 1966-67 in so far as Birla group of companies are concerned. The State Bank loans, however, account for Rs. 21.54 crores and Central and State Governments for another sum Rs. 11.8 crores."

Again, if you take the State Bank policy in regard to big business groups, the representatives of big business groups who are on the Board of Directors of the State Bank, what do you see? About the loans advanced by the State Bank to big business

groups who are serving on the Board of Directors of the State Bank, the *Economic Time*. dated 11.12.68 says :

"The debts dum from firms and companies in which the directors were interested as partners and managing agents formed 23.9% of the total advances."

This is how the State Bank, another institution, which advances loans is directly building up monopolies. It is directly controlled by the Central Government.

Now, I would like to give you another instance how directly the Government has been building up monopolies all along while deceiving people. "We do not know how monopolies got built up. We are trying to enquire into." The merger is one of the forms of building up monopolies. The latest, I understand, subject to correction, is that the Government have approved the merger plan of the I.C.I. That is an international company. The merger proposal is that the I.C.I., the Alkaline Chemicals and the Chemicals and Fibres, these three companies, are to merge together. I understand that the Central Government has approved this proposal. Yet they appoint a Commission of inquiry to find out how the monopolies grow. What the purpose of it? The purpose is said to be to search the reason as to how these monopolies have grown in the last 22 years. It is like a sheherd who put the lamb on his shoulders and went round throughout the world asking, "Where is my lamb? Where is my lamb?".

Further, I find from the Industrial Development Ministry that they are bringing forward a Bill, tom-tomming, saying, that that is meant for restricting the monopolies why a Bill for restricting the monopolies? Here are the policies and the instances that I have given where the Government and their institutions are directly strengthening and building up the monopolies. You give up those policies and then the monopolies will not grow. But you continue those policies of building up the monopolies and then say, "We are bringing forward a Bill to restrict the monopolie." It is all bunkum. I would like to say that the Monopolies Commission and all those things are meant to screen and cover up the polices of directly building up the monopolies.

This policy of the Government, I would like to bring to your notice, has also encouraged many officers who are at the head of financial institutions to hobnob with the big business group. Can you think of a head of a financial institution, while on an official tour, avoiding the Guest House of that particular institution and living in the luxury of big business in that particular city consistently, unless he has got other connections? I will give you an example. The Chairman of the LIC—I am prepared to accept the challenge if you disprove it—, Mr. Bhide, whenever he goes to Madras on an official tour, does not stay in the Guest House—there is a very fine Guest House in the LIC Building—but, on the other hand, he goes to Mr. Kothary—another big business group, the Chairman of the Sugar Federation of India—and stays with him when he is on an official tour. This is a fact. Here is a head of an institution which underwrites shares of various groups—he has got that responsibility. Why should he, when there is a Guest House, go and stay in a businessman's house? It gives all sorts of suspicions so far as the public are concerned. These officers are doing this blatantly because this is the result of the policy of the Government; when they see that Government itself is directly helping the monopolies to grow, they have no fears as their conduct is concerned.

Now I come to the question of the assessment of the state of the economy. The Deputy Prime Minister says in his Budget speech:

“In short, general economic conditions in the country are propitious for resuming the threads of progress over a wide front during the next Plan period.”

(SHRI MORARJI DESAI): Say that they are not.

SHRI UMANATH: I will do it in my own way.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: You are specialising in that.

SHRI UMANATH: He says ‘propitious’. But what is the existing state of affairs in the economy? The crisis in the economy is deepening, and it is only to

cover up this reality and truth that the hon. Deputy Prime Minister has used these words. There are so many claims in that statement with regard to what is going to happen in future, in one year. Let us take the claims of the D.P.M. as well as this Government lightly because they are not serious when they make claims.

Much is made about the claim of national income. They say in the Economic Survey of India that there will be a 3 per cent rise in national income. But the very same Government claimed in December, 1968, that the national income would rise by 6 per cent. When they come down to the ‘Economic survey’, they say that it will be 3 per cent. By the time the next ‘Economic Survey’ is submitted, when they will get the actuals, they will say that in the last year our national economic trend has been marking time. That may be the word which they may use. So, it will be from 6 per cent to 3 per cent and from 3 per cent to ‘marking time’. Even this 3 per cent, if it is reduced to real terms, it will come to less than 2.5 per cent. If you relate it to the population increase and find out the per capita growth of national income—population increase can be taken to be 2.5 per cent and here the real increase is 2.5 per cent—, then it will be stagnation. For the past three years, the per capita national income is at a stagnant position, and this year also, on the basis of his own figures, there will be stagnation, and this is being covered up by all those words.

Now let us take their claim on food production. Let us not take their claims seriously. For this, I am giving you the second example. Coming to their claim on food production, the UNI despatch says:

“The Food Ministry expect the present trends to continue in 1969. Food output in 1968-69 is estimated to exceed substantially that of last year.”

This was in January, 1969; the Food Ministry expected that in 1969 the output would increase substantially over the last year's. But, within one month, when they submit the ‘Economic Survey’, they say that ‘the aggregate foodgrains output this year is likely to be not less than last year's level of 96 million tons’. One month before it was ‘will increase substantially’,

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but when they come to 'Economic Survey', it is, 'not less than last year's level'. This is the state of their claims! That is why I say that we should not take their claims seriously.

Then they say that there is a wonderful sign of recovery. The other day, Shri F. A. Ahmed, give a list of 44 industries in the chemical and engineering regions where unutilised capacities lie; the extent of unutilised capacities is between 50 and 96 per cent; this is in the case of 44 industries. Yet, they say that there is a wonderful sign of recovery. The unutilised capacities in two regions, chemical and engineering, in regard to 44 industries, are from 50 to 96 per cent, and we are asked to believe that these are signs of recovery!

What about the future of the economic position? So far as Government are concerned, the main reliance for economic recovery expectation is, first, a farm surplus and second, the foreign exchange required for import so that industry may run. As for farm surplus, they have admitted that it cannot be less than last year's. That means, the purchasing power this year will not be more than last year's. Secondly, increased taxes have been imposed. What will happen? The prices of those commodities will rise. To that extent, the purchasing power will go down. A dose of deficit financing is provided for. That will also lead to an increase in prices. That spells a further reduction in purchasing power. That being the case, how does he think that there is going to be recovery? I do not understand.

On the question of foreign exchange, the second element of their reliance for recovery, with which they import raw materials and spare parts to keep industry going, the Economic Survey admits that it is more reduced than what they had last year, and their anticipation is less. That means that import of raw materials and spares will also be affected. That being so, how do they expect any economic recovery? It is all bunkum.

The last point they rely upon is an increase in exports. Here I would like to bring one thing to the notice of the House. What is the basis on which this export increase prospect is based? It is a very brittle and dangerous base. He has

announced a relief of Rs. 23 crores for exporters, to propitiate the international gods of competition. The policy is: propitiation of international gods and propitiation of internal gods. But it is not realised that the moment you stop propitiation, the whole export will go phut. That is the dangerous position in which the export prospect remains.

How much propitiation? They said Rs. 23 crores allotted to propitiate international gods. Is that all? Does the story of propitiation end there? No. Propitiation started on a major scale with devaluation of the rupee. The international gods were propitiated by that. Yet they were not satisfied. The appetite of Morarjibhai's international gods is insatiable. They cannot be satisfied or satiated by any such things. So now he comes forward and says; another Rs. 23 crores of propitiation.

Then what happens? For export promotion, internal gods have to be propitiated. In 1967-68, he propitiated them by export promotion schemes. For that an allotment of Rs. 23 crores was made. Now he is allotting Rs. 44 crores, for 1969-70. Again propitiation has increased.

The point to remember is that so far as propitiation of international and internal gods is concerned, there is no limit because there is no limit to their appetite. But for you to satisfy them and propitiate them, there is a limit. The moment you reach that, it has to stop. If you do not stop on your own, people will force you to stop and then all your exports will go phut. That is what I bring to the notice of the House.

Even after this propitiation, are they international gods satisfied? No. After devaluation, after export promotion, even now they are depressing the prices of our articles sent abroad. I shall give government figures. The price of vegetable oil in 1967-68 was Rs. 5.6 per kg.; in 1968-69, it came down to Rs. 3.2. The international gods have depressed it by 43 per cent. Footwear was selling at Rs. 10 per pair; it is now reduced to Rs. 6.25—37 per cent reduction. Millmade cloth was subjected to a 23 per cent reduction. Artsilk fabric prices abroad were reduced by 40 per cent. Even traditional items like tea and jute

suffered a reduction of 10 per cent and 4 per cent respectively.

As for shoes, we exported one million pairs more than last year. But the money we got for that one more million was Rs. 17 lakhs less than what we got last year.

This is the secret, sordid story of the loot of the country's wealth and economy indulged in by these internal and international gods. It is on that that Government's export policy is based. The exporter in his own interest will now refuse to export. He will say, 'Why should I be forced to sell shoes abroad at Rs. 6.25 when my own countrymen pay Rs. 10?'

He will further say: "why should I lose? Not only you are not paying me a remunerative price, but you are further depressing it." But, our exports are forced exports, not normal and natural. Our export is more or less mortgaged to pay back our loans and for our imports. It is becoming more and more substantially and totally mortgaged exports.

How and why did this happen? It is because of the Government's strategy of dependance on foreign loans for resources. It is this strategy that has led to this position. The whole economy has been reduced to an object of blackmail and pressure. They dare not face the pressures of the imperialists. They dare not face the blackmail of the vested interests. Instead, they turn to Rama and Krishna in the villages, the workers and the common people and fleece them.

Coming to the last point, the Centre-State relations, a string of appeals come forth from that side. When the Prime Minister appeals for cooperation she appeals in the name of national unity. When the Deputy Prime Minister appeals, he appeals in the name of economy. When it comes from Mr. Chavan, the Home Minister, he says, "let us forget but not forgive". So long as the anti-national policies, which I mentioned, of the Government continue, so long as the anti-peoples' policies of the Government continue, this appeal for cooperation to non-Congress Governments is meaningless. So far as my Party is concerned, so long as these policies are not changed, this appeal for cooperation is meaningless.

What is the position of the present Centre-State relations? The basis for the present Centre-State relations is the 1935 Act. Essentially, the basis is what is contained in the 1935 Act. At that time, what did the Congress leadership do? They opposed that basis. How did they oppose? They said then that under this Act the power was concentrated in the Centre; the Provinces were given the responsibilities without the power to discharge those responsibilities. That is how they opposed it then. Since the time when they came to power in the Centre, they have been catching it like a leech. The power is concentrated in the Centre, but the responsibility is with the States without the power to discharge those responsibilities. They are going on merrily because this concentration of power in the Centre helps the growth of development of monopolies, helps the growth of development of vested interests, both internal as well as foreign. On account of this, when the conditions of the people in the States deteriorate, then the State Governments are made to face the anger of the people and the Centre is far away removed from the people. This is the crux of the present Centre-State relations.

With this power they have got, they are interfering even in spheres which are under the exclusive jurisdiction of the States. I give the latest example. Land reform is in the jurisdiction of the State, but formally they have to get the concurrence of the Centre. The Government of Kerala drafted a Bill on land reform and before taking it to the Assembly, they sent it here to the Central Government. What does the Central Government do? They refuse the concurrence and send it back on the ground that certain provisions in the Bill will affect the plantation industry. On that pretext they have refused concurrence even in the sphere where the State Government has the power. Here it is not a question of Shri E. M. S. Namboodaripad and Shri Morarji Desai not getting on well, not the question of the Prime Minister and Shri Jyoti Basu not getting on well, not a question of Shri Karunanidhi and the Prime Minister not getting on well, but it is a question of conflict of fundamental policies. The Kerala Government wants to adopt a certain land reform policy and it has

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drafted a Bill, but the Centre refuses its concurrence. Here, it is not a conflict of personalities. It is purely a question of conflict of fundamental policies.

You may take again the question of minimum wage, the fixation of which is within the jurisdiction of the State. Now for the plantation industry the Kerala Government has fixed the minimum wage. But the Government of India in the Ministry of Commerce is pressuring the State Government to give up that thing. That is what they are doing now. That is because the minimum wage which they have fixed under the power is more than the Wage Board award itself.

Is it a personal conflict? No, it is a question of fundamental policies. As a matter of policy this Government does not want to pay wages more than that fixed by the wage board and so it stands in the way of the Kerala Government doing it. It is a Centre-State conflict. It is a built-in conflict in the present situation which is a conflict of policies. So also about agricultural income-tax, There is nothing in the Union List empowering them; there is also nothing in the State List directly empowering them. So, under the residuary powers if at all, it was for the Central Government to bring legislation enabling the State Governments to collect this tax. Because certain State Governments like to protect the middle and small peasants and take away the surplus from the higher income groups in agricultural sector, instead of enabling legislation, this Government brings in legislation itself.

Then there is the matter of allocation of funds to States and I give only one example. The Fourth Plan allotment for West Bengal was Rs. 251 crores but their debt repayment during the same period is Rs. 231 crores. What is left for West Bengal? The Finance Minister and the Government as a whole refuse to consider this question. When they say co-operation, they mean co-operation on their terms, on their policies of developing monopolies in the country. Take the question of North Bengal floods. The Prime Minister says: money will not stand in the way. Now, the Government comes out and says: these are the rules. All that money is unproductive money and there will be no

return. That is why I say that there is this conflict built-in in the situation; it is a conflict of policies and they have come to the fore when non Congress Government with progressive policies have come to power in some States. They want our co-operation to enforce their policies or breeding monopolies and strengthening foreign interests and fattening the landlords of the country. There is a conflict in fundamental policies and millions of our people have started rejecting the policy of the Central Government and they have started rallying round the progressive parties. Still the Government do not take their lesson and they want to impose their own policies despite the writing on the walls. There is no salvation for the people except to stand together and fight, irrespective of political affiliations, the Central Government. Whether this party or that party is in power in the States, the will of the people will emerge and they will throw this Government out of power here.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I want to accommodate as many Members, as possible; so I request Members to confine their remarks to ten minutes.

SHRI K. N. PANDEY (Padraune): The approach of the Budget is very wide and within the short time at my disposal I do not want to cover the entire field. I shall confine myself to a few points but I shall reply to some points raised by Mr. Umanath. According to him the whole economic system and the planning done by this Government is wrong and with this way they cannot solve the unemployment problem in the country. Fortunately, in two States they were given the chance to run Governments, that is, in Kerala and West Bengal.

We expected that they would give us something new. We wanted to see whether the unemployment problem would be solved. But what I found was that due to the policy of the communist government 1,30,000 employees in the engineering industry were thrown out of work in West Bengal only. According to them, Birla is a very bad man and Uttar Pradesh was wrong to offer him electricity at a cheaper rate. But what do I find in Kerala? The

same bad man has been invited by Shri Namboodiribad, who happens to be the Chief Minister of Kerala; there(*Interruption*) The surprising part of the story is that they have also offered to give him electricity at a cheaper rate. When the point about the need for industrialisation comes, either they have to take steps by themselves to improve the industries or they have to request the private party to establish industries. Is Kerala in a position to establish industries on its own, of their own accord? He being a champion of the so-called working classes, says that Kerala wants to give minimum wage much higher than in other States, but this government is not allowing that Government to implement it! They want increase in wages, but they want funds from the Centre. They want to flourish themselves at the cost of others. This should be known that the Centre does not represent them only it represents Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and so on. Why should the Centre give so much funds to that champion in Kerala? Why not to others? This is the point.

AN HON. MEMBER : leave Kerala alone.

SHRI K. N. PANDEY : Let it flourish, but it cannot flourish at the cost of others.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER ; No argument please.

SHRI K. N. PANDEY : My point is this. The Finance Minister also knows it very well that two years ago the country was suffering from a scarcity of food and we could not survive unless America had given us food. How long can a country with self-respect depend on a foreign country for the supply of food? This was the matter before the country, and every citizen, every cultivator, took it upon himself to do his best to grow more food. I find that the Government also, when there was famine in Bihar, gave all sorts of help and they spent crores of rupees. But now what happened? The condition of the country is this. The total cultivable land in the country is 390 million acres, and we have provided irrigation only to 90 million acres. Still, 200 million acres are left unirrigated. This is the position of the

country. I tell you, even if you provide fertilisers at cheaper rates, unless there is water no food can be grown. The matter that requires your attention is this. If you cannot provide irrigation, you must help the people, to put in their maximum effort, to the extent possible, but you are not doing it. For example, take the pump-sets. These pump-sets are used by small farmers, those who do not have canals. They want adequate supply of water whether through Government tube-wells or through their own. They purchase these pumps, but the Government thought it best to increase the price of these pumps. Is it done to encourage the countryman to grow more food? Simply because the condition in the country has become somewhat improved, that the difficult condition of the past two years has become a bit lessened, do not think that you can wholly depend on the production of your own country unless further efforts are made.

Furthermore, there are peasants who are not using chemical fertilisers, who have still to be encouraged and have to be taught the value of these fertilisers. But in order to encourage the people, a wise steps was taken by the Finance Ministry, and that is, they have increased the duty on chemical fertilisers! After all, do you want to ruin the country? Do you want to help the people to produce more foodgrains in the country or do you want to depend on America for all time to come?

If that is the policy naturally you have to incur the farmers' wrath. Please don't impose conditions so that the poor farmers are made to suffer.

There is one other point which I wish to refer to in this connection and it is this. This is about sugar I have to observe that the policy in respect of sugar is very bad and I think it is a curse on us. What is this policy of partial decontrol of sugar? Now, in the same market the person gets sugar in his rations at the rate of Rs. 1-80 per kilo whereas the sugar sold in the free market is Rs. 4 per kilo. That is, the price is twice in the open market. In these two prices why is there such a big difference? In this policy of partial decontrol of Government what happens is this. Due to this policy, the villagers who were purchasing sugar from the free market already paying high price have to pay

[Shri K. N. Pandey]

further higher prices due to this additional excise duty on free sugar. This excise duty comes to Rs. 67 per quintal. No duty levied or imposed by the Government has ever been paid by the producers that is the mill-owners themselves. They are all passed on to the consumers. I wish to ask one question. Has the Government got any machinery to see that this extra duty is paid by the mill-owners? What the mill-owners are thinking now is to reduce the cane price. It is the general policy of the Government that whenever there is a bumper supply of cane the general practice has been to reduce the cane price and whenever there is shortage of supply of cane the price of cane is increased. This is what their policy is. This is detrimental to the interest of the entire country and of the consumers and the producers. This is the way in which they want to bring the cultivators and the consumers in their favour.

Last year the free sugar was selling at the rate of Rs. 350 to Rs. 400 per quintal and cultivators were getting from Rs. 12 to Rs. 17 per quintal of cane in different regions. Today also the sugar is selling at the rate of Rs. 340 in the market. Now, because of this duty the price has gone up to Rs. 367 per quintal. The cultivator is getting Rs. 9 in some places and in a few places in the north, Rs. 9.50 per quintal. The hon'ble Food Minister gave us an assurance that some parity would be established in the cane price so long as partial decontrol remains. But nothing has been done in this regard. In the South, in Andhra, they are paying at the rate of Rs. 7.37 per quintal for the time being with an assurance that if they make more realisation from free sugar they will pay some extra. In Madras they are paying at the rate of Rs. 8 per quintal. In respect of every person who gets his sugar from the ration shop, it is a fact that his full requirement is not completely satisfied and he has to go to the free market for sugar. In case this excise duty is abolished along with the other agricultural taxation, the budget deficit could be reduced by Rs. 47 crores. There is a deficit at the present moment of Rs. 200 crores.

What I could like to say in this connection is this. Don't try to harm the

cultivator. Don't try to put extra burden over the consumers. I may tell you that so far they have been supporting us but if you annoy them they will also go against us like others.

In Uttar Pradesh what has happened? At the moment the U.P. cultivators have been fighting for a higher cane price. But when the budget was introduced in the Lok Sabha the factories have found it convenient to suggest a reduction in the cane price and now the Opposition says that as Shri C. B. Gupta has come to power such a thing has come to happen.

Mr. Gupta is a strong man and I want that this strong man should survive. You should be prepared to create such a condition that the strong man survives it.

The Food Minister assured the House that every sugarcane cultivator will get Rs. 10. But in Andhra they get only Rs. 7.37. They have assured the cultivators that after realising the entire amount, they will give the extra price. In Madras, in spite of the declaration in Parliament, the cultivators get only Rs. 8 per quintal.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : It cannot be the same everywhere.

SHRI K. N. PANDEY : If you want to maintain a disparity in cane price, there should be a disparity in sugar price also in different parts of the country.

In conclusion, I am very thankful to Mr. Morarji Desai for having given some concession to jute and textile mills. It has helped thousands of people who were unemployed due to the closure of mills. I only appeal to him that while he has been lenient in this respect, he should not create a condition in which the mills in some other industry may have to close down.

SHRI SRADHAKAR SUPAKAR (Sam-balpur) : Sir, the Finance Minister has appeared in the role of a *sutradar* in the drama of the fourth plan, but he has not given us the shape and size of the plan. If it is to begin from 1st April 1969, it is high time the plan was published and the details made available. Today in newspapers it is published that there is no harm if the plan is published a little later, because the plan

for the next year has already been there in the picture. There was also a proposal from West Bengal that the fourth plan may be postponed for one year. Since the gestation period of the fourth plan has been very long, it is high time it was published.

The crop position has led the Finance Minister to a buoyant mood, but we find that the resources position is very tight, though it is much better than last year.

There has been much criticism of almost all the taxation proposals from all sides of the House. Therefore, in improving our economy, we must pay greater attention to getting more non-tax revenue. Therefore, it is necessary to streamline and improve the performance of our public sector projects. Only when we get a good return from the public sector projects in which we have invested such huge amount, we can substantially improve our revenue without raising the general price-level.

Along with the budget papers, we have got this year a memorandum on public sector enterprises, which says that the Central Government have more than 80 industrial and commercial enterprises, with a total investment of about Rs. 3500 crores. It is said that during 1967-68, 31 of these enterprises showed a net profit of over Rs. 48 crores, while another 24 showed a net loss of Rs. 83 crores, resulting in an overall net loss of Rs. 35 crores. In answer to a Starred Question on 3rd March—No. 247—it was pointed out that Hindustan Steel alone incurred a loss of Rs. 38 crores.

The Heavy Engineering Corporation suffered a loss of Rs. 17 crores, the Neyveli Lignite Corporation a loss of Rs. 6 crores 11 lakhs and so on. We started our public sector projects with high expectations about twelve years ago and in spite of our best efforts we are not able to show much profit, rather we incur losses.

15. hrs.

How to improve this position? Unless we do so it shall lead to further difficulties in our economy. In order that the Parliament may be directly associated with the management of the public sector enterprises we started the Public Undertakings

Committee. There is also a Bureau of Public Enterprises. Remedies for improving the functioning of the public sector projects have been suggested from time to time. This year we have a Memorandum on the public sector enterprises which has suggested certain steps for improving the performance of these public sector enterprises. I do not know how far the recommendations contained in this memorandum will help in improving the working of the public sector projects. The Government should have some hard thinking on this matter so that the public sector enterprises may contribute substantially to the improvement of our economy.

In the agricultural sector we set the goal of self-sufficiency in foodgrains by 1971—that is to say, only two years hence we should be able to dispense with the import of PL-480 foodgrains. Even in the last two years when the monsoon has been good, giving us a fairly satisfactory crop we still had PL 480 imports of foodgrains. We are told that we must build a buffer-stock and that is why we are importing these foodgrains. But it is high time that we started the experiment of dispensing with these imports altogether so that when in future there is the possibility of the rain gods falling us and at the same time there is the stoppage of these imports we may be in a position to see our way through difficult time.

I am afraid the imposition of tax on fertilisers will act as a disincentive to our farmers. Production of fertilisers inside our country is far below the capacity. The price is also very high. Our agriculturists have to spend a lot on fertilisers. Even when the supply is much below the demand. We know that land which has been fed with fertilisers must continue to be fed with fertilisers. You cannot dispense with fertilisers or start using fertilisers on a reduced basis without disastrous consequences in food production. Therefore, this further increase in the price on account of tax will hit all agriculturists who are asked to take to scientific farming with the help of fertilisers and who actually do more crops. They may not be in a position to do so when it pinches their pockets.

The wealth tax on agricultural income is welcome, but I am afraid the yield will not be very substantial.

[Shri Sradhakar Supakar]

It is often argued that since the State has invested so much in the agricultural sector of our economy the State should expect a fair share thereof by way of taxation.

But it must be remembered that the vast majority of our agriculturists live much below the subsistence level. The failure of one crop usually breaks their back. The prices of foodgrains do not rise as steeply as that of other articles of daily necessity and the credit of maintaining a reasonable level of prices for foodgrains must go to the poor agriculturists, who are so much exploited by the middlemen. But these facts are forgotten when we say that the agriculturist must pay a certain amount of the investment in the agricultural sector of our economy.

Then, a tax is proposed to be levied on crystal sugar at an *ad valorem* rate. The total revenue from sugar and *khandasari* will rise by Rs. 27.45 crores. Day by day sugar is becoming a scarce commodity and the villagers find it very costly and even scarce. Yet, we export sugar at a comparatively low price. This is an anomaly which should be stopped. We cannot, and should not, export sugar at about 50 paise per kilogram to rich countries abroad when our own poor people to have to pay a rate of Rs. 5 per kilogram.

When Shri Dwivedy spoke the other day, he referred to the need of development of Orissa and stressed the regional imbalances in the development of India. The question of giving the green signal to the Talcher Industrial complex is hanging fire for a number of years now. Government must come to a decision soon on a project which promises so much for the development of a backward State at such low cost and also promises to contribute so much to the prosperity of the whole of India.

The development of Paradip port in Orissa also needs immediate attention. After investing so much in this project, which has been exporting so much iron ore to Japan, government should not neglect it and must make proper and adequate arrangements for its dredging and maintenance.

Then I will come to a Central seed farm in my own constituency, about which

some questions were put this morning. Government have started a big seed farm in Sambalpur in a land which was acquired for the Hirakud dam project and which was lying unused by Government. People who were displaced from the dam site were using that land on sub-lease. They have spent all compensation which they get from acquisition and all these years they have been waiting with the expectation that on some future date they are going to get that land on a permanent basis. Now the earth has been removed from their feet and they have become destitutes. Either alternative employment or accommodation must be provided to them.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN : (Mettur) We have been hearing from Congress members, at least some members, that our Finance Minister is a man of integrity, he is very sincere and straightforward. We have never quarrelled with that claim except perhaps with regard to his son's affair. Forgetting even that, I am prepared to accept that proposition that our hon. Finance Minister is above suspicion. Still, he is a human being and human nature being what it is, I am sure that his prejudices and predilections have gone into the formulation of this budget.

The first point I would like to take is his antipathy towards the States. Not only he but the Central Government as such is very much averse to the demands of States for increased allocation because it feels that the States are not raising enough resources for themselves as per the dictates of the Centre. But if we take into consideration the avenues of taxation that are left to the States, can anybody say that there is further scope for the States to increase their tax revenue?

What are the taxes that are left to the States? Sales tax, land revenue and some other small items. In the case of both these items, we have reached the saturation point. As against these, the Centre has got excise and income-tax. What is the position of the excise revenue? In 1948-49, it was a bare figure of Rs. 50 crores. But today it is of the order of Rs. 1250 crores. Can anybody imagine that a State can to that ratio raise taxes from out of the sources still left open for them? It is impossi-

ble. The same is true of Income-tax also.

The Deputy Prime Minister may argue that the Centre does share its income with the States. But what is the share? I do not want to go into the past records. Even taking the figure that he has given in the present budget, we find that the total revenue to the Centre is of the order of Rs. 3519 crores, and out of this sum, Rs. 3000 crores are left with the Centres and it goes into the pocket of the Centre and only Rs. 519 crores is to be shared by all the States. What a paltry sum! With this amount, they have to discharge the responsibilities enjoined on them by the Constitution. And the States have to undertake virtually all the ameliorative measures and all the welfare measures like promotion of agriculture, providing education and health services, road-building, providing small irrigation etc. Here also I concede that the Centre does supplement the efforts of the States. But according to me that is only a duplication and waste of work, because the real impact of the Centre's effort is negligible on the States. That is the position today.

In this plight when the States are just dragging on somehow, the Centre thinks still that there is enough scope for the States to raise resources. How is it possible? My hon. friend Shri Umanath has said that this budget is a budget with a vengeance. I would rather say, though that is also true, that the Centre has adopted a vindictive attitude towards the States by proposing this agricultural tax. As we all know, during the last few years, there has been a suggestion from the Centre that the States should tap more resources from the rural sector. But not a single Chief Minister, either Congress or non-Congress has come forward, because they know full well the predicament and the pitiable situation in which the farmers of our country are today placed. So, they have totally refused to accede to the suggestion of the Centre. Hence the Centre thought that it was high time for them to assert their dictatorial rights and by circumventing the Constitution they thought that they could impose it on the States. To me it looks very funny. I am not able to appreciate the assertion of the Finance Minister. If his intention is to give back the entire collection to the States, why should he

collect it at all? If he is going to steal it, and if he thinks that it is honourable to steal it in order to give it back to them, then I say that I am not able to appreciate the logic behind it.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : If he does not like it, then we would not transfer.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN : We do not like his stealing.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : I know that.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN : Now, look at the amount that he seeks to collect. He expects an income of Rs. 5 crores in 1970-71. If this is to be divided among all the States, each State may get about Rs. 25 to 30 lakhs. So, it is a very paltry sum. For this, they need not begin scaring the farmers from now on. I am afraid that this will have an adverse effect on the promotion of agriculture in our country.

I concede the point that a time may come when we may have to tax the rural sector, but this is not the time. We have to wait for some more time, till, as some hon. Members have pointed out, the cultivable but uncultivated land today in our country is brought under the plough in a very substantial measure, and we have to see that agriculture without fluctuation would settle down and yield an assured minimum income per annum for the middle class farmer. Only then can we think of these levies.

Government have covered this up by saying that they are going to siphon off the black money that is being invested in the rural sector. I doubt very much their intention. I honestly feel that Government could have taken a number of other measures to siphon this black money which they have not done so far. They pretended as if they were taking some measures, and you know and the House knows how miserably they have failed, because their intentions were not honest. After that, they now come and say that they are trying to get the black money from out of the rural sector. I do not understand this logic at all.

Even at this juncture, even if some professionally rich people and some big business people have invested their money

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in agriculture, for the time being I would say, let them invest in agriculture; I do not think that there would thereby be any terrific harm that will befall this country because of the money going into agriculture. I say this because we know the humiliating position in which we are placed because of the PL-480 imports, and we know how much foreign exchange we are losing, and we know how much the developmental activities are suffering because of the import of foodgrains. Apart from the economic aspect, I feel that it is a humiliating situation for a pre-dominantly agricultural country like India to be dependent on imports. So, I am emphatically of the opinion that we should allow money to be ploughed back into the rural sector. Let there be progressive farming and that will create a chain reaction and that will make its impact on agriculture. Let some time be given for our agriculture to grow. After all, the rural sector has not become so green, as somebody tried to make out the other day. So, let us allow them some time. Later, a stage may come when they will willingly be prepared to part with their surplus income, if any.

If the hon. Finance Minister is not going to rescind his proposals and withdraw this levy, then I am afraid that he would have to be prepared from now on to face a rather violent agitation in this country. It may be true that the rural sector is unorganised, but I would like to tell him that the farmers and the peasantry in this country have proved their mettle during the freedom struggle, and they will not hesitate to prove it again to this Government if they are not going to withdraw this levy that they have proposed.

There are other taxes also which affect the rural sector, namely the tax on fertilisers and pumping sets. Much has been said on these things already and, therefore, I do not want to elaborate on it. But I fear the sales of fertilisers may go down, and this may neutralise the extra revenue that he expects to get out of it.

In regard to pumping sets also, I would say this. We have not deepened all the wells in the country. We know the drought situation in this country. We know the importance of electricity also in so many regions to go ahead with the energising

programme. So, this is not the proper time for us to tax the farmer more and increase the cost of investment that he has to make because that will consequentially raise the prices of foodgrains and other agricultural produce.

So, I would like to plead with the hon. Minister that he should give serious consideration to these matters. There is one other thing which pertains to a State matter on which also I would like to say something. So far, the Central Government have not conceded the demands of the progressive elements and the various Chief Ministers belonging even to their own party that the States should be given more rights and powers. The States are in a very pitiable plight like some of our poor housewives in our country. The spendthrift of a husband will go on a rampage and spend all the earnings that he has got and come back home in the evening to beat her for not having his dinner ready. Such is the position in which the States find themselves today. The spendthrift of a Central Government gets all the money that it could manage, and mops up all the resources that are there in the States and then chastise the States "Look here, you are not giving me enough money, and I cannot go on feeding you".

Whatever may be the Constitutional position, what is the real impact of the Central taxes on the people of this country? In all walks of life people directly come into contact with the State Government. So, for whatever increase in prices or whatever other inconveniences they may come across in their day-to-day life because of the Central Government taxes, they immediately begin to blame the State Government. That is bound to be there. My analysis is that that was the reason why the Congress has lost in many of the States but has not lost at the Centre. Probably, the people thought that it was those fellows who were to be blamed and not the real culprits here. We know that except for the educated few, majority of our people, 70 per cent of them, are illiterate and do not understand the intricacies of our political structure. It is high time that the Government realises it.

There is a bogey raised that unless there is a unitary form of government this

country will disintegrate. I am sorry to say that I do not concede that point at all. What is the position? Let us remember that before 1947, before Pakistan became a reality, all the serious-minded politicians as well as statesmen in this country were for States' autonomy. They talked in terms of federalism and not in terms of unitary form of government. Only after the formation of Pakistan, after it became a *fait accompli*, a reality, there was a sudden emotional shift to the other extreme and on that the Constitution was framed. It was a negative emotional shift. Unfortunately it is rather more towards the unitary form than towards the federal side. So we have been seeing that in the past 20 years the regional aspirations, the polyglot nature of this country and the continental climate that prevails in this country leading to various cultures are more and more asserting themselves. We see their manifestation everywhere and I do not consider this as a dent in the country; we should rather take it as a warning and see that we reverse the whole thing.

There is a curious development that I am seeing in this country in spite of the unceasing effort of the last 20 years towards a unitary form of government at the Central level. After 1947 when the national flag was raised or the national anthem was sung, we witnessed a spontaneous upsurge of the emotion, loyalty and the faith of the people. What is the position after 20 years? We are trying to inculcate patriotism in our people from without, by closing the doors of the cinemas and theatres. What a ridiculous situation the country has been lowered to. Does it not prove that we are not proceeding on the right path? I am firmly of the opinion that the whole political structure should be reversed and there should be a radical change of thinking with regard to our Constitution *vis-à-vis* the Centre-State relations. Unless that is done I am afraid, we are not going to improve things.

After all, the strength of the country lies in the prosperity of the country and the prosperity of the country depends upon the initiative that is taken by the States. If you do not give enough rights to them, commensurate with their responsibility, you cannot expect the initiative to be taken by them. Today there is an unhealthy trend of each State vying with another to

get some doles from the Centre. This is unhealthy and humiliating, I say. Every State in the country says that it is being exploited. So, instead of having this kind of a deteriorating and immoral situation prevailing in the country, why do you not have a healthy set-up where healthy competition prevails in the States? Let them look after their own affairs. That can never weaken this country. That should be the attitude that the Government should take.

Another very important item which I would like to deal with is the tax concession given to the textile industry. I do hope that the hon. Finance Minister was of the genuine opinion that the concession which he has given to the textile industry will mitigate the hardship that is hampering the development of that sector. I am afraid, the Government here in Delhi has not probably appreciated the magnitude of the problem particularly in my State. It is a grave crisis and, I am afraid, if something more is not done, the catastrophe cannot be averted. Today as many as 33 spinning mills are closed in my State alone. As far as we are concerned, the textile crisis means to us a glut in the yarn market.

Only the spinning mills are closed. As far as the relief announced by the Government is concerned it may benefit, I am told, the powerloom sector and the composite mills. With regard to the spinning mills, I reliably learn, it is not going to touch even the fringe of their problem.

Today, the production per month is of the order of 90,000 bales of which 30,000 bales are consumed within the State. The rest two-thirds production is dependent on the market outside my State. Unfortunately, what has happened in the past few years is—it is a wonderful planning that these people have—that there is an increase in licences and they have increased the capacity of the spinning mills in the country without taking into consideration the existing capacity that was already there with the result the market has very much, shrunk and with the shrinkage in market there is a terrible glut leading to the distress sale in the yarn market. I have not got a brief to plead for the industrialists as such. I do not think, even after the closure, they have become overnight beggars. That is not my view when I argue this point. After all, they might have had

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other things to depend upon because they do invest their money in various sectors. But here the problem is of human nature because lakhs and lakhs of employees have been thrown out of employment. Apart from that, the capital that is locked up in the spinning mills the country's resources or the money is being wasted. What a wonderful planning you have got if you could not anticipate these things? The Government have miserably failed in this. In their anticipations, with regard to textile consumption, they have miserably failed. The consumption of man-made fibre has double where as on the textile side the consumption has not been upto their expectations. That has fallen much short of their expectations. When such is the position, I would like to point out that the concession they have announced amounts to, according to their own statement, about Rs. 15.30 crores. The excise duty on yarn was introduced only in 1959. At that time, this was yielding a revenue of Rs. 13 lakhs. Now, the excise duty on yarn alone fetches an amount of about Rs. 40 crores. Within these 10 years, we can imagine the increase on this side. Your concession given to yarn, coupled with cloth and other things, comes to about Rs. 15.30 crores. Even there, there are different varieties of yarn. I think, the hon. Minister may know it or the advisers who are responsible for these things may have known it. There is hank yarn and cone yarn and also straight reel and cross reel. There are so many varieties. On certain varieties, the levy has been increased. Only on certain varieties, the levy has been decreased. I also gather that, particularly, where the levy is high, that is affecting handloom sector because the type of yarn that has to go to the handloom sector has not been exempted from this levy. So, I would plead, even if the Government is not going to totally abolish the excise duty on yarn, at least let them give a substantial reduction, a little more concession than what they have already given.

Sir, this is a very vital matter for us. It is often threatening us as a law and order situation in my State, as you might have seen it in the papers. I would like to give a few suggestions: I understand even the credit facilities that they

used to get before, after the crisis has taken over the industry and the spinning mills, are not being given to them. The banks are not prepared to give credit facilities. I also learn that even Government financial institutions are not fair enough to cater to their needs. My hon. friend, Mr. Umanath, raised a very pertinent point about the investment of L.I.C. The other day, there was the Starred Question No. 374 put by Mr. Madhu Limaye about the investment of L.I.C. in Tata company. The answer was this :

"The L. I. C. bought a big block of ordinary shares of the Tata Iron & Steel Company Ltd. in the normal course of investment. It will not be in the public interest to disclose details of its transactions in shares of individual companies."

I am not entering into the investment pattern. But if the LIC thinks that they can afford to invest in the Tata Company as if they are very poor and they cannot manage things and they have to be propped up by the financial institutions of the Government, is there any reason or excuse for the Government not to consider the legitimate demands of the mediumsize and small-size industries? They could give some money to them. Here I make a demand—it is a general demand and I join Mr. Umanath in this—that the Government should, if it is honest enough, disclose the investment pattern of the financial institutions. Do they think that only the Finance Minister of this country is the guardian angel and the others are not so patriotic enough to keep the secrets of this country? Let him have a closed session at least and give all the details that are there, so that we may know as to what they are doing and how they are investing our money.

I would plead with them to assist the spinning mills for reopening by giving soft and long term loans. Also I would plead with them to purchase the accumulated stock through the STC.

SHRI R. S. ARUMUGAM (Tenkasi): I welcome the Budget presented by our Deputy Prime Minister. I think, the proposed taxation on fertilisers and pump-sets will affect the agricultural production

In this country and, therefore, I have requested the Deputy Prime Minister to reconsider this taxation proposal.

A steel plant in Salem is a long-felt desire of Tamil Nadu people. I request the Government to take up the Salem Steel Plant in the Fourth Plan period.

In Tamil Nadu there is a propaganda going on against the Central Government that the Central Government are adopting a discriminatory attitude in allotting Central funds to the State. I want the Deputy Prime Minister to give a categorical reply to this allegation as otherwise it may affect the cordial relations between the Centre and the State.

I am glad to know that the agricultural production this year also is encouraging. Unfortunately it was only 74 million tonnes in the year 1967 when the Fourth General Elections took place and all the political parties took political advantage of the scarcity situation; particularly, the DMK Party exploited the then prevailing conditions of that State and successfully turned the people to their side by promising three Madras measures of rice for a rupee if they came to power. Though during the last two years the annual agricultural output exceeded 95 million tonnes, I regret to say that the DMK in Tamil Nadu has not fulfilled its promise....

15.34 hrs.

[Shri Gadilingana Gowd *in the Chair*]

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN (Wandiwash): We did not promise anything in Pondicherry and in spite of that, we got elected.

SHRI R. S. ARUMUGAM: It is only a new attraction. They will feel afterwards.

Previously in rural parts people were getting their ration through family card system. The present State Government have discontinued this system and because of that, the people in the rural areas are suffering a lot to get rice.

Now, some of the districts in our State have been affected by drought. I am not confident that the State Government will be able to meet the situation and rescue the drought-stricken people. I request the Central Government to come to the aid of the State.

Apart from that, the Tamil Nadu Government is not taking sufficient interest in augmenting agricultural production.

AN HON. MEMBER: Who says?

SHRI S. NARAYANA RAO (Bobbili): Everybody knows it.

SHRI R. S. ARUMUGAM: The prices of all agricultural products are too low compared to the prices of the agricultural inputs. In these circumstances, what incentive will the agriculturists have to increase production.

The Tamil Nadu Government has miserably failed to maintain cordial relations with the landowners and kisans. The authorities adopt coercive measures in procurement. In some places there have even been police excesses, treating the peasants as criminals.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: Is he speaking on the Tamil Nadu budget or the Union budget?

SHRI R. S. ARUMUGAM: The procurement prices fixed are not remunerative. I am sorry to say that the procurement prices in our State are considerably lower than those in other States. Unless the Tamil Nadu takes corrective steps to rectify these defects, I cannot believe that there will be any improvement in food production in the State.

In Bombay city, the Tamil people have been suffering a lot at the hands of the Shiv Sena. I request the Central Government to give them full protection. Though law and order and some other vital subjects are within the State sphere, I request the Central Government not to shirk their responsibility in this regard.

I would like to bring to the notice of the Government the following few things which are going on in the Tamil Nadu. Law and order is not maintained. Under the previous Congress Government, the police had a reputation for their efficiency and doing their duty properly. Now they have become tools in the hands of the ruling party.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: This is an utter lie.

SHRI R. S. ARUMUGAM : The DMK Government employ the police to suppress, depress and oppress the opposition parties in the State. One Harijan Congress MLA's leg was cut off by some bad elements. The police did not take proper action. They did not even conduct the case properly. On 1-8-68, there was a mass Congress youth rally which was going on a peaceful procession in Madras City. It was ruthlessly and mercilessly lathi-charged by the police and more than 600 persons were admitted in hospital.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN : It was a procession of goondas.

SHRI R. S. ARUMUGAM : Most of those injured were cases of head injury. My blood boils when I think of one political sufferer, a freedom fighter, by name of Shri Devadas, who died in hospital due to injuries sustained in a lathi-charge. False cases are being foisted against the Congress workers. Shri Nedumaran, M.A., who is editor of a paper, is one of them.

At Madurai, on March 4, the police mercilessly lathi-charged people who went to see Shri Nedumaran. More than 40 persons were injured and admitted to hospital. You can see the photos of that in these papers. With the permission of the Chair, I would like to place them on the Table.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN : Goondas were brought by Congress people to release him from police custody.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN : On a point of order. This matter was brought up even in the State Assembly as an adjournment motion and was ruled out because it was out of order.

Apart from that, it is a ticklish issue. If he is to mention here all these things, it will have repercussions there. It is not fair under the Rules to refer to these things here and this is also not the forum for such references.

SHRI R. S. ARUMUGAM : This is a printed matter. It was raised in the Assembly.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN : This was not

taken up even by the Assembly there. Should it be referred to here? Everything is printed matter. Even yellow journals are printed matters.

SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU (Chittoor) : Printed in Tamil Nadu papers!

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN : They are all your own newspapers.

SHRI R. S. ARUMUGAM : Everybody was shocked to know about the Kilvenmani incident in Tanjore District. More than 42 Harijan Agricultural labourers were burnt to death. Enmity existed between the Harijan Agricultural labourers or kisans on the one hand and the Paddy Producers' Welfare Association or landowners on the other and the Government and the Police were well aware of this. On the very date, one landowner's man was murdered at about 6 P. M. The Police Station is not far away from this place. The fire incident which took a toll of 42 Harijans took place at about 10 P. M. Had the Police been present at the spot immediately after the first incident, the latter horrible occurrence could have been well avoided. Therefore, I charge the Tamil Nadu Government to bear the sole responsibility for the said occurrence.

Now, the persons at the helm of affairs in Tamil Nadu are believers in atheism. Some time back...

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon. Member may speak on the Budget.

SHRI R. S. ARUMUGAM : Sometime back they issued a G. O. to remove all the pictures of Gods and Goddesses in Government Offices and other institutions. At present they are trying to remove all the road-side temples in Madras city and surrounding places of Madras. Another shocking incident occurred recently.

On February 18, at Neiveli, Shri Thirumuruga Kripananda Variyar, a famous Hindu scholar and devotee of Lord Subramania had a very unpleasant experience in the hands of D. M. K. men. The D. M. K. men took a reference of Shri Variyar to have belittled the late Chief Minister, Shri Annadurai.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN : Why should the hon. Member refer to that here, as it is a closed issue there ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon. Member should confine himself to the Budget.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN : The law and order problem should be discussed in the Madras Assembly. There are 50 Congress Members to take up this issue there.

SHRI KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ (Wardha) : It is the right of the Member to discuss everything here. Why should you take objection to that ?

SHRI R. S. ARUMUGAM : The mob of D. M. K. people forced Shri Variyar to apologise. Afterwards, they raided the house in which he was staying and man-handled the idols of Lord Subramanya, Valli and Deivayanai worshipped by him and damaged the "Thiruvasi" and the peacock of the Lord.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am sorry that I am not going to allow the hon. Member to speak any further.

SHRI R. S. ARUMUGAM : I shall conclude in one minute.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There are thirty more Members in the list. You were allowed only ten minutes but you have taken fifteen minutes. I am calling another Member.

SHRI R. S. ARUMUGAM : They interrupted me while I spoke. I want to say that I consider this incident as a great insult and also as a challenge to the God-fearing people of this country.....
(Interruptions.)***

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am sorry. Nothing of what you say further will go on record. Shrimati Nirlep Kaur.

SHRIMATI NIRLEP KAUR (Sangrur) : Never before has any country spoken so long and so loud about secularism. But I feel that everyone here believes so little in

it. I may be permitted to say a few words about the Ministry of External Affairs over which our distinguished Prime Minister had presided so far and which has been taken over by Mr. Dinesh Singh about whom we can say that he enjoys the full confidence of our Prime Minister.

There is a person by the name of Shanti Swarup Dhawan who, before he migrated to the town from which the ruling Nehru family hails, was a lawyer in the North-Western Frontier Province of India, now a part of Pakistan. Ever since he became a lackey of the Nehrus, fortune has smiled upon him constantly and without interruption. The Dhawans come from a family of Sikh Hindus and ever since his migration to Allahabad about forty years ago, he has become a Sikh-hater and a Sikh-baiter believing that such an attitude pays dividends from those who are in a position to advance his interests. He is a retired Chief Justice of a High Court.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon. lady Member should not make any personal references ; she may talk on the Budget. That is not proper.

SHRIMATI NIRLEP KAUR : This is about the behaviour of a political appointee towards the Sikh community in England ; that is why I refer to his name. To the misfortune of the Sikhs he had been sent to the United Kingdom as an Indian High Commissioner. He has abused his position in England by demoralizing and degrading the Sikh citizens of Great Britain. He has set up more than one stooge organization of the Sikhs to sabotage and confound the social life of the Sikhs. Everyday and in every way he sees to it that the Sikh Englishmen either apostatise or leave their adopted country. On March 13, 1968 he was invited by the Sikhs to the opening ceremony of a new Sikh Gurdwara in Leicester where, while addressing the Sikh congregation, this Sikh renegade had the impudence to make the following utterances : "Listen to me, you Sikhs, who are assembled here. None of you is carrying a long sword as your ancestors used to. But you still remain Sikhs. Now, I exhort

***Not recorded.

[Shrimati Nirlep Kaur]

you to change your appearances, so as to resemble the native Englishmen."

Hon. Members are no doubt aware of struggle waged by the Sikhs in the United Kingdom to retain their religious and cultural heritage and their right to wear beards and turbans whilst in—or seeking—employment in their adopted country.

I would in this connection like to make some relevant queries. The protest demonstration in Wolverhampton by the Sikhs was to be held on Sunday, the 4th February, and the High Commissioner went to Wolverhampton on Monday, the 29th January at 1-30 p.m., six days before the demonstration was to take place. There he had tea with the Mayor and about 10 councillors. The second demonstration was to be held on the 12th May outside 10, Downing Street, London. He met the Mayor on the 24th April on the pretext of visiting a school.

I would like to ascertain what precisely transpired between the High Commissioner and the Mayor. I would like to mention that Mr. Chagla, during his tenure as High Commissioner in London, resolved a similar issue of wearing turbans in a matter of three days. I ask the External Affairs Minister to explain to this House whether it is the policy of the Government to destroy the eternal symbols of the Sikh people, and to destroy the visible marks of religion. If such is not the policy of the Government of India, I call upon the External Affairs Minister to recall this envoy from the United Kingdom and to punish him in a measure that befits his crime, so that in future no public servant dare abuse the powers and prerogatives of the Union, of the Government, of India for the disgraceful purpose of oppressing and oppressing the vital minority interests of the Indian nation.

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकांतम्मा (खम्मम) : सभापति महोदय, मुझे कम से कम 15 मिनट दिए जायें, दस मिनट में समाप्त करना मुश्किल होगा।

देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था के सन्दर्भ में मैं एक महत्वपूर्ण बात की और सरकार का ध्यान आकषित करना चाहती हूँ। इस बात से इनकार नहीं किया जा सकता कि पिछले तीन वर्षों में सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक विकास के मामले में

तथा सामाजिक सेवाओं के मामले में साधारण जनता को बड़ी निराशा हुई है। लोगों को कितनी ही कठिनाइयाँ भेलनी पड़ी हैं जिनके कारण उनमें काफी असन्तोष पाया जाता है। विकास सम्बन्धी कार्यक्रम की गति इतनी मन्द पड़ गई है कि लोगों को यह स्थिति बहुत खरर रही है। यह सब इसलिए हुआ है कि इन्फ्लेशन या अतिचलन के कारण कीमतों का बढ़ना और अन्य दुष्परिणामों की रोक-थाम के लिए उप प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कड़ी कार्यवाही की और डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग को जहाँ का तहाँ रोक दिया। मैं मानती हूँ कि आर्थिक मन्दी और अवमूल्यन के सन्दर्भ में इस प्रकार की कड़ी कार्यवाही करना आवश्यक था और जो असुविधा हुई उसे सहन करना लोगों का कर्तव्य भी माना जा सकता है। परन्तु हर बात की एक सीमा होती है और होनी चाहिए। उस सीमा के आगे जब बात बढ़ जाती है तो अच्छी से अच्छी व्यवस्था भी असफल हो जाती है और लाभ के बदले उससे असन्तोष ही बढ़ता जाता है।

मेरी राय में अब समय आ गया है जबकि पिछले दो तीन वर्षों की नीति पर पुनर्विचार किया जाये और एक नियन्त्रित मात्रा में डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग का सहारा लेकर ही सही आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक विकास योजनाओं की गति को बहुत बढ़ा दिया जाये। इस मामले में मैं समझती हूँ कि परन्तु कार्यवाही होनी चाहिए ताकि आज जनसाधारण में जो असन्तोष उभर रहा है वह हानिकर दिशाओं में चलने न पाये। आज के राजनीतिक वातावरण की दृष्टि से भी मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि विकास की गति को बढ़ाने की आवश्यकता सर्वोपरि है।

जहाँ तक कि नये बजट के अन्तर्गत कर-नीति का सम्बन्ध है, अच्छा होता यदि मिट्टी के तेल जैसी वस्तुओं पर अतिरिक्त कर न लगाया जाता। मेरी राय में इस प्रकार के करों से बाज्र आना ही उचित है, परन्तु वस्तुस्थिति कुछ ऐसी लगती है कि प्रायः गरीबों पर करों का भार

लादे बिना सरकार की गाड़ी भागे बढ़ ही नहीं सकती ।

एक नया कर जिसे प्रायः पहली बार श्री मोरारजी भाई ने लगाने की ठानी है, वह कृषि सम्बन्धी सम्पत्ति-कर है । अब से पहले कुछ राज्यों में कृषि सम्बन्धी प्रायकर लगाया भी गया था परन्तु उसके प्रशासन तथा वसूली आदि में इतनी कठिनाइयाँ आईं कि राज्य सरकारों को अपनी नीति बदलनी पड़ी । बात यह है कि जहाँ करोड़ों अनपढ़ तथा गाँवों में बसने वाले किसानों पर हिसाब-किताब रखने और रिपोर्ट भेजने की जिम्मेवारी लादी जाती है, तब फिर ऐसा कोई कर सफल नहीं हो सकता है । उलट उसके कारण लाखों लोग कई प्रकार से सताये जाते हैं और फिर वे लोग सरकार से नाराज हो जाते हैं । इसलिए पहले देखना यह पड़ेगा कि प्रस्ताविन कर कितने कृषकों पर लागू होने वाला है और उससे कितना रुपया वसूल होगा । किसानों पर प्रायकर या सम्पत्ति-कर लगाना अनुचित नहीं कहा जा सकता, परन्तु जटिल तथा आचरण के अयोग्य अवश्य साबित हो चुका है । अब देखना यह है कि सरकार इस कर को लागू करके कितना रुपया वसूल करेगी और कसे ?

नये बजट की कर नीति के बारे में कई सदस्य यहाँ पर बोल चुके हैं । मैं वह सब दोहराना नहीं चाहती । मैं कुछ बुनियादी प्रश्नों की ओर सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहती हूँ । आज हम देश के इतिहास में एक बड़े नाजुक समय से गुजर रहे हैं जबकि जनतंत्र की प्रगति एक नये मोड़ पर पहुँची है । एक अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न यह है कि जब जनतंत्र का मूल्य ही लोगों की दृष्टि में गिरता जा रहा है तो फिर इसका पनपना भी कहाँ तक सम्भव होगा ? आज देश भर में लोगों में अनुशासन का अभाव पाया जाता है और ऐसा लगता है कि लोगों ने मारधाड़ से ही सब कुछ हासिल कर लेनी की ठानी है । छोटी से छोटी माँग से लेकर बड़ी से बड़ी समस्या तक सर्वत्र इसी हिंसात्मक तथा विध्वंसात्मक प्रवृत्ति का दौर-

दौरा दीखता है । जहाँ अनुशासन न हो वहाँ जनतंत्र चल नहीं सकता और जनतंत्र के बदले मोड़ का राज्य या नीराज हो जाता है । ऐसी दशा में प्रगति का प्रश्न ही असंगत हो जाता है । इसलिए मेरी राय में यदि जनतंत्र को इस देश में पनपना है, तो लोगों में एक आंतरिक अनुशासन का आना आवश्यक है, उसे एककेन प्रकारेण लाना होगा और तभी हम जनतंत्र को जड़ें मजबूत बना सकेंगे ।

16. 00. hrs.

मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि भारत की एकता को पग-पग पर चुनौतियों का सामना करना पड़ रहा है । कभी जातिवाद, कभी प्रान्तवाद, कभी उप-प्रान्तवाद और कभी आर्थिक उन्नति की विषमता के कारण उत्पन्न बैमनस्य, कभी सरहदों को लेकर तनाननी—सारांश यह कि हमारी राष्ट्रीय एकता की भावना को क्षति पहुँचाने वाले कई भेदभाव और अन्तर्विरोध आये दिन उभर रहे हैं और राष्ट्रीय जीवन कन्वुषित होता जा रहा है । इसका कारण खोजने का कई लोग प्रयत्न भी कर रहे हैं, परन्तु इस खोज में मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि किसी का पूरा सफलता नहीं मिल पाई है । बात यह है कि राष्ट्रीय जीवन को जब हम अनेक खंडों के रूप में देख कर कभी आर्थिक, कभी सामाजिक तथा कभी राजनीतिक स्तर पर खोज करने लगते हैं तभी हमारा दृष्टिकोण पाक्षिक तथा एकांगी हो जाता है ।

जीवन अखंड है और जीवन के बुनियादी प्रश्न भी अखंड हैं । विशेषकर राष्ट्रीय एकता और व्यक्ति महत्त्व का प्रश्न तो संबंधी अखंड है । भारतीय एकता का हमें व्यापक रूप से जीवन में अनुभव करना चाहिए और राष्ट्रीय नीतियों को रूप देने में इस बात का सदा ध्यान रखना चाहिये । भारत की बुनियादी एकता अध्यात्मिक है, सांस्कृतिक है, इस बात को आज हम लोग पग-पग पर भुला रहे हैं, ऐसा मुझे लगता है इसी कारण हम अस्थायी हलों की तलाश में चलते जाते हैं और क्षमशामों को

[श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकान्तम्मा]

और भी उलझा देते हैं। शिक्षा दीक्षा में, बोलचाल में, आचार व्यवहार में मनन चिंतन में, गर्ज कि जीवन के सभी पहलुओं में इस मौलिक एकता के भान का अभाव पाया जाता है।

अब आप अपने भारतीय संविधान को ही ले लीजिये। यह कहना कठिन है कि उस के कुछ उपबंधों के कारण राष्ट्रीय एकता दृढ़ हुई है या ढीली पड़ गयी है। उदाहरण के लिए संविधान में गिनाये गये मूलभूत अधिकारों के बारे में काफ़ी मतभेद हैं और वह हो सकता है। अधिकारों में समानता अच्छी चीज़ है परन्तु विषमता पर आधारित समाज-रचना के संदर्भ में कोरी समानता का परिणाम विपम ही हो सकता है और हो रहा है।

समान अवसर सब को देने पर भी उस अवसर से लाभ उठाने और उस के फायदे को पचाने की शक्ति भिन्न लोगों में भिन्न-भिन्न मात्राओं में होने के कारण वैयक्तिक, सामाजिक तथा प्रादेशिक असंतुलन बढ़ता ही जा रहा है। इसलिए संविधान में मूलभूत अधिकारों के साथ साथ कुछ व्यक्तियों तथा प्रांतों के लिए विशेष आरक्षणों की योजना की गई है, परन्तु खेद इसी बात का है कि इन आरक्षणों का परिणाम भी देश की एकता के सुदृढ़ बनने में हुआ है, यह नहीं कहा जा सकता। राचमुच हुआ यह है कि लगभग प्रत्येक आरक्षण से एक विशिष्ट वर्ग उत्पन्न हुआ है जो समाज में कई प्रकार की फूट डाल रहा है और राष्ट्रीय एकता को भंग कर रहा है।

हाल में जो घटनायें आंध्र प्रदेश और महाराष्ट्र राज्यों में घटी हैं उन के अनुशीलन से पता चल सकता है कि केवल संविधान का उपबंध एकता को बनाये रखने के लिए पर्याप्त नहीं है। यही नहीं बल्कि एक प्रकार के उपबंध से एक स्थान पर मनमुटाव बढ़ा है तो ठीक इस के विपरीत उपबंध या व्यवस्था के कारण दूसरे स्थान पर फूट बढ़ी है।

किसी प्रकार का प्रांतीय आरक्षण न होने से महाराष्ट्र में जो द्वेष फैला वही द्वेष प्रांतीय आरक्षणों के संदर्भ में तेलंगाने में उभर आया। जहाँ कोई आरक्षण नहीं है वहाँ स्थानीय लोगों की क्षति होती है और वे अपने ही घर में पराये से हो जाते हैं। पर जहाँ आरक्षणों की व्यवस्था होती है वहाँ उन आरक्षणों को सर्व-कालीन बनाने अथवा मान लेने की प्रवृत्ति प्रबल हो जाती है और अलग अलग रहने और अलग-पन बनाये रखने के अनेक प्रयत्न किये जाते हैं इस से संघर्ष बढ़ता है और देश या प्रांत की एकता को भारी नुकसान पहुंचता है।

सभापति महोदय, इस विश्लेषण से स्पष्ट है कि संविधान या विधि के उपबंधों के साथ-साथ जनता के स्तर पर और जनमत को प्रभावित करने के लिए एक ऐसा प्रयास होना आवश्यक है जिससे एकता की संचेतना जन-साधारण में जागरित हो सके।

स्थानाय अवसरों को बिना किसी संबंधानिक आरक्षण के ही स्थानीय लोगों को उपलब्ध करने की एक स्वास्थ्यकारी प्रथा सर्वत्र चल पड़े और सब लोग उस का पालन करें यही रा रा गुथी को सुलझाने का एक मात्र उपाय है। ऐसा होगा तो आरक्षणों की आवश्यकता ही न रहेगी और अवसरों के वितरण पर आधारित जो संघर्ष आज सर्वत्र पाया जाता है वह आगे न रह सकेगा।

मैं आशा करती हूँ कि न केवल सरकार बल्कि मुलाजमत देने वाले सब मालिक इस प्रथा के महत्व को समझेंगे और आर्थिक उन्नति के साथ-साथ देश में आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक न्याय की भी व्यवस्था आप ही आप बन पड़ेगी।

चूंकि सभापति महोदय, आप मुझे बराबर बैठने के लिए कह रहे हैं इसलिए मैं और अधिक न कह कर अपना स्थान ग्रहण करती हूँ।

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त (दिल्ली सदर) : सभापति महोदय, जिस प्रकार से यह बजट देश के सामने रखा जाता है उससे देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था की सही तस्वीर सामने नहीं आती है। यह बात तो ठीक है कि एक लेजिस्लेटिव कंट्रोल और फाइनेंशियल एकाऊटैबिलिटी तो इस बजट से मालूम होती है ; अर्थ के ऊपर बहुत जोर दिया जाता है लेकिन क्या परिणाम निकला खर्च करने के बाद इस बारे में भी नहीं बतलाया जाता है। मेरा कहना यह है कि इस बजट के साथ-साथ हमें यह भी पता लगाना चाहिए कि परिणाम क्या निकले हैं और खर्च करने के बाद यह यह चीजें पूरी हुईं और यह यह चीजें पूरी नहीं हुईं नभी देश का सही चित्र इस सदन के सामने भी और बाहर आम जनता के सामने भी आ सकता है। मेरा कहना यह है कि एक फिजिकल ऐन्वीवमेंट्स की जो तस्वीर है वह हमारे सामने नहीं आती है और हमें अभी यह व्यवस्था बदलनी चाहिए। एक परफोरमेंस बजटिंग का सिस्टम अपने देश में निर्माण करे ताकि देश के सामने हम ने पिछले साल में क्या किया और आगे हम क्या करने वाले हैं उसका सही चित्र लोगों के सामने आ जाय।

सभापति महोदय, आपको मालूम होगा कि ए० आर० सी० ने भी इस प्रकार की सिफारिशें की हैं। ए० आर० सी० कहा ने है :

"The budget should be an effective instrument in the development of the plan."

मैं जानता हूँ कि यह काम बहुत जल्दी नहीं हो सकता है लेकिन एक उसका फेज्ड प्रोग्राम बनाना चाहिए और हमारे उपप्रधान मंत्री जी को इसकी कोशिश करनी चाहिए कि आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता कुछ इस प्रकार के परफोरमेंस बजटिंग का सिस्टम हमारे देश में वह निर्माण करें।

पिछले साल हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने कहा था कि वह एक प्लास्टिक सर्जरी

करने जा रहे हैं। अब प्लास्टिक सर्जरी तो यही है कि थोड़ा छ्दर से काटा और उसे दूसरी जगह लगा दिया लेकिन ऐसा मालूम होता है कि उनके चाकू की तेज धार ने अब प्लास्टिक सर्जरी करते करते लोगों के हाथ को काट दिया है और विशेषतः जो मध्यम वर्ग के लोग हैं उनके तो हाथ को बिलकुल ही साफ़ कर दिया है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर कोई एक तबका है जिसके कि ऊपर इस बजट की सबसे ज्यादा चोट पड़ी है तो वस मध्यम वर्ग का तबका है। मुझे मालूम नहीं कि इसका क्या कारण है। लेकिन अगर आप देखेंगे तो पायेंगे कि डायरेक्ट टैक्स के अन्दर 10,000 से लेकर 20,000 रुपये के बीच में उन्होंने उस स्लैब के अन्दर अपने टैक्स का रेट बढ़ा दिया है। उन्होंने रजिस्टर्ड पर्स के ऊपर भी खिन्की कि आमदनी 10,000 रुपये साल है उनके ऊपर भी टैक्स लगा दिया। इस तरह से टैक्स लगाकर करीब 27 करोड़ रुपया और अधिक उन्होंने मध्य वर्ग के लोगों से यह डायरेक्ट टैक्स के जरिये लिया है। इतना ही नहीं, आप यह भी जानते हैं कि सिग्रेट, पेट्रोल, बल्स, एलैक्ट्रिक ऐप्लायंसेज, टेलीफोन, टेली-ग्राम्स, चीनी, कपड़े आदि कई एक चीजें जोकि एक मध्यम वर्ग का आदमी इस्तेमाल करता है वह हमारे उप-प्रधान मंत्री महोदय से बची नहीं हैं। मुझे मालूम नहीं है कि यह प्लास्टिक सर्जरी करते करते इनकी इतनी गहरी चोट इस मध्यम वर्ग के लोगों के लोगों के ऊपर क्यों पड़ी ? इतना ही नहीं है कि हमारे देश में करीब 27 लाख 12 हजार 196 ऐसे लोग हैं जो इंकम टैक्स देते हैं और इन 2712196 लोगों में से 6,10,000 लोगों के ऊपर यह जो अभी टैक्स बढ़ाया गया है इसका असर पड़ेगा। इसलिए मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि वह कृपा करके इस मध्यम वर्ग के ऊपर जितना उन्होंने बोझ डाला है उसमें वह कुछ रिलीफ दें, उन को कुछ राहत प्रदान करें अन्यथा उन बेचारों की कमर टूट जायेगी और वह खड़े होने लायक नहीं रहेंगे।

[श्री कंबरलाल गुप्त]

दूसरी चीज मैं खेती के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। मन्त्री महोदय ने फर्टीलाइजर पर भी ड्यूटी लगाई है, पम्पिंग सेट पर भी ड्यूटी लगाई है। किसानों पर, जमीन के मालिकों पर भी वैल्यू टैक्स लगा दिया है। मैं तो कह सकता हूँ कि उन्होंने एक नया मोड़ लिया है। अभी तक उधर की तरफ उनकी निगाह नहीं गई थी, लेकिन आज उन्होंने उधर भी निगाह करनी शुरू कर दिया है। भगवान जाने क्या होगा क्योंकि हर साल करीब 100 करोड़ रुपये के टैक्स उनको लगाने हैं। कोई भी जद में आ सकता है। कभी चोट उधर होती है और कभी चोट उधर होती है। आखिर में यह चोट खेती पर भी पड़ी है।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे उपप्रधान मंत्री महोदय पिछले तीन चार सालों से खेती पर जोर दे रहे थे। क्या उन्होंने फर्टिलाइजर की प्राइसेस पर मदद देने के लिए सन्सिडी नहीं दी थी? वह सन्सिडी उन्होंने पिछले साल वापस ले ली, लेकिन अभी तक उसकी प्राइस सन्सिडाइज्ड थी। इतना ही नहीं, खेती में काम आने वाले हल या दूसरी चीजें जो कम्पनियाँ बनाती थीं, उनको भी पिछले साल राहत दी गई थी। अगर मन्त्री महोदय के पिछले साल के भाषण को देखा जाए तो उन्होंने स्पष्ट कहा था कि खेती को प्राथमिकता दी जाएगी। खेती को बढ़ावा देने के लिए उन्होंने पिछले तीन-चार सालों तक तरह तरह की बातें कीं। लेकिन उसके बाद आज जो कुछ उन्होंने खेती के लिए किया है, वह उसके ऊपर एक अनडिक्लेअर्ड वार है, जो कि किसानों के विरुद्ध घोषित की गई है। इतना ही नहीं आज उन्होंने बड़े जबर्दस्त तरीके से अपनी पालिसी बदली है, एक ही सोमरसाल्ट लिया है। आज तक वह खेती को हमेशा प्राथमिकता देते थे, हर तरह की सहायता देते थे, लेकिन आज वही खेती के ऊपर एक कड़ी चोट लगाने जा रहे हैं।

लेकिन मैं जानता हूँ कि आज भारत की

जनता कितनी जागरूक है। आज उप प्रधान मंत्री कितने ही मजबूत क्यों न हों, उनकी इतनी हिम्मत नहीं होगी कि उन्होंने जो कहा है उस पर वह टिक सकें। और अगर उन्होंने इस की हिम्मत की भी और जिस प्रकार से उन्होंने खेती पर टैक्स लगाये हैं, उस पर कायम रहे तो उसका परिणाम वही होगा जो गोल्ड कंट्रोल ऐक्ट बनाने के बाद श्री मोरारजी देसाई और उनकी पार्टी का हुआ था, या शायद उस से भी खतरनाक होगा। उन्होंने गोल्ड कंट्रोल ऐक्ट बना लिया लेकिन आखिर में उसको आहिस्ते-आहिस्ते पीछे लाना पड़ा। गोल्ड कंट्रोल ऐक्ट से जो लाभ होने वाला था वह नहीं हुआ और जो स्मॉलिंग होनी थी वह बराबर आगे बढ़ती गई। आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता उन्होंने उसको ढीला करना शुरू कर दिया। आज केवल प्रेस्टिज की बात है, अन्यथा वह गोल्ड कंट्रोल ऐक्ट को हटाने के लिए तैयार हैं। मैं उप-प्रधान मन्त्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि लोगो की ताकत के सामने जो कुछ दीवार पर लिखा हुआ है उसको समझ लें।

हमारे देश में गांवों में जो भी लोग रहते हैं, उनके लिए आप ने क्या किया? तीन पंचवर्षीय योजनायें बनाई गईं। कहते हैं कि उससे ऐग्रीकल्चर प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा है। लेकिन मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में एक एकड़ पर फर्टीलाइजर का ऐवरेज कन्जम्शन 12 पाउण्ड का है जबकि जापान में 200 पाउण्ड है। हमारे यहां फर्टिलाइजर की कीमत दुनिया के देशों में सब से ज्यादा है, जबकि हमारे यहां प्रति एकड़ ऐवरेज ईल्ड बहुत कम है। हमारा कार्यक्रम होना चाहिये कि जो एक एकड़ की पैदावर है उसको बीज से, खाद से और पानी से बढ़ायें। यह जो हमारा प्रोग्राम चल रहा था, अगर यह टैक्स लगाए गए तो उसके ऊपर जबर्दस्त चोट पड़ेगी।

आज हमारे देश की नेशनल इन्कम का 47 परसेंट खेती से आता है जबकि हमारे देश

के 70 प्रतिशत लोग खेती के ऊपर निर्भर करते हैं। उनका खाना पीना खेती से चलता है, लेकिन इतनी प्लैन्स बनने के बाद भी हमारी नेशनल इन्कम का जो प्रोपोर्शनेट हिस्सा खेती से आता है वह गिरा है। इसका मतलब है कि शहर वालों से गांव बाजों का रेट आफ ग्रोथ पर कौपिटा बहुत कम है। आज उनके लिये मकानों की, पानी की और सड़कों की सुविधायें शहर वालों की अपेक्षा बहुत कम हैं, ऐसी हालत में कोई भी जस्टिफिकेशन नजर नहीं आता कि दो वर्षों में उनमें जो थोड़ी बहुत प्रोस्पेक्टिटी आई है उसको देखकर हम कहें कि उन पर और टैक्स लगाना चाहिये।

आज देश की कुल पापुलेशन के 9.4 परसेंट यानी 4 करोड़ ऐसे लोग गांवों में रहते हैं जिनका एक महीने का खर्च 11 रुपये से कम होता है। इसके मुकाबले शहरों में ऐसे जितने लोग रहते हैं उनकी संख्या 30 लाख है। कहां 30 लाख आदमी और कहां 4 करोड़ आदमी। कुछ लोग कह सकते हैं कि जब इन्फ्लेट्रीज पर टैक्स लगाया जाता है तब खेती पर भी क्यों नहीं लगाना चाहिये। लेकिन उन को याद रखना चाहिये कि इस देश ने जमींदारी खत्म किया हुआ है, लेकिन अरबन प्रापर्टी पर कोई भी सीलिंग नहीं है। अगर वह इस प्रकार की मांग करेंगे तो गांव वाले भी कह सकते हैं कि अरबन प्रापर्टी पर सीलिंग होनी चाहिये।

मैं यह जरूर मानता हूँ कि हमारे देश में लैंड-लार्ड्स का एक ऐसा हिस्सा है जो सबसे कम टैक्स देना है। मेरे पास इसके आंकड़े भी हैं। 63 परसेंट लोग ऐसे हैं जिनके पास 5 एकड़ या इससे कम जमीन है और उनके पास कुल मिला कर 19 परसेंट जमीन बैठती है। 17 परसेंट लोग ऐसे हैं जिनके पास 5 एकड़ से लेकर 15 एकड़ तक जमीन है और उनकी कुल जमीन 33 परसेंट बैठती है। इसके अलावा 11 परसेंट लोग ऐसे हैं जिनके पास 15 एकड़ से ज्यादा जमीन है। मेरा कहना यह है कि जो 63 परसेंट लोग हैं जिनके पास 5 एकड़

या इससे कम जमीन है, उनके ऊपर लैंड रेवेन्यू या एग्रिकल्चर टैक्स बिल्कुल माफ कर देना चाहिये। जो 17 परसेंट लोग हैं। उनके ऊपर जो टैक्स आज है उतना ही रहना चाहिए। बाकी जो 11 परसेंट लोग हैं, जिनके पास बहुत ज्यादा जमीन है, सरकारी आंकड़ों के मुताबिक जितना खर्च खेती पर होता है उस का 75 परसेंट लाभ वही लोग उठाते हैं, जब कि एग्रिकल्चर टैक्स या लैंड रेवेन्यू की शरह बहुत पुरानी चली आ रही है। इस लिए यह तबका बहुत कम टैक्स देता है। इसके बारे में आपको जरूर सोचना पड़ेगा। लेकिन उसका तरीका यह नहीं है। उसका तरीका यह है कि जो प्रदेश की सरकारें हैं आप उनसे बात करें, उनसे कहें कि यह स्थिति है और उनके सलाह मशवरे से कोई फैसला करें। लेकिन उन के ऊपर टैक्स तभी लगाना चाहिए जब आप 63 परसेंट लोगों को बिल्कुल छोड़ दें। तभी इस टैक्स का जस्टिफिकेशन हो सकता है। आप लोगों को बीज दीजिए, उनको खाद दीजिए, पानी दीजिये ताकि वह उत्पादन को बढ़ा सकें।

आज केवल इन्फ्लेट्री की ही मोनोपोली नहीं है, हालांकि यह सरकार मोनोपोलीज की सरकार है। उनकी समाजवाद की शकल और त्रें और सही शकल और है। एक तरफ उनकी तस्वीर समाजवाद की है, लेकिन जो सही तस्वीर है वह मोनोपोलीज की है। यह मोनोपोली केवल इन्फ्लेट्री में नहीं है, खेती के अन्दर भी मोनोपोली है और 11 परसेंट लोग उसको कन्ट्रोल करते हैं इस मोनोपोली को खत्म करने के लिये श्री मोरारजी देसाई को जो 63 परसेंट आदमी हैं उनका हाथ पकड़ना चाहिए। आपने जो बल्थ टैक्स लगाया है उससे आप 5 करोड़ की आमदनी समझते हैं, लेकिन 1 करोड़ तो उस पर खर्च आ जायेगा। क्या नतीजा होगा? नतीजा यह होगा कि प्रोसेसेमेंट करने में बड़ी तकलीफ होगी।

बल्थ टैक्स जो शहरों में लागू है उसमें शहरों में कितनी प्रापर्टी है, उसका एसेसमेंट

[श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त]

करने के लिए आपने कितने ही सर्कल बना रखे हैं, उसको तो आप एसेस नहीं कर पाते हैं उसमें इतनी कुरूपान है कि कोई हिसाब ही नहीं है और अब इसके बारे में आप कहते हैं कि केवल चार लाख लोग इसमें आयेंगे। मैं कहता हूँ कि चार लाख नहीं आयेंगे सारे गांवों में इससे हाहाकार मच जाएगा, गांव-गांव में इस्पैक्टर जायेंगे और इसका नतीजा यह होगा कि जिस प्रकार से गोल्ड कंट्रोल की चोट को लोग सह नहीं सके थे उसी प्रकार से इस चोट को भी सह नहीं सकेंगे। यह एक बड़ी करारी चोट होगी।

टैक्सटाइल मिलों को इन्होंने पंद्रह करोड़ रुपये की राहत दी है। लेकिन आप देखें कि एक हाथ से ये देते हैं और दूसरे हाथ से लेते हैं। एक हाथ से तो इन्होंने पंद्रह करोड़ दिया और दूसरे से साढ़े नौ करोड़ ले लिया। इसका नतीजा यह निकला कि केवल पीने छः करोड़ का रिडीफ उनको मिला। इतने रिलीफ के देने से क्या जो सिक मिलें हैं वे चल सकती है। आज अस्सी टैक्सटाइल मिलें बन्द पड़ी है। करीब 86 हजार मजदूर बेकार हैं। क्या छः करोड़ से उनकी समस्या हल हो जाएगी। कभी नहीं होगा। जो बीमार हैं, मुर्दा पड़ चुका है, उसको आप कुनीन की गोली खिलाते हैं, उसे कहते हैं कि बोलो और समाजवाद का नारा लगाओ। उसकी आवाज कैसे निकलेगी। कुनीन से उसका इलाज होने वाला नहीं है। उसके लिए कोई और दवा चाहिए, ज्यादा तेज दवा चाहिए, ज्यादा अण्डा इलाज उसका होना चाहिए।

वित्त मन्त्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री प्र० चं० सेठी) : दवा कोई काम नहीं करेगी।

श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त : इसकी एक ही दवा है कि इस सरकार को हटा दिया जाए। इसके अलावा कोई दूसरी दवा नहीं है। मैं कहना

चाहता हूँ कि यह जो एमाउंट रिलीफ के तौर पर आप दे रहे हैं यह बहुत ही नाकाफी है।

आपने जूट और चाय के लिए भी रिलीफ दिया है। आप कहते हैं कि उससे इनका एक्सपोर्ट बढ़ेगा। आपने कहा है कि पहले एक साल में भी इनका एक्सपोर्ट बढ़ा है। लेकिन यह सब फार्स है। कुछ मात्रा में एक्सपोर्ट जरूर बढ़ा होगा। लेकिन क्या किसी ने यह हिसाब भी लगाया है कि एक्सपोर्ट के लिए जो इंसेंटिव दिये जाते हैं उन इंसेंटिव की क्या कीमत है? मेरे अपने आंकड़े यह बताते हैं कि करीब चालीस करोड़ रुपया बतौर इंसेंटिव के दिया जाता है। यह कैश मदद दी जाती है। काइंड में या और किसी तरीके से दी जाती है तो उसका मुझे पता नहीं है। मुझे लगता है कि इधर से आप लेते हैं और उधर आप दे देते हैं। कोई बहुत लम्बा चौड़ा फर्क नहीं होता है। न जूट का और न चाय का बहुत लम्बा चौड़ा फर्क होता है। चाय का हमारा एक्सपोर्ट गिर रहा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि आपने आज जो सुविधाएं दी हैं उनको आपको दो साल पहले देना चाहिए था। आज भी आप आधे दिल से सुविधाएं दे रहे हैं। अगर आप जूट और चाय को दुनिया के बाजार में खड़ा करना चाहते हैं, दुनिया के दूसरे देशों के मुकाबले में खड़ा करना चाहते हैं तो सारी ड्यूटी आपको खत्म करनी होगी। तभी रास्ता निकल सकता है। आप देखें कि लंका और पाकिस्तान की इस मामले में क्या स्थिति है। यू० के० में जो चाय की खपत होती है उसका साठ प्रतिशत पहले हम दिया करते थे। लेकिन आज वहां पर हम नहीं देते हैं, दूसरे देश देते हैं। आज हमारा ज्यादातर एक्सपोर्ट कम्युनिस्ट कंट्रीज को हो रहा है, उनकी तरफ हम झुक रहे हैं और जो हार्ड करेंसी वाले देश हैं वहां पर हमारा एक्सपोर्ट कम होता जा रहा है। आपको चाहिए कि आप एक इंडस्ट्री को ले लें और उसमें अण्डा माल

तैयार करके उस चीज की एक्सपोर्ट की तरफ ज्यादा ध्यान दें और अगर उस चीज की अच्छी एक्सपोर्ट मार्केट आपको मिल जाती है, तो आपको चिन्ता करने की जरूरत नहीं। आप दूसरे देशों के मिसान लें। जापान में या दूसरे देशों में एक इंडस्ट्री ली, उसको अच्छा बनाया और उस इंडस्ट्री का सहारा लिया और नतीजा यह हुआ कि उसकी अर्थ व्यवस्था ठीक हो गई। लेकिन हमारे यहां क्या होता है? हम देते हैं, फिर हाथ खींच लेते हैं, फिर देते हैं, फिर हाथ खींच लेते हैं। हाफ ट्राइटिड एटैम्प्ट करने से कोई लाभ नहीं होगा।

1964 में चाय था जो एक्सपोर्ट था वह 2 लाख 10 हजार 523 ग्राम था। अभी यह 1 लाख 12 हजार 411 ग्राम रह गया है। इसी तरह से जूट का मामला है। आधे मन से काम करके एक तरह से हम पाकिस्तान और लंका की ही मदद कर रहे हैं, न जानते हुए भी कर रहे हैं। अब तक आपकी ड्यूटी रहेगी तब तक उनका एक्सपोर्ट बढ़ता जायेगा और बढ़ रहा है। अगर हम ड्यूटी हटा दें और इस इंडस्ट्री को अच्छी तरह से बढ़ायें, कोशिश करें कि पैदावार ज्यादा हो तो हम लंका और पाकिस्तान को दुनिया के बाजार से माफ कर सकते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि मजदूर डिस्चिजन लिया जाना चाहिए। हाफ ट्राइटिड एटैम्प्ट का कोई लाभ होने वाला नहीं है।

बजट का प्रावर्जकित्व क्या होना चाहिए? मैं सतर्कता हूँ कि एक तो यह होना चाहिए कि हर एक व्यक्ति के लिए हम नैशनल मिनिमम का एश्योरेंस दें। दूसरा यह होता चाहिये कि डिफेंस और प्राथिक मामलों में देश अपने पैरों पर खड़ा हो और तीसरा यह होना चाहिये कि जो इनडक्वैलिटीज हैं, छोटी और बड़ों के बीच जो अन्तर है वह कम से कम हो। हमें प्राजाद हुए 22 साल बीत गए हैं। इन बाईस सालों में हमने 32,000 करोड़ रुपया खर्च किया है। इतना खर्च करने के बाद भी क्या हम यह कह सकते हैं कि ये तीनों चीजें हुई हैं मैं कह सकता हूँ कि बिलकुल नहीं हुई हैं। अगर यही चीज

चलती रही तो आप कितनी बार कम्युनिस्टों को कंडम करेगे? पचासों गालियां चाहे आप उनको दें, देश में बगावत हो जाएगी। आज लोग भूखे पड़े हैं, उनको रोटी नहीं मिलती है। कम्युनिस्टों को गालियां देकर आप उनका मुकाबला नहीं कर सकते हैं। आप स्वयं लोगों को कम्युनिज्म की तरफ धकेल रहे हैं, लोगों को धकेल रहे हैं, लोगों को बगावत करने के लिए स्वयं मजबूर कर रहे हैं...

श्री मोरारजी देसाई : आप उनको चढ़ा रहे हैं।

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त : आपकी जो अर्थ-व्यवस्था है वह इस तरह की है कि लोग भूखों मर रहे हैं। आप उनको धकेलते हैं। आप समाजवाद का धोल पिलाने हैं। अगर आपने उनको उधर ही धकेलना है तो वे असली कम्युनिज्म क्यों नहीं लेंगे, आपके नकली समाजवाद की तरफ क्यों जायेंगे। जब उनको असली इम्पोटिड चीज मिलती है तो उसको ही वे लेंगे नकली की तरफ नहीं जायेंगे।

इस वास्ते मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि गांधीजी ने स्वदेशी का जो मंत्र दिया था उसको आप अपनायें, छोटे-छोटे आदमियों को सहारा देकर उनको आप खड़ा करें, छोटी-छोटी इंडस्ट्री को डिवेलप करें, छोटी-छोटी प्राजैक्ट्स को लें, खेती को बढ़ायें, सभी देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था ठीक हो सकती है।

आपने 127 करोड़ के नए टैक्स लगाये हैं। इससे लोगों को क्या मिलेगा? यह रुपया कहां जाने वाला है? क्या इससे प्रोडक्शन बढ़ने वाला नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि नहीं बढ़ने वाला है। जो रुपया आपको इन टैक्सों से मिलेगा, इसमें से कुछ तो जो रुपया हमको देना है, उसमें चला जाएगा, कुछ डिफेंस में चला जाएगा और कुछ एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव एक्सपेंसिस में चला जाएगा। प्रोडक्शन में यह जाने वाला नहीं है। लोगों को इस 127 करोड़ में से क्या मिलेगा, इसकी कोई बात वित्त मंत्री ने नहीं बताई है। 127 करोड़ रुपया तो वह

[श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त]

लोगों की जब में से निकाल रहे हैं लेकिन इसके बदले वह उनको क्या दे रहे हैं ? इसके बारे में उन्होंने कुछ नहीं बताया। इज हट नाट लीगला-इज्ड रावरी ? इनके हाथ में डंडा है, ताकत है, पुलिस है, इसलिए ये समझते हैं कि अपनी मर्जी के मुताबिक लोगों पर टेक्स लगाते जाओ और खर्च करते जाओ। यह ठीक नहीं है।

जहां तक डिफेंस का ताल्लुक है हमारी पार्टों की राय यह है कि डिफेंस के मामले में हमें चाहिये कि हम अपने पैरों पर खड़े हों। उसके लिए जितने धन की जरूरत हो हम खर्च करें और देश की डिफेंस की पोर्टेबिलिटी कम नहीं होनी चाहिए। हथियार, सेना वगैरह कम नहीं होनी चाहिए। लेकिन डिफेंस एक पवित्र गाय है इस वास्ते इसकी तरफ कोई न तो देखे और न इसको हाथ लगाये, यह बात नहीं होनी चाहिये। आज गाय जो है उसके साथ भी ऐसा नहीं किया जाता है। जब कभी डिफेंस का मामला आता है तो कहा जाता है कि पब्लिक इंटरस्ट इसमें इनवाल्ड है, बोलो मत, चुप रहो। लेकिन जितना डिफेंस में गोलमाल है, एन० सी० सी० की परचेजिज में गोलमाल है, उसको दूर किया जाये और खर्चा कहां ज्यादा होता है, उसको ठीक कर दिया जाये तो काफी बचत हो सकती है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सदन की एक कमेटी बननी चाहिए जो दस बारह दिन तक यह देखे कि कहां कहां खर्चा ज्यादा होता है, उसको वह काटे ताकि बचत हो।

हमार सेठीजी ने कल कहा था कि खर्चा काटने की गुंजाइश नहीं है। स्वयं श्री मोरार जी देसाई ने जब बह कामराज प्लान में हट गए थे तब ए०आई०सी०सी० की मीटिंग में तकरीर करते हुए कहा था कि जो खर्चा हो रहा है, दस परसेंट तक इसको घटाया जा सकता है, लेकिन हमारे सेठी जी कहते हैं कि कम हो ही नहीं सकता है। मैं कहूंगा कि कहां ज्यादा वेस्टेज है, इसको देखा जाये और इसको दूर किया जाए।

जहां तक डिफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग का सम्बन्ध है, पिछले साल तक श्री मोरारजी देसाई बहुत जोर से गाली देते थे इसको और कहते थे कि यह नहीं होगा। अब वह कहते हैं कि इसको हमें करना पड़ रहा है क्योंकि इसके बिना कोई दुसरा चारा नहीं है। पिछले साल इन्होंने वादा किया था कि आइंदा बह डिफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग नहीं करेंगे, चाहे कुछ भी हो जाए।

श्री मोरारजी देसाई : ऐसा नहीं कहा।

श्री कंवरलाल गुप्त : मैं कोट कर रहा हूँ 25-3-68 की तकरीर में उन्होंने कहा था :

"Shri Morarji Desai to day categorically ruled out deficit financing and hinted at a cut in government spending and promised prompt measures to bring down the cost of living. On the subject of deficit financing, he minced no words; he was disappointed that there had to be substantial deficit financing in the current year in spite of Government's intention to the contrary; as for the future, he could say that this method of raising resources would not be resorted to."

पहले तो वह डेफिसिट फिनांसिंग को बुरा भला कहते थे, लेकिन इस साल के बजट भाषण में उन्होंने इस बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा है। पहले पहल आदमी बीमारी के नाम पर शराब का एक-आध प्याला पीता है, लेकिन धीरे-धीरे उस को शराब की इतनी आदत लग जाती है कि शराब उसके मुंह से छूटती नहीं है। श्री मोरार जी देसाई के शराब के बारे में जो विचार है, मैं उनको अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ और इस बारे में उनका पूरा समर्थक भी हूँ, लेकिन डेफिसिट फिनांसिंग के बारे में उनकी भी वही हालत हो रही है। पहले तो शायद किन्हीं आर्थिक आवश्यकताओं के कारण डेफिसिट फिनांसिंग का रास्ता अस्वकार किया गया, लेकिन अब हालत यह हो गई है कि इस बजट भाषण में उन्होंने डेफिसिट फिनांसिंग के विरुद्ध कुछ नहीं

कहा है, बल्कि चुपके से उसको बजट का अंग बना दिया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह एक बस्ट फार्म आफ टैक्सेशन है, गरीबों पर जिसका बहुत बुरा प्रभाव पड़ता है। लेकिन अब वह इस सरकार की आर्थिक नीति का एक आवश्यक भाग बन गया है।

पिछले साल डेफिसिट फिनांसिंग होने के बावजूद कीमतें ज्यादा नहीं बढ़ीं, क्योंकि एग््री-कल्चर का रेट आफ प्रोग्रेस 9 परसेंट था। अब पिछले साल से ज्यादा पैदावार नहीं होने वाली है। मुझे आशंका है कि इस साल 250 करोड़ रुपये की डेफिसिट फिनांसिंग करने की वजह से प्राइसिज और ज्यादा बढ़ जायेंगी। इसका परिणाम यह होगा कि फिर डीयरनेस प्लान्टम की मांग होगी और पिछले साल जो वीशस सर्कल किसी तरीके से टूटा था, वह फिर शुरू हो जायेगा।

हमारा नान-प्लान एक्सपेंडीचर भी बढ़ता जा रहा है। 1950-51 में वह 347 करोड़ रुपया था और अब वह 2,937 करोड़ रुपये हो गया है। क्या यह प्लान की माफ़ी — उपहास — नहीं है? इसी तरह 1950-51 में हमारे सिविल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का खर्चा 21-29 करोड़ रुपये था, जबकि अब उसके लिए 174 करोड़ रुपये का प्राविजन किया गया है। सिविल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का खर्चा आठ गुना बढ़ गया है। अगर हम अपने देश में लोकल बाडीज, स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स और सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के कर्मचारियों की संख्या को देखें, तो हम पाते हैं कि हमारे देश में हर पचास आदमियों के पीछे एक सरकारी कर्मचारी है। 99,00,000 लोग हमारे देश में सरकार के नीचे काम करते हैं। हमारे देश में एक टाप-हैवी एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन काम कर रहा है।

अगर उपप्रधान मन्त्री महोदय चाहते हैं कि देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था ठीक हो, तो इधर-उधर छोटी मोटी एजस्टमेंट करने से काम नहीं चलेगा, उस के लिए उन्हें एक ड्रास्टिक स्टेप उठाना चाहिए। इस वक्त सरकार का जो खर्च है, उस में से हर एक मिनिस्ट्री में दस परसेंट स्ट्रैटेजिक कट कर देना चाहिये। मिनिस्ट्रीज या लोगों को

को कम खर्च करने की सलाह देने से पहले कैबिनेट के सदस्यों की संख्या कम करनी चाहिए, आधी करनी चाहिए। अगर उपप्रधान मन्त्री महोदय ऐसा करेंगे, तो देश उन का साथ देगा। सरकार ने पब्लिक सैक्टर में 3500 करोड़ रुपया लगा रखा है, लेकिन उसमें 35 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा हो रहा है। इसका एक कारण यह है कि सरकार ने पब्लिक सैक्टर को डिजे-विटड, फ्रेस्ट्रेटिड और डिफीटिड पालीटीशन का, रिटायर्ड आई० सी० एस० ग्राफिसर्ज का और अच्छी तरह न देख, मुन और चल सकने वाले लोगों का एक गोसदन सा बना बना रखा है। जब जनसंघ की तरफ से गोसदन खोलने की मांग की जाती है, तो सरकार कहती है कि जो गायें दूध नहीं देती हैं, उनके लिए सरकार के पास पैसा नहीं है। एक गाय पर दस रुपये महीना खर्च आता है, लेकिन एक रिटायर्ड आई० सी० एस० ग्राफिसर या एक डिफीटिड मिनिस्टर पर दस हजार रुपये महीना खर्च आता है, यानी एक डिफीटिड मिनिस्टर एक हजार गायों के बराबर खर्च आता है। एक डिफीटिड मिनिस्टर एक तरफ और एक हजार गायें एक तरफ। इसलिए कितना अच्छा होता, अगर सरकार इन लोगों पर खर्च करने के बजाये देश की लाखों करोड़ गायों के लिए गोसदन खोल देती।

मैं मानता चाहता हूँ कि इस सरकार का कमिटमेंट है श्री के० बी० मालवीय, श्री महावीर त्यागी और दूसरे डिफीटिड लोगों के साथ लेकिन जो गरीब सुबह से लेकर शाम तक टांगा चलाता है और भल्ली उठाता है, उसके साथ भी तो इस सरकार का कोई कमिटमेंट है। हम ने अपने संविधान में यह वायदा किया है कि हर एक को रोजगार दिया जायेगा। क्या उसके साथ सरकार का कोई कमिटमेंट नहीं है? उसके साथ भी कमिटमेंट है, क्योंकि इस सरकार के मंत्रियों ने संविधान के प्रति शपथ ली है।

मेरा कहना यह है कि मेहरबानी करके इन पोलिटिकल गोसदनों को बंद किया जाये और

[श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त]

अच्छे अफसरों को इन पब्लिक सेक्टर ग्रैंडर-टेकिंग में लगाया जाये। उनको काम करने के लिए इनसेन्टिव दिया जाये। अगर वहाँ पर लाभ होता है, तो सम्बन्धित अफसरों को तरक्की दी जाये, वर्ना उन्हें पैनलमेंट दी जाये। क्या मन्त्री महोदय पब्लिक सेक्टर के किसी एक प्राजेक्ट या ग्रैंडरटेकिंग का नाम ले सकते हैं, जो ठीक समय पर पूरा हो गया और जिस पर निर्धारित रुपये से ज्यादा नहीं लगा? हमारे यहाँ ऐसे 80 प्राजेक्ट हैं और उनमें से एक भी ऐसा नहीं है, जो समय पर पूरा हो गया और जिस पर निर्धारित रकम से ज्यादा पैसा नहीं लगा।

मैं तीन महीने पहले बोकारो प्लांट को देखने के लिए गया था। श्री मोरारजी देसाई से हाथ जोड़ कर प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि वह स्वयं जा कर उसको देखें। मैंने हिन्दुस्तान के बहुत से हिस्से देखे हैं, लेकिन बोकारो के गेस्ट हाउस जैसी बढ़िया जगह मैंने नहीं देखी है। वहाँ पर इम्पोर्टिड एयर-कन्डीशनर, सैनिटरी फ्रिटिंग और दूसरी चीजें लगी हुई हैं। सेठी साहब जा कर उसको देखें, आनन्द आयेगा। पहले कहा गया था कि बोकारो को प्राइवशन 1969 में शुरू हो जायेगा। फिर कहा गया कि नहीं, 1970 में शुरू होगा। अब पुनाचा साहब ने कहा है कि इसमें छः महीने और देर हो जायेगी। इस बारे में वहाँ के अधिकारियों से बात करने पर पता चला है कि इसमें जिनकी देर हो रही है, उसके कारण एक दिन पर पचास लाख रुपया ज्यादा खर्च हो रहा है। अगर छः महीने देर हो गई, तो 100 करोड़ रुपया ज्यादा खर्च हो जायेगा। यह रुपया कहां से आयेगा? यह किसका रुपया है? सरकार इसमें बचत क्यों नहीं कर सकती है? सरकार अपने मशीनरी में हरकत लाये और अफसरों को कहे कि देश का रुपया है।

सवाल यह है कि सरकार अपनी इनएफिशेंसी की मजा लोगों को क्यों देना चाहती है? यह सरकार इनएफिशेंट है। यह अपनी

एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन और अपनी इन्डस्ट्रीज ठीक तरह से नहीं चला सकती है, लेकिन वह लोगों पर टैक्स लगाती है। जैसा कि मैंने कहा है, यह एक लीगलाइज्ड सारी है।

दो साल पहले बूथलिंगम कमेटी ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में टैक्स स्ट्रक्चर को सिम्पल बनाने की रिकमेंडेशन की थी। पिछले साल मंत्री महोदय ने उस पर अमल करने की बात कही थी। मालूम नहीं है कि अभी तक क्या किया गया है।

जहां तक दिल्ली क समस्याओं का प्रश्न है, हम लोग प्रधान मन्त्री और उपप्रधान मंत्री से मिले थे। हम ने कहा कि अगर दिल्ली सरकार ज्यादा रेवेन्यू जुटाये और एडीशनल रसो-सिज पैदा करे, तो उसको उन्हें खर्च करने दिया जाये। उपप्रधान मन्त्री महोदय ने नाराज होकर मना कर दिया।

श्री मोरार जी देसाई : मैं कहां नाराज हुआ? आप नाराज हुए थे।

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त : हम तो श्री मोरार जी देसाई का आदर करते रहेंगे। हमारे मन में उनके लिए आदर नहीं है।

मभापति महोदय, स्वयं डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने इस बान को स्वीकार है। उनका 17 अप्रैल 1968 का पत्र है जिसमें उन्होंने माना है कि एडीशनल रिसोर्स दिल्ली सरकार जो कुछ इकट्ठा करे वह उन्हें खर्च कर सकती है। लेकिन खर्च कैसे हो वह फाइनेंस मिनिस्ट्री से और प्लानिंग कमिशन से सलाह कर के करना चाहिए। मैं आप के जरिये से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि वह इसके ऊपर ऐसा कुठाराघात न करें, जो कमिटमेंट उन्होंने किया है, प्लानिंग कमिशन ने किया है, होम मिनिस्ट्री ने किया है और स्वयं मोरार जी भाई की कमिटमेंट है, वह उस कमिटमेंट को पूरा करें। दिल्ली सरकार ने जो एडीशनल रिसोर्स पैदा किए हैं उन को उसे खर्च करने दें।

सभापति महोदय, हर एक सरकार को पैसा कम मिला, इसकी शिकायत इन से हैं। लेकिन यह पैसा किसको देते हैं जो शोर करते करते हैं, हुल्लाहबाजी करते हैं। मगर जिनका प्रजातंत्र में विश्वास है, जो कांस्टीट्यूशनल तरीके से कहना चाहते हैं, उनकी तरफ मोरार जी भाई का ध्यान कम है। मैं इतना ही कह कर समाप्त करूंगा कि प्रजातंत्र के लिए हम चाहते हैं कि सेंटर मजबूत ही, हम नहीं चाहते कि गवर्नर खत्म हों, हम नहीं चाहते हैं कि सेंटर कमजोर हो, हम चाहते हैं कि सेंटर मजबूत हो लेकिन सेंटर से भी अपेक्षा करते हैं कि न्यायपूर्वक काम करना चाहिए। पैसा जो बांटा जाय वह न्याय-पूर्वक बांटा जाय।

SHRI M. B. RANA (Broach) : I rise to support the budget presented by the hon. Finance Minister. But I should say that Rs. 100 crores taxation which he has proposed could have been reduced if there was some reduction in administrative expenses. There is duplication of work in many departments, and coffee board is an example. The duplication of work could have been avoided. Secondly, I want to say that it is a misnomer to call the wealth tax on agricultural land by that name. He says in his speech:

"I shall however consider how genuine agriculturists can be exempted from the purview of this measure and shall be moving necessary amendments to the Finance Bill at the appropriate time".

It means that his idea is to tax only those people who are big businessmen and who have invested money in agricultural land to escape the payment of tax. If that is the idea, he can increase the pressure of the income-tax department on those people who are well-known to the income-tax department and avoid the payment of wealth tax by genuine agriculturists.

The tax on fertilisers and pump sets should be avoided at any cost. The agriculturists pays tax on almost everything indirectly; there should be on more increases in tax.

An All India Irrigation board is to be appointed shortly, as announced in the

Address of the President. The Narmada scheme is very vital to Gujarat, Saurashtra and Rajasthan; Gujarat will not be deficit in foodgrains if the Narmada project is taken in hand. Madhya Pradesh wants the dam to be constructed at Harinjal and Maharashtra wants it to be at Jalsindi. But the Khosla Committee suggests the construction of the dam at Nawagam at a height of 500 feet. The advantages that accrue to the country as a whole justify the construction of the dam at Nawagam because that will yield maximum irrigation potential and maximum power. The land submerged by dams at Harinjal and or Jalsindhi, would be of the same area, as it would be if 500 feet dam is constructed. So, this project of the Nawagam dam, as proposed by the Khosla Committee, at a height of 500 feet should be implemented. If this sound proposal which is in the national interest is not acceptable either to Madhya Pradesh or Maharashtra, it means that their attitude is not reasonable. It is high time that the Centre acted immediately with a firm hand to implement the recommendations of the Khosla Committee report.

Then there is price control. The prices are rising higher and higher. They cannot be controlled. It is seen that in countries like the United Kingdom they have not allowed the prices to go very high. They have tax proposals for utility goods and non-utility goods. For utility goods they give a subsidy, with the result that they have been able to control the prices, so much so that a ready-made suit is available at seven pounds or nine pounds. In the same way, for other materials which are of utility to the people, the other countries have not allowed the prices to go up. Here, the prices have gone up by leaps and bounds. What I would suggest is that our statistical department, which is making out the figures, should be asked to count the cost of the manufacture of all articles which are required for daily use, and the manufacturer should not charge more than 10 per cent; the wholesaler should not charge more than three per cent and the retailer should not charge more than one per cent. For example, the match-box which we use daily has the price marked on it, namely, eight paise. We always pay eight paise and not nine paise. So, if things are marked out from the manu-

[Shri M. B. Rana]

facturers' standards, if 10 per cent is allowed as profit, three per cent to the wholesaler and one per cent to the retailer, then the prices will have been controlled, and nobody will be able to sell the goods at a higher price. If that is accepted, the statistical department could do a very useful job and it could do it.

Another problem affecting all India is that our intellectuals are allowed to go out, and it is a loss to the nation. Our boys, intelligent boys, go outside India and they make their living outside India. Something should be done to retain these intellectuals here by paying them higher salaries and giving them better facilities so that India does not lose these intellectuals who go abroad.

Then there is the question of education. The education which we have been imparting to our young boys does not instil two main things in them. The first thing is patriotism in the boys : they do not worry about anything. The young boy thinks, let the country go to the dogs. He does what he likes. The second thing is, discipline is not instilled into the boys as they grow up. When we see the boys educated either at Oxford or Cambridge and see the way they act, the way they talk, the way they behave, we can mark them out that they come from a public school and from the Cambridge or the Oxford University, compared to many other men of the same rank. So also, our boys who study here should have the same feeling, and they should be regular, patriotic and disciplined boys. If this happens, I am sure we shall have better boys in the next generation.

Then I may refer to the indiscriminate cutting down of forests and the burning of cowdung which is a real manure but used as a fuel. The forests should cover 19 per cent of the total area of the country, which is an all-India standard. There should be prohibition on the burning of cowdung as fuel.

Then there is the question of ports, The ports which we have not developed so far should be developed to the maximum extent possible.

By the food zones which we are creating, we find that there is nothing but

scarcity of food everywhere. They have not done any good to anybody, and so these food zones should be removed.

Lastly I would say, abolish all the linguistic States and make them into five zones of India if we want real integration of India. I am sure all the troubles which we face now between Hindi and non-Hindi, and this and that, would all go away if we have only five zones for the whole of India.

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN (Ambalapuzha) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, this budget reflects the real character of this Government. If we examine the share of expenditure then we can exactly view things in the clear colour. Year after year, the expenditure on developmental activities has been coming down, whereas, the expenditure on the building up of a Police State is year after year increasing. That is what we see in this budget.

At the same time, they are giving more and more incentives to the capitalists and also the suppression of the rights of the common people is going on

We can take the expenditure side one by one. I wish to deal with the expenditure side only as my time is very limited.

Let us see the Police expenditure. Just before independence, despite the turbulent situation of the national movement, the British Government in India was spending only Rs. one crore for the Police Department. But now, today after 21 years of independence, it has gone up to Rs. 77 crores. That is to say, after 21 years of independence, it has gone up by 77 times. This amount is equal to the total expenditure incurred in all the States for this Police expenditure. And, this includes expenditure on the Border Security Force, that is, an amount of Rs. 35 crores. But on the Industrial Security Force and other organ of the Government, lot of money is being spent on these items.

Strangely enough, if we analyse the budgetary position in the last three years, with the emergence of the non-congress Governments in the States, the expenditure on the CRP alone has gone up six times. In the last three years we have seen how the CRS is used. It has been used always

against the workers, to suppress the workers, when they fight for their rights and also it has been used to intimidate the Government servants when they fight for their rights. Never was it used against such notorious organisations like the Shiv-Sena. Never was it used against such organisations. But it is always used for the suppression of the working people.

Take the expenditure on the Tribal Areas, Demand No. 54. A provision of Rs. 24.4 crores has been shown under this Demand. Everybody will think that this amount is entirely spent for the welfare of the people of the Tribal Areas, and that this shows that they are very much interested in the welfare of the tribal people. But when we go deep into that expenditure we can see how it is spent.

More than half the amount is spent for the frontier constabulary and militia. Obviously, the suppression of the tribal people is part of our Government's idea of social upliftment of the people ! Thus, if we analyse it, we find that we are going far away from building a self-supporting economy and we are building up a police State actually. On the one hand, the dependence of the country on imperialist countries is going up and on the other the pauperisation of the poor people is taking place.

I come to State-Centre relations. In the budget, there is provision for a huge expenditure by the Central Government on many items which actually are State subjects. For example, the budgetary provision, in crores of rupees, is as follows: Education 76.96, Medical 15.42. Public Health 11.85, Agriculture 23.58 Animal Husbandry 2.14, Cooperation 2.28, Industries 30.91. Community Development 0.63, Social Development 21.97. The total comes to Rs. 185.7 crores on these items, which are purely State subjects. If you allot this amount to the State Governments, they can use it in a much better way than the Centre is doing at present through its bureaucratic machinery.

To give a recent instance, the Social Welfare Board was functioning in our State. Our Government wanted to reorganise that board and to spend the money for the actual welfare of the people. The entire functioning of the board was brought under the State machinery. Till then the Centre

was giving 50 per cent of the salaries of the staff. But as soon as it was taken over, they said the State has to bear the whole expenditure. Even the minimum amount which the Centre is going to give to the projects is going to be routed through their own organisations and not through the State Governments. Actually the State Governments want to spend the amount for the actual welfare of the people, but the Centre comes in the way.

Our Union Law Minister says he is the actual "promoter of State-Centre relations". But he says, we will take over these things and we will send you all this amounts through our own organisations. I submit that if these amounts are given to the State Government directly, they can spend it properly for the actual welfare of the people. All these years, the Central Government is not prepared to think in terms of the convenience and welfare of the people.

The expenditure on defence is Rs. 1100 crores. Even the PAC has remarked that this can be reduced by Rs. 100 crores if extravagance and mismanagement is eliminated.

17.00 hrs.

We all know that in the coming years, for the amounts we have taken as loans and other things, we have to pay back nearly Rs. 568 crores and another Rs. 100 crores will be pumped out of the country as profit. Altogether the picture we get on the expenditure side is very grave and on the developmental works we can see that only a very small amount is at present being spent by us. This means more and pauperisation of the people on the one hand, and more and more building up of a police raj, on the other hand, is taking place in the country.

If you actually want a better position in the State-Centre relations and relations with the people also, you will have to reconsider all these policies and evolve a new policy, otherwise nothing can be achieved in this country. That is the present position. We know nothing of that sort is going to take place, That is the real picture that we see in this Budget. Nothing can be achieved except by getting rid of the Congress from power. Unless this class policy which only promises and

[Shrimati Suseela Gopalan]

promotes welfare to a limited section in the country whereas all other policies are directed to suppress the people, because the standard of living of the people is going down and down, is changed nothing can be achieved. We have already seen that 80 per cent of the people in this country live with less than Rs. 25 whereas our *per capita* expenditure on defence comes to Rs. 25 a year, which is equal to the amount on which a man lives in this country a month.

This Budget does not make any difference from the past two or three budgets that this Government has presented. For the last 22 years they are following the same policy. That is why we are now facing such grave situations in the States. If this continues the future of the Congress will be in danger. At least in this grave hour you will have to face realities and change your policy. If this is not changed you will be changed.

SHRI KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ (Wardha); Mr. Chairman, Sir, every year the Budget Speech is very encouraging and it creates a favourable atmosphere but the budget proposals are not that much encouraging; very often they dampen the atmosphere for creating wealth in this country.

17.04 hrs.

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker in the Chair]

This year, as far as the price level is concerned it has been contained or maintained within a limited range. Even the inflation has been arrested. But unless there are positive measures of taxation and fiscal policies and wealth is created and goods produced more and more in this country, it would be difficult to maintain the price line. Unless more goods are produced when wealth is created the price line will again shoot up sooner or later.

There are some good features as far as the export of tea and jute, the traditional items, is concerned. Probably the proposal will help to increase the export, but I am not very sure, but unless this relief was given it might have been difficult to maintain our exports even at the present level. Because, competition from other sources

of supply, from other countries, in the export market has increased terribly.

Similarly, some relief has been given in the budget to the textile industry. That relief might be helpful to reduce their hardship, but it is not likely to revive the sick mills in the country. More than 80 mills have already been closed. Other mills which are likely to be closed may get some life. But if we have to create a constructive atmosphere for industrial development in the country, these reliefs are not sufficient.

The Finance Minister has been saying quite often that there has been a price rise in the share market. It is correct. But let us not forget that the way this price rise in the share market has been achieved is not a healthy way or sign. Because, these shares are bought largely by the LIC, Trust and the credit institutions. Of course, the demand from others is also a little more than what it was before. Even then, during the last two or three years, those who wanted to float new companies of new ventures found to their dismay that a market is not there for equity shares. Even the biggest people in the country cannot float a new company of a new venture by selling their shares in the market. If the atmosphere is such that not only equity shares but even preference shares of renowned companies in the country are bought only by credit and financial institutions, then there is something very much wrong with our fiscal and taxation policy.

Then, during the last 15 or 20 years the government securities are not bought by the public or the market. They are bought largely, or more or less entirely, by credit institutions, banks, LIC, Unit Trust and public charitable trusts, and that also because of compulsion. They are obliged to purchase a certain percentage of the government securities under the law. If any country wants to develop and create confidence in the share market, at least government securities must be bought by the public without any compulsion. If the government securities are not bought by the public, then there is something very wrong with the policies of government. We have to create confidence of the public in the share market so that there will be

demand for government securities and the new investments by the public and they will not be bought only by credit institutions, and that too because of compulsion. Unless this policy is changed constructively positively and in a realistic manner, it is very difficult for us to realise the wealth which should be created in the country; both in agricultural and other sectors wealth should be created; that should be the foremost consideration when we want to develop the country, and that should be done as fast as we can.

We have the resources and talent. We have only to coordinate them and plan them in a manner so that with all our resources and talent we can take the country forward. That is all that is needed and that could be done. But we are afraid of the political approach or politician slogans and that is why positive steps are not taken, because of which both the country and the people are suffering.

Government have taxed the middle income group in the slab of Rs. 10,000 to 20,000. I really fail to understand why government have increased the tax burden on this group, because it is already heavily taxed, both directly and indirectly, and needs relief and not further taxation. Even the indirect taxes which have been imposed are going to hit this class along with others.

The Finance Minister has proposed that if an adult member of a Hindu undivided family gives a portion of the income to the Hindu undivided family the income of that will be taxed in the hands of the giver to the Hindu undivided family. I am entirely for it. I do not deny that it was a loophole. But it is rumoured that it will be brought into effect retrospectively and not prospectively. If it is brought into retrospective effect, it will create many complications. If such measures are brought into effect retrospectively, naturally the taxpayers lose their confidence. If you want to do it, it should be done in future and I think it would be a good measure.

Then, under section 187 of the Companies Act the voting rights of charitable trusts are limited to Rs. 5 lakhs or 25 per cent of the capital of the company where the shares are held. There is some difficulty. If the holding was below that limit and if the company issues equity shares, they are

either not in a position to buy with advantage to the trust and they have to forego it. It is not a good thing. Very often this also happens that if the company issues bonus shares, the ratio increases and the trusts are deprived of their voting right; it goes to the public trustees and they exercise that right. If a suitable amendment is made to that, I think it will be appropriate and just.

I have listened to many speeches regarding agricultural taxes which the Finance Minister has imposed this year. Income-tax was first introduced during the British regime in 1860. Simultaneously they had also introduced agriculture tax at that time. It was later on substituted by a cess and even that was removed afterwards. We must objectively think about the position today and not be taken away because of the voting or what the public in the rural areas is going to do.

By and large 50 per cent of our national income is created in the rural areas. Out of nearly Rs. 30,000 crores in the country, about Rs. 15,000 crores are created in the rural areas by way of wealth in the country. The total land revenue does not exceed Rs. 110 crores at the most. It does not amount even to 1 per cent. If the country is to go ahead, wherever wealth is you have gradually to introduce taxation and take that revenue. My only fear is that if you tax the agricultural sector or any layer of people in the rural areas: the revenue so collected may go towards administrative and other expenses. It should be spent on people who are having lesser income than the people who are taxed in that area.

SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU : You can get some more funds from the Finance Ministry.

SHRI KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ : After all, there is a limit to the Finance Minister's capacity. Unless he collects money from somewhere he cannot spend. If you want to develop, such revenue that we collect should be spent more in the agricultural area than otherwise and for creative and constructive work, which will create more wealth in the rural areas.

I am not going into the details of the tax on pumping sets, chemical fertilisers

[Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj]

and so on and so forth. In principle I would agree that if the sources can be tapped indirectly' it is much better I would even plead that the total land revenue of nearly Rs. 110 crores can be wiped out and substituted by indirect taxes on the agricultural sector. That might be easier to collect and the expenses of collection might be less. Harassment will also be less. But that is to be scientifically studied and then done ; otherwise, there would be difficulty. I appreciate and understand that.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The hon. Member should try to conclude now.

SHRI KAMALNYAN BAJAJ ; I have not taken even ten minutes. Other people speak for even 20 or 25 minutes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I am very sorry but I have to accommodate some more Members. I know, you are a senior Member and I will give you a couple of minutes more.

SHRI KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ : I do not want more time on the ground that I am a senior member ; but I speak so less and this is my subject on which I speak.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I entirely agree. But I am very sorry. Please try to conclude in a couple of minutes.

SHRI KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ : In the tax proposals, very often what happens is that when we tax a particular thing, we forget where the revenue is going. For instance, in the public sector, Rs. 3500 crores are invested and even then there are losses to the tune of Rs. 35 crores this year. This is also, probably, not commercially audited. Otherwise, the losses will be more. Therefore, the budget proposals have not shown anything by which there would be a possibility of increasing revenue from that sector. If 10 per cent depreciation is taken and 10 per cent only profit is taken, it will give you Rs. 700 crores annually. I think, it should be properly organised and done.

Lastly, the hon. Member, Shri George Fernandes, while speaking about Shiv Sena

hinted about my younger brother, Shri Ramkishan Bajaj that probably, he was assisting or giving some help to Shiv Sena. What was in his mind I do not know. But he hinted about that. I take this opportunity, as the head of the Bajaj family, to categorically state that none of us, my brother or myself or any member of the family, approve of Shiv Sena's fascist tendencies or violent methods and would like to condemn them unreservedly for the violent and anti-social acts that have taken place in Bombay during Shiv Sena's agitation on the border issue. I would also draw sir, your attention that the communists and their fellow travellers have made it a point to attack my brother, Shri Ramkishan Bajaj, day in and day out as part of their character assassination campaign since he took a lead in opposing Mr. Krishna Menon's candidature for Parliament from North Bombay in 1962. I would like to state categorically and clearly that our house and our family, in no way assist Shiva Sena or such fascist organisations in the country which are anti-social. I condemn them completely.

SHRI VIRBHADRA SINGH (Mahasu) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak on the Budget. The hon. Deputy Prime Minister has presented a Budget which is quite realistic and practical under the present circumstances.

He is faced with a situation to raise additional resources to meet the growing needs of defence and development. There is also a clamour from the States for more and more funds while the States themselves are reluctant to raise additional resources. This is an important factor which should not be lost sight of while discussing the Budget.

Sir, defence is the paramount responsibility of the Government and of the Parliament also. I am glad that in spite of advice from some quarters, there has been no reduction in defence budget this year. In fact, it has gone upto Rs. 1100 crores. This is an expenditure which we will have to make and, perhaps, continue to make for many years to come, whether we like it or not. We are still faced with two hostile neighbours. There is a potential threat of

Sino-Pak collusion through his urgent activities in eastern India. Therefore, because of the dangers facing the country, both internal and external, we simply cannot afford to lag behind in our defence efforts. The efforts to strengthen and streamline our armed forces must continue at a faster pace and this must receive our top priority. Even if more money is required for the purpose, I am sure, the Parliament will be too glad to give it to the Government. At the same time, care must be taken to see that there is no unnecessary and wasteful expenditure in the name of defence preparedness.

I welcome the relief given to jute, tea and textile industries. This will give a fillip to exports and will help to rehabilitate jute industry and the weaker textile mills.

The extension of tax-holiday concession will encourage promotion of new industries. This will help to reduce unemployment. But the proposed levy on sugar and khand-sari is not justified.

It will hit the consumers, at least the poorer ones, and add to the cost of living. Also I am not very happy about the increase in tax on incomes between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 20,000, as this will hit the middle-class, specially the salaried professional groups who are already hard put to make both ends meet. It would have been better if this burden had been put on people in the higher income groups.

I am also rather disappointed that the hon. Finance Minister has not been able to bring about a reduction in governmental spending. There is ample scope for it. But, instead, we find that non-developmental expenditure is going up year by year. It actually means that less and less of our resources are being devoted to productive and fruitful returns and more and more to wasteful purposes. Take, for instance, the case of government employees. Today the Centre and the States employ nearly 7 million employees—a huge army indeed!—and a situation has been reached where many States are spending a major portion of their revenues on the salaries of their employees. This is a situation which should not be allowed to go on indefinitely. While retrenchment is not possible, Government should put an immediate stop to the creation and filling up of new posts both at the Centre and in the States. Only then can

we hope to solve this problem to some extent. I am sure that if all the wasteful and necessary expenditure had been cut down, we would have been in a position to balance the Budget without new taxes and deficit financing.

The performance of the public sector industries is also rather dismal and very disappointing. We have invested nearly Rs. 3,500 crores and all that we get in return from them is a net loss of Rs. 35 crores. This is a loss which our exchequer can hardly bear. These undertakings should be run on sound commercial basis and steps should be taken to streamline their management. In fact, they should be in a position to contribute a substantial amount to the national exchequer.

I am afraid I cannot support the proposed tax on agricultural inputs like fertilisers and electric pumps. It is a fallacy to think that these levies will affect only the rich farmers. The small farmers are also going to be affected, and what is more, they are going to be discouraged from using fertilisers and from installing pumps.

I think, the talk about the so-called 'Green Revolution' has influenced the hon. Finance Minister to tax the farmer. There is no such thing as 'Green Revolution' so far. It is a fallacy as has been rightly pointed out by Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha in her speech the other day. The 'Green Revolution' has not yet come, though it may be on the anvil. It is true that, during the last two years, there has been a substantial increase in food production due to various factors, but we are still not out of the woods; we are still not self-sufficient in food production; a massive effort is still required to attain self-sufficiency. Therefore, I feel that these levies are premature and dangerous; they are premature because the farmer is yet not in a position to bear the additional burden; they are dangerous because it will kill his initiative. The Indian farmer is still poor, is still exploited, is still heavily in debt and is a classic victim of price fluctuation. The President, in his broadcast on the 25th January this year, has also warned against too much talk of an agricultural revolution. This is what he said :

"We are yet not free from vagaries of monsoon and there are too many imponderables in the agricultural

[Shri Virbhadra Singh]

situation. The formidable problem of agricultural organisation has yet to be tackled in all its manifold aspects if we are to ensure continuing self-sufficiency".

Agriculture is the key to our prosperity and our future. In the past, unfortunately, agriculture was neglected and we know what the consequences were.

Even today, after 20 years of independence, only about 20 per cent of the total crop area is irrigated. Even today, in spite of all the talk about helping the farmer, in spite of the talk of an agricultural bias, agriculture is not getting what it should, considering that nearly 70 per cent of the people are engaged in it. So my advice and request to the hon. Finance Minister is : please leave the farmer alone at least till such time as he is able to stand on his own legs and becomes strong and healthy. When that time comes, you can tax him as much as you like.

So far as the wealth tax on agricultural property is concerned, I support the measure in principle. I agree that all people who are in a position to pay, irrespective of whether they belong to the rural sector or the urban sector, must contribute to the development of the country and to the welfare of their less fortunate brothers and sisters. At the same time, I feel this is not the time to levy this tax, because it is likely to retard food production. He should wait for the time when we are self-sufficient in food and then impose this tax.

It is a fact that the farmers' case has been vilified by the big business magnates who have purchased big farms and orchards in order to convert black money into white. I also know that many real estate speculators are masquerading as farmers these days. It is because of these people this tax has been levied. But I may tell you that these bogus farmers are not going to be affected by this measure at all. They are rich people with alternative sources of income and they will be in a position to pay. But on the other hand, this tax is going to hit the genuine farmers who have done much to improve agriculture by heavy investment and hard labour. I am sure the Finance Minister will not allow the genuine farmers to suffer for the misdeeds of these bogus farmers. I know that he

has held out a promise in this regard, that he will do something about it, but it has yet to be seen what he will actually do.

Steps should be taken to discourage the bogus farmers from purchasing land. One way to do it is to tax them very heavily when ever they try to divert their agriculture incomes for business purposes. I know that this is not the ultimate remedy, but it will discourage them from purchasing land, to a great extent.

I come to another problem. Because of the changed political picture of the country, there is a growing demand for a reappraisal of Centre-State relations and for giving more powers to the States. There is also a demand for a review of the allocation of the finance between the Centre and the States under the Constitution. Government should set up the India-State Council as envisaged under art. 263 of the Constitution to deal with all such matters and ensure better co-ordination and better co-operation between the Centre and the States.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that unfortunately during the past 20 years, our development has been rather lopsided which has brought about regional imbalances and disparities. Certain States have remained backward and the gulf between them and the advanced State is becoming bigger and bigger day by day. There has been concentration of industries in some regions. The recent trouble in Telengana and elsewhere is only a manifestation of this problem. Even the demand for creation of new States can largely be ascribed to this factor. The hon. Finance Minister should take immediate steps to remove the disparities and correct the imbalances in the interest of Indian unity.

With these words, I support the budget.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Shri Dixit.

SHRI S. S. KOTHARI (Mandsaur) : Is this a monologue of Congress members ?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The Opposition's time is not only exhausted but exceeded, except Prof. Ranga. He has requested that he would speak last before the Finance Minister replies.

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM (Visakapatnam) : I have been waiting here for three days and I have not had an opportunity to speak. Everything is arranged in such a way here that those who have will get everything and those who have none will get nothing. All constituencies are not treated alike. When we have a party system, like Brahmins and non-Brahmins, where a Brahmin gets all the chance and the non-Brahmin gets no chance, I am appealing to the Finance Minister to see that at least on the Budget occasion every Member who wants to speak gets at least half an hour. We run elections every five years.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : I am sorry I cannot do that.

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM : I know it is a matter of finance and it will cost a little more if we sit for two, three days more. At least on one occasion in a year during the Budget discussion every Member who wants to speak must get half an hour to speak; otherwise, where is democracy ?

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR (Peermade) : Are you now speaking as a Brahmin or as a non Brahmin ?

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM : Mr. Deputy Speaker, you just now said as a last a word that Mr. Ranga will be the last speaker.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I will explain.

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM : I know it will be a rich man's explanation - Finance Minister's explanation for industrialists.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I am sorry that a senior and experienced Member like Mr. Viswanatham should talk this way.

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM : What can I do ? Having come here, I am obliged to say this.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : If what he says is accepted, what will happen is this. He says that every Member who wants to

speak must be given at least half an hour.

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM : Once in a year.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : Agreed. What will be the result ?

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM : The result will be that we will sit longer.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : If all the 520 Members are given a chance to speak for half an hour, where are 260 hours for this ? Does he realise the implications ? I am surprised that such a capable Member like Mr. Viswanatham should make such a fantastic proposal.

Shri TENNETI VISWANATHAM : I know human nature. When you give this time, it is not that everybody will speak for half an hour. You are in the Chair, Mr. Deputy Speaker, and you are the guardian of the democratic rights of the representatives. You please arrange in such a way whereby all the constituencies are treated alike. I have been sitting here for three days and I have not yet got a chance and I don't think I will get a chance. It is true that I am a senior member. You hinting at that. I cannot talk anywhere and I must go home.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : The person who gets the longest time and that too most frequently is my hon. friend.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : As the Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance has pointed out, there are certain difficulties which we must realise. The hon. Member was making some reference to Brahmins and non-Brahmins. So far as this House is concerned I must say that you are the most exalted Brahmin. On all national debates of importance invariably from the Independents Group you are getting an opportunity. Whenever there is an important debate, invariably either Acharya Kripalani or Shri Prakashvir Shastri or yourself - three exalted Brahmins according to your classification - get usually an opportunity to speak. As the Deputy Prime Minister pointed out very politely,

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

it will be very difficult to give half an hour for all those who have no chance of articulation on the floor of the House on this occasion.

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM : I agree with everything you have said. But I have been sitting in vain for three days.

SHRI S. M. JOSHI (Poona) : He has been sitting here for three days without *dakshina*.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Mr. Dixit.

श्री गं० च० दीक्षित : (खंडवा) उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, उप प्रधानमंत्री एवं वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने केन्द्रीय सरकार का इस वर्ष जो बजट प्रस्तुत किया है उससे यह स्पष्ट संकेत मिलता है कि उन्होंने देश से यह आकांक्षा की है कि देश अपने मनोबल को पांच वर्ष की साहसिक यात्रा के लिए तैयार करे। इस बजट में एक अरब ६० के नए कर लगाने के अलावा उन्होंने 250 करोड़ रुपये का जो घाटा बताया है वह भी इस बात को उजागर करता है कि वे देश के मनोबल को तैयार करने की आकांक्षा रखते हैं। पिछले बजट में भी उन्होंने 290 करोड़ का घाटा बताया था लेकिन देश की आर्थिक अवस्था के सुधार ने उस घाटे को पचा लिया और लगता ऐसा है कि आता वर्ष भी इस घाटे को पचा जाएगा। इसका कारण यह है कि पिछले दशक की आर्थिक अवस्था और आज की आर्थिक अवस्था को यदि हम देखें तो हमें उस में आकाश और पाताल का अन्तर दिखाई देगा। पिछले बीस वर्षों में प्रतिरिक्त करों और घाटे के बजट के माध्यम से हमने नवीन कारखाने खोले, नवीन क्षमतायें पैदा की। लेकिन घाटे के बजट के कारण हम तत्काल फायदा उसका नहीं उठा सके। इसलिए घाटे के बजट में मुद्रा स्फीति अधिक चलती गई और हम जितना फायदा उठाना चाहते थे नवीन क्षमताओं के बल पर, उतना फायदा नहीं उठा सके।

अब बात हम निःसंकोच कह सकते हैं कि

भारतवर्ष जैसे कृषि प्रधान देश में आर्थिक और सामाजिक स्थिरता का सम्बन्ध देश की भूमि की उत्पादन शक्ति से अधिक सम्बन्ध रहता है। यह भी हमें सोचना होगा कि सरकारी पूंजी निवेश में बढ़ोतरी की जाए। अगर इस में बढ़ोतरी हम नहीं करेंगे तो आर्थिक जगत की नींव को भी हम मजबूत नहीं कर सकेंगे। पूंजी निवेश में बढ़ोतरी कोई शून्य से नहीं होती है। बढ़ोतरी तो बचत से और करों के निर्धारण से ही होती है।

यह बात भी बिल्कुल सत्य है जैसा मैंने पहले बताया है कि आर्थिक जगत को नींव मजबूत करने के लिए हमारी भूमि की उत्पादन शक्ति में स्थिरता आना बहुत जरूरी है। आज आप रासायनिक खाद के ऊपर उत्पादन शुल्क लगाने जा रहे हैं और साथ ही साथ शक्ति चालित पम्पों के ऊपर भी। उससे क्या आप यह आशा कर सकते हैं कि कृषि क्रांति के बढ़ते हुए चरण बिना रोकटोक आगे बढ़ते रहेंगे वे भले ही वापिस न लौटें लेकिन कृषि क्रांति के जो बढ़ते हुए चरण हैं उन में बाधा अवश्य आ जाएगी। यह भी बिल्कुल सत्य है कि पहले का जो कृषक था और आज का जो कृषक है, दोनों के चित्र में बहुत फर्क है। जब हम पिछले काश्तकार के चित्र को अपने मस्तिष्क में लाने की कोशिश करते हैं तो हमें दिखाई देता है कि ढलने हुये मूरज की लालिमा युक्त क्षितिज की पृष्ठभूमि में एक लड़खड़ाते हुए आदमी की प्रतिमा जो कि कंधे पर हल लिए हुए है चली आ रही है। लेकिन आज के काश्तकार के लड़खड़ाते हुए कदम कुछ सम्भल रहे हैं। वह कुछ ऊंचा उठा है। उसकी आंखों में कुछ तेज आया है। वह सजग हो उठा है। उसकी बांहों में कुछ ताकत आई है। लेकिन आज जब देश उत्पादन शक्ति में स्थिरता लाने के कगार पर खड़ा है तो क्या आप यह आशा कर सकते हैं कि रासायनिक खाद पर शुल्क लगाने से और साथ ही साथ शक्ति चालित पम्पों पर टैक्स लगाने से उसके लड़खड़ाते हुए कदमों में ताकत

रह सकेगी ? मुझे तो आशा इसकी नहीं है । मैं नहीं चाहता हूँ कि उसके बढ़ते हुए चरण रुकें । लेकिन कहीं ऐसा न हो कि शुल्क लगाने से बढ़ते हुए चरणों के आगे पूर्ण विराम की रेखा खिंच जाए । हम चाहते हैं कि हम आत्मनिर्भर बने और आत्मनिर्भर बनने की भावना हम में पैदा हो । वन्दे मातरम् गाने से हमने भारत माता को शस्य श्यामलो मातरम् कह उसका गुणगान किया है उसका अर्थ यही है कि हम आत्मनिर्भर बने और विदेशों की ओर न देखें । न हम पैसा मांगे और न ही अन्न मांगें । कहीं ऐसा न हो कि इस टैक्स से हमारे काश्तकार की कमर टूट जाए । इसलिए मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करता हूँ कि कम से कम रासायनिक खाद के ऊपर और शक्ति चालित पम्पों के ऊपर उत्पादन शुल्क लगाने की जो उन्होंने ठानी है, इसको वह न ठानें । अगर उन्होंने इसको न माना तो इससे भारतवर्ष के कृषि जगत में जो एक क्रांति आई है, वह टूट जाएगी । कृषि हमारी एक संस्कृति हैं । अंग्रेजी में इसका पर्यायवाची शब्द एग्रीकल्चर है । कृषि एक जीवन दर्शन देती है । कृषि एक जीवन प्रणाली है । विशेष कर भारत को जीवन दर्शन देने वाला जो यह व्यवसाय है, जीवन प्रणाली देने वाली जो प्रथा है, और जो व्यावसायिक रूप लेने जा रही है, यदि वही खत्म हुई तो समझ लीजिये कि वह आधार-शिला जिस पर हम संस्कृति की बड़ी बड़ी भट्टालिकाओं का निर्माण करना चाहते हैं, वही खत्म हो जाएगी, वही टूट जाएगी और हम कहीं के नहीं रहेंगे ।

इसके साथ साथ वित्त मंत्री जी ने वस्त्र उद्योग में एक्साइज ड्यूटी में जो रियायत दी है उससे बड़े-बड़े साइजिंग वालों को राहत मिल सकती है । इससे जो मास्टर बीवर्ज हैं, जो बड़े भारी शक्ति चालित करवे वाले हैं उनको भले ही फायदा हो जाए लेकिन जो एक दो शक्ति चालित करवे चलते हैं, उनको नहीं होगा । जिन के पास एक दो शक्ति चालित

करवे हैं उन पर एक्साइज ड्यूटी 25 रुपये से बढ़ा कर पचास रुपये कर दी गई है ।

अशोक मेहता रिपोर्ट में बताया गया है कि हस्त चालित करघों की आर्थिक दशा बहुत खराब है और वे अधिक कमा नहीं सकते हैं, इसलिए धीरे-धीरे हस्त-चालित करघों का स्थान शक्ति चालित करघों को लेना चाहिये । एक या दो पावरलूम वाला पहले पच्चीस रुपये देता था, आज अगर उसको पचास रुपये देने पड़ेंगे, तो उस की आर्थिक अवस्था नहीं सुधरेगी ।

यह भी कोशिश की जा रही है कि शक्ति-चालित करघों में रंगीन कपड़े न बनाये जायें । मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर शक्ति-चालित करघों में रंगीन कपड़े बनाना बन्द कर दिया जाएगा, तो जिन लोगों की जीविका केवल शक्ति-चालित करघों पर अवलम्बित है, उन का जीविका उपार्जन करने का माध्यम चला जायेगा । वित्त मंत्री महोदय मिल वालों को क्यों नहीं कहते कि वे सफेद साड़ियाँ न बनायें । जब वह शक्ति-चालित करघों में रंगीन साड़ियों को रोकते हैं, तो वह मिल वालों को सफेद साड़ियाँ बनाने से रोकें । अगर वह मिल वालों को नहीं रोकते हैं, तो शक्ति-चालित करघों वाले सफेद साड़ियों के सम्बन्ध में मिल वालों के साथ प्रतिस्पर्धा में खड़े नहीं रह सकते । कम से कम मध्य प्रदेश में शक्ति-चालित करघे चलाने वाले जुलाहा वर्ग की आर्थिक स्थिति बहुत कमजोर है । मैं वित्त मंत्री से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि उनके मस्तिष्क में यह जो विचार आया शक्ति-चालित करघे रंगीन साड़ियाँ न बनायें और सफेद साड़ियों का निर्माण करें, वह जुलाहा वर्ग के लोगों के लिए बहुत ही ग्रहितकर है ।

मुझे मासूम है कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय गीता के दर्शन को मानने वाले हैं । अगर वह गीता के समत्व दर्शन को वित्तीय क्षेत्र में भी लाना चाहते हैं, और देश से स्याण की अपेक्षा रखते हैं । तो जब तक वह "तेन त्यक्तेन भुजीया."

[श्री गं० च० वीक्षित]

की शतं पूरा नहीं होती है, तब तक यह लक्ष्य पूरा नहीं होता।

जहाँ तक क्षेत्रफल का सम्बन्ध है, मध्य प्रदेश राज्य क्षेत्रफल में देश का सब से बड़ा राज्य है। लेकिन अगर पिछली तीन पंच-वर्षीय योजनाओं का हिसाब देखा जाये, तो मध्य प्रदेश के 43 जिलों में से प्रत्येक जिले की सड़कों के निर्माण में इन तेरह वर्षों में केवल 72,00,000 रुपया लगा है। मध्य प्रदेश का क्षेत्र इतना विस्तीर्ण है, लेकिन उस के प्रत्येक जिले में सड़क निर्माण के लिए 72,00,000 रुपये से ज्यादा नहीं लगा है। इसका कारण यह है कि केन्द्रीय शासन से जितना चाहिये उतना पंसा नहीं मिलता है।

संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के खाद्य और खेती के विशेषज्ञ, प्रोफेसर बिवस्ट, ने कहा है कि मध्य प्रदेश में इतनी ज्यादा वन-सम्पदा है कि उससे 92 मिलियन घन मीटर औद्योगिक लकड़ी निकल सकती है, लेकिन आज वहाँ पर केवल 9 मिलियन घन मीटर औद्योगिक लकड़ी ही निकल रही है।

इसलिए मैं वित्त महोदय से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वह मध्य प्रदेश राज्य की आवश्यकताओं की तरफ भी ध्यान दें, ताकि उस क्षेत्र का पिछड़ापन दूर हो सके।

SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU (Chittoor) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the budget introduced by the Finance Minister is a businessman oriented budget. He has planned the budget to help the businessman, big industrialists, and to give them the tax-holiday.

Sir, in olden days, in the Congress party of Gandhiji's days, we stood for the poor man and the poor agriculturists and we gave them all the help. But in the present days some Congress people want to help the industrialists and harm the agriculturists. They are not interested in helping the agriculturists. Sir, it is just like killing a crow and offering it to the king. Our Finance Minister is doing the

same thing. I have got great respect to our Finance Minister. He has sacrificed much for the country's independence. And now in these last days in his old age he is trying to get the wrath of the agriculturists and the blessings of the industrialists. By introducing such measure, by bringing such legislation, people like Shri Bajaj who just now spoke, may be supporting him. But such people will be only two per cent in the country. But about 80 per cent of our people live in the villages

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR : Congress is Mr. Bajaj's party.

SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU : About 80% of the people live in villages. In the congress party we have got such people. We have got poor people. We have got communists who also infiltrated into our congress, We have got all people. So, the hon. Member need not worry. The Congress party has got rich people also and poor people also. What has the Government been doing to help the people? I will tell you about some instances. Sir, every year we are getting famine due to drought conditions and failure of rain and every year we are losing so much of money. The Finance Minister will send a team of people to the place to study these areas but what ail money they provide is not enough to supply even drinking water. Some drinking water is being transported during famine time, but other reliefs are not being given. This is the only help that they are given in villages. When drought comes they don't come to our aid nor do they give sufficient funds. When we grow some crop, when drought conditions come, the entire cost of production goes up. We will lose that amount. The Government does not come to our aid. In respect of any other industry there is a scheme of insurance. They get the amount from the insurance if any damage happens. But in respect of our agricultural crops, when we lose the entire crops in that year due to drought we have got no such scheme of insurance. This Government is not able to bring up that measure, Sir. For the last so many years they are talking and talking and they are not able to bring the

Crop Insurance Scheme. We have got the cattle population running into a huge amount but still we do not have insurance for them. When diseases come they die like flies. But we do not get any help.

I want to tell this House in this connection that except for rice and wheat, the Government has not fixed up any floor price. But every year what happens is this. Take groundnut and jaggery. The prices have fallen down. Last year the jaggery price was Rs. 160. This year the jaggery price is Rs. 60 a quintal. Where is the comparison? What has Government done to come to the farmers' aid, to stabilise the prices? They never do any good to the agriculturists. If they want to tax the agriculturists they must be prepared to help them also. They are not coming to our aid, Sir.

In villages what is happening today is this. We do not have drinking water wells. Even today, after twenty years of independence, in some villages we don't have proper roads. We don't have primary schools. The small boys, the small children, have to walk three or four miles to go to their schools. We have all these troubles, but the people in the cities get beautiful roads, electricity, filtered drinking water tax holidays for industries, etc. We do not get even unfiltered drinking water.

Now they have put wealth tax on agricultural property. In one village, an acre of land may cost Rs. 100 per acre. In another village or even in the same village, another piece of land may cost Rs. 1000 acre. How will they value it? More corruption will come. Whatever amount the Finance Minister will recover from this tax, he will be spending on income-tax inspectors and ITOs. There will be nothing left.

Two years ago, Government was subsidising fertilisers. Last year this subsidy was stopped. This year they have put a 10 per cent levy on fertilisers. Why cannot the Government wait till we achieve self-sufficiency in food? They promise that by 1971 we will become self-sufficient in food, but how will it be possible if you tax fertilisers like this? A farmer who was using only 3 bags of fertilisers previously is now using 10 or 20 bags. In Maharashtra, they use 2 tons—40 bags—per acre. How

much fertiliser does the hon. minister Shri Annashib Shinde use for his land? Just now when people are taking to fertilisers more and more, if this tax is put the cost of fertilisers will go up. Less fertiliser will be used and production will go down. Is this the way to grow more food? The tax on pump sets is not proper. Rich people have acquired lands under projects and they will get water throughout the year. But a poor man who has got one acre of dry land digs a well and puts up a pump set. So, you are taxing the poor man and not the rich man. Already excise duty on electric motors was increased. Now water pump is taxed. They say, villagers are getting a lot of money which must be taxed. If we get some money in a year, we lose money for four years due to drought. Moreover, we spend money on so many things. Whenever a school or road or hospital is built in the villages, Government asks 50 per cent contribution from us. Are we not contributing for the development of the country? We are giving. But the Finance Minister does not take all these into consideration. He wants to help the rich people and ruin the agriculturists. All these years the agriculturists have been the strongest supporters of the Congress. If the Government is going to do like this and ruin the agriculturists' I do not know what will happen.

Sir, we all know about the scorched-earth policy. When the army retreats it does not want to leave anything for the enemy and it follows this policy. It seems our old people in their old age do not want to leave anything for the younger generation and therefore they are doing such things. I only request the Finance Minister not to ruin the agriculturists in the villages. Please leave something to the younger generation also even though we have become old.

18.00. hrs

श्री सुत्रिका सिंह (झीरंगाबाद) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वर्षो योजना के विश्राम के बाद इस वर्ष सम्भवतः हम चतुर्थ पंचवर्षीय योजना प्रारम्भ करने जा रहे हैं। हमारे माननीय ग्रर्थ मंत्री ने भी अपने बजट भाषण में कहा है कि मैं सूत्रधार का पार्ट प्रदा कर रहा हूँ, परन्तु

[श्री मुद्रिका सिंह]

सम्पूर्ण बजट पढ़ने के बाद कहीं भी साफ नहीं मालूम होता है कि आखिर हम देश को किस रास्ते पर ले जाना चाहते हैं। उस योजना के जरिये हम देश को समृद्धिशाली बनाना चाहते हैं, उस के जरिये हम इस देश में समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं या पूंजीवाद को विकसित करना चाहते हैं। सारे बजट अभिभाषण में सिर्फ यही देखने को मिलता है कि यत्र-तत्र कुछ करों में कमी की गई है, कुछ करों में वृद्धि की गई है और कहीं-कहीं पर नये कर लगाये गये हैं, इस के अलावा और कोई नई बात हमें इस में नहीं मिलती है। मैं नहीं समझता कि क्यों हमारे अर्थ मंत्री जी ने इस वजट में इस तरह के कर लगाये हैं, जिनका ज्यादा बोझ किसानों पर और मध्यम वर्ग के लोगों पर पड़ने जा रहा है। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि जिस स्थिति से देश गुजर रहा है, एक विकासशील राज्य में कर लगाना ही पड़ेगा, जब तक हम कर नहीं लगायेंगे, राज्य की आय नहीं बढ़ायेंगे, हम विकास कार्यों को आगे नहीं बढ़ा सकते हैं, इस लिये जहाँ तक लैंड की सम्पत्ति पर कर लगाने का आपका विचार है, उस के साथ मैं सहमत हूँ। यह बात ठीक है कि पैसे वाले आये दिन बहुत जमीन ले रहे हैं और कर को बचाने के लिये जमीनों की ओर मुड़ रहे हैं, इस लिये जहाँ तक लैंड पर वैल्यू टैक्स लगाया जाता है, वह ठीक है, लेकिन एक चीज देख कर और पढ़ कर मुझे आश्चर्य होता है कि क्या इस बजट के फॉर्म करने वालों का, जो संकॉन्टेरियट की बड़ी बड़ी अट्टालिकाओं में बैठे हुए हैं, खेती से और किसानों से कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है। उन्होंने कैसे मान लिया कि गांवों में बहुत सम्पत्ति बढ़ गई है? कुछ उन्नत बीज जगजीवन राम बाबू ने ईजाद किया तो एक हरी क्रान्ति हो गई, एक ग्रीन रेवोल्यूशन हो गया और उसके फलस्वरूप अपार धन किसानों के घर में पहुंच गया है और उन के ऊपर टैक्स लगाना देश के हित में जरूरी है। लेकिन शायद उन्हें नहीं मालूम कि इतनी मेहनत करने के बाद सिर्फ पंजाब और

हरयाना में गेहूँ और मकई की प्रति एकड़ फसल में भले ही वृद्धि हुई हो परन्तु धान और अन्य खाद्य पदार्थों में कोई भी रेवोल्यूशन कोई भी क्रान्ति अभी तक नहीं हो पाई है। जहाँ तक सिंचाई का सवाल है जो राज्य तीन-तीन वर्ष तक सूखे की वजह से अकाल के कगार पर खड़े रहे और अब इन्द्र भगवान की कृपा हुई, कुछ बारिश हुई और कुछ पैदावार हुई तो किसानों ने अपना पेट काट कर कुछ बचाया और एक, दो, तीन एकड़ की सिंचाई के लिए बिना गवर्न-मेंट की किसी मदद के एकाध पम्प खरीद लिया तो अर्थ मंत्री की वक्र दृष्टि वहाँ भी पहुंच गई। उन को वहाँ पर बहुत ज्यादा धन दिखाई दिया और वह कर लगाने की बात सोचने लगे। एक तो आप सारी दुनिया से महंगे भाव पर फटिलाइजर देते हैं और दो एक एकड़ में सिंचाई के लिए पम्प ले कर धान पैदा करने की कोशिश किसान करते हैं तो उस के ऊपर फटिलाइजर के ऊपर टैक्स लगा दिया। समझ में नहीं आता कि आप देश को कहाँ ले जाना चाहते हैं। आज शहर वाले वैसे ही कांग्रेस के विरोध में हैं। और गांव वाले अगर कुछ साथ देते भी हैं तो जब आप इस तरह से गलत कदम उठायेंगे तो फिर हम गांवों में जाने लायक भी नहीं रह जाएंगे। आज चीनी पर टैक्स, केरोसीन ग्रायल पर टैक्स, इस का बोझ गरीबों पर पड़ेगा। फिर फटिलाइजर और पम्प पर आप टैक्स लगाएंगे तो उस से खेती का उत्पादन कम होगा और देश आगे नहीं बढ़ सकता है। इस से किसानों की हालत बिगड़ेगी। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि जरा गहराई में जा कर इस पर सोचना चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ सरकार गलतफहमी में है कि किसानों के पास अपार धन हो गया है, उन्नत बीज और उन्नत औजारों की वजह से। जहाँ पर बारहमासी नहर है, पेरीनियल इरीगेशन की व्यवस्था है और उनके पास इतनी पूंजी है, पैसा है कि वे अपने पैसे से फटिलाइजर दे सकते हैं और उनको पर्याप्त मात्रा में उन्नत बीज मिल पाया है तो वहाँ पर जरूर कुछ उत्पादन बढ़ा है।

लेकिन आपके पास बीज भी कहाँ है ? आप तो चार, पांच और 6 रुपए प्रति किलो बीज देते हैं। अगर कहीं आपने सिचाई का कुछ प्रबन्ध कर दिया है और किसान अपना पेट काट कर उर्बरक डालना चाहता है तो आप उसके ऊपर भी कर लगाना चाहते हैं। फटिलाइजर का यह हाल है कि आप सारी दुनिया से मंहगा देते हैं। आप जो सब्जी दे रहे थे उसको भी आपने रोक दिया है। इसके बाद भी आप किसान के ऊपर कर का बोझ लादना चाहते हैं। इसका फल यह होगा कि किसान की ज्यादा पैदावार करने की प्रेरणा समाप्त हो जायेगी और देश पीछे चला जायेगा। एक वर्ष इन्द्र भगवान की कृपा से कृषि में कुछ पैदावार हो गई तो मैं उसका क्रेडिट सरकार को नहीं देता हूँ। सरकार चाहे जितना हल्ला करे, कितने ही उन्नत बीज पैदा करे, कितनी ही बड़ी-बड़ी बातें कर ले फटिलाइजर के सम्बन्ध में परन्तु एक बार जब इन्द्र भगवान नाराज हुए, आसमान रुष्ट हुआ और बारिश नहीं हुई तो सारे देश में कोहराम मच गया और सिर्फ अमरीका में ही नहीं, सारी दुनिया में भोली लेकर हमारे खाद्य मन्त्री दे-दे राम, दिला-दे राम, का नारा लगाते हुए भिक्षक की तरह दौड़ते रहे। फिर कहाँ चले गए आपके सारे उन्नत औजार, उन्नत बीज और आपकी सारी सिचाई की व्यवस्था ? और बीच में एक वर्ष अगर बारिश हुई और कुछ पैदावार हुई तो अजीब हालत है कि आपकी बक्र दृष्टि उस पर पड़ गई। मैं मानता हूँ कि हमारे मोरार जी भाई और जगजीवन राम जी को खेती का अनुभव है लेकिन बजट फ्रेम करने वाले जो व्यूरोक्रेट्स हैं, जोकि सेक्रेटेरियट में एयर कन्डीशनर्स में बैठते हैं, उनको अगर जो और गेहूँ के खेत में खड़ा कर दिया जाये और कहा जाय कि पीघा देखकर बतायें कि कौन सा गेहूँ है या जो है तो वे बता नहीं सकते हैं।

उन की निगाह में आज ग्रीन रैबोलूशन हुआ है। इस देश में बहुत पैदावार हो रही है और उन पर टैक्स करो। टैक्स होना चाहिए

और आमदनी भी बढ़नी चाहिए। कौन रोकता है आप को बैंकों का नेशनलाइजेशन करने से ? क्यों नहीं आप कदम आगे बढ़ाते ? क्यों आप के पैर कांपते हैं ? क्यों नहीं इस तरह का समाजवाद का सिद्धान्त मान कर समाजवादी कदम उठाते ? कौन आप का हाथ पकड़ रहा है यह मैं जानना चाहता हूँ ? हिन्दुस्तान को अगर बनाना चाहते हो तो जिनके पास अपार धन है उन को पकड़िये। देश को बनाना चाहते हैं तो करोड़ों-करोड़ों रुपया जो टैक्स का छिपा कर बँठे हुए हैं और आप राइट प्रीफ़ कर देते हैं उन्हें पकड़िये। उन्हें जेलों में बन्द कीजिये। उन की सारी सम्पत्ति को नीलाम करके किसानों में लाइये तब मैं जानूँ कि देश को आप बनाना चाहते हैं और आमदनी बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। नहीं कर पा रहे हैं आप। जो बड़े लोग हैं वह जो आप के पुराने कर हैं वह भी नहीं देते हैं। टैक्स का इवेंज होता है पकड़ते भी हैं तो यह कह कर राइट प्रीफ़ कर देते हैं कि उन में उसे देने की शक्ति नहीं है। कारण जो भी हो आप जानें, राइट प्रीफ़ करने वाले जानें और राइट प्रीफ़ करवाने वाले जानें लेकिन आये दिन यह बराबर आप कर रहे हैं। यह कोई देश बनाने का लक्षण नहीं है यह कोई समाजवादी कदम नहीं है कि आप सिर्फ थोड़े से किसान जोकि तीन, तीन वर्ष सुखाड़ की वजह से अकाल के कगार पर खड़े रहते हैं अगर कभी इंद्र देव की कृपा हुई और बम्पर क्रीप किसान की हो गयी तो शनि की तरह से आप की कड़ी दृष्टि वहाँ पहुँचती है। यह एग्रीकलचरल इनपुट्स, पम्पिंग स्टैंड्स, फटिलाइजर्स, पैट्रोल, किरोसीन आयल और चीनी पर कर लगा कर आप देश को बनाना चाहते हैं। याद रखें मंत्री महोदय, कि एक बार भी कृषि पीछे गयी तो फिर इंडस्ट्रियल रिसेशन होगा, फिर फैक्टरियाँ बंद होंगी। जो आप की बजट स्पीच में बतलाया गया है कि कुछ हालत अच्छी हो रही है, हमारा ऐक्सपोर्ट बढ़ रहा है, इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्शन बढ़ रहा है और विगत वर्ष आप ने कहा कि सुखाड़ की स्थिति की

[श्री मुद्रिका सिंह]

वजह से सारा इंडस्ट्रियल रिसेशन हो गया, उत्पादन मंद पड़ गया, उस चीज की जिम्मेदारी आप के इस गलत कदम की वजह से फिर आप के माथे पर पड़ेगी। अगर देश की आर्थिक स्थिति खराब हुई, ऐसी दयनीय स्थिति का निर्माण हुआ तो उस के लिए वित्त मंत्री महोदय गुनाहगार होंगे और दूसरा कोई नहीं हो सकता है और याद रखिये देश की जनता इसे क्षमा नहीं करेगी।

पब्लिक सैक्टर का जहां तक ताल्लुक है इस पब्लिक सैक्टर में अरबों रुपया लगाया हुआ है। आप आमदनी बढ़ाना चाहते हैं लेकिन पब्लिक सैक्टर का काम नौकरशाही के हाथ में छोड़ दिया है और वह आराम की जिंदगी व्यतीत करते हैं। क्या उस नौकरशाही को ज़रा भी इसका खयाल है कि देश की जनता का पब्लिक सैक्टर में अरबों रुपया लगा हुआ है, टैक्स पेयर्स का रुपया लगा हुआ है। गरीबों का पेट काट कर पम्पिंग स्टैंड्स, फटिलाइजर्स, आदि पर टैक्स लगा कर हमारे अर्थ मंत्री पैसा जुटाते हैं लेकिन वह नौकरशाही जैसा मैं ने कहा उस के साथ खिलवाड़ करती है। मजा यह है कि सारी इस तरह की इंडस्ट्रीज पर मुनाफा हो रहा है, इंग्लैंड में भी जो पब्लिक सैक्टर है वहां भी मुनाफा हो रहा है और डिबीटैंड दे रहे हैं। लेकिन अजीब दुर्भाग्य का विषय है कि हमारे अपने देश में जो पब्लिक सैक्टर में कारखाने आदि चलते हैं वह प्रतिवर्ष करोड़ों, करोड़ों रुपया घाटा देते हैं। अब उस घाटे को पूरा करें डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग से जिसका बोझ गरीबों पर पड़े, उस को हम पूरा करें, फटिलाइजर्स, किरोसीन आयल, चीनी और पम्पिंग सैट आदि ऐसी चीजों पर पर टैक्स लगा कर जिसका कि सीधा बोझ गांवों में रहने वाले गरीब किसानों पर पड़े जिनकी कि औसत सम्पत्ति 10-12 कट्ठा प्रति व्यक्ति है तो यह एकदम अनुचित व अन्यायपूर्ण है। इस से ज्यादा उन के पास सम्पत्ति नहीं है और ऐसे

गरीब लोगों पर कर लगा कर मंत्री महोदय देश को बनाना चाहते हैं तो मेरा कहना है कि यह न हुआ है और न होगा। केवल बदनामी मिलेगी और एक भयंकर स्थिति देश में पैदा होगी। अगर इस तरीके से आप किसानों के ज्यादा पैदा करने की प्रवृत्ति को उस के इंस्टिट्यूट को मार देंगे तो यह जितनी इंडस्ट्रीज आप की है पब्लिक सैक्टर में वह घाटे में जायेगी। इंडस्ट्रियल रिसेशन होगा, और फिर हमारे खाद्य मंत्री माननीय जगजीवन राम को और कोई दूसरा काम नहीं रहेगा इस के अलावा कि वह एक भिक्षुक की तरह दुनिया के सारे मुल्कों में दे दे राम, दिला दे राम की भोली ले कर अन्न की भीख मांगते चलें और हमारे राष्ट्र का सिर शर्म से नीचे झुकावें। दूसरा कोई उपाय उन के पास नहीं रह जायेगा।

CHAIRMAN : Shri Tenneti Visw.

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM (Visakhapatnam) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am sorry, a few minutes ago I let myself off. But that was because I was waiting for three days, everytime being told my name was there but not being called. At last, I have been called.

MR. CHAIRMAN : In fact, your group has exhausted all the time.

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM : No doubt, I have sat here and it has exhausted me.

Sir, the hon. Finance Minister has given us certain guide-lines to judge the Budget. In fact, they are very good guide-lines. In paragraph 5 of his Budget speech, he says :

"In a year that is dedicated to the memory of the Father of the Nation, we cannot but remind ourselves that the ultimate objective of economic development is to serve certain larger social values. We have, therefore, to respond also to the natural urge of our people for basic amenities, such as,

drinking water, for education and medical aid, for opportunity to work and indeed for a growing measure of equality in general which is the essence of a socialist society”.

He talks of “growing measure of equality”. Where can it be? In this country, even after 20 years, beggary has not been eliminated. Even the disabled beggars have not got any help either from the Centre or from the States. If only 1 per cent of each grant is taken for a period of two or three years, there will be no beggary. The grants are not framed so tight that even 1 per cent cannot be taken. I would beg for 1 per cent from each grant to see that there is no beggary in this country and that there are no disabled beggars roaming about in the streets and platforms.

Not only that. What about the slums? You talk of basic amenities. In regard to housing, you always think of housing only in cities and good colonies. Even in cities and towns, a good portion is in the condition of slums. In a number of villages practically, there of no housing programme at all. I thought, while talking about Gandhiji, the Finance Minister would put some special emphasis on housing programme. But there is nothing.

Then, we talk about drinking water. I searched and searched for any special provision of Rs. 100 crores or Rs. 50 crores for drinking water. Nearly 5 lakh villages have got brackish water or no water. About a lakh of villages have no water at all. There are cases where the people, in summer, with their feet on burning sand, have to walk three or four miles to get one Pot of water or two pots of water. After all, for 6 lakh villages, assuming that each village is four miles of apart, we require only about 24 lakhs of miles of 6” cast-iron pipes. Can we not connect all the rivers to go drinking water in the villages? We have so much iron ore. Can we not have pig iron factories of foundries in each district and see that there are pipelines connected? Can we not connect all the rivers for getting drinking water in a phased programme of five years or, say, ten years? Even after 20 years, everybody says there is no drinking water. When the drought comes, you say, there is no drinking water. All the rivers are going to

waste into the sea. Can we not connect them? We have got the iron ore; we have got the material. We can have cast-iron pipes. But we do not do it.

Booster pumps will be necessary. If this is left to a small organisation, it can be done. Start a Water Board. Start a drinking water organisation and give them the work; in ten years, throughout India, all the six lakhs of villages will be connected where not only ordinary drinking water but pure Ganges water can be given.

Then, take education. Look at the grants. The grants have not been increased. Just now a Member was saying that in several villages there are not even primary schools. The grants for the universities have been reduced from Rs. 1,55,00,000 to Rs. 1 crore. The grants for the local bodies have been reduced from Rs. 74 lakhs to Rs. 71 lakhs. For teachers in polytechnics it has been reduced from Rs. 75 lakhs to Rs. 49 lakhs. This is the care for education!

Then, take medical aid. What is the special medical aid which they have given, in how many villages? Thousands of villages have absolutely no medical aid at all. It is a matter which is well known to everybody.

How about opportunities for work? Even the small provision which was made for unemployment insurance in the Budget, only the heading has remained and the money has been reduced to zero. The unemployment insurance scheme which was thought of has not been given.

On the other hand, look at the waste, the wasteful way in which expenditure is made. I would request you to take any two or three big contractors into your confidence, and they will tell you that on every rupee spend not more than six annas go to the worker and the rest goes into private pockets, either official or non-official. Not only this, there are other items and other methods of wasting money. There are certain programmes which have been put here where it is said: ‘Dandakaranya Scheme—works cost Rs. 80 lakhs, and establishment costs Rs. 150 lakhs. There is another item capital outlay on other works. I thought that there was some capital outlay on capital works, but here it is said, ‘works—zero; establishment—Rs. 36

[Shri Tenneti Viswanatham]

lakhs'. This is on page 29 of the Demands. I am not reading from anything else.

On the other hand, look at taxation. Why do people feel miserable? The departments have given us the figures. Year after year the taxes increase. Let us see the figures relating to the last ten years, Second and Third Plans; take, for instance, the corporation tax: the figures are Rs. 160 crores, Rs. 220 crores, Rs. 287 crores, Rs. 313 crores, Rs. 330 crores, Rs. 320 crores and this year Rs. 330 crores. Now let us see the tax on income; that also has increased: but here we do not mind very much because, perhaps many of the assesses are able to give; but this demand has increased only by two times in these nine years look at the other things which press on the ordinary people—80 per cent are poor people in this country. The Union excise duties in 1961-62 was Rs. 489 crores: then, there has been a progressive increase year after year; Rs. 489 crores, Rs. 598 crores, Rs. 729 crores, Rs. 801 crores, Rs. 897 crores, Rs. 1033 crores, Rs. 1148 crores, Rs. 1286 crores and Rs. 1421 crores. In nine years this is the progression of the excise duties. Similar is the case with regard to taxes on vehicles and salestax. These taxes have increased three or four times whereas the income-tax has increased only two times. These are the taxes which trouble the entire nation, the poor people, and that is why they feel this misery.

Not only that. The Government coin money and print notes for circulation; even there they want to make a profit. They made a revenue of Rs. 54 crores in 1960 and this year it is Rs. 94 crores. It is like some people in the hospital making money out of the food given to the patients or some jail officials making money on the food given to the prisoners.

Therefore, it is this Continuous and progressive taxation policy that is responsible for the great misery of this country. This year in his speech the hon. Finance Minister has exhibited a sense of humour. Only it was a very scornful humour. I will give a few examples of this humour and then sit down because there is no time, and because I want to conclude on a note of humour, not tragically.

He started as a *supradhar*. What is the *supradhar*? One part of it a dialogue between

the industrialists and Government and the other is to sit tight on the 80 per cent of the people. They talk of Gandhiji. What did Gandhiji say? Is it for the rich man, the industrialist, for the upper 10 per cent of the people that Gandhiji fought for swaraj? It was for the entire nation. We talked of the of 33 crores of our people. We no talk of the 50 crores of our people. I would like to rivet the attention of the Finance Minister and other Cabinet Ministers to the unfortunate plight of the 80 to 90 per cent of our people. But no. For Government, it is only a dialogue between them and the rich men. That is the *supradhar*.

On page 2 of Part B of his speech, there is another piece. Of course, there is a sardonic humour in it. [He taxes certain cars 100 per cent and adds:

"I propose to improve the value of imported motor cars as a status symbol.."

He wants to spread the burden by bringing more people in the net. The middle class people must be taxed more. For that purpose, those in the income brackets Rs. 10,000—15,000 have to pay more income tax. As for the big men, nothing is raised, perhaps more concessions are given.

He wants to help even exporters. They are making money by exporting. He can give them all facilities, transport and other facilities. But he pays money also to them. In this way, crores and crores go. It is just like the old mother giving peppermints to small children to induce them to go to school. I really do not understand this kind of bribery. It is a sheer waste.

The Finance Minister has given us a sort of budget which does not help the 80—90 per cent of the people. I would not have mentioned this had he not referred to Gandhiji. He gave us the guidelines. Judged by those guidelines, what is the result? I will not use any objectives.

Thank you.

SHRI INDER J. MALTHORA
(Jammu): It is quite usual in every budget debate for most of the taxation proposals

to be criticised. This year also some friends have termed this budget as industry-oriented, urban-oriented and so on. I am not in full agreement with them when they use this terminology so easily about the budget as a whole. But I would certainly like to say that this budget is not farmer or agriculture-oriented.

We have to look at the various budget proposals from the standpoint of the basic policy on which not only our agriculture policy but all other policies are based. We have been hearing in this House for quite a number of years that from now on the policy of Government will be farmer-oriented. I do grant Government did take certain steps by which the farmers benefited by increasing agricultural production.

When the Government say that more facilities will be given to the farmers, they have a wider angle in view and that is to raise the basic agricultural production in the country. I am happy to associate myself with those friends who have seen the changes, to some extent, which have taken place in our agriculture. More farmers are using fertilisers and irrigation benefits and improved seeds for various crops. I am glad that the hon. Minister of Food and Agriculture is here and I should like to know from him the clearcut policy of the Government of India regarding agriculture and the farmers in this country. Every year efforts are made to increase agricultural production and provide certain basic facilities to the Indian farmer so that he can make better use of land and other facilities which are made available. A number of friends focussed their attention on the levies on fertilisers. I am fully in agreement with the Finance Minister when he says that due to agricultural revolution a certain class of farmers had come in this country who hide their black money under this garb. But it is not difficult for the Government to know the number of such farmers in every State, who they are and how they had acquired land beyond the ceilings which are fixed in various States. For the sin of this class of farmers, the Government hold the Indian farmers as a whole responsible. The farmer is faced with a funny situation. In Jammu during the last two or three years, fertiliser became popular with the farmers.

The yield of rice, and even of wheat, went up by four times in certain parts.

Last year the Government could not provide the required loan to the farmer to buy fertiliser and since the farmer himself could not afford to buy it out of his own resources, production went down. This is the basic truth which the Government must understand. Are they really interested in putting Indian agriculture on a sound footing? Or looking at a particular year and seeing the trend of prices in that year, they want to say; this is our national agricultural policy. Many friends referred to the levy on electric pumps. It is clear that only small farmers use these pumps and they have only three or four acres of land. You are asking him on the one hand to pay more for the fertiliser; on the other you ask him to pay more for water pumps. You expect him to be a patriotic man and shoulder all these burdens and yet increase his agricultural production. If the Government is interested in finding additional resources for the development of agriculture, I suggest that the subsidy you are giving for distribution or ration of foodgrains in urban areas should be taken away. The income of people in urban areas is high compared to our farmers; they enjoy other amenities by living in cities; they have white collar jobs our county can hope to provide the facilities to our farmers only some day.

Why should they get subsidies on foodgrains? Likewise, there are so many other things which Government can seriously think over, as to how they can avoid a levy on fertilisers and water-pumps and for additional resources being raised from other sources and put that capital for the development of agriculture.

In the end, I would like to plead with the Minister of Food and Agriculture. He is the custodian of the Indian farmers; he is the individual who has to initiate the national agricultural policy of this country. I would like to plead before him that if he feels that by having these three axes put on the Indian farmer's head, things will improve, it is not going to be so; ultimately agricultural policy is going to suffer and the rapid growth in the rural areas is going to suffer. Let him be bold enough to change this, and this whole House will be behind him to see that the policy of the Government is carried out.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOUDHURI (Krishnager) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I think you for giving me a little time to speak on the budget. First and foremost, I would like to say that the budget has caused disappointment in some ways but it has also caused a certain amount of encouragement and it has had a certain buoyancy on the whole economic front.

I congratulate the hon. Finance Minister that our defence budget has gone up because that is where I think the whole country is behind the Minister. Here we want to have every expenditure that we can make so that the security of the country is not jeopardised.

I would also like to congratulate the Minister that he has increased the budget on our border security force, because the border security forces are our first line of defence. I come from a border State ; Nadia in West Bengal. We are very near the border, and the border security force has done excellent work. I think that the increase there has been in the budget for them is fully justified and I only hope that it can be increased further because that is our first line of defence and that is where the first impact of any harm to India will be felt.

In this connection, I would like to answer the lady Member who has equated our defence budget with the police State. Surely defence and a police state are not the same. Maybe the Opposition party do not want to defend our country. Hence whenever we spend on defence they seem to think that we are having a police State. Secondly, one hon. Member in the Opposition also said that we are not patriotic after 22 years. Let them search their hearts and ask who does not honour the National Flag. As he said, one has to close the doors of the cinemas to make is honour the National Flag and the National Anthem. Who is it that brought the foreign flag to India ? Let them search their hearts, *(Interruption)*

AN HON. MEMBER : The facts are there.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOUDHURI : Search the hearts of the communist party and you will find the answer. I would like to make two more points. It is a

matter for congratulation that there has been a 14 per cent increase in our exports. Tea and jute are our traditional exports. On these exports there has been a certain amount of help given, but I would like to point out that after all, tea is a traditional export and it earns us foreign exchange. But here, what has happened ? Every year our tea exports have gone down and we have earned less and less because we cannot compete in the international market. Tea faces two taxes : excise and export duty, besides an entry tax. I would ask the Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister to see that tea has a complete withdrawal of tax, because that is the only commodity that has not got the drawback of tax whereas all the other commodities have got it.

The production of Indian tea has increased to 403.38 million kg. in 1968, from 378.19 million kg in 1967 and 374.8 million kg in 1966. The producer of tea has done his bit. Although we are producing more, our export earnings have become less and less. Tea is the only item in the housewife's basket where the price has not gone up in the international market. Nobody seems to know Indian tea, Sir. They know only Ceylon tea. The Tea Board must make every effort to make the image of Indian tea prominent in the international market.

Regarding jute, our cultivators have necessarily gone from jute to paddy whenever jute prices have fallen and again come back to jute as soon as jute prices have gone up. If you want to iron it out, you must have buffer stocks. You also have to have a consultative committee on jute which exists but which is very much mill-oriented. The farmer, the businessman, the State Government and Central Government must have representation on this. It is very revealing to see the acreage. The acreage under jute varies between 21.88 lakh and 15.71 lakh acres. The output varies between 74 and 45 lakh bales. This is bound to happen unless there is even distribution and the difference is ironed out by buffer stocks. We have ample opportunity to export carpet backings, which earn any amount of money. In 11 years, it has earned Rs. 344 crores and there are possibilities to earn more.

Like others, I am absolutely distressed

at the tax on fertiliser and pumps. It cannot be denied that 80 per cent of the people in India live in villages and are agriculturists. Our national income comes from agriculture. If you do not want to relieve them of this tax, you can have insurance for their crops. Crop insurance is there in Canada, USA, and even in East Germany. If you have crop insurance, you can get money and at the same time, the farmer will not be harmed. The hon. Finance Minister said, he only wants to catch big farmers with black money. If that is so, you should catch black-marketeers through your income tax department and not by taxing the whole lot of farmers, tarring them with the same brush. Everybody does not have black money. If the Indian farmer gets water and fertiliser at a subsidised rate, as he should, I am sure he can make gold grow on our land. He is the best worker and we have to support him.

Everybody expected much from the public sector, but it has gone into a loss of Rs. 35 crores. If you want to inject into our economy any kind of activity, the public sector must make a profit. To get over this loss, you have to tax other things. How can you do that except by inducing people to put in more money for development? How can you do that unless you have a savings bank scheme in every village? There should be rural banks, so that people may have easy accessibility to them. You have put Rs. 135 crores as the target for small savings. Why not increase it by Rs. 50 crores, which you expect to get by taxing the farmer? You can get Rs. 50 crores if you plug the loopholes.

From the tourist earnings I think you can also get that Rs. 50 crores and at the same time develop India. For instance, in Bengal Darjeeling is a tourist spot. People are demanding the functioning of the Darjeeling Himalayan railway. The other day a question was answered and I was told that the Tourist Department has not been apprised of this by Railway though the matter is being looked as from the Tourist angle.

The opportunities for the orientation of tourists should be such that they go to these spots and our invisible earnings will go up to Rs. 50 crores so that there will be no need to tax the farmers and get Rs. 50 crores.

The hon. Food Minister is here. I appeal to him to take this up. I congratulate the Finance Minister for having at least put before us a budget that gives some sort of solace to certain industries. But it is regrettable that our farmers have not been thought of. I congratulate him for the provision made for defence and I hope he will allocate more funds for the Security Force. Sir, we have many promises to keep; let us keep some of those promises!

SHRI S. M. SOLANKI (Gandhinagar):
Mr. Chairman, Sir, in the preface of the budget our finance Minister has said that he appeared on the stage to arouse the interest of the audience and to perform the traditional of a sutradhar in our economic drama in which the hero was on the one side and audience on the other side.

I do not want to say anything about the quantity of the audience but I will say something about its quality. I will give one instance from the Ramayana. When one *kathakar* finished narrating the Ramayana before an audience, one wise man from the audience got up and said: "Maharaj, you have not said anything about Sita because in the midst of Ramayana you said that Sita was turned into a deer". Such kind of wise men we will see in our House also and opposite to us.

I will cite another example. If in 1972 God will take the form of a human being and come to India, stand for election, become a Member of Parliament, is made the Finance Minister and he presents the Budget before this House even then this audience will not be satisfied. Even God will not be able to satisfy the whole world at one stroke.

Regarding our Budget I would say to our Finance Minister that it would be prudent to add something more to remove its obscurity and it would be worthwhile to deduct something to enlighten by diminishing its rigidity.

Coming to the picture of our Indian economy one can easily survey the Indian scene today and can make an objective assessment of various problems, achievements and further expectations. The image that emerges may not be exciting too

[Shri S. M. Solanki]

much but, at the same time, it is far from gloomy also.

It would be excellent to say that the image of India today is highlighted by notable success in many spheres and notable progress in various forms and activities. If you will see the industrial map of India after foreign rule for two centuries you cannot deny that its economy was in a state of stagnation. The masses were steeped in poverty and for millions living standards were barley above the subsistence level.

Let us now turn to the picture of our economy today and look at some of the positive gains made during fifteen years of planning from 1951 to 1968. Our per capita income, which is the easily understood and accepted criterion of a country's progress, rose from Rs 275 to Rs. 325 at 1960-61 and is expected to rise further to Rs. 417 at the end of the Fourth Plan.

The image of India will be highlighted if patience and progress are there.

Our Finance Minister is very vigorously vigilant and the machinery of government is at his disposal. The programme of our planning add to and strengthen our national solidarity. But, side by side, I must not forget to mention that planning is not an end by itself by merely formulating but it is a means to an end when it is actually adopted and put into practice. The doors of our economic resources will be opened to achieve self-sufficiency to strengthen the economic position and to improve our way of life. But it should not be forgotten to have tolerance, faith and goodwill towards our government and people.

Sir, our country is one of the poorest countries of the world. Therefore, it is quite indispensable to increase our national income, which was stationary for some decades. The minimum standards of income per month have to reach satisfactory levels and for that greater efforts will have to be made on three different sides. They are, firstly, rapid economic growth; secondly, distribution of income equally among the deprived sections of the population in such a manner that they could have a comparatively higher or

larger share in the total national income and, lastly, to control the growth of the population. Further steps should also be taken to provide employment to the people, especially educated people.

Today our economy is on the throes of recession, because our projects and enterprises are not yet gaining profitably. Some projects under completion, some have just been started and some are not producing enough to meet our requirements. That is why we are unable to settle the loans we have borrowed from foreign countries. We are also not in a position to establish all sorts of sectors that we need. Then, due to unsteady economic growth, public investment in various sectors has not been properly directed in suitable channels.

Today in our country the attention is diverted to a wrong and dangerous direction. Everything is done only for individual and selfish purpose. The result of this is inter-party rivalries, crossing of the floor, defections, boundary disputes, narrow provincial-mindedness, agitations, *gheraos* and many other countless selfish mottos, which are injurious not only to ourselves but injurious to the intellectual life of our nation. We will never achieve social and national integration in that way. We are quarrelling like seven blind men because we have forgotten the old values of Indian culture. We have forgotten our national dignity, friendship and fraternity. We are always talking of our province and not of our nation as a whole. We are not unanimous in our opinions and decision.

We have lost our cultural wealth which is useful to solve our national questions. We are far away from creativity and cultural achievements. It is our bad luck that because of our narrow-mindedness we have not created that sense of national dignity to reach the goal. How can we reach profound internationalism without such virtues, which our forefathers possessed in the past, which is mentioned in our Indian history of ancient culture and civilisation.

Today the old values are not rooted in the traditions of the people. We have not tried to digest that sense of nationality. Our forefathers were exporting our cultural

wealth to the foreign countries, but today we are importing cultural wealth from foreign countries. Today the culture of China is imported by a few Communist people in our country, who are trying to create lawlessness here. But, Sir, I recall to the House that the holy waters of Ganga, Yamuna and Godavary are flowing in the pious land of Bharata, the mighty Himalayas is watching us from the North and, therefore, the dirty polluted waters from China will never flow on our holy earth of Bharat.

It is shameful on their part that instead of being lenders they have become bankrupts and borrowers. We have thrown out the white-skinned people from our country and we have no fear of these imported and converted shadows of China.

The entire political life of the country has been polluted by the selfish elected representatives who are led into the most immoral criminal behaviour.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Kindly conclude. I have to accommodate two more Members.

SHRI S. M. SOLANKI : Turning to the economic wing of our country, I must say that we are only talking of selfreliance and we have always yielded to the temptation of relieving our economic difficulties through help from foreign countries. But by the realistic analysis of our practical Finance Minister, our economic phenomenon will be changed in a few years and henceforward we will make up our minds to rely solely on ourselves.

Our capital market is going to regain some of the old lustre and something will have to be done by way of bringing the corporate tax level down. A selective reduction in duties is to be made to enable industry to cut prices and sell more. Taxation should be made in such a manner that individual recovery can be made smooth and speedy.

Our Finance Minister should not keep himself aloof to deduce direct taxes and to increase indirect taxes so that the ordinary public can get good benefit of saving and investment. The Government should encourage to establish and expand investment in all directions with all desirable methods. There should be no recession in any direction for its implementation.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI S. M. SOLANKI : I am not speaking in this House very much. For two years my election was declared void.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I cannot allow you any further. If you want to conclude with one sentence, you can do so.

SHRI S. M. SOLANKI : There are three suggestions that I have. One suggestion is that Government should promote monetary aid to farmers and also to fix reasonable rates of labour of landless labourers working in fields. Side by side the question of Harijans should not be neglected. Government should remove the hitch in giving free Government waste land to the downtrodden people.

My last suggestion is—I omit the second suggestion—I draw the attention of Government and our Finance Minister to this—that one regiment of farmers should be created in our country. We know, our Government maintains a huge army in our country at the time of war and in times of peace. We have millions of acres of Government waste land lying idle for want of cultivation. If this regiment of farmers is applied there to cultivate the land in times of peace, Government will earn a lot of foodgrains. The entire difficulty will be over and due to abundant production the rates of foodgrains will be suppressed. This regiment of farmers should be divided into divisions.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Vishwa Nath Pandey.

SHRI S. M. SOLANKI : I am sure, our practical and realistic Finance Minister will adopt these things. I support this Budget.

श्री विश्वनाथ पाण्डेय (सलेमपुर) : सभापति महोदय, वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने जो बजट प्रस्तुत किया है सदन के सामने वह बहुत ही बुद्धिमानी और कुशलता के साथ तैयार किया हुआ बजट है। उन्होंने कोशिश यह की है कि अमीर और गरीब, कोई भी कर से बच न पाए। लेकिन उन्होंने उद्योगपतियों को थोड़ी

[श्री विषवनाथ पाण्डेय]

मी ब्रूट भी दी है। जो बड़े बड़े पूंजीपति लोग हैं उनको कर से कुछ मुक्त किया है, कुछ सहूलियतें दी हैं। मैं नहीं समझ पाया है कि ऐसा उन्होंने क्यों किया है। वह जो चाहेंगे उसको करेंगे। लेकिन मैं भी जो सोचता हूँ उसको आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

इस विषय पर तीन चार दिन से चर्चा हो रही है। मैंने उसको सुना है। इस या उस पक्ष के किसी भी माननीय सदस्य ने यह निवेदन नहीं किया है कि उर्बंरकों और पम्पिंग सैटों के ऊपर जो टैक्स लगाया गया है, वह उचित है। सभी ने यह कहा है कि उसको माफ कर दिया जाना चाहिए। जब सारे सदन के लोग, सभी जन प्रतिनिधि एक आवाज से कहते हैं कि उर्बंरकों और पम्पिंग सैटों के ऊपर कर न लगाया जाए तो मैं समझता हूँ कि उनको इस बात को मान लेना चाहिए। ऐसी कोई बात नहीं की जानी चाहिये जिससे किसान रुष्ट हों, उनके उत्पादन में बाधा पड़े।

भारतवर्ष गांवों में बसता है। ग्रस्सी प्रतिशत लोग गांवों में रहते हैं। हम गांधी जी की शताब्दी मना रहे हैं। गांधीजी ने जो कुछ भी कहा गांव के लोगों के लिए कहा, ग्रामीण जनता के लिए कहा। उन्होंने गांव के लोगों को उठाने की बात कही। कलकत्ता, मद्रास, बम्बई, दिल्ली आदि शहरों के रहने वाले लोगों का ही उत्थान हो और गांवों में रहने वालों का न हो, ऐसा उन्होंने कभी नहीं कहा। वित्त मंत्री महोदय भी गांधी जी के अनुयायी अपने आपको कहते हैं, और उनका रूप अपने रूप में देखते हैं, और वह हैं भी। इसलिए उन का यह कर्तव्य होना चाहिये कि गांधी जन्म शताब्दी के साल में वह सम्पूर्ण देश में मद्य-निषेध को कार्यान्वित करें। चूंकि हमारा एक कृषि-प्रधान देश है, इस लिए वह पशुधन को बढ़ायें, गोसंवर्द्धन की व्यवस्था करें और सारे देश में गोवध को बन्द कर दें।

कांग्रेस पार्टी और कांग्रेस सरकार ने यह

संकल्प लिया है कि हिन्दुस्तान में समाजवादी समाज और लोक-कल्लाणकारी राज्य की स्थापना की जायेगी। इस समय देश में आर्थिक असमानता बहुत ही अधिक है। एक व्यक्ति की आमदनी तीन चार आने और दूसरे की दस, बीस हजार और एक लाख रुपये है। अगर वित्त मंत्री महोदय इस असमानता को दूर नहीं करेंगे, तो समाजवाद का नारा बिल्कुल कोरा और कागजी सिद्ध होगा। इस देश में आठ दस करोड़ हरिजनों का एक ऐसा वर्ग है, जिस की माली हालत बहुत गिरी हुई है। इस बजट में उन के उत्थान और कल्याण की योजनाओं का समावेश होना चाहिये।

वित्त मंत्री ने 150 करोड़ रुपये के जो कर लगाये हैं, उन से देश के आम आदमियों की हालत जर्जर हो गई है और उन की कमर टूट सी गई है। उन्होंने अपने बजट में 250 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा दिखाया है। लेकिन मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि देश में सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के 80 उद्योगों में जनता का 3500 करोड़ रुपया लगा हुआ है, लेकिन उनमें 35 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा हो रहा है। मैं सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के उद्योगों का समर्थन करता हूँ, लेकिन मैं यह पसन्द नहीं करता हूँ कि उन में 35 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा हो, क्योंकि उन में जो पैसा लगा हुआ है, वह गरीब जनता और टैक्स देने वालों का पैसा है। इस स्थिति में अगर यह कहा जाये कि सरकार के पास रुपया नहीं है, तो मैं यह बात मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ। सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के इन उद्योगों की तरफ विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिए। इस समय देश में 2,000 करोड़ रुपये के करीब छिपा हुआ धन है। अगर सरकार तस्कर व्यापार, मुनाफालोरी और संचयखोरी को रोकेंगी, तो उस के पास काफी रुपया हो जायेगा।

उत्तर प्रदेश इस देश का एक बहुत विशाल प्रदेश है, लेकिन मुझे ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि यद्यपि चौथी पंच-वर्षीय योजना आरम्भ होने

वाली है, लेकिन उत्तर प्रदेश में एक योजना का कोई काम नहीं हो पाया है। वह प्रदेश शिक्षा, कृषि, उद्योग, यातायात आदि सब क्षेत्रों में पिछड़ा हुआ है। 1960-61 में उत्तर प्रदेश की प्रति-व्यक्ति आय 259.62 रुपये थी, जबकि पूरे देश की प्रति-व्यक्ति आय 247.50 रुपये थी। 1966-67 में उत्तर प्रदेश की प्रति-व्यक्ति आय 228 रुपये हो गई, जब कि सारे देश की प्रति-व्यक्ति आय 313 हो गई। इस से पता लगता है कि सारा देश तो आगे बढ़ा है, लेकिन उत्तर प्रदेश और भी पिछड़ गया है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय उत्तर प्रदेश की जनसंख्या के अनुसार और उस के पिछड़ेपन को दृष्टि में रखते हुए उस को वित्तीय सहायता दें।

उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वांचल के देवरिया, जौनपुर, गाजीपुर और आजमगढ़ जिलों के लिए पटेल कमेटी बनी थी। बाद में बलिया और बस्ती को भी जोड़ दिया गया था। पटेल कमेटी की सिफारिशों को कार्यान्वित किया जाना चाहिए।

अगर मिर्जापुर में सोन नदी से पानी को उठा कर लिफ्ट इरिगेशन से सिंचाई की जाये, तो मिर्जापुर, इजाहाबाद और वाराणसी के सूखे क्षेत्र को पानी मिल जायेगा।

बाघरा नदी पर भागलपुर में और छोटी गंडक पर नदावरघाट, और भटनी में पुल बनाये जायें, ताकि यातायात में सुविधा हो।

जब तक ग्रामीण अंचल का औद्योगिकरण नहीं किया जायेगा, तब तक उस की स्थिति में सुधार नहीं हो सकता है। इस लिए बलिया में सुखमुरा, मनियर, सिकंदरपुर, बंसीबाजार, बेलसरा रोड और नगरा में उद्योग स्थापित किये जायें। इसी प्रकार देवरिया में लार, बरहज, सलेमपुर, भटनी और भाटपार में उद्योगों की स्थापना की जाये। इस प्रकार औद्योगिकरण करने से पूर्वांचल में बसने वाले ठाई करोड़ लोगों का लाभ होगा।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय मेरे

इन सुझावों पर विचार कर के इन को बजट में समावेश करें, जिस से उत्तर प्रदेश और उस के पूर्वांचल की तरक्की हो और आर्थिक असमानता दूर हो।

19.00 hrs.

श्री बं० ना० कुरील (रामसनेहीघाट) :
चेयरमैन महोदय, यह 1969-70 का बजट सदन के सम्मुख उपस्थित है। कई रोज से इसके ऊपर विवाद हो रहा है। जैसा कि वित्त मंत्री जी ने बताया यह बजट चौथी पंच वर्षीय योजना के प्रथम वर्ष का बजट है। योजनाओं के द्वारा इस देश का विकास हुआ है। अरबों खरबों रुपया इस में लगा है और इस में कोई शक नहीं कि देश का विकास इन से हुआ। देश समृद्धिशाली हुआ है, अपने पैरों पर खड़ा हो रहा है, बड़े उद्योगधन्धे लग रहे हैं। लेकिन जो पिछली पंच वर्षीय योजनाएं रही हैं उन में एक बड़ा दोष यह रहा है कि जैसे तो उद्देश्य यह रहा योजनाओं का कि जो वर्ग अविकसित है वह विकसित हो, देश के जो हिस्से अविकसित हैं वह विकसित हों, परन्तु दोष यह रहा है समानता लाने के बजाय असमानता बढ़ती गई। जिन लोगों के पास पहले ही से साधन थे, जो लोग साधन-युक्त थे उन के पास अपनी जमीन थी, उन के पास अपनी इंडस्ट्रीज थीं, उन को और साधन योजनाओं के द्वारा मिले और उन की आर्थिक स्थिति अच्छी हुई। परन्तु जो लोग साधन-हीन थे, गरीब थे, बिना जमीन के थे, बिना इंडस्ट्री के थे, उन के लिए योजनाओं में कोई प्राविजन इस तरह का नहीं रखा गया था। तो मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि अब की जो यह योजना बनेगी, चौथी पंच वर्षीय योजना, उस में इस बात का ब्याल रखा जाय कि जो गरीब हैं, पिछड़े हुए हैं, हरिजन हैं, जिन के पास कोई साधन नहीं हैं, उन के लिए गांव गांव में छोटे छोटे उद्योग धन्धे लगाए जाय और जो घरेलू उद्योग धन्धे हैं उन को प्रोत्साहन दिया जाय ताकि उन की बेकारी दूर हो और उन की समस्याएं हल हों। योजना से उन को भी लाभ मिले।

[श्री वं० ना० कुरील]

इसी तरह से देश के कई कोने तो बहुत विकसित हो गए और कहीं कहीं पर वैसे ही पिछड़े पड़े रहे। उत्तर प्रदेश के कुछ भागों में आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। प्रथम पंच वर्षीय योजना में उत्तर प्रदेश को केन्द्रीय सरकार से 14 रुपया पर कैपिटा सहायता मिली जब कि दूसरे राज्यों का औसत 25 रुपये था। दूसरी योजना में उत्तर प्रदेश को 18 रुपया पर कैपिटा सहायता मिली जब कि दूसरे राज्यों का औसत 27 था। तीसरी योजना में यू० पी० 46 रुपया पर कैपिटा सहायता मिली जब कि दूसरे राज्यों का औसत 58 था। इस के देखने से यह मालूम होता है कि यू० पी० में जो केन्द्र की सहायता थी वह बहुत कम गई और वह पिछड़ता चला गया।

जो कर के प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं उन के बारे में मुझे दो एक बातें कहनी हैं कि यह जो खेती के ऊपर टैक्स लगने वाला है, इस का मैं समर्थन करता हूँ। जो बड़े पूंजीपति लोग हैं वह अपना रुपया जमीन में लगा कर उस ब्लैक मनी को सफेद मनी बनाना चाहते हैं तो मैं तो वित्त मंत्री को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि उनकी नजर इस ओर गई और उन्होंने उनके इस पैसे को पकड़ा। लेकिन एक बात साथ ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने जो इस तरह से ऐग्रीकल्चर बेल्ट टैक्स कह दिया इससे बड़ा भ्रम पैदा हो गया। सारे देश में यह हो गया कि यह किसानों पर टैक्स है। यह असल में किसानों पर नहीं है, यह साधारण किसान पर नहीं है, यह बात वित्त मंत्री जी को साफ करनी चाहिए। मिट्टी के तेल पर जो कर लगा है वह खत्म करना चाहिए और चीनी पर से खत्म करना चाहिए। इस तरह की चीजों पर जो कर लगाने का प्रस्ताव है वह खत्म होना चाहिए।

SHRI S. D. PATIL (Sangli) : I support this Budget, but not wholeheartedly. There are many reasons for this, with which I will deal presently. This budget has got some bad as well as good features. There are some good features which have

been generally welcomed. The Finance Minister has certainly made some good proposals to remove our industry and trade.

The reduction of the excise duties on jute, tea, raw wool, mica etc. has been welcomed and appreciated. The total effect of the reductions will be a loss of Rs. 23 crores to the exchequer. Similar is the case with regard to the textile industry which has fallen sick for a considerably long time. The Finance Minister has now come with certain proposals for reduction in excise duties. This will substantially encourage the weaker textile mills if the concessions are properly utilised.

But the proposals to impose new taxes on sugar, fertilisers and power driven pumps and wealth tax on agricultural land are not good proposals. The new excise duty on sugar will adversely affect both the private as well as co-operative sugar mills. The sugar industry in certain parts of India is just like our textile industry. These units need a reduction of taxes which will encourage them. They are already heavily taxed with excise duty, and the new impost will add to their sufferings. The same is the case with regard to the co-operative sugar factories. The result will be that the producer of cane will get less price day by day and he will run into a loss. There is also the possibility of the price of sugar going up and affecting the users of sugar, even poor man. People who have been using sugar all along will also be unnecessarily taxed.

The excise duty of 10 per cent *ad valorem* on fertilisers and 20 per cent *ad valorem* on power driven pumps must be reconsidered. The argument advanced by the Finance Minister that the section of farmers who have benefited by Government's developmental programmes in the agricultural sector should contribute towards the cost of development in general, though appealing, is impracticable. The excise duty, as proposed, is equally harmful to agriculturists in dry regions instead of being beneficial to them. They too use fertiliser in their cultivation in the dry regions, though it is non-irrigated land depending upon rain water and well water and the percentage of such class of farmers to the total farming population is far more

than the class which is the beneficiary of the Government's developmental programmes for agricultural improvement. This will create danger to our increased rise in Agriculture production.

Moreover, this is not the proper time for imposing this excise duty on fertilisers. This will have an adverse effect and will mar the enthusiasm with which the farmer is increasingly taking to scientific agriculture and also making massive investment in ground-water exploitation for irrigation and mechanised methods of agriculture.

The Finance Minister proposes a tax on agricultural wealth with some aim in view and on some principle also. Agricultural income is free from wealth tax, and naturally it has attracted the richer, professional and business classes to invest their black money in purchasing lands and to make profit by way of non-taxed agricultural income. 'All income from whatever productive source must be taxed,' and hence the proposal. If this wealth tax is to be imposed, it will be fair and just to impose it upon those who are using their black money and making profit out of agricultural income which is free of any tax till

today. They should not be permitted to purchase land without previous permission of the proper authority. This will also solve the question of determining and deciding complicated question : 'who are genuine agriculturists.'

There is only other question with which I shall deal. Since the beginning of our Plans, we have been having deficit financing. So many members have spoken, but no one has this time criticised deficit financing. Deficit financing in a developed country will do good a certain extent because the prices there are not increased immediately and that will not harm the economy. In a country like India which is developing, there is every danger of the prices increasing quickly as we could see from our past experience in the last ten years. In those circumstances we must do away with deficit financing once and for all.

19.11 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, March 14, 1964 Phalgun 23, 1890 (Saka).