

[Shri Chimanbhai Mehta]

more than two years. Thousands of workers are unemployed. This is causing a great distress. On the all-India plane also, I have been watching, the number of closed mills is increasing. So, something has to be done again to review the policy on the textile front. I know that we have been suggesting sometimes that the National Textile Corporation or the State Corporation should take them over. But my experience with these Corporations' handling of these mills is also not satisfactory because in these Corporations also there is corruption, there is mismanagement and, therefore, if we request the Government to take over these closed mills, the problems will remain where they are.

Therefore, Sir, my submission would be that it is not a question of more technical improvement or modernization alone, but, basically, it is a question of improving the management by introducing the joint management system through effective labour participation. This labour participation has been enshrined in the Constitution, but it is not being followed. Therefore, I would like to suggest that not the bureaucrats, not the technicians, not the experts, but labour through their participation would be able to improve the functioning of the mills. Therefore, Sir, I would like to request the Ministry of Textiles and the other concerned Ministries to consider this suggestion and implement it. Thank you, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, we shall take up the Finance Bill.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: (West Bengal): Sir, before the Prime Minister starts, I have a submission to make. The point is that the prestige of the Members of Parliament is being affected by certain statements made outside.....

MR. CHAIRMAN: No allowed. Let it not be recorded. I am not allowing it.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: (West Bengal): *

MR. CHAIRMAN: Yes, the Prime Minister now.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: *

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chatterjee, you can come to my room and ask for my permission first. I am not allowing it.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: *

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chatterjee, you cannot raise it. I am not allowing it. For raising this, you should have taken my previous permission. But you have not taken my permission. Therefore, I am not allowing it.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: *

MR. CHAIRMAN: Yes, the Prime Minister.

THE FINANCE BILL, 1987

THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI RAJIV GANDHI): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 1987-88 as passed by the Lok Sabha be taken into consideration."

2. Sir, the salient features of the important proposals contained in the Bill have been explained in my Budget Speech. The details of the proposals in the Bill have been set out in the Explanatory Memorandum circulated along with the Budget papers. I do not, therefore, propose to traverse the same ground again.

3. The Bill has now been before the Honourable Members for more than two months. During the general discussion on the Budget, and thereafter, Honourable Members from both the Houses have made useful suggestions in regard to the provisions contained in the Bill. We have also received representations from various sections and comments from experts.

4. After careful consideration of these suggestions, I moved certain amendments to the Bill in the Lok Sabha, which have been accepted and incorporated in the Bill as passed by the Lok Sabha. I shall, at this stage, confine my observations to the main

changes which have been made to some of the provisions of the Bill during its consideration by the Lok Sabha.

5. The following amendments have been incorporated in respect of direct taxes:—

(a) Apprehensions were expressed that the proposed new section 194E of the Income-tax Act which seeks to extend the area of tax deduction at source, may cause unnecessary harassment to a large number of honest tax-payers who might have to seek refunds. After careful consideration of representations received, this proposal has been withdrawn.

(b) The Finance Bill inserts a new section 115J in the Income-tax Act to levy a minimum tax on 'book profits' of certain companies. Representations were received that in computing book profits for the purpose of determining the minimum tax, losses and unabsorbed depreciation pertaining to earlier years should be allowed to be set-off. Otherwise, new projects that have just begun to make profits after some years of losses, and sick companies that have just turned the corner, will become subject to minimum tax. There is merit in this suggestion. Under section 205 of the Companies Act, 1956, losses or unabsorbed depreciation, whichever is less, is allowed to be set off against the book profits of the current year for determining profits for the purpose of declaring dividends. It has therefore, been decided to allow the same adjustments in computation of book profits for purposes of the new provision for levy of minimum tax.

(c) The Bill sought to insert a new section 54H of the Income-tax Act providing for exemption of capital gains arising from the transfer of shares to any public sector company as specified by notification. This was only an enabling provision, but it gave rise to

undue misgivings. It has been decided, therefore, to delete this provision.

(d) The Bill seeks to insert a new section 54G providing for exemption of capital gains on transfer of assets, in the case of approved schemes for shifting an industrial undertaking from urban areas. The exemption will be available in respect of long-term capital gains arising from the transfer of machinery, plant, building or land. Representations were received that the underlying objective of relocation of industries is not fully achieved by this provision because of section 50 of the Income-tax Act. This section provides that capital gains arising on transfer of long-term capital assets in respect of which depreciation has been allowed, will be deemed to be short-term capital gains. To give effect to the original intention, it has been decided to amend this provision to secure that capital gains, whether short-term or long-term, will qualify for exemptions.

(e) The Bill seeks to amend section 2(22)(e) of the Income-tax Act to provide that loans or advances given by any closely-held company to its shareholders, or to any concern in which such shareholders have a substantial interest, shall be deemed to be dividend for the purposes of taxation. It was pointed out that such a provision might be unduly severe in the case of persons having small shareholdings. It was also pointed out that it should not apply retrospectively to cases where advances or loans have already been given by closely-held companies to shareholders before this Finance Bill is enacted. The proposal has now been modified so that it will apply only to cases where the shareholder holds 10% or more of the equity capital and to concerns in which such shareholders have substantial interest. Further, the new provisions shall be applicable only

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where the loans or advances are given after 31.5.1987.

6. The other amendments relating to direct taxes are purely of consequential or clarificatory nature and I would not like to take the time of the House in dealing with them.

7. As regards indirect taxes, the important areas of relief in excise and customs duties are the following:—

(i) Excise relief of Rs. 20 per MT has been given to cement units commencing production between 1.1.1982 and 31.3.1986. Levy quota of these units has also been reduced to 20%.

(ii) Further liberalisation of the scheme of exemption for hand processed cotton fabrics has been made by raising the full exemption limit to 75 lakhs sqmts. for screen printed fabrics. Duty rate on clearances in excess of exemption limit has also been reduced from 50% of the normal rate to 25%.

(iii) Customs duty on waste paper which is used as a raw material by small paper mills has been reduced from 25% to 10% *ad-valorem*.

(iv) Customs duty on raw-wool, wool-waste, woolen rags and synthetic rags has been reduced to 20%.

(v) Excise duty on particle board, insulation and fibre boards has been reduced from 20% to 10 per cent *ad-valorem*.

(vi) Spices have been fully exempted from excise duty.

(vii) Excise duty on tread rubber and other retreading materials has been reduced for small-scale units.

(viii) Import duty on components of textile machinery and machine tool sector has been reduced from 70% to 60%.

(ix) A uniform rate of countervailing duty of 15% has been prescribed for parts of machinery, appliances and equipments under

heading No. 98.06 of the Customs Tariff.

(x) Certain further procedural simplifications have been made in the MODVAT Scheme.

(xi) Excise duty has been reduced on non-tinted toughened glass, glues and adhesives based on plastics, specified travel goods.

(xii) Import duty reductions have been made for various items used by the electronic industry. Some other duty rationalisations have also been made for this industry.

The total impact of these and some other concessions and reliefs aggregate to Rs. 40 crores on the customs side and Rs. 30 crores on the excise side.

8. I am confident that the Honorable Members will lend their full support to the Bill as passed by the Lok Sabha.

9. Sir, I move the Bill.

The question was proposed.

SHRI M. A. BABY (Kerala): Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Sir, while taking part in the discussion on the Finance Bill, ...

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can come forward because you are not audible.

SHRI M. A. BABY: I am comfortable here.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You may be comfortable, but you are not audible.

[The Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

SHRI M. A. BABY: Madam Deputy Chairman, the Prime Minister has requested all the Members of the House to support the Finance Bill. Since we are supposed to take care of the interests of the people at large in our country, we cannot but oppose the proposals made by the hon. Prime Minister. Going by the behaviour of the hon. Prime Minister who also in the recent past happens to be the Finance Minister,

in the recent past, I have certain apprehension. Some newspapers say that there is a serious economic crisis developing in our country. The *Economic Times* of 1st May has published a detailed analysis of India's foreign debts. The foreign debt is the economic disaster of the country.

Similarly, the 'Times of 1.00 P.M India' of 4th May has written an editorial mentioning danger signals in relation to the economic environment of our country. At the same time, if you go through the speech of Prof. B. S. Minhas, a noted economist and statistician, he has amply proved it clear that the Budget-making in our country is a failure. So, in short, there is more than sufficient proof that our economy is heading towards a crisis and disaster. It is in this relation I mentioned that I do not know what would be the reaction of the Prime Minister who happens to be the Finance Minister also. When a defence crisis has developed, our Prime Minister who was then holding the Defence portfolio, entrusted it to another Minister. So, if he is going to follow the same pattern of behaviour, when an economic crisis is developing, he may drop this Finance portfolio also. That is why at the very outset I mentioned my apprehension regarding the behaviour of the Finance Minister-cum-Prime Minister.

Madam, our Prime Minister-cum-Finance Minister promised in the other House that the state of the Indian economy is sound. But what is the experience of the people? Does this promise and proclamation hold good in the light of the experience of the people of our country? According to the latest press reports, 'sharp price rise shrinks housewife's budget' when our Finance Minister speaks about a sound Budget and sound economic prospects. Prices of essential commodities are touching high sky. I do not want to go into all those details because most of us are experiencing it. The most phenomenal increase has been that of vanaspati;

from Rs. 20.83 per kg. last May, it increased to Rs. 26.70 now. It is said in the press reports, "According to the Super Bazar sources, the manufacturers have again today sought to raise the vanaspati prices by Rs. 0.70 per kg. and refined oil by Rs. 2.25 per kg.' The prices of bananas are Rs. 12 a dozen, mangoes on an average Rs. 14 a kilo, melon—Rs. 4 or Rs. 5 a kilo, tomatoes—Rs. 8 per kilo, lady-fingers—Rs. 5 per kilo, tinda—Rs. 6 or Rs. 8; onion—Rs. 3 a kilo, lemon—Rs. 20 a kilo. So, this is the general trend.

And again, Madam, the 'Times of India' itself in its editorial mentioned how alarming the inflationary trend is. The consumer price index for industrial workers, a better measure of overall inflation, is rising in the last one year by 8.4 per cent. Thus, before the lean months are out, we will in all likelihood be afflicted by a double-digit inflation. So, this is the inflationary trend that exists in our country.

Madam, at the same time, the Prime Minister-cum-Finance Minister assures the people of our country that we are heading towards prosperity and nobody need to worry. Here, I would like to rise a few questions related with the overall approach of the present Government towards its economic perspective. When the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister request us to support the proposals, we would like to ask him what actual promise, solid promise is there that with these proposals the plight of the people of our country will be better. Since 1951 the so-called planned economy has been followed in our country but during this period, I do not want to go into the figures, on the one hand, we have been experiencing the practice a few monopoly houses amassing wealth, landlords spreading their tentacles in the villages of our country and a majority of the people being pauperised through the economic policy pursued by the Government. This is a fact. Is there any

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fundamental departure now from the economic policy that you have been following? There is no fundamental departure. On the other hand, you are following a more dangerous economic path. That is what is being explained in the "Economic Times" article regarding the danger to foreign debt and what disaster this will bring about. Here it is interesting to note that recently the political party of the Prime Minister, the political party that rules at the Centre, I do not want to mention the Congress(I) because they may shout from the other side...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Nobody is there because their master is not here.

SHRI M. A. BABY: They want the appreciation of the Prime Minister perhaps. Recently our hon. Prime Minister presided over the Working Committee meeting of the ruling party and passed a resolution regarding the activities of the forces of destabilisation, how foreign hand is penetrating into our country. Here, in relation to the discussion on the Budget proposals, the Finance Bill, I want to inform and remind the Finance Minister-cum-Prime Minister that there are most dangerous foreign hands coming and plundering our country, are you prepared to take note of this fact? These hands of foreign multinational corporations, these tentacles of foreign multi-national corporations are plundering our country, our people, and you are further opening up your doors to these multi-national corporations to come in. Why are you not taking any meaningful steps against those multinational corporations? These foreign multi-national corporations, imperialist multi-national corporations are establishing our country and our economy. You are not taking a note of this fact. You are opening up your doors for these multi-national corporations to come in. You are going to the west to import technology without allowing our own scientists to develop indigenous tech-

nology. You are going to the west to import various things. I do not want to mention the personal things that you import, we are not concerned with that.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: What are the personal things?

SHRI M. A. BABY: So many things which are available in our country in abundance are personally imported by them. I am not concerned with that. But the technology which can be developed in our own country, they are importing. (Interruptions) Such technical know-how is being imported, at the cost of our own indigenous technology being developed. You are importing arms and some disturbing information regarding the nasty goings on in relation to the import of, purchase of, arms from foreign countries has come out recently. You assure the country that the present Government will take care of our finances properly. But with the kind of disturbing information that is coming out, how can we have faith in you? The reported kickbacks and commissions are just tips of the iceberg or rather better I can say tip of a submarine. So, this is the situation, this is the condition. Whenever certain developments take place in our country which are inconvenient to you politically, you talk of forces of destabilisation and foreign hand coming. But in actuality, everybody knows that in Indian economy, foreign hands, the tentacles of multinational corporations are operating and they are destabilising our economy. Everybody knows that. But you are not taking any practical steps to stop it.

Now, with all the criticism that we have regarding the economic policies pursued in recent past, the previous Finance Minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, had been taking some steps, a few steps, but insufficient steps; I underline the words 'insufficient steps' but he had been taking a few steps to unearth illegal money within our country. There have been shortcomings, and we were not satisfied with the amount of work that he had been doing. But

when even this became inconvenient for the ruling party and those who finance them and those who are surrounding the powers that be, he has been dropped from that portfolio like a hot potato. This is what you are doing. The officers, the personnel in the Finance Ministry—some of them—have been doing very good work under the leadership of the previous Finance Minister, with all the limitations and the shortcomings—which I reapt—but once they find that such people who would do something against the illegal financial operators, will be handled in the manner in which V. P. Singhji was handled, what would be their morale? How will they act? It is in this context that I would like to mention with regard to the failure of the whole Budget-making process in our country. This has become almost a farce. Last year, Prof. B. S. Minhas said this in one of his important lectures he made recently. "It is a crying shame that this country, although full of competent accountants and economists, is unable to produce budget estimates which can hold good even for three months." This is what he said. Everybody knows it. You say that the possible deficit would be some figure, and in actuality it would 220 per cent more, and if we go by the previous experience, the actual deficit would be more than Rs. 12,000 crore. I have calculated it. It would be even more than that. Even if the off-setting of the actual Budget deficit comes to the tune of last year's experience, this would be Rs. 12,000 crore. And this is not going to be so with the drought and other economic problems. In actuality, it would be more than Rs. 12,000 crore. I do not know where that will touch. So, how can the Budget be taken seriously when all the proposals made in the Budget become useless and baseless within a few months. I would earnestly urge upon the ruling party and the Central Government that potential within our country should be properly tapped as mentioned in Prof. Minhas's speech. So many economists are there. They have to be taken into confidence. They

should be enthused and encouraged. But what is your practice? The present Finance Minister is bypassing the Finance Commission and the Planning Commission. He is visiting States and making announcements without the knowledge of the Planning Commission or the Finance Commission. If the Government behaves like this, what would be the result? The very meaning of Planning Commission and Finance Commission is eroded with the kind of behaviour that is being shown by the present Finance Minister and the Government towards Committees, statutory fora, which include noted economists of our country. This practice should be absolutely changed. This is our concrete proposal.

Madam, coming to the question of Centre-State fiscal relationship our demand is that the Centre-State fiscal relationship should be changed lock, stock and barrel. April 25th witnessed a meeting of some Chief Ministers. They had very detailed discussions and they have come out with concrete proposals in relation to the changes that are to be brought about in the Centre-State fiscal relationship. I hope, the proposals made by the Chief Ministers at their meeting of 25th April would be seriously considered by the Central Government.

Coming to the distribution between direct and indirect taxes, the policy of the Government is very much discernible in this respect also. During the early fifties, the ratio used to be almost 50 : 50. Even then, the general the ratio between direct and indirect after that and even till today, it is 80 per cent indirect taxes and 20 per cent direct taxes. The term 'indirect taxes' is not correct. It should be pickpocketing. Instead of 'indirect taxes', the better term would be 'pickpocketing', by the Government. This is the policy being followed. Therefore, how can you claim that you are looking after the interests of the poor people? We demand that the whole approach in this regard, in regard to the ratio between direct and indirect

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taxes should be changed. In fact, it should be reversed. It should be 20 per cent indirect taxes and 80 per cent direct taxes. This is our proposal.

Madam, I have mentioned about the disastrous path of debt-trap which is being followed by our country. I do not want to elaborate or narrate the experience of the Latin American countries. Members know about this. Even the Govt. knows about this. But in practice, nothing is being done. The Government is going in for more and more foreign aid. I hope the Central Government will come out with concrete proposals to put an end to the present policy of relying on foreign aid.

Madam various States in the country are faced with very severe and unprecedented drought. We have been demanding that there should be immediate help. The most important thing is that there should be some long-term planning on the part of the Government to tackle the drought situation as well as the flood situation. This is what is lacking in our country. If my memory serves me right, only 22 per cent of the water resources in the country is being tapped today. I think, my information is correct. There is no scientific planning to have a long-term understanding and perspective to tackle the drought situation. I hope, the Government will come out with concrete proposals. In this relation I would like to reiterate the demand of my home State Kerala. The overall loss of Kerala due to drought comes to more than a thousand crore and the Kerala Government demanded aid of Rs. 595 crores from the Centre. Even while demanding so, everybody knows that the Central Government may not give the demanded aid but what has been announced by the Prime Minister in Kerala is precious little. This Rs. 10 crores, though will be utilised will not serve the purpose, but it is most unfortunate that Rs. 10 crores announced by the Prime Minister during the time of the previous Congress(I) Government has not been

given so far. We are thankful to the Prime Minister that at least Rs. 10 crore, though will be utilised, time

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Was it announced to be given

SHRI M. A. BABY: Even then it was announced during the time of the previous Government, but it has not so far been given. I hope the announcements of the Prime Minister should be implemented especially in relation to drought. That aid should be restored.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: It was announced, it was not be given.

SHRI M. A. BABY: This has been the practice like the announcement of socialism.

Madam, we are having a buffer stock of 340 lakhs tonnes of food-grains. At a time when socio-economic policies are being pursued by the present Government, we hear poignant stories of starvation deaths from various parts of the country. I do not want to mention any particular place. Certain starvation deaths come to the notice of the country because that gets reported in the press. Even when we are discussing this particular subject here in this august House, I may say with pain that in far flung corner of our country there may be hundreds of people dying due to starvation, particularly when we have 340 lakhs tonnes of buffer stock.

In this connection, our earnest request through you to the Central Government is to utilise this food-grains for employment generation programme. Why can't this be utilized for employment generation programme? Even when State Governments come out with concrete proposals for employment generation, the Central Government is not cooperating. Kerala is having 3 per cent of our Indian population. So, rightly we can claim 10 lakh tonnes of foodgrains that is available with the Central Government to be given to the State of Kerala so that a concrete project that has been worked out by the left and democratic government of Kerala to give employment for 10 lakh youths,

utilising these 10 lakhs tonnes of food-grains and mobilising resources from the State also can be implemented. I forecfully make this request. This can be done in all other parts of our country also. The left front Government of West Bengal during the last 10 years has been doing something in this direction but unfortunately the Central Government has not been cooperating with the efforts of the State Governments, left front State Governments of West Bengal and Tripura, in implementing these things. I hope this policy of the Government will be changed. Especially, we are having more than 3 crore unemployed youth in our country, educated youths. They are prepared to work for our country. They are prepared to generate value but they are not being given an opportunity. When we talk of taking our country into the twentyfirst century, I am afraid we will be reaching the twentyfirst century with the highest number of illiterates in the world, with the highest number of unemployed in the world, with the highest number of poverty-stricken people in the world. If that shameful experience is to be prevented for our Motherland the economic policies of this Central Congress (I) Government have to be changed lock, stock and barrel. The educated unemployed can be utilised to eradicate illiteracy. What a shame it is that we have nearly 3 crore educated unemployed youth, at the same time we have more than 40 crores illiterates in our country! If we go in for a scientific and proper planning, these educated unemployed can be used to eradicate illiteracy. Through that the productivity of our country can be increased, as I hold. This scientific approach is what is lacking in the Central Congress (I) Government unfortunately. The Central Congress (I) Government is more interested in safeguarding the interests of the monopoly capitalists, multinational corporations and land-lords. If we want to change the economic condition of our country, we will have to take fundamental

steps towards implementation of effective land reforms. No country can advance to modern era without meaningful land reforms. But what is your practice? The land reform enactment passed by West Bengal is still lying with the Central Government without getting assent. Only after a long drawn battle after seven years, they could get it ultimately, once the people of West Bengal have proved that the Left Front Government of West Bengal is going to stay there. The Central Government waited for seven years, hoping that after five years in some way or the other, this could be subverted and a pro-landlord government can be brought in there. Once the Central Congress(I) Government failed in doing that, thanks to the democratic-minded people of West Bengal, they were forced to give assent after 7 years. No meaningful land reform has been implemented in any Congress (I) ruled State. So this shows beyond doubt that the Central Congress(I) Government stands to protect the interests of landlords in our country, to protect the interests of monopoly houses in our country.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHR: M. A. BABY: I am concluding, Madam. Doors are being opened for multinational corporations also which are destabilising the Indian economy. If you open up your doors for multinational corporations to penetrate, they can, utilising that opportunity, very well manoeuvre at the political level also. We are not denying that. That danger is also there. How can we strengthen the security of our country? How can we defeat the forces of destabilisation both in the political and economic sphere? We can do so by standing up against the machinations of multinational corporations and their political patrons. This is what is lacking. Unless you have the political will to do this, more talk of forces of destabilisation and foreign hand will be ludicrous; nobody will take

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notice of that. Madam, while concluding, I reiterate our demand that your economic policies should be subjected to a thorough review and these wrong policies, anti-people policies, should be changed. If you fail to change these anti-people economic policies, these anti-people economic policies will change you. With this warning I oppose the Finance Bill. Thank you Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now the House stands adjourned for lunch and will meet again at 2.30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty-one minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty-three minutes past two of the clock. [The Vice Chairman (Shri-mati Kanak Mukherjee) in the Chair.]

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI KANAK MUKHERJEE): We continue the discussion on the Finance Bill, Mr. Jagesh Desai.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): Madam Vice-Chairman, I rise to support the Finance Bill, 1987.

Madam, while taking part in the discussion on the Budget I said what budget was. At that time I said that budget reflected the policy and thinking of the Government. And that policy, as far as Congress Party is concerned, has been there even before the independence. Pt. Jawaharlalji, Babu Subhash Chandra Bose at that time had thought of what type of economic policy should be pursued by our party after the independence if it would come to power. And the thrust of the whole policy was that the development of this country should be on the basis of planned development, that the plan should be such that by it we could reduce the disparities both in wealth and in income, that the policy should be such that by it we could give relief of the masses of this country. That is the basic thrust of our policy. Our economic policy should be such

that we can stand on our own legs. It should be a policy of self-reliance. That is what was the thinking of Panditji, when he became the Prime Minister of the country. He took several measures to give shape to the shape to this policy.

Our economic policy is based on socialism. Panditji had given to this country the concept of socialism. He laid its solid foundations. And when Indiraji became Prime Minister, she enacted several measures to ensure that financial powers remain with the people and not with the industrialists. Similarly several such actions were taken by the present Government and that policy is being pursued. As I said Budget is an annual exercise by which the Government decides from where we raise our resources and for what purposes we should spend. Budget contains only those proposals. As far as the Finance Bill is concerned, it gives legal shape to these proposals by amending the various Acts like the Direct Taxes Act Income-tax Act, Wealth Tax Act, Excise and Customs Acts. And if new directions are there, then new Acts are enacted. That is what the Finance Bill means.

After saying this, I would like to say that our economy is on a very sound footing. In spite of severe floods and droughts in many States we expect a bumper crop of 170 million tonnes this year. As far as the industrial production is concerned. I don't want to give figures, because I have already given the figures in my last speech. But I must point out that the industrial production also this year will go above 8.5 per cent. Never in the history of India it has happened. In the last three years the industrial production has gone up to this extent.

As far as our public sector is concerned, let me make one thing clear. There are three types of persons. One, those who have in faith in the public sector; second those who only pay lip-service to the public sector; and the third those who want that the public sector should be vibrant,

healthy and strong, For that purpose they initiate various measures. I feel our Prime Minister comes in the third category. He is committed to public sector, but he wants that the public sector should be healthy. He wants that the public sector should attain commanding heights. For that purpose I want to draw the attention of the august House to three of four measures taken by this Government after Rajivji came to power. The first action that was taken was in regard to the capital gains which is generated by selling some property. If the proceeds are invested in the public sector undertakings, that capital gain is exempt. Never in the past had any Government given that kind of relief so that the public sector can get finances. Madam, last year in the budget speech it was mentioned that the bonds and debentures which are to be notified and interest on these will be tax-free. But unfortunately that was not brought in the last year. But our Government by amending the Act they have brought it forward, and the Lok Sabha has passed it, that debentures and bonds floated by the public sector undertakings and which are notified by the Central Government will be totally tax-free. No income tax will be charged. Even the income from Rs. 50,000 will not attract any tax. That is why people have subscribed to the debentures and bonds. This is the second thing done by the Government.

Madam, any deposits in the public sector undertakings will fetch some interest. So this interest and dividends from the shares will also be entitled for deduction under section 80L. This is what the Government has done. Our Government has taken three important measures to boost the resources of the public sector to enable them to grow and expand.

Now, Madam, I would like to give some facts and figures on public sector undertakings. Many hon. Members have criticised the functioning of public sector undertakings. Last

year I have given these figures but I would like to repeat it again. After our hon. Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi came to power he has done lot of things for further improvement of the public sector undertakings. I am not saying that we are satisfied. The total investment upto 1979-80 in public sector undertakings was to the extent of Rs. 15,000 crores and the for last two years, that is, 1984-85 and 1985-86 the additional investment was more than Rs. 15,000 crores. That means whatever the amount was invested upto 1979-80, we could achieve it in just two years.

Madam, as on 31-3-1986 the total investment on public sector undertakings is about Rs. 51,000 crores and by the end of this year we may reach the figure of Rs. 60,000 crores. That means it is four times higher than what it was some six years back. This is what our Government has done. That is why our Government is trying to give as much resources as possible to the public sector.

So far as profits are concerned for the year 1985-86, it was Rs. 2,200 crores pre-tax. In 1978-79 it was only Rs. 225 crores. This has become possible because many industries which were in losses are now making profits. Now, there will be a better control regarding inventories, working hours, etc. so that our public sector can make much headway. I will not be surprised within five years if our public sector undertakings generate resources which are required by the country. In course of time the dream of public sector attaining the commanding heights will be fulfilled.

In 1979-80 the total resources mobilised by the public sector was to the extent of Rs. 2,200 crores and in 1985-86 it has gone up by more than Rs. 900 crores. This is the contribution of the public sector. But still I feel that the public sector should improve upon itself. For this purpose, I would like to make some suggestions so that the Government can look into it and find out what they can do about it.

[Shri Jagesh Desai]

Madam, I believe strongly in the concept of holding companies. Every industries in public sector should be brought under one holding company of that type and that holding company will be responsible to oversee the working of these industries and it should not interfere in the units of other undertakings under the holding company. And a holding company will have to deal directly with the Government regarding finance and general policy guidelines. If this is done, I can say time waste can be avoided. When you have to import, there are so many channels and there is a lot of delay. When they get the raw material, by that time if the order is not executed, they will lose the orders. That is why for financial decentralisation and for better efficiency there should be the concept of a holding company. At present we have started one. I would say in the course of three, four, five years all the public sector undertakings must be brought under one holding company and that will definitely improve the working of the units under that holding company. Regarding financial institutions I am very much astonished to find a new phenomenon. Some kind or the other of an organisation is floated every now and then. Today we have the Industrial Finance Corporation, we have the IDBI, we have the ICICI and now the Reconstruction Corporation. Why do you want to have four, five, organisations? I do not understand. Why do you want five white elephants when you can do with one? Why not bring all of them together under one? Most of them have been brought into existence after nationalisation of banks. So I feel very strongly that we should abolish all these or merge all of these into one so that they can get credit from foreign countries. I can understand if that is what is required. But this duplication, this multiplicity, of work should be avoided. When we want to be cost conscious, we must do away with all of them.

Then, only a technocrat should be the executive officer, and not other. We should have watch-dog committees and the watch-dog committees should consist of experts. There may be a financial expert, there may be a technical expert or an economic expert or it can be a social worker who knows the feeling of the people, to assess and advise what kind of goods should be manufactured. There should be a watch-dog committee for each industry—one watch-dog committee for steel, one for cement, one for pharmaceuticals, and so on. They should go and discuss with workers and management, not just sit in airconditioned rooms in Parliament House. They should go out and see how the units are working, what their difficulties are, what their deficiencies are, and see that those difficulties and deficiencies are corrected. These are my suggestions for improvement of the public sector. I am happy to see that ordinance factories are being expanded. I have seen the workers there. Their production has gone up from 36000 to 72000 within the course of these three or four years. There is discipline. There is hard work. That is why I say, Madam, we are committed to providing more resources from wherever they are found, for public sector and improving it and making it a vibrant and healthy public sector in developing our country.

As regards allocations, as regards plan allocations, for public sector this year the public sector is given Rs. 39000 crores. It has been increased by about 22 per cent. That is why I say our Government is committed to public sector. I am sure the honourable Members who have some doubts will appreciate that this Government is committed to public sector and is giving all help to the public sector.

My next point is there is a demand from our friends of the opposition that resources given to the States are not adequate or that there is some kind of injustice done to them. For

this purpose I would like to place some facts and figures for their kind consideration. Madam, with regard to assistance to the State Plans, in the Budget Estimates for 1986-87, it was Rs. 7,378 crores and, in 1987-88, it has gone up to Rs. 8,754 crores. As regards the Plans which are to be given some budgetary support, in the year 1986-87, it was 35 per cent of the total, to the States, and the budgetary support in 1987-88 is 37 per cent which means an increase of two per cent. In the year 1986-87, the budgetary support was to the tune of Rs. 20,673 crores and, in 1987-88, it is Rs. 23,250 crores which means an increase of Rs. 2,577 crores in one year. That means that the increase is more than 12.5 per cent. Out of this, the non-Plan grants in the year 1986-87 amounted to Rs. 1,790 crores and, in the year 1987-88, it is Rs. 1,876 crores which means an addition of about Rs. 100 crores. With regard to the grants for the Centrally sponsored schemes, in 1986-87, it was Rs. 3,035 crores and, in the year 1987-88, it is Rs. 3,517 crores, which means that the rise is of the order of Rs. 500 crores. Then, Central assistance for States and Union territories' plans amounted to Rs. 2,704 crores in 1986-87 and, in the year 1987-88, it is Rs. 3,333 crores. Then the total amount given by way of non-Plan grants and grants for the Centrally sponsored Plans was Rs. 7,579 crores in 1986-87 and, in the year 1987-88, it is Rs. 8,726 crores which means an increase of Rs. 1,197 crores, that is, an increase of 16 per cent. You may say that it is because of inflation and all that. Even if you give eight per cent for that even then, in real terms, the allocation is more by eight per cent. I think that this is what could have been given by the Central Government and they have given that. But on one point I would like to plead with the Finance Minister and it is about small savings. Till 1.4.86, 66 per cent of the small savings were given to the States by way of loans. But, from 1.4.86, you have changed the scheme to some extent

and it is like that. Forty per cent of the small savings are to be deposited in the Central Government's special deposit schemes and the reason given is that it is for giving a better return to the employees by way of interest. If you want to give more to the employees—we all demand that—I do not think that it was necessary for you to stipulate that 40 per cent of the small savings should be in the Centre's special deposit because the deposits under these schemes you are not giving to the States and you are not giving the States their share. That is why I say that instead of doing this, you can say that they can put in the six or seven National Savings Certificates on which 12 per cent interest is given and they will get 12 per cent. But, by not doing this, you are only denying the States their due share. I would, therefore, earnestly request the Government to reconsider this and the scheme as it was before 1.4.86 should be given effect to, that is, whatever is collected by way of small savings, 66 per cent of that should be given to the States. I will go even further and say—because I am a Member of the Rajya Sabha, I must see to the interests of the States—that I am convinced that so far as small savings are concerned, even 100 per cent of the collections can be given to the States so that they can find their own resources. As regards the other allocation given, I think it is quite adequate and just. But this part you have to look into so that this imbalance can be removed.

Madam, as regards the tax evaders and others, the policy of this Government is clear-cut. This Government is committed to root out corruption, to root out illegal evasion of tax. Madam, our Prime Minister has committed to the people through our manifesto that we will take harsh action against these tax evaders and we shall make all efforts to bring out the black money and we shall not tolerate these activities of the big business or small, whosoever they be. This was

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our commitment, and these were the instructions of our Prime Minister. This is our accepted policy. And in pursuance of that the ex-Finance Minister took several actions and did a very commendable work. But this was in pursuance of the policy of the Government. This was in tune with the thinking of the Prime Minister. And that policy is clear-cut. If I were the Minister I would do the same thing what Mr. V. P. Singh has done. If somebody else is there he would do the same thing, because this is the policy of the Government. And that policy is continuing. Still we are seeing daily reports in the Press that big houses are being raided. Madam, I will give the figures about raids, etc., a little later. What I would like to emphasize is that this is the policy of our party. We want to root out corruption. And we also fight for that. There cannot be two opinions about that. That is why, Madam, I take this opportunity to ask the hon. Members on the Opposition that let us work as one man for rooting out corruption, to bring out the black money, and let us fight together. It is no use levelling charges against anybody without foundation. That should stop. This is a time when some forces are engaged in destabilising the country. There

are forces to weaken our country and they just want to see that this kind of situation arises in this country. We should not fall a prey to that kind of situation. Madam, that is why we are all one in this, we are all one to fight corruption. We want to see that black money, wherever it may be—it may be in India or it may be in foreign countries—is brought back. As regards the amnesty scheme about FERA, Madam, I would request the hon. Minister—if it successful or not I will not be able to judge it—that if you feel that really not much has been done then we have to find out some ways and means through which we can bring the foreign exchange that is lying in foreign countries back in the country, in the

services of the country. And I would like to go a step further and say that these economic offenders, according to me, are not less than murderers, and so whatever heavier punishment can be given must be given to them so that all will behave properly so that it is made available to the Government, because after all these resources collected are going to be utilized for the betterment of the common man of this country. For that purpose we all should fight as one man. This is my request to the hon. Member in the Opposition.

Madam, as regards sick industries, why do these industries become sick? What are the reasons and what actions can we propose? Madam, one of the reasons for this sickness—one of the reasons—is that the financial institutions are allowed to appoint Directors to these industries where they contribute by way of share equity or they are given loans. They 3 P.M. are given powers to appoint the Directors. In some cases, we have found that they can appoint 3 or 4 or even 5 Directors. But they have failed to appoint even one Director. I would urge upon the Government that if they want that these industries should not go sick, then whatever rights have been given to them by the loan agreement with the company must be enjoyed and they must appoint full quota of Directors. The Directors should be such as know the technical details, costing and business management. If all such Directors are appointed on the Board of Management, I do not think the private Management will be able to challenge. It is not being done. That is why our industries are sick. First of all, I would request the Government to see that whatever quota or right is there for the appointment of Directors in the companies where you are giving equity or loans, then you must fulfil that quota completely. If this is done, then I am sure that the siphoning off of funds to industries where they have got higher returns will stop. You will be able to check

that. Therefore, my suggestion to the Government is to see to it and to instruct all the persons concerned to see that they appoint the full quota of Directors. I am surprised to find that out of 4000 crores of rupees of advances are locked up in the sick industries. Out of this amount, more than Rs. 3000 crores are locked up in the big industries. Some of them are MRTP companies also. At least we can do this much that when any money is locked up in one of the MRTP companies, then the recovery should be done from any one of the industries belonging to the same group. The MRTP companies have also become sick and the people's money is locked there.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI KANAK MUKHERJEE): You have already taken half an hour. If you don't conclude, the other Members of your party will not get a chance to speak.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Madam, I will touch some of the points. In cases where the total investment of the financial institutions exceeds or is more than 50 or 60 per cent, then you should decide that the audit of those companies will be done by the Comptroller and Auditor General of India and their report should be placed before the Parliament and we should have a right to discuss it after it has been placed on the Table of the House. Eighty per cent of the people's money is invested there. That is why the people have a right to discuss the accounts. All the accounts should be audited by the Comptroller and Auditor General of India as is being done in the case of public sector undertakings. If this is done, things will improve.

Regarding Income-Tax, I want to make a few points. I take my figures from the Annual Report of the Ministry of Finance. "During the financial year 1986-87, 12 groups of large industrial houses are being overseen by the Department in addition to the cases of multi-national companies and 4 foreign companies.

The groups overseen by the Directorate are Birla, Bajaj, Chowgule, Chidambaram, ITC, Modi, Mafatlal, Mahindra and Mahindra, Reliance, Sarabhai, Sriram and Thapar." In 1984-85, this Directorate had overseen the cases of 238 companies.

Additions were made to the tune of Rs. 212 crores. It means, on an average it comes to Rs. 1 crore. And the tax collected was Rs. 120 crores. In 1985-86, 205 such companies were overseen. Additions, that means, concealed income found was to the extent of Rs. 222 crores and the tax collected was Rs. 124 crores. If it can happen, if such a big amount has been concealed by only these companies, what would be the position in the case of others? That is why I request the hon. Minister that you give this Department more hands. Why do you oversee only these 220 companies, why not all those companies whose equity is more than Rs. 5 crores? They should not only be overseen, but must be seen into details. There may be something more. If by overseeing they have found this much in the case of these companies, what would have been found by overseeing the other companies also? That is why this disturbing trend is there. Our corporate tax is not increasing as it has been done in the case of direct taxes. Direct tax has increased by about Rs. 1,000 crores. But the corporate tax has increased only marginal. I feel that if this Department is strengthened, then I am sure your revenue will go up by not less than Rs. 2,000 crores if all those companies having more than Rs. 5 crores of equity are overseen and gone into in detail. That is why I welcome your scheme that you want to accept the returns and you want to have a thorough scrutiny on some returns. And those companies whose equity is more than Rs. 5 crores should all be scrutinised properly so that we can get our dues.

Another point I want to mention is about arrears. The number of income-

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tax assesseees for demands of more than Rs. 10 lakhs is 2,232 as on 31-3-1986. And the amount of arrears is Rs. 1,374 crores. And out of that, the number of those who have to pay over one crore of rupees is 241, and an amount of Rs. 819.60 crores is to be collected from them. Another disturbing trend is that as on 31-3-1985 the arrears demand was for Rs. 277 crores. On 31-3-1986, the arrears demand was for Rs. 513 crores. That means, we have not been able to do much. That is why we have to take earnest steps to see that we collect our dues from these people. These are all big sharks. You must start charging heavy interest to them. Then only they will come to their senses. Otherwise, they will only go to the courts and they will get stay orders. In case the Department wins the case, from the date it becomes an arrear, 24 per cent interest should be charged. Before going in for an appeal they will give it. Otherwise, they will have to pay 24 per cent of interest. If this is done, this kind of thing can be avoided.

Madam, now I would like to refer to the amendments which have been proposed by the Finance Bill. I fully welcome the proposals which our Finance Minister and Prime Minister has brought, specially about 194E. I am very happy. Otherwise, Madam, small scale industries would have been put to a hardship. I had discussions with the hon. Finance Minister about this and I had held that there should be some kind of relaxation. But I am happy that the whole section has been abolished. Though you have done it, I still feel that we have to some extent reconsider it. My suggestion is like this: Let the Government examine it. Instead of 5 per cent, it should be 1 per cent on the sales made to the public sector undertakings. To that extent, they will have to pay tax. When you come next, this proposal can be verified. But this was so harsh that you had

no option but to abolish it. But we can rationalise it.

Secondly, regarding 30 per cent tax on no-tax companies, it is a good amendment. At least the losses have to be allowed. That should be the principle and according to the principles of taxation that is a good step you have taken. One thing more I would like to say about direct taxation. I do not want to discuss much. But regarding the exemption limit I want to say one thing.

Our Prime Minister was replying to the debate in the other House. I was listening to it. His argument is quite logical. When the average income of a household is Rs. 1500, the exemption limit this is twelve times. That is a very logical argument. And he said that as regards employees the standard deduction is of Rs. 10,000. But one thing is missing in that and I would like the Government to consider that thing, may be now or may be later. Employees are only one section of the assesseees. I would urge upon the Minister that those who work with their personal labour, businessmen, professionals, they are not getting the benefit of standard deduction because they are not on salary basis. I would suggest that you can have a limit, say that those who are having not more than Rs. 30,000 they only will be given this benefit because others can afford it. I want to take the side of the small assesseees having Rs. 30,000 annual income and if the income is from business or profession, they should be given 20 per cent deduction of business income; say my income is Rs. 30,000 income and out of that Rs. 20,000 is from business. So, 20 per cent of that means Rs. 4,000. This much should be granted to me by way of deduction. If this is done one of those types of assesseees who are not covered at the present moment, will be covered because it is also necessary that small assesseees should not be put to much loss. And that is why I suggest that in case of business or profession if the total income is not more than Rs. 30,000 then the

earned income relief of 20 per cent of the business or professional income should be given by way of deduction. If this is done, those who are not getting this benefit and those who are in the lower income group they will also get this benefit.

As regards the other amendments I would only like to say one thing and that is that tax laws should be such where there is no room for avoidance of taxes. As one judgement has put it, avoidance of taxes is nothing but evasion of taxes and that is what the Supreme Court has said. And that is why when you have reduced the rate, we have to see how we can plug the loopholes and I am sure that you are coming soon with the Direct Taxes Amendment Bill. You should take care to see that there is no avoidance of taxes. I will give you one example. There is one family in Ahmedabad which has about two thousand trusts constituted in the names of his family members and after all the names were exhausted, they have given prefixes like A, B, C etc. This is how they want to divide the income and that is why we have to plug all the loopholes. Similarly, there is a demand by some that gift taxes should be abolished. I would urge upon the Minister that we should not abolish the Gift Tax at all because this is also a device of dividing your income and wealth. But if you want to abolish the gift tax then we have to see that no one gets the benefit of dividing wealth and income by this method. And that is why in such cases the income of those assesseees should be taxed in the hands of the person who has given the gift. If this is done, then this kind of loophole will be plugged and it will curb the tendency to partition the wealth and income like that. If this is done, I have a feeling that you may get more revenue because by this method, by this kind of a device, the restriction on dividing your income and wealth will be removed. But if you feel that it has to be abolished, I was given an assurance by the Minister earlier that it will not be done because Estate

Duty Act has been abolished, in that case I would request the hon. Minister to see that the Estate Duty Act is again revived instead of abolition of ... tax, and I continue to hold the same views that Estate Duty should be revived. With these words I support this amending Bill.

I want to say one or two points on Defence, and shall take a few minutes only. As regards our Defence allocations, they are about Rs. 12,000 odd crores. On Research and Development, in 1961-62, only Rs. 3 crore were spent and in 1987-88 Budget, we have an allocation of Rs. 656 crore.

[The Vice-Chairman, (Shri H. Hanumanthappa) in the Chair]

Thanks to late V. K. Krishna Menon. It was he who started Defence laboratories in the country and we have now a solid foundation of Defence industry in our country. I was very happy to read in the newspapers that Cabinet has decided that the statue of late V. K. Krishna Menon will be installed just near the Sena Bhavan. I congratulate the Government for this decision. This is the time when we should remember late V. K. Krishna Menon who had made solid foundations of our Defence industry in this country and this is true tribute to such a great man. I will be happy if our Prime Minister himself will come and unveil the statue of late V. K. Krishna Menon and I am sure this House will also agree. I know some of them may not be cause he wanted to build the public sector. I know. I was there; I have seen those times.

With these words, I support the Bill and congratulate the Prime Minister for taking this good decision. Thank you.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir the previous illustrious speaker, Shri Jagesh Desai, was so absorbed in his speech most probably

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he did not take note that you have occupied the Chair and he has been addressing you as Madam Chairman. We have all been enjoying his very good speech. He spoke for almost 50 minutes and expressed his views and so we also crave your indulgence that the Members of the Opposition may also be given a considerable time so that we may meet the several points he has brought about; otherwise, we may not be able to do justice to the task of meeting the points raised by the previous speaker.

He raised many points and in between he also mentioned several times that if he were to be the Minister, he will be doing this or that. I am told that Shri Jagesh Desai was the Finance Minister of Maharashtra and naturally with all the capability of an ex-Finance Minister of a State, he also spoke here. We would be happy if one day he becomes a Minister with Finance or any other portfolio so that he may be able to produce the results.

The main points that were discussed this morning by the Opposition Member from the Marxist Party Mr. Baby, and also our illustrious Member, Mr. Jagesh Desai, on the Finance Bill were generally on the Budget, and most of the time was spent on Budget and only the last part of the speech was devoted to Finance Bill. So, I think, I can also follow their able footsteps and say a few words on the Budget and then follow it up with observations on the Finance Bill. The other day, when the hon. Prime Minister who is also the Finance Minister was speaking in the Lok Sabha, he said that the Finance Bill cannot be separated from the Budget. This is because the philosophy and the policies underlying the Budget are reflected in the Finance Bill. Therefore, unless we touch upon the Budget, we will not be able to express our views on the Finance Bill. As I said, I will first say a few words on

the Budget and then express my views on the Finance Bill.

The first and the most important point I would like to refer to is deficit financing and inflation. Previously, when I had an opportunity to speak here, when a paper was being laid on the Table of the House by the then Finance Minister, Shri V. P. Singh, I said that it was not advisable for the Government to have such a huge deficit because it may lead to inflation. At that time, it was said by the then Finance Minister and it was informed subsequently during the Budget discussion by no less a person than Shri L. K. Jha that is not advisable to equate deficit with inflation, as if deficit has nothing to do with inflation. Here, I would like to bring to the notice of the Government that members of the Opposition and the general public are very much exercised over this huge deficit of over Rs. 8,000 crores last year and over Rs. 5,000 crores in this Budget. I think, this deficit may escalate to more than Rs. 10,000 crores by the time the year is over. Nobody needs any financial acumen to say that the main reason for inflation is the increasing resort to deficit financing by the Government. Otherwise, what is the reason that the value of the rupee is going down? Compared to 1961 when the value was one rupee, now it is 14.5 paise. Why is it so? There should be some reason for it. Why has the purchasing power of the people gone so bad? This is mainly because of this fiscal and monetary policies followed by the Government of India. The State Governments cannot be accused because they do not have any hand in the policy-making. This is because of the way in which the Budgets are prepared, the way in which Plan funds are allocated and the way in which deficit financing is being resorted to all these years.

Sir, I would also like to mention here that it is not as if the deficit is

only Rs. 5,000 crores odd. I would like to refer here to the observations of the Committee to review the working of the monetary system, the Chakravarty Committee. They have observed:

"the budgetary deficit as defined at present does not reveal the full extent of the Government's reliance on Reserve Bank credit. This results mainly from the exclusion of Reserve Bank's holdings of dated securities from the present concept of the Centre's budgetary deficit. The Committee had recommended that the budgetary deficit should include the entire RBI credit to the Government."

This means, the deficit is not the one which is projected but it should be much more as per the observations of the Chakravarty Committee. Therefore, it is very necessary that the Government should be very careful about deficit financing. I would also like to bring to the notice of the Government some of the observations made by eminent economists. For example, one senior professor of the Delhi School of Economics says:

"Economists have pointed out—L. K. Jha for instance—that the relationship between deficits and inflation is not a direct one. But we must not start belittling the role of deficits in inflation altogether. The fact that you cannot, from the level of deficits, immediately use a formula and say that this is going to be the level of inflation does not mean that there is no connection between the two."

Another professor of the Jawaharlal Nehru University says:

"A large uncovered deficit is likely to have two consequences—it may have inflationary effects on the economy and also affect the trade deficit."

I would also like to point out here what the former Union Finance Minister, Shri C. Subramaniam, has

said. Immediately after the Budget was presented, he said:

"Though he did not sound so, Subramaniam was easily the most hard-hitting among the four on deficit financing and defence spending. He was not obviously impressed with the arguments of Finance Ministers that in spite of large deficits during the last few years, the price factor has not gone out of control. There must be a last straw on the camel's back, he said."

This level of deficit adding up to Rs. 15000 crores for 1986-87 and 1987-88 cannot be sustained continuously unless the efficiency of the economy improves and gets reflected in increased productivity. This is what he said at Madras. Ultimately, we have to be very clear that the deficit financing will produce inflation and inflation will trigger on the cost of living and ultimately the people in India may have to suffer.

On the argument that the wholesale price index is only 8.4 per cent and what the opposition Members have said that it will go to two digits inflation, I may say that the inflationary rate in the advanced countries and in developing countries has to be looked into in a different manner. In an advanced country where the per capita income is so high, where a person is earning something like Rs. 1 lakh and the wholesale price index goes up by 8 per cent, he may lose only Rs. 8000, but for an ordinary or middle man whose earning in a developing country is hardly Rs. 1000 per month, the deficit of about Rs. 80 to 100 per month will be quite a big amount for him. So, the wholesale price in an underdeveloped country has to be monitored very carefully. Inflation may be high in some countries. As compared to those countries, inflationary rate in India may not be so high, but it cannot be taken as a reason that India can afford to have an inflationary economy, and the wholesale

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price index retained at a level of 0.5 per cent may be all good for Indian economy. I am not able to understand that deficit financing will trigger up our Plan efforts and will also improve the efficiency of the economy. That may be up to a certain limit, but when the liquidity gets increased, it may have a great effect at one point or the other. I know, during Janata rule over a period of years there was deficit financing and when it all came down to the Charan Singh's period, the whole thing started boomranging. So, I only warn the Government that such a situation should not be allowed to come by taking recourse to arguments that deficit financing will have nothing to do with inflation. The next point is that there are three-four areas where the Government has not done much and which need to be looked into carefully. One is the huge area of defence spending. Another is subsidies and Government expenditure and interest payments. On all these four areas we have been talking much. Shri Subramaniam has already said regarding defence spending. He has warned that it is not as if defence spending is something like a sacred cow and on which nobody need talk anything about it because even on defence spending much prudence can be exercised, and much spending can be cut down. Subramaniam was critical of the tendency to treat defence spending as sacred cow about which no question should be asked. Nobody questions the priority accorded to the defence of the country, he said, but we have a right to look into the cost effectiveness of defence spending. Recalling the study of Robert McNamara when he was the US Secretary of Defence, he said McNamara could continuously cut cost without in any way affecting the defence capabilities of the US. I would like to recommend this particular paragraph to the observation of the Prime Minister and we have to see that some relationship

is there between the budget and defence spending. The time has come that we have to look to the foreign policy. It should be such that we may not be forced to have more and more defence spendings. I could see US arming Pakistan more and more. A time will come when India will have to spend quite a lot on defence spending. If this is going to escalate over a period of years, India may have to spend at least 50 per cent of the whole revenue on defence alone. Even now what is happening is that we are spending Rs. 7000 crores more than our revenue. So, our foreign policy should be carefully monitored to see that our defence spending is not to that extent that India will not be able to afford and also see that we monitor our expenditure on defence spending without lowering our capacities, that we also lower our expenses on this item. Regarding subsidies, much has been said but nothing has been done over a period of time. Over a period of three to four years on food subsidy we have to spend nearly Rs. 1750 crores or whatever it is. FCI food stocks are increasing. Suppose we are going to have a bumper year, then the stocks will go on increasing. My own feeling is that this policy of food stocks and the accumulation of food stocks has come to us over a period of ten or fifteen years when India was in an unhappy situation of scarcity, when we wanted food to be monitored properly so that it could be distributed at a particular time of distress. Ultimately what is now happening in India is we have enough of food supplies every where and I don't think the same kind of policy should be continued over a period of years, when we are now groaning under surpluses and we have to spend a lot of money on procurement of paddy, rice and foodgrains. So I would request the Government to think of relaxing this policy. It should have an open policy regarding food supplies. Wherever the food grains may be, the stocks will not

vanish ultimately. If we closely monitor it at the level of merchants and stockists, whatever stocks are there in India have to be in India; it cannot go out of India. It may be, instead of being in FCI godowns, will be with the merchants, it may be with the stockists it may be with the growers, it may be with the consumers. Ultimately the whole stock is being unnecessarily carried over at one or several places, with lot of losses. It can be allowed to be distributed over a period of time with a lot of people all over the country. Then those people will be more careful about all these foodgrains and nothing will happen. Ultimately we need a certain small portion of the foodgrains for our country's needs and the people's needs. I think we have to very carefully look into this policy. There is no point going on with this because in food subsidies we are losing a lot of money and we are doing nothing about it. We are talking much about it, and not doing anything about it.

About Government expenditure, much has been said about it. Last year during the discussion on the long-term Fiscal Policy of the previous Finance Minister also, it was discussed. Government expenditure is growing. It is not as if people are talking about it for the first time. Various Commissions have talked about it. Various Administrative Reform Commissions, including Hanumanthaiya Commission, have reported on Government spending and we have been talking about it over a period of years. Still Government is spending more and increasing its spending. According to Parkinson's Law, whenever somebody is going to be put in a particular place, naturally he has to go on spending to see that he should have at least two clerks, three clerks, another manager and a whole block of officers. If you have one man, you have a big family of people all around in the Government department. He wants to sustain himself; he wants to be powerful. The

more the money he gets allocated, the more powerful he becomes. More the number of officers he has under him, the more powerful he is in office hierarchy. Ultimately it goes contrary to Government expectations. Every officer is creating his own block of officers, his own expenditure and in the next allotment he should need more allotment, otherwise he is not in favour of Government. If last year I had about 10 lakh of rupees from the Government, this year at least I should have 15 lakh from the Government; otherwise my pull with the Government, my pull with Secretary, my pull with the other man is not so much. At least to compete with the other people and to show that he is a greater man, at least to compete and show that he has got a better pull with other people, he should get better allotment for his department. That kind of situation is escalating. There is no point in talking about the policy and philosophy. The only way to cut down cost, as per Parkinson's Law, is you cut the money that you give him. Suppose you get Rs. 36,000 crores, if you spend within Rs. 36,000, then you have a certain money and within that money only you can allocate to the department. You tell them, you can spend only that much money. "I will not give more money". When you give them more money and ask them, "how to reduce it?", nobody will be able to show how to reduce it. They will all be calculating and showing some reduction and after two or three months you will find the old cost going up to the same level as it had been before. If you allocate an amount and say, "you have to live within this budget", that is the only way of cutting down cost, whether it is in industry or in Government or any other management. Once you give the money and begin talking and arguing about it, nobody will like to say, "I can cut the cost here". He can cut a very small amount and ultimately the whole amount will escalate three months later. When you begin

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monitoring the whole situation, you find again the cost has gone up. It will be going up like that. There is no point in talking about it. I feel that the Government has to see that something or the other is being done

Again, the interest payment situation is becoming very alarming. As somebody said, Government is going into a debt trap. I do not want to call it that. I do not want to alarm the Government. The Government says they are in a very fine economic position. They are very happy about it. If the Government is happy, I am also happy about it. But the only point that I would like to say is, we cannot be going on borrowing and spending because ultimately what is happening is, nearly 20 per cent of our revenues are going for these repayments and going towards interest. And how far will we be able to borrow and how far will we be able to pay interest? So, the more you borrow from people by any kind of savings method that you can adumbrate, whatever it may be, whether internal borrowing or outside borrowing, you are going to be in trouble. By borrowing more and more, you will not be able to finance more and more of the Plan. Ultimately what is going to happen is, you do not have much money in your hand. Even the Government of India finances are not elastic. They are elastic compared to the State Government finances. The State finances are not elastic. But ultimately the finances of the Government of India also are not so elastic as to be capable of having any kind of taxes and any kind of amount being got from the public. It is not possible. So, I would say that ultimately it is very necessary for the Government also to be very careful regarding loans, both internal and outside the country, so that they may not get into more and more problems because, over a period of years

I find that the percentage of repayment and interest to parties is escalating and it has got an upward trend.

Regarding a point that has been said by Mr. Jagesh Desai, this was raised in the Lok Sabha also and I may say a few words on that point. He said that States have been feeling that not much of money is being given to the States and States are at the mercy of the Centre. That has been an argument that has been put forth during the last many years both in the State Legislatures, the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha. Ultimately, I think, the Prime Minister even said in the Lok Sabha, when one Opposition Member spoke in the Lok Sabha, "I thought this question will be taken up by Rajya Sabha. Why are you taking it up in the Lok Sabha? You are elected to the Lok Sabha but they are there to safeguard the interests of the States". As has been expected by the Prime Minister, I may also like to say a few points on this. Our honourable friend, Mr. Jagesh Desai, said that over a period of years the Government of India has been giving money and it has been giving more and more money to the States. The Government of India is getting more and more money during the budget. Every year the budget of the Government of India is going up. Naturally, the allotment of the Government of India also is going up because the pool is there from which we share the resources and you levy duties like income tax, etc. So, the more you get the more you have to give and, naturally, the States will get more. But that does not mean that the States do not have any grievances. The main problem is, the States have to look after the interests of the people in the States. They do not have enough liquid finances and there is no stability in their finances. Many of the States are going every year, as you will find, in deficit and they have to borrow money from the Reserve Bank. So, ultimately we have to give away

somewhere near Rs. 1628 crores towards loan disbursements for their withdrawals from the Reserve Bank. So, unless the federal finances are put on a sound footing where the States need not go with a begging bowl to the Centre, where the States will be able to manage their own affairs, the States also will not become responsible in their financial affairs. When they feel that they need not tax the people, when they can indefinitely go on with deficit, and when they go in deficit they will go to the Reserve Bank and draw, and ultimately what you will do is — you will somehow or other wipe away the whole thing and give moratorium for them to pay off. It has been happening over a period of years. Ultimately the State Governments will not have any responsibility over their finances. So, it is high time the States-Centre relationship is put on proper footing.

Our honourable friend, Shri Jagesh Desai, has been saying that under Plan funds you have been giving so much to the States — as if it is the money of the Central Government. The money of the Central Government is coming from the States and it is money belonging to the States and the Centre. Ultimately grants-in-aid are given by the Government of India to the various State Governments, under article 282. Article 282 is a miscellaneous provision. It is not a provision intended for the Central Government to give huge grants. It is only a grant for floods, it is a grant for drought, it is a grant for small things. But, ultimately, over a period of time what has happened is, the Planning Commission has taken upon itself the policy of disbursement between the States and the Centre from the Finance Commission. Now the allotment of the Finance Commission is only 20 or 25 per cent and it is not more than 30 per cent. The allotment by the Centre goes somewhere near 70 per cent under article 282. Article 282 was not originally intended for this and it is not necessary for the Government of India to give so

much for disbursement under Plan funds because where you are giving under Plan funds, most of the subjects are owned by the States and they come under their List. They have to look forward to you for money because you have got the purse with you and we have to come to you for everything. And when you like it you give and when you do not like you will not give. There is no permanent policy. So, I would say, like the Australian Constitutional provision, you may have a permanent Finance Commission which will devolve money to both the States and the Centre. The Planning Commission can think of the overall resources of the country. But the disbursement between the States and the Centre can be taken care of by the Finance Commission which can do it in a more scientific manner. That will be the best solution that one can make.

I also remember, Sir, the Australian Grants Commission regarding loans. Regarding loans also, I think, Sir, it would be advisable, like the Australian Grants Commission, to have a permanent Loan Commission which will be able to disburse loans to the States.

When the Government of India is going in for deficit financing, then, naturally you will not be able to advise the State Governments that they would have to be careful about their money. When you go on deficit financing, they go on borrowing. The Reserve Bank is not your bank only: it is the state bank, it is a government bank. Both the State Governments and the Central Government have got authority, and they can draw from it. Ultimately, Sir, when you are in deficit, you print notes. Naturally, when you are not living within your own overall means, when you advise the State Governments, if they do not talk to you, they will ultimately, behind your back, think, "You are not living within your means, you are also borrowing by way of deficit financing. So also I am borrowing.

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Because I cannot print notes, I will borrow from the Reserve Bank'. That is ultimately what is happening. So, Sir, to put it in a nutshell, you will not be able to bring about financial discipline in the States if you do not have the overall control on your own finances.

I do not want to dwell more on the policies except two, three of them. I will finish my speech in five minutes' time on the Finance Bill.

There is a diversion as far as I could see, Sir, between the long-term fiscal policy and this Budget. One point that I may like to say is that in the long-term fiscal policy, the taxation should be the same for companies, corporations and also for individuals. By having this new section, saving tax on 30 per cent on the profits, what the Government has done is, it has increased the taxation on companies. I think it has deviated from the long-term fiscal policy which has been given by the previous Finance Minister and naturally as accepted, as approved by the Prime Minister.

Sir, regarding the direct taxation, much has been said. The Prime Minister has also spoken in the Lok Sabha. It has been also put forth by hon. Members that this Rs. 18,000 slab is very inadequate. The hon. Prime Minister has said that it is up to Rs. 34,000 with all the standard deductions etc. that you are able to have Rs. 18,000 plus Rs. 10,000 plus Rs. 6,000 in investments. So, he said, it would be Rs. 34,000 and that ultimately it would be 12 times the per-capita income of the people of India. It is a strange argument. It is the Prime Minister who said that in the Lok Sabha. I think, Mr. Jagesh Desai also said. According to his calculation. I find the per capita income is Rs. 2,833, and the Prime Minister feels that it is enough for the people to have the slab of Rs. 18,000 going

upto 34,000, whatever it is, with all that a Bill is coming, Sir. I have got the Bill. I saw it in the papers. The salary of the Governors is being increased to Rs. 11,000 per month. You can imagine about it. Recently we have passed a Bill in which the salaries of the Supreme Court Judges, the High Court Judges have been increased to Rs. 11,000. I do not grudge the payment to the Judges. I do not grudge the payment to the Governors. Suppose the hon. Prime Minister feels that 12 times the per-capita income is sufficient for a middle-class man, he should also feel the same for the Governors, for the Supreme Court Judges. Why should he give to the Judges 50 times the per-capita income of the common man? Why are you bringing another Bill to give Rs. 11,000 to the Governors. My personal feeling is what duties they are discharging are still dubious because what a Governor is doing and what he is supposed to do and what he is not supposed to do, nobody knows. I am not going into those points. But ultimately the argument should be the same for everybody. To my mind, Sir, this argument is not very convincing. I would only say, when the value of the rupee

has gone down from Re. 1 to 15 naye paise, seven times, what income-tax you have been paying in 1961, you give allowance to the cost of consumer price index and give a value for it as you give value for labourers and others to raise the 12 D.A. Something like that, you can give. And accordingly, if you find compared to 1961 in 1986 the IT slab may come to Rs. 60,000. According to my own calculations, if you give allowances to the cost of living index, you have to have the exception, limit to Rs. 60,000. If you do not do so, you are not doing justice. Next year it will be a 12 per cent inflation and the exception limit may increase only by Rs. 2,000. The people will be going under by Rs. 2,000. Sir, middle class people are the backbone of the country and you cannot play with them. They are the

worst sufferers because they cannot make black money. Black money is being made by corruption by Officers. Black money is being made by all industrialists and all business people. It is only the poor professional people who are not able to make black money. It is the professional people particularly in the private sector who are not able to become corrupt. What can they do? It is only the private sector people who are being differentiated against. When a public sector man is retrenched, the company is allowed upto Rs. 50,000 as expenditure. In a private sector when somebody is retrenched, his company will not be entitled for anything. So, ultimately these people are the worst sufferers. I would say a few points about house building and with that I will close my speech. In the case of house-building justice has not been done. As Shri L. K. Jha has said a lot of incentives have to be given for house building. Capital return upto Rs. 10,000 on house-building has been accepted, but it is only for construction of the houses. Suppose somebody wants to renovate and add another floor in his house in order that more people can live in it, this capital return on this expenditure is not being allowed. Previously when a middle class person got a loan of say Rs. 1.5 lakhs or Rs. 2.5 lakhs from the LIC, they used to give it at the rate of 12 per cent interest. So, he could repay interest upto Rs. 18,000 per year. He could show in his Tax return it by way of interest. That means Rs. 1,500 per month is allowed as expenditure. But from last year national income of the house has been taken and it need not be added to the income-tax. The national income of a house of a friend of mine is Rs. 3,000 per annum. That means Rs. 500 is not taken as income-tax return, but his tax bracket is only 20 per cent. That means he has been benefited by Rs. 1400 only. But he has got nearly one lakh rupees from the LIC and has got to pay Rs. 12,000 interest. That is not being treated as deduction in income-tax. So, ultimately the middle class people are the

worst sufferers. I hope the hon. Prime Minister will look into the matter.

In the National Saving Schemes also there seems to be an anomaly. It is said you can invest upto Rs. 20,000 and 50 per cent of it will be taken for tax deductions, but ultimately they have not said for how many years I have to keep Rs. 20,000. Under the NSC policy you have to keep the amount for six years. After six years when can withdraw this money I don't know whether you will give the same advantage to national savings schemes or again I will have to pay income tax on withdrawal. That has not been clarified. I would request you to clarify this point.

The former hon. Finance Minister, said he will give unlimited deduction under 80c and upper limit will not be confined to Rs. 40,000. That is there under the original policy. But what you have said now is that 80c is only upto Rs. 40,000 plus Rs. 20,000 for maximum saving. I would request you to consider.

There are many more points, but for want of time I have to confine only upto these points.

SHRI G. SWAMY NAIK (Andhra Pradesh): I rise to support the Finance Bill. I sincerely and wholeheartedly congratulate our Prime Minister for presenting his maiden Finance Bill for the year 1987-88 in which measures for our principal objectives for elimination of poverty and building of a strong, modern, self-reliant and independent economy are taken up. For balanced growth through mixed economy, the Bill provides an ample scope for further growth of the public sector as well as the private sector by means of simplifications of the tax structure, special provisions and modifications of various Income-tax Acts, introduction of new Education Policy, Navodaya Vidyalaya, Housing Development schemes, and various other welfare schemes for the public sector employees. For the

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protection of consumers, factory workers and to biscuit and other industries the extension of MODVAT scheme 1986 is most welcome and I heartily congratulate and felicitate our beloved Prime Minister on this decision.

The Prime Minister deserves special thanks for liberalisation of rate of depreciation and its link with other assets. This provision shall definitely lead to modernisation of capital equipment in many companies. The result of a representation proved successful in offering concessions by the Government on 20th April by dropping section 194E of the Income Tax Act.

However, Sir, there are areas where something has to be done for the benefit of the society. the present limit of income tax should be raised. A financial institution should be established for financing loans, working capital to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which may be known as National Bank for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Development on the lines of I.D.B.I., National Agricultural Development Bank and National Housing Bank. This will help them in their social upliftment. The Central Government should be the controlling authority. I propose that its branches should be set up all over the country. There should be a monitoring agency by the Central Government to monitor the utilisation of funds given by the Central Government to State Governments for implementation of social, economic and development schemes for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I am pained to mention here that the Government of Andhra Pradesh is not utilising funds for actual allocation in respect of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes schemes.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA (Andhra Pradesh): Can you give some figures?

SHRI G. SWAMY NAIK: You can see the record.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Can you specify it?

SHRI G. SWAMY NAIK: You can see the record.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Prof. Lakshman, you are speaking on the Bill.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I don't speak on that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): You can.

SHRI G. SWAMY NAIK: Now, I want to say something about revision of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes list. There are so many communities in the country and there are some errors in the list. Some communities are in one category and some other communities are in other category. In this connection, the Punjab and Haryana High Court gave some advice to the Government to rectify this through a piece of legislation. I request the Government to kindly look into this matter and bring a comprehensive legislation to remove the discrimination between the communities.

Now I draw the attention of the Government to the national problem. There are so many slums in the country and some suggestions were made for this improvement. I request the Government to provide more funds for slum improvement and slum clearance. For this purpose there should be a separate time-bound scheme.

I shall mention a few problems although they do not come under the Finance Ministry but are indirectly related. There is acute power shortage in Andhra Pradesh due to short-sighted policies of the present State Government of Andhra Pradesh. The impact of this power shortage has resulted in closure of some public sector

organisations like H.M.T., etc. Similarly, the City of Hyderabad is facing acute water shortage. It has not only affected the citizens but also the major industries such as defence establishments.

The State Government has not given top priority for finding alternative resources and augmenting the existing resources. This will lead to loss of mandays and productivity. The Central Government should intervene in this matter and press the State Government for rectifying the faulty policy and extend help and assistance so that the people of Andhra Pradesh do not face any misery on this account. Construction of workable roads should be started immediately for far-flung tribal areas so that the tribals are able to join the mainstream of national development and growth. Establishment of National Housing Bank and Commission on Rural Labour are indeed very commendable. These objectives are welcomed by all. I am sure they will go a long way in helping the poor both at national and at regional level.

I now come to my last suggestion. In regard to the New Education Policy, in the Navodaya Vidyalaya Programme representation should be given to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes right from the beginning so that they also come up to that level.

Finally, I support the Finance Bill. Thank you.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka): Mr. Vice-Chairman, successful economic management of a country depends upon two vital planks: (1) honesty, (2) efficiency. One plank is honesty; another plank is efficiency. If there is no honesty in economic management of the country, it may invariably lead to financial and moral profligacy. If there is no efficiency, competence, in the management, it may lead to various distortions, it may affect growth, it may also adversely affect self-reliance. I regard Budget as an important blueprint for action. Budget is not an ins-

trument by which you indulge in all sorts of extravagances which will have inevitable impact on the working of the economy as a whole. Shri V. P. Singh introduced what I call open budgeting system, with good motive perhaps. But this has landed us in dire trouble. We have been witnessing not one budget but a series of budgets over the year. Taxes have been raised by frequent notifications, by supplementary demands, not one but many. Last year alone all the supplementary demands and hikes in customs duty and auxiliary duties come to nearly Rs. 4,634 4.00 P.M. crores. If this figure is added to the hikes in the railway freight rates, parcel and luggage rates, and also the postal rates, then you will find that they all come to Rs. 5,640 crores in one year, that is, last year ending on March, 31, 1987. The Government takes shelter behind the plea that it is a very modest budget and that there has been no abnormal increase in taxation. But I want the Government to take the entire budgeting they did for the whole year and ponder over whether this is correct and proper and good budgeting at all. I feel, Sir, that indiscipline is running throughout and it has led to imposts after imposts descending upon the poor people all the year round. Besides, the simplification of the taxation system has perhaps received a setback, of late. I thought that the rationalisation and simplification of the procedures, of the taxation system, would go on. But there is nothing except the promise made by the Prime Minister that he would bring forward a comprehensive taxation measure. I do not know when. But the process of simplification has stopped somewhere. Now, my friend, Shri Pranab Mukherjee, is here. He managed the financial affairs of the nation for a pretty long time. I would ask him whether the traditional good concepts of taxation have been given up by this Government. Of course, he cannot answer for the Government now. I know it and he knows it. I have read in the

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textbooks which I studied long back still I think they are very valid concepts that a good taxation system should be based upon the principle of "what the traffic should bear". I would like to ask whether this concept, this doctrine, is being applied by this Government and whether it has taken into consideration the fact of the traffic's capacity to bear. I do not think that it has been taken into account by the Government. The taxation has got to be progressive and not regressive. I think the time has come now for the Government to have a look at the entire tax system of the country. There have been Committees in the past and they have made recommendations. But I do not think that the Government has learnt this lesson that the taxation system has got to be progressive and not regressive. If you tax more, you get less. That is the meaning of regressive taxation. The whole tax system has got to be analysed, studied, in depth, taking into consideration the overall economic situation particularly the situation of the broad masses. I am afraid the indirect tax burden is becoming heavier and heavier day by day. I do not mind the burden being put on the people, provided the economic performance of the country is at a high level, at a satisfactory level.

I have got a few things which I would like to tell the House. They are the disturbing trends affecting the economy. They are the potential areas of concern. Deficit financing is one. It has already been touched by many Members. That has been the common theme of both the Houses. But let me tell you only one thing about deficit financing. I do not want to elaborate. For the last three years including the present one, 1987-88, deficit financing has gone beyond Rs. 19,000 crores. The ceiling of deficit financing was visualised by the Planning Commission in the Seventh Plan. It was put at Rs. 14,000 crores. Within three years the deficit has gone beyond Rs. 19,000 crores. It may

touch even Rs. 20,000 or Rs. 22,000 crores by the end of the year. I cannot take the promise of the Prime Minister made at the time of the budget speech that there would be no increase in deficit financing but he would like to keep this figure without being disturbed. Even previous Finance Ministers, including my friend here, had assured the House several times that the deficit financing will be kept within limits. No finance Minister of this country, except perhaps Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, has honoured this commitment to the Houses of Parliament. Therefore, I am on a safe ground to forecast that deficit financing will exceed Rs. 20,000 crores within three years. The Prime Minister has proudly stated in the other House within three years 63 per cent of the Plan outlay has been reached. But he forgot safely how he was able to reach this Plan outlay. By huge deficit, by borrowing, on a large scale, which has led us into various distortions and disruptions in the economy. Gross disturbances and distortions affected the equilibrium and the balanced on various fronts, in production front, on the price front and in the various socio-economic fields. Because of the shortness of time I cannot go into these things. The fact remains that this is a huge deficit and large expenditure. It is surprising that the investments in socio-economic programmes, industry, agriculture, etc. are much less than before. I have got the figures to show that there has been a decline in the allocation of various sectors. For instance, in the energy sector, the Government has reduced the allocation by 3 per cent. It is a very vital sector. In industry, it has been reduced by 6.2 per cent; in petroleum by 11.5 per cent and in Mines by 5.3 per cent. In spite of this huge outlay, the essential sectors which give employment and which can ensure growth and development are being scaled down. Then where do we go? The non-Plan expenditure has increased tremendously. For the information of my friend there, the non-Plan expenditure has been going up and it is

being increased now. In the non-plan expenditure, debt servicing and defence outlay constitute nearly 59 per cent or 60 per cent. Non-plan capital expenditure is dwindling. I do not mind deficit-financing if it results in development. If deficit-financing leads to economic development or brings about social change, I do not mind deficit-financing. But the way they are going about it is reckless. We find that most of the money is going to unproductive channels. For the last 5 or 6 years, the rate of inflation is about 6 per cent. It is dangerous. We have maintained that rate. The Prime Minister says that he has maintained the rate of growth of 5 per cent or so. But the rate of inflation is 6 per cent. May be more. I am talking of the 5-year average. This year it may touch 10 per cent. It is already more than 8 per cent. Can you say that this is a very healthy trend in the economy? I am sure, not.

There are other disturbing areas like revenue deficit. I think the revenue deficit was started in the year 1979-80. Before that, there was no current deficit at all. There used to be surplus. Current surpluses were available for development. Of late, this salutary principle of generating surplus in the revenue budget has been given up. Perhaps it was given up by my friend, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, when he was the Finance Minister.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: (Gujarat): Just for correction. It started with the recommendation of the Seventh Finance Commission. Your year is correct, but it was long before I became the Finance Minister.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I stand corrected. You are more well-versed. But the point is that the consumption is not being met by current surpluses. Now, the normal day-to-day expenditure has to be financed by capital account. How long can you go like this? You call it a very happy situation. The Prime Minister is not advised properly by his officials, perhaps. He is quite new. He has made his maiden Budget. He ought to know how long this can go on.

We find resources by borrowing, by deficit financing to feed the day-to-day expenditure of the Government. This is not discipline. This is not good finance management. This is not good house-keeping at all. A good house-keeping is that both the ends and means have got to correlate, have got to converge somewhere. There has got to be a rational link.

Take another area, the crisis that is caused by the delayed performance of various projects. I talked of inefficiency to start with. Even there are projects in irrigation fields and elsewhere which began in 1952, in the First Plan. Till now those projects have not been completed. What is this kind of planning, I ask. Plan means, there is discipline, plan means there is implementation, plan means reaching the targets set by the Plan, plan means discipline in deployment of resources. Where is it observed? The country is going in a wrong direction. The economy is in a shambles, in a state of anarchy. I am happy indeed if my country progresses, if there is growth and stability, and more happiness as a result of this growth and stability. Your growth is not at all sufficient. Let me remind you. For decades and decades, the achievement as 3.5 per cent. growth. Of late, it is a little higher, perhaps. I do not know. There has been a revision of statistics. My friend Pranab Mukherjee will be able to tell me. But the growth rate is not commensurate with the investments made all along the line, throughout. Therefore, we are witnessing a situation where large sections of our people are deprived of the benefits flowing from development. Various distortions have taken place; deviations have been taking place. Disturbances are there in the economy. There is no even development everywhere. Development is uneven. There is a sort of twist and turn in our development which is not giving the same benefits to all people. Certain sections of the people have become big beneficiaries as

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a result of that. Poor people remained poor. Rich people have become richer. The country is not healthy in the sense that the people cannot trust this Government, the people do not believe that this Government is capable of good economic management. Take the case of unemployment. The crux of planning and development is how far we have gone to solve the twin problems of poverty and unemployment. You have failed. Take the case of population control. There we are miserable. Our policy in regard to population control has failed and failed miserably. The population policy is very important. With all your investments we are still having a birthrate of 32 or 33 per thousand. We have not reached the target fixed for 1984 even now. We may be able to reach that target in 1990-91. That is your performance.

Coming to public sector, I say I am for public sector. I am a votary of public sector. But I am also a critic of public sector. We have invested more than Rs. 50,000 crores in the public sector. We should invest more but you have to justify your investment. The public sector has got to be a pace-setter. You were talking about commanding heights of your economy some time past. You have given it up because these commanding heights are not commanding at all. They have reached their deaths, their nadir. Except a few industries in the public sector most of the industries are suffering. My friend was quoting figures, the profits made by the public sector. We have been resorting to administered prices. We are hiking up prices of the commodities produced by the public sector industries again and again and say that we have been making profits. This is not the way of running public sector. The increases in the administered prices which have been resorted to in the past in the case of steel, cement, coal, electricity, etc. are back-breaking. The earnings of the public sector have got to be genuine and realistic. There should not be a camou-

flage. They should not be artificial. If you increase the prices of goods produced by public sector industries, you are exploiting their monopoly position. Many of them are monopolies. You are not giving the country its due. I want the public sector to be accountable, efficient and should produce profits. I know some of the public sector undertakings are public utilities. Their performance also has got to be satisfactory. They should observe economic norms. I am afraid some of the scandals which we have been hearing about public sector industries shock me. Take, for example your own Delhi Transport Service. The losses suffered by the Delhi road transport service is something like Rs. 175 or Rs. 177 crores. And then there are the scandals in the STC, there are plenty of them, many. And these scandals in the public sector do not add up to their reputation. The credibility of the public sector has been destroyed by the Government itself. And you want various reliefs, concessions, now to raise resources for the public sector. Instead of criticising it, my friend was just praising it. Various concessions have been given with a view to improve the public sector finances. The public sector industries have got to produce their own resources. I am afraid the public sector has become as sick as the private sector. The less said, the better. The sickness has spread to more than one lakhs and twenty or twenty five thousand industry. You have no policy, no effective policy to rehabilitate them. How did these sick industries come up in such large numbers, adding up to the sickness day by day? This is not a good management of the economy. So long as sick industries are there, how do you say that you have having a healthy economy? Many industries have been closed. Nearly Rs. 5000 crores have been locked up in these industries. What will happen to that huge amount of nearly Rs. 5000 crores? There is no way of rehabilitating those industries. Money is simply locked up.

India has got vast resources, natural resources, human resources but we are not in a position to make use of it. We

are, like a Tartar of Tantalus, in the midst of a sea. Tartar of Tantalus wanted to drink water. There was water everywhere but not a drop to drink. That is the fate of ordinary poor man in India. There are resources, plenty of resources, but they are poor people. Large number of them are poor; they are deprived. Only a few people, a few sections of them, are affluent. This is our dilemma and a challenge that faces us.

Two things are to be done. The tempo of development has got to be increased. Secondly, there has got to be social justice and equity in the management of the economy. Growth without social justice is inhuman and social justice without growth is impossible. That has got to be understood by us. I do not think the Rajiv Gandhi Government is capable of this. I may give him a certificate. I may help him. The Opposition can support him. But the policies and the programmes pursued by Rajiv Gandhi Government are disastrous to the economy. They have brought about distortions in the economy, and disparities in income and wealth. The firm moral fibre, the credibility of this Government has gone. I do not want to go into all those questions at all because I am on the economic aspects of the Government's policy. Until and unless this Government brings about radical and relevant changes in its economic strategies, in its goals, I am afraid we will be far behind; we will be lagging behind.

We quote often what we have included in the Seventh Plan as our goals, that is, food, work and productivity. I ask a simple question to the Government. How far have we fared in realising these concepts of food, work — that means employment — and productivity, or production and productivity? How far have we been faring in these three things? About food, less said the better. The agricultural growth is stagnant for the last three years. I am afraid concentration on agriculture and agro-industries is being diluted. We may face a situation when we may have to invest far more than now on the agricultural activities, particularly

in the rural sector. I do not want to give a good certificate to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. We are disappointed by the budget. The concessions which he has given in the Budget for various sectors, rural sector and others, are not adequate. They do not solve the twin basic problems of poverty and unemployment. Thank you.

SHRIMATI SUDHA VIJAY JOSHI (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Finance Bill, 1987 presented to the House by the hon. Prime Minister. While presenting the Budget estimates, our hon. Prime Minister had expressed his concern about the deficit in the Budget. Similarly, he expressed his concern over the increasing non-Plan expenditure and the increasing burden of debt servicing are other items which need to be carefully monitored. All these three items have grown very considerably and their impact on the Budget has been very considerable.

Sir, the uncovered gap or deficit in the Budget is of the order of Rs. 5,688 crores against the deficit of Rs. 8,285 crores in 1986-87, revised estimates. As a matter of fact, it is rather unfortunate that no mention of this huge deficit for 1986-87 was made by the then Finance Minister in December, 1986, when the Long-term Fiscal Policy statement and projections for 1987-88 Budget were made by him. It should have been fairly clear to him by then that the deficit for 1986-87 would be much higher than Rs. 3,650 crores which he had projected in his Budget proposals for 1986-87. If, at that time, this was mentioned to this House that such was the case and if the causes for it were analysed, it would have helped this House to discuss the matter in more detail. Thus, it now means that in two years period, we are left with an uncovered gap of Rs. 14,000 crores.

However, there is a silver-lining to this dark picture. The impact on prices of this order of deficit financing has not been that severe, in fact, I have come across divergent views among various economists who have taken a view that

[Shrimati Sudha Vijay Joshi]

deficit financing is not that harmful to the economy and prices and that a certain amount of deficit is necessary. There are other economists who are arguing that this will have a disastrous effect on prices. I am not going into this discussion. But I am going by what has happened. The prices have not risen sharply as feared. The wholesale price index has not gone up that much. There has been some reference to the difference in the figures of deficit in the Budget and figures of net increase in RBI credit to the Government. In the year 1985-86, the deficit was Rs. 4,937 crores, while the increase in RBI credit was Rs. 4,841 crores. In 1986-87, the deficit was Rs. 8,285 crores and the net increase in RBI credit was Rs. 7,250 crores. The Sukomoy Chakravarty Committee has also dealt at length with this problem. I would only like the Government to clarify the position on this item.

Sir, quite a big amount is consumed by non-Plan expenditure. There is a continued growth in non-Plan expenditure though a major portion of the non-Plan expenditure is accounted for by Defence, subsidy on food, fertilisers etc. There is also need for redefining non-Plan expenditure. As a number of development items also get rectified in this head.

The balance of payments and growing trade deficit are also major concerns of the Government. With a view to taking steps in this direction. Government has provided incentives to the domestic capital goods industry and has imposed higher duties on capital goods imports. This would not only give boost to domestic industry but would reduce imports also. Secondly, the decision to set up the financial infrastructure for providing housing loans will give a fillip to housing. This is also linked with tax exemptions for instalments of principal amount and interest on housing loans. In the year of 'shelter for homeless' these steps are in the right direction.

I am quite sure, these steps would res-

ult in spurt in housing activities, thereby creating additional employment opportunities, as this is a very high labour-intensive sector. This would also help in increase in the demand for steel and cement, which have a glut situation at present.

There has been a strong demand for increasing ceiling of exemption in personal taxes. It was expected that the limit would go up to Rs. 25000, but this has not been accepted by the Government. I wish this had been done to grant relief to salaried class.

Sir, I would like to request the Government to examine the possibility of agricultural income tax or tax on agricultural holdings. The farm sector, particularly large farmers, who have greatly benefited by green revolution, should be asked to pay for the community's good.

Sir, in the Finance Bill, a new section 80CCA is proposed to be added which provides for certain deductions in respect of deposits, made in accordance with a new national savings scheme. This would provide incentives for personal savings. Under this scheme, deposits up to Rs. 20,000 would be allowed to be made and 50 per cent would rank for deduction. Even the interest on this would be tax-free. The amendment to 80C would help deduction up to Rs. 10,000 towards construction or purchase of new residential house property. By amending 80U the deduction allowed for totally blind and handicapped persons has been raised from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000.

Sir, a number of measures have been proposed in regard to capital gains taxes, particularly long-term capital gains which are dealt with in sections 53, 54 and 54F. In order to rationalise tax structure and to make it more equitable a new Chapter XII B has been incorporated, which will help in seeing that companies making huge profits are made to make appropriate contributions.

Similarly, by amending section 115J, provision has been made to charge at the rate of 30 per cent of book profits.

Sir, the definition of 'undertaking' in the free trade zone would include not only manufacturing activity but would also include processing, and assembling and also recording of programmes on discs, tapes, perforated media, or any other information storing device. This is done by issuing classification under section 10A.

Thus all the above provisions and also many others to which it was not possible to refer to in short time have been aimed at providing for a growth-oriented budget. This has been very carefully and selectively done so as to remove imbalances and help growth.

A major landmark of the budget proposals was the emphasis on anti-poverty programme. The IRDP, NREP and RLEGP have been given substantial increases in their outlays. Also there has been an enhanced outlay on education. These are real important issues and are measures in the correct direction. These go to show that this Government has its priorities right and that it has shown its deep concern for the poor and has made a very sincere effort to do something positive by attacking one of the biggest enemy of the country — e.g. poverty. It has also shown its firm resolve that the battle against poverty will continue unabated.

Lastly, a word about Maharashtra. The State is in the grip of severe drought. Shortage of drinking water, food and work to people are its immediate needs. The State Government has made representations to the Centre for assistance and central teams have also made their assessments. Sir, I would request the Central Government to take an early favourable decision to ensure that Maharashtra Government is provided speedily with necessary funds to fight this natural calamity.

With these words, I commend the Finance Bill. Thank you.

श्री कैलाश पंत मिश्र (बिहार) :
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अपना भाषण सरकार की कुछ स्वीकारोक्ति से ही शुरू करना हूँ। दिनांक 10-4-1987 को अंतरांकित प्रश्न था —

What are the names of the business houses, individuals and others from whom income tax amounting to Rs. 1 crore or above is outstanding at present? The answer is: 251 houses and individuals. The second question was: Names of the business houses from whom the central excise duty amounting to Rs. 1 crore or above is outstanding. The answer was: 80.

दोनों का हिसाब जोड़कर लगाया तो, ऐसी राशियाँ जो कोर्ट के माध्यम से स्टेट में फंसी हुई हैं वह जा रही हैं 2000 करोड़ से ज्यादा। काम की प्रगति हो रही है, उस संबंध में भी दो प्रश्न थे मैं थोड़ा उनका भी उल्लेख करना चाहूँगा, अनस्टाईड क्वेश्चन हैं 27 अप्रैल, 1987 का —

The question is: (a) the number of industries and other collaborations agreed to by the Government of India with Italian firms|concerns with which they were connected and their value; and (b) how much worth of them have been completed|remained to be completed? The answer is: Government has approved 227 foreign collaborations proposals with Italian firms during the period 1982 to 1986. Out of these, 30 proposals involved foreign equity amounting to Rs. 1518.60 lakhs; (b) It generally takes two years or more for an approval for foreign collaboration to reach the stage of production. Follow up of the approvals and monitoring implementation thereof is the responsibility of the concerned Administrative Ministers. No centralised information is available in STA regarding the number of projects completed.

दूसरा सवाल है 27 अप्रैल, 1987 का, अनस्टाईड—

"What is the number and names of Italian companies and individuals who have been permitted to set up industries in India during the last three years, and what is the number and names of other Italian companies and individuals in addition to the above stated companies who have sought permission from the Ministry for setting up industries?"

[श्री कलश पति मिश्र]

इसका उत्तर जो दिया गया है, उसकी केवल एक लाइन पढ़ देता हूँ

"During the period 1984 to 1986, 151 proposals of foreign collaboration with Italian firms have been approved."

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस वर्ष का बजट और उसे कार्यान्वित करने के लिए हम फाइनेंस बिल लेकर सदन में चर्चा कर रहे हैं। ब्लैक मनी का आधार बन गया है 38 हजार करोड़ रुपया। डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग इस देश का है 5688 करोड़ रुपया। नान-डेवलपमेंट एक्सपेंडीचर 35 प्रतिशत बढ़ने जा रहा है। विदेशी कर्ज का जो हम सूद चुकाने जा रहे हैं वह 10 हजार करोड़ रुपये से ज्यादा है। मैं एक घटना आपको सुनाता हूँ। एक हाथी को स्नान कराने के लिए नदी में ले जाना था। नदी में जब हाथी चलने लगता है तो वह कदम फूक-फूककर रखने लगता है कि पानी के अंदर पता नहीं बालू है, कड़ी जमीन है या दलदल है। उसी धोखे में उस हाथी को आगे बढ़ाते बढ़ाते वह एक फूट दलदल में फंस जाता है। कोशिश करने के बाद निकलने की वह एक एक फुट करके धंसता जाता है। जितनी वह कोशिश करता है उतना ही फंसता चला जाता है और चिल्लाना शुरू कर देता है। दलदल में फंसकर उस हाथी की मृत्यु हो जाती है। अपने इस विशाल भारत में भी हर साल हम बजट लेकर आते हैं लेकिन हमारी प्राथमिकताएँ क्या हैं, क्या हम निर्माण करना चाहते हैं, बजट की रूपरेखा देखने के बाद कोई संतोषजनक उत्तर नहीं निकलता है। समाचारपत्रों में एक बार पढ़ने को मिला कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री मध्य प्रदेश के किसी आदिवासी इलाके में एक गांव में गए। प्रधान मंत्री आजकल अर्थ मंत्री या वित्त मंत्री भी हैं। एक झोंपड़ी में कुछ खा रहा हुआ उन्होंने देखा और उस झोंपड़ी के आदिवासी से पूछा कि यह क्या चीज है? उसने बताया कि यह भूसा है। भारत के प्रधान मंत्री समझ नहीं सके कि भूसा क्या होता है।

फिर जब बताया गया कि यह भूसा है, सका वर्णन किया गया कि इसे जानवर खाते हैं, तो पास में खड़ी एक बुढ़िया ने कहा कि कभी-कभी इसे आदमी भी खाते हैं। चार-चार, छः-छः महीने का ऐसा समय निकलता है कि अन्न नहीं मिलता तो इसी घास को उबालकर पेट भरने की नौबत आती है। ऐसे असह्य आदिवासी परिवारों की दशा हमारे देश में आज भी है।

महोदय, मंत्री जी सबेरे नहीं थे। मैंने एक चित्र का उस समय वर्णन किया था, मैं उसकी पुनरावृत्ति कर देना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार किस प्रकार से आगे चल रही है। पैराफीन की काँटेज इंडस्ट्री का उल्लेख किया था। 1983 में सरकार ने घोषणा की थी कि जो काँटेज इंडस्ट्री चलाने वाले पैराफीन की इंडस्ट्री लगाना चाहते हैं, सरकार उनका स्वागत करती है। वह इस काम में लगे हुए हैं। 250 यूनिट्स ऐसी आ गयीं जिन्हें वित्तीय संस्थाओं से लोन भी मिल गया, उनकी पूंजी भी लग गयी और जब वे 250 ईकाई खड़ी हो गयीं तो उन्हें कच्चा माल नहीं मिला। अगर उनको कच्चा माल देना नहीं था तो क्यों 50 करोड़ रुपए लगाये, क्यों 250 यूनिटों को खड़ा किया, क्यों 50 हजार कर्मचारियों को लगाया? धीरे-धीरे आज ऐसी स्थिति आ गयी कि सारे उद्योग एक-एक करके समाप्त होते जा रहे हैं, मरते जा रहे हैं। मैं माननीय मंत्री जी को बताना चाहता हूँ कि सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र की चर्चा हो रही है तो क्या आपने कभी एक बार भी सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के अन्दर और सीधे सरकारी विभागों के अन्दर जो योजनाएँ चल रही हैं उनके एक दृष्टि से आंकड़े निकाले, कभी एक स्कीम बनायी? स्कीम के साथ समय सीमा तय होती है, व्यय होने वाली राशि तय होती है। अगर उस समय सीमा के अन्दर वह स्कीम उसी राशि के ऊपर पूरी हो जाये तो कहना पड़ेगा कि हमारा आर्थिक प्रबन्ध बड़े ठोस आधार पर खड़ा है और सचमुच देश की आर्थिक प्रगति हो रही है। मैं चुनौती के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब

से पंचवर्षीय योजनाएं शुरू हुई हैं, आज सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना चल रही है तो क्या पांच परसेंट भी ऐसी योजनाएं सामने ला कर खड़ी कर सकते हैं जो समयसीमा के अन्दर पूरी हुई, खर्च करने की अनुमानित राशि जो तय हुई थी उसी के अन्दर वह योजना पूरी हुई ? मैं समझता हूं ऐसा नहीं हुआ होगा। कुछ समय के लिए मैं राज्य का वित्त मंत्री रहा हूँ जिस समय देसाई जी थे ऐसी स्कीमों सामने आयीं थीं, एक बार नहीं सात-सात बार स्कीमों को रिवाइज करना पड़ा। बार बार गर्व के साथ कहा जाता है कि आर्थिक प्रगति हो रही है, देश का उत्थान हो रहा है। कौन सा ऐसा राज्य है जिसका उत्थान हो रहा है, किधर से देश में प्रगति होती दिखाई दे रही है ? आप मूल्यवृद्धि को रोक नहीं पा रहे हैं। आप चीजों की कीमतें स्थिर नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि भागते चले जा रहे हैं, कीमतें भागती चली जा रही हैं। मुद्रास्फीति की भी यही हालत है। एक योजना, एक स्कीम समय पर पूरी नहीं होती। गरीबों के नाम पर देश की वह जनता जिस को सचमुच में भारत कहना चाहिए, मुझे कहने में संकोच नहीं है कि आज देश दो खंडों में बंटा है। एक है भारत और दूसरा इंडिया। मुट्ठी भर लोग जो अंग्रेजी भाषा से लेकर अंग्रेजी संस्कृति और विदेशों के अन्दर जो चकाचौंध चल रही है उससे प्रभावित हो रहे हैं। उनको हिन्दी में बोलने में शर्म आती है, यहां के काम को जीवन में अपनाने में शर्म आती है और सचमुच में जो वास्तविक भारत है उस भारत को देखने में शर्म आती है। यह तो हो गया इंडिया। अब सचमुच में हमारा जो बजट बन रहा है यह भारत का बजट नहीं उस इंडिया का बजट बन रहा है। इस इंडिया के बजट में क्या देख रहे हैं कि जितना विदेशी कर्ज ले सकते हैं अबाध गति से, कोई अंकुश का विचार न करते हुए, कोई सीमा का विचार न करते हुए विदेशी कर्ज लेते जा रहे हैं, मुद्रास्फीति जितनी पैदा कर सकते हैं करते जा रहे हैं, इन्फ्लेशन बढ़ाते जा रहे हैं। बजट वर्ष आता है। तो पहले एक समय था

जब एक साल के अन्दर सरकार कितना व्यय करने जा रही है, कितना टैक्स लगाने जा रही है इसका पूरा अनुमान करके, पूरा हिसाब करके बजट पेश किया जाता था। मैं सरकार से पूछना चाहूंगा कि आप पिछले दस वर्ष का इतिहास उठा कर बता दीजिए कि किस बजट के अन्दर आपने कौन से नये टैक्सों को लगाया ? आप बजट के पहले एक्जीक्यूटिव आर्डर से टैक्स बढ़ा देते हैं। मैं यहां पर एक प्रसिद्ध अर्थशास्त्री को कोट करके आपको सुनाना चाहता हूँ। हमारे देश की आर्थिक स्थिति किधर जा रही है, उसके बारे में हमारे देश एक माने हुए अर्थशास्त्री श्री बी० एस० मिन्हास कहते हैं—

“The annual Budget-making in India is fast losing its meaning. During 1986, we had three Budgets — one in each Session of Parliament — and some more in between. It is a crying shame that this country, although full of competent economists and accountants, is unable to produce a Budget-estimate which can hold good even for three months.”

आप दो महीने, तीन महीने और चार महीनों के अन्तराल पर एक्जीक्यूटिव आर्डर से टैक्स बढ़ा देते हैं। इसके बाद इस बजट का क्या मतलब रह जाता है, यह फार्स है, पूरे देश के साथ धोखाधड़ी है। आप किस गति से किधर जा रहे हैं और देश को किधर ले जा रहे हैं, इस पर आपने कभी विचार नहीं किया है। देश के अन्दर बेरोजगारी बढ़ती जा रही है। आप हमारे देश के नव जवानों के हाथ में कोई रोजगार नहीं दे पा रहे हैं। देश के अन्दर भूख और अकाल से जनता कराह रही है। गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे रहने वालों की संख्या दिन प्रति दिन बढ़ती जा रही है। ऐसी हालत में आपके इस बजट का क्या मतलब रह जाता है ? आप गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे रहने वालों के संबंध में 45 या 50 प्रतिशत के आंकड़े दिखाते हैं, लेकिन बिहार जैसे राज्य में गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे रहने वालों की संख्या 78 प्रतिशत से भी अधिक है। इसलिए मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि किस को देखकर आपने

[श्री कैलश पति मिश्र]

यह बजट बनाया है? हमने इस बारे में कई बार प्रश्न उठाये हैं तो केन्द्र के मंत्रियों की तरफ से यह जवाब दे दिया जाता है कि यह उत्तरदायित्व राज्य सरकारों का है। क्या यही इस समस्या का समाधानकारक उत्तर है? इसी सदन में मैंने कई बार प्रश्न किया था कि बिहार के अन्दर बक्सर से लेकर पट्टेगांव तक गंगा नदी के कटाव के कारण किसानों की जमीन कटती जा रही है, उसके लिए सरकार को बजट में कोई आवधान करना चाहिए। आज भी बिहार का किसान देख रहा है कि भारत सरकार अपना जो बजट बना रही है उसमें उनके लिए क्या किया जा रहा है? लेकिन किसानों की जमीन को नदी के कटाव से रोकने के लिए कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की गई है। इस बारे में हमें बताया गया कि छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्त में बिहार सरकार को 156 करोड़ रुपये कटाव को रोकने के लिए स्वीकार कर लिए जाएंगे। तीन साल के बाद उत्तर दिया जाता है कि चूंकि बिहार सरकार से इस संबंध में कोई सूचना नहीं मिली है, इसलिए कुछ नहीं कहा जा सकता है। क्या आप इसी आधार पर काम करेंगे और इसी आधार पर बजट बनाते रहेंगे? इसी प्रकार का उदाहरण मैं मध्य प्रदेश के होशंगाबाद) नोट छापने के कागज का कारखाना बनाने की योजना के संबंध में देना चाहता हूं। वहां पर सुरक्षा कागज बनाने का कारखाना लगा, उसके ऊपर रुपया भी खर्च किया गया। जब हमने इस बारे में जानकारी की तो पता चला कि पिछले एक वर्ष से होशंगाबाद के इस कारखाने में सुरक्षा कागज या नोट छापने का कागज तैयार होने के बजाय लिफाफे छापे जा रहे हैं।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जी० स्वामीनाथन)
पीठासीन हुए]]

इसके लिए कौन जिम्मेवार है, इसके लिए सरकार ने क्या कदम उठाये हैं, कुछ पता नहीं चलता है। क्या देश की जनता का पैसा इसी प्रकार में बर्बाद किया जाता

रहेगा? लिफाफे तो किसी भी कारखाने में बन सकते हैं। अगर आपने नोट का कारखाना लगाना था तो अब वहां पर लिफाफे क्यों बनाये जा रहे हैं? लिफाफे बनाने के लिए कौन-सा विशेष कारखाना चाहिए? लिफाफे छापने के कई कारखाने हैं और जो लिफाफे किसी भी कारखाने में छप सकते हैं वह सुरक्षा कारखाने में छप रहे हैं क्योंकि नोट छापने वाले कागज नहीं बन रहे हैं। ऐसा एक उदाहरण नहीं, ऐसे अनेकों उदाहरण दिखाई देते हैं। आप कभी कभी उत्तर देते हैं कि गीबों की सेवा करने के लिए हम लोन मेला चलाते हैं, आई० आर० डी० पी०, एन० आर० डी० पी० और आर० ए० जी० पी० के प्रोग्राम चलाते हैं। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि आप जरा बैंकों के अधिकारियों और कर्मचारियों से पूछिये कि क्या हाल हो रहा है। अभी एक बैंक मैनेजर मझे मिले थे, भ्रमण कर रहे थे, मिल गये, कहने लगे कि अब तो सबत यह आ गई है कि हम लोग गोली के शिकार बन जायेंगे। हमारे मित्र बैठे हुए हैं उनसे पूछ सकते हैं कि एक बैंक के मैनेजर को दिन-दहाड़ गोली से उड़ा दिया गया। उड़ा क्यों दिया गया? आपने कुछ कटेगरी बना दी हैं, एक क्राइटेरिया बना दिया है कि मार्जिनल फारमर्स को बैंक से इतना लोन मिलेगा, स्माल फारमर्स को इतना मिलेगा, लैंड-लेस को इतना मिलेगा। लेकिन जो लैंड-लेस हैं, स्माल फारमर्स हैं, मार्जिनल फारमर्स हैं वे खद बकों के दरवाजे पर नहीं जाते हैं वरन् कुछ ऐसे असामाजिक तत्व हैं वे इन लोगों की तरफ से जिनको कर्जा मिल सकता है, सब्सिडी मिल सकती है, वे जाते हैं। बैंक का मैनेजर जब कहता है कि पैसा नहीं है तो वे कहते हैं कि ब्लाक तो कहता है कि पैसा सैंक्शन कर दिया है बैंक में चले जाओ, पैसा मिल जायेगा और इसी बात पर बैंक के मैनेजर को गोली से उड़ा दिया गया। ठेकों पर चलने वाले काम, नहर काटने का ठेका हो या सिंचाई के काम का ठेका हो, हर जगह ऐसी अवस्था हो गई है कि सरकार का उसके ऊपर कोई नियंत्रण नहीं दिखाई दे रहा है। क्रिमिनल,

गुण्डे रिवाल्वर लेकर वहां पहुंचते हैं और ठेका ले लेते हैं और वास्तविक काम करने वाले वह काम प्राप्त नहीं कर पाते हैं। परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि एक एक योजना दस-दस साल, बीस-बीस साल तक पूरी नहीं होती। वह योजना कागज के ऊपर तो पूरी हो जाती है लेकिन धरती के ऊपर पूरी नहीं होती और उस योजना का पूरा का पूरा पैसा साफ हो रहा है। बैंकों से जो पैसा दिया जाता है वह सरकार का पैसा नहीं है, वह भरत की जमना का पैसा है। एक मात्र अगर रीढ़ टूट गई तो समझ लीजिए कि इससे देश का आर्थिक उत्थान नहीं हो सकता। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि गरीबों को लोन, कर्जा न मिले। उनको यह अवश्य मिले, लेकिन वह कर्जा गरीबों के पास ठीक ढंग से पहुंच रहा है या नहीं पहुंच रहा है, जिस काम के लिये उसने कर्जा लिया है वह काम हो रहा है या नहीं हो रहा है, इसकी छान-बीन की भी कोशिश होनी चाहिए। लेकिन इसकी छान-बीन की कहां कोशिश होती है। बैंकों से जो कर्जा दिया जाता है उसकी नानरिक्वरी दिखाकर उसको आप राइट आफ कर देते हैं और इसके चलते देश के अंदर आर्थिक अराजकता बनी हुई है। यह सब इसलिए हो रहा है कि देशके आर्थिक विकास के लिए हमारी प्राथमिकता क्या है यह आपने तय नहीं की है। आत्मनिर्भरता आर्थिक क्षेत्र के अंदर कब पैदा होगी, किस रास्ते से पैदा होगी इसका आप कोई विचार नहीं करते। हमारे मित्र श्री देसाई जी ने जब भाषण दिया था तो भारत के प्रथम प्रधान मंत्री पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू का उन्होंने उल्लेख किया था। मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूं कि प्राइम-मिनिस्टर जो थे वे प्राइम मिनिस्टर बन गये लेकिन देश को जीवन देने के लिए उस समय हमारे देश के अंदर एक महापुरुष था और उस महापुरुष का नाम था महात्मा गांधी। क्या हम उनको आज स्मरण किये हुए हैं? जो दर्शन उन्होंने दिया, जो विचार उन्होंने रखे क्या सरकार उस दर्शन और उन विचारों के ऊपर चल रही है। क्या देश के अंदर आत्मनिर्भरता लाने के लिए

उनके दर्शन, उनके विचारों का अनुसरण किया गया है? याद रखिये कि जो दरिद्रता की आखिरी सीढ़ी पर बैठे हुए हैं, गरीब जो झोपड़ियों में बैठे हुए हैं, गरीब किसान जो हैं धन का स्रोत अगर वहां तक पहुंचाने की व्यवस्था नहीं होती है तो देश कदापि अपना आर्थिक उत्थान नहीं कर सकेगा। महोदय, प्रारम्भ में ही मैंने उदाहरण दिया था कि हाथी नहाने के लिये जाता है, लेकिन पानी के भीतर जो दलदली मिट्टी पड़ी हुई थी उसमें एक बार फंस गया तो धीरे-धीरे फंसता चला जाता है और फंसता चला जा रहा है। लगता है कि इस देश की आर्थिक मृत्यु होने वाली है। विदेशी कर्ज के ऊपर निर्भरता, घाटा निरन्तर बढ़ना, चीजों की कीमतें बढ़ते चले जाना, टैक्स पर टैक्स गरीब आदमी पर लादते चले जाना, भारत के खेतों को प्यासा छोड़ देना, कटती हुई धरती को कटने देना, बेकार नौजवानों के हाथ में काम नहीं देना, बेकारी बढ़ाये चले जाना यह भारत को दो भागों में बांटे बिना नहीं छोड़ेगा। याद रखिये, यह निर्माण की हुई आज की हालत है जो देश के अंदर अराजकता की आग धधकती चली जा रही है इस आग पर नियंत्रण करना है तो प्रत्येक व्यक्ति का पेट भरना चाहिये, प्रत्येक हाथ के पास काम होना चाहिये, गरीब और धनी दोनों के बीच की खाई आज इतनी बढ़ती चली जा रही है कि कब विश्वास होगा कि सरकार यह कदम उठाने जा रही है। चर्चा तो यहां तक आ गई है कि भारतीय नागरिकों का धन भारत का पैसा आज विदेशी बैंकों के अंदर जमा होता चला जा रहा है। यहां तक समाचार पत्रों में समाचार आ गया है कि 30 हजार करोड़ रुपयों से अधिक भारत के नागरिकों का पैसा विदेशी बैंकों में जमा हो गया है। उसके ऊपर काफी चर्चा हो गई है, मैं उस विवाद में इस समय नहीं जाना चाहता हूं लेकिन मैं यह कह देना चाहती हूं कि जो सन्देह जो कलंक एक बार इस सरकार के माथे पर चढ़ गया है अब उसकी पूरी इन्कवायरी, पूरी छानबीन की जाए चाहे

[श्री कैलाशपति मिश्र]

स्विस बैंक हो या सिंगापुर, हांगकांग का बैंक हो, कहीं का बैंक हो, वह धन किस रास्ते से गया, किसका पैसा वहां पर जमा हुआ है। साथ ही साथ, अंत में समाप्त करने के पहले एक बार और कहूंगा मैंने डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री के कार्यकरण पर जब चर्चा में भाग लिया था तो खुली घोषणा की थी भारत की सुरक्षा के लिए चाहे जितना पैसा खर्च करना पड़े उस पैसे की चिन्ता करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। राष्ट्र की सुरक्षा, देश की सुरक्षा यह राष्ट्र के लिए परम आवश्यकता है। लेकिन सोमा पर लड़ने वाला जवान, समुद्र के अंदर चलने वाले हमारी नाविक, आसमान में उड़कर संघर्ष करने वाले हमारे वायु सैनिक अगर एकबार किसी कारण से उनका इस कारण से मनोबल टूट गया उनके हाथ में आया हुआ शस्त्र जिस स्तर का बताया गया है उस स्तर का नहीं है तो यह देश के साथ बहुत बड़ा अन्याय होगा, अपराध होगा। एक विशेष उल्लेख में हमारे एक मित्र ने यह प्रश्न खड़ा किया था कि सबमेरीन का कमांडर कुछ समय के अंदर घोषित होने वाला था, मिस्टर चोपड़ा उस क्षेत्र का सबसे बड़ा जानकार था, सबसे बड़ा विशेषज्ञ था उसको जीवन समाप्त करने की आवश्यकता क्यों पड़ी? उसकी मां कह रही है कि उसने आत्महत्या नहीं की। यह एक ऐसा गहरा दबाव, एक ऐसा गहरा षड-यन्त्र है आज देश के वातावरण में सुरक्षा के साथ भी उलझे हुए हैं और सबके साथ यह लगता है कि सरकार इस प्रकार से फंसी चली जा रही है और भारत की जनता उस संदेह को ढोने के लिए कर्तई तैयार नहीं है। याद रखिये, कौन आज इस गद्दी पर बैठा है, कौन उत्तरता है, यह देश के लिए कोई महत्व नहीं रखता है, यह देश जिन्दा रहे, इसकी स्वतंत्रता को हम अक्षुण्ण रखें, विश्वास बना हुआ रहे, स्वाभिमान किसी का हिले नहीं, जरा चिन्ता करनी है तो इस बात की करिये हर गलत काम का ढोल बजाते रहिये कि हम यह करने जा रहे हैं, हम वह करने जा रहे हैं इससे देश के भाग्य बहलने वाला नहीं है।

पिछले साल भी बजट के भाषण में मैंने कहा था कि अब समय आ गया है, पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं को चलाते चलाते देश के अंदर इसी आर्थिक आयाम के चलते चलते इसने हमें उस स्थान पर लाकर पहुंचा दिया है कि एक बार जोर से बोलने की आवश्यकता है, "हाल्ट"। "हाल्ट" बोलने की पूरी आवश्यकता है और इसके बाद देश का आर्थिक स्वाभिमान जगाने के लिए कौन कौन से कदम उठाये जायें इस पर विचार कीजिए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): The honourable Member has almost taken thirty minutes. So, I would like him to conclude now.

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : विदिन वन और टू मिनट।

हमारी पहली दृष्टि जानी चाहिए कि देश के अंदर छोटे-छोटे उद्योगों का विस्तार कैसे हो। छोटे-छोटे उद्योगों का विस्तार और इनका जीवन तब पुष्ट होगा जबकि जिन चीजों का निर्माण ये करेंगे, उनका निर्माण और कोई दूसरा बड़ा कारखाना नहीं करेगा।

नयी शिक्षा नीति के अंदर वोकेशनल ट्रेनिंग है। कहा गया है इसकी व्यवस्था होने जा रही है। वोकेशनल ट्रेनिंग क्या करने वाली है? आप कुछ ट्रेनिंग दे दीजिए, थोड़ा सा कर्ज दे दीजिए, एक छोटी सी मशीन उसके हाथ में पकड़ा दीजिए लेकिन उसमें जो उत्पादन होगा उसका उत्पादन और न करें। अगर टाटा और बाटा ऐसे बड़े उद्योगपति उन्हीं चीजों को बनाने में खड़े होंगे तो यह वोकेशनल ट्रेनिंग क्या करने वाली है। उसके निकलने से और फस्ट्रेशन बढ़ेगा, और एक चिड़ पैदा हो जायेगा। इसीलिए मैंने कहा कि हम एक ऐसे स्थान पर आ गये हैं कि जोर से बोलें "हाल्ट"।

फाइनेंस कमीशन की चर्चा हुई है। हम सब जानते हैं कि पांच वर्ष के अंदर फाइनेंस कमीशन एक बार काम करता है। यही एक कमीशन है जो ज्यादा करके राज्यों में है। राज्य का दुखदर्द राज्य की

स्थिति से सबसे अच्छी तरह से परिचित होता है और उसके बाद वह रिक्मंडेशन देता है। सात कमीशन इसके पहले काम कर चुके हैं, शायद यह पहला अवसर है कि 8वें कमीशन की रिक्मंडेशन आई, अनुशंसाएं आई और महीनों तक खटाई में रहीं, खुलने नहीं दी गयीं। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि क्यों उसकी अनुशंसाएं स्वीकार नहीं की गयीं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि फाइनेंस कमीशन का समय तय थीजिए, तब इस प्रकार से करिये कि जब आगे की पंचवर्षीय योजना का आकार, ढांचा या योजना बनाना शुरू हो उसी समय फाइनेंस कमीशन की रिपोर्ट खड़ी हो जाये और प्लानिंग कमीशन पर ज्यादा निर्भर रहने के बजाये फाइनेंस कमीशन चूंकि राज्यों के दुखद दर्द को अच्छी तरह से समझता है अतः उसके आधार पर काम करें। यह व्यवस्था क इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ आपने मुझे इतना समय दिया इसके लिए धन्यवाद देकर मैं यहीं अपना भाषण समाप्त कर रहा हूँ।

श्री महेन्द्र मोहन मिश्र (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं इस वित्त विधेयक के समर्थन में खड़ा हुआ हूँ। सर्वप्रथम मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारतवर्ष जिसकी आबादी 70 करोड़ है और जहाँ कि 40 प्रतिशत लोग गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे हैं, उसकी अर्थव्यवस्था जैसी होनी चाहिए उसका एक संतुलित बजट रखने का सौभाग्य हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी को मिला है। यह बजट एक सुदृढ़ आधुनिक, आत्मनिर्भर और स्वतंत्र अर्थव्यवस्था का निर्माण करने की दिशा में प्रस्तुत किया गया है। श्रीमन्, भारतवर्ष गांधी में बसा है। भारतवर्ष के 70 प्रतिशत से अधिक लोग गांवों में रहते हैं और इन्हीं की अर्थव्यवस्था को हमें आगे ले चलना है, हमें उठाना है, उच्च स्तर पर ले आना है और विषमताओं को तथा गरीब और अमीर के बीच की खाई को पाटना है। हम उसी अर्थव्यवस्था की ओर चल रहे हैं। हमारा देश श्रीमन् कृषि प्रधान देश है। अगर हमारी कृषि और ऐसी अच्छी नहीं होगी तो निश्चित तौर पर हमारी कोई भी व्यवस्था इस देश में चल नहीं सकती है। चाहें उद्योग हो, चाहे किसी तरह की बात

हो, मूल मेरुदंड हमारी षि है, जिसके आधार पर हमारी सारी व्यवस्थाएं चलती हैं। आज इस दिशा में हमारी सरकार तथा प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी जी देहात की ओर काफी चिंतित हैं और वह चाहते हैं कि देश में जो हमारे गरीब, बेरोजगार लोग हैं, जो हमारे हरिजन हैं, जो हमारे मार्जिनल फार्मर्ज हैं, वह किस तरह से अपना जीवन अच्छी तरह से बसर कर सकें। इतनी बात होने पर भी इस देश में खेती के लिए जो हमारे साधन हैं—इस देश में काफी नदियां भी हैं, गंगा, जमुना, सरजू, नर्मदा और सारी नदियां हैं, लेकिन दुर्भाग्य यह होता है कि हमारी व्यवस्था—पानी की व्यवस्था कुछ हम ऐसी नहीं कर पा रहे हैं, जिसके फलस्वरूप हमें कहीं बाढ़ और कहीं सूखा का सामना करना पड़ता है।

इन कारणों से हमारा बहुत ही नुकसान होता है। ऐसी अवस्था में हमें अपने बजट को संतुलित करके, ऊपर उठाने की ओर प्रयास करना है। कलाशपति मिश्र जी की चिंता है—वह हमारे वित्त मंत्री भी बिहार में रहे वित्त की व्यवस्था की उनको काफी जानकारी है, लेकिन इस बात को गहराई से समझना चाहिए कि आजादी के बाद भारत सरकार को विरासत में गरीबी और गुरुबत मिली। जहाँ इस देश का ख्याल करते हैं जब हम आजाद हुए तब हम सुई भी नहीं बना पाते थे वह भी विदेश से आती थी हम छोटी-छोटी पेंसिल भी नहीं बना पाते थे पर आज क्या हुआ ? अगर चालीस वर्षों का इतिहास देखें मैं ईमानदारी की बात करता हूँ कि मिश्र जी ही क्यों हरेक भारतवासी को फख है, हमारे विरोधी दल के भाईयों को भी है।

हमारे भारतवर्ष का विकास कितना हुआ, इसकी मैं मानता हूँ कि अगर इसका श्रेय मिश्र जी को है तो कांग्रेस के लोगों को नहीं है, ऐसी बात नहीं है। हमारे दल की भी भूमिका इस देश को उठाने में रही है। देश की सुरक्षा, भलाई हम सर्वोपरि मानते हैं। भारतवर्ष को उठाने की हमें चिंता है; लेकिन आज क्या हो रहा है ?

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में, सामाजिक क्षेत्र में कार्य करने वाले कार्यकर्त्ता हैं पर जो दस वर्षों से एक ऐसी राजनीतिक चरित्रहूनन की राजनीति

[श्री महेंद्र मोहन मिश्र]

देश में चल रही है कि अफसरान भी कह रहे हैं कि जितने राजनीतिक लोग हैं यह सब चोर हैं, यह चोरों का एक ऐसा वातावरण बना दिया है जिससे कि हमारे जो इंस्ट्रूमेंट हैं, औजार हैं प्रगति को बढ़ाने के लिए, वह भी आज अपने को समझा नहीं पा रहे हैं। इस तरह से सारा माहौल हमने दस बारह साल में देश में बनाया है। इसे विरोधी दल बुग नहीं मानें। तो ऐसा हमारा औजार बन गया है कि हम भी कारगर नहीं हो पा रहे हैं कि हम किस तरह से उन लोगों को ऊंचा उठा सकें। इन परिस्थितियों में हमें चलना है।

रक्षा सौदे की बात मिश्र जी ने बड़े ढेर से कही है। यह मैं भी मानता हूँ कि देश की रक्षा किसी भी हालत में वम्प्रो-माईना नहीं की जा सकती है और हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी इस बात पर अमादा हैं कि देश की रक्षा सर्वोपरि है, सब से बड़ी है, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर भारतवर्ष भूखा भी हो, अन्न न भी हो, तब भी स्वावलम्बी है। हम अपने को जानते हैं कि हम एशिया में एक बड़ी शक्ति के रूप में उभर रहे हैं, आजाद, जिसकी चर्चा दुनिया में है और बड़े-बड़े मुल्कों को अखर रही है। उनकी साजिश हो रही है।

हमारी रक्षा के सौदे की बातचीत आपों की, सदन में बहुत सी चर्चा हुई, लेकिन मैं उसमें नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन अगर आज आप हमारी सरकार को बदनाम करेंगे, तो उससे हमारी फौज का मनोबल गिरेगा, दुनिया में हमारी साख गिर जाएगी। मैं चाहता हूँ कि देश की रक्षा के लिए अच्छा वातावरण बने।

मैं मानता हूँ और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने भी कहा है कि सुरक्षा के मामले में जो कोई भी दोषी होगा, तो उसकी गर्दन काट दी जाएगी, लेकिन इस चर्चि हन्त की राजनीति को छोड़ना चाहिए। आज चिंता का दिन है। आज इस पर सोचना है कि देश को उठाना है, देश की गरीबी को हटाना है, देश को आगे बढ़ाना है।

हम बढ़ रहे हैं, इसका मिश्र जी आप क्या कहते हैं, आपको भी मौका मिला था देश के संचालन के लिए। हमने बड़ी मजबूती के साथ श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में आपका कंस्ट्रक्टिव आपोजीशन का काम हमने किया। उसका आपको भी मौका लग सकता है। लेकिन जो देश में पोलिटिकल असेसिनेशन की राजनीति चल रही है, उसके बारे में हमें सोचना है, उसे हमें नहीं करना है। तो, श्रीमन्, मैं उधर निकल गया था।

तो मैं कह रहा था कि ५५ के लिए बीस-सूती कार्यक्रम के लिए अभी अग्रस्त में एक रूपरेखा रखी थी। उसमें आप देखेंगे कि 70 प्रतिशत बजट का प्रावधान हमारे उन क्षेत्रों के लिए है। हमारे चाहे मार्जिनल फार्मर्ज हों, चाहे किसान हों, चाहे हरिजन हों, उनके लिए चाहे पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था का प्रश्न हो, चाहे रोजगार संबंधी सुरक्षा की बात हो, चाहे उनकी माली हालत में सुधार करने की बात हो, इनके लिए पैसे का प्रावधान कर रहे हैं। इसमें कोई दो मन नहीं है उनको उठाने की चेष्टा सरकार कर रही है। जहां तक इम्प्लीमेंटेशन की बात है, मैं मानता हूँ और इस ओर ध्यान भी दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जब कार्यान्वयन की बात आती है तो उसमें कुछ कमजोरी हो जाती है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इसके लिए चाहे हमारे दल के लोग हों, चाहे इनके दल के लोग हों, चाहे कोई भी हों, ये सभी पार्टी लाइन से उठ करके हमें विकास के कार्य में उसके कार्यान्वयन में सहयोग दें। जब तक सरकार को जन सहयोग नहीं मिलेगा मुझे पूर्ण विश्वास है कि तब तक सरकार से कोई कार्य पूर्ण नहीं हो सकता है। मुझे पता है कुछ ऐसे पदाधिकारी हैं, अफसरान हैं जो कि विकास के कार्यक्रमों में दिलचस्पी नहीं लेते हैं। हमने अग्रेजों से आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ी और देश को आजाद कराया, लेकिन अब भी कुछ ऐसे तत्व हैं, ऐसे अफसरान हैं, देश के विकास के कार्यक्रमों में दिलचस्पी नहीं ले रहे हैं। इस दिलचस्पी को लाने के लिए हमें आन्दोलन करना पड़ेगा।

वह हम करेंगे। विकास के कार्य को उन्होंने नहीं बढ़ने दिया है। इसलिए विकास के काम में जब तक हम सभी समाज के लोग, जो सामाजिक क्षेत्र के कार्यकर्ता हैं, जो राजनीतिक कार्यकर्ता हैं, चाहे वे किसी भी दल के हों, जब तक वे मिल करके जन सहयोग नहीं करेंगे तब तक विकास का काम नहीं हो सकेगा। अभी मिश्रा जी ने कहा, लोन मेला की बात कही है। यह अच्छी बात है कि इससे हम गरीब लोगों को गरीबी रेखा से ऊपर उठा रहे हैं। साथ हम यह भी जानते हैं जैसा कि मिश्रा जी ने कहा जब तक इन कार्यक्रमों का लाभ गरीब की झोपड़ी तक नहीं पहुँचेगा, वह गरीब उसका फल नहीं पायेगा, तब तक विकास का काम नहीं होगा। इंदिरा जी ने बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण क्यों कराया। इसलिए राष्ट्रीयकरण किया कि इससे उसके संचालन की नीति निर्धारण की। हमारे हाथ में रहे। वह भी चाहती थीं और हम भी चाहते हैं कि गरीबों को लोन मुहैया करें, सरकार उन गरीबों के साथ, किसानों के साथ जाए ताकि वह उनके जीवन को उभारने की व्यवस्था कर सके। इस ओर भी मैं सरकार का ख्याल आवेष्टित करना चाहता हूँ। जनार्दन पुजारी जी यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं। लोन मेला की मैं ताईद करता हूँ। कम से कम उसके समक्ष हो वरके लोगों को यह मिल जाता है। लेकिन फिर भी उसमें द्विचालियों की समस्या है। बैंकों के पदाधिकारी हैं। अगर सौ रुपया दिया जाना हो तो वरम से कम 25-30 रुपया उनके हाथ में आता है। इससे परेशानी होती है और बैंक का जो उद्देश्य है वह पूर्ण नहीं हो पाता है। इसलिए इस ओर मैं खास करके सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि बैंकों का जो उद्देश्य है वह पूर्ण हो, लोगों को उनसे फायदा मिल सके। दूसरी बात श्रीमन् जैसं सिंचाई, बिजली और हाउसिंग है ये तीनों एक ही समस्या की चीज है। आज हमारे जो श्रमिक खेती में लगे हैं उनके लिए प्रधान मंत्री ने एक राष्ट्रीय ग्रामीण श्रमिक आयोग की भी घोषणा की है। वह समिति देखेगी कि हमारे जो किसान श्रमिक

उसमें लगे हुए हैं उनकी क्या और कौसी सेवा शर्तें हैं, जो मिनिमम वेजज कानून है क्या उसके अनुसार उन्हें न्यूनतम वेतन मिल पाता है या नहीं? आज उसकी भी उन्हें चिंता है और बजट में प्रावधान रखा है कि वरम से वरम जो न्यूनतम मजदूरी है वह तो उन्हें मिलनी चाहिए। उसके ऊपर भी ज्यादा जोर दिया है। चाहे उनके प्रोवीडेंट फंड की बात हो या ग्रेच्युटी की बात हो इसके लिए भी व्यवस्था हो। इस ओर हम जागरूक हैं। हमारे बजट को देखने से लगेगा कि हमारी सरकार उनकी समस्याओं के प्रति जागरूक है और उसके निदान में लगी हुई है। तीसरी बात हमारा देश बहुत बड़ा है, यहां वरभी बाढ़ की समस्या हो जाती है और वरभी सूखे की, चाहे राजस्थान हो, चाहे उड़ीसा हो, सब जगह ऐसी समस्या है। इन नैचुरल कैलामिटीज से लड़ने के लिए हमें मुस्ती से वरम करना होगा। लांग टर्म प्लानिंग वरनी होगी। हमारा बिहार जिसको श्रीनरी हिंदुस्तान का गार्डन बहते हैं जहां पर पानी की काफी बड़ी-बड़ी नदियां हैं, लेकिन दुर्भाग्यवश ये नदियां जब ऐसे अव्यवस्थित रूप से चलती हैं तो गांव के गांव बहाकर ले जाती हैं और जब जरूरत पड़ती है तब पानी नहीं मिलता है। इसलिए हमें पानी की व्यवस्था भी करनी होगी, इसके लिए कैनालाइजेशन की बात हमें सोचनी है और इसके लिए एक लांग टर्म प्लानिंग वरनी है, जिस तरह से हम गंगा सफाई की बात कर रहे हैं उसी तरह से हमें डरीगेशन की बात भी सोचनी है। वरम से कम मिनिमम अगर हमको पानी की कोई सिक्योरिटी मिल जायग तो वैसे हम आत्म-निर्भर आज भी हैं और आज भी हमें 15 करोड़ मी० टन गल्ला होने की संभावना है। फिर हम काफी एक्सपोर्ट करेंगे, आज हमको इसका गर्व है। दस साल पहले हम आयात करते थे और इसपरिस्थिति में आज हमारे किसान न हैं। उन लोगों को और हरेक समाजसेवी को मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप लोगों के प्रयास करने से आज भारतवर्ष अन्न के मामले में भी आत्म निर्भर है।

[श्री महेंद्र मोहन मिश्र]

अभी जैसा कि हाऊसिंग के बारे में कहा गया। हमने हरिजनों के लिए भी इस बजट में राष्ट्रीय आवास बैंक की स्थापना की बात की है और हम इसी तरह इंदिरा आवास योजना में भी 10 लाख हरिजनों के लिए बनाए जाएंगे। हम उन तबके के लोगों को उठाने की बात कर रहे हैं, जैसा बजट में दिया हुआ है कि गरीबी रेखा के अंदर जो लोग हैं उनको हमें उठाना है और मिनिमम जो रिक्वायरमेंट है जाने के लिए दो टाइम का खाना, रहने की मकान की व्यवस्था, तो अमन वह हमारे बजट से मिल पायेगा।

पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग के बारे में हमारे जगन्नाथ देसाई साहब ने कहा कि आज 51 हजार करोड़ रुपया लगा हुआ है। इस बात की चिंता आज ही सरकार को नहीं हुई है, वर्षों से चिंता थी। हम चाहते हैं कि कभी भूल के नहीं सोचना चाहिए कि सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में हमारा जो उद्यम है, वह हमारे समाजवाद और समाजवाद व्यवस्था का आधार है, जिस पर हम चल रहे हैं साथ साथ प्राइवेट सेक्टर में भी, निजी क्षेत्र में भी काम कर रहे हैं। मैं जानता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की इकोनोमी, जो भिक्सड इकोनोमी है, बड़ी-बड़ी जो हमारी चीजें हैं, उसे हमने पब्लिक सेक्टर में लिया है और छोटी-छोटी को प्राइवेट सेक्टर में। उनको भी हम करना चाहते हैं। लेकिन यह बात कतई नहीं है कि जनहित के क्षेत्र में सेक्ुरिफाई करके हम प्राइवेट सेक्टर को उठाने की बात करें। यह कभी सोचना नहीं है खासकर कांग्रेस सरकार की हुकूमत में और प्रधान मंत्री राजीव गांधी जी की हुकूमत में। इस बात की आपको चिंता नहीं होना चाहिए।

जैसा अभी हमारे साथी लोगों ने कहा, इंडस्ट्रियल सेक्टर में 8 परसेंट प्रोफ है। हमने निर्यात को 20 परसेंट बढ़ाया है और आयात हमारा घटा है, हम 2 परसेंट उसमें घटे हैं। लेकिन

हम एक्सपोर्ट में काफी बढ़े हैं। विदेशी मुद्रा भी बचा कर रखें, इसको भी व्यवस्था हमारे बजट में है।

एक बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज पब्लिक सेक्टर की चिंता सभी की है। इसके लिए एक आल इंडिया मनेजमेंट केडर की व्यवस्था वर्षों से हमारे देश में की जा रही है। इसी तरह हम देखते हैं कि सब मर्ज की दवा है आज आई.ए.एस.। एक बहुत बुरी आदत हमारे यहां आ रही है, सब मर्ज की दवा आई.ए.एस. है, आज आई.ए.एस. बैंक भी चलाएँगे, आई.ए.एस. खेती भी चलाएँगे, कोपरेटिव भी चलाएँगे, जहां कुछ हो, वहां आई.ए.एस.। विकास के संबंध में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सारा विकास का पैसा जो है जा रहा है जिला कलेक्टर के पास। आज जिला कलेक्टर सबसे बड़ा जमींदार है। मैं नहीं मानता कि मैं आई.ए.एस. के खिलाफ हूँ। लेकिन इसको भी डिस्टेंलाइज करने की आवश्यकता है। जिला कलेक्टर आज अपने ला-आर्डर के लिए इतना परेशान है, वह विकास के लिए कुछ काम क्या कर पायेगा। इसलिए जो मनेजमेंट पब्लिक सेक्टर में हमारे यहां जो लोग लगे हैं, इनका आल इंडिया मनेजमेंट केडर होना चाहिए। हमारे पास मनेजमेंट की पढ़ाई दिल्ली में, लखनऊ में, कलकत्ता में, अहमदाबाद में काफी अच्छी है। हमारे आई.ए.एस. से भी अच्छे लोग यहां से निकलते हैं। इनके लिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि आल इंडिया मनेजमेंट केडर होना चाहिए। इसको मार्केटिंग का है, फाइनेशियल मनेजमेंट का है, पर्सनल मनेजमेंट का है, सारा पढ़ाई होता है। इसलिए उस पूल से भी चलेंगे। तो हमारे पब्लिक सेक्टर में मनेजमेंट की तरफ भी ध्यान देने की जरूरत है।

शिक्षा के संबंध में हमारे काफी लोगों ने चर्चा की, काफी चर्चा इस परसदन में हुई, दोनों सदन में। हमने शिक्षा की एक नई नीति निकाली है और इस बारे में एक ही शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ, जो हमारी नई नीति शिक्षा की आयी है, इससे एक बड़ी बात होगी कि गरीबी इससे दूर

होगा और दूसरी बात देश में जो भाषा, जाति, धर्म के नाम पर जो विवाद चल रहा है, वह खतम होगा और नेशनल इंटिग्रेशन इससे आएगा। दक्षिण के लोग हमारी भाषा समझेंगे और मैं दक्षिण के लोगों की भाषा समझूंगा। इसलिए इस दृष्टि से यह सब मिलकर एक भाईचारा, एक भारतवर्ष होगा। जो अनेकता में एकता की संस्कृति है, उस संस्कृति के मुताबिक हमें इस शिक्षा नीति को ढाला है। अब मैं एक दो बातें अपने प्रदेश की कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं बिहार से आता हूँ। हमारा प्रदेश एक तरफ साउथ बिहार मिनरलिस् से भरा है, दूसरी ओर हमारा इलाका ऐग्रीकल्चर का इलाका है। वह घनी आबादी का क्षेत्र है। हिन्दुस्तान की घनी आबादी वाला क्षेत्र है। दुर्भाग्य से 6 महीने हम काम करते हैं और 6 महीने बाढ़ और सुखाड़ से घिरे रहते हैं। तो जिन क्षेत्रों में हम काम नहीं कर पाते हैं वहाँ पर सरकार को विशेष योजनाएं बनानी चाहिए और उनका विकास करना चाहिए। हमारे उत्तरी बिहार में 30-32 शूगर इंडस्ट्रीज हैं लेकिन मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि उनमें से 10-12 इंडस्ट्रीज ही चल रही हैं, बाकी सिक हो गई हैं जिनको सरकार ने एक कारपोरेशन के अधीन रखा है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि शूगर इंडस्ट्रीज आप जीवित करें। हमारे जो किसान पहले पैदावार करते थे उन मिलाओं के बंद होने के कारण उन्होंने खेती में ईख उगाना छोड़ दिया है। जिस तरह से महाराष्ट्र में ईख की खेती के लिए कई कदम उठाए गए हैं, उसी तरह से बिहार की ओर भी विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिए।

महोदय, दूसरी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि आज इस तरह की भावना देश में चल चुकी है कि सरकार से पैसा ले लो और भाग जाओ। हमारे बिहार में छोटे छोटे इटरप्रेन्योर्स को सरकार बैंकों से लोन दे रही है, हर एक जिले में इंडस्ट्रियल ऐस्टेट हैं, सब में 80 प्रतिशत लोगों को जो पैसा मिलता है, उसका लोग दुरुपयोग करना चाहते हैं और कर रहे हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उसकी तरफ सरकार का ध्यान जाना चाहिए कि और इसके लिए सैपरेट

लेजिस्लेटिव मीजर्स लाने चाहिए ताकि पैसे का दुरुपयोग न हो सके।

महोदय, सबसे बड़ी समस्या हमारे बिहार में दूर संचार की है। इमरजेंसी में भी उसमें सुधार नहीं हो पाया। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे उत्तरी बिहार में दूर संचार की बात तो मत पूछिये, दिल्ली से एस. टी. डी. पर मुजफ्फरपुर आप बात नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसकी तरफ भी आपका ध्यान जाना चाहिए। आप टिकट की कीमत बढ़ाते हैं, छोटे-छोटे अखबारों के पैसे बढ़ाते हैं, लेकिन दुर्भाग्य यह है कि हम अपने यहां दिल्ली से बैठकर प्रान्त की राजधानियों से बात नहीं कर सकते। श्री भागवत झा आजाद के क्षेत्र में भागलपुर में एस. टी. डी. की सुविधा है, लेकिन वहां से बात नहीं होती है। पहले मैन्यूल था तो आप बुक करके तो बात कर सकते हैं, अब एस. टी. डी. हो गया है, तो आप बात भी नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसलिए दूर संचार की व्यवस्था वहां पर ठीक हो, इसकी ओर भी आपका ध्यान जाना चाहिए।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आपका ज्यादा समय न लेते हुए केवल एक बात और कह देना चाहता हूँ कि हर एक जिले के लिए जो 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम है उसका मानिट्रिंग होना चाहिए। केन्द्र को इसे मजबूती से लागू करना चाहिए। प्रान्तों में जो कमेटियां हैं उनको ठीक से काम करना चाहिए। जिला स्तर पर भी जो कमेटियां हैं वे सुचारू रूप से काम नहीं कर पातीं। मैं चाहूंगा कि केन्द्र के पहले जो मंत्री अब्दुल गनी खान चौधरी थे, वे अब नहीं हैं तो जब केन्द्र सरकार पैसा देती है तो उसके कार्यान्वयन को भी देखना चाहिए। आपके पैसे का दुरुपयोग नहीं हो, इसका आपको ध्यान रखना चाहिए। आपका प्लानिंग कमीशन पैसे देता है, लेकिन उसको ठीक से खर्च नहीं कर पा रहे हैं तो दूसरे क्षेत्रों के लिए आवंटन कम हो जाता है। तो 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम को तेजी से लागू करना चाहिए ताकि उसके लिए जो पैसा दिया जाए वह सही रूप से खर्च हो और उसकी सही रूप से इंप्लीमेंटेशन हो सके।

[श्री महेन्द्र मोहन मिश्र]

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आपका धन्यवाद करते हुए इस विधेयक का समर्थन करता हूँ।

ANNOUNCEMENT RE. ALLOCATION OF TIME FOR DISPOSAL OF GOVERNMENT BUSINESS AND EXTENSION OF SESSION

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): I have to inform Members that the Business Advisory Committee at its meeting held today, the 6th May, 1987, allotted time for Government Legislative Business as follows :-

Business	Time Allotted
Consideration and passing of the following Bills, as passed by the Lok Sabha:—	
(i) The Governors (Emoluments, Allowances and Privileges) Amendment Bill, 1987.	2 hrs.
(ii) The Goa, Daman & Diu Mining Concessions (Abolition and Declaration as Mining Leases) Bill, 1987.	1 hr.
(iii) The Prevention of Corruption Bill, 1987.	4 hrs.

In order to complete the Government Business, the Committee recommended that the present Session of the Rajya Sabha be extended upto the 12th May, 1987 and accordingly, the House should sit on Monday, the 11th and Tuesday, the 12th May, 1987, for the transaction of the Government Business and that there would be no Question Hour on these days.

THE FINANCE BILL, 1987—contd.

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA (Rajasthan): Sir, I rise to support the Finance Bill introduced by hon. Prime Minister. The whole country has welcomed this year's Budget and whatever the irri-

tents were, they also have been removed by the modifications brought over by the hon. Prime Minister. The withdrawal of the proposed new section 194E of the Income Tax Act which had sought to extend the area of tax deduction at source has been hailed by all in the country. Its withdrawal will provide much relief to the various sectors of the industry and trade. Section 115 (j) of the Income Tax Act has also been modified. It will permit adjustments provided in the Companies Act for computing book profits. Companies will be able to set off depreciation pertaining to earlier years against the book profits of the current year and for determining profits for the purpose of declaring dividends. I suggest, companies should be allowed to set off losses pertaining to earlier years for determining current year's profit either for declaring dividends or for determining the book profits. In fact, at one time, late Shri T. T. Krishnamachari had allowed 6 per cent tax benefit for new industries. Shareholders are scattered all over the country and the majority of them are working class people. They subscribe to the shares in anticipation of some returns in the form of dividends which should be considered as minimum interest. Management is normally not interested to declare dividends. The present regulation of computation of profits for the purpose of declaring dividends will make it easier for them not to declare dividends to the poor shareholders. Other sections have also been modified for relief to assessee in general.

So far as indirect taxes are concerned, a number of reliefs have been granted by the hon. Prime Minister. These relaxations and reliefs which have been given will have far-reaching consequences. They will certainly encourage the growth of small sector industries. The total tax concession and reliefs amount to nearly seventy crores of rupees. This will not affect the overall Budget deficit, because efficient management the revenue is expected to increase substantially. The hon. Prime Minister has further made it clear that he has an open mind to constructive suggestions and has reaffirmed his commitment to a rational tax structure.