

is Mr. Mukherjee, President of the Confederation of Indian Organisations, who has called it "a classic example of lace-curtain racialism". Mr. Vice-Chairman, we are members of the Commonwealth. We know the benefits arising from the membership of the Commonwealth are getting eroded from day to day. Sir, as you know, even the educational facilities that "were available for Commonwealth citizens in Great Britain have almost disappeared, and we have come to the conclusion that it does not confer too many benefits on us. This benefit of entering Great Britain and acquiring knowledge and technology is also being sought to be eroded. I think the time has come, therefore, for the Government to have a fresh look at our Commonwealth linkage to find out whether this sort of restriction will not prove to be the last nail in the coffin of the Commonwealth.

**REFERENCE TO THE REPORTED DAL' SCANDAL IN MADHYA PRADESH BY F.C.I. OFFICIALS IN COLLUSION WITH THE TRADERS OF HARDA (MADHYA PRADESH)**

श्री प्यारे लाल खंडेलवाल (मध्य प्रदेश) : उपसभापति जी, मैं आपके माध्यम से एक बहुत महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। कुछ दिनों पहले समाचार था कि दो पूरी मालगाड़ियाँ जो शक्कर से भरी हुई थीं मध्य प्रदेश जाने वाली थीं, वे कहीं गायब हो गईं। अब एक नया मामला सामने आया है। 40 हजार टन शक्कर के घोटाले के बाद एक नया घोटाला जो 'दाल स्कैंडल' के नाम से हुआ है, प्रकाश में आया है। मध्य प्रदेश के हरदा, जिला होशंगाबाद में एक 0 सी० आई० और कुछ व्यापारियों की साठगांठ से दाल खरीदने में लाखों रुपये का गोलमाल किया गया है। इस गोलमाल में एक विशिष्ट व्यापारी को लाभ पहुंचाने

तथा कुछ आफिसरों ने अपनी जेब भरने के उद्देश्य से यह कांड किया है। ज्ञात हुआ है कि 45 लाख पये के इस दाल कांड घोटाले को, राजनितिक दबाव से रफा-दफा करने की कोशिश की जा रही है। एक समाचार के अनुसार हरदा में एक 0 सी० आई० के गोदाम को सील कर दिया गया है और सी० बी० आई० मामले की जांच कर रहा है। इस मामले की ओर माननीय मंत्री जी को तुरन्त ध्यान देना चाहिए क्योंकि लगभग 10 लाख रुपये का इसमें नुकसान होने की संभावना है। इस पर पूरी जांच करके माननीय मंत्री जी को वक्तव्य देना चाहिए।

THE FINANCE (NO. 2) BDLL, 1980—  
(Contd.)

The Vice-Chairman (Shri R. R. Morarka) in the Chair]

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): The House will now take up further discussion on the Finance (No. 2) Bill, 1980. Dr. Bhai Mahavir to continue his speech.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, I was mentioning yesterday that the great expectations with which the Budget has been presented have been belied so soon that one need not go into the question how far even the ruling party Members would be able to claim justification for the statement that prices have been checked. My friend, Mr. Salve, yesterday was talking here about the period of instability and indiscipline which had passed just before the present. Government took over. Indiscipline, instability, in-fighting—we are aware of these facts to the extent they plagued our party when we were in power. But, Sir, I am afraid Mr. Salve had not seen the morning paper, yesterday. Otherwise he would have been aware of the exhibition of unity

[Dr. Bhai Mahavir]

that was being given by his party-men at various places. In Chandigarh itself, there was a report of a regular fight having taken place between the members of his party between supporters of the Chief Minister of Haryana and the former Defence Minister. And they used fisticuffs and sticks; even stones were thrown by the members of his party which the ruling party is claiming, or may be it was part of the 20-point programme which they are always talking about.

Sir, about stability, we have a picture of stability in the various States and I do not want to ask Mr. Salve if he had spoken to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh or Maharashtra or Haryana or any other State to find out how far he was happy with the situation he was supposed to be presiding over. It is for any one to see that for more than several months the administration in Andhra Pradesh is at a standstill. We do not know how many Ministers are in the dissidents group and how many with the Chief Minister. This thing goes on.

Right from the start Mr. Antulay has been facing difficult weather in Maharashtra although there have been explanations to prove and establish that there is no trouble. But people know more than to believe in this.

With all this, the Party deserves our good wishes and the Finance Minister our best hopes in the difficult task that he has set himself to. It is not only a question of giving him lip sympathy or being apologetic for any word of criticism that our friends from that side may make. It is a difficult situation and, we suppose, it calls for a much better management of the economy than the present Government appears to be capable of.

We were told that coal management has been improved during the last several weeks. Only yesterday there were reports that the South

Central Railway has cancelled 21 trains because of shortage of coal. There are reports of mismanagement in the Food Corporation of India. There was a report in the *Times of India* that Rs. 10 lakhs appears to have been lost because of dal having been purchased at exorbitant price in Madhya Pradesh. All these are going on. Mr. Salve said that if Mrs. Gandhi's Government and Party cannot deliver the goods, no other Government and Party can. And therefore, he lent all his support to the Finance Bill.

I only want to remind him that many of the problems that plague us today have their roots in the past. I was going through a magazine published by Indian Oil which carried an article on energy crisis. It is said there that this crisis has developed over a number of years and the reference it gives was that when the development process began to decelerate in the mid sixties, development of energy sector was neglected far more than all other sectors. Starvation of adequate investment was not the only thing, but this was the worst part of it. The pattern of development of energy resources and their utilisation have suffered grave distortions because according to that article there was a switch to reliance on growing import of oil in disregard of all expert advice and caution and this led to the neglect of hydro sources. In coal too investment and production were allowed to stagnate for nearly two decades. Even after 1973 oil crisis, it is observed, attempts to regulate consumption and import of oil and emphasis on indigenous alternative sources were given up. There was a decision to step up extraction of oil from discovered sources in disregard of technical experts and Planning Commission which favoured conserving our modest resources for future.

These things started when Mrs. Gandhi was in power and the result is what we face today in the form of energy crisis. The blame for this

crisis cannot be placed totally on the OPEC and oil exporting countries.

Why I mention this is only to illustrate that mere goody-goody talk or trying to be flatterers of the leader who happens to be shouldering the main responsibility of running the country is not the best way of solving our problems.

The Finance Bill, as has been said, gives us an idea of the financial management. There has been a talk of financial emergency being imposed because of the various problems which this Government is facing. It was reported that the Prime Minister has mentioned in her reply to an hon. Member of this House that something of that type was under consideration. We do not know what that means. We would request the Finance Minister to say something if he is aware of it.

Then, financial discipline, however, is an important thing which needs to be attended to. We know of the Reserve Bank and the State Governments pulling against each other on the question of writing off of the co-operative loans. We are told that an amount of Rs. 34 crores of the money lying with the Delhi Administration was just casually transferred to the DDA. The money which is sanctioned for certain projects by Parliament cannot be casually transferred like that to the DDA, as was done in the case of the Delhi Administration. If this is the type of financial discipline which our Government is able to provide, then, Sir, I wonder if the objectives, which they themselves claim, they could hope to achieve at all.

Sir, financial discipline goes beyond this. There is the question of the expenditure on research and development and how productive our research has been is a question which we have to answer. In agriculture, we have achieved some success in cereals. But, Sir, what has happened in the case of pulses and oilseeds? We remain as dependent on imports of oil and pulses as we once were on imported cereals with the result that virtually the

same amount has to be spent on imports of oils, edible oils, and pulses from outside. Then, there is the question of dry farming. Now, drought is being blamed. Sir, as early as in 1970, Dr. Swaminathan claimed in his Zakir Hussain Memorial Lecture, that they had developed the technology of dry farming. If dry farming technology has been developed, why do we not use it when the country is affected by or has to face a serious drought situation? There have been other issues and other problems which show that our research needs to be attended to in a better way. Only the other day, Sir, or three or four days back, Dr. O. P. Gautam, Director-General, ICAR, has blamed the extension service as being inefficient and being unable to extend the benefits of our research to the fields and, according to him, although much progress has been made by the experts in respect of development of oilseeds, the results are not carried to the fields for the benefit of the farmers because, according to him, oilseeds continue to be accorded a very low priority even today—I underline the words "even today"—and, Sir, in this situation, naturally, the Government needs to tighten up things in a much better way to give the results that are expected.

Now, Sir, the Government has set up a Licensing Committee. The Licensing procedures had been simplified by the Janata Government by cutting out at least one stage. Now the Licensing Committee of the Cabinet has been brought in again. What is its record up till now? 72 applications for licences were referred to it and as many as ten have been cleared during all this period. Is this the way in which things are going to be speeded up? My friend, Mr. Chattopadhyaya, yesterday emphasised the need for discipline and the need for speeding up and all that. If this is the way things are to be decided, then, Sir, I wonder what we can expect. Then there is the question of cement price and paper price. People come to us and say;

[Dr. Bhai Mahavir]

that even they met the honourable Mr. Venkataraman when he was in charge of the Industry ' Ministry, he promised to consider the question of prices in the case of these items. But no decision has been taken and nobody knows when a decision will be taken. Sir, this is the not the way to run an economy or to improve an economy. After these remarks, Sir, I would like to mention some of the specific provisions in the Finance Bill. I will not take much time by mentioning the other things which have been already said. But I still want to make a few points which, I hope, the honourable Minister will be kind enough to take note of.

Sir, there is the question of section 80-1. Mr. Salve was claiming yesterday that more production was needed and the Finance Minister's approach was to see that more production was achieved. Now, will not Mr. Salve accept that 80-1 will not bring in new investment because of the restrictions it has sought to place on the benefit of exemption on profits? Sir, 80-J has been talked of in plenty. Sir, retrospectively amending the definition of what "capital employed" is with effect from 1972, will create complications. What complications it will create and the unethical part of it have been pointedly placed before the House. But Sir, a party which believes in retrospectively amending the election laws, which is a matter of more ethical concern, probably will not find much difficulty in swallowing this also.

Sir, the new Finance Bill has dealt with the HUFs rather, I suppose, in an unfair manner. There may be some examples of wrong practices having been resorted to in the form of partial partition. But, Sir, I hope that the Finance Minister will accept that there are genuine partitions also----- (Time bell rings). And one man may have taken away a part of the property. Wow, how are you going to realise the

tax on that? The man may have sold the house. This will create special problems.

The hon. Finance Minister has given some concessions, niggardly concessions, in pensions. In section 16(1), the definition has been changed to include pensions for the purpose of deduction for income tax. But, Sir, this is to be effective from 1st April, 1981. It is very interesting situation. Some things are being given retrospective effect and others are to be effective later. Sir, I know of one case—I. T. Appellate Tribunal 'E' Bench. Bombay, ITA No. 1361/B/76-77, assessment year 1975-76.. (Time bell rings) in that, Mr. S. A. Nariawala was given allowance for this purpose because of the interpretation of 'pension' as being some sort of salary. Sir, this possibility even of some people having got the benefit will be done away with because of this new provisions which the hon. Finance Minister has made.

Then, Sir, about tax on hotels, notice has been given for the tax to be imposed from September 1980. I would like to submit to the hon. Finance Minister the fact that tourists from other countries plan their tours much in advance—sometimes almost ten years in advance, and there are examples where the people who book their tours, might have committed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Please conclude.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: I will conclude within a minute. Those people have quoted the rates also. Now the rates are increased. This will adversely affect the tourist traffic about which we are all very anxious.

Lastly, Sir, there are certain things which need to be improved, which the Finance Minister may kindly look into later on. There are sections like

271(1)(c). 271(1)(b), 285, 271(1) and 273 whereunder penalties are imposed on companies. As a matter of fact, the shareholders are not at fault, and penalties should be imposed on the Directors and officers as is done in similar cases under the companies Act.

The last word, Sir, certain percentage should be fixed regarding profits..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): You are leaving no time for others of your party.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Well, Sir, the sentence I would close with is that the hon. Finance Minister may think of providing repending of assessments during the last eight years by individuals just as the Department can reopen them. He may also be permitted to reopen the return and submit it within eight years. Sometimes, the man may have a case under litigation and he includes that in the property but later on he finds the property is not his. He should be permitted to make the amendment in that.

I hope the Finance Minister will consider these things in due course. Thank you.

SHRI NAND KISHORE BHATT (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Finance Minister deserves our grateful thanks for the various measures he has taken to contain inflation, boost up production and create a climate of confidence on the economic front, Sir, it is now proved beyond doubt that the preceding three years of Janata-Lok Dal rule have put the economy into a disastrous situation and the economic environment has become disturbing which calls for drastic measures backed by a firm political will and a determined effort, to retrieve the economy. In this effort, the forthright and candid statements of the Prime Minister have been well received in all responsible quarters

in the country and the Government has to come forward with positive action plans to curb the inflationary trends, ensure distributive justice and generate more employment. To ensure speedy economic and social justice, the problems facing the economy have to be tackled on a war footing and the nation has to recognise a state of economic emergency'.

4 p. M.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. In a capital scarce and labour intensive economy optimum utilisation of the existing productive capacity is a must. All measures shall have to be taken to ensure that productive capacity does not remain idle due to non-availability of raw materials, power, spares and transport.

Sir, economic development would be self-defeating if it does not ensure equitable distribution of the gains of growth. It is necessary to evolve an appropriate national wage policy particularly with a view to removing inter and intra industry wage disparities that distort the present wage structure in the country.

Sir, it is necessary to establish industry-wise productivity boards for developing and implementing industry-wise productivity plans. These plans should inter alia indicate industry-wise production and productivity targets, existing capacity, reduction in costs and additional investment to be made for achieving the desired output. The public sector industries should take a lead in this direction. Reduction in waste of raw materials in general and those in short supply or imported in particular, should be ensured through the application of productivity techniques such as work study, cost reduction, quality control and materials conservation. All possible efforts should be made to re-cycle the unavoidable waste like fly ash, iron, coal, paper, power, chemicals, etc., to secure economic utilisation of wastes of other

[Shri Nand Kishore Bhatt.]

types such as slag in the steel industry which can be used as a raw-material for cement industry and molasses from sugar industry in chemical industries. Disposal of such wastes should be brought under regulation.

Energy resources have to be used in the most productive manner and conservation of energy and other scarce resources should become synonymous with nationalism.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, ideological consideration "whether large or small scale industries" have eroded distributive justice and created scarcities of even essential items. It is time that battle of semantics is changed into a process of co-existence between large and small and still better large with small. Both for employment generation and for broadening the industrial base, it is necessary to create a network of ancillary industries particularly around the areas where seasonal industries operate to give round the year employment to labour. Adequate financial assistance, fiscal incentives and technical know-how should be provided to encourage the development of ancillary industries.

Sir, productivity improvement in the field of agriculture have far-reaching consequences in the revival of our economy. Maximum attention has to be given to ensure the availability of modern inputs like fertiliser, pesticides, agricultural implements, power, etc. on the one hand and reduction in wastages during post harvest operations on the other. There is pressing need to develop rural infra-structure particularly in terms of approach roads, marketing centres both for agricultural inputs and outputs, transport and communications.

From productivity point of view, educating the farmers in the application of modern agricultural technology is of urgent importance. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the country has welcomed the Finance

Minister's announcement in his reply to the Budget debate that the Government will soon be setting up a high-powered committee and that this committee will take up for scrutiny the working of all the units in the Public Sector, unit by unit. I may, however, point out that such committee will not be able to do justice to the work assigned without the cooperation and involvement of labour representatives who will be able to effectively contribute to the working of this Committee so as to improve the overall working and functioning of the public sector units from their practical experience. Association of labour representatives will also facilitate the implementation of the recommendations of this committee.

Sir, the poorer sections of our society are very much disturbed at the persistent steep rise in prices of even essential commodities. The Government announced of their decision to streamline the public distribution system and to increase the number of fair price shops by nearly a lakh has come as relief to the consumers. However, I would urge upon the government to cover the entire country with a wide network of fair price shops without delay. These fair price shops will have to be well stocked and be able to sell articles of daily necessities and mass consumption at subsidised prices. The benefits of distribution through the fair price shops must reach even the poorest in the remotest parts of the country. The Government should also take effective steps so that the concessions announced by the Finance Minister really benefit the consumers and that the industry and trade do not just take it as a concession to them and to their people. Sir, this connection consumerism is another major front which has to be given all out support and encouragement by the Government. Sir, hon. Dr. Bhai Mahavir has just mentioned that we have claimed that we have controlled the prices. This is not correct. We have not claimed that

prices have been checked. However, measures have been taken by the Government, both short-term and long-term, to contain the prices.

Sir, it is a matter of serious concern that increasing number of man-days are lost on account of poor industrial relations. It is my belief that there should be minimum intervention by law thereby providing increasing scope for collective bargaining and thus ensuring healthy industrial relations. Wherever collective bargaining fails, there should be voluntary arbitration made possible as an extension of collective bargaining process itself. The bargaining agent should be identified through membership determined by the introduction of check off system. All arbitration proceedings must be time-bound and the awards of arbitration should not be questioned in any court including the Supreme Court. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, while stressing over the need of industrial harmony as a *sine quo non* for higher production, importance of bonus as one of the major factors for industrial harmony can hardly be minimised. Festival season is not far off and already bonus disputes have started. Any undue delay in formulating a comprehensive law on bonus as promised is bound to have an adverse effect on the industrial front. The Labour Minister's announcement in the other House yesterday indicating promulgation of an ordinance pending enactment of the law providing for minimum bonus may be accepted as an interim measure. The previous law on bonus was amended to the extent of payment of minimum bonus year after year. This will not work. Sir, in fairness to the promises made and assurance given, a comprehensive Payment of Bonus Act on a long-term basis is the only solution. I hope the Government will not lose time and set up a high level tri-partite committee to draw out accepted proposals as the basis on which the new comprehensive law can be formulated and the Bill is

ready for introducing in the Parliament on a top priority basis.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, an effective scheme of workers' participation in management as an integral part of the 20-point economic programme should be evolved after bi-partite consultations and implementation with the conscious co-operation of both labour and management. The system of participative management, if made real and meaningful, will transform the industrial relations and lift them to a new and higher level, rendering strikes and lockouts unnecessary.

Sir, it is high time that a high-level national committee is set up without further loss of time to lay down policies and guidelines for effective functioning of industrial relations machinery<sup>1</sup>. The recent meeting of the Prime Minister with trade union leaders is a positive step in that direction. The meeting was convened by the Labour Minister at the instance of the Prime Minister to seek workers' cooperation for salvaging the deteriorating economy out of the present vicious circle of low production and high prices and put the economy back on the rails. Sir, it is very significant that in this meeting, the Prime Minister made it clear that the Government had absolutely no intention to curb the rights of workers but reminded them that they must be imbued with a sense of responsibility towards the society. She commended the scheme of 'best worker of the month' in industrial units and similar other incentives to boost up workers' morale. She praised the workers who had, by and large co-operated during difficult situations and helped to put the economy on a sound footing. Sir, as we learn from the press, a similar meeting has also been fixed by her to meet the industrialists for the same purpose. These are welcome measures and are bound to bring the desired result towards improving the economic situation.

[Shri Nand Kishore Bhatt.]

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, before I conclude, I have a suggestion to make for the consideration of the Government. There should be a national policy in respect of training and development of skills of various kinds in almost every sector of our economy, including agriculture. It would be highly desirable to allocate say, 0.1 to 0.5 per cent of the total Plan Outlay for this purpose.

Sir, involvement of educated youth in nation-building activities is of paramount importance. Examples are not wanting where youth power has been geared to contribute to the development of social and economic growth. In our own country, youth power was harnessed under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawahar Lai Nehru during the struggle for national independence. We have ourselves seen what tremendous force it has proved under the courageous and undaunted leadership of Shri Sanjay Gandhi. Compulsory training at the school stage should be introduced which will go a long way in disciplining and character building of our coming generation which is a sure guarantee for all-round social and economic progress of the country. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, people are watching the debate that is going on both in the other House and here regarding the Budget. Our Finance Minister is very optimistic and he has said. I have read it, that the economic situation has dramatically changed for the good since he opened the Budget brief on 18-6-80. And, in the same breath, he goes on to say with confidence that the prices will not rise further they have reached a plateau and they are now resting for some time to come, they do not have the strength to move further. It is a welcome coincidence today that while we were discussing the Finance Bill, a Calling Attention Motion was also moved, and that too by some of the Members belonging to the

Party. The discussion on that revealed that prices have not stopped or halted but that they are keeping up their speed. What will the people think outside? It is not enough to listen to economic experts or industrialists or high-placed people. We must listen to the murmur of the workers, the peasants, the middle-class. The Government of India themselves are the biggest employers. They have more than three and a half million people under them. Then there are State Government employees, the local administration employees and there are wage-earners in public sector and other organisations. What do they think? What do the housewives think? Do they believe the Finance Minister that prices have halted? Even if the prices have halted at this level where is the relief? See that the prices are brought down to the level that existed, at least, before this Government took over power. During the past four or five months the prices have shot up. Even after presenting the Budget the prices have gone up. Edible oils, which were selling at Rs. 19 or Rs. 19.50, when the Minister said that their price has gone down, now the price has gone up to Rs. 22. The price of sugar when the Minister said it was Rs. 7.50, now it is Rs. 8.50. I do not want to take the time of the House by giving more details. The Minister may know more than what I know, although he may not admit it. Sir, now prices are shooting up. Same is the case with inflation. A short while ago Mr. Bhupesh Gupta said that it is more than 30 per cent. It is bound to increase. Blackmarketing, smuggling, hoarding, corruption, all these things are there. Even during the Question Hour several issues were raised regarding corruption. These evils are spreading very fast. Is it not the duty of the Government to give protection to the people? Democracy is an instrument to protect the toiling people, the majority of the people, and then only it is real democracy. People expect the Government to protect their standard of life as much as they expect the Government to protect them in the case of



attack on women or atrocities on weaker sections, like the Harijans Or as the religious and linguistic minorities expect the Government to protect them, the same way the toiling people, the workers and the peasants who are the real producers of our national wealth, expect our democracy, our government, to come to their res\_cue when their standard of life is attacked, when their kitchen is attacked, when their belly is attacked, when the labour power is attacked.

What is the position? Perhaps, this House is discussing the Finance Bill for the 28th time. Sometime we had the pleasure of discussing it more than once. But what is the improvement? What are the new steps that our Finance Minister proposes to take? He is a very efficient person, I must say. I have known him for a long time. Our relationship started in jail. In 1942, we were together. Tamil Nadu will certainly remember him for long for what he has done as the Minister of Industries. But he is a very shrewd man. He knows how to tackle his position. When I criticise him, it is not against him; it is against the Government policies. But he is also aware that many times, some of his predecessors were made the scapegoat for the failure of the Government policies. But I have confidence in Mr. Venka-taraman and I think he will not allow himself to be made a scapegoat.

Now, what are the steps he is goin-? to take? He is keeping it a secret. Of course the *modus operandi* need not be told. But we should know as to what steps he is going to take to curb black money, to curb smuggling, to curb hoarding, to prevent corruption, to bring down the prices and to create more employment opportunities.

Go through the Budget, it is a very nicely-written document, very pleasing. But it conceals many more things than what it reveals. That is my point.

Let me now make some suggestions to protect at least the Government

sioners. Sir, their willing co-operation is necessary. Even this morning some hon. Members said here about the demonstration by college professors who have assembled here from all over the country. The Central Government employees are the worst treated ones in the matter of wages. Although there have been three pay commissions in the past 33 years, only one pay commission, that is, the First Pay Commission—thanks to presence of people like N- M. Joshi—really achieved something. The Second and the Third Pay Commissions took away what was given in principle, not in Quantum of money money might have increased but other privileges have been taken away. Not that the employees are enamoured of another Fourth Pay Commission they want bilateral settlement and negotiation through bilateral talks. There is urgent need for wage revision. They want parity with other public sector undertakings in the matter of wages and other privileges. This is an urgent matter which cannot be delayed. I would appeal to the Finance Minister to look into it expeditiously.

Secondly, let us not forget those who served the Government. Serving the Government in free India means serving the nation. That is the spirit in which we should treat them. All those who retire the pensioners are a forgotten lot. The pension scheme has undergone several changes. Those who have retired are forgotten. Among them, those who are still fortunate enough to survive, or their widows who are fortunate enough to survive, are getting nothing. At least in the case of the pensioners, who have served the Government in Class III and Class IV posts, the pension should be reviewed. In regard to those who do not get pension, at least, an advance amount should be given by way of pension so that they would be able to spend their retired life peacefully.

Then, I come to the next point. The Finance Minister has said that he would take steps to curb black money.

[Shri M. Kalyanasundaram.]

Several committees appointed by the Government in the past have held that the menace of black money...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA)- Mr. Kalyanasundaram, how long are you going to speak?

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: My party has seventeen minutes. I will take all the seventeen minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN' (SHRI R. R. MORARKA); Mr. Bhupesh Gupta also wants to speak in the Third Reading.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: He will speak in the Third Reading.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): I think, this time includes Third Reading also.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: No I do not think so. Please give me some more time. I come from a State to which, my friend who is sitting opposite, the hon. Finance Minister, also belongs. I have to deal with some more points. I would let me deal with the steps to be taken for curbing black money. We have this menace of black money. Of course, there may be differences of opinion in regard to its quantum. But all these things—black money, hoarding, smuggling and so on operate like a parallel economy. The Finance Minister may propose. But it is those forces which dispose. Hence, the Finance Minister should be careful and vigilant. He has rightly said that the voluntary disclosure scheme has not proved useful. I think, this is what he said. He is looking at me. Perhaps, he may disagree with me now. It is open to him. But I would say that the voluntary disclosure scheme is only a reward for the economic offenders. You put more white money into their hands. Such a thing should not be done.

Now money becomes due for repayment, I think, under the National Defence Bond Scheme, that is, the 'Gold Bond Scheme. This was intro-

duced in 1965. I think, it is due for payment in October, 1980. What is the attitude? What is the patriotic job these chaps have done? Many of them brought gold with foreign markings and tendered them before the Reserve Bank of India and obtained the bonds. Do they deserve such a treatment that you would repay them the value of the gold? The Finance Minister wants to curb inflation. What was the price of gold in 1965? What is the price of gold now? How many times it has increased? Will you not be guilty of putting more money into the hands of these people? For what purpose? These are matters in regard to which we have seen as to how steps taken in the past have not yielded any good results? If they want to please both, they will not succeed. This is the warning I would like to give. It has been said that demonetisation is unworkable and impracticable. This was recommended as early as in 1970 by a committee. But this was rejected. Even in the other House, the Finance Minister has said that this is unworkable. We should know what practical steps he is going to take....

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN): What is your suggestion?

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: For curbing inflation or for curbing black money?

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: For curbing black money.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: Why not demonetisation? What is wrong about it? Demonetisation, try that. And smuggling must also be prevented. Smugglers all along the coastal line are freely smuggling. Smuggling black money is an international phenomenon. It is not confined to a particular nation. Smuggling, corruption, black money, all these things are an international phenomenon. Our economy is linked with such countries, like West Germany,

America, Britain and France also. So, our people are indulging in these activities. Strong action is, therefore, necessary to curb these things.

Another important point is about concessions "to industries. I have no time to go into details. He has shown some concessions for the lower income groups, that is, by raising the exemption limit of income tax from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 12,000. I welcome that but there is a problem in it. There are some sections of workers middle class employees, whose income is not stable. In some years it may be slightly more than Rs. 13,000 and if he gets Rs. 13,000 in one year, he has to pay income tax on Rs. 5000/-, it starts like that. These are the workers, especially working in ports and docks, in defence industries, etc. There they may not get sufficient income for three years. Even normal wages they do not get. If they get work, they get work for 21 days only. So, in one year if he gets Rs. 13,000, he has to shell out income tax on Rs. 5000. Such marginal cases must be reconciled. There is room for that.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Maharashtra) : What is it? What is the tax on Rs. 13,000?

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: If a dock worker or a port worker gets Rs. 13,000 in a year, he has to pay tax on Rs. 5000 because then he has to calculate from Rs. 8000.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE; That is all right.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: The actual exemption limit is Rs. 8000. It is all right for those categories whose income is stable, beyond Rs. 13,000, but those groups whose income is not so stable, will be put to difficulties. *(Time bell rings)*. One more point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): You have already taken 19 minutes.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: Sir, one more important point. About the problem of these peasants in Tamil Nadu Maharashtra, you must

have heard all these things. When the Government gives concessions to industries, gives them soft loan facilities, what is the crime committed by these peasants? These peasants are confined mostly to non-delta areas. With their own investment they have not been getting a remunerative price for the past ten to fifteen years. They are exploited, sucked, by people like sugar factory owners, textile mill owners, etc. Those peasants are not able to repay the debts. The Government of Tamil Nadu has made certain proposals. It is not a political issue. Even Maharashtra has done it. Mr. Antulay, who has gone there, has made recommendations a few days ago. What is going on in Karnataka? So, it is not a political issue. It is a genuine grievance, especially in Tamil Nadu, of the peasants due to the neglect of their agro and other problems.

One more point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): No, please. I am sorry.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: Regarding financial relations between the States and the Centre \_\_\_\_\_

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): No, please. I am very sorry.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: Give me one minute more. I am very sorry to trouble you. Give me just one minute.

There is disparity in the matter of development in the past ten to fifteen years among States, between State and State. Sir, I do not want to enter into the question of political relations between the Centre and the States, that will be dealt with separately and the Finance Minister is not the person to whom I can address that problem. Even the Seventh Finance Commission has established that there is disparity between State and State in the allocation of Plan expenditure. They have given the figures. It convinces that the difference between the highest-spending

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State and the lowest-spending State has increased from Rs. 77 to Rs. 182 between 1961—64 and 1974—77. What does it show? They do not have much scope for resources. If the Finance Minister examines the tax revenues of all the States, these remain constant between 30 and 33 per cent of the total tax revenues both of the Centre and the States. The State Governments' demand for more resources must be considered sympathetically. Only if the States are strong can the nation's integrity be preserved. I appeal to the Finance Minister who comes from Madras city and from Tamil Nadu State—to which I also belong—to consider these things sympathetically.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Finance Bill. According to me, this year's budget produced by Thiru, RV, perhaps for the first time in the history of post-Independence India, gives reliefs and incentives to almost all sections of the society. The middle class—the dumb section of our society—has received a fair deal. They will have more money in their hands. It gives a powerful boost to savings and investment. It provides fillip to production and export. Sir, I just want to read what The Times of London has said about this budget. It is dated the 19th June, 1980, and I quote:

In its budget announced today, the Gandhi Government took step to revitalise the flagging Indian economy, to encourage business growth and to help the masses of ordinary people suffering the effects of a 20 per cent inflation rate".

At another place, it has said—and I quote:

Given the condition of the Indian economy and the rates of inflation the budget can be seen in the first place as a fire fighting operation".

This is the view of The Times paper of London, it has stated that this budget is a fire-fighting operation due to the fact that the economy was set on fire by the wrong policies of the

previous regimes. Especially we should look at the budget and the Finance Bill in the context of the surroundings in which it was created. We had an extraordinarily bad year. Last year was very bad. The GDP had declined by 3 per cent, farm produce by 10 per cent and the wholesale price index had shot up by 20 per cent. In this situation, the hon. Finance Minister has reduced the budgetary gap of Rs. 2,700 by 50 per cent, which is well founded. Again, the hon'ble Thiru RV has made a bold departure from the conventional lines. Usually when tackling inflation, the normal practice is to impose more taxes so as to reduce the liquidity. But, here, on the contrary he has adopted unconventional methods to tackle inflation. Perhaps the only conventional method is the tax on interest. That is why I would say that the budget is bold, pragmatic, positive and innovative.

I would congratulate the hon'ble Finance Minister for raising the exemption limit of income tax to Rs. 12000. I would further congratulate him for reducing the maximum marginal rate of tax from 72 per cent to 66 per cent. In fact, India is one of the highest taxed nations in the world, because our tax burden is equivalent to 20 per cent of the national income.

Then, Sir, the entire budget is based on the philosophy that by increasing economic activity of the nation, we can get more revenues by lowering the rate of taxation. That is what I think is the philosophy on which his budget proposals are based. It is not that every dose of taxation increases revenue. Some studies have been made. For example, one per cent more taxation which would bring down industrial output by three per cent will increase tax revenue by only Rs. 550 crores. On the other hand, if there is a one per cent reduction in the taxation and if it could boost up industrial growth to eight per cent, then, Sir, the revenue increase is by Rs. 770 crores. That is why, Sir, the hon. Minister has reduced the rates of taxation, the idea being that we should revitalise, we should increase the economic activity. That is

why it is needless to say that all-out efforts should be made to increase production, particularly, production of basic goods.

Sir, the hon. Minister has reduced excise duty on article used by the common man. He has undone what Mr. Charan Singh has done: the harm has been removed. But, at the same time, the special excise duty which was introduced in 1978 on a temporary basis has been given permanence. Sir, in the industrially advanced nations of the East and the West, the relative proportion of direct taxes to indirect taxes is 80:20, that is, 80 per cent would be direct taxes and indirect taxes would be 20 per cent. But here the reverse is true because the good part of the inflationary upsurge is due to cost push and also due to the tax push character. Taxation also is one of the reasons for the increase in prices. A person spending about Rs. 100 per month at the 1973-74 prices on consumption pays about 45.16 per cent of that amount by way of indirect taxes for the goods he buys.

Sir, the National Council of Applied Economic Research has made a study of what is the content of excise duty in the ex-factory prices of a few commodities between 1972-73 and 1975-76. According to that survey, Sir, in the ex-factory price of steel, excise duty content alone is 23.9 to 32.5 per cent. In aluminium the excise duty content is 46.2 to 77.5 per cent; in cement, 13.1 to 30.7 per cent; in truck tyres (rayon), 56.4 to 60.6 per cent. That is why, Sir, we should see how far we can reduce the excise duties on commodities. It may be difficult to reduce drastically the income from indirect taxes, but I would appeal to the hon. Minister that what is required is reform and overhaul of indirect taxes. I would also suggest that a careful selection should be made of items to give relief to the poor people.

Sir, much has been said about section 80J and new section 80-1. Big Business is making a fuss about it all over India. Sir, tax holiday has been on the Statute Book since 1949. At

that time definition of "capital employed" was not laid down in the Income-tax Act but was left to the rules. At that point of time, that is, after 1949 and until 1968, "capital, employed" did not include borrowings. It was very clearly laid down in the rules but then came 1968 when the rules were amended to redefine "capital, employed" to include borrowings. Again, Sir, in the year 1971-72 it was reversed. It was reversed for two reasons. Yesterday, Mr. Salve quoted the Budget Speech of Mr. Chavan but, at the same time, he disputed the remark of the Finance Minister "We got the approval of Parliament." He questioned it—I do not know why—but he himself had quoted from the speech of the then Finance Minister, Mr. Chavan. Mr. Chavan has clearly stated the reasons. The first reason is that the Government felt no justification for it as the interest paid on them was allowed as deduction in computing the taxable income. And the second reason is that the debentures on long-term borrowings do not represent risk capital. So Mr. Chavan said, "It was out of generosity we allowed it and now we are going back on it". I do not know whether it was due to generosity or the Government at that time had been sleeping. But then the rules were amended. But the courts struck down the rules saying they were ultra vires of Act. So I do not know why people are finding fault with this new provision. Sir, what is being done is to clarify the position and reconcile the Rules with the Act. Yesterday, Mr. Salve said—I quote: "Either Mr. Chavan was not correct or Mr. Venkataraman is not correct. Both of them I am sure, on the face of the things, cannot be correct." Sir, I beg to differ with him. Mr. Chavan was right in 1971-72. Later, he proved to be wrong because of it having been struck down by the court rulings. Now what Mr. R. V. has done is to make Mr. Chavan right by stipulating it in the Act itself. Now he has made Mr. Chavan right. I would say to Mr. Salve, that Mr. Chavan was correct and Mr. R. V. is also correct and therefore both of them are correct. I do not know about the retrospective effect. Much has been

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said about it. But I know the experience in Tamil Nadu. In Tamil Nadu people have paid taxes under protest. I am told in the other States it is not so. I do not know about the situation there. In fact, if only the Ministry had applied its mind and incorporated it in the Act, none of the controversies would have arisen. But anyhow I appreciate the attitude of the hon. Minister. He has plugged the loophole. The legislative intention at that point of time was very clear. So I would congratulate the hon. Minister because he is sticking to his guns—and I would appreciate that.

Another thing, regarding the tax holiday, the base has been shifted from capital to profits. Under the new scheme the income eligible for tax holiday will be computed as a percentage of profits instead of capital. Here also there is a lot of opposition from the big business houses. I do not know the reason. Sir, recently, I have read an article in the Economic and Political Weekly. It is a very good article. They have gone into the matter. According to that study, they have assumed that the so-called capital-intensive industry starts making profits about 18 to 2 years after. They have made the calculations based on 2 years, although mostly it is 18 years. Secondly the Reserve Bank of India has made an elaborate study for company finances and has shown that in many of the industries the gross profit is about 30 per cent. At that time the period was not raised to eight years; at that time it was seven years, when this study was made. So they have made two assumptions. An. industry will be making a profit within two years and the rate of profit will be 30 per cent. If you compare the present scheme whose base has been shifted to profit with the old scheme whose base was capital, the difference is only 1.5 per cent of points. Now the Finance Minister has increased the period of Tax Holiday to eight years. That means, if we compare this scheme with the old scheme, the difference is only negligible. I do not know why people are making a lot of noise regarding

this. The benefits have not been diluted. In fact, some capital-intensive industries, if they feel any problem, can tomorrow come to the Minister for some Excise duty concessions. But instead I do not know why they are completely attacking the present proposal. The Dandekar Committee has recently produced its report preferring a move like this. Because of the present scheme, the bias in the capital intensive industry has been removed. I support this move. Moreover, in the early years of planning we needed about 3.5 units of capital to get one unit of output. Now the capital-output ratio is 6:1. That is why, Sir, I would appreciate it. We should harness the technical and entrepreneurial skill to reduce thla.

Regarding the convertibility clause, the financial institutions are not allowed now to take more than 40 per cent of the share capital. They can opt for securing only 40 per cent of the share capital. I think, Sir, it is a good move. In fact, when Dutt Committee came forward with the suggestion that the financial institutions should acquire the share capital, I was one of the persons who supported it. At that time we thought that the financial institutions would be there as watch-dogs of the funds provided. But what happened? In fact, if you look at it, the IDBI is financing those industries. And if you look at the picture of the top 18 houses, you will find that they are getting a lion's share of the funds provided so that the small units are not taken care of. Now the total sanctions of the IDBI has exceeded a thousand, crore mark. The amount handled by the IDBI is much more than the budgeted amount of certain States. What happens? They have no responsibility. In the name of autonomy they are free and its Chairman controls the entire lendings. We have abolished the privy purses. We have abolished the maha-rajahs, and a maharaja of the Air-India is there as a symbol. But here in India we have created new maharajahs in the heads of the IDBI and other institutions, and specially the Chairman of the IDBI is the leader of the financial institutions. He presides over the

inter-institutional meetings of the LIC, the UTI, the IFC and other things. What are they doing? Even while they are doing their jobs, they are seeking berths after retirement. If you go into the directorships of many of the companies, you can see the retired officials and their friends are found on the boards of directors of the assisted companies. They have become a colossus. We should have some control because they should not, in the name of acquiring shares, resort to back-door nationalisation. If you want to nationalise an industry, the President would issue an ordinance or in Parliament we should pass a Bill. What was going on was that these financial institutions people were adopting techniques of back-door nationalisation which is not the policy of the elected Government. Therefore, I would say that the powers of these people should be curbed in the sense that they should be made accountable to Parliament.

SHRI B. N. BANERJEE (Nominated) : Sir, we had discussion on the General Budget, we had discussion on the Appropriation Bill and we had discussion on the price-rise. Sir, we have come to the last leg of the financial business before Parliament, and this is the Finance Bill. I propose to restrict my observations only to the Finance Bill proper, and the theme I am speaking will be the Finance Bill and the common man.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI (Uttar Pradesh): Very good.

SHRI B. N. BANERJEE: Sir, on the 18th of June when the Finance Minister rose in the Lok Sabha to present his Budget, there was general apprehension in the country that he would administer a very heavy dose of taxation. But when the Finance Minister turned to Part B of his speech which deals with the taxation proposals, there was a general sigh of relief, and everybody in the country excluding perhaps the most die-hard pessimists, congratulated the Finance Minister for the deft manner in which he formulated his taxation proposals which came definitely as a relief to the middle-class

men, the industrial workers and all the other fixed-income group people. It may not possibly be too much—I am not saying what happened after the Budget—if it is said that no Finance Minister during the recent years did so much particularly in respect of indirect taxation so far as the middle-class persons are concerned. Sir, the Finance Minister's announcement in the Lok Sabha that the exemption limit for tax on personal income would be raised from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 12,000 was greeted with loud cheers from all sections of the House. And it was also received with cheers outside Parliament. Also another announcement bringing down the surcharge from 20 per cent to 10 per cent was greeted with cheers. Sir, I do not know what prompted Shri Charan Singh to raise the surcharge to 20 per cent. So, these two things were greeted by everybody. Sir, if one remembers that a salaried person gets a standard deduction of 20 per cent and also a 100 per cent deduction up to Rs. 5,000 and at a little reduced rate for the subsequent contribution which he makes towards provident fund and life insurance, it will be realised that the cumulative effect of all this is that a salaried employee who receives a salary of Rs. 1,300 to Rs. 1,400 per month which, judged by the general standard of income in India, is considered to be a fairly respectable salary, will not have to pay any income-tax. If he pays at least Rs. 150, which he does, by way of provident fund contribution per month, or by way of insurance premium or both together, then he does not pay a single paise on account of income-tax. Sir, after all, why not a person who earns Rs. 1,500 or so per month pay a small part—I should say, a very small part—of his salary as income-tax? Why should he be denied the satisfaction of at least contributing his mite for raising resources for the general development of the nation? Sir, most of us last year were surprised when the then Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister, Shri Charan Singh, made an amendment under section 80C of the Income-tax Act. This section, as you know, enables some deductions to be made on account of long-term sav-

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ings. It is good that the Finance Minister, Mr. Venkataraman, has restored this particular provision to the pre-1979 level. Sir, this will give a lot of relief to the middle class and salaried employees and it will also encourage long-term savings.

Sir, on the 31st March we raised the question about standard deduction for pensioners in the House. The Finance Minister said, "It is under consideration." Sir, I happen to be a pensioner, and the pensioners are very happy that the Finance Minister has understood the hardship of the pensioners and has agreed to grant the standard deduction to the pensioners also. Sir, in fact, some of the Income-tax Appellate Tribunals said that the pensioners were entitled to this benefit. But some circular—these circulars cause the difficulty—issued by the Board of Direct Taxes to the Income-tax Officers prevented the pensioners from getting this relief. Sir, since he has given this relief, I would not further dwell on the subject. I would touch one very small matter which concerns Members of Parliament. As you know, under the Constitution a Member of Parliament is entitled to a salary as may be provided by Parliament by law. That is the constitutional provision. Under the Members of Parliament (Salaries and Allowances) Act, Members are entitled to a salary of Rs. 500/- per month. The phraseology both in the Constitution and also in the Salaries and Allowances Act is the same. The term used is 'salary'. If that is so, I should think that the hon. Finance Minister should have no difficulty in assuring us that so far as the salary of the Members of Parliament is concerned, this standard deduction of 20 per cent is available. I hope he will not be misled by the advice given by his officers there. The history of this can be traced to late Mr. C. C. Desai. Originally, when the Salaries and Allowances Act came into operation, the Lok Sabha Secretariat was deducting in-

come tax from the Member's 'salary'. The reason was that this was salary and therefore this was done. 'Salary' does not always mean master and servant. In both the Acts, the word used is 'salary', Mr. C. C. Desai said you cannot make any deduction. Somehow a circular came again issued by the Board of Direct Taxes, called the Central Board of Revenue then describing it as "other income". Whatever it may be, after the Finance Minister proposed revision of two clauses "in respect of expenditure incidental to the employment of the assessee" and "derived from such employment", in clause (i) of section 16 of the Act there should be no difficulty for the Finance Minister to assure us on the floor of the House itself that this standard deduction is also available in appropriate cases to the Members of Parliament. The history of this standard deduction is that it was given to compensate for transport expenditure and things like that for coming to office and going back. Even if you give this 20 per cent deduction to Members of Parliament, it will come to Rs. 1200/- a year. Members of Parliament spend much more than that, even if they come by scooter every day from their houses to the Parliament House and go back in the same way. There should be no difficulty for the Finance Minister to give us this assurance.

The Finance Minister has appreciated that owing to the steep rise in prices of assets some concession should be given under the Wealth Tax Act and accordingly he felt that the exemption limit upto Rs. 1 lakh needed a revision upto 1-5 lakhs. My point is that if rise in prices of the assets is the reason of the Finance Minister in giving this concession, it would be more rational that the exemption limit should be raised to Rs. 2 lakhs. If you go by principle and if you calculate the rise in prices of assets, I would say that even Rs. 2 lakhs will not be sufficient. But I



will be satisfied if it is made Rs. 2 lakhs. This is a suggestion for the next budget.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: What about Estate duty?

SHRI B. N. BANERJEE: I will refer to it. In the beginning I said I would confine myself to the Finance Bill.

You will no doubt remember that in the Gift Tax Act enacted in 1954 or 1956, the exemption limit for gifts made by spouse, that is, by husband to wife or by wife to husband, but generally by husband to wife, was Rs. 1 lakh for the whole life time. For some reason or other, it was later on reduced to Rs. 50,000/-. If in 1954 or 1956 the exemption limit was Rs. 1 lakh, why not raise this limit when it is admitted by every body that there is a fall in the value of rupee. What is this exemption? It is for a gift which the husband makes to his wife for her provision. Is this amount of Rs. 50,000/- sufficient for her whole life? This is not fair. So, he has to think also on this point.

5 P.M.

Then Sir, the third thing is this. Two years back, we were told in this House—probably by Mr. Patel—that the exemption limit in the case of Estate Duty was fifty thousand rupees and that it would be raised to one lakh. Two years have passed now and nothing has been done. The ways of the Government—I am not saying whether of this Government or some other Government—are very peculiar. When any report makes any recommendation about some relief or even if the Government itself makes an assurance on the floor of the House, it takes years and years to give that relief. But if you say that a Committee has made a recommendation for enhancing income tax or such and such a Committee has recommended an enhancement in this or that rate of tax, then, Sir, even without waiting for the final report of that committee, they immediately come to the House for imposing that

tax. This is the way of every Government. That this Government seems to be wedded to action and, therefore, I would expect that true to their action-oriented policy, they would not waste any time in implementing the suggestion of raising the limit from fifty thousand to one lakh rupees.

Now, Sir, I may refer to the indirect taxes. On customs duty, Sir, I will have to say one thing. The Minister has made changes in the Baggage rules. I congratulate him. If you know the hardship that was caused to the passengers previously because of the cumbersome and time-consuming procedures and by the litigation and fines, etc., you will see that it was too much. For any passenger, the Finance Minister has now proposed that he can bring goods up to one thousand from abroad free of duty. For next two thousand rupees, there is a duty of 150 per cent and beyond three thousand and above, the duty is 350 per cent. If somebody wants to waste his money and pay the duty, then let him bring beyond three thousand rupees' worth of articles. In this process, Sir, the Finance Minister expects Rs. 20 crores or so a year. But there is one point in this which causes real difficulty to the tourists, particularly to the Indian citizens working abroad and coming to India on a holiday or for seeing their\* relations, etc. Our embassies abroad—I think you have also had experience of visits outside the country—and our consulates do not keep any information on this subject and when somebody asks them as to what our baggage regulations are or what the import regulations are, they always give the wrong information. Therefore, Sir, I have got a suggestion to make to the honourable Finance Minister and it is very easy to implement it. Why should he not see that they make small pamphlets in a non-technical language indicating that these are the baggage rules and give them in sufficient numbers to our embassies and consulates? He should also give them to the airlines particularly to our national airline,

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Air-India, so that any tourist, when he wants to know what the rules are in this regard, can be given this; this pamphlet can be handed over to him. Sir, this suggestion is very easy to implement.

Now, Sir, I come to the other forms of indirect taxation and it is about the Excise Duty. Sir, he has given a number of concessions and I need not go into the details. I would mention only about one thing. As you know, in respect of a number of items, about 70 or so, clearance free of duty was permissible up to five lakhs and beyond five lakhs, up to 15 lakhs at the normal duty. For the small-scale industries and for the small manufacturers, the duty was at a particular rate. The Finance Minister has done very well to say that for clearance above five lakhs and up to 15 lakhs.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Dinesh Goswami) in the chair.] The duty will not be at the appli-cab'e rate but it will be at 75 per cent of that and this he has said in his Budget speech. He has said that if he has to check concentration of economic power, he will have to do something more for the small-scale industries. Sir, my submission to the Finance Minister on this subject would be to raise the limit of free clearance for the small-scale people from Rs. 5 lakhs to Rs. 7.5 lakhs, and for clearance above Rs. 7.5 lakhs upto 15 lakhs the duty should not be three-fourths as it is now proposed by the Finance Minister but it should be half of the normal duty. Even then there will not be sufficient sacrifice of revenue. But this will give a lot of impetus to the small-scale people.

Sir, I should not fail to mention the other benefits which the Finance Minister has given to small manufacturers of goods falling under residuary item 68 of the Central Excise Tariff. In the last years Budget, without any rhyme or reason, the quantum of 1 duty-frt'9 allowance was reduced by

Chaudhury Charan Singh from Rs. 30 lakhs to Rs. 15 lakhs and this caused a lot of hardship to small manufacturers. It is gratifying to note that the hon. Finance Minister has removed this hardship and provided complete exemption for clearance up to Rs. 30 lakhs per annum.

Sir, one more word and I have done. The hon. Finance Minister has given several excise duty concessions and he expected in his Budget speech that these benefits will be passed on to the actual consumers. Now, Sir, what is the actual experience? The experience has shown, and the Finance Minister has also admitted in the other House, that these benefits are not being passed on to the actual consumers. He has made an appeal to traders. Sir, I am afraid his advice and appeal to the traders will hardly bear any fruit. The traders believe only in their personal profits. Sir, the Finance Minister has to act with a very strong hand and deal with the class of persons who are responsible for the rising price. Sir, for this he has enough powers under the laws of the land. And I am pretty sure that the measures which the Finance Minister takes for the purpose of curbing this price rise will not only have the support of both Houses of Parliament, but possibly from all sides of the House and also of the entire country. Sir, the electorate returned the ruling' party in the last parliamentary election and in the recent State Assembly elections with an overwhelming majority. So the electorate have every reason to hope and expect that the Government will successfully control this inflationary trend and check the rising prices. As we all know, Sir this was one of the main planks of the election manifesto of the ruling party. Sir, I know that it may be difficult to reduce prices, but there is no reason why the Government should not at least succeed in stabilising the prices. If you cannot even stabilise the present state now and if you allow price rise further and then say, 'we are stabilising' by that time the whole mischief is already done. Sir, how

the Government should check the prices it is the concern and duty of the Government. Sir, the people of the country, are only interested in the result.

With these observations, Sir, I support the Finance Bill.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Mr. Kalp Nath Tai. You have got only 15 minutes.

श्री कल्प नाथ राय : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो फाइनेंस बिल प्रस्तुत किया है, मैं उसके समर्थन के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो बजट प्रस्तुत किया उसकी सारे देश के पैमाने पर प्रशंसा की गई और सारे देश में कहा गया और विरोधी पार्टी के नेताओं ने भी कहा कि यह बजट आम जनता को राहत पहुंचाने वाला बजट है। सरकार ने कुछ अच्छे कदम भी उठाये हैं लेकिन कुछ कदम ऐसे हैं जिन बातों से हम सहमत नहीं हैं। जनता सरकार की तरफ से फूड फार वर्क स्कीम गांवों में जो लागू की गई थी उसके लिये 450 करोड़ रुपया इयर मार्क किया गया। जनता पार्टी के लोग यह कहते हैं कि यह स्कीम हमने चलाई है। लेकिन फूड फार वर्क स्कीम 1976 में बनी थी और उसका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन होने वाला था लेकिन उसी समय कांग्रेस आउट आफ पावर हो गई। फिर हम इस स्कीम को लागू करने जा रहे हैं। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस के माध्यम से हमने कोऑपरेटिव सेक्टर के माध्यम से देश में आम जनता को पैसा देने के सम्बन्ध में भी विचार किया है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि बजट में कहा गया है कि टेलीविजन के दाम हम कम करेंगे, रेडियों के दाम कम करेंगे, टूथ पेस्ट के दाम कम करेंगे। यह मुल्क 7

लाख गांवों में बसने वालों का मुल्क है। लेकिन वित्त मंत्री महोदय की तरफ से प्रोडक्शन ओरियन्टेड एकानामी के सम्बन्ध में जो बात कही जानी चाहिए थी वह नहीं कही गयी। यानी इस देश में 7 लाख गांवों में लोग रहते हैं। उनका मुख्य पेशा खेती है।

India is the richest country where the poorest people live.

हिन्दुस्तान दुनिया का सबसे धनी देश है जहाँ सबसे गरीब व्यक्ति रहते हैं। श्री हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने, प्लानिंग कमीशन ने बताया कि 35 करोड़ लोग पावर्टी लाइन के नीचे रहते हैं। इन लोगों के जीवन स्तर में कैसे सुधार होगा, इन लोगों के जीवन यापन की आवश्यक चीजें कैसे मिलेंगी, ये कुछ प्रश्न हैं, जिसका हल इस सरकार को ढूँढना है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, पावर्टी और अन-इम्प्लाइमेंट, निर्धनता और बेकारी ये दो ऐसे राक्षस हैं जो हमारी सारी योजनाओं को एक दम बेकार करने पर लगे हुए हैं। इस मुल्क में निर्धनता कैसे दूर की जाय, इस मुल्क में बेकारी की समस्या को कैसे हल किया जाय? उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अमेरिका के पास डालर है, दुनिया के अन्य मुल्कों के पास डॉलर है, हिन्दुस्तान के पास मैन पावर है। मनी पावर का यूटिलाइजेशन कैसे किया जाय, जल शक्ति का इस्तेमाल राष्ट्र के विकास के लिये कैसे किया जाय इस प्रश्न का हल ढूँढना चाहिए और इसके लिए बजट में व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिए। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस मुल्क में जहाँ 35 करोड़ लोग बेकार हैं और पावर्टी लाइन के नीचे रहते हैं उनका जीवन स्तर कैसे ऊँचा हो, इस प्रश्न के ऊपर भी सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिए। सबसे बड़ी बात, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह है कि इस मुल्क में जैसा कि हमने कहा है कि डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिस्ट रिपब्लिक

[ श्री कल्प नाथ राय ]

है। हमने अपने मुल्क के संविधान में इस बात की व्यवस्था की है कि हिन्दुस्तान डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिस्ट रिपब्लिक होगा। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि छोटी मर्दों और बड़ी मर्दों में क्या फर्क होगा? क्या हम एक और दस का फर्क स्थापित करेंगे या एक या 20 का रिश्ता कायम करेंगे, या एक या 40 का रिश्ता कायम करेंगे, एक और 50 का रिश्ता कायम करेंगे या एक और 100 का रिश्ता कायम करेंगे? यह एक सवाल है जिसके ऊपर इस सरकार को विचार करना चाहिए कि छोटी मर्दों में और बड़ी मर्दों के बीच क्या रिश्ता होगा। हमने समाजवादी समाज की व्यवस्था का सपना देखा है हमने अपने संविधान में इस बात की घोषणा की है और अपने चुनाव घोषणा पत्र में कहा है कि समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना हमारा लक्ष्य है। हमने अपने संविधान के प्रियम्बल में कहा है कि हम डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिस्ट रिपब्लिक स्थापित करेंगे। तो हमने क्या इस बजट के माध्यम से उन लक्ष्यों को, उन आदर्शों को प्राप्त करने की क्या हमने कोशिश की है? मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय से यह जानना चाहता हूँ और मैं यह नहीं कहता कि हमारा जो बजट है वह जनता सरकार या लोकदल सरकार के बजट की तरह है। लोकदल की सरकार या जनता सरकार की जनघाती और राष्ट्रघाती नीतियों के कारण हमारे देश की अर्थव्यवस्था चौपट हुई है जिसको ठीक करने के लिये देश की जनता ने उन पर विश्वास किया था और उनको सत्ता दी थी। लेकिन जब उन्होंने जनता की आशाओं के अनुकूल काम नहीं किया तो तीन वर्ष के अन्दर इस देश की जनता ने उनको उखाड़ फेंका। हमने अपने बजट, अपनी नीतियों में प्लान्ड इकोनोमी के जो लक्ष्य निर्धारित किए, प्लानिंग

कमीशन के माध्यम से कमांडिंग सेक्टर आफ इकोनोमी का लक्ष्य निर्धारित किया, अपने मुल्क में मिक्स्ड इकोनोमी के सिद्धान्त को स्वीकार किया, हमने अपने मुल्क के अन्दर जहाँ कोर सेक्टर को मजबूत किया वहाँ हमने प्राइवेट सेक्टर को भी फलने-फूलने का मौका दिया। लेकिन पिछले 25-30 वर्षों की योजना के परिणामस्वरूप नियोजित अर्थव्यवस्था के परिणामस्वरूप जो बजट हम प्रस्तुत करते रहे उनके परिणामस्वरूप हमारे मुल्क की अर्थव्यवस्था अन्य देशों के मुकाबले में कितनी मजबूत हुई, यह सवाल आज हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था के लिए चुनौती बन कर खड़ा हुआ है। दुनिया के एक हिस्से में जहाँ पूँजीवादी अर्थव्यवस्था कायम है, दुनिया के एक हिस्से में जहाँ पूँजीवादी अर्थव्यवस्था को स्वीकार किया गया है, दुनिया के एक दूसरे हिस्से में जहाँ कम्युनिस्ट अर्थव्यवस्था को स्वीकार किया गया वहाँ हमने अपने देश में समता पर आधारित समाजवादी अर्थव्यवस्था को स्वीकार किया है, मिश्रित अर्थव्यवस्था को स्वीकार किया है। हमने रूस और अमरीका से अलग साम्यवाद और पूँजीवाद की गुदगुदी गोद से हट कर अर्थव्यवस्था में नयी दुनिया के निर्माण का सपना देखा है वह जनतांत्रिक, समाजवादी मूल्यों के आधार पर आधारित होगा। हमारे राष्ट्र ने तरक्की की है, हमारे मुल्क ने तरक्की की है लेकिन दुनिया के अन्य मुल्कों की अपेक्षा हमारी तरक्की क्या हुई है? हमारे मुल्क में 65 करोड़ की जनसंख्या है। रूसी अर्थव्यवस्था का निर्माण 63 वर्ष से आईरन-कर्टन के अन्तर्गत हुआ। सारी दुनिया को लूट कर अमरीकी अर्थव्यवस्था का निर्माण हुआ। ढाई सौ वर्षों में अमरीकी पूँजीवादी अर्थव्यवस्था का निर्माण हुआ। 63 वर्षों में आईरन-कर्टन में विश्वास करने वाली कम्युनिस्ट अर्थव्यवस्था ने जन्म लिया। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, रूस की आवादी 6 करोड़ है, अमरीका की आवादी 22 करोड़ है। रूस का क्षेत्रफल हिन्दुस्तान से सात

गुना बढ़ा है और अमरीका का क्षेत्रफल चार गुना बढ़ा है। हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर 1947 के बाद हमने एक नये रूस और नये अमरीका को जोड़ लिया है। हमारे देश की बढ़ती हुई जनसंख्या के कारण बढ़ती हुई जनसंख्या के राक्षस ने हमारी तरक्की के शिशु को एकदम निगल लिया है। हमारी जो तरक्की का शिशु है जनसंख्या के बढ़ते हुए राक्षस ने उसको निगल लिया है। इस बजट में जनसंख्या को रोकने के लिए जो युद्ध स्तर पर प्रयास किया जाना चाहिए उसकी व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है। मैं इस सरकार को यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि देश की सभी राजनीतिक पार्टियों में भी इस सवाल पर एक राष्ट्रीय मतैक्य स्थापित करना पड़ेगा। जहाँ पर देश की विदेश-नीति में सभी राजनीतिक दलों ने नात-अलाइनमेंट की नीति को स्वीकार किया है उसी तरह इस मुल्क की पापुलेशन कंट्रोल के प्रश्न पर भी सभी राजनीतिक दलों को एक नयी पालिसी स्वीकार करनी होगी। जब तक जनसंख्या के राक्षस को हम रोक नहीं पायेंगे तब तक हम जनता की तरक्की और खुशहाली की गारन्टी नहीं कर सकते। इस बजट के माध्यम से पापुलेशन को रोकने के लिए देश में जो पापुलेशन के मामले में जो एक्सप्लोजन हुआ है उसको रोकने के लिए कोई ठोस एवं समयबद्ध कार्यक्रम नहीं अपनाया गया है। जितने पैसे की व्यवस्था इस बजट के माध्यम से होनी चाहिए उसकी व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है। मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय से यह जानना चाहूँगा कि इस देश की जनता को जिन्दा रखने के लिए पापुलेशन कंट्रोल के प्रश्न पर इस सरकार ने क्या काम किया है, उसकी बिल क्या है, सरकार किस तरह से पापुलेशन को रोकना चाहती है।

इस मुल्क में बेकारी की समस्या है। हमने प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना, द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना, तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना, चतुर्थ पंचवर्षीय योजना इस मुल्क में लागू की। छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना पर प्लानिंग

कमीशन विचार कर रहा है। बेकारी की समस्या लगातार बढ़ती गई। हमारे देश में लगातार पड़े लिखे बेकार और बिना पड़े लिखे बेकार लोगों की संख्या बढ़ती जा रही है। इस समस्या को हल करने के लिए सरकार ने इस बजट में कौन सी व्यवस्था की है? जब तक हिन्दुस्तान में मैनपावर यूटीलाइजेशन के संबंध में सरकार ठोस एवं समयबद्ध कार्यक्रम नहीं बनाती तब तक इस देश के अन्दर कभी भी हम खुशहाली को प्राप्त नहीं कर सकते। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हम सरकार की सराहना करते हैं कि उसने फूड फार वर्क स्कीम के अन्तर्गत करीब पांच सौ करोड़ रुपये की व्यवस्था की है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, फूड फार वर्क स्कीम के अन्तर्गत हिन्दुस्तान के ग्रामीण इलाकों के जो पड़े लिखे लोग नहीं हैं, उनकी तो व्यवस्था होगी, किन्तु जो पड़े लिखे बेकारों की संख्या में दिन-दूनी रात-चौगुनी रफ्तार से वृद्धि हो रही है, उसके लिये हम कौन सा हल ढूँढ़ेंगे?

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कृषि के संबंध में मुझे आपसे निवेदन करना है कि हिन्दुस्तान एक कृषि प्रधान देश है। इस मुल्क की कृषि को जब तक हम एक आकर्षक पेशे के रूप में प्रस्तुत नहीं करते तब तक इस मुल्क की बेकारी की समस्या हल नहीं हो सकती है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, वित्त मंत्री जी ने टेलीविजन के दाम को कम करने की बात की, उन्होंने रेडियो के दाम कम करने की बात की, ट्यूबपेस्ट के दाम कम करने की बात की लेकिन उनके दिमाग में हिन्दुस्तान के गांवों में काम करने वाले आदमी के लिए जो ट्रैक्टर हैं उनके दाम कम करने की तरफ बात नहीं आयी। हिन्दुस्तान के किसान जो पम्पिंग सेट्स के माध्यम से, डीजल से, जो खेतों में पानी पहुंचता है, उनका ध्यान, उसके दाम कम करने की तरफ नहीं गया। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज हमारे देश के किसान बिजली के माध्यम से सिंचाई करते हैं, उसका कम रेट करने की तरफ उनका ध्यान

[ श्री रूप नाथ राय ]

नहीं गया। तो सरकार का नजरिया क्या है। ( Time bell rings ) क्या सरकार अरबन इलाईट को बढ़ाना चाहती है हिन्दुस्तान के सात लाख गांवों में रहने वाले किसानों के समन्वय की नीति अपना रही है ? उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज देश के सात लाख गांवों में जिस तरह से कर्ज की समस्या है, सारे गांव के गांव के लोग कर्ज से भरे हुए हैं। महाराष्ट्र की सरकार ने या कर्नाटक की सरकार ने स्माल फार्मर्स या मारजिनल फार्मर्स को डेट रिलीफ देने की जो बात कही है वह बिल्कुल सामयिक कदम है। आज देश के किसानों के ऊपर कर्ज का भार इतना तेजी से बढ़ता जा रहा है कि यदि देश के किसानों को खुशहाल करने की कोशिश नहीं की गयी और एग्रीकल्चरल सेक्टर को रिम्पून्-रेटिव प्राईवेज देकर के देश के किसानों को और किसानों को एक आकर्षक पेशा नहीं बनाया गया तो देश के गांव उजड़ जायेंगे और हिन्दुस्तान की अर्थ-व्यवस्था की रचना गांव को खुशहाल बनाने की नहीं हो सकती है। हम योरोप के ढांचे पर, इंग्लैंड, अमेरिका या रूस की अर्थ-व्यवस्था के आधार पर हिन्दुस्तान का निर्माण नहीं कर सकते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान की परिस्थितियों और हिन्दुस्तान की समस्याओं को मद्देनजर रखते हुए हमें समता पर आधारित नये समाजवादी समाज की रचना करनी होगी जिसमें गांव तथा गांव में खेती करने वाले छोटे किसानों और मध्यम वर्ग के किसानों को तथा बड़े किसानों को हम मजबूत कर सकते हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मार्क्स ने अपनी किताब में लिखा है कि जब किसी मुल्क में पूँजीवादी अर्थव्यवस्था का निर्माण होता है तो एग्रीकल्चरल सेक्टर का शोषण होता है : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, वर्तमान वजट में एग्रीकल्चरल सेक्टर को काफी टैक्स करने की कोशिश की गयी है। आज कोई भी किसान ट्रैक्टर लेने की हैसियत नहीं

रखता कोई भी किसान डीजल पर आधारित पम्पिंग सेट नहीं खरीद सकता है, कोई भी किसान ट्रैक्टर नहीं लगा सकता। आज छोटे किसानों की हालत प्राईस फ्लक्चुरेशन के कारण दिन प्रति दिन खराब होता जा रहा है। जब किसान अपने खेत में अन्न पैदा करेगा तो मिट्टी के दाम बिकने लगेगा, जब किसान अपने खेत में प्याज पैदा करेगा तो मिट्टी के दाम प्याज बिकने लगेगा, जब गेहूं पैदा करेगा तो उसका भी प्राईस नहीं मिलेगा। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब सरकार ने फर्टिलाइजर के प्राईसेज को बढ़ा दिया है, दुगने तिगुने फर्टिलाइजर के दाम बड़े हैं और नाइट्रोजनिक फर्टिलाइजर का दाम दुगना हो गया है जिसके कारण किसान का कमर टूट गयी है, तो मैं सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि सेल्फ रिलायण्ट इकनामी को बिल्ड-अप करने के लिए कोर सेक्टर इकनामी को जहाँ सरकार प्राथमिकता देती है वहीं सरकार को हिन्दुस्तान के सात लाख गांवों में बसने वाले किसानों और उनके साथियों को मजबूत करने के संबंध में कड़ा कदम उठाना चाहिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारी पार्टी ने चुनाव घोषणापत्र में कहा है कि हम 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम को पूरा करेंगे। हमारा लक्ष्य होगा 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत लैंड रिफार्म का, 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत हाऊस फार द होम-लेस आता है, 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत डेट रिलीफ आता है, 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत हिन्दुस्तान की सोशियो-इकनामिक क्रान्ति की बात आती है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इन 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रमों को हम कैसे पूरा करेंगे। उन 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रमों को पूरा करने के लिए सबसे जरूरी बात है कि जो हमने बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया है, जब तक बैंकों को हम हिन्दुस्तान के गांव-गांव में नहीं खोलेंगे। जब तक मार्ग बैंक नहीं खोले जाते हैं और उसके माध्यम से जब तक फंड बीमा

योजना को लागू नहीं किया जाता, तब तक बीस-सूत्री कार्यक्रम के लक्ष्य को कभी हम पूरा नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसलिए किसी भी दल का जो चुनाव घोषणा-पत्र होता है वह जनता को अदालत में दिया गया हलफनामा होता है, वचन होता है। तो हमने अपने चुनाव घोषणा-पत्र में बीस-सूत्री कार्यक्रम को प्राथमिकता देकर उसको पूरा करने का वचन दिया है। तो वर्तमान बजट के माध्यम से बीस-सूत्री कार्यक्रम को कैसे पूरा कर सकेंगे, वित्त मंत्री जी को इस सदन को जवाब देना चाहिए।

मेरा आखिरी निवेदन है कि ग्रामीण इलाकों में भारी मात्रा में ग्रामीण बैंकों की स्थापना करके भूमिहीनों को भूमि देने के संबंध में जो नीति है, अब किसी को भूमि मिल जाएगी तो ब्रैल कहां से मिलेगा, उसकी जुताई कैसे होगी, कैसे भूमिहीन खेत को जंतेंगे? उस ग्रामीण बैंकों से कम इंटरेस्ट पर पैसा चाहिए। अगर भूमिहीनों के घर की व्यवस्था है, तो उसे हाऊस साईट दिया जाता है, पर घर निर्माण के लिए पैसा वहां से मिलेगा। अगर कोई कर्जा भुक्ति का कारण बनाना है और मनी-लैंडर उसको लूटने के चक्कर में पड़े हैं, तो उसको कहा ये मदद मिलेगी? जबतक इस बीस-सूत्री कार्यक्रम को पूरा करने के लिए इन ग्रामीण बैंकों का इस्तेमाल मुल्क में सोशो-इकनामिक रैवोल्यूशन के लिए नहीं किया जाता तो फिर काम नहीं चलेगा।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Please conclude.

श्री कल्याण राय : आखिरी बात बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण हिन्दुस्तान में किया गया था समाजवाद की आधारशिला-देश को प्रधान मंत्रोंने कहा था कि बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण समाजवाद की आधारशिला होगा। पर जब से बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण हुआ, उन बैंकों की पूंजी का इस्तेमाल क्या

हिन्दुस्तान के पावर्टी लाइन के नाचे रहने वाले व्यक्तियों को ज़िंदगी को सुधारने के लिये किया गया, या गरीब बुनकरों को ज़िंदगी को सुधारने के लिए किया गया या स्माल फार्मर्स, भाजिनल फार्मर्स को ज़िंदगी को सुधारने के लिए किया गया? इन बैंकों की पूंजी का इस्तेमाल तो मोनोपली हाऊसेज और कैपिटलिस्ट क्लास ने किया। इस सवाल के ऊपर भी विचार करना है।

जहां तक मैं जानता हूँ, हिन्दुस्तान में जब बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया गया, तो वह भारी मात्रा में कैपिटलिस्ट क्लास और मोनोपली हाऊसेज के लिये किया गया। इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय इस सदन के अंदर इस बात का धोखा करें कि जो हमने बीस-सूत्री कार्यक्रम को अपने आधारशिला रखा है, हम बैंकों की पूंजी का इस्तेमाल हिन्दुस्तान के चालीस पचास करोड़ गरीब जनता की आर्थिक और सामाजिक ज़िंदगी को सुधारने के लिये इस्तेमाल करेंगे और हिन्दुस्तान के मोनोपली हाऊसेज और कैपिटलिस्ट क्लास को कम-जोर करने के लिए और उनकी पूंजी को घटाने की कोशिश करेंगे। जब तक अमीरी का पहाड़ गिराया नहीं जाता, निर्धनता की खाई नहीं पट सकती है। समता-मूलक समाज की स्थापना के लिये हमें पूंजीवाद के पहाड़ की ढहाना होगा और गरीबी की खाई को पाटना होगा।

आज हिन्दुस्तान में सरकार का परिवर्तन हुआ

(Time bell rings)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Please conclude.

श्री कल्याण राय : कांग्रेस की सरकार गई, जनता पार्टी और लोक दल की सरकारें आईं। देश को जनता के मन में

[श्री कल्पनाथ राय]

यह आस्था थी कि हम से अच्छी सरकार जनता की और लोक दल की आयेगी। तीन वर्षों के दौरान इस मुल्क की जनता ने अहसास किया कि कांग्रेस से भी कई हजार गुणा खराब जनता और लोक दल की सरकारें हैं।

यही कारण कि हम नेगेटिव वोट के बल पर सत्ता में पुनः आ गये। लेकिन सत्ता का आदान प्रदान नेगेटिव वोटों के बल पर ही नहीं होगा। अगर इस मुल्क में सोशलिज्म को जिंदा रखना है, समता पर आधारित जनतांत्रिक व्यवस्था की स्थापना करनी है, वेलफेयर स्टेट की स्थापना करनी है, गांधी जी, नेहरू जी और श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के सपनों के समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना करनी है—हमने संविधान की कसम खाई है कि हम डेमोक्रेटिक, सोशलिस्ट रिपब्लिक की रक्षा करेंगे और यह हमने पार्लियामेंट का मेम्बर होने के साथ शपथ खाई, तो क्या डेमोक्रेटिक, सोशलिस्ट रिपब्लिक की स्थापना की दिशा में इस बजट से वह लक्ष्य पूरा होता है क्या हमने जो चुनाव घोषणा-पत्र में देश की जनता को वायदा किया कि हम समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना करेंगे, वे लक्ष्य और धारणा इस बजट से पूरे होते हैं।

तो मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि वे समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना के लिये, वे निश्चित बीसमुन्नी कार्यक्रम को पूरा करने के लिये बजट के

माध्यम से मुल्क की गरीब जनता के जीवन को सुखी बनाने के लिये वे इस बकिंग सिस्टम का इस्तेमाल करें और इस बजट के माध्यम से इस देश का गरीब वर्ग मजबूत हो, पूँजीवादी क्लास कमजोर हो, यही मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करता हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Shri Dhahe. You have got twelve minutes.

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this Finance Bill which we are discussing now is based on the Budget. When the Budget was presented, I was not a Member of this House. Now, we are discussing the Finance Bill. My friend who has spoken just now has talked much about socialism. He has also said that we should eliminate or reduce the money power. It has been stated by the Finance Minister in his Budget speech in para 31 that:

"It is this Government's firm belief that economic growth could be accelerated and its fruits widely shared only if employment opportunities in rural areas are significantly augmented. Development will have no meaning to the vast majority of our people if the poor in the rural areas are not able to secure a livelihood through satisfactory productive work."

But the provision in para 33 is Rs. 340' crores in 1980-81 for the rural employment programme. Sir, when we see the statistics of rural employment, we find, today, they are paid Rs. 4 as the minimum wage. This is the average all over the country, barring some exceptions. My friend, Mr. Bagaitkar, has said that the value of the rupee is now nineteen paise. Hence, the average wage which an agricultural worker gets in the rural areas—they constitute the



largest number in the rural areas—is only Rs. one per day. This is the situation in this economy and in the Budget for this very meagre provision has been made. The, rural employment programme is very vast and no orientation has been made either in this budget or in this Finance Bill. The question of unemployment dole was discussed. The Labour Ministry has come out with a review and a statement in today's Indian Express (5th August, New Delhi Edition). It is stated that no unemployment dole can be given to the unemployed people. The reason given is that their number is very large. I would only read a small part of it. It says:

"The 32nd round of the national sample survey placed the 'daily status' unemployment in the 15-59 age group at 16.8 million. The level would have gone up in view of the unsatisfactory performance of the economy in 1979-80. The cost of such a scheme at the rate of Rs. 50 per month to all the unemployed will come to Rs. 1050 crores. Since it will be difficult to identify individuals unemployed for five years or more every unemployed will have to be paid the dole."

As per this survey, the total number is 16.8 million. If we take seventy per cent of this number, in the rural areas, it will come to ten crores. The provision for this purpose which has been made in this Budget, which is supposed to be progressive is Rs. 340 crores. This comes to Rs. 34 per head per year. This is the provision which has been made for giving employment to agricultural labourers and artisans in the villages. I say, this is ridiculous and opportunity should have been taken to really implement, on a mass scale, the programme of guaranteeing employment, as has been done in the State of Maharashtra and for other places. Legislation has been made. My suggestion is that there should be a national employment policy. Just like professional tax, you can have

employment tax, as is done in Maharashtra, to give employment, to guarantee employment, to the people in the rural areas. Unless you do this how will you be able to develop the rural economy? In the same way, marketing would not go up unless you have roads. Unless you have irrigation facilities, you will not be able to cultivate lands. Lift irrigation schemes, road construction schemes and so on, which are productive, could be undertaken on an all-India basis under such programmes. The report of the Ministry of Rural Reconstruction says that this is at an academic stage. This is still being discussed in workshops and you are holding seminars and so on. Mere lip sympathy for the rural people will not take us anywhere. Hence, I would plead with the hon. Finance Minister that he should come forward with a scheme, a radical scheme, guaranteeing employment to the agricultural labourers. No economy is going to succeed. Whatever taxation you impose, whatever investment you make, unless you make investment in human material, there is no possibility of having a stable economy or economic growth in this country. In rural areas there are educated people. As Shri Kalpnath Rai said, we are standing on the volcano. Unless we provide employment opportunities for them, many serious things will happen there as are occurring in some parts of the country. Therefore, Sir, I am sorry to say that there is no priority given to employment in this Budget. It is disappointing.

Same is the position of land reforms. A statement was given here on 23rd July, 1980. The progressive Government which is now in power, after coming into power at the Centre and in the States, has not distributed even a single acre to landless labourers or Harijans. In answer to Question No. 8 on 23rd July, 1980, it is said: Land declared surplus at the end of 1979, i.e. December, 1979, is 38,66,291 acres. Out of this, posses-

[Shri S. W. Dhabe]

sion of 24,35,603 acres was taken and the area distributed was 16,92,175 acres. In addition to this declared surplus land of 38,66,291 acres, there are still large areas to be declared surplus, it is going on. Very slowly and in nigg'arding way. So, instead of having many plans, I will suggest there should be one plan of implementation of land reforms and distributing the land to landless labourers and Harijans. Unless this backlog is cleared, unless the land is distributed to rural poor and to the real producers in the rural areas, agricultural production is not going to improve. They are now organising. Rural workers organisations are now coming up. It is reported that there has been 10 per cent fall in production in the year 1979-80. This shows if you neglect the interests of the rural people, no Government can succeed. Mere talk of socialism and radicalism is not going to help. Therefore, I would like the Minister to consider seriously and bring forward some legislation about national employment policy. You can think of taxation measures, but give employment guarantee to rural people. Maharashtra has made a beginning, but you are an expert on finance matters. You can have a well balanced scheme to guarantee employment for the rural people.

The second question is about what the Economic Survey says and which has been repeated by the Finance Minister in his speech that there has been sharp deterioration in the economic situation in the year 1979-80, the agricultural production has gone down by 10 per cent and the gross national product by 3 per cent. So, in the Survey report, on page 3, it has been accepted that shortage of power, poor industrial relations and the problems of law and order are the main factors responsible for the situation. In paragraph 3.19, it says, poor industrial relations have affected activity not only in the infrastructure, but over wide spectrum of industry.

Strikes and lock-outs have led to loss of mandays. So, the Labour Ministry Report says that in the year 1978, 28.34 million mandays were lost. In 1979 the number has gone up to 37.10 million out of which 30.57 million mandays were lost due to strikes and that percentage comes to 82.

Similarly, Sir, the relations in the public sector are also not good at all. The Finance Minister's Report—last year's Report—shows that Bureau of Public Enterprise has been given power to regulate the wages. The Bureau of Public Enterprises has been given powers to review the wages policy and also give directions to all the public undertakings. That is on page 101 of the Annual Report—and I quote:

"Advise the Government and public enterprises on wages and salary policy, with a view to ensuring rationalisation wherever possible and to bring about desirable uniformity in these matters, and organisational and financial restructuring of public enterprises".

I would plead with the Finance Minister to delete this power from the Bureau of Public Enterprises. It has become a stumbling block in many agreements. Even after one or two years, are taken in the negotiations and an agreement takes place, the Bureau of Public Enterprises does not give clearance, I can understand if you

do not give clearance for negotiations. But after the negotiations take place and after the agreements are prepared, drafted and signed finally between the representatives of the undertakings and the employees, then this comes to the Bureau of Public Enterprises and they do not give clearance. How can you have good industrial relations? Unless you improve the industrial relations, unless you take positive steps for having a climate of peace and more production, any amount of taxation or investment is going to be a waste. The Annual Report shows that 82 per cent man-days were lost due to strikes. The solution has been given by the working class. Many a time it has pleaded that workers' participation in management is a 'must'. Nowhere any Chairman has been appointed from the workers' representatives or the union's representatives in the public undertakings. Their representatives are not on the Board of Directors. You want the bureaucrats to run the administration and to run the commercial undertakings and give results without the cooperation of the working class, without workers' participation. Workers' participation is a must in the public undertakings and without that it is not going to succeed in our country. Unless you improve the economic system, unless you take more interest and see that the working of the Bureau of Public Enterprises, which has been the main hindrance in the last few years, helps in creating good industrial relations, I am certain nothing is going to happen; the position will remain the same. The prices will go up and the people will have to suffer. The prices are going up. The prices have gone up. We have seen that sugar price has gone up; rice has gone up; everything has gone up. There is no concerted attempt to make it a production-oriented economy. For that purpose, unless you take the working class into confidence—not merely by giving lectures or calling them to conferences and meetings, but by

taking positive steps for their active-participation, for their emotional participation in the undertakings—I am certain no improvement is possible.

Sir, the Finance Minister has been very kind enough to increase the wealth tax exemption limit from Rs. 1 lakh to Rs. 1.5 lakhs. But you have forgotten the workers. The gratuity limit is Rs. 30,000. It has not been increased at all in the Finance Bill. Now the salaries have gone up. At least you should have brought it to Rs. 1 lakh so that the gratuity which the employees get as terminal benefit should have been exempted from the income limit. I would plead with the Finance Minister to kindly consider this question of raising the exemption limit of gratuity and give the employees some relief.

I would like to say further that this economy is not succeeding because the political system is corrupt. By taking money from the rich people and votes from the poor people, socialism is not going to come. It is the political system which is the real villain in the whole economic system, and is responsible for the poverty and suffering of the people. The Lokpal Bill was brought. It has now lapsed. The Bill had good intentions. It could deal with corruption at the highest level of the Prime Minister and other political levels. Unless the politicians by their own conduct show that they are incorruptible, unless they stop taking money for election purposes from the big businessmen, it is no use talking of disciplining the industry and traders. Unless a self-reliant political system is built up in our democratic institutions, these contradictions are bound to take place. If you lack the will—as my friend, Mr. Kalpnath Rai, has correctly said—we cannot go ahead with our socialism. Why are we not able to nationalise wholesale trade or sugar industry? Because we lack the political will. As soon as\* you honourable Minister do it, I am

[Shri J. W. Dhabe] certain you will be out of the Ministry. They are more powerful than the Minister himself. Therefore, Sir, I would like you to consider seriously the maladies in the economic system which prevalent and, therefore, it is better to create mutual relations between employees and employers to build up the economy at this stage as the only solution.

I am certain no wonderful results are going to flow out of this Budget and we have seen in this Budget that even without taxation the prices are going up. This is a phenomenon for which there is no reply. Whatever you may say, I was really very much grieved to hear that the Finance Minister pleaded that the price for sugar which we are paying in India is a very low one—Rs. 2.85— and 65 per cent of the people are getting it here at this rate<sup>an</sup> & even though it costs Rs. 9 to Rs. 10. It is much less than the inter-national market price because in Bangladesh and Pakistan sugar is selling at Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 (*Time bell rings.*) Sir, this sort of attitude will never solve the problems of the poor people in India. Why should you have two types of pricing? Why not have producers' levy completely so that all the sugar comes into the public distribution system" Is it not to pay them more money? In Maharashtra, imported sugar is to be sold at about Rs. 6 through the fair price shops. Now the fair price shop owner will sell the sugar, which he will be getting at Rs. 2.85 at Rs. 6 in the name of imported sugar. We are breeding corruption and encouraging it. Why not the full producer's levy is charged in essential commodities so that everything comes under the public distribution system? Why do you want open market for the businessman? What is the reason, except that they want to get more money so they can share it with the political parties?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Please conclude.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: Lastly, I have a small point. When I was coming from Nagpur, I was told that in 1972 Reserve Bank of India purchased four acres of land for having a Centralised Issue Department established at Nagpur but, up till now, no steps have been taken. It is said that about 2,000 people would be employed in it but it is now going to be shifted to Bangalore. I would plead with the Minister that in order to solve the problems of Nagpur he should see that this office is set up at Nagpur as it will give a great flip to employment at that place.

Lastly, Sir, I would once again plead with you that so far as the employees' problem is concerned, the exemption limit for gratuity and terminal benefits should be reconsidered and the exemption limit should be raised so that they can certainly get more money at the fag end of life.

Thank you very much, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Shri Shiva Chandra Jha. Your party has 22 minutes, and two speakers. So you shall have to finish. . .

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA (Bihar): I will take 10 to 12 minutes, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Please finish before we rise for the day.

श्री शिव चंद्र झा : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह वित्त विधेयक, 1980 का जो है मॉटेतीर पर it speaks of and has the big stick in it मतलब आप समझ हो गये होंगे। यह इसका मॉटेतीर पर रूप है। कबल इसके कि में तफसील में जाऊँ एक दो बातें मैं कह देना चाहता हूँ बजट के बारे में क्योंकि वहाँ रूपरेखा होती है। जिस रूपरेखा के संदर्भ में यह वित्त विधेयक बनता है उस रूपरेखा को यदि हम ठीक से देख लेंगे तो हमें वित्त विधेयक का नक्शा साफ हो जायेगा। पहला पार्ट जो बजट का है उसमें उन्होंने ग्रीय की बात कही है। आखिर में कंकलूड

करते हुए उन्होंने कहा है कि ग्रोथ हम को बढ़ाना है, ग्रोथ ओरियेन्टेड। मैं मंत्री महोदय से पूछना चाहूंगा कि आजादी के बाद भारत का कौनसा ऐसा बजट है जो ग्रोथ ओरिएण्टेड नहीं रहा है। प्रधानमंत्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने जिन्होंने वित्त मंत्रालय का कार्य भी संभाला हुआ था, जब बजट पेश किया था तो इसी तरह से बजट पेश किया था। उन्होंने कहा था कि बजट ग्रोथ ओरिएण्टेड है, पेंडिस्ट्रियन बजट है। कोई नई बात नहीं है। ग्रोथ यदि बढ़ा है तो 30-31 करोड़ आजपावर्टी लाइन के नीचे क्यों हैं। यह जो दृष्टिकोण है कि हमारा बजट ग्रोथ ओरिएण्टेड है, सफोशिएन्ट नहीं है, मिशनरीडिंग है। यह तो एक लज्जा बजट का है। दूसरा लक्षण इस बजट का डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग का है, हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था है। इस साल बजट में 1470 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा है। इसको ओपिंग इन दो डार्क कहा जाय तो गलत नहीं होगा। इस देश में कांफ़ेकुअल कंजम्पशन भी बढ़ गई है। इसका अर्थ भी बढ़ते ही जा रहा है। हमारे पास एक प्लानिंग कमोशन भी है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या प्लानिंग कमोशन इस चोज को विजुअलाइज नहीं कर सकता है कि हमारे देश में कितना टोटल एमाउन्ट धन का सरकूलेशन में है और कितना सरकूलेशन में होना चाहिए? मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस चोज को आप क्यों नहीं देखते हैं? अगर आपको टोटल सरकूलेटेड मनी का पता हो और विज-ए-विज प्रोडक्शन का भी पता हो तो आप इस डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग को रोक सकते हैं और इस दिशा में कदम उठा सकते हैं।

दूसरी बात पांच साला फाइनेंस कमोशन को है। इसको एक साल के लिए होना चाहिए। इसके लिए संविधान में भी संशोधन करने की जरूरत हो तो

उसके लिए कदम उठाये जाने चाहिए। हमारे देश में जो कांफ़ेकुअल कंजम्पशन बढ़ रहा है और जिस प्रकार से हमारा बजट हर साल डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग का बनता जा रहा है, उसके यही दो कारण हैं। तीसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपने इस बजट में एक नेशनल रूरल इम्प्लायमेंट प्रोग्राम रखा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि फूड फोर वर्क का ही यह दूसरा नाम है। आप इसमें क्या करने जा रहे हैं? आप इस पर 340 करोड़ रुपये खर्च करेंगे और आठ लाख लोगों को काम मिलेगा। इस दृष्टिकोण से देखा जाय तो अगर 50 लाख लोगों को इम्प्लायमेंट देने की बात हो तो 2125 करोड़ रुपये का हिसाब बैठता है। इस प्रकार से आपके 340 करोड़ रुपये के बजाय 2125 करोड़ रुपये इस योजना पर लग जाएंगे। लेकिन इस संवेष्ट में मैं आपको एक योजना देता हूँ। आप हर ब्लाक में एक हजार आदिमियों को इम्प्लायमेंट दें और उनको दो सौ रुपये महीना दें तो इस पर आपके 1200 करोड़ रुपये खर्च होंगे। हमारे देश में पांच हजार ब्लाक्स हैं। अगर इस सम्बन्ध में यह क्रेष प्रोग्राम आप बनाएंगे तो साल भर में केवल 1200 करोड़ रुपये खर्च होंगे। सरकार की सन् 1980-81 की योजना जो है उसमें 14593 करोड़ रुपये खर्च होंगे। लेकिन आप अगर 50 लाख लोगों को इम्प्लायमेंट दें और इसके लिए क्रेष प्रोग्राम बनायें तो आपके 1200 करोड़ रुपये लगेंगे मैं समझता हूँ कि यह कोई बहुत बड़ा खर्च नहीं है। लेकिन जब हम सरकार के बजट को देखते हैं तो उसमें हमें कई कमियाँ दिखाई पड़ती हैं, गड़बड़ियाँ दिखाई देती हैं। आप जानते हैं कि जब फाइनेंस बिल आता है तो टैक्सेशन की भी बात आ जाती है। हमारी कितनी आमदनी है इसका जस्टिफिकेशन वित्त विधेयक में होता है। मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि इस सरकार की टैक्सेशन यानी

[श्री शिव चन्द्र झा]

कराधान की नीति में, कराधान के दर्शन में, बिल्कुल गड़बड़ी मालूम होती है। टेक्-सेशन की नीति यह होनी चाहिए कि कैसे आपने पैसा प्राप्त किया। हाऊ मच यू गोड के बजाय हाऊ यू गोड की नीति होनी चाहिए। हमारे देश में ब्लैक धन है। सब लोगों पर कर लगा कर सरकार सोच लेती है कि उसने धन प्राप्त कर लिया। लेकिन यह नीति असली मायनों में अर्थ नीति नहीं है। आपने अब एक नीति अख्तियार की है और कुछ कंसेशन लोगों को दे दिये हैं। ये कंसेशन बड़े एंजूरिंग हैं, बड़े लुभावने लोगों को दिखाई देते हैं। इनकम टैक्स की लिमिट आपने 10 हजार के बजाय 12 हजार कर दी है। लेकिन सवाल यह आता है कि जब आपने 10 हजार की लिमिट रखी थी तो एंजूरेशन के मामले में आप कुछ कंसेशन देते थे। अब आपने इस एंजूरेशनल कंसेशन को हटा लिया है। देखने के लिए तो आपने उसकी लिमिट 12 हजार की कर दी, लेकिन असलियत में आपने किसी प्रकार की कोई छूट नहीं दी है। उससे लोगों को बहुत फायदा नहीं होने वाला है। इसी प्रकार से आपने एन-वेल्प की कीमत 30 पैसे से बढ़ाकर 35 पैसे कर दी है। मैं इसको टैक्सेशन आफ नालेज समझता हूँ। आपने और भी चीजों पर टैक्स बढ़ाये हैं। टैक्सेशन के शेड्यूल में और भी बहुत सी चीजें हैं, जैसे पार्सल ह। आप जानते हैं कि हमारे देश में बहुत स एंजूरेशन के प्रोग्राम पत्राचार से चलते हैं, कारस्पोंडेन्स कोर्स से शिक्षा दी जाती है। आपने लिफाफे की कीमत 30 पैसे से बढ़ाकर 35 पैसे कर दी। इसका असर किन लोगों पर पड़ेगा? हमारे देश में ज्यादातर गरीब लोग पत्राचार से शिक्षा प्राप्त कर रहे हैं इस इण्टिक्वोण से देखा जाय तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बड़ोतरी टैक्सेशन आफ नालेज है। इसलिये इसको आप हटा दें। जिन पर आप की लगाना चाहिए वहां आप लगाते

नहीं हैं। जैसे उदाहरण के लिये लाटरी पर सरचार्ज 3 प्रतिशत लगा रहे हैं। क्या है, आइडिलिज्म है और फेडलिज्म है। लाटरी के सिलसिले में ठीक है एक रास्ता है परन्तु इससे समाज बिगड़ता है। इसमें सदैव स्पेकुलेशन की भावना रहती है। इसलिए इस पर ज्यादा सरचार्ज लगाना चाहिए। 3 प्रतिशत की जगह 5 प्रतिशत लगाइये, 7 प्रतिशत लगाइये। इस पर मैंने अपना संशोधन रखा है, इस पर बाद में बोलूंगा। इसी तरह से और चीजों पर बढ़ाइये, हार्स राइडिंग पर बढ़ाइये। हार्स राइडिंग कौन करता है, बड़े-बड़े ऐरेस्टोक्रेट्स करते हैं आप इस पर लगाइये, 15 प्रतिशत लगाइये, 20 प्रतिशत लगाइये। यह आपने नहीं किया है। जिनको राहत मिलनी चाहिए कर की, कर की नीति से उन को राहत दें। देखने में मालूम होता है कि साबुन पर कम कर दिया, टूथ-पेस्ट पर कम कर दिया। कमाल कर दिया। छूट किसको मिलने जा रही है? इनवेस्ट-मेन्ट आफ सेर्विस् के नाम पर किसको छूट मिलने जा रही है, इंडस्ट्रियल अन्डर-टैक्स और होटल्स को। कौन होटल? जनता होटल की बात उठी। ओबेराय होटल जैसे होटल बनाने वाले, बड़े बड़े पैसे वाले जो हैं उनको छूट आप दे रहे हैं इन्वेस्ट-मेन्ट के नाम पर, सेर्विस् के नाम पर। दूसरे शब्दों में जो टैक्स होली डे था पहले पांच साल और सात साल का टैक्स होली था उसको करने जा रहे हैं दस साल कि इतने समय पर जितना भी मुनाफा आता है ले जाओ। तो क्या ये छोटे उद्योगों की आप मदद कर रहे हैं? छोटे उद्योग-पति जो हैं वे अन-डेवलप्ड एरिया में कारखाना नहीं खोल सकते हैं, ये जो बड़े उद्योगपति हैं ये ही आपके नार्थ बिहार जैसे अन-डेवलप्ड एरिया में जाते हैं। पूँजी का यह नियम है और अर्थ-शास्त्र का नियम है कि छोटे इंडस्ट्रिय-लिस्ट का दम नहीं है कि वह अन-डेवलप्ड

एरिया में इन्वेस्टमेंट कर सकें। टाटा, बिरला ही हिन्दुस्तान के अन-डेवलपड एरिया में जाते हैं एक्सप्लाइडेशन के लिये और हिन्दुस्तान के बाहर भागते हैं एक्सप्लाइडेशन के लिए यह नीति है। आप कहते हैं कि हम छोटे उद्योगों को बढ़ावा दे रहे हैं लेकिन इसका फायदा सिर्फ बड़े उद्योगपतियों को जाने वाला है। छूट आप किसको देते हैं? आपने कहा कि वैल्यू टैक्स एक लाख से डेढ़ लाख कर दिया है। एक लाख की आमदनी किसकी है? जरा भारत की जनता की तरफ आंख खोल कर देखें कि एक लाख किसकी आमदनी है जहां कि 30-31 करोड़ लोग दरिद्रता की रेखा से नीचे हैं। उनके लिये एक लाख क्या है? एक सपना जैसा है। इसलिये एक लाख की लिमिट बढ़ा कर डेढ़ लाख कर दी है तो यह हकीकत है कि इससे जो रिच हैं वे रिच बन रहे हैं। इसी तरह से जितनी आपकी नीतियां हैं एडवर्टिजमेंट, पब्लिसिटी या सेल्समैनशिप, ये जितनी नीतियां हैं सब सौते तौर पर जो प्राइवेट सेक्टर है, छोटे उद्योगों के लिये भले ही न हो, उसको मजबूत करने के लिये हैं और प्राइवेट सेक्टर को मजबूत करने का मतलब है कि भारत में पूंजीवाद को मजबूत करना। यह पूंजीवाद हर योजना के बाद मजबूत होता रहा आजादी के बाद और यही हमारी खराबी है, क्रेडिट आफ दि प्राबलम है, इसका आप को मुकाबला करना है। भारत की अर्थ-व्यवस्था के ऊपर एक क्राइसिस गुजर रहा है। बढ़ रहा है पब्लिक सेक्टर और बढ़ रहा है प्राइवेट सेक्टर और दोनों के कन्ट्राडिक्शन आपस में टकराने जा रहे हैं। आज देश में जो गड़बड़ी है, आसाम, त्रिपुरा आदि में यह इसी कन्ट्राडिक्शन की उपज है और समाज मांग रहा है एक बुनियादी परिवर्तन। इसलिये उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने कह

कि सारी नीति जो है टेक्सेसन की, और भी बहुत सी चीजें हैं जिनमें मैं जाना नहीं चाहता। मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूं कि इनकम की हदबंदी जो है वह एक और 10 में लगावें। जो मोनोपली हाउसेज हैं इनका राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाना चाहिए और जो देशी और विदेशी बैंक हैं उनका राष्ट्रीयकरण हो।

आखिर में एक बात (Time bell rings.)

घंटी न बजायें। मैं खतम कर रहा हूं। आखिर में एक बात कटिहार की आर० बी० एच० एन० जूट मिल, हालांकि यह उद्योग मंत्रालय की बात है, वहां जुलाई से ले-आफ हो रहा है और वहां पर बड़ी गड़बड़ियां हो रही हैं। यह बिहार की सबसे बड़ी जूट मिल है। वहां वरकर्स एजीटेशन कर रहे हैं

और हड़ताल पर हैं वहां की 6 P. M. यूनियन वालों ने मुझे लिखा है। आप इसकी जल्दी इन्क्वायरी करायें। उनके राष्ट्रीयकरण करने की बात सोचें। जैसे आपने नेशनल जूट मिल, बंगाल का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया है वैसे आर० बी० एच० एन० जूट मिल, कटिहार को भी अपने हाथ में ले लें। यह जो कमांडिंग हाइट्स आफ इकोनोमी है, बड़े बड़े मगरमच्छ हैं, यह सारी इकोनोमी को अपने शिकरों में पकड़े हुए हैं, उनके ऊपर आप रोक लगाइये। यदि आप हिम्मत दिखाना चाहते हैं, बहादुरी दिखाना चाहते हैं तो इन पर रोक लगाइये वरन् जैसे मैंने शुरू में कहा स्पीक साफ्ट् एंड यूज बिग स्टिक वाली बात होगी। अन्त में इतना कहना चाहता हूं कि यह वित्त विधेयक बिग केमाफलाज है। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHKI DINESH GOSWAMI): Mr. Bhandare.

SHRI MURIIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT  
BHANDARE (Maharashtra): Mr. Deputy  
Chairman, Sir, . . .

SHRI JAHARLAL BANERJEE: How  
long?

SHRI S. W. DHABE: It is 6 o'clock.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT  
BHANDARE: When I look at the Budget . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH  
GOSWAMI): I think you can continue your  
speech tomorrow. The House stands  
adjourned to reassemble at 11 A. M.  
tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at one  
minute past six of the clock till  
eleven of the clock on Wednesday,  
the 6th August, 1980.