

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

not disturb him deliberately. What is the point he is making by reading such a long statement? If the intention is that the Members should be given an opportunity to seek clarifications, obviously it is not possible specially on a subject of this kind. Immediately after a long statement is read out, one can ask clarifications. That purpose is not served. If it is meant to be publicised through Parliament, it is not necessary to read it out. Sir, in such a matter, I ask the Minister to consider as to how they can save time and at the same time help the Members. For instance, if copies of the statement, at least some are given in advance, we can have a look at it and then ask questions immediately. What he has read out, has he followed himself? Can he put questions to himself? He cannot. Somebody has written out the statement. He must have read it in the morning, and like a school-boy, the hon. Minister has read it out very loyally. But not a word has been understood.

THE MINISTER OF THE STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (DR. RAM KRIPAL SINHA): Sir, the hon. Member wants to save time. I think with his co-operation, the House can save much more time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Don't be smart like that. All I say is, if you think you should read a statement, I have no objection. But then on such matters some time should be set apart for seeking clarifications or for making observations. Otherwise what does it mean? One-sided Government propaganda goes on. And tomorrow if you are not in a position to ask questions, it may create the impression as if we are all satisfied with this statement. Nothing of the kind, perhaps. The Education Policy statement has been made. That is another policy statement. This is also an important policy statement. All I will suggest is that whenever such policy

statements are made, time should be set apart for the Members to express their opinion, to give their views and seek clarifications on the policy statement. And this should be made a routine. Just as the making of the statement is allowed, similarly Members on this side and on that side also should not be debarred from asking questions. This is all I would ask. You have read it out. I tried to hear it. But for the life of me, I could not understand it. He must be very clear. Besides, it is a technical subject.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON (Kerala): Sir I endorse his opinion.

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, that used to be the practice in the past. In the first Rajya Sabha, you know it used to be the practice. In the Lok Sabha, I would be surprised if it does not continue to be the practice even now, but it used to be the practice till 1971. Whenever such an important document comes to be laid on the Table of the House announcing Government policy, not only the leaders of the parties but also other important Members who take a special interest in those subjects are given an opportunity of asking for elucidation and expressing their views also.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, further discussion on the Finance Bill, 1979 Shri Ram Lakhan Prasad Gupta.

THE FINANCE BILL, 1979—contd.

श्री रामलखन प्रसाद गुप्त (बिहार) : उप-महापति महोदय, अभी कुछ देर पहले . . .

श्री सीताराम केसरी (बिहार) : उपसभापति महोदय मेरा एक प्वाइंट ऑफ आर्डर है। मैंने इस सदन में कई बार प्रार्थना की है कि मंत्रिमण्डल का कोई सदस्य मंत्री यहां रहना चाहिए।

श्री रामलखन प्रसाद गुप्त : रामकृपाल जी भी मंत्री हैं।

श्री सीताराम केसरी : मगर मैं देखता हूं . . .

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (DR. RAM KRIPAL SINHA): Sir, there are five Ministers here and if he thinks... (Interruptions)

श्री सीताराम केसरी : आप डिफेंड मत कीजिए।

DR. RAM KRIPAL SINHA: This question has been raised in the House.... (Interruptions)

श्री सीताराम केसरी : उपसभापति महोदय, आपने कई बार इस सिलसिले में अपनी रुचि दी है कि मंत्री को उपस्थित रहना चाहिए। इसलिए मैं आपसे निवेदन करता हूँ आप अपने आदेश दें।

श्री रामलखन प्रसाद गुप्त : उपसभापति महोदय, फायनेंस बिल के ऊपर बोलने के पहले मैं एक बात की ओर ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ। अभी कुछ देर पहले सी०आई०ए० की बात हुई। यह सब को मालूम है कि जितना ज्यादा चर्चा सी०आई०ए० का इंदिरा गांधी के समय में या उससे ज्यादा चर्चा किसी ने नहीं किया था। 1974-75 में पुलिस अधिकाारी जिस किसी को भी तंग करना चाहते थे उसके ऊपर सी०आई०ए० का चार्ज लगा कर यह कहते थे कि सी०आई०ए० के एजेंट हो। इस तरह सारे भारतवर्ष में सी०आई०ए० के नाम से जाल फैला दिया गया। किसी को भी बदनाम करना हो, सी०आई०ए० का चार्ज लगा दो। उपसभापति महोदय, अभी जो किताब पब्लिश हुई है 'ए डेन्जरस प्लेस' बाई डैनियल पट्रिक मोयनिहन, जो यहां अमेरिका के एम्बेसडर थे। उन्होंने अपनी किताब के पृष्ठ 41 में जो लिखा है उसको मैं कोट करना चाहता हूँ। इससे यह साबित होता है कि इंदिरा गांधी किस तरह से अमेरिका से, सी०आई०ए० से रुपया लेकर चुनाव लड़ती थी। पश्चिम बंगाल और केरल के चुनावों में जहां पर कम्युनिस्टों की जीत की शंका थी, वहां पर इसी कारण बहुत रुपया लेकर इस चुनाव की प्रक्रिया में डाला गया... (Interruptions) मैं कोट कर देता हूँ... (Interruptions)

विपक्ष के नेता (श्री कमलापति त्रिपाठी) : यह चर्चा कई बार हो चुकी है... (Interruptions)

श्री रामलखन प्रसाद गुप्त : आप कृपया धैर्य रखें... (Interruptions)

श्री कमलापति त्रिपाठी : इसको डिनाई कर चुके हैं।

श्री रामलखन प्रसाद गुप्त : मैं कुछ नहीं कह रहा हूँ, जानता भी नहीं हूँ। हो सकता है आप उस समय इस प्रक्रिया को जानते हों। लेकिन मैं नहीं जानता हूँ। यह किताब कहती है कि जगजीवन राम या इंदिरा गांधी ने... (Interruptions) मुझे कुछ नहीं कहना है। मैं कोट कर रहा हूँ। पृष्ठ 4 में यह लिखा है :

"But in 1974 Mrs. Gandhi was still making speeches about the ever present danger of subversion by the CIA whilst I was meeting with the relevant Indian officials about our common interests in China. In New Delhi I had pressed the Embassy to go back over the whole of the quarter century in India to establish just what we had been up to. In the end I was satisfied we had been up to very little. We had twice, but only twice, interfered in Indian politics to the extent of providing money to a political party. Both times this was done in the face of a prospective Communist victory in a State election once in Kerala and once in West Bengal where Calcutta is located. Both times the money was given to the Congress Party which had asked for it. Once it was given to Mrs. Gandhi herself who was then a party official."

उपसभापति महोदय, ये कोटेशन है। इससे यह साबित होता है कि अभी तक सी०आई०ए० का भूत उनके ऊपर चढ़ा हुआ है परन्तु वे दूसरों को सी०आई०ए० कहना चाहते हैं। इससे यह साबित होता है कि ये एकचुअली कौन है और कहां से इस तरह की बातें आती हैं। उपसभापति महोदय, फायनेंस बिल पर बोलने के समय मैं यह जरूर कहता हूँ कि जनता पार्टी की सरकार जब से आयी है तब से बहुत ही ज्यादा आर्थिक हालत में सुधार हुआ है और हर पैमाने पर, हर जगह सुधार हुआ है लोग शांति का सांस लेने लगे हैं... (Interruptions) राष्ट्रीय उत्पादन की वृद्धि की दर 3-9 प्रतिशत रही, औद्योगिक उत्पादन की दर 8 प्रतिशत, विद्युत् उत्पादन की दर 12-9 प्रतिशत तथा लोहे एवं सीमेंट के उत्पादन दर में भी काफी वृद्धि हुई है। इस प्रकार की परिस्थिति है और इसी कारण से मैं इस फायनेंस बिल का समर्थन करत हूँ। इन चीजों के अलावा इसमें बहुत सारे दोष भी रह गये हैं जिनकी तरफ मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान नहीं गया है। मैं उनका ध्यान उम तरफ खींचना चाहता हूँ। इस जनता पार्टी के इलेक्शन मनीफेस्टो में टेक्सेशन पर जो पालिमी थी, मैं उसे पढ़ता हूँ :

[श्री रामलखन प्रसाद गुप्त]

"Taxation: The burden of taxation today falls heavily on the common man because of the levy of a number of excise duties and sales tax on articles of mass consumption. The incidence of indirect taxation on the poorer sections has increased many times since Independence. The operation of sales tax has also led to malpractices and harassment. The Janata Party considers it desirable to replace sales tax with appropriate excise duties coupled with a formula which would ensure that the States derive steadily increasing share from the total collection thus maintaining the element of elasticity that is today being provided by sales tax. The party works towards a restrictive tax policy and strongly encourages savings. As far as direct taxation is concerned, it will raise the minimum exemption limit for income-tax to Rs. 10,000."

यह इन्क्रेमेशन लिमिट 10 हजार तक आती है। इनके चुनाव के मैनीफेस्टो में यह साफ तौर पर है कि सेल्स टैक्स को हटा देंगे। परन्तु इसके ऊपर बजट चूप है, सरकार चूप है। सेल्स टैक्स में आज बहुत ज्यादा दिक्कत है। कोई भी व्यापारी सेल्स टैक्स देने से नहीं घबड़ाता है। आप जितना टैक्स लगायेंगे वह पूरा कज्यूमर के ऊपर, उपभोक्ता के ऊपर पड़ेगा, व्यापारी के ऊपर नहीं पड़ेगा। परन्तु इस सेल्स टैक्स के कारण जितना ज्यादा भ्रष्टाचार है, परेशानी है, व्यापारी जितना परेशान हो रहे हैं, इन सारी बातों को ध्यान में रखकर यह प्राविजन किया गया था। परन्तु आज उसे हटाया नहीं जा रहा है। कहा यह जा रहा है कि 2600 करोड़ का घाटा होगा। 2600 करोड़ रुपये की व्यवस्था करनी होगी, जो बिलकुल गलत है। यह धोखाधड़ी की बात है। 2600 करोड़ रुपया सारी स्टेट्स से आपका सेल्स-टैक्स जरूर है। यह बात सही है। परन्तु इसमें तो सेल्स-टैक्स माफ करने की बात नहीं है। सेल्स-टैक्स समाप्त हो जाए यह कोई नहीं चाहता। घोषणा-पत्र में भी यह नहीं है। घोषणा-पत्र यह है कि उसे एक्साइज-ड्यूटी में बदल दिया जाए, उसका स्वरूप बदल दिया जाए, वह सोर्स के ऊपर एक जगह लगा दिया जाए जिस तरह से आज कपड़े के ऊपर लगा हुआ है। आज कपड़ा के ऊपर सेल्स-टैक्स, एक्साइज ड्यूटी के रूप में है। आज कपड़े का व्यापारी नहीं डरता है। आज उसे परेशानी नहीं रही है। आज वह ठीक से कारोबार कर रहा है। परन्तु बाकी चीजों के कारोबार करने वाले जो छोटे-छोटे दुकानदार हैं, वे परेशान हो रहे हैं।

इसलिए सेल्स-टैक्स को जो चुनाव घोषणा-पत्र में है, जो हमारी प्रतिज्ञा है, उसको मानना चाहिए और करना चाहिए, सरकार को कदम उठाने चाहिए। दुर्भाग्य है कि आज तीन वर्ष होने जा रहे हैं, परन्तु इसके बावजूद कोई कदम नहीं उठाया गया है और इस बजट में कुछ नहीं रखा गया है।

जहां तक इन्कम-टैक्स का सवाल है, मैंने पहले जैसे कहा कि दस हजार रुपये का एक्जेंप्शन लिमिट कम कर दी गई है। परन्तु उसके बावजूद भी टैक्सेशन के सम्बन्ध में जो आर्थिक समीक्षा हुई है, उसमें इस बात को कहा गया है कि जिस तरह से सरकार सोचती है वह कर नहीं पा रही है। यह आर्थिक समीक्षा 1978-79 की पृष्ठ 68 के ऊपर है पैरा 8.25। पिछले वर्षों में बजटों के माध्यमों से लगातार आए वर्ष नये-नये कर लगाए जाते रहे। यह दलील दी गई है कि यह प्रक्रिया एकदम बन्द कर दी जाए और एक अच्छी कर नीति वही है जिसके अन्तर्गत कर की दरें स्थायी रहे और कर पद्धति की वृद्धिशीलता से ही राजस्व में अपने आप वृद्धि होती रहे। दुर्भाग्य में इस सिद्धान्त का पालन नहीं किया जा सका है क्योंकि अर्थ-व्यवस्था का पर्याप्त तेजी के साथ विकास नहीं हुआ है। यह कारण तो दे दिया है, परन्तु यह बात मानी हुई है कि कर में हर साल वृद्धि होती रही, हर साल क्या कर आया किसी को पता नहीं है। इसलिए इस तरह से बहुत कठिनाई होती है और इस कठिनाई के कारण यदि इन्कम-टैक्स आता भी है उसके कितने असेसीज हैं। तीन हजार असेसीज हैं, सिर्फ, वह जो एक लाख से अधिक आय वाले हैं जो इन्कम-टैक्स देने वाले हैं और 80 प्रतिशत टैक्स उसी से आता है।

इसलिए जो इन्कम-टैक्स है, उसको भी एक रेशनल व्यू के ऊपर लाना होगा और जो समीक्षा है, उसके अनुसार ही उसे आगे कदम बढ़ाना होगा। इसके बाद हम बजट में टैक्सेशन और डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग दोनों से मिला कर के 1355 करोड़ रुपये का प्रावधान है और इसमें नये टैक्स 655 करोड़ रुपये का है और जहां तक एडिशनल टैक्स का सम्बन्ध है, उसका भी टारगेट आगे पांच वर्षों में 7,750 करोड़ रुपये का है। इन सारी चीजों को देखते हुए यह भी देखना होगा कि आखिर कोई सैचुरेशन प्वाइंट तक पहुंचा हुआ है। इससे आगे इसे नहीं बढ़ा सकते हैं। इन बातों को ध्यान देकर कल एक माननीय सदस्य ने बहुत ही ठीक बातें कही कि चौकसी कमेटी की रिपोर्ट जब सामने आई हुई थी, उसने भी कर के विषय में बहुत कुछ कहा है। उसमें एग्जीक्यूटिव इन्कम-टैक्स के विषय में भी कहा गया है कि किस तरह एग्जीक्यूटिव और नॉन-एग्जीक्यूटिव को मिलाकर हम उसको आगे बढ़ा सकते हैं। परन्तु उस तरफ भी कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है। यह कहा जाता है और हम बात का बहुत शोरगुल हुआ। कल हमारे कई माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा कि किसानों को बहुत राहत मिलने की बातें गलत

हैं किसानों को सचमुच में राहत नहीं है, यह कहने के लिए है। ट्रैक्टर में सुविधा है, फर्टिलाइजर में सुविधा है, उमकें लिए डीजल में सुविधा है, तो उस में उपयोग करने वाले कितने प्रतिशत किसान हैं। बहुत ही कम है और कम होने के कारण आज उसका उपयोग उन्हें नहीं मिल पा रहा है और यह परिलक्षित होना है, जो बैंकों के द्वारा ऋण दिया जाता है, ये फिगर्स हैं 1500 करोड़ 50 जहां टोटल बैंकों ने दिया है रूरल एरिया में दिया है। 1500 करोड़ में 1200 करोड़ 50 उनको है जो रिच क्लाम है, जो धनी-मानी कुषक है उनको दिया है और 240 करोड़ माजिनल फार्मर्स को और मात्र 60 करोड़ 50 लैंडलेस लैबर्स और आर्टिजन क्लाम वर्कों को दिया गया है। इसी इकानामिक सर्वे 1978-79 के पृष्ठ 10 के ऊपर लिखा है :

“इन सब बातों के बावजूद अभी स्थागत ऋण के जरिए, कृषि ऋण ही अभी में अधिक आवश्यकता ही पूरी हो जाती है। इसके अतिरिक्त इस तरह के ऋण का अधिकतर भाग उन किसानों के पास चला जाना है जो अपेक्षाकृत अधिक संपन्न है। अतः छोटे और समुन्नत किसानों को अनुसूचित बैंकों से मिलने वाले ऋण का अंश जो इस समय 37 प्रतिशत है, बढ़ा कर कम से कम 50 प्रतिशत किया जाना चाहिए।”

यह इकानामिक सर्वे में है, इसके ऊपर सरकार का ध्यान में खींचना चाहता हूं।

अभी उपसभापति महोदय, इस बजट के बाद भी और कई प्रांतों से इस तरह की आवाज आई कि हमें अधिक रुपया मिलना चाहिए, अंश में अधिक मिलना चाहिए, ये जो कर होते हैं कर का अंश अधिक मिलना चाहिए। परन्तु जब मैंने फियर देखी तो 1978-79 में जहां पर टोटल डिवेल्युएशन का 40 प्रतिशत दिया जाना था राज्यो को, 1979-80 में उसे घटा कर 37 प्रतिशत कर दिया गया है। तो जब स्टेट्स की तरफ से जॉर है, आवाज है, कि हमें मिलना चाहिए जब उममें मतभेद क्या है? जहां से मैं आता हूँ, बिहार में, बिहार अन्य राज्यों के मुकाबले पिछड़ा हुआ है, वहां उमका अंश भी कम पड़ता है और कम ही नहीं पड़ता है उसको सब तरह की नुकसानी होती है। बार-बार बिहार की तरफ से आंदोलन हुआ। आवाजें उठाई गईं, वहां के खनन मंत्री ने कहा कि जितनी कम्पनियां हैं, उनके आफिसर्स हैं उनके हैंड आफिसर्स बिहार के बाहर होने के कारण बिहार को लगभग 250 करोड़ रुपए का नुकसान उठाना पड़ता है। आज बिहार में मारी खाने हैं, हर चीज है, सोना, चांदी, तावा, हीरा, मोती हर चीज बिहार में पैदा होती है, लेकिन हमारी कम्पनियों के हैंड आफिस बाहर हैं, उमकी वजह से सेलम टेकम दूसरे स्टेट्स को मिलेगा, उमके इम्प्लायी दूसरी जगह रहेंगे, इसलिए मैं भी सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा कि कम्पनी ला के अन्दर अमेडमेंट करके कोई लॉ ऐसा बनाइए कि जहां कारखाना हो,

जहां काम होना है, वहां यह आवश्यक है कि उसका हैंड आफिस भी वही होना चाहिए। इस प्रकार बिहार में जितनी खान और दूसरी चीजों की कम्पनीज हैं, जिसके हैंड आफिस बाहर हैं, उन सब के आफिस जहां से हटा कर बिहार में आने चाहिए।

उपसभापति महोदय, कल यहां पर प्राइसेज के विषय में खास कर बहस हुई है। बहुत सारी वस्तुओं की प्राइसेज जहां पर रखी गई हैं कि किस प्रकार कीमत बेशुमार बढ़ती चली आ रही है। यह जितना भी अन्न है, चावल, दाल मकई वगैरह, इन मारी चीजों की कीमत स्थिर है परन्तु कोयला, लोहा, सीमेंट, इन मारी चीजों की कीमत बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ती चली जा रही है। स्टील बार की कीमतें जहां 1973 में 1570 रु० मीट्रिक प्रति टन थी, 1978 में 2230 रु० हो गया, 1979 में वह 3400 रु० प्रति मीट्रिक टन हो गयी है। आखिर इस कीमत को अगर हम नहीं बढ़ने से रोकते तो 5-6 वर्षों में दगुने से अधिक कीमतें बढ़ जाएंगी। यह कोई अच्छा लक्षण नहीं है और इस तरह से अगर कीमतें बढ़ती रहेंगी तो हम जनता पार्टी को सरकार नहीं चला सकते हैं। इसी तरह से कोयले का जिस समय राष्ट्रीयकरण हुआ था उस समय 37 रु० 50 पैसे प्रति मीट्रिक टन का भाव था और अभी वह रेट है 64 रु० 90 पैसे प्रति मीट्रिक टन। परन्तु अहमदाबाद में जो मेटलर्जी कोल है, वहां 1100 रु० प्रति टन मिल रहा है।

4 P.M.

उपसभापति महोदय, गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया को कोल इंडिया के 160 से 190 करोड़ प्रति वर्ष लास का देना पड़ता है। राष्ट्रीयकरण की बात समय-समय पर उठती है। लोग समझते हैं कि यही प्रगतिशील विचार है, लेकिन ये सब उदाहरण हैं कि जिस कोयले का राष्ट्रीयकरण कर दिया उस के आज मनमाने भाव बढ़ाने के बाद भी 160 करोड़ से 190 करोड़ प्रति वर्ष गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया को घाटा देना पड़ता है।

इसी तरह मॉनीटरी पॉलिसी में बहुत ज्यादा वेस्टेज है, बेकार बहुत जाता है। उदाहरण के लिए स्टेट इन्वैस्ट्रिमेंटी बोर्ड्स को 400 करोड़ रुपया प्रति वर्ष लास के देने पड़ते हैं। किसी-किसी राज्य में तो 40 प्रतिशत बिजली चोरी में चली जाती है। स्टेट ट्रांसपोर्ट में एक-एक बस के ऊपर 26 कर्मचारियों की बहाली हुई है, इतनी ओवर-स्टाफिंग है। यह कहा जाता है कि जो स्टेट बस है वह पैसिअर नहीं होती है, सिर्फ अपने एम्प्लॉईज को ढोती है। उस के फलस्वरूप लास किस को देना पड़ेगा? गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया को ही कियों न किसी तरह नुकसान उठाना पड़ता है। इस तरह सरकार का खर्च बढ़ता चला जा रहा है। इस के

[श्री रामलखन प्रसाद गुप्त]

बारे में भी इकोनॉमिक सर्वे में पेज 68, पैराग्राफ 8. 24 पर कहा गया है —

“सरकारी क्षेत्र के उपग्रामों से” गत वर्ष के कार्य निष्पादन को देखते हुए उन से की गई सभी अपेक्षाओं को पूरा करने की उन की क्षमता के बारे में मन्देह होने लगा है। इसी प्रकार व्याज, आर्थिक सहायता तथा रक्षा व्यय आदि के लेखों में बराबर बढ़ते जा रहे विकासशील व्ययों के कारण बजट के लक्ष्य को पूरा करना कठिन प्रतीत होता है। हालांकि व्यय में किरफायत करना हर एक का उद्देश्य है तो भी इस बात के लिए काफी अच्छे सबत मदद ही दिए जा सकते हैं कि क्योंकि इस उद्देश्य का परित्याग कर देना पड़ता है। इसलिए साधन जुटाने का दायित्व अनिश्चित करारान पर ही पड़ता है।”

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Snyam La) Yadav in the Chair]

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस की समीक्षा इस में दी गई है। इस लिए खर्च कम करने की तरफ ध्यान न दें तो हमारे लिए बहुत मुश्किल होगा।

इस के बाद, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कहा गया कि हमारे यहां उत्पादन बहुत अधिक हुआ है। 125 मिलियन टन गल्ला पैदा हुआ 77-78 में और 78-79 में भी इतनी खराब हालत रहने के बावजूद बाढ़ और ओले के बावजूद उम्मीद की जाती है कि उत्पादन बढ़ेगा, घटेगा नहीं। अब यहां तक बात सोची जाती है कि हम रक्षा को कर्ज में तो दें, बाकी अफगानिस्तान, वियतनाम आदि देशों को भी खाद्यान्न का हम निर्यात करें। परन्तु, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय क्या इतना खाद्यान्न हमारे देश के लिए पर्याप्त है? क्या 620 मिलियन आदिमियों के लिए 125 मिलियन टन गल्ला पर्याप्त है? यह पर्याप्त नहीं है। इस लिए प्रश्न निर्यात का नहीं होना चाहिए; प्रश्न इस के एग्जॉप्शन का होना चाहिए कि हम किस तरह से इतने गल्ले को अपनी आबादी के लिए इस्तेमाल कर सकते हैं। जैसा कि कहावत है—

“Water, water everywhere but not a drop to drink.”

उसी तरह से कहा जा सकता है —

Grain, grain everywhere but not a grain to eat.

आज वाटर के लिए तो वह बात सच हो सकती है क्योंकि दुनिया के अन्दर आज बहुत ज्यादा सेलाइन वाटर है, सभी पीने लायक नहीं है, लेकिन खाद्यान्न जो पैदा होता है वह लगभग सभी खाने लायक है। आज बहुत शारे लोग इस देश के अन्दर हैं जिन

के पास पैसा नहीं है, जो उस गल्ले को खरीद नहीं सकते। अगर हम यह कह कर संतुष्ट हो जायें कि 125 मिलियन टन गल्ला पैदा हुआ है तो हम अपने कर्तव्य का पालन नहीं करेंगे। आज बहुत बड़ी आबादी है जिसे खाने के लिए नहीं मिलता है। हमें उन का ध्यान करना होगा। एक करोड़ लोग बेकार है। इन एक करोड़ में भी 29 लाख मैट्रीकुलेट है जो बेकार है। और तेरह लाख इंटरमीडिएट हैं और दस लाख ग्रेजुएट बेकार है। यानि कुल मिला कर बावन लाख तो एंज्कोटेड अनइप्लायड है। तो इस लिए जब तक हम इम्प्लायमेंट का प्राबलम हल नहीं करते तब तक कुछ नहीं हो सकता और गल्ले का भंडार में रख कर और उसे निर्यात कर के हम संतुष्ट नहीं हो सकते। इस पर भी इकोनॉमिक सर्वे में पेज 66 पर पैरा 8.17 में कहा गया है “यद्यपि कुल मिला कर अर्थ-व्यवस्था की प्रगति को संतोषजनक कहा जा सकता है फिर भी बेरोजगारी की आधारभूत समस्या पर इस प्रगति का कोई प्रभाव दृष्टिगोचर नहीं होता। जैसा कि पहले बतलाया गया है संगठित क्षेत्र में रोजगार में ज्यादा वृद्धि नहीं हुई है और रोजगार कार्यालयों के आंकड़े अपनी सभी सीमाओं के साथ निश्चित रूप में यही प्रकट करते हैं कि जिस तेजी से काम चाहने वाले श्रमिकों की संख्या बढ़ रही है रोजगार की अवसरों में उतनी तेजी से वृद्धि नहीं हो रही है।”

तो फिर उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस के बाद आगे क्या होगा। इस मारी बातों को देख कर मैं यही कहूंगा और मैं यही आशा करूंगा अपनी सरकार और अपने माननीय मंत्री महोदय से कि इन सारी बातों पर वह ध्यान देकर इनके पूर्ति की कोशिश करें और इन बातों के साथ मैं बिल का समर्थन करता हूं।

*SHRI E. R. KRISHNAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to express my opinion on the Finance Bill, 1979.

Generally, it is a good bill, but it also creates difference of opinion on some points.

We had purchased securities worth 770 million dollars from U.S.A., but it is said, that profit out of the securities would be very meagre. Therefore, I cannot but lodge my protest against purchase of these securities. It has also been reported that our government made an investment of

*English translation of the original speech in Tamil.

330 million dollars in the Commercial Banks in U.S.A.; May I know the amount of interest that we are going to get thereon? How can our economy prosper, if we get less interest or no interest from the investment?

When Janata Government presented its first budget, there was a deficit of Rs 214 crores, it may be seen from the present budget that the deficit has increased to Rs. 1,403 crores, in spite of new taxes to the tune of about Rs. 900 crores. There is so much propaganda about increase in production; yet we go on importing the essential commodities. A sum of Rs. 12,800 crores has been invested in the public undertakings; yet we get no profit from many of these undertakings. There is no point in merely accusing the undertakings; we have to fix the responsibility on the administration, which is so inefficient. We may also attribute this situation to the vague Government policy, which is not in the interest of the prosperity of public undertakings. I am afraid, if we go on the same way, there would be no profit at all from all public undertakings. Our aim should be for running the undertakings profitably; otherwise, it would be a big crime committed against our plans and the country.

I would like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to the cartoon by Shri R. K. Laxman in today's *Times of India* which indicates the utter failure of the Janata Government in the public undertakings started by previous government in regard to which the Janata Government is indulging in politics. Although we have enough foreign exchange resources available, they are not utilised as they should be. They are being used only for importing edible oils, steel, coking coal etc. They are not being used under a phased programme for development of plant and machinery, procurement of technical know-how etc. In other words, the reserves are being used to help the foreign countries.

Government has increased the rate of taxation saying that it is required in the interest of the nation. But, we can see the increase in day-to-day non-developmental expenditure. It is strange that even the circulars advocating economy are confined only to the expenditure on carbon paper, telephone charges and paper etc. There is no good scheme proposed to curb the non-developmental expenses. There is no doubt that we may save crores of rupees, if we put restriction on loss in public undertakings, travelling allowance Bills of officers, trips of our ministers to foreign countries. I feel that the ruling party has no inclination nor interest in running the government offices efficiently.

It was suggested that big land lords could be taxed heavily; but the suggestion was rejected saying that it was a state subject. We may see in the statement of the sixth five year plan also similar suggestion for improving our economic condition but no action has been taken so far on that suggestion. I would like to know as to why this suggestion cannot be discussed with the Chief Ministers of all states.

It seems that black money rules everywhere, even at the Cabinet level there seems no 'Purity' at all. We need sincere and honest persons to control it; but where are they? It is very difficult to find them out. It is absolutely necessary that we should unearth the black money and use it for the development of our country. We go on preaching that there should be no dealing in black money; but it thrives in its own way. We should use our intelligence now and engage ourselves in having good projects after unearthing the black money.

I may say, the increase in taxation becomes counter-productive. There should be "less tax, more collection". More taxation leads to evasion and black-money. Not only the tax should be to be reduced, but we should also see that it get collected. There are

[Shri E. R. Krishnan]
many professionals say—merchants, hotel owners, doctors, vakils, the owners of scooter and car workshops—who earn every month—between Rs. 3,000 to 4,000. They never give correct accounts and are not paying the correct amount of tax. We should catch them, then only our government will become truly democratic. There are so many power delegated to our government; if it does not collect the taxes properly, it paves the way for corruption.

I feel, levying the additional surcharge on income-tax is not a progressive scheme, it would create only problems to the middle-class people. Similarly, the reduction in rebate on savings in the provident fund, life insurance etc. is also not good. It would not encourage the savings required for development of our nation; it would be a hurdle to our progress.

Since the old rate of taxation has been good, I reiterate that the same may be re-introduced instead of the present rate of taxation so as to avoid the problems of middle class people. I would like to warn the government that by more taxation, they should not discourage the savings which are essential for the growth of our economy.

I would request, Sir, for increasing the limit for wealth tax from Rs. 1 lakh to 2 lakh; I mean that wealth-tax should be levied only above Rs. 2 lakh.

Government should at once take necessary steps to collect the income-tax arrears of about Rs. 1,100 crores.

It is said that there are about 3,000 companies and individuals paying 80 per cent of Income-tax. I feel the taxation in the current budget would benefit only them and thus put the crores of people into suffering; it is not good; it is not correct.

It is also said that there is a parallel government being run by some in-

dividuals possessing about Rs. 20,000 crore. The experts in our Indian economy have discovered this fact.

Similarly, the Report of Reserve Bank of India for the last year pointed out that the inflation in our country has increased to 19.4 per cent in 1977-78 from 16.6 per cent in 1976-77. It was also stated that Public Undertakings did not function properly.

We may see that the production of steel has been reduced; there has been power-crisis. The Central Government may be aware that production has fallen in West-Bengal, Bihar and Tamil Nadu etc. due to power-crisis.

To avoid such a crisis, Tamil Nadu Government had forwarded some plans on power-generating projects for the approval of the central government. But no permission has been accorded so far. Because of this the crisis continues in Tamil Nadu. I request, Sir, that the proposed Thermal/Hydro Power Projects should be implemented. The demand for power has been increasing, the development of any industry depends on power. I feel, it is a challenge to be met by the Central Government. I feel, these are the grounds as I specified earlier, for abnormal rise in prices—on an average at about 25 per cent of all commodities for the last two months. The poor men middle class people have been put in a grave situation

The wrong economic policy adopted by the present government has caused the dearness.

May I ask the Minister, Sir, when the sovereign is sold at Rs. 750, how, I may respectfully submit, the poor people are now unable to purchase even Mangala-Sutra in gold. I would like to submit that the Finance Minister should take other Ministers into his confidence before he prepares the Annual Budget; had he done so, the condition would not have worsened.

The Hon'ble Prime Minister Shri Morarji Desai had proclaimed when he assumed the charge that he would eradicate unemployment within ten years. Now two years have passed. The people in India would like to know from him as to how many thousands of persons have got employment?

Since there is no unanimity among ministers, and the ministers do not discuss important problems mutually we are unable to get even kerosene, diesel, coal cooking gas baby food and some particular medicines at reasonable price. How is this government going to face the crisis.

The duty levied on kerosene would definitely affect the poor people. It is not small increase in price of kerosene as advocated by the Finance Minister. The increase is too much. The merchants are there to deceive the public in the name of increased taxes. I request Sir, for scrapping the duty on kerosene. The concessions announced on fertilizers have benefited only the big land lords, it would not give any benefit to middle farmers or farmers with small holdings. If it benefited them also, I would be ready to welcome the concession.

The hon. Minister Mr. Satish Agrawal reportedly told a seminar in New Delhi—"the share of tax revenues both Central and State in Financing the sixth plan, will aggregate Rs. 25,890 crores. Of this 13,000 crores are to be secured through additional taxation imposed during the period of plan." May I ask him where from he is going to get the additional taxation? Will not this type of taxation break the backbone of poor people?

According to the existing provision the states get the necessary financial resources through the sales tax. Now, the Central Government has introduced additional excise duty on some articles—mainly, tobacco, cotton, sugar etc. and give share to the State governments.

By this method the state governments are losing their share of taxation. It is needless to say that the state governments have direct link with their own development prospects. It is therefore necessary that they are properly financed. The amount equivalent to sales tax on those goods—whereon the additional excise duty is levied by the Central Government should be given to them.

The Central Government gives less share of earnings from Railway-travellers fare. Now the collection has been increased; and hence the share to the state government should also be increased, otherwise it would be a loss to the state governments. The share should be based on the earnings from the Railway-travellers fare.

State governments get a share in the collection of income-tax; but no share is being given to them on the collection of surcharge and corporate-tax; those also are connected with income-tax. Why the Central Government refuses to give a share out of those collections? I feel, it is narrow mindedness. Because of these grounds, state governments have to present deficit budgets. Now the time has come to stop their cheating practice. I request that justice should be given to the state governments.

It is said that the import duty on life-saving drugs has been reduced from 75 per cent to 25 per cent, but we should think, whether the people at large will be benefited by this reduction. Government should be vigilant that the multi-national companies do not take any undue advantage because of this reduction.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, the garland project for linking Ganga with Cauvery has been kept pending since long; if that project is implemented sincerely, I am sure, it would enhance the production in agricultural sector and help in flood control.

Our foreign exchange reserves have been increased by the remittances of

[Shri E. R. Krishnan]

our brothers settled in foreign countries. Are we extending any help to them in return? I think, we are doing nothing for them.

It has been reported Sir, that the authorities in Planning Commission are being pressurised by the hon'ble Minister Mr. Charan Singh and others to increase the support price of wheat from Rs. 115 to Rs. 127 Qtl. after the season; and from Rs. 115 to Rs. 121 in the middle of the season.

No Minister seems to have worried about the support price for paddy. Our Tamil Nadu Government has requested for the support price of Rs. 130 per Qtl. for paddy, but no action has been taken on that request so far. I think, the producers of both wheat and paddy are farmers—then, why is there partiality? Are there separate policies for wheat and paddy? That is the reason why we describe this type of treatment as an imposition of the north on the south. It would be a day-dream, if the Government thinks that it may cope up with the deficit in the budget by increase in taxation. I may point out, Sir, there was no such economic situation as witnessed today, during the period of emergency. On the findings of Mathew Commission, the emergency was imposed to improve economic situation. The emergency was not imposed to continue in the seat of power by Smt. Indira Gandhi, or to give official favours to the family member of Smt. Indira Gandhi. I request that the Ministers and the Members of ruling Party need not take it either as my opinion or the opinion of my party. The view was put forth by the Minister for Industries Mr. George Fernandes, while speaking in Poona recently. The Hindi daily 'Nav Bharat Times' published an editorial, today, on his views. I am referring, here to these points only.

An honourable Janata Member who spoke just now referred to the statement of our President of India that

50 per cent of our people are living on the subsistence level. I am also endorsing his views. 'Times of India' has today commented on the speech of the Industries Minister Mr. George Fernandes at Lucknow Press Club. It has pointed out that Minister has said that the present administration planned to please just 200 families; it has been oriented in that way. I would like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to his statements. When the Minister for Industries in Janata Government expressed such view, I would like to know, Sir, as to how are the poor people and middle class people going to be benefited by this Finance Bill.

A Janata Member, who spoke earlier to me accused great leaders of our country—particularly Ex-Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi. I feel very sorry.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, the leaders of Janata Party had, then accused the Congress Government that it had mortgaged our Indian Economy to U.S.S.R. But, now people say, that Janata Government had mortgaged Indian Economy to U.S.A. Otherwise, was there any necessity for Ex-Ambassador Mr. Moynihan to make a reference to an incident of the Congress Party receiving money from C.I.A. ten years back? It is not at all a point for a discussion that whether C.I.A. gave money or not. The question involved is was it proper for one country to interfere in the politics of another country?

Let us presume that it had interfered then, but why should it come out now after a lapse of ten years? Why should the Minister for External Affairs Mr. A. B. Vajpayee rush to U.S.A. I am not accusing any Party. I am interested that no one should accuse the great leaders of our country, particularly the ex-Prime Minister. I may also like to ask why this book is not banned by our government.

May I also ask in return as to what would be the reply if I refer to the statement of Mr. Motilal Vohra in M.P. Assembly that Prime Minister Shri Morarji Desai was given Rs. 4 lakhs by C.I.A., it was given through Vishwa Yuvak Canaro Trust of which Mr. Morarji Desai was Chairman once, Mr. Vohra has also stated that the matter has been published in the book—"C.I.A. Campus Collection" written by Mr. William J. Divine and Mr. Cliveland. It was also stated in the book that not only Mr. Morarji Desai but the present Labour Minister Mr. Ravindra Verma and Mr. Surendra Mohan, Mr. Ram Lal Parikh both Janata M.Ps got the money from C.I.A.

I feel, both the books should be banned in India as we should not accuse Mr. Morarji Desai also. No one need accuse the other. I do not endorse the view that we should talk about everything from the platform in the name of politics.

I may refer, now, to the statement of our President in last month that if we do not face the unemployment problem bravely, there would be a revolution here like in Iran. We will have to prepare ourselves to fight and eradicate the problem, I feel, we should not waste our time and energy in accusing one another. I hope, the honourable Minister would look into these problems pointed out by me.

Thank you.

SHRI SWAMI DINESH CHANDRA (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to participate in the debate. The annual ritual of presenting the Budget was performed by the hon. Minister of Finance on the 28th of February perfunctorily. During the debate on the general discussion of the Budget, anger and anguish was expressed by all sections of this House. Many valuable suggestions were given by the hon. Members for providing relief to the common man, but it

seems that all those suggestions have fallen on deaf ears. Sir, I may be pardoned for saying that it is a mockery of the very word 'Budget' to call these papers laid on the Table of the House as the 'Budget'. This Budget is like an income-tax return filed by a persons who does not want to pay any tax. One has to console oneself by saying that nothing better was expected from this Government of social and economic stagnation. Sir, may I ask a simple question from Shri Agarwal? Does this Budget kindle a hope in the hearts of the poor masses of this country who have been living in social, economic and cultural misery?

Sir, during the Budget speech, the hon. Minister of Finance had said that his proposals aim at reducing disparities. A very laudable idea indeed. He is sure to succeed at the present rate in more than 200 years. The surest way found by this Government, to reduce disparities is to shut one's eyes and turn one's face from the realities. Like the wise monkey, why should not one refuse to see any evil. See no evil and the evil will not be there. Sir, I do not doubt the intentions of the hon. Minister of Finance. He may be quite determined to achieve his objective of reducing disparities, but the hon. Prime Minister will not allow him to do so. Any attempt to reduce disparities is bound to cause cracks in the policy of nurturing the private sector—a pet policy of the hon. Prime Minister. The hon. Prime Minister is quite conscious that if disparities are done away with, he cannot remain in power even for a day. Removal of disparities is possible only in a socialist society and the hon. Prime Minister, who is the first among equals, detests socialism. I would like to ask Shri Agarwal how he is going to fulfil his commitment to the nation that he has made about reducing disparities. Sir, it is a figment of imagination to say that the Budget aims at reducing the disparities. Can any Janata M.P. vouch that the Budget proposals aim at reducing disparities?

[Shri Swami Dinesh Chandra]

Have you anywhere in the Budget attacked the private sector? You dare not attack the private sector. How long can you conceal the fact that your party was on the brink of disintegration when the matter of nationalising TISCO came up for discussion? You do not want to nationalise TISCO. You do not want to nationalise textiles. You do not want to nationalise the tobacco companies. In fact, you are in search of providing the monopoly capitalism with new avenues, new pastures and a little bit of sport so that they can gain their lost prestige. Which monopoly house is not indebted to some nationalised bank or the State financial corporation or the Industrial Development Bank to the tune of 10, 20 30 or even 50 crores of rupees? Do you intend to reduce the income of these organisations in the private sector in order to reduce disparities? Rest assured, they are capable on doing this by going the way of the Sahu Jain controlled Jaipur Udyog cement factory, at Sawai Madhopur. After Rs. 50 crores had gone down the drain, a loan of Rs. 6 crores was again granted, and the factory was again in doldrums.

Sir, I want to ask the Hon. Finance Minister: What measures has he suggested to control the lending and investment by the public sector undertakings like the LIC and the UTI? How can the disparities be removed if the policy of generous money-lending by the Nationalised Banks to the sharks in the private sector remains unabated. If the entire resources of the nation are monopolised by a few persons wherefrom will you find the wherewithal sufficient to guarantee two square meals a day to an average Indian? What is Mr. Agarwal's difficulty in granting a loan of Rs. 10,000 to every peasant family owning land between 5 to 20 bighans of land so that he may buy four buffaloes or 10 cows? This will provide subsidiary employment to the poor farmers and will augment his income by a few hundred rupees and will also ensure a smooth

supply of ghee and milk to the urban and rural population at reasonable rates. Reducing duty on the fertilizer or any other input will not serve the purpose. The need of the hour is to create new avenues of employment so that the burden on land may be reduced and to provide investment to the poor farmer and the village artisan.

Sir, I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Finance: Why should he not take steps to curb ever increasing production of the man-made fibre? This will boost the price of cotton grown by the poor farmer by increased use of cotton in Textiles and will save vast energy which may be utilised for other useful purposes. No doubt, many industrial empires like the DCM will vanish, but this should not cause any worry to the hon. Finance Minister. He is expected to be more concerned in augmenting the nation's resources rather than in the financial growth of the monopoly houses.

Sir, the hon. Minister of Finance would have done a substantial good turn to the Indian economy had he appointed a commission to go into the working of the industrial units run by the monopoly houses to find out the reasons for their indebtedness so heavily. How is it that in spite of all facilities being accorded to them, they are on the brink of getting insolvent? Practically every big business house is neck deep into debts and may go bankrupt any moment. If this happens, it will be a great catastrophe for the nationalised banks who have granted loans to these parties. The nationalised banks cannot also, by any standards, be called solvent. If Nationalised Banks have not applied for liquidation, it is not because of the incomes earned by them, it is the middle class deposits that provide dialysis to these banks, whose kidneys

have already stopped working

Sir, is there anything in the Budget which may eradicate unemployment to some extent? The hon. Prime Minister says that his Government will be able to solve the problem of unemployment within 10 years. For a famished Indian, ten years' period is equivalent to eternity. What does this Budget promise to those 10 per cent of the people who go without an evening meal daily? Lakhs and lakhs of people in Bombay and Calcutta have been sleeping on pavements all their lives, procreating children to become beggars. What hope does this Budget create for them?

In each State housing is going on on a vast scale. In my State, Rajasthan, also housing is going on on a very large scale, squandering millions of rupees to house the urban gentry, those occupying high posts in the Government. Sir, in my State the Housing Board takes pride in telling the people that they are able to construct houses worth a lakh and a half rupees in Rs. 80,000 only. My query to them is for whom are you building these houses? A person who can spend Rs. 80,000 is capable of taking care of himself. Why worry about him? Why not build single-room tenements, costing between Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 7,000? Those who are needy have to be served first.

Sir, there is activity all round. But the question is, in whose interest? The Janata Government may boast that they have built very big hospitals. No doubt, they have built very big hospitals. But a poor man dare not visit these hospitals. An ordinary prescription would not cost less than Rs. 25. Can he afford to spend twenty-five rupees? Sir, this Government should be ashamed of it self that it is not even able to provide free medicines to an average patient visiting a hospital. Why can not the doctors see to it that dispensing is done in the hospitals? And why can not this Government see to it that the doctors do not act as

the chemists' agents, giving prescription after prescription? In essence, the Indian economy as managed today is the exploitation of the rural areas so that the urban gentry, the urban elite, may be well served. No Government has right to govern unless it guarantees every Indian his daily bread. There is no difficulty in giving food to every citizen in this country, who should have at least two square meals every day. Whether you live or perish is a matter of little consequence to him. Sir, permit me to quote what Lenin said well-nigh 60 years ago. He said:

"The problem of feeding the poor is very simple. We will take from the rich and give it to the poor. Workers get ration cards, and cards get food."

Sir, after the presentation of this Budget, the economic situation in this country has deteriorated to a considerable extent. The life of the common man has become miserable, more dismal and disappointing. This Budget bears a testimony to the fact that this Government has deteriorated morally, ideologically and politically. It may be any combination of people, but it is writ large on the horizon, that a Government which spurns socialism will not be able to remain in the saddle for long

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, while piloting the Finance Bill the Minister stated that the Government has given certain concessions, and he said, "If we have not been able to accept some of the suggestions pressing for a larger measure of relief it is because either they are in conflict with the basic social and economic objectives envisaged in the Budget or because they would involve serious sacrifice of revenue." That is why the concessions demanded have not been given. I feel this is an anti-people Budget, an anti-working class Budget. Not only that. It has tried to create a new type of division: rural people and urban people. When the

[Shri S. W. Dhabe]

Janata Party came to power their manifesto said that CDS would be abolished, that bonus would be given to all, as it is a deferred wage. But what do we find? A discrimination is made against the working class in imposing CDS and continuing it. The working class people have to pay income-tax and in addition compulsory deduction of CDS will take place. And then, what is the rate of interest they are paid? Mr. Satish Agarwal knows banking. What rate of interest do the employees get on their CDS deposits? It is much less than the banking rate. Indirectly this is nothing but exploitation. What else can it be? Not only that. The working class has been hit hard by the levies on fuel and transport. And it has been said many times that the working class has been a privileged class, their wages are high, and so on. If a real study is made, even from 1950 up till now, you will see their real wages have not gone up. Government's own survey will show that, the erosion of actual wages. The value of the rupee has gone down. The fixed income group people, those who have to depend upon essential commodities and essential articles, if those people do not remain satisfied, and if there is no job satisfaction, whatever policy the Government may have, whatever documents the Government may produce, whatever speech Shri Charan Singh may make saying that we are having this strategy and that strategy, all that is not going to succeed. The Government will not succeed unless they have got the willing cooperation of the working class. When the Janata Party came to power, hopes were raised—and some of the Ministers gave expression to it—that the question of bonus would be solved and bonus would be granted to all the workers, the railway workers, the P&T workers, Defence workers etc. The workers are restive. What is the reason? There is going to be a strike from 18th May by the coal workers. And the Bureau of Public Enterprise

is behaving like a maharaja, that unless they give clearance, no negotiation can be finalised, no settlement can take place, no guidelines could be formulated. There are differences in this matter between the Labour Ministry and the Finance Ministry. And even after negotiations take place, it takes years to implement the agreements. I know of a case in Madras. Supervisory staff agreement was sent to the Bureau of Public Enterprises—from the Public Corporation Management—and it took one year already and it is still pending with the Bureau of Public Enterprises. If the Finance Minister really wants the cooperation and confidence of the working class, then the Bureau of Public Enterprise must be abolished. At least you should give it some proper guidelines. If you really want to come to some agreement on the workers' demands, its representatives must be at the negotiation table along with the representatives of the management. The representatives of about four lakh workers of Coal India Limited have been negotiating for the last so many months. Still nothing could be done because the management has no power. If you really want the public sector undertakings to succeed in this country—this applies to private sector also—the management on the spot must have power. But what I see is that the role of the Bureau of Public Enterprise is becoming a stumbling block in maintaining industrial peace.

Why should not bonus be given to the workers? Government wants to implement the Bhoothalingam Committee's recommendations though the working class has rejected them. Ministry wants a national minimum wage to be fixed. At what level? The report is before a sub-committee in the Finance Ministry. They want the national minimum wage to be fixed at Rs. 4 per day, not realising that the minimum wage of even a rural worker is more than Rs. 4 a day in many of the States. The na-

tional minimum wage should have some relevance to the actual situation in the country. In this connection, I want to say that the Labour Ministry and Finance Ministry are fighting among themselves on the question of guidelines for the Bureau of Public Enterprise and its role. They are always blaming the working class for the inter-union rivalry which they say is responsible for lack of industrial growth and strikes. Wherever it suits them, they blame the working class, and the inter-union rivalry. What is the new democratic culture that has come to this country after Janata came into power? A new democratic culture is being evolved here. There is no coordination between the Railway Ministry and the Energy Ministry. The Energy Minister says that so much of coal is available with him, but there are no wagons available to lift the coal. The Railway Minister says that wagons are available, but there is no coal to be transported. The result was that about 300 passenger trains were cancelled during last year. Who is responsible for this? Is this the way of running a Government? This is a New democracy which India has not seen in the past. The Ministers are free to campaign among people against their own Government. The Ministers are free to make any statement they like, whether against their own Government or their Party. The Chief Ministers are free to set up candidates against the Party candidates. The Government has lost all credibility among the working class and people. In Hindi it is said; CHALTI KA NAAM GAADI. This is the type of Government we have. They have no direction. Unless democratic norms are followed and unless the political system is strengthened, unless clean administration is ensured and unless corruption is eradicated, you will have no credibility. If some growth rate is to be achieved, at least your inter-Ministerial rivalry should be stopped. The Steel Minister is fighting the Energy Minister. The Energy

Minister is fighting the Railway Minister. The Labour Minister is fighting the Finance Minister. This is all done openly. There is open rift. I would even suggest that instead of laying any emphasis on the Budget proposals, the Janata leadership should find some time to stop the intra-Ministry rivalry which has become a stumbling block in the progress of the country. I would like to refer to paragraph 36 of the Finance Minister's speech wherein he has said that the main objective of the Budget is eradication of poverty and unemployment. I quote:

"...This calls for a radical restructuring of the priorities in our Plans. Agricultural and rural development have therefore been assigned the pride of place in our Plans. But Government recognises that the requisite degree or reorientation of development plans can be achieved only over a period of time"

Therefore, Sir, the main objective of this Budget is that the rural development has been given a pride of place in our Plan. Sir, if you read the whole Budget, nothing is done in this direction. The main questions have not been touched at all so far as the rural development is concerned, so far as rural employment is concerned, as also so far as land reforms are concerned. Sir, it is a curious phenomenon in our country that the number of unemployed people is going up during every Plan every time. In the First Five Year plan, Sir no estimates were made about the number of unemployed people. In the Second Plan, during 1956-61, there were 5.3 million unemployed people, 2.8 million rural and 2.5 million urban—it seems to be incorrect. In the Third Plan, the figure is 9 millions. In the Fourth Plan and in the Fifth Plan, no estimates have been made. Sir, I am reading from the Estimates Committee Report of April 1978. Efforts are being made to collect some information. At page 5 of this Report, it

[Shri S. W. Dhabe]

has been said that in 1971, the rural daily status employees was 14.21 millions, in 1978 it was 16.47 millions, and in 1983 the figure will be 18.10 million.

Sir, this clearly shows that unemployment is going up.

As regards land reforms, the position is still worse. The guidelines have been issued. With regard to the regulation of rent, security, of tenure conferment of ownership, etc. adequate steps have not been taken to implement them. In a number of States, even today there is no time-limit after taking possession by small farmers; the landlords can exercise their right indefinitely for resumption of land.

Not only that. It is a well-known thing and it has been said by a number of committees that not a single word for the rural labour has been said in the entire Budget. The Budget is meant only for big kulaks or big landlords who have got tractors, who use fertilisers, who have money for investment. For them, concessions are given. My friend from Andhra has rightly said that instead of giving concessions to the extent of Rs. 400 crores. It could have been used for a better purpose and a Welfare Fund for Labour should have been created. Not even basic amenities for the rural workers have been provided. There are no hospitals, no educational facilities and other things which are necessary to create an incentive for work or training facilities. There have been several studies in India and abroad which indicate that small farms are more labour-intensive than large ones.

If he has got his own land, he will use to the maximum extent his own labour and the labour of the other members of his family. Why are not the land ceiling legislations being implemented? The reply given by the Prime Minister, when we met him in a deputation, was that it is a State subject and that he could not do

anything. In this connection, Sir, it will be seen that a large number of lands are declared surplus. The estimated surplus lands in India, which is a rough estimate, are 68.80 lakh acres. The area declared surplus, not taken possession of under various ceiling laws is 44.98 lakh acres, and the area taken possession of is merely 23.70 lakh acres, and the area distributed is restricted only to 16 lakh acres. In this connection, I may suggest that the Government must under the Land Acquisition Act acquire the land and distribute it to the landless labour. These land ceiling laws have failed miserably to give any relief to the rural poor and whatever the Finance Minister may say, the fact remains that unless there is the involvement of the real producer of wealth, the rural poor, in the rural development and agricultural production, no effort of giving incentives to farmers is going to succeed in our country. Therefore, I would suggest that the surplus land, the land estimated surplus by the Planning Commission and also given in the Draft Plan, should be acquired by the Government under the Land Acquisition Act or under any other legislation and freely distributed to landless labourers and Harijans immediately.

Sir, of the 16 lakh acres of land distributed so far hardly one-third has gone to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes people. There was a committee appointed by the Government to review the progress of land reform measures in different States and it submitted its report on 9.11.1978. I would not read the whole thing. The salient features are that the ordinary judicial system is not provided for adjudication in some States and the administrative officers are appointed to decide the land disputes. The major recommendation is that these should be brought under the Ninth Schedule to the Constitution. On the other hand, the Orissa Government has passed a legislation revising the limits, favouring the landlords.

SHRI LAKSHMANA MAHA-PATRO (Orissa): Not passed; introduced in the Assembly.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: Secondly, Sir, it has been suggested by that Committee that the review authority under the ceiling laws should be under the High Court jurisdiction and not under administrative department. Thirdly, Sir, it has been suggested by them that in order to dispose of the cases more Benches of the High Courts should be established and more judges appointed. Everybody knows that in the Karnataka High Court ten to fifteen thousand cases of writ petitions are pending which are not disposed of yet. Therefore, Sir, these recommendations, which are very radical and important, made on 9.11.78 should be implemented. I suggest that the Government should take immediate steps for the implementation of these recommendations. Unless you give guidelines to the State Governments, though it is a State subject in the State List, no radical change is going to take place in the rural scene.

So far as the working class is concerned, any bias against the working class or whose wages are going up, is not going to help any Government in our country. Even though the farmers may produce more, if industries are not functioning or manufacturing industries do not work, the rural economy in our country will not collapse. Sir, the trade union movement in the world has made remarkable progress contribution to the economic development.

The major third bank in West Germany is run by the trade union. In Israel, the second largest bank is run by the trade union and 15 per cent of its investment is made in the national planning by the trade union workers and a record has been created. If the working class is given a due share in the prosperity and the Government is prepared to agree to

workers' participation. I think the trade union movement in the country can be a great asset in the economic development.

In the end, I would only say that this Budget has satisfied none. It has brought many aspects which are not going to solve any problem. It has got features which are going against the national interest and economic interest.

Lastly, I would repeat that merely some excise concessions are not going to make any radical change in our economy or for bringing economic revolution in the country. It requires involvement of the people, involvement of the working class, rural as well as urban, and, therefore, I would like to know as to what the Government is going to do for the rural labour and rural people and how their wages are going to be raised and how they will have a security of job. There also, we find many people who are educated and unemployed. If it is not attended to immediately, the tall talk of rural reforms and rural development will fall through.

Lastly, I would say that the dissolution of Goa Assembly was absolutely undemocratic. An alternative Government was possible. Seventeen members were paraded before the Governor. Instead of talking of democracy, they should practice democracy when the occasion arises.

With these words, Sir, I would say that the Budget is not helpful to the country, it is anti-working class and anti-poor people.

SHRI ANANDA PATHAK (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to participate in the discussion on the Finance Bill. Sir, only a few days back, we discussed the General Budget and the same was returned from this House with protest and criticism, not only from the Opposition, but also

[Shri Ananda Pathak]

from many of the Members of the Janata Party. Now, the Government has come forward with the Finance Bill.

Sir, the Budget was unprecedented and unusual in the sense that it was presented with imposition of new taxation to the tune of Rs. 665 crores and still leaving a deficit balance of Rs. 1350 crores. We are now called upon to consider the Finance Bill here in this House which is to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 1979-80. There is nothing new in the Finance Bill nor has the Government come forward with any fresh proposals to provide relief to the common people. I feel that after the passage of the General Budget which had very little scope to suggest any major changes, in the Finance Bill. The same practice is continuing. So I think it wise to concentrate our discussion on the financial position of the Government instead of quoting series of figures here and there. In my opinion, in all fairness, the Budget and the Finance Bill should be brought together and finalised together even if a little more time is required for that purpose.

Now, coming to the Finance Bill which empowers the Government to give effect to the Budget proposals, I would emphatically say that it has got nothing new and it has provided no relief to the common people who are groaning under the heavy pressure of taxation. Sir, from this, you can easily visualise that more difficult days and more sufferings are ahead for the common people and the Government is determinedly preparing to impose new burden of indirect taxation on the shoulders of the common people and the poor people. Sir, you can easily understand this prediction from the targets of additional taxation for the next five years which has been fixed at Rs. 7750 crores. During last year also, there was a deficit Budget and we were told that the new Government had no time and scope to look

into the financial position of the country and to bring about a radical change in the financial activities, as has been promised in the election manifesto of the Janata Party. This was understandable because they had come to power only two years ago. But this year, they had sufficient time and they had full control over the helm of affairs. But even then, they have come forward with the same disastrous Budget proposals. Why? We need not go far to find out the reasons. Sir, the Janata Party is following the same path, as has been the case with its predecessors during the last 30 years. They are following the same capitalist path of development which has now become outmoded, crisis-ridden and out of tune and we cannot expect anything better from the Janata Government which is representing the same class, the class of big monopolists, capitalists and landlords. Sir, the Janata Government has no clear-cut policy, no direction and no vision. Your policy is a bankrupt policy. Your philosophy is a bankrupt philosophy. Your concept of mixed economy has no place in the context of the present era of socialistic transformation. Mr. Minister, your Government has no control over the economy. You are bound to act according to the dictates and the interests of the class which you are representing today. We know that this process will continue till a radical change, a change which will bring about social transformation of the society from capitalism to socialism, is ushered in, in our country. Otherwise, this process will continue. You are talking about narrowing down the disparity between the haves and the have-nots and that you will reduce it from the present ratio of 1:20 to 1:10. But the entire Budget proposals have further widened this gap. You talk about self-reliance. In practice, you are making the country increasingly dependent on foreign countries and on multi-nationals. You have entered into collaboration agreements with foreign countries and with the multi-nationals. During the last two years

of the Janata Government, as many as 300 collaboration agreements have been entered into. You have allowed these people to plunder our people, plunder our country and squeeze our people. You do not dare to impose a ban or a moratorium on the expatriation of wealth to foreign countries. Your policy has landed the country on the verge of pauperisation. The foreign trade deficit has crossed the figure of Rs. 1,000 crores. Despite your tall claims, you have not been able to remove or even reduce the limitation of foreign ownership and their grip over our economy. You have given up the idea of nationalisation of key and major industries causing helplessness, stagnation, manipulation and plundering of our economy by the big monopolists. When constructive suggestions for the nationalisation of all the foreign and big indigenous monopoly houses and companies, big plantations, jute, rubber, steel and so on, are made by the democratic-minded people and parties, you brush them aside with the oft-repeated slogan 'nationalisation is not the panacea for all the ills'. This exposes your class character.

The corporate sector is making unprecedented and fabulous profits at the cost of the weaker sections of the society and at the cost of the country. But you do not touch them. Instead, you are encouraging them with concessions, one after another. The Janata Party had declared that it would adopt the principle of equality and prosperity for all. In practice, there is wide gap between the promise and performance.

From the day of presentation of Budget the prices of all the essential commodities, like match boxes, soaps, bidi, cigarettes, sugar, kerosene, petrol, diesel, etc., which are required for day to day life of the people, have started soaring up.

But the Government refuse to take over the wholesale trade of these commodities and distribute them through the public distribution sys-

tem at the same fair price throughout the country. Yesterday we discussed this point and asked the Government to take over the wholesale trade, but they categorically refused to take over the wholesale trade of these essential commodities so as to ensure regular supply of these articles through fair price shops, co-operative and other public distribution agencies. Similarly, the price of cement, coal, steel, iron, etc. has gone up, but you have no check over it, nor you have political will to understand the misery of the people.

When the Finance Minister presented his budget, he proudly declared that it was a kisan budget and rural-oriented budget. But in practice what do we find? We find that the rural rich and kulaks are minting money, yet they are not touched. The lion share of the agricultural credit goes to the better-off farmers. Whatever concessions have been offered in the budget, that too go to the better offs who have their approach to the highest level of the Government, who can afford to mechanise cultivation. But small, marginal and poor farmers and agricultural labourers have been cheated. They are exploited both the ways. As purchasers of industrial goods, they have to pay more. As sellers of agricultural products they have to sell their products at a very nominal price. There is no guarantee of remunerative price for their products, like tobacco, sugarcane, cotton, jute and other cash crops. They are being fleeced by the money lenders as well as by the big industrialists.

Sir, what is the state of our rural economy today? According to the *Economic Survey*, out of Rs. 1500 crores advances by the Banks to the rural areas, Rs. 1200 crores have gone to big farmers and kulaks. The poor and landless peasants who constitute more than 80 per cent of the rural population could hardly get Rs. 60 crores, whereas one per cent of the rural household account for 20 per cent of the rural assets.

[Shri Ananda Pathak]

Sir, out of 650 million population of our country 80 per cent live in rural areas and 70 per cent of the total population are living below poverty line, who have no purchasing power, no means to make both ends meet. Hardly 10 per cent can afford to purchase the industrial goods. That is why there is stagnation in the production of our industrial goods, and the problem of unemployment is mounting and it has crossed the figure of 10 crores in rural and urban areas. Although in their figures they say that there are only a few millions unemployed who have registered their names with the employment exchanges, but actually there are thousands and thousands of such unemployed youths in rural areas who cannot go to the employment exchange to register their names. They have not been accounted for. Therefore, the number of unemployed comes to more than 10 crores in our country. Unless you carry out basic land reforms and improve the purchasing power of the rural masses, you cannot bring about radical and basic changes, both in agriculture as well as in industry. But instead of doing this, your action is setting the rural population against the urban population. You are trying to gain from this.

Another very dangerous feature of our economy is the increasing rate of inflation which has gone up to 5.4 per cent from 2 per cent immediately after the Budget was presented in Parliament. But the bureaucratic machinery of the Government denies it as they have no touch with the common people and they do not mix with the common people. This is the result of this deficit Budget.

Another reason for this deficit Budget is circulation of black money. According to the Wanchoo Commission, the circulation of black money was Rs. 10 thousand crores in 1970, which is swallowing every year at the rate of Rs. 1400 crores. That is, by now it might have gone up to

more than Rs. 20,000 crores. So this is the position. But they cannot do anything, they cannot touch them.

I would like to draw your attention to another unwelcome feature of the Budget. You have proposed to reduce the rate of transfer of money from the Centre to the States from 40 per cent in 1978-79 to 37 per cent in 1979-80. I strongly oppose it and demand that the States' share should be increased. Many of the States have been demanding more powers and financial and administrative autonomy and they have been demanding 70 per cent share for the States.

Only a few days back I saw in the newspapers that the Central Government is thinking in terms of pruning the State Plans on the pretext of States' failure to raise the resources. When the Central Government has tapped all the resources of the States upto the throat, how do you expect raising of more resources by the States? It is not possible and it is absurd. You have also stretched your hands to snatch away the right of levying surcharge, which we discussed here yesterday. You have snatched that power of the States and this is detrimental to the interests of the States. When you are spending money in the interest of multimillionaires, and kulaks on the plea of incentives for export etc. why don't you increase the States' share? That is a very pertinent question.

You are talking about giving relief to the small industrialists. But you have imposed a discriminatory rate of excise duty on tea plantations. Let us take the example of West Bengal. In the district of Darjeeling, which produces the very famous tea, the Central Government has imposed excise duty of Rs. 1.25 per kilogram of tea, whereas in the plains area of the same district, it is only 25 paise per kg. and it is only 50 paise per kg. in the neighbouring district of Jalpai-

guri. Why should there be such discrimination? I am not pleading for the big plantations, but the small planters, small owners are suffering. They are repeatedly demanding that the Government should remove this disparity, but the Government is silent. Therefore, I demand that the disparity should go and the excise duty should be equalised for all the regions of the same State.

Lastly, I would warn the Government that if they fail to bring about a radical change in their economic policy, whatever little you have done in the restoration of democratic rights and freedom, that is bound to meet its doom, and whatever confidence you are enjoying of the democratic-minded people will go away. Your present economic policy will provide for the re-emergence of authoritarianism in the country. Therefore, you have to think very seriously, otherwise whatever little remains in the political field as well as on the democratic rights will vanish and autocratic forces will come.

With this warning I conclude my speech. I thank you very much.

श्री कलराज मिश्र (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मान्यवर, आपने मुझे वित्त विधेयक पर बोलने का जो अवसर दिया है इसके लिये मैं हृदय से आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ। जो वित्त विधेयक सामने आया है, उसका समर्थन करने के लिये मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ। वैसे 30 वर्षों के अन्दर जिन बातों पर ध्यान नहीं दिया गया था उनपर विशेष रूप से ध्यान दिया जाय, तथा किस तरीके से कृषि का विकास किया जाय, इस तरफ सरकार का ध्यान किस ढंग से ले जाया जाय, यह मूल बिंदु सामने रख करके इस वित्त बजट में विचार किया गया है। देखा जाय तो समवादी ममार्ज के विकास के लिये मुख्य रूप से तीन चीजों की अत्यधिक आवश्यकता होती है। वे हैं कृषि और उद्योग का सामान तौर पर विकास हो दूसरा जो गरीबी से निचला जीवन स्तर व्यतीत कर रहे हों उनके विकास की व्यवस्था हो तथा तीसरा देश के अन्दर जो एक समानान्तर अर्थव्यवस्था ब्लैकमनी और मृदा-स्फीति की निर्मित होती है उसके नियंत्रण के लिए कोई योजना हो। अगर ये तीनों चीजें ढंग से चलीं तो हम निश्चित रूप से यह कह सकते हैं कि समाज का सम्यक रूप से विकास हो रहा है।

इस बजट को देखने के पश्चात् यह अवश्य लगता है कि कृषि की तरफ ध्यान दिया गया है। हमने कृषि पर आधारित उद्योगों का विकास करने की दृष्टि से इन पर विशेष रूप से चिंतन किया है, लेकिन उद्योगों की तरफ जिस ढंग से विचार करना चाहिए था शायद उस तरफ से उपेक्षा हुई है। समान रूप से कृषि और उद्योगों पर जो चिंतन होना चाहिए था जिससे ये ढंग से विकसित हों, मैं समझता हूँ कि इस प्रकार के चिंतन में थोड़ी कमी रह गयी है। पहले जहां एक तरफ उद्योगों के विकास की तरफ ध्यान दिया गया वहां आज जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने दोनों की तरफ ध्यान न देकर केवल मात्र कृषि पर ही सोचा है, उद्योगों की तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया है।

अब प्रश्न यह है कि कृषि की तरफ विकास की जो बात कही गयी, क्या दी गयी सुविधाएं सामान्य स्तर के किसानों को प्राप्त हुई हैं। इनको देखने के बाद ऐसा लगता है कि शायद बड़े किसानों के बारे में सोचा गया है। सोचने के क्रम में हम यह कह सकते हैं कि जो छूट दी गयी है वह पावर टिलर्स, ट्रैक्टर और हार्ड स्पीड डीजल पर यही सोचकर दी गयी कि जो ट्रैक्टर और पावर टिलर्स इस्तेमाल करते हैं उनको हम सुविधा प्रदान करेंगे। लेकिन जो सामान्य किसान है जिसके हल पर लोहे का फाल होता है उधर ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। लोहे पर टैक्स बढ़ गया, उसके दाम बढ़ गये हैं जिससे सारे किसान मारे जा रहे हैं। अतः इसमें एक डिस्क्रिमिनेशन है। इसमें बड़े किसानों और छोटे किसानों का अन्तर बनाया गया है। इसलिये मैं ऐसा अनुभव करता हूँ कि कृषि का विकास करने की तरफ जो ध्यान दिया गया है उस पर समान रूप से जैसा देना चाहिए था वैसा नहीं दिया जा रहा है। दूसरे गरीबी से निचले स्तर पर जो जीवन व्यतीत कर रहे हैं, तो उनके बारे में यह दिखाई देगा कि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर पचास प्रतिशत से अधिक लोग ऐसे हैं कि आज तक हम उनको दोनों वक्त का भोजन नमीब नहीं करा पाए, चाहे पहले की सरकार रही होगी या अब की सरकार है। यह आशा जरूर बनी थी कि जो गरीबी के निचले स्तर का जीवन व्यतीत कर रहे हैं, उनके विकास के लिये सरकार सुव्यवस्था करेगी। किन्तु इस बजट को देखने के बाद यह लगता है कि उनके विकास के लिये कोई ऐसा प्रावधान नहीं रखा गया है।

अब मैं यह कह सकता हूँ कि जैसे यह बात आती है, कहा जाता है कि किरोसिन का दाम इसलिये बढ़ा दिया गया कि वह डीजल में भी मिलाया जाता है। किरोसिन कौन उपयोग करता है? सामान्य स्तर का किसान उपयोग करता है, झोंपड़ी में किरोसिन का उपयोग होता है। इसका दाम बढ़ाया गया यह तर्क समझ में नहीं आता कि डीजल में मिलावट हो रही है, इसलिये

[श्री कलराज मिश्र]

उसका दाम बढ़ाया गया है। अगर यही तर्क लिया जाय तो आज हिन्दुस्तान में कोई भी ऐसी चीज नहीं होगी जिसमें मिलावट नहीं होती होगी। अगर दूध में पानी मिलाया जाता है, तो क्या हम पानी का दाम बढ़ा दें? यह तर्क मुझे बड़ा अनर्गल जैसा लगता है। इसलिये मेरा निश्चित रूप से कहना है कि किरोसिन का दाम बढ़ा कर माचिस का दाम बढ़ा कर सामान्य जनता को प्रभावित किया गया है। यह बात सही है कि श्रम उद्योग की बात कही गई है कि हम श्रम उद्योग को प्रधानता देना चाहते हैं, लेकिन उसको प्रधानता देने के क्रम में जो माचिस उद्योग जिसको कुछ परिवारों ने अपने हाथ में लिया है, शिवकाशी के सतरह उद्योग हैं वे एक ही परिवार के हाथ में हैं उसको लाभ पहुंचाया गया है। इस पर एक्साइज ड्यूटी बढ़ा कर यह जो भार वहन करना पड़ रहा है, सामान्य स्तर का व्यक्ति ही इससे प्रभावित हुआ है। इसलिये यह विचार करना चाहिए था कि जब श्रम उद्योग विकसित हो जाये तो उस समय इस दिशा में ध्यान देते, तो ज्यादा अच्छा रहता। साबुन पर टैक्स लगे हैं, लकड़ी साबुन पर नहीं, सामान्य साबुन पर। इससे किसान परेशान हुआ है और हमारे विस्त मंत्री जी ने अपने भाषण में कहा था कि दूध पेस्ट और दूध-ब्रश का भी दाम बढ़ेगा। अब यह दूध-ब्रश और दूध-पेस्ट कौन उपयोग करता है? मैं समझता हूँ कि आज साधारण गांव का आदमी भी इसका उपयोग करता है, दातुन का उपयोग नहीं करता है। अगर इस पर विचार करें तो जो साइकल चलाता है, आदमी की जो सामान्य उपयोग की वस्तुएं हैं जिसके बारे में हम कहते हैं कि गांव के विकास के लिये हमने किया है, सामान्य उपयोग की वस्तुओं के भी दाम ज्यादा बढ़े हैं और इसके कारण सामान्य आदमी इससे बहुत अधिक प्रभावित हुआ है। हां, पन्द्रह प्रतिशत किसान इससे जरूर लाभान्वित हुआ है। 233 करोड़ रुपये का हमने एक तरह का उसे गिफ्ट दिया है और यह गिफ्ट शायद सामान्य किसानों को मार डालने वाला गिफ्ट होगा।

आज टैक्सज डायरेक्ट और इन्डायरेक्ट दोनों तरीकों से बढ़े हैं। शा कमेटी और चौकसी कमेटी दोनों ने अपनी रिपोर्टें प्रस्तुत की थीं। लेकिन उन रिपोर्टों को इग्नोर किया गया है। उन पर विचार नहीं किया गया है और बेतहाशा जिस तरीके से जिस पर भी चाहा उस पर लेवी लगा दी है। जहां भी लेवी लगाई गई है, चाहे पेट्रोलियम पर लेवी लगाई गई है, इससे भी साधारण आदमी परेशान हुआ है।

यदि हम देखें, तो बजट की नीयत अच्छी होने के बावजूद भी जो किया-कलाप किये गये हैं उसके अन्दर ऐसा लगता है कि कहां पर पोलिटिकल इंस्पिरेशन है और उस पोलिटिकल इंस्पिरेशन के कारण यह सारे लोग परेशान हो रहे हैं। अब सवाल यह खड़ा होता है कि जो

यह सारी चीजें चल रही हैं इसमें व्यवस्था किस प्रकार हो। हमारे पास सर्पलस फारेन एक्सचेंज है 5,850 करोड़ रुपये का, गेहूं पर्याप्त मात्रा में है—बीस मिलियन टन गेहूं है। हम उसका उपयोग करके अच्छी व्यवस्था कर सकते थे आर्थिक विकास की दृष्टि से। लेकिन उसका हम ढंग से उपयोग नहीं कर पाये हैं। तेरह सौ करोड़ घाटे का बजट हमारे सामने दिखाई दे रहा है। मुद्रा-स्फीति बढ़ने का हमने पूरा रास्ता खोल दिया है। मुद्रा-स्फीति बढ़ेगी, मंहगाई बढ़ेगी, इन्फ्लेक्शन में लेबर की डिमांड बढ़ेगी। मांग की पूर्ति न होने पर इन्फ्लेक्शन अनुरेस्ट होगा और एक तरह सा-माजिक संघर्ष की स्थिति ऐसी पैदा हो सकती है हम उनकी भावनाओं की और आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति नहीं कर पाएंगे। फिर ब्लैक मनी की बात इसी से बढ़ती है। जो मैंने दूसरी बात कही, यदि ब्लैक मनी, काला धन हमने रोका नहीं तो निश्चित रूप से हमें बहुत बड़े नुकसान का सामना करना पड़ सकता है। प्राइस इंडेक्स बहुत तेजी से बढ़ गया है, दो वर्ष के अन्दर मूल्य सूचकांक को नियंत्रित करने की कोशिश की गई थी और जनता सरकार को सफलता भी मिली, लोगों की आशाएं बढ़ी थी कि शायद यह स्टेबिलाइज हो जाएगा, लेकिन वैसा नहीं हुआ। जो 1977 के पहले की सरकार थी उनकी जो आर्थिक व्यवस्था थी उसमें मुद्रा स्फीति में जबरदस्त बढ़ोत्तरी हुई थी। रिजर्व बैंक ने 1976 में भले ही चेतावनी दी कि यदि यही स्वरूप बना रहे तो देश में ऐसी आर्थिक दुर्ग्यवस्था का निर्माण हो जाएगा जिसको रोका नहीं जा सके। लेकिन जनता सरकार ने फिजूल खर्ची रोककर दो वर्ष में जो स्टेबिलाइजेशन लाया था, वह आज तेजी से गिर रहा है और 25 पर सेट मंहगाई बढ़ गई है, लोगों की आशंका होने लगी है कि अब क्या होगा? हमारे सामने यह एक सवाल के रूप में खड़ा होता है और हमारा ऐसा अनुमान है कि ब्लैक मनी 300—500 करोड़ रुपये बढ़ी है। देश में एक समानान्तर आर्थिक व्यवस्था चालू हो गई है। अब इसको किम तरह चैक किया जाए इस पर चिन्तन करने की आवश्यकता है। मेरा सरकार से आग्रह है कि एक बार फिर से अपनी टैक्सेशन की प्रणाली पर पुनर्विचार करे। इस पर फिर से विचार करें तो उस से लाभ होगा।

इस सम्बन्ध में मेरे दो-तीन सुझाव हैं। जिस प्रकार से टैक्सेशन किया गया है, मैं समझता हूँ दुनिया में सब से अधिक टैक्सेशन अगर कहीं है तो हिन्दुस्तान में है। पर्सनल इनकम टैक्स से सम्बन्धित एक आंकड़ा हमने एक पत्रिका में पढ़ा था—इंडिया टुडे में उसमें था कि जो आदमी 50,000 रुपये की आमदनी माल में करता है उसके ऊपर भारत में पर्सनल टैक्स 11850 रु० का है उसी आमदनी पर ब्रिटेन में जो टैक्स है वह 7200 रु० का है और उसी आमदनी में अमेरिका में 4950 रु० का है, और उसी आमदनी में जो सब से अधिक

विकसित देश जापान है उसमें 850 रुपये है, यानी हिन्दुस्तान, एक अविक्कित देश जो अभी विकास की गति में जा रहा है, ऐसे देश में सर्वाधिक टैक्स हो और सब से विकसित देश जापान, उसके ऊपर 850 रु० टैक्स हो, यह बहुत ही चिन्तनीय है। इस संबंध में मैं सुझाव देता हूँ कि जो सट्टे होते हैं, जिसमें लाखों के शेयर खरीद फरोख्त किए जाते हैं उसमें बहुत आमदनी होती है, तो मेरा कहना है उस पर भी सरकार कम से कम 25 परसेंट टैक्स लगाए। दूसरे, अनडिस्ट्रिब्यूटेड प्रोफिट टैक्स है, ये जो बेनामी शेयर्स होते हैं इसका मुनाफा डाइरेक्टर्स लेते हैं, इस पर सरकार जितना भी टैक्स लगाए अच्छा है—मेरा कहना है 99 परसेंट टैक्स लगाए—तो उसमें कोई हज़र नहीं है, उसको लेना चाहिए। तीसरा मेरा सुझाव है, जो कंपलसरी डिपॉजिट स्कीम है वह मध्यम वर्गीय कर्मचारियों के आर्थिक स्तर को प्रभावित करने वाली है। वास्तव में जनता पार्टी के चुनाव घोषणा पत्र में भी लिखा है जिसमें यह घोषणा की गई थी कि हम कंपलसरी डिपॉजिट स्कीम को खत्म करेंगे। मेरा यह सुझाव है कि जो गांव का रहने वाला व्यापारी है वहां से बिड़ला तक, जो उनका एक घमासा का फण्ड होता है उस पर ज़बर्दस्त टैक्स लगना चाहिए, अब वह कितना लगाए यह विचार कर लेना चाहिए। अगर उनमें हमने टैक्स लगा कर एक बार रेवेन्यू बढ़ाने का प्रयास किया तो मेरा निश्चित मत है कि अच्छी खासी आमदनी हो सकती है।

इन सुझावों को देकर और यह कहते हुए कि यद्यपि कई मामलों में यह विधेयक हमारे लिए उपयोगी नहीं है, हमें और परेशान करने वाला है, तो भी कई मामलों में कृषि की तरफ जाने की जो हमारी सदनियत है, इस नीयत की प्रशंसा करते हुए, और उपसभाध्यक्ष जी जो आपने बोलने का अवसर दिया है उसके प्रति आभार प्रकट करते हुए मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI K. L. N. PRASAD (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, the Budget this year is indeed very discouraging from every angle. The deficit of Rs. 1,350 crores is too large a deficit, which would only lead to further inflation and further price rise. After the presentation of the Budget on the 28th February, the prices of all commodities have risen high and the plight of the common man has become more difficult. Sir, the reduction in the rates of income-tax has resulted in higher collection of taxes. Experience has also proved that a higher rate of taxation could only

lead to evasion of tax and proliferation of black money. Why not we take realities into account instead of playing all the time to the galleries?

Sir, the surcharge on income-tax, which started with 5 per cent, has now increased to 20 per cent, including the increase of 5 per cent this year. This is really not warranted. This amounts to an increase in the tax itself from the point of view of the tax-payer. By increasing the surcharge, you wanted to deny the States their due and legitimate share. The Central Government wants to play a fraud in this respect, both on the tax-payer as well as on the States. This is not fair and it deserves reconsideration by the Finance Minister.

Various other taxes have been levied and they are like the last straw on the camel's back. The tax burden on the common man has increased beyond all proportions. Price stability is very important from the point of view of the poorer sections. The Government has miserably failed in this regard. The Budget proposals, it was said, carried concessions to the farming community. The little concession given on fertilisers and agricultural implements was offset by the increase in the prices of petroleum products and other items and the increase in the transport costs. In the end, it remained only a notional concession given to the farmers. And Sir, it was felt that this was the first time that some concessions were given to the rural areas.

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, we will rise at 6'0 Clock, I hope.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAMLAL YADAV): Let us see. There is one more speaker. Mr Prasad, please continue.

SHRI K. L. N. PRASAD: Another major problem which the country is facing today is the unemployment problem. What is it that this Government has done so far in this re-

[Shri K. L. N. Prasad]

gard, excepting the Prime Minister's announcement that the problem would be solved within 10 years? Already two years have passed after this Government came into existence. To what extent has this problem been solved? The answer, in short, is nothing. I agree it is a colossal problem, difficult for anyone to solve in a short time. But what efforts were made, and what are the steps that are taken to mitigate this problem?

Sir, it is paradoxical to note that, on the one side, millions and millions are unemployed and are prepared to work for one square meal a day and, on the other, people working in several private and public undertakings even in the category of peons, drivers and sweepers are getting salaries ranging between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000. In some cases, it is even higher. But they are also not contended and want to go on strike. Therefore, in a poor and developing country like ours, there should be a national wage policy. Until this is done, undesirable conditions are bound to continue.

Now, I would like make a mention about the shortage of industrial raw materials. Sir, it is common knowledge that industrial activity revolves around core products, the spin-off producing much required earnings from industry. The industrial climate in the country and in the State of Andhra Pradesh in particular, is getting clouded due to continuous shortage of some of the core products like steel, cement and coal. Steel is required at the construction stage as also as raw material in many of the industrial units. Coal provides energy resources in powers plants, industrial boilers and foundries. Cement is used in initial industrial activities for construction. It is very unfortunate that all these three essential inputs of industry have been in short supply in our country threatening to bring the wheels of industry to a standstill.

Our State of Andhra Pradesh alone required, as per the most realis-

tic estimates, 5,700 tonnes of steel at the end of 1978 as against which only 16,000 tonnes of steel was made available. This is hardly 23 per cent of the total requirement. Cement requirement of the State in 1978 was of the order of 28 lakh tonnes, but availability allotted was only 17 lakh tonnes. It would be paradoxical that a coal producing State like Andhra Pradesh with its State-owned Singareni Collieries has to complain of shortage of coal. But it is a fact that industries in the State are either operating with precarious low stock of coal or are closing down for short spells due to coal stock-out.

There are about 1650 units which have registered themselves with the Directorate of Industries for allotment of steel. Their total requirement is about 57400 tonnes, about 60 per cent of the units require steel between 5 and 99 tonnes per annum. The State, industrially speaking, is now in the takeoff stage. There are as many as 150 medium and large scale industries under implementation involving an outlay of Rs. 930 crores. Similarly power programmes, dairy projects, pumps manufacturing under public health programme are being taken up in a large scale. Consequently there is a great demand for structurals and other items like agricultural implements, trailers, etc. All these units get affected for want of steel. There is an urgent need to increase the allocation of steel to the State so that the State would be able to sustain the industrial activity. It is understood that Government is importing 2 million tonnes of steel this year. A need-based allotment to the State will help the industries in the State.

Increase in oil price in the early '70s has led to the development of many industries which rely on coal for their energy resources. But the crippling coal shortage has had its concomitant effect on industry. Although Andhra Pradesh accounts for 10 per cent of the nation's coal production, it is passing through a crisis.

A combination of non-supply of wagons and allotment of available wagons to distant places by which industries in the State are being deprived of the facility of transporting their coal requirements from Singareni Collieries by rail. Only about 25 per cent of the coal required by non-priority industry is being moved by rail wagons compelling the industries to get their balance requirements by road at more than four times the freight cost involved in the movement by railways.

There are about 185 foundries requiring BP hard coke and which are completely dependent for their supplies from collieries in the Eastern belt. While there seems to be plenty of BP hard coke in the Eastern States the distribution of the same is in such a way that the State is starved. The annual requirement of the State has been 48,000 tonnes while the availability has been just about 12,000 tonnes. In fact there are instances where the Joint Director (Transport) does make an allocation of wagons but the actual availability is far lower.

The shortage of cement at all-India level as estimated to be over 3 million tonnes, of which the State alone faces a deficit of about 1 million tonnes, which includes its requirements of cement in major and minor projects house construction and industry. The per capita consumption of cement is 30 kgs in India which is far below the level observed in many developed countries. Consumption is expected to rise during the next decade. The country has plentiful resources of limestone and cement machinery manufacturing capacity. Thus, in spite of favourable demand, availability of raw material and technology, the rate of growth in industry has been tardy. On an overall analysis, the pricing policy of cement seems to be the major hurdle in the growth of the industry. The operating profit plus interest to net assets ratio has been lower in cement industry when compared to all other industries according to Reserve Bank of India

data. Similarly, operating profit plus interest to net sales have also been considerably reduced in the cement industry.

The two products, that is, steel and coal have a certain relationship in their problems. One of the factors contributing to low production of steel is non-availability of coal. The solution for coal availability lies in proper transportation by wagons, and better wagon management. The policy in wagon management should be equitable to both short and long distance consumers. The problem facing the cement industry is slightly different in nature, that of equitable return for investment which is necessary for the development of industry as a whole. There is also scope for better utilisation of existing cement production with greater planning in the distribution system. There are instances where cement from Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh have criss-crossed due to lack of planning in allotment.

Sir, the Government should take note of all these factors into consideration and see that proper planning is made so that the wheels of industry are kept running and proper conditions created for the establishment of more and more industries, thereby creating greater employment potential and thus solving this vast problem at least fractionally.

Here, I would like to mention about the concession announced by the Finance Minister in respect of capital gains tax, in the sale of urban land. First it was withdrawn at the stage of Budget proposals and it was again reintroduced in a different shape and form. In my opinion, this concession in its present form would only help the rich, but not the middle class people or commoners. The capital gains now derived out of the sale of assets are expected to be invested in the rural sector, in securities which are likely to be issued shortly. This investment yields only

[Shri K. L. N. Prasad]

seven and half per cent interest and that too for a period of seven years. This really does not help the middle-class people. It would only help the millionaires who are having plenty of money which they do not require every day. They can afford to invest in these bonds and they can wait for seven years to fourteen years. If a person who has a small house or a small plot of land sells his asset, he may get capital gains to the tune of Rs. 1 lakh or Rs. 2 lakhs. He will not invest this money in these securities and wait for seven years. It is a dead investment so far as he is concerned. This, in my opinion, will not help common people, but will help only millionaires. I think this requires reconsideration by the Finance Minister.

Another matter that I wanted to mention is about the criticisms of which we have been reading of late in the newspapers about Air India. After all Air India is a public sector organisation and a prestigious organisation built up over years. We can certainly criticise them if they commit mistakes. I am not trying to shelter them. But criticisms should be healthy and based on facts and figures. The Public Undertakings Committee has criticised and censored some officials of Air India occupying high places. Who are these highly placed officials? They are our own brothers, our own people. I know some of them. They are very good people and are really an asset to this institution. We have invested about Rs. 13,000 crores in public sector undertakings. And out of these public sector units, Air India is certainly one of the best organisations. It is a very well run organisation. In this context, a few lakhs of rupees have been spent on entertainment. Is it on the high side? Is it safe? You can always take action against them. There are ways and means of doing it. The Public Undertakings Committee is expected to go into the operations, into the working, of the units. If I remem-

ber rightly, in the recent past there was a big uproar about the maintenance of guest houses by some of the public undertakings. If they do not maintain guest houses, how can you expect officers who are given an allowance of Rs. 10 to Rs. 30, to stay in a city like Bombay, Calcutta, Madras or Delhi? It is humanly impossible. On the one side you expect them to maintain their dignity, on the other you do not want them to maintain guest houses and give them at subsidised rates. What is this policy? We should lay down a policy. You say that the Air India has spent enormous amounts on entertainment. Well, if you talk of entertainment, in Delhi itself...

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA (Karnataka): The Public Accounts Committee is doing it in respect of every establishment. They are making such criticism and they are demoralising the organisations and their working. There is nobody to check the Public Accounts Committee. Once something is said by the PAC, this is taken as a gospel truth.

SHRI K. L. N. PRASAD: What I would like to say is this. Healthy criticism we welcome. But in this case, when you go through the news-item, you feel bad about the whole thing. This organisation is earning a lot of money. Last year, if my information is correct, Air-India earned a profit of Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 crores, in an economy like this. You compare the expenditure with that of any other in any other country. Do not take countries like America. Take any developing country. See how it compares with that. Do not be notional about it.

Some time ago, I think, a resolution was passed that in a Public undertaking the entertainment allowance should not exceed more than Rs. 2. I objected to this... (Interruptions) How can it be possible? You cannot get even a cup of tea in a 5-star hostel for Rs. 2 it will cost at least Rs. 5. These factors will have to be taken into considerations.

These highly placed officers are only ten or twelve in number. What is this amount of Rs. 20—30 lakhs as compared to what I have just mentioned? If they go over to any foreign country, they can get as much as three times the salary which they are getting here. Should we allow this criticism? This is not correct. I am proud to say that most of the foreigners would prefer to travel by Air India. Some airlines are carrying only 40—50 per cent of their capacity, whereas Air-India is carrying almost 90 to 100 per cent load. This is because of the image they have built. Therefore, I appeal to this House that a proper view should be taken in this matter.

Sir, in the ultimate analysis, the Budget is very disappointing. We have plenty of shortages—shortages of raw materials, shortage of so many items of livelihood and of daily consumption. Even oils we are importing. Everything under the sun we are importing. At this rate, I do not think that our foreign exchange will last long.

In the ultimate analysis, the Government has failed to maintain the price stability and failed to resolve the unemployment problem even partially. Wherever you see, there are strikes and lockouts. Everywhere there is industrial unrest. The law and order situation is not properly maintained. We have seen what has happened in Jamshedpur. We have seen what has happened elsewhere. Inflation is increasing at a very great speed and the plight of the farmer who is producing and is the backbone of our country, is deteriorating. Considering all these things, this Government has no right to remain in power even for a day. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Yes, Mr. Sahu.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU (Orissa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you though it is the fag-end of the day when you have given me the opportunity to speak something on the Finance Bill. Sir, this Budget Appropriation and the Finance Bill relates to the fiscal policies of the Government of India and determines the fate of millions of people of this country today.

Sir, if we analyse the Finance Bill today, I would like to start from the last part. In the booklet that they have provided, the author of the Finance Bill and the Deputy Prime Minister, who is in charge of Finance, and who poses himself to be a rural economist, or economist with a new vision, has boasted that he has tried to give new rural orientation to the Budget. Sir, I humbly submit before you that this rural orientation is not new today. These schemes have been taken from the Five Year Plans. If you would remember, the First Five Year Plan laid great stress on the increase in food production.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Mr. Sahu, you may continue on Monday.

अब सदन की कार्यवाही कल प्रातः 11 बजे तक के लिये स्थगित की जाती है।

The House then adjourned at two minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 4th May, 1979.