

[श्री देवरव पाटील]

चाहे मिल आनर्स हों, चाहे ट्रेडर्स हों। सब ने कपास की खरीद किसान से उधार पर की है। किसान को पैसा एक दो महीने के बाद मिलता था। लेकिन अब रिपोर्ट ऐसी आ रही है कि कुछ दलालों ने और ट्रेडर्स ने कपास की खरीद करके अपना दिवाला निकाल दिया है। दूसरी तरफ कपास निगम की खरीद न होने से भाव गिर गये हैं। न कारपोरेशन खरीदने के लिए तैयार है, न फेडरेशन खरीदने के लिए तैयार है तो किसान क्या करे? मिल आनर्स ने दलालों की मार्फत किसानों से माल खरीदा किसानों ने उनको माल बेचा लेकिन उधार पर बेचा है और अब खबर आ रही है कि ट्रेडर्स ने अपना दिवाला निकाल दिया है। यह मैं साफ तौर से मंत्री महोदय के ध्यान में लाता हूँ। हमारे जिस माल की खरीद की गई उसका पैसा पन्द्रह दिन के अन्दर उन सब लोगों को मिलना चाहिए और कपास को खरीदने में जो बाधा बनी चल रही है, वह बन्द होनी चाहिए, यही मेरी रिक्वेस्ट है।

#### REFERENCE TO THE MOVE TO CONVERT THE GANDHI HARIJAN VIDYALAYA, DELHI INTO PUBLIC SCHOOL

SHRI L. R. NAIK (Karnataka): I had given a Calling Attention notice. I may be permitted to say briefly on it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Khan. Will you be in a position to speak in three minutes?

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN (Delhi): I will take only less than that.

SHRI L. R. NAIK: I will also finish in three minutes.

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN: I have to draw the attention of the hon. Home Minister to the unfortunate incident which has happened on the 5th of May, 1978, in the Gandhi Harijan

Vidyalaya, which is a Government aided school in Delhi. This is a Government aided school where 3,600 students were studying with about 80 teachers. It appears that suddenly a decision was taken to convert this school into a public school. I do not know who took this decision and who approved of this decision. The result was that this resulted in the dislocation of the work in the school and this incident has happened. I would like to know why this was allowed, particularly when 3,600 students were studying there. Now, after converting it into a public school, will it be possible for the poor parents of these students to pay the high fees of the school and continue to keep their wards in the school? I suppose there is need for immediate action by the Delhi administration which has made a mess of the whole affair. They should immediately sort out this problem and the school should be reverted back as an ordinary aided school and these boys and 80 teachers should be given an opportunity to go back and join their school.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The House will reassemble after lunch at 2.05 P.M.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at nine minutes past two of the clock, [The Vice-Chairman (Shri Arvind Ganesh Kulkarni in the Chair.)]

THE FINANCE BILL, 1978—contd.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): I have to inform the Members that the Janata Party has got one hour and thirty-five minutes and there are three speakers. The same is the case with the Congress (I) Party—one hour and fourteen minutes and there are four speakers. So, I request that the time-allotment

should be adhered to by the Members. Yes, Mr. Morarka please.

**SHRI R. R. MORARKA (Rajasthan):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we are bound to obey you, but you will kindly bear that for a supplementary question half an hour is given and for making a speech on such an important Finance Bill you are asking us to restrict ourselves to one hour and thirty-five minutes, three speakers. Anyway this is your ruling and we will abide by this.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI):** Mr. Morarka, this is none of the fault of the Chair. The point is that your friends have taken more time, I cannot help it.

**SHRI R. R. MORARKA:** Very well, Sir.

Sir, the other day I heard very carefully the speech of the hon. Member, Shri Salve, from Opposition, who initiated this debate. Sir, he always speaks with knowledge and facts and figures. There is a lot of sense in what he says. **But I must confess to you** that this time I was greatly disappointed after hearing his arguments. He is an expert on the subject and he is entitled to the respect of this House whenever he speaks on matters of taxation. But, Sir, this time he deviated from his expert knowledge because of political compulsions. I will make my point good by giving few examples. The first point which seems to have worried my friend, Mr. Salve, very much is the deficit of Rs. 1050 crores. It is true that this is a big deficit and it is really a matter of concern. But I am sure that the able Finance Minister and his Ministry with their skilful supervision of economy and credit controls will not allow it to go out of their hands. What was the position last year. Last year, the uncovered deficit left by the Finance Minister was Rs. 84 crores. But this deficit of Rs. 84 crores was after drawing Rs. 800 crores by way of borrowing from the Reserve

Bank against the foreign exchange reserves. This the Finance Minister did not avail of. Last year, therefore, the uncovered deficit remained at Rs. 884 crores. The actual deficit in that year came to be Rs. 975 crores, that is, Rs. 91 crores more. The Finance Minister in his speech said that he had to make two unexpected payments. One was the payment of Rs. 414 crores to the States and the other was payment of Rs. 190 crores for importing fertilisers. Both these payments were unavoidable. They were important. They were in the interest of the country. Hence if you make allowance for these Rs. 604 crores out of these Rs. 975 crores, the deficit last year was Rs. 371 crores against the anticipated deficit of Rs. 884 crores. Now, what was the actual position when the Janata Party came into power? The rate of inflation in this country was 12 per cent and even after this massive dose of Rs. 975 crores in that year, the rate of inflation at the end of March, 1978, was zero per cent. What does it show? Does it not show or prove the skill of the Finance Minister? Does it not show the robust health of the economy? After injecting Rs. 975 crores into the monetary system, the rate of inflation was brought down to zero. Therefore, my submission is that Mr. Salve need not have this worry as he has forecast in his speech. He said that this deficit would unleash inflationary spiral and that it would bring galloping inflation. He said that it would play havoc with the lives of the people and that it would be a disaster for the economy and a ruination of the objectives which we have upheld for social justice. Then ultimately he said, "Imagine the misfortune that really awaits the common man." Mr. Salve has spoken like a prophet of doom. But I may tell you that his prophecy would prove wrong because this year when the uncovered deficit is Rs. 1050 crores, the Finance Minister is taking two steps. The first step that he has taken is the sale of gold and they have already started it.

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Secondly, now they have prepared a stage where they can really utilise the foreign exchange reserves and against which the money from Indian circulation can be withdrawn. I am sure that with these two steps, the ultimate uncovered deficit in our budget would be much smaller than what it was last year. I assure Mr. Salve that he need not lose his sleep over this matter. He should have confidence in the ability, efficiency and competence of this Government.

Then the next point that bothered Mr. Salve very much was the revenue estimate. He thought that because the revised estimates this year came to be less than the budget estimates, it is a very dangerous trend. According to him, to use his own words, it is a tragic comment on the state of the economy. Sir, I will endeavour to show that it is neither a dangerous trend nor is it tragic for the economy. The one single item which accounts for the largest shortfall in excise duty is in sugar. As against the expected revenue of Rs. 187 crores, the revised estimate is Rs. 156 crores, less by **Rs. 31 crores.** Sir, would you be surprised to know that though the revenue from the excise duty is less, the actual production of sugar this year would be more by 25 per cent at least? As against 48 lakh tonnes of sugar last year, this year the sugar production would be not less than 60 lakh tonnes. What does it show? Does it show our economy is weak? Does it show that it is sick? I submit that it is not, Sir.

Apart from this, there is another point I want to make and I am sure my friend, Mr. Salve, is aware of it. The Public Accounts Committee, year after year, have been taking this Government to task for under-estimating the revenues. They say that the difference in estimates and revised estimates and actuals, if it is more than 4 to 5 per cent, it is a matter of

great concern. And, Sir, they made their observations in several reports. Sir, since you have limited my time, I would not be able to quote but I would just give the references. In their very first report, 9th Report on the Revenue of the Third Lok Sabha, the Committee made their observations. Reiterated the guidelines in para 110 in their 44th Report, then in their 51st Report of the Fifth Lok Sabha. And finally in the 186th Report of the Fifth Lok Sabha of which my hon. friend, Mr. Salve, was a Member. In these Reports, they have time and again taken the Government to task for under-estimating the revenue. The plea was that you deliberately under-estimate the revenue so that you overtax the people. Sir, in the last report, in the 186th Report, they say, "the conclusion that the recommendations of the Committee in this regard have not been acted upon in letter and spirit is, therefore, inescapable." Sir, in view of this, if the Government has taken action to revise their method of estimating the revenue in deference to the wishes of the Public Accounts Committee and, Sir, in deference to the wishes of my hon. friend, Mr. Salve—speaking on the Budget of 1976-77, he himself made a grievance that the variation is 160 to 170 per cent and that this variation is too much, and he appealed to the Finance Minister to look into this aspect and correct it—I think, there is full justification for the Government to revise its policy and not try to under-estimate but to estimate correctly. Unfortunately, Sir, due to exigencies of circumstances, the Finance Minister had to give concessions during the year in excise duty and other things and, therefore, the revised estimates are less than what the Budget figures are.

Sir, the third important point made by my hon. friend, Mr. Salve, was about corporation tax. And he has created an impression in this House that the corporations are very cheaply taxed, that the effective rate of cor-

poration tax is not more than 34 to 35 per cent, that they are the favourite sector of this Government and that for that reason neither Mr. Patel nor Mr. Moraji Desai would tax this sector. Sir, Mr. Salve has been less than fair to himself. He is an auditor and accountant of great eminence. To say to this House that the effective rate of corporation tax is 34 to 35 per cent is far from truth. At no time, the rate of tax on the corporations has been less than 55 per cent. The current rates of corporation tax on public companies are 55 per cent, on private or closely held corporations, industrial corporations 60 per cent, and non-industrial privately held corporations 65 per cent. Not only that, Sir. Then there is a surcharge of 5 per cent. Not only that. Then there is a surtax. On the excess profits made by any company there is a surtax of 25 per cent and 30 per cent of the chargeable profits. And, Sir, yet Mr. Salve says that corporation sector in this country is very cheaply taxed. I want to ask him, Sir, through you, is there any country anywhere in the world where the total quantum of corporation taxes is more than what it is in India?

SHRI M. ANANDAM (Andhra Pradesh): Why don't you reduce it?

SHRI R. R. MORARKA: Sir, there are many reasons why it cannot be reduced. The Government has always to find a mean in between these two extremes.

Now, Sir, when Mr. Salve was a distinguished Member of the Lower House, a proposal was brought by the then Finance Minister that this 5 per cent surcharge could be transferred from tax to the reserve, that is if any company deposited this 5 per cent with the Industrial Development Bank, then this amount would be returnable to the assessee after a period of five years. That was a concession. That was a concession deliberately given by a Party to which the distinguished Member belonged. Sir, I have gone through the record and I find that he did not

have a word to say against it. Why does he say that Mr. Patel and Mr. Morarji Desai would not tax these corporations? Why does he say that this corporation sector is a favourite of the Government? Whose favourite are they? If they are our favourite, why did they make any concessions? Why did they collect Rs. 9 crores by way of advertisements for their Party? Is this sector their favourite or our favourite? Any way, Sir, I will leave the matter here. I shall not elaborate any further.

Sir, he has quoted something from the Minute of Dissent by the hon. Finance Minister, when he was an ordinary Member of the other House, which he appended to a Bill, the Taxation Law (Amendment) Bill, 1973, as a Member of the Select Committee, of which Mr. Salve was the Chairman. I do not understand really the relevance of that quotation. But he has tried to take the Finance Minister to task for changing his views.

SHRI M. ANANDAM: Does he mean to say that the Minute of Dissent is just casual.

SHRI R. R. MORARKA: I did not say casual. The hon. Member has misheard me. Sir, in that Minute of Dissent the hon. Finance Minister felt that the powers which are given to the authorities for search and seizure were very drastic and he did not agree with those powers. Today there is no proposal before the House either to change those powers, to enlarge them, to curtail them or to amend them, and yet Mr. Salve has quoted. I would like to give a quotation from the same Report containing the views of Mr. Salve. Sir, in paragraph 73, this is what the Committee, of which Mr. Salve was the Chairman says:

"The proliferation of black money and tax evasion has become a menace to the nation's economic development. The Committee feel that legislative efforts by them-

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selves cannot cope with this problem unless an efficient and modern tax machinery is set up to administer the direct taxes law."

Now, Sir, when the Finance Minister in charge of the administration is doing something, Mr. Salve is quoting from the past report trying to find fault. But what are Mr. Salve's own views? Has he changed his views? He himself advocated that the legislative measures are not enough; we want something more drastic for a more efficient administration. Anyway, Sir, I would say only this much.

Before I go to the next point, I must sympathise with the Finance Minister, that his position really at the time of the Budget at least is very unenviable. Whenever he tries to gather taxes or take any other revenue raising measures, he becomes unpopular. Some people say that if he puts direct taxes, incentives would be lost, investment climate would be disturbed and capital market would be depressed and if he levies indirect taxes, then the poor man's burden would increase and inflation would be there. Therefore, they say: Do not raise taxes; do not fritter away foreign exchange; do not have deficit financing; do not sell gold; do not leave uncovered gap, and yet provide all the money that we need for ever-increasing revenue needs and for financing our development plans. What should the Finance Minister do, I ask?

Having said that, I would now like to go to an altogether different topic in which I am sure the entire House will be interested, and that concerns the Parliamentary control on the finances of our Government. Sir, the other day, the House approved the Appropriation Bill, authorising the Government to appropriate as much as 36,000 crores of rupees out of the Consolidated Fund of India for different Ministries. Sir, the 6th Five-Year Plan is soon to come for discussion before this House. The size of

the Plan is Rs. 116,000 crores. In other words, the 6th Five Year Plan in monetary size is 46 times the size of the First Five-Year Plan. The First Five-Year Plan is equal to one-fortysixth of the Sixth Plan. Now, Sir, this being the size of our Budget and our Plan, by any standard, these are very large amounts, I submit that the responsibility of this Parliament and of this House becomes all the more great to supervise, to control and to scrutinise the expenditure of the Government. In this respect, Sir, my first suggestion is that the Budgetary technique of the Government requires a little more precision. I would like to give you a few examples from the latest Budget to show how the Budgeted figures differ widely from the revised figures. I would only mention a few as I do not have much time to go into the details, but only on one item I would like to go into details to make my argument clear to the House. First is under the Major Head 047—Fiscal Services. Sir, the Budget provision was Rs. 10 crores and the revised estimate is only Rs. 1.95 crores. Then, under Major Head 055, Police, Budget is Rs. 28.93 crores and the revised estimate is Rs. 37.54 crores, when the actual spent last year was only Rs. 3.81 crores. Then, Sir, the most important item is against Major Head 097—Foreign Trade and Export Promotion. In the previous year, the actual amount spent under this Head was Rs. 93.87 crores and the Budget provided only Rs. 3 lakhs. The revised figure now is Rs. 6 crores. Now, Sir, these are very wide fluctuations and require looking into. I am not suggesting that we do not have any explanation. But that explanation is not enough. It makes the Parliamentary control weak. If you take permission from us for Rs. 3 lakhs and actually spend Rs. 6 crores, Sir, we cannot say anything. But Sir, I now come to one of the most important cases, and this relates to Bokaro Steel. It is on the capital side, under the heading 'Receipts' and sub-heading 'Other Loans and Advances'. The Budget figure was Rs. 584.79 crores

and the revised figure is Rs. 999.59 crores. There is a difference of more than Rs. 400 crores. Naturally, this was a large enough difference to warrant the attention of anybody and, therefore, I went into the details. As I went into the details, the explanations which I saw were really astounding. For this simple item, the explanation given was that the loans which were given were received back and the same amount was invested in equity shares. So, under the heading 'Loans', the receipts are more and that there is a corresponding item in investment.

Now, Sir, I would like to tell the House a few interesting things about Bokaro. First of all, Bokaro was conceived in 1959. At that time, it was conceived as a two-million-tonne steel plant. The estimate for this two-million-tonne steel plant at that time was Rs. 215 crores. But Sir, there was delay. Nothing happened for four years. So, a revised estimate was prepared in 1963. In 1963, the estimate for the four-million tonne steel plant was Rs. 558.6 crores; Rs. 558.6 crores and size of the plant four million tonnes. There were negotiations and this plant was entrusted to the Russians for execution and implementation. **The Russians submitted their report in December, 1965.** The Russians said that the four-million-tonne capacity would be achieved at a cost of Rs. 771.2 crores. Therefore, Sir, by December, 1965, the estimate had already gone up to Rs. 771.2 crores. Now, Sir, in the Supplementary Grants which were placed before Parliament in March, 1978, this estimate of Rs. 771.2 crores had gone **up to Rs. 2,078 crores and yet we** have not reached the end of the journey. We have implemented only the first stage of the plant which is 17 million tonnes. We have still to go a long way to reach the four-million-tonne capacity. By that time, it is difficult to imagine as to what would be the final cost. This matter, in the very early stages, was examined by the Public Undertakings Committee of Parliament. At that time,

the estimate had gone up by only Rs. 90 crores. But the Committee was greatly perturbed and I would like to quote two or three paragraphs from the report of the Committee to show you how seriously they took up this matter. I would also like to say as to what happened after the recommendations.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Mr. Morarka, you have already taken 25 minutes. **If you want to speak on** and quote all those things, your colleagues would get lesser time.

SHRI R. R. MORARKA: I would request you to extend the time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): This is not in my hands.

SHRI R. R. MORARKA: We will request the Chairman then. Sir, this is an important item which deals with the rights of this House. It deals with thousands of crores of rupees, the money of the poor people of this country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Everybody has an important point to make. I am only requesting you to be short. I have got only three minutes for you.

SHRI R. R. MORARKA: I would like to say as much as I can. Sir, I am quoting from the Public Undertakings Committee 68th Report, 1969-70, when the estimates had gone up by Rs. 90 crores: They say:

"The Committee highly deprecate the complacent attitude of the Government towards the escalation to such a magnitude (Rs. 90 crores) and they recommend that in future **earliest opportunity should be taken** to inform Parliament about major increases in estimates of a project."

Then, Sir, they further say. This is para 3.43:

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"Wide variation between the estimated cost and the actual expenditure has become a common feature in the public sector projects. The Committee would, therefore, watch with considerable anxiety as to how in the ultimate analysis the actual cost compares with the estimated cost in the case of Bokaro Steel Plant both for Stages I and II."

Then, in the PUC 14th Report, 1971-72 (5th Lok Sabha), they say—and this is the most important part:

"They would like to observe that this is hardly a method of keeping Parliament informed. The Government should follow a regular method of keeping Parliament informed about major revision in Project Estimates of Public Undertakings through statements in Parliament *suo motu* and not wait for some Members of Parliament to put questions to elicit such information."

Sir, there are some more important quotations, but since my time is up, I would not like to strain your courtesy any more, except to say that the Public Undertakings Committee and the PAC have made recommendations after recommendations, but, Sir, the Executive are treating these recommendations as mere routines—inevitable ritual of a democratic system. Sir, the same types of mistakes are being committed; same leakage, same waste in Government spending take place year after year. And, Sir presumably the Government has not taken any step to improve the system or find out why this is happening.

In conclusion, I would only briefly touch upon another point, and that is that in recent times there have been some serious drainage in public revenue. This has been existing for a long time, but they are now assuming bigger and bigger proportions. And included in this are Electricity Boards in all the States, most of the cooperative societies, sick units taken over by

the Government like textile, sugar, Indian Iron, etc., and some Schemes like the Delhi Milk Scheme which had been started on a no-profit-no-loss basis but which incurred loss of crores of rupees every year. I do hope that some reforms would be introduced by the Finance Minister to make parliamentary control more effective and parliamentary committees more purposeful.

Thank You, Sir.

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET (Punjab): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I want to comment on the Finance Bill not from the standpoint of my own party but from the declarations made by the Janata Party itself: When I look at the Finance Bill, I find that there is no change in the pattern followed by the Congress for the past 30 years. In this House as well as in the other House, criticism was being made about the various budget proposals from the angle that deficit financing is very bad. It leads to inflation. The burden of indirect taxation falls on the common man. The policy has to be changed. Dependence on foreign aid will lead the country nowhere. And we have also seen on the basis of the budgetary policies followed by the Congress Party for the last 30 years that whatever declarations were there and whatever the claims they made for building socialism or 'Garibi Hatao', the disparities have increased. Even a recent report of the Reserve Bank on the rural areas reveals that the top 30 per cent own 82 per cent of the wealth, whereas the lower 30 per cent own only 2 per cent of the wealth. Every body agrees that the disparities have increased. Judged from this angle, we find that the friends who had been earlier criticising the Congress Government budgets from this angle are coming in justification of the same type of budget from the same angle which was being defended earlier by the Con-

gress Party. And it has nothing to do with the declarations being made or earlier made by the Janata Party. I do not want to go into the declarations made during the elections or in the election manifesto. Even the recent policy statements made by the Janata Party make this clear. I want to mention this because perhaps those who formulate the policy later on forget when they come to the concrete questions. Here it is stated in the economic policy statement which was formulated by the Janata Party just before the budget proposals were being sorted out—i.e. in November, 1977:

“The Janata Party is opposed to any economic system which allows individuals or groups freedom to exploit others. At the same time, it is not in favour of the State possessing unlimited powers. While the Party believes in the need to release people's enterprise and initiative, it is opposed to any system which is based on exploitation”.

Then it says:

“The Janata Party, therefore, will put a curb on economic power—

(1) by imposition of physical limits, where feasible, both on existing possessions and future possessions;

(2) through differential taxation of incomes and wealth and other appropriate measures so as to reduce these inequalities to the minimum; and

(3) to regulate or demarcate the technique or the mode and scale of economic operations, particularly in the sphere of industrial production.”

I do not want to give more quotations. There are so many about land reforms, about changing the structure etc. I do not want to take up the time of the House over this. The only thing I want to mention is that when we come to the Finance Bill,

the proposals contained therein are based similarly on deficit financing. Within a period of two years, more than Rs. 2,000 crores of deficit financing has been resorted to. Can it be justified? Will it not lead to inflation? Is it not going to lead to a rise in prices? I do not agree with any argument—and it will be self-deception if we say—that now the prices have been arrested. Although in the beginning the Janata Party made a claim that they were the first to arrest the prices, yet recently the figures that we got show that because of last year's budget and this year's budget, the prices are on the increase every day. May be in the case of agricultural commodities, they are right. But can anybody today say the same about the prices of pulses. What are the prices of pulses? What are the prices of edible oils? What are the prices of medicines, cloth, cement, or for that matter anything which is used by the people. What are the prices of industrial goods? They are going up. Between April, 1977 and December, 1977, there has been an increase of 9 per cent in the prices of consumer goods. That has been the position. I do not know from where they get their facts. I have seen the debates also that different acts were supported by different persons to argue their case. If you ask a housewife she will tell you the position. Can anybody say there is no price increase now? It is bound to be because with deficit financing and with indirect taxation there is bound to happen what is happening.

Similarly, so far as taxation measures are concerned, if we go into the figures of earlier years upto 1976 and 1977 we find that the share of indirect taxation has become 80 per cent. It is also true that this increase falls on the common man. Now also, this present taxation of Rs. 499 crores, the highest ever, falls on the common, poor people; it is bound to fleece them. And this taxation is bound to increase further.



[Shri Harkishan Singh Surjeet]

Recently the Economic Times made a survey. It says that 25 companies were able to amass a gross profit to more than Rs. 900 crores in 1976-77. In a report issued by the Department of Company Affairs it was stated that during the last five years of "socialism" and "Garibi Hatao", twenty big houses were able to amass wealth and increase it by 85 per cent. I do not find anywhere in the Budget this resource being tapped. What is being done is, as earlier done, that the burden is being put on the common man. But those who have been able to make the best use of all the investments in agriculture during the past twenty years have not been touched. This is the position. You are taxing the poor leaving out the well-to-do sections.

Mention is made about subsidies and other things. There is mention about agricultural development. 40 per cent. is devoted on agriculture. Earlier also it was 27 per cent. or 25 per cent. There is increase on power, on irrigation and such other things. No doubt it will help in increasing production limit it is not going to remove disparities. It is not going to benefit the agricultural labourer and the poor peasant. Unless you resort to some other measures of land reforms it is not going to help in expanding the internal market. That is why you are today able to say that our sugar production has gone up to 60 lakh tonnes, a big production. But there are no buyers in the market. You might say the prices are coming down but they are going up. Only the Prices of all agricultural commodities, especially commercial crops, are coming down.

Today I read an editorial in the Economic Times. It extensively quotes the report of the Committee on Public Undertakings. I have not much time to quote from that report. It has stated how the jute grower is fleeced. Similarly, in the morning there was a discussion here on cotton

prices. Every where the cotton growers are in difficulty although the prices of cloth have not come down. Similar is the case with tobacco. Similar is the case with other commodities.

About sugar although it is being claimed that sugar production is 60 lakh tonnes, this year the peasant has suffered very much. Nobody has purchased sugar cane even at the rate of Rs. 3 per quintal and the crop is being burnt. I can say that not less than 15-20 per cent. crop was wasted. This is the position. This is the result of the policy being pursued.

Yesterday there was a deputation from Goa and 80,000 fishermen came to get protection. Earlier, according to the 1974 Act of Goa, they were allowed to fish up to a depth of 25 feet. Others were not allowed. Those who did not have mechanized boats were allowed. Now, 400 mechanized boats have been allowed in that area and now those people who do not have mechanized boats are deprived of their rights. They are on the verge of starvation; they have no work; and they constitute 10 per cent of the whole population of Goa. So, this is what is happening.

Therefore, if you go into all these things you will find that the total result is, last year's Budget has not helped in implementing the pledges given to the people, nor has it helped implement the policy which has been put before the people by the Janata Party. The total result is, everywhere you find news of unrest. What is happening to the Harijans at various places? These questions are coming up because of aggravation of class struggle. Whenever the agricultural workers demand more wages, when they want to fight against eviction, they are attacked. And the result is the firings, burning of their huts and so on. All these questions we find every day in the newspapers.

Similarly, when there is inflation and rise in prices, immediately the working class is affected. Wages are reduced. My hon. friend who spoke before me said that this time our Five-Year Plan is 46 times bigger as compared to the first Five-Year Plan. It could be, on the basis of prices. Even if you come to the concrete figure of 46 times, what are the prices now as compared to 1952 when we started planning? So, the position now is as it was earlier. For years together there were so many claims of building socialism, doing away with disparities, overcoming poverty and unemployment. Now also slogans are being raised. But so far as implementation is concerned, there is a big gap between the promises and implementation. This is bound to result in discontent among the people and unrest among the people. And naturally you resort to the line that unless a strike is withdrawn you won't talk. The same language which was used by the Congress Party for many years is being used by the Janata Party also today. If this line is pursued, naturally the people are not going to take it lying down.

Therefore, what I would suggest is a reconsideration of these proposals, at least. These levies, these excise duties which fall on the common man—the levies on medicines, cloth, bidis, electricity and so on—should be withdrawn and unless they are withdrawn and there is a little change with an assurance to the people that the money will be spent on the common people, the lower sections of people, it will not create confidence and then the people will come to the conclusion that the Janata Party is misleading them in the same way as the Congress Party has been misleading them earlier. Thank you.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA** (West Bengal): Sir, much of what I would like to say by way of criticism of the policy of the Government, Comrade Surjeet has already said. One can

add to it. He himself would have done it if he had a little more time. The only thing is, we have to draw the correct conclusion from what I am saying, what he has said and what many others have said. And that is very very important.

As far as this Budget is concerned, nothing is going to be changed: It has been passed. As you know, we have no powers, constitutionally speaking, to alter it. We have some powers to recommend which, perhaps, may be done, will be done—I do not know—but the matter has already been clinched. An additional taxation of Rs. 100 crores has been levied. The total is Rs. 525 crores. Then there is a provision for deficit financing in addition to what has been already done last year. That will also fall on the people. Deficit financing is a means of fleecing the people, for helping the capitalist class Congress has pursued it; you are pursuing it. And you are pursuing it by saying that you do not like deficit financing. We heard such things before. But a bankrupt Government with a bankrupt economic policy cannot but take recourse to deficit financing on the one hand and tax the common people on the other. Both these features are there in the scheme of resource mobilisation under the Budget.

Now, Sir, I think I will take the opportunity of making a few general observations. First of all, I do not know what will happen to our economy when this Government is behaving in this manner. Can you imagine an economy being improved, or even established or maintained, when the ruling political leadership of the country is in a supreme crisis like the one through which the present Government is passing? What is surprising is that they have been in a position to present the Budget, that they have not quarrelled over the preparation of the Budget, that the Budget has not been torn to pieces by different Ministers pulling

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in different directions. That itself is a great achievement for this Government. Well, I need not say much after what Mr. Charan Singh has said. Mr. Charan Singh has said it himself being a party to it, but he would not admit that he is a party to it. That is the way of sanctimonious hypocrisy. I have read it twice. I shall read it again. "A party whose leadership is not inspired by truth, justice or public interest can never deliver the goods, or render any service to the people". This is what Mr. Charan Singh says in his letter to the ruling party Chairman, Chandra Shekhar. Who are these leaders? Some of them are: Mr. Morarji Desai, Mr. H. M. Patel: and others are there. Anyhow, leaders are there. This is the greatest condemnation of the leadership by a co-accused. Whether he will turn a hostile witness when he comes to this House, I do not know, because now these are the days of the witnesses turning hostile. Whether Mr. Charan Singh will turn a hostile witness, after having publicly made this announcement about the leadership, I do not know. Therefore, I reserve my opinion on this. But this is what he has said. Do we expect such a leadership, which, according to No. 2 in the Government, cannot be expected to serve the people or do any good service, to produce a presentable Budget? They cannot. And they have not done it. And you see the crisis. See the newspapers Who bothers about the Budget now? The Budget is over. Now they are coming forward with a shameless Industrial Relations Bill under which the rights of the working class are being taken away. I ask them not to commit semi-fascist crimes. If that kind of Bill is brought, it will be defeated in this House. I know that. But this is a provocation to the working class people. The right to strike will be taken away under one pretext or another. Many other things have been proposed, we are told, which are hostile to the working class people,

which are openly brazen, shameless concessions to the monopolist class.

And, this is called "the Janaia 3 P.M. Government." Where is the janata? It is neither in the Budget nor in the proposed Industrial Relations Bill nor in your acts in which you have displayed your weapons, your muskets, your bullets and your tea-gas shells at Pantnagar, Agra, Bailadila and many other places. Can you expect this Government to display any sympathy?

As far as the Budget is concerned, Sir, what do we hear now-a-days? We find that the Government is being run from many centres. How many centres, I do not know. But, who does not know that the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences has become a centre of the Government apart from the Safdarjung Road or other roads? The Government is being run from very many centres.

The components of the Janata conglomerate are falling apart. The emerging situation is this. Within each component of conglomerate now differences are coming up. The five, 'panch-pandavas' are falling apart. I will not call them by that name. You can call them whatever you like. Within these fives, within each of them, differences are coming up. How can they run the economy of the country? Just take the Jana Sangh. They are supporting Shri Morarji Desai here but are opposing him in Haryana, supporting Shri Devi Lal. They are supporting Shri Morarji Desai here, and some of them are supporting Shri Ram Naresh Yadav in Lucknow. This is happening. And I am told now that a bargain is going on that if the dissidents are ready to offer the Chief Ministership of Uttar Pradesh to a Jana Sangh M.L.A., they would evolve and force a dissident Government. This is going on. Now such things are happening, and do you expect any direction in economic policies?

I am talking about Madhya Pradesh In Bihar there had been no discussion at all today. In Uttar Pradesh there is the PAC raj. In Madhya Pradesh you have seen a patchwork has been made. How are the things happening? There are *ad hoc* committees, *ad hoc* committees, *ad hoc* committees and again *ad hoc* committees. Wonderful. I do not know how they can produce the results.

We are fortunate that they can sit together in the Treasury Benches without quarrelling, because otherwise we may have to call the PAC here to deal with them. There cannot be section 144 within the House. You are sitting quietly and calmly without being at each other's throat in the House, that you are doing outside. Good. Any way, this is the only thing we have got now. We have got a definition of the Government in this country. Today at the Centre we have got a Government by Constitutional definition. We have not got a Government in substance or in point of fact as a Government is understood in a parliamentary cabinet system. If that is not realiser, the crisis in which we have been placed will never be realised. I leave it at that. I have no illusion about what we can expect.

The Five-Year Plan has come. We shall discuss it in a matter of two days. What the Plan is, we can show. It is a charter of bankruptcy. The Sixth (Draft) Five Year Plan presented by this Government is a testament of bankruptcy. Well, I hope, it will not be passed by the National Development Council certainly not unanimously. I congratulate those

Chief Ministers who expressed their reservations at the last National Development Council meeting. I do hope that this Plan will not escape them.

One or two other things I would like to make. In 1977 I brought it to the notice of the House that the Government was in possession of certain documents relating to expenditure of foreign exchange by the Goenkas abroad without the permission of the Reserve Bank. These are there in the proceedings. Mr. H. M. Patel denied that there was any such document in the possession of the Government. I have made further investigation, and this is the result of my investigation. In February, 1977, the Information and Broadcasting Ministry sent certain documents to the Enforcement Directorate concerning the Goenkas for further investigation. Perhaps an Additional Secretary of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry—probably his name is Mr. K. L. Varma—sent these papers to his equivalent in the Directorate of Enforcement. Now, Sir, unless the document which was in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting has been destroyed, something should be available to the Government. Something should be available. Make enquiries there. But Goenka now is the favoured person, I shall deal with him a little later.

Now, Goenka, as I said, is a favoured person. His people are being encouraged everywhere. Goenka has been saying that on the suggestion of Mr. Morarjibhai—he has been telling his friends: I am not saying it; I am not attributing it to Mr. Morarji Desai; Mr. Morarji Desai may make it clear, can deny it, because I am not saying that Mr. Morarji Desai is saying this; this is what Mr. Goenka is saying to his friends—that on the suggestion of Mr. Morarjibhai and Mr. Kantibhai, he had to appoint Chandra Kant Shah as the General Manager of Traders (Private) Limited Ahmedabad, the proprietors of *Lok Satta* and *Jana Satta*. Traders

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(Private) Limited is a *benami* Goenka concern. And he has been saying that one Vasudev Mehta who brought in as Editor had to be relieved because—Mr. Goenka has been telling this to his friends—Mr. Morarji Desai and Mr. Kantibhai did not like him to continue as the Editor. Now, Mr. Vasudev Mehta, I am told, does not know what is really behind all this but Mr. Goenka says it is Mr. Morarjibhai's intention—I say, Mr Goenka says; he has been telling his friends—to get rid of this gentleman, Mr. Vasudev Mehta. He wants him to be got rid of so that somebody else could be brought in—he has been brought from abroad or somewhere—who can run the paper. Now, Sir, as you know, Mr. Vasudev Mehta was taken to this paper by Mr. Goenka from *Gujarat Samachar* where he was Assistant Editor. And he was taken on the recommendation of Mr. Radhakrishnan of the Gandhi Peace Foundation. Today he is asked to get out of it because, according to Mr. Goenka, somebody high up does not like him. Well, if this kind of thing is true, it is bad. Even if it is not true, you can see how Mr. Goenka is behaving. Now, Mr. Goenka, as I said, has been very much favoured by the present Janata Government. Some day I said, Mr. Goenka's Penthouse or whatever the building is called, is the Vatican of the Janata Party: This was when Jayaprakashji used to live there. Now I find that Mr. Goenka is almost the financial hope of the Janata Party.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR (Uttar Pradesh): Does he know that Goenka is one of the worst sufferers under the Janata Government because of the Janata Government's policy. On advertisement and the wage Board.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: My friend has a funny idea of suffering. Goenka is the worst sufferer! (Inter-

ruptions) Because he defalcated funds, some prosecutions was made. But nothing has come...

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: I hold no brief for Mr. Goenka. But when you say that the Janata Government favoured him, I oppose it. They did not. And he suffered.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, this House has a tradition whereby nobody gets up to defend Goenka and Birla. That is the tradition. Nobody gets up to defend Goenka and Birla. But nowadays with the Janata in power we have got increasing defence of Goenka...

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: I wanted to put the record straight. I have a right to defend my party and my government.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Anyway, you will not understand it. As I said, Goenka has become the financial prop of the Janata power. And naturally you will have to speak like that. Everybody knows that. I can give more instances of how Goenka's men are put in important positions. This is one thing.

The second thing is this. Mr. Biju Patnaik, my good friend,—he is not here—said, at Bailadilla these workers had to be sacked because Japan would not buy iron ore, and he got away with that statement, with that assertion. What happened actually? A contract was signed on April 3, 1970 between the MMTC and the Japanese Steel Mills for export of 61,260,000 tonnes of iron ore during a 10-year period commencing from April, 1971. Now, what they have done is this. In the terms of the contract the quantity of ore to be exported each year was also specified with an option to increase or decrease that quantity by 10 per cent...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Mr. Bhupesh, these friends here want you to come before the mike.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Oh, sure, I would like to be heard.

Sir, according to that contract a total of 45,100,000 tonnes minus a 10 per cent decrease was ordered by Japan; that is, 39,590,000 tonnes were to have been exported by April 1, 1978. But only 32,004,769 tonnes of ore was actually exported. Further, according to the agreement, Japan should have imported 45.10 million tonnes of iron till March 31, 1978. It has taken so far 32.40 million tonnes, and hence there is a balance of 12.7 million tonnes. In addition from April 1, 1978 to 1980, for the next three years—the uncovered period of the contract—it has to take 16.6 million tonnes. In all 28.86 million tonnes in these three years, at an average of 9.62 tonnes of iron ore annually, is to be exported. If in 7 years the MMTC exported only 32.4 million tonnes, it is obvious that it cannot export 28.86 million tonnes in three years unless mining is vastly expanded. Where then is the question of reduction of strength of the iron ore miners? Explain it. Mr. Biju Patnaik should explain why they had not been able to supply Japan the contracted quantities in the earlier years. I am not saying this Government was responsible. But the fact remains that of the existing contract which the Government insists upon, this Government will not be able to make up the deficit or the backlog in the matter of supply. In fact, he has no explanation. And yet, we are told the workers had to be retrenched and Japan has reduced its contract. Is that the way to treat the workers? What has happened in Bailadilla is shocking. Yesterday Pandit Daji from Madhya Pradesh, the secretary of a unit of our party,—he has come after visiting that area—has given a full account of what has happened. We are publishing that thing. You will be horrified to know of the murder, rape, molestation of women on a large scale,

burning of their huts. There is no crime that is known which has not been committed by the police of Madhya Pradesh, Mr. Sakhalecha's police. Sir, this is what has happened. Not only that. When this shooting was going on, and when the houses were being burnt the same night, Sir, the police officers were being brought to a place where dancing girls were brought! All these things have taken place—such inhuman barbarous, vulgar, brutal things have taken place and yet they want to praise the Janata raj. Sir, the matter needs investigation and, today, Sir, Mr. Ram Naresh Yadav has defied our proposal to investigate into these things, the proposal for a judicial investigation into the firings and shootings in Agra. Sir, I would not like to take much time. I will make only one or two points and I will then sit down. Sir, in today's questions, there is a question regarding the profits by the large industrial houses and a reply has been given. Now, what is the story? And, how can you complete the story? You see, the Congress raj built up the monopoly capital. They entered the temple of monopoly capital to worship monopoly capital and they were praying to the monopolists that they were better devotees of monopoly capital. (*Time bell rings*). Competition is there now between the one group that started it, on the one hand and, the new raj that has stepped in now on the other. Here, Sir, in today's questions, the details have been given. The question is whether some large industrial houses have registered profits during the years from 1972 to 1975 and the reply is given in the form of a statement and the statement indicates the level of profits which is sometimes 60 per cent or more. The list gives details about 120 companies or so belonging to the 45 monopoly houses. Now, what is the rate of increase in their profits? I would like to read out

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something from this. I would read out the profits earned by the companies in 1972 and then in 1975. Take, for example, ACC Vickers. In 1972, it was Rs. 63 lakhs; in 1975, it was Rs. 1.11 crores. I am only giving the figures which are in crores and not the ones in thousands. Then, ACC. In 1972, it was 3.83 crores, and now, that is, in 1975, 8.96 crores. Then, Ashok Leyland—you know what it is—it was Rs. 1.72 crores and now it is Rs. 8.98 crores. Now, come to the great Birlas. Now, Mr. Mathur, will you speak for the Birlas?

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: You have been speaking throughout for Mrs. Gandhi and her supporters.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, the Birla Jute Co. earned a profit of Rs. 2.46 crores in 1972 and, in 1975, it is Rs. 6.75 crores. Then, Gwalior Rayons of the Birlas. It was Rs. 6.62 crores then and now it is Rs. 24.00 crores. 'Now' means 1975. It is Rs. 24,22,80,000. Then, India Steamship. It was Rs. 1.69 crores then and what is it within four years' time? It has come to Rs. 8.19 crores. Then, Orient Paper Mills of the Birlas. It was Rs. 5.72 lakhs then and now it is Rs. 15.25 lakhs. Sir, these are the figures and I am just reading out only a few of them. I will not read out all the figures. I am only reading out the staggering figures. Then, come to the Singhanias, Sir. Take the case of the J. K. Synthetics. It was Rs. 4.64 crores and now it has gone up to Rs. 13.44 crores. (*Time bell rings.*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Now conclude, please.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, these are the figures and I can give many more figures. This is the rise in the profits of these big houses. What are you doing? Your policy is to boost them further and you have announced it also. A free market

economy you have decided upon so that they can have such profits. Whatever little restriction, curb or regulation was there, you have removed them and you have given them the green signal:

"Go ahead; we are behind you. The Janata Government is behind you to beat up the workers on the one hand and to bluff the nation on the other. We are the Janata raj and we are for monopoly houses."

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I want to raise a point of order. Sir, when the time is allotted for the Members, it should be adhered to. I am not going into the merits of what Bhupesh Dada has spoken. When the time is allotted in this House, I find that Bhupesh Dada is the chief person—I am not saying that he is the chief villain—and he takes the time of the entire House. I am sure that the Chair does not ring the bell as in the case of the other speakers. I do not know what the understanding is. Many new Members have come to this House and I know that many new Members want to speak and they do not get any time at all. Therefore, I would suggest, Sir, that the Chair must be strict in this and however great he may be, he should not exploit the chances of the other people. He was speaking about Mr. Goenka's exploitation. Here, Sir, he is exploiting the time of the ordinary Members of the House. Therefore, I would like to move that whoever it may be or however experienced he may be or even if he were a life-time Member of this House, the rule shall be that if 20 minutes are allotted to him, it will be only 20 minutes, whether it is Mr. Bhupesh Gupta or Mr. Lakshmanan or any Member, Sir, I think the Chair will agree to this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Thank you very much.

**SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN:** You have rung the bell three times. But Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is not able to respect it and he is doing it at the cost of the other speakers. You have been saying that he has got five minutes more or ten minutes more.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI):** That is all right. Now, I am calling Mr. Chanana.

**SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN:** Sir, what is your ruling on this?

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI):** I will go according to the time allotted.

**SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN:** I am saying this in the interest of the new speakers.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Sir, I am very glad about what he said. You can understand it if, just for making a simple point, he takes ten minutes or a little more. But I submit to it. I fully sympathise with you, Mr. Lakshmanan, and I will finish in two minutes' time my speech. But I am very glad because you have set a very good example by taking so much time on a simple point of order. A point of order should be so long. Any way, Sir...

**SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN:** Sir, there is another thing. I have raised this point of order because of the health of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. I think he will agree with me. He is a bit ill now and if he speaks, it is not good for his health. I am interested in his health. That is why I am raising this point of order.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Sir, I am exceedingly grateful to my friend. But he does not know that to allow me to speak longer is to look after me better.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI):** That is all right. Please conclude.

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**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Sir, the only thing that I would like to say is that this Budget—as Mr. Surjit and some others have spoken earlier—is one of the worst Budgets. I don't say "the worst" Budget. This is one of the worst Budgets that we have seen, that I have seen, during my career in Parliament. But what is most outspoken in this Budget is the present bankruptcy in the matter of economic policy direction and policy thinking. It is very cruel and vicious and it is anti-democracy and anti-growth and the economic crisis will be accentuated by the implementation of the Budget proposals.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI):** All right. I am calling Mr. Chanana.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** It can only be opposed. Sir, I have been impressed by my friend's advice, the advice of Mr. Lakshmanan. He wants to look after my health. Sir, I have got to go now and I have got other meetings. He has reminded me that I have to go to those meetings. I am very grateful to you.

As I said earlier nothing can happen. Nothing can happen. The Janata power is the power that is leading the country towards disaster, economic disaster, political disaster, and I would say that the only person you are helping today is the person who helped you to come to power. That is all. It looks as if it is a liability and it has to be opposed.

**SHRI CHARANJIT CHANANA (Delhi):** Sir, I stand to oppose the Finance Bill. While the objectives of imposing taxation in a developed economy could be just collection of revenues, it is not so in a developing economy. A developing economy has to look into the impact of indirect taxation on the common man, on the majority of the community. The direct taxation in a developing economy is again having the object of adoption of the criterion of equity. I



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can appreciate, in fact, the agitation that Mr. Salve's speech provoked in the Treasury benches, and I will try to give an explanation to that also. But here I would quote the Indian Indirect Taxation Enquiry Committee, whose report has just come. It says:

"While adopting a taxation policy, we enquire into the ways in which the tax system can, while meeting the requirements of revenue, minimise the burden on the poorer sections of the community, promote economic efficiency and further, rather than hinder, the objective of planned development."

This is the criterion. If we judge the impact of the Budget, then I will tell you what happens.

The incidence of a tax has been traditionally defined to mean final resting place of the money burden. There are taxes like taxes on commodities which are completely shifted forward to the consumers. For a developing economy like India which was till recently committed to socialistic values of life and seriously wanted and meant to raise the revenues for the State in such a way that the incidence of taxation is equitable. Revenue from wage goods is an example the Government inherited, along with other economic assets from the Congress Government. This is the analysis made by the Indirect Taxation Committee. I shall not read out the whole statistical table. I will lay it on the Table of the House. I will only say that revenue from wage goods is an example—the Janata Government inherited, along with other economic assets from the Congress Government, an earning in the Taxation structure where the Congress Government policies brought relative share of revenue from wage goods from 50.9 per cent of the total State Revenue in 1956-57 down to 16.2 per cent of the total revenues of the States.

We must remember one thing that the Janata complex has a few commitments also, about which my hon.

friends Shri Bhupesh Gupta and Shri Salve forgot. And it is this. The Finance Bills introduced by them ever since they came into power, have to feed the Janata political prism. The components of the ruling party have divided different sectors of the economy amongst themselves as a part of the legacy. The core of the economic policy has a Swatantra outlook, with the hon. Swatantra Finance Minister as the head of the Ministry; the agricultural policy has a BLD outlook in the interests of the farming tycoons and the Jana Sangh has given a traders' outlook to the Janata economic policy. The prism also reflects the vested interests of the other constituents of the Janata to their convenience. And then there is a free flow of slogans, not bothering for the contradictions *inter se*, because we have seen in this House one Member talking against multi-nationals and the other saying that we will accommodate them also. Now, all this is being done at the cost of the whole nation. The political prism, that is, the Janata party, therefore survives on this type of menu, which can only assure one thing—destruction of an economic infrastructure built with great effort over the last thirty years. Instead of feeding respective sections, the Finance Bill should act within the honest objectives of a budget on an optimum growth objective with the most equitable distribution of the impact of taxation and benefit of expenditure. This can only be visualised and built by a generation committed to the future of the country in the interest of tomorrows to come. Living in yesterdays, we cannot do it.

On the tax front, the Finance Bill has hit the common man adversely. By not tapping the direct taxation potential, it has failed to mop up resources from the affluent sections of society for development. Mr. Salve has put forward a very important point. It is not only raising the tax rates, but it is effective taxation

which is more important. The Finance Minister must be aware of the "Balance-sheet Approach". The "Balance-sheet Approach" wants you to have effective taxation. What we do is this. The balance-sheets pertaining to the corporate sector are scanned through properly. If you do that, the potential of tax revenues is higher than what we collect out of them. I would say that it is incorrect calculation of the revenues which should be mopped up out of the potential resources. In fact, by granting a tax holiday to them, the equity slogan of the Janata manifesto has been given the go by.

On the other hand, people who do not have the capacity to pay taxes will bear the brunt of the indirect taxes. The basic levy of 5 per cent on excisable goods of common use such as sugar, kerosene, tea, etc. will have a minimum impact on the taxpayer. But the poor man has already started feeling the pinch over his cup of tea, the sugar he puts in it and the kerosene he burns to prepare it. In addition, the price hike of milk in Delhi have increased the burden of the common man. I would draw your attention to the interesting—I would call it contradictory—statement of the hon. Prime Minister justifying the rise in milk prices in Delhi because the prices in Bombay and Calcutta are higher. First of all, I will bring to your notice the model that you have before you. The American economy subsidises the basic essential goods. The basic essentials are always cheaper. But here the cup of tea which used to cost 25 paise before the Budget is costing 50 paise now. This basic levy of 5 per cent has, in fact, inflated the prices. You can imagine the impact of this on the common man.

The post-Budget calculations of the Finance Ministry of the impact of indirect taxes on the common man at 0.77 per cent is not realistic because small tax increases do not operate so simply. Indirect taxes work as escalators and, therefore, their impact has to be gauged at various stages. The

index numbers of wholesale prices are meaningless for the common man, more so when they contradict the fact of rising prices. The common man puts the question: You are students of economics. Tell us who is telling a lie. Either the index tells a lie or we tell a lie who pay the higher prices. There is another aspect of the rise in prices. The price hike passes down to the common man.

The railway budget which claims to be a big surplus budget will be affected because of tax on coal, coke, electricity and diesel. Although the railway budgets in the past have shown surpluses, what would happen to the present railway budget after this levy of 5 per cent? If we take things as they are, coal registering a rise of Rs. 5/- per metric tonne; coke a hike of Rs. 7/- per metric tonne, would mean an additional expenditure of Rs. 6.30 crores for the Railways. Due to a two paise per KW hours, Railway's total consumption of 3170 million KW hours would cost them an additional amount of 6.34 crores of rupees.

Diesel consumption would add to the expenditure of the Railways by Rs. 1.94 crores. In addition to this, the stores coming under the special excise would mean an additional expenditure of Rs. 5 crores. Thus, the Rs. 65 crore surplus budget of the Railways would be reduced by a cut of at least Rs. 20 crores.

The Railways are also considering ways and means to cover up this hike. In case the impact of this penalty has to shift on to the consumer, well, one can imagine his plight.

Sir, the Budget claims to be giving incentives to the new industrial ventures, and the hon. Finance Minister has been expressing that he was puzzled. Many a time he expressed his puzzles in public speeches and we must appreciate his puzzles which appear to remain unsolved because the incentives by him are not likely

[Shri Charanjit Chananal]  
to change the health of the investment climate.

Sir, I may refer to another slogan which was inherent in the Janata Manifesto. That was connected with employment. They have been talking of total employment within a period of ten years. Now that the rolling concept has been accepted, the slogans and promises have both started rolling into a number of years. Sir, it is very interesting, though not very happy to note the hon. Finance Minister and even the hon. Prime Minister saying—though it is not very easy—that the prices would come down within six months. Our only appeal is, why do you make a commitment connected with a period? Don't talk of any period. Just say, "in future, if God helps, we will be able to achieve this." And total employment in India should not be left as a hollow slogan. It is the honest submission of every Member of this House that each Finance Act or the Budget must generate a fund for further generation of employment for each and every employable man and woman in the country. Once they raise a good slogan, they should accept it also. My appeal is that they should generate a fund which may create social and economic security. And economic and social security should mean an unemployment allowance for each and every employable worker, a man or woman fit to work. Let us make a start of this. We can, in fact, have it in a few stages.

Sir, another point raised by my hon. friend, Mr. Salve, related to deficit financing. Unfortunately this is my subject and so I feel committed to reply to this also. It has been said that deficit financing had been raised only by 11 times. Then you are giving some explanations. You make a statement that you will get over deficit financing by resorting to foreign exchange reserves and by selling gold. But they should explain one thing. As a student of economics, I know that the sale of gold is not that simple. You are first of all promoting the

'black money' to be converted into 'yellow money' by selling gold. This is the new concept that you have developed. If you see the price-behaviour of gold prices ever since the announcement of the sale of gold, that will relate a different story altogether. Secondly, resorting to foreign exchange reserves to meet the deficit budgeting or deficit financing is just like the story that I was telling my friend, Mr. Salve. These people are trying to give an explanation that by selling away my property, I remain a rich man. Sir, I was associated with this for a number of years. The foreign exchange reserves are raised with one ultimate object and that is, we can convert this into an investment potential. What is most important—and I personally feel what is religious for us—is that we must try to raise a model of optimum utilisation of the foreign exchange reserves with us rather than keep on saying, "Look, the foreign exchange reserves are registering a rise of Rs. 150 crores per month." This 'acceleration effect' has been inherited by you.

All right, even if we did not do, you do something but do not go on disposing of the valuable foreign exchange reserves that is not your own money. That is a deposit with you and that deposit has already started showing a decline and it will show a further decline if you do not bring out a model scheme for the utilisation of these foreign exchange reserves.

Now, my friends have talked about the Five-Year Plans. I understand in the Lok Sabha a statement has been made by the hon. Prime Minister this morning. I think we will also get some time for the discussion of the Five-Year Plan. Now, a certain amount has been provided for the Sixth Five-Year Plan. But we must understand one thing, namely, that that amount is a rolling concept. We have tried to follow a concept without having the infrastructure to absorb it and allow it to operate. It is just like putting fuel into the model of an automobile without wheels. You

do not have the infrastructure to make a rolling plan operate. The operation of a rolling plan could be seen in Poland. It can be seen in a few other socialist countries also. Now, they have the infrastructure to feed it at each and every stage. What happens here is that everything is done in the Planning Commission. The Plans do not have to originate or generate in the Yojana Bhavan. The rolling plan system can function, can become operational, only if it starts at the base of it. But you do not have the statistical units at the base of it. You do not have the data banks to feed the rolling plans. Therefore, I would say, let us be honest to ourselves. By talking of a concept, let us not deceive ourselves. Let us not deceive others by this concept of nomenclatures. The rolling plan is an econometric model, is an economic concept and by just converting a methodology into a slogan let us not do a dishonest thing at all. (*Time bell rings*). For that reason whatever amount you attribute to the plan would be a rolling amount; unless and until you also provide an automobile with wheels to it, the machinery and infrastructure to it, it is a fiction.

(*Time bell rings*).

Sir, I will just take two minutes more only. The Budget claims to have devoted to rural development and employment so many crores of rupees. Now, a few questions arise here. Rural development and employment cannot be generated through landlords alone. Landless tillers who had been allotted land have either been denied the right or are being pressurised to transfer it back to landlords. Now, rural development raises these two questions. First of all, let us give the break-up of agriculture, the heading of agriculture that we have given in the Finance Bill and then compare it with 'agriculture' in earlier parallel documents. One of our friends from the Janata Benches has just now said that it includes many things which were not there under the heading 'Agriculture'. So, firstly, I am only trying to question the definition.

Secondly, the rural development of the country is a very complex thing. You must try to do something. Let us not quote Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, for each and every thing. I saw an hon. Member of the House giving Gandhiji's quotations. Gandhiji said one thing in many of his speeches, namely, that he should not be quoted in future. He also said: "If you want to quote me, you should quote me by translating my message into action." so, rural development would be a realistic thing only when we mean business. Slogans alone cannot bring rural development at all and we, who move in the villages, know what it means. The planning and rural development have to coincide with each other, not in the Yojana Bhavan alone, but in each and every village of this country. Let us be serious about this thing.

With these few words, Sir, I conclude my submissions, with only one suggestion, namely, let us try to make this Finance Bill a constructive Bill. Thank you.

SHRI M. ANANDAM: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the hon. Member from the Janata Party, Mr. Morarka, has started the discussion this afternoon. I was rather very amused at the way in which he was trying to justify the deficit financing. It would have been rather wise for him if he had taken into consideration the various suggestions made by my esteemed friend Mr. Salve with regard to the impact of deficit financing on the price spiral and other things. I do not wish to dwell much on what Mr. Morarka has said, excepting to say that his analysis of the deficit financing of earlier years was very much wrong. You are aware, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that last year when the Budget was presented, the deficit was Rs. 82 crores but it has gone up to Rs. 975 crores. One of the explanations given by Mr. Morarka, as one tries to defend his own Government, is that the Government had unexpectedly to spend about Rs. 606 crores during the year and that has

[Shri M. Anandam]

contributed to this deficit of Rs. 975 crores. I do not know what that unexpected expenditure is. At least, he should have taken into consideration the savings which have contributed to reduce the deficit. I would only quote one instance. Sir, in the last year's Budget, there is the allocation in respect of Central plan scheme. That was pruned by about Rs. 230 crores. Naturally, this amount of Rs. 230 crores must have been available to reduce the deficit. In spite of that, the deficit has been Rs. 975 crores.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I do not wish to say much on what Mr. Morarka has said. I would only deal with the current Budget figures. I have a few observations to make before actually proceeding to speak on the provisions of the Finance Bill. One observation is with regard to the difference between the gross revenue receipts and the Central revenue receipts. Mr. Vice-Chairman, the gross revenue receipts are made up of two figures, that is, the State revenue and the Central revenue. Last year, against the figure of Rs. 11,577 crores for gross revenue, the States' share was Rs. 1790 crores. This year, where there is buoyancy in the gross revenue to Rs. 11,806 crores, the States' share is about Rs. 1024 crores. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like you to note that last year it was Rs. 1795 crores towards the States' shares, whereas this year it has come down to Rs. 1024 crores, that is Rs. 770 crores have been slashed down out of the share of States' revenues i.e., Seventy per cent of it has been slashed down. We expect the Government to come to us and explain why it has been slashed down. My fear is that this is purely a window-dressed figure and we expect that this amount will have to be given to the States and the Budget deficit will not be Rs. 1050 crores that we are now anticipating; it may be at least about Rs. 1750 crores. That is the first observation that I want to make.

Then, this deficit has not taken into account two other factors that have

been admitted by the Finance Minister, which should also be taken into consideration. One is the additional expenditure of Rs. 80 crores on account of payment of dearness allowance to the Central Government staff. And the second factor is reduction in sugar levels. If these two things were taken into consideration, the deficit, I am afraid, may go up beyond Rs. 1700 or Rs. 1800 crores.

What should be the impact of this type of deficit financing. I know the Janata Party people have been telling us that there cannot be any impact on the prices and other things. But actually, they will have to judge the impact of it only from one angle. The angle is, what is the pattern of expenditure? If the pattern of expenditure is productive, and if the production and supply of goods increases then, I admit that the prices would stabilise or would come down. But from the figures given in the Budget, my feeling is that this is not so. The overall Plan outlay of the Centre and the States has been put at Rs. 11,649 crores as against Rs. 9,964 crores for 1977-78. That is, there is an increase of 17 per cent. But out of the total disbursement of Rs. 18,417 crores, nearly 60 per cent, or Rs. 11,136 crores would be on non-Plan expenditure. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that nearly 60 per cent of this expenditure is on non-Plan. When this much amount is on non-Plan account, what exactly would be the result of it? The effect of it would be that it would tend to increase the prices and it would tend to inflate the entire economy. I would also like to point out that out of the capital outlay of Rs. 2100 crores, actually, a sum of Rs. 680 crores is in relation to capital assets. The rest is not on goods. If you take these two things, the snow-balling effect of this would be to increase the prices and not to contain the prices. This aspect has got to be noted by the Government.

There is also another thing which I would like to say. This is in regard to the expenditure on rural develop-

ment. It is good that there is a massive expenditure on agriculture and rural development. A number of people hitherto unemployed would get employment taking for granted that the boost given to rural development would give employment to a large number of unemployed people. This means, those who are participating in rural development would have greater purchasing power and would have more money with them. Correspondingly, if you do not increase the production of wage goods, I am afraid, this would lead to inflation. Mr. Vice-Chairman, as my predecessor has pointed out, there is need for you to build up an infrastructure before you contemplate or try to do anything for rural development. It is not enough if you allocate some funds for this purpose. We have to create the infrastructure. We have to create productive capacity. We have to increase the production of wage goods so that the surplus money, the extra money, that is available in the rural areas, is properly utilised for the purchase of wage goods. If this is not done, the effect of it would be that there would be inflation and price spiral. This is the second observation which I wanted to make.

The third observation which I would like to make is that we should not lose sight of deficit financing in relation to the States. We are now discussing deficit financing in relation to the Centre. Mr. Vice-Chairman, if you refer to the figures in regard to the States, in 1975-76, there was an overall surplus of Rs. 75 crores. In 1976-77, there was a deficit of Rs. 41 crores. As per the figures given by the Reserve Bank of India, up to 30th June, 1977, the deficit went up to Rs. 325 crores. On 31st March, 1978, I understand, the total deficit or the total overdraft of the States, the money overdrawn by them on the banks, was Rs. 750 crores. What exactly the effect of this would be on the economy of the country? I could very well say that if you take the overall position, the Central position

and the State position, it would definitely lead to inflation. If anybody tries to justify this and says that this is not so, that they are trying to contain inflation and that they are trying to contain the price, it is a fallacy which, I do not think, anybody would be able to accept.

Then, what did the Finance Minister do with regard to the raising of funds for all his expenditure? He is very categorical in saying that the base of the direct taxes is very much narrowed down and that he cannot do anything to raise revenues from direct taxes. I might point out that this shows the bankruptcy of ideas on the part of the Janata Government regarding direct taxes. What has he done? He is raising Rs. 499 crores by just increasing the basic excise duty on all the commodities across the board by five per cent. Even there he has lacked ideas. Probably, had he consulted some of the financial experts and economists of this country, they would have given him some very good ideas of collecting revenues, of raising taxes. I am not here to suggest anything more because my time is short, but I would only say that what the Finance Minister has done to collect the revenues by imposing a five per cent across the board is most unfair and unjustified. I would very presently deal with it that it is not in the interest of the common man at all.

Even with regard to the deficit financing, didn't the Prime Minister say sometime back, especially when he took up the reins of the Government, that he is going to present a balanced Budget? I still remember him saying that he is going to present a balanced budget, the present Janata Government is going to present a balanced budget and not a deficit budget. But what are we seeing? Last year, the deficit financing was of the order of Rs. 975 crores and this year it is Rs. 1,050 crores, whereas according to me, it is Rs. 1,800 crores.

The Janata Government claims to be the champion of agriculturists. It is a



is, the income-tax will go to the Central Government and not to the State Government. Again an argument that may be given by the Government with regard to this would be that a large percentage of income-tax will go to the general pool which is distributed among the States. But my submission is that most of the taxpayers who spend on advertisements are companies. The tax collected from the companies is a corporate tax and the corporate tax does not form a part of the divisible pool. The entire amount that is collected on account of advertisements goes only to enhance the corporate tax and, thereby it would only go to the Central Government and will not go to the divisible pool of the States. Conceptually and legally also, this is not a fair measure and it should be withdrawn.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have moved a number of amendments to the Finance Bill. If you think that I should speak later when the amendments are moved...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): That would be better.

SHRI M. ANANDAM: I do not want to take up the time of the House. I would only say one point with regard to coal and electricity and resume my seat. I will only take two minutes more. With regard to electricity, the duty that has now been levied is on its production and not on consumption. Though the Finance Minister has announced a small concession of 10 per cent on production, this is again a taxation on the State enterprise and the State Governments' power to levy taxes is eroded. This duty on electricity ought to have been only on consumption. If it was on consumption, it would have gone only to the State. But now by this manoeuvring by taxing the production, they are taking the entire revenues for themselves. Lots of complaints have been received and representations have been made by

the various States that this duty should be immediately removed. I would say that this duty is most unjustified not only from the ethical point of view but from the point of view of the industrialists whose cost of production will automatically go up. And when the cost of production goes up, you know that the selling price also goes up.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Mr. Anandam, you have to conclude now.

SHRI M. ANANDAM: I, therefore, submit...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): You have to conclude.

SHRI M. ANANDAM: ... that I am not in favour of any of the provisions of this Finance Bill and on various other points I would like to speak when I move my amendments. Thank you.

डा० भाई महावीर (मध्य प्रदेश) :

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, जब जनता सरकार ने देश की बागडोर को सभाला तो इस देश में एक नई किस्म की आजादी आई। एक आजादी तब आई थी जब हम विदेशी दासता से मुक्त हुए थे और एक आजादी पिछले साल आई जब हम स्वदेशी किस्म की गुलामी से मुक्त हुए। एक ऐसी गुलामी इस देश के ऊपर लदी गई थी महोदय, जिसने सरकार के प्रवक्ता सर्वोच्च न्यायालय के सामने यह खड़ा होकर कह सकते थे कि जब तक एमरजेंसी लागू है किसी व्यक्ति को अगर गाली भी मार दी जाए तो उसे यह पूछने का अधिकार नहीं है कि मुझे किस कमर की सजा दी गई, किसी की जायदाद छीन ली जाए, किसी के घर को आग लगा दी जाए, कुछ भी किया जाए, अगर यह भी कहने के लिए कोई अधिकार चाहे कि मुझे पकड़ कर बन्द किया हुआ है जब कि मैं गलत आदमी हूँ, किसी



[डा० भाई साहेबराव]

और को पकड़ा जाना था मेरी बजाय, यह पूछने का अधिकार भी छीन लिया गया था ।

हम लोगों ने महोदय एक ऐसा जमाना देखा कि गरीबों का भला करने के नाम पर गरीबों के ऊपर ही अत्याचार की चक्की चलाई गई। एमरजेंसी की आड़ में जो मौलिक अधिकार छीने गये उनमें सम्पत्ति का मौलिक अधिकार नहीं छीना गया जिस सम्पत्ति के अधिकार का हवाला देकर के बहुत बार संविधान की और संविधान की अनेक धाराओं की और मौलिक अधिकारों की निन्दा की जाती रही । लेकिन जब मौका आया मौलिक अधिकारों में संशोधन करने का या काटने का, तो अधिकार कौन से काटे गये ? एकत्र होने के अधिकार को छीना, भावाभिव्यक्ति के अधिकार को छीना गया, प्रेस की स्वतन्त्रता को छीना गया, लेकिन सम्पत्ति के मौलिक अधिकार को छुआ नहीं गया । रेडियो और टेलीविजन की जो स्थिति हुई उसको तो मेरे साथी जो उधर बैठे हुए हैं, भूले नहीं होंगे । आज जब रेडियो के पक्षपात की बात कही जाती है, रेडियो ने कोई झूठा प्रचार किया, इस तरह का इल्जाम लगाया जाता है, तो मैं हैरान होता हूँ उन चेहरों की तरफ देख कर कि किस मुंह से यह बातें सुनने को मिल रही हैं ।

**श्री देवराव पाटील (महाराष्ट्र) :**  
उस वक्त तो एमरजेंसी थी । अब भी है क्या ?

**डा० भाई साहेबराव :** यही लोग थे जिन्होंने इस सदन में और दूसरे सदन के अनेकों सदस्यों को बन्द कर देने का, बिना मुकदमा, बिना कारण बताए, बिना न्याय की मांग का मौका दिए समर्थन किया । हमको

बन्द करके रखा और यहां पर हमारे साथी उसकी बड़ी बाह-बाह करते रहे, तालियां बजाते रहे । हमारे भूषण दादा नहीं बैठे हैं । वे बहुत सारी बातें कह रहे थे कि पिछले वर्षों में क्या-क्या हुआ, कितना मोनोपली कैपीटल बढ़ गया, किस तरह से बिड़ला का साम्राज्य बढ़ा, किस तरह से सिंघानिया का साम्राज्य बढ़ा, कितने बड़े-बड़े आर्थिक साम्राज्य फैले—यह सब उन्होंने जो आंकड़े पढ़े, वे पुराने ही आंकड़े हैं । हम इन्हें पहले से ही सुनते आ रहे हैं; आप भी सुनते आ रहे हैं उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय । लेकिन वे उन आंकड़ों का इस्तेमाल न करें तो क्या करें क्योंकि यही सामग्री उनके पास है जिसको वे कहते आये हैं और इस्तेमाल करते आए हैं । परन्तु वे बड़ी आसानी से भूल जाते हैं कि इन सारे एकाधिकारों को बढ़ाने का जिनका जिम्मा था, यह पाप की गठड़ी जिनके सिर पर लादी हुई है, वे उनके भाषणों को बाढ़ की ठण्डी छांव के अन्दर विश्राम करते रहे । कांग्रेस सरकार ने जो कुछ किया इमरजेंसी के पहले और दौरान हमारे इन सदस्यों ने उसका समर्थन किया । व्यक्तिगत स्वतन्त्रता की हत्या की गई । अखबारों की आजादी छीनी गई । इस देश के अन्दर अंधी गुलामी की जो । रात शुरू की गई, उस सारी रात में भी ये उनके सुर में सुर मिला कर बोल रहे थे । आज ये सारी बातें कह सकते हैं क्योंकि वह शासन नहीं रहा, जिसके पिटू बन कर उन्होंने इमरजेंसी का गुण गाया था । जनता का शासन आने के बाद पहली बार इस देश के अन्दर एक ऐसी सरकार आई जिसने अपने अधिकारों को बढ़ाया नहीं, अपने अधिकारों को कम किया । जिसने विरोधियों को अधिकार दिये, जिसने आलोचकों को अभयदान दिया और जो पहली प्रेस कांफ्रेंस मोरारजी देसाई ने की, उसमें उन्होंने कहा कि इसी समय से तुम जो चाहो लिख सकते हो, तुम्हारे खिलाफ कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की जाएगी, इसलिये

कि तुमने कोई आलोचना की है । क्या यह विडम्बना नहीं है कि जिस काम के लिए, जिस बिल के लिए श्री फीरोज गांधी का नाम इतिहास में प्रसिद्ध हुआ, उस बिल का जीर्णोद्धार किया तो जनता सरकार ने आकर किया । श्री फीरोज गांधी के नाम से जिनको नाम मिला हुआ था उन्होंने नहीं किया, उनके दल ने नहीं किया । उन्होंने तो इमरजेंसी में कहा कि चुनाव काहे का ? लोग रोटी चाहते हैं, लोग चुनाव नहीं चाहते हैं । अगर इनके कहने पर चलें तो आज जनता सरकार कह सकती है कि चुनावों की कोई जरूरत नहीं ।

**श्री देवराव पाटील :** फिर भी चुनाव हुए ।

**डा० भाई महावीर :** लेकिन वह जो समस्याएँ थी वह दूर हो गई है, इस बात को कोई नहीं कह सकता । लेकिन मैं इस बात पर नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि मैं समझ सकता हूँ कि इनके दिल की क्या हालत रही है और हो रही है कि ये भी अन्दर से क्या महसूस करते हैं और बाहर से इन्हें क्या बोलना पड़ रहा है । बार-बार देवी जी भी कहती हैं कि जो इमरजेंसी के अन्दर होता था, जो कुछ तब हुआ था वह आज भी हो रहा है और साथ में यह भी कह रही हैं कि इमरजेंसी के अन्दर कुछ गलत नहीं हुआ । अगर गलत नहीं हुआ तो आज भी जो हो रहा है वह भी गलत नहीं है । लेकिन उनको पता है, और उनके जो फज्रन्द हैं उनको भी मालूम है कि अब वह जमाना नहीं रहा कि जिस जमाने को लाने की ओर हमेशा इस देश के ऊपर लाद कर रखने की कोशिश की गई थी । जिस के जमाने में उन्होंने कहा था कि जो कुछ चाहे हो जाए, पुराने खराब दिन लाइसेंस के, वह नहीं लौट सकते । चुनाव के प्रचार जाते हुए भी वे यह कहते हुए नहीं चूकते थे मानो

पट्टा लिखा कर आए थे कि चुनाव का जीता जागता प्रमाण-पत्र इनकी जेब के अन्दर रखा हुआ था । उस जमाने को बदल कर जब जनता पार्टी ने शासन संभाला तो कितनी कठिनाइयाँ उस पिछले जमाने के कारण आई । कितने लोग जो दबे हुए थे, जिनके अधिकार कुचले गये थे, जो शोषित थे, पीड़ित थे, 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के नाम पर, बॉर्डर लेबर को आजाद कराने का जाल बिछा कर उनको बहकाया जाता रहा, सारे श्रम को गुलाम बना दिया गया था । उस श्रम को पहली बार जनता सरकार आने के बाद अपने अधिकार प्रस्तुत करने का अवसर मिला, अपनी मांगें रखने का अवसर मिला । उसके परिणामस्वरूप कुछ हड़तालें भी होने लगी । अब यह कहा जाने लगा कि हड़तालें होने लगी हैं । हड़तालें होना इस बात का सूत्र है कि लोगों को हड़ताल करने का अधिकार तो मिला । यह बात सही है कि इस बात में मैं अपने भाइयों के साथ मैं भी सहमत हूँ, देश की आर्थिक स्थिति को देखते हुए हड़तालें नहीं होनी चाहिए । लेकिन तालाबंदी भी नहीं होनी चाहिए । देश की जरूरत यह है कि हम श्रमिकों और प्रबन्धकों दोनों को बैठा कर, सरकार बीच में आये या कोई और तत्व बीच में बैठे, और ऐसी तिहरी व्यवस्था बातचीत की जाए जिसमें सारी समस्याओं का हल करने का प्रयत्न हो । इस देश को अगर हमने बनाना है तो वही आजादी सच्ची होगी जिसमें हर आदमी के काम का अधिकार भी पूरा होता है । अगर ऐसी आजादी रहे जिसमें वोट देने का हक हो तो वोट देने का हक राजनीतिक आजादी का एक लक्षण है, लोकतंत्र का एक लक्षण है । जैसे राजनीतिक आजादी में लोकतंत्र की निशानी वोट देने का अधिकार है वैसे ही आर्थिक आजादी की निशानी है कामकाज का अधिकार । अगर काम के साधन नहीं हैं तो काम नहीं है । आप मनुष्य को कितना भी समझाइये, कितनी भी अच्छी

[ डा० भाई महावीर ]

से अच्छी बात कहिये वह अपने अधिकारों का सही तरह से उपयोग नहीं कर सकता। इसलिये मैं समझता हूँ कि जो कठिनाइयाँ आई थीं उन कठिनाइयों का बोझ जनता सरकार अपने कंधों पर लेकर चली है। इस एक साल में कितना कुछ कर पाई कितना नहीं कर पाई इसका फैसला जनता तो करती ही है इस सदन के माननीय सदस्य भी करेंगे। महोदय, मुझे यह कहना है, मुझे यह निवेदन करना है कि साल भर में जो कठिनाइयाँ रही वह पिछली सरकार की गलत नीतियाँ, पिछले डेढ़ साल, पौने दो साल की ही नहीं बल्कि पिछले 30 वर्षों से अनवरत, लगातार जो नीतियाँ चली आ रही थी उन्हीं का 'लोजिकल कंक्लूजन' था, उन्हीं के कुछ ऐसे अपरिहार्य परिणाम थे जिनसे बचा नहीं जा सकता था। उनमें सबसे बड़ा बेरोजगारी है। बेरोजगारी करोड़ों की तादाद में थी। मुझे याद आता है, आप भी यहां पर विराजमान थे श्रीमन् जब हम लोग उधर बैठ कर रहे थे तो कई बार पूछा करते थे कि बेकारों के आंकड़े बताइये, बेरोजगारी के आंकड़े बताइये। उस वक्त सरकार शरमाने लग गई। यह शर्म किसी खास लाज लज्जा के कारण नहीं थी, यह शर्म इस बात के कारण थी कि अपनी गलत नीतियों के परिणाम आंकड़े सामने रखने की जुर्रत नहीं रखते थे। उन आंकड़ों को सामने रखने का साहस नहीं था, उस समय की सरकार में। इस वास्ते जिन अफ़जल को, जिस प्रकार के शब्द जाल इस्तेमाल किये जाने लगे बेरोजगारी के लिए, वे जटिल थे—

It is a problem of such nature that it is incapable of being measured in single dimension magnitudes बड़े अच्छे शब्द हैं। किसी भोले-भाले आदमी पर उठाकर फूँक दीजिएगा तो एक बार तो वह हक्का-बक्का रह जाएगा। लेकिन उसके पीछे नीयत क्या है? नीयत यह थी कि हम अपने बेरोजगारी के आंकड़े देना नहीं चाहते

थे या दे नहीं सकते थे। योजनाओं के अन्दर उन आंकड़ों को देने से इन्कार किया गया, वे छापने बंद कर दिये गये। हम आंकड़ों को मांगते रहे वह टालमटोल जवाब देते रहे। जनता सरकार ने न सिर्फ़ जैसे हैं वैसे उपलब्ध कराए, वैसे के वैसे उन्हें बताना स्वीकार किया बल्कि इस समस्या का सामना करने का भी निश्चय किया। कई हमारे साथी हैं जो इस बात को हिमाकत मानते हैं आप इसको धृष्टता कह सकते हैं।

SHRI N. G. RANGA (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, we are discussing the Finance Bill; isn't it?

डा० भाई महावीर : माननीय सदस्य मुझ से बहुत बड़े हैं, बुजुर्ग हैं। मैं समझता हूँ जो फाइनेंस बिल है इसमें क्या कहा जा सकता है इसका अर्थ मुझे भी मालूम है और मुझे उम्मीद है उन्हें भी मालूम होगा। उन्हें सब तरफ का तजुर्बा है, सारी पार्टियों का तजुर्बा है। मैं इजाजत चाहूँगा कि जो मैं अपने दृष्टिकोण से कहना चाहता हूँ वह कहूँ। मैंने बेरोजगारी की समस्या का प्रश्न उठाया तो इन सदस्य को लगा कि यह फाइनेंस बिल के बाहर की बात है। ऐसे ही कुछ सवाल और भी हैं जिनको मैं सामने रखता हूँ तो हमारे सदस्यों के दिल में दर्द उठता है। उन्हें लगाता है कि यह सवाल क्यों आया। मैं उनको चिढ़ाने के लिये यह सवाल नहीं लाता। मैं यह सवाल इसलिये लाता हूँ कि हूँ इन सवालों को हल करना है। जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने पिछले साल जो कुछ किया उसमें कुछ सफलता मिली है। आज कहा जा रहा है कि सफलताओं का जो रिकार्ड है वह बड़ा नहीं है। मैं यह दावा नहीं करता और मैं समझता हूँ मंत्रिमंडल का कोई सदस्य भी यह दावा नहीं करता कि हमने सब कुछ कर लिया। जो हम कर सकते थे वह सब हमने उपलब्ध नहीं किया। लेकिन कुछ उपलब्धियाँ हमें जरूर प्राप्त हुई हैं। इस साल के दौरान हमारे देश का सकल राष्ट्रीय उत्पादन पांच परसेंट

से बढ़ा है। हमारे देश में वस्तुओं के जो मूल्य हैं और जिन मूल्यों को हम पिछले कई वर्षों में रोक नहीं सके थे, उन मूल्यों को स्थिर रखने के लिए भी सरकार की ओर से काफी प्रयास किया गया है और उसमें सरकार को काफी हद तक सफलता भी मिली है। इसके साथ-साथ मुद्रा-स्फीति पर भी काफी अंशों में नियंत्रण किया जा चुका है। खाद्यान्न का काफी भंडार सरकार के पास है। विदेशी-विनिमय के भंडारों की भी अच्छी स्थिति है। मैं समझता हूँ कि ये उपलब्धियाँ किसी भी दृष्टि से कम नहीं कही जा सकती हैं। पिछले साल के शुरू में 'प्रोफिट्स आफ इम' की तरफ से जो निराशा की भविष्यवाणी की जाती थी, ऐसे लोगों को सरकार की उपलब्धियों के कारण असफलता का मुह देखना पड़ा है। परन्तु, इन बातों के साथ-साथ मैं जानता हूँ कि यह समय शांति से बैठ जाने का नहीं है। अर्थात् इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि हमारे सामने कोई समस्याएँ नहीं हैं। सरकार की तरफ से जो गलत काम होंगे, हम अवश्य उनकी ओर ध्यान दिलाएंगे। हमारे देश में कई समस्याएँ ऐसी हैं जिनका पूरी तरह से हल नहीं हो पाया है। मैं उन समस्याओं का भी जरूर जिक्र करना चाहूँगा? हमारे देश में श्रमिक वर्ग के अन्दर जो असंतोष है, उसको हम अभी तक दूर नहीं कर पाये हैं। आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि श्रम और प्रबन्ध के अन्दर सामंजस्य स्थापित किया जाय, उनके अन्दर एक प्रकार की अन्डरस्टैंडिंग पैदा की जाय जिससे दोनों मिलकर देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को सुधारने में अपना योगदान कर सकें। मैं जानता हूँ कि कुछ उद्योग ऐसे हैं जो समस्याओं से खाली नहीं रहे हैं। वस्त्र उद्योग, चीनी उद्योग और पटसन उद्योग आदि कुछ ऐसे क्षेत्र हैं जो समस्याओं से खाली नहीं रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि अब तक जो कुछ प्रयत्न इस दिशा में सरकार की तरफ से किये गये हैं उनको देखते हुए ऐसा लगता है कि सरकार ने इन उद्योगों की समस्याओं को सुलझाने की

कोशिश की है, लेकिन उनकी समस्याओं को वह अभी तक पूरी तरह से सुलझा नहीं पाई है। हमारे देश के औद्योगिक उत्पादन में जितनी वृद्धि की जरूरत है उतनी वृद्धि भी नहीं हो पाई है! लेकिन इन सब बातों के होते हुए भी मैं इस बात को आग्रहपूर्वक कहना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले एक साल में हमारी सरकार ने जो कुछ काम किये हैं उनको देखते हुए यह विश्वास बनता है कि इन समस्याओं को हल करने का भरोसा हम अपने ऊपर कर सकते हैं। हमारे देश के सामने इस समय जो समस्याएँ हैं उनको हम धीरे धीरे हल कर सकेंगे।

श्रीमान. आप जानते हैं कि हमारे देश में पावर अर्थात् ऊर्जा की कमी है। इसी तरह से श्रमिकों के अन्दर असंतोष है। इन समस्याओं को देखते हुए जिन वस्तुओं की हमारे देश में कमी है उनको हल करने के वास्ते सरकार को पूरी योग्यता से ध्यान देना होगा। हम जानते हैं कि गत वर्ष देश में निर्यात की वृद्धि दर कुछ कम रही है। यह बात ठीक है, लेकिन सरकार ने मूल्यों को स्थिर रखने के लिए जिस तरह के कदम उठाये उनमें कुछ वस्तुओं के निर्यात पर अंकुश लगाना आवश्यक था। उसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि चीनी का निर्यात कुछ कम हुआ और इसी प्रकार से सब्जियों का निर्यात भी कुछ कम हुआ। आप जानते हैं कि हमारा सरकार का उद्देश्य केवलमात्र वस्तुओं का निर्यात करके विदेशी विनिमय का भंडार जमा करना ही नहीं है, बल्कि हमारा उद्देश्य यह है कि हमारे देश के जो गरीब आदमी हैं उन के धर में भी चूल्हा सुलग सके और उनको भी खाने की वस्तुएँ ठीक दाम पर सुलभ हो सकें। हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश का जो गरीब आदमी है उसको कम कीमत पर सब्जियाँ मिल सकें और खाने की अन्य वस्तुएँ मिल सकें। हमने इन चीजों की व्यवस्था की है। हमारे देश में पिछले साल दालों की कमी रही और

[डा० भाई महावीर]

इस कारण से दालों की कीमतों में बढ़ीं। विरोधी दलों की तरफ से दालों की कीमतों बढ़ने की समस्या को जनता पार्टी की सरकार की विफलता के रूप में प्रस्तुत करने की कोशिश की जाती रही है। आप जानते हैं महोदय कि दालों की कमी एक साल के अन्दर पैदा नहीं हुई। वर्षों तक दालों की उपेक्षा की जाती रही है। पिछली सरकार की तरफ से दालों की तरफ जो ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए था वह नहीं दिया गया। दाल ऐसी वस्तु है जो दुनिया के अन्दर आसानी से नहीं मिलती है। बहुत थोड़े से देशों में इसको उपज होती है। ऐसी स्थिति में आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि देश के अन्दर दालों का उत्पादन बढ़ाया जाय।

सबसे पहली जो समस्या हमारे सामने है, वह ऊर्जा की समस्या है। हमारी सरकार ने इसकी तरफ ध्यान देने का फैसला किया है। यही नहीं, सरकार ने यह भी फैसला किया है कि हमारी औद्योगिक नीति के अन्दर जो विवृतियाँ पैदा हो गई थी उनको समाप्त किया जाय। अब तक हमारे देश में खेती की उपेक्षा की जाती रही है। बड़े उद्योग तो बढ़ते रहे, लेकिन छोटे उद्योगों की उपेक्षा की गई। इसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि भारतवर्ष के किसान की न केवल उपेक्षा हुई, बल्कि उसकी जो आय बढ़नी चाहिए थी, वह बढ़ने नहीं पाई। किसान की आय में कमी होने से उद्योगों के अन्दर मंदो आई। इस बात को ध्यान में रख कर वर्तमान सरकार ने सबसे पहले खेती की तरफ ध्यान दिया है। कमप्लेसरी डिपोजिट स्कीम को हटाया गया है और उसको थोड़े से ज्यादा आय के लोगों के लिए ही रखा गया है। मिट्टी के तेल की सप्लाई को सारे देश में सुव्यवस्थित किया गया है। इसी प्रकार से चीनी की कीमतों पर रोक लगाई गई है। सिंजियों, प्याज आदि वस्तुओं के निर्यात पर रोक लगा कर उनकी कीमतों को कम किया

गया है। इसी प्रकार से खाने के तेल को कमी को दूर करने के लिए तेलों का आयात किया गया है। जो तेल है—बाघ तेल, उनके आयात को बढ़ा कर जो गरीब आदमी के लिये कमरतोड़ने वाली मंहगाई थी, उसके प्रभाव को, उसकी तोत्रता को कुछ कम किया गया। अभी भी जितना होना चाहिए था, वह नहीं हुआ। लेकिन जितना कुछ हुआ है, उस बात के लिये कुछ समझान की आशा इस समय प्रयुक्त की जा सकती है।

अर्थ नीति के अन्दर महोदय, हम लोगों ने यह कहा कि हम खेती के उत्पादन को बढ़ाने के वास्ते, कृषि के वास्ते ज्यादा रकम देंगे और आपने देखा कि कितनी रकम कृषि के वास्ते इस वर्ष दी गई है, पहली बार इतनी बड़ी राशि इस सरकार के आने के बाद ही तय हुई है और कृषि और ग्रामीण विकास के वास्ते 4,693 करोड़ रुपये यानि योजना का 40.29 प्रतिशत भाग दिया गया है। दूध की कमी है, यह मैं जानता हूँ। हम लोगों ने कई बातें कहीं और उसके बाद कुछ ऐसे निर्णय भी हुए हैं, जिन का व्यक्तिगत रूप से मैंने लिए उचित ठहराना भी मुश्किल है। लेकिन सरकार से मैं आग्रह करूँगा कि वह उन निर्णयों को बढ़ाने और उन को बदलने के लिए कोई दूसरा रास्ता निकाले। जो उचित बात है वह कहना, मैं समझता हूँ कि हम लोगों का कर्तव्य है। दूध का कीमत अभी दिल्ली में बढ़ाई गई। यह सवाल केवल दिल्ली का ही नहीं है। दूध का कीमत बढ़ाने की जो नीति आई है, जो मिल्क स्कीम को घाटा हो रहा है या जो घाटा पैदा होना शुरू हो गया है इस लिये अभी हमारे साथी मिल्क स्कीम के मैनेजमेंट का इन-एफीसियेन्सी और करप्शन के बारे में लम्बा भाषण दे रहे हैं। लेकिन यह मिल्क स्कीम जिस तरह से चलाई गई है, उसकी जो पद्धति रही है, उसके अन्दर जो इन-एफीसियेन्सी और करप्शन आया है, यह सारा एकाएक पैदा नहीं हुआ। परन्तु

महोदय, इसकी जड़ में जाकर मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि मिल्क स्कीम जिस समय दूध में पाउडर डाल कर दूध की सप्लाई करती रही, यदि वह उसके बजाय दूध की समस्या को हल करने के लिये दूध के उत्पादन को बढ़ाने पर बल देती तो यह समस्या हमारे सामने न होती। दूध का उत्पादन बढ़ाने में कितनी कमी रही यह आज बताने की जरूरत नहीं है। जनता सरकार ने 500 करोड़ रुपये डेयरी विकास कार्यक्रम के लिये दिया है और इसको अपने हाथ में लेने का फैसला किया है जिससे दूध का उत्पादन बढ़ेगा। इस देश में, जिसे कि दूध की नदियों वाला देश कहते थे यहां हम अपने बच्चों को दूसरे देशों के पाउडर से बने दूध को पिलायें, यह सचमुच एक बहुत बड़ी विडंबना है। महोदय, खेती के विकास और छोटे उद्योगों के विकास के लिए

*Time bell rings*

महोदय, हमारा आधे घंटे का समय है। मैं थोड़ा सा समय और लूंगा।

हमने ऊर्जा के विकास की ओर ध्यान देने का फैसला किया है। यही नहीं, कुछ ऐसे कार्य भी हैं जिनको करने के वास्ते पिछली सरकार हौसला नहीं कर पाई और जनता सरकार ने इस तरह का हौसला किया है। पिछले दिनों में भारत सरकार ने जो ड्रग प्राइसेज है, उसको कीज करने का फैसला किया। एक साल के लिये ड्रग की प्राइसेज को फ्रीज किया गया है और यह फैसला किया गया है कि एक कमेटी बनाई जायेगी जो इन विदेशी कम्पनियों की औपधियों के ऊपर, जो बहुत ज्यादा मुनाफा इन्होंने कमाया है, प्राफिटियरिंग करती रही है, उनके इस मुनाफे की जांच की जायेगी ताकि उनकी कीमतों को नियंत्रण में लाया जाय। 12 से लेकर 14 प्रतिशत तक अपने निवेश पर,

अपने इन्वेस्टमेंट पर उनको रिटर्न मिले, इसके लिये इस बात की घोषणा की गई है कि 100 बल्क ड्रग्स जो कि बड़े पैमाने पर काम आने वाली है, इन 100 औपधियों की एक साल के लिये कीमतें रोक दी गई हैं। महोदय, मेरे पास यहां पर बहुत सारे आंकड़े हैं जो कि इस सदन और दूसरे सदन में पढ़े गये सवालियों के जवाब में दिये गये हैं कि ये जो मल्टीनेशनल ड्रग कम्पनिस हैं, इन्होंने कितना थोड़ा रुपया इस देश में लगया और इन्होंने सर दर्द की दवा बेचने, मलेरिया की दवा बेचने, पेट की तबलीफ की दवा बेचने या दूसरे लाइफ सेविंग्स ड्रग्स जो है उनको बेच कर कितना बड़ा मुनाफा कमाया। इसमें इस देश के निचुड़ जाने की एक कहानी है। महोदय, जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने जो कदम उठाया है, उस कदम को उठाने के बाद यह नहीं कहा जा सकेगा कि इस समस्या के समाधान का या इस समस्या का सामना करने का साहस हमारे पास नहीं है। महोदय, इतना ही नहीं है। सरकार ने जो निश्चय किए हैं उन में एक बड़ा निश्चय यह है कि हम छोटे उद्योगों में जो कुछ बना सकते हैं वह छोटे उद्योगों में ही बनाएंगे। देश में रोजगार बढ़ाने के लिए, श्रम गहन तरीकों को अपनाने के लिए जो चीजें बड़े उद्योगों में बनाई जा रही हैं उसको आगे बढ़ाने की इजाजत नहीं दी जाएगी, उनकी कैपेसिटी नहीं बढ़ने दी जाएगी। थोड़े दिनों के बाद ही चाहे धीरे-धीरे क्यों न हो वह कैपेसिटी समाप्त करके छोटे उद्योगों को दी जाएगी। इसमें काफी सारी वस्तुएं हैं जैसे तेल है, साबुन है, डिटरजेंट है, टूथपेस्ट आदि हैं। यह सारे काम छोटे उद्योगों के अन्दर बखूबी हो सकते हैं। यह उत्पादन छोटे उद्योगों में कराओ, इसका फैसला किया गया लेकिन महोदय, मैं समझता हूँ कि अभी इस फैसले को कार्यान्वित करने के वास्ते हमें पूरे समाधान का अनुभव नहीं हो रहा। अभी पिछले दिनों समाचार-पत्रों में छपा कि जो नये लाइसेंस दिए गए उन नये लाइसेंसों के अन्दर बिरला को सब से बड़ा

[डा० भाई महावीर]

लाइसेंस मिला, दिल्ली क्लथ मिल को मिला। मैं यह देख कर हैरान हुआ कि विमको जो यहां पर माचिस बनाने की सब से बड़ी विदेशी कंसर्न है उसको भी एक्सपेंड करने का अधिकार मिला। मैं समझता हूं इन सारे मामलों के अन्दर जाया जाए, यह आवश्यक है। जो हमारी नीति है कि हम बड़े उद्योगों को इन क्षेत्रों में नहीं बढ़ने देंगे, जो क्षेत्र हमने छोटे उद्योगों के वास्ते रखे हैं। इस नीति की परिभाषा सीधी यह रखी गई कि जो कुछ छोटे उद्योगों में बना सकते हैं वह बड़े उद्योगों को नहीं दिया जाएगा। यदि ऐसा है तो इस तरह के नये लाइसेंस देने का कोई कारण मुझे समझ में नहीं आता। अगर इसका कारण कोई है तो सरकार यह बताए कि क्यों इस तरह छोटे उद्योगों के क्षेत्र में भी अभी चीजें उनके वास्ते पूरी तरह सुरक्षित नहीं की जा सकी। मैं यह चाहूंगा कि यह कारण जनता को समझाया जाए। महोदय, पिछले दिनों में जो नये आइटम्स छोटे उद्योगों के लिए रिजर्व किये गये हैं, ऐसी 504 चीजें हैं। पिछले दिनों इस प्रकार की सूची निम्नलिखित। मैं समझता हूं कि केवल सूची देने से ही काम नहीं चलेगा। कानूनी तौर पर इन वस्तुओं के उत्पादन को छोटे उद्योगों के वास्ते सुरक्षित करने की व्यवस्था करनी पड़ेगी। जब तक यह कानूनी व्यवस्था नहीं हो जाती तब तक यह शक रहेगा कि केवल एग्जीक्यूटिव आर्डर रहते हुए भी इन छोटे उद्योगों को मौका न मिले कि यह खड़े हो सकें और क्योंकि यह खड़े नहीं हो सकते। इस वास्ते मजबूरी में बड़े उद्योगों के भरोसे ही इन वस्तुओं की उपलब्धि इस देश में हो। महोदय, दूसरा काम जो करना बाकी है वह है छोटे उद्योगों के लिए, वस्तुएं सुरक्षित करना।

तीसरा काम जो जरूरी है वह यह है कि सारे प्रशासनिक ढांचे को इस तरह से संवारा

जाए, स्ट्रीमलाइन दिया जाए कि किसी भी काम में विलम्ब न हो। आज दुर्भाग्य यह है कि चाहे लाइसेंस का काम हो, चाहे जमीन का काम हो, पावर वनेक्शन का काम हो, नक्शा पास करवाने का काम हो, सब ऐसे फैसलों के अन्दर महीनों लग जाते हैं। मैंने मंत्री जी को कहा उद्योग मंत्री जी को भी, वित्त मंत्री जी को भी, तथा व्यापार मंत्री जी को भी कहा। मेरा निवेदन है कि पिछले दिनों जो 45 दिन की सीमा तय की गई है कि अगर कोई बाहर से आना चाहे और यहां पर पूंजी लगाना चाहे, अपना छोटा-मोटा उद्योग चलाना चाहे तो उसके आवेदन का 45 दिनों के अन्दर हम फैसला कर लेगे। मैं चाहता हूं कि सरकार इस तरह के हर काम के लिये समय की सीमा बांधे कि अगर कोई व्यक्ति पूंजी लगाना चाहे किसी काम के लिए तो उसका फैसला इतने दिनों के अन्दर हो जाएगा। चाहे लाइसेंस हो, चाहे वरचा माल हो, चाहे बैक से साख की बात हो, क्रेडिट की बात हो, चाहे जो भी हो, किसी वस्तु की जरूरत हो वे सब एक स्थान पर उपलब्ध करने की व्यवस्था की जाए। जैसे कि मंत्री जी ने बताया कि डिस्ट्रिक्ट सेन्टर्स स्थापित किए जा रहे हैं, गांवों में और छोटे दस्त्रों में, उनमें भी उसी तरह समय की सीमा बांधें। आज जो हालत है उसके बारे में एक उदाहरण आपको देना चाहता हूं। दिल्ली के अन्दर एक योजना में जिसे बादली योजना कहते हैं, एक व्यक्ति को कहा गया कि आपको जमीन हम अलाट करेंगे, आप पैसा तैयार रखिए। एक साल पहले वह चिट्ठी आई। पूरे साल से वह प्रतीक्षा कर रहा है कि जब तक वह चिट्ठी आएगी कि यहां पैसा जमा कराओ और आपको फलां बरखाने के वास्ते जमीन दी जायगी। यह एक जगह का उदाहरण नहीं है। इस प्रकार के बिस्से सब जगह होते हैं इतनी देर लगती है, इतना विलम्ब होता है कि इसके कारण भ्रष्टाचार फैल जाता है। इसके कारण जो

काम करना चाहते हैं वे हताश होकर निराश होकर बैठ जाते हैं। इससे देश की हानि होती है। महोदय, हमारी पार्टी चाहती है कि देश में आर्थिक विकास की वृद्धि की दर 7 प्रतिशत रहे। इस वृद्धि के लिए जरूरी है कि जो स्थानीय संस्थाएं हैं उनको प्रोत्साहित किया जाय, उनको फिर से नया जीवन दिया जाय ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): May I request you to conclude?

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: I am finishing. रोजगार बढ़ाने के लिए जरूरी है कि हम वह उद्योग जो जल्दी बन सकते हैं विविध मैक्रोरिंग प्रोजेक्ट्स, जिनके अंदर कम पूंजी चाहिए और जो ज्यादा श्रम को रोजगार देते हैं, ऐसे उद्योगों की ओर रुचि दिखायें। सरकार को कई तरह के बर्तन निर्णय इसके लिए करने पड़ेंगे। इन निर्णयों में से एक निर्णय यह भी है कि बहुत दिखावटी जो ओस्टेंसिबल कंजम्प्शन है जिसका उपयोग खाली अपने पैसे को बरबाद करके अपनी अमीरी का तंगा नाच दिखाने के लिए किया जाता है, इसकी रोकथाम की जाय। इन चीजों के लिए ये लोग तो नुकसान करते ही हैं लेकिन बाकी लोग भी इसके पीछे न रह जायें इस वास्ते कजे उठा वार भी, अपने को बरबाद कर भी इस तरह का नुकसान करते हैं।

महोदय, एक और बात की ओर भी मैं सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं। वह बात यह है कि जब जनता सरकार आई तो इस बात की गब से प्रमुख जरूरत महसूस की गयी कि सरकार और लोगों के अन्दर एक तालमेल हो, एक संबंध स्थापित हो। सरकार कोई और है और लोग दूसरे हैं अपोजिट कैम्पस में बैठे हैं, इस प्रकार का भ्रम नहीं रहना चाहिए। अतः इस बात

को दृष्टि में रख कर आने वाली सरकार आम लोगों के साथ संबंध स्थापित करे, मजदूरों के साथ करे, वर्मचारियों के साथ करे। बल एक जगह मुझे बताया गया कि पहले यह एक रिवाज था, प्रथा थी कि कोई नया कानून जब बनने लगता था तो बार एसोसियेशन के पास उसको भेजा जाता था और वकीलों को कहा जाता था कि आप इस पर अपनी टिप्पणी दीजिए, राय दीजिए परन्तु पता नहीं क्यों अब यह प्रथा खत्म हो गयी है। चाहिए तो यह था कि इस तरह की प्रथा को बढ़ाया जाता जिससे कि सरकार को लोगों की राय जानने का मौका मिलता, वह लोगों की राय को पहचान सकती।

महोदय, हमें सरकार की जो कर प्रणाली है उसका इस तरह से फिर से एक बार निरीक्षण करना होगा कि जिससे वह एम्प्लायमेंट बढ़ाने वाली बने।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Mr. Khurshed Alam Khan.

डा० भाई महावीर : बस मैं आखिरी ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): No, no. Mr. Khurshed Alam Khan.

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN (Delhi): Mr. Vice-Chairman, at the outset, I should like to ...

डा० भाई महावीर : महोदय, क्या आपने उनको बुलाने के लिए बुला लिया। आप हमारी पार्टी के समय में से इस तरह हमें बिठायेगे ...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अरविन्द गणेश कुलकर्णी) : वैसे ही आपने दो मिनट ज्यादा ले लिये हैं।



डा० भाई महावीर : कितने मिनट ज्यादा हो गये हैं एक घंटा तीस मिनट हमारी पार्टी का है ।

उप सभाध्यक्ष (श्री अरविन्द गणेश कुलकर्णी) : हमने एक घंटा तीस मिनट दिया है ।

डा० भाई महावीर : अभी हमारे एक और सदस्य बोलने वाले हैं, ज्यादा से ज्यादा यह होगा कि हम पांच मिनट कम बोलेंगे ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): One hour and thirty minutes divided by three. Whatever was possible I have given you.

डा० भाई महावीर : तीन सदस्यों ने अगर एक घंटा तीस मिनट लेना है तो मैं दूसरा हूँ, एक तीसरा सदस्य भी अभी रहता है अगर उसके 2-4 मिनट कम हो जायेंगे तो इसमें आपको परेशानी नहीं होनी चाहिए ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Would you please accommodate others also? You are not the only Member to speak. Tomorrow also we have to accommodate all your members during one hour and 35 minutes. Tomorrow also your members are going to speak. That is why I have given you the maximum time. Please help me. Shri Khurshed Alam Khan.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: I am sorry. I do not understand ...

श्रीमान्, अभी श्री भूपेश गुप्त बोल रहे थे—मैं उनके अधिकार को भी जानता हूँ । लेकिन अगर आप इस तरीके से गिलोटिन ...

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN (Kerala): Sir, I rise on a point of order. Is it proper on the part of an honourable Member to continue his speech even after you have called another Member?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Mr. Madhavan, you please do not raise any point of order. He will be convinced. Do not worry about it. He is a very knowledgeable person and he understands the parliamentary practices. Why are you rising on a point of order. I know Dr. Mahavir. Why are you bothering about it?

डा० भाई महावीर : मुझे एक मिनट दे दीजिए, एक मिनट में आखिरी सन्देश पढ़ कर खत्म कर रहा हूँ ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): I am sorry. Dr. Mahavir.

डा० भाई महावीर : महोदय, मैं आखिरी बात कहना चाहता था कि सरकार को अपनी कार्रवाई के अन्दर एक विचार इसके लिए करना होगा कि अब तक जो फैसिलिटीज या जो रिलीफ इन्वेस्टमेंट के लिए दिये जा रहे हैं उनको बदल कर उनको ऐसे कामों के लिए दें जिससे रोजगार के अवसर बढ़ें । मेरे पास एक लेख है, उस में से महोदय, मैं केवल एक वाक्य पढ़ देना चाहता हूँ :

"Available evidence suggests that public policy in India has played a very important role in the growth of technologies. It has not only tolerated such technologies, but has even deliberately favoured their adoption through various means. A very careful review of the relevant literature shows that these incentives have been designed in such a manner that generally, they not only lack selectivity, but also the tax benefits associated with them vary in proportion to the amount of investment in capital assets. When calculating this benefit, no consideration is given to the employment opportunities created."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Yes, Mr. Khurshed Alam Khan.

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN: Sir, in the first instance, I would like to say whatever little time has been lost now must be made up and I must be compensated for that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Mr. Khan, you have started at 4.41.

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN: Sir, at the outset, I would like to say that it is only now that the people have begun to realise and feel the impact of the Janata Government's first regular Budget. It reveals the dismal lack of capacity on the part of the Government to formulate economic and fiscal policies that can give a new vigour and pace to development. In fact, the Budget reflects helplessness and the Government has not taken advantage of the sound economy that it has inherited in the shape of huge stocks of foodgrains and large foreign exchange reserves. Sir, this was an unprecedented thing. But, unfortunately, no proper exploitation of this situation by the Janata Government is in evidence. May I briefly quote from the Minister's speech on the Budget? Sir, I quote:

"I am satisfied that the resultant monetary expansion will not lead to any inflationary pressure, particularly in view of the large stocks of foodgrains and the much greater ability that we have at present to import essential consumer goods."

How well-founded this hope was! But the Government has not taken advantage of the situation and, therefore, all tall claims on this account are not really well-founded. How can really an upsurge in inflation be checked as envisaged by the Budget proposals which, in spite of the tall claims, are not designed to ensure price stability or to achieve a faster rate of growth or to promote social justice? This is the situation in which we have our economy in the country today. With

these remarks, Sir, I would like to say a few things about certain other items.

Sir, we appreciate that for the first time 40 per cent of the total Budget allocation has been reserved for the rural sector and for agriculture. This is all very good. But whether the small farmers and the marginal farmers are going to take advantage of this is a question, because all the surplus land which was provided to these landless people has not only been taken away from them, but has also been taken away along with the standing crops. Similarly, there has been a longstanding demand for the manufacture of tractors with a HP of 10 or 15 since the ordinary poor farmers cannot buy the ordinary tractors. But the Government has done nothing to reduce the excise duty on the production of tractors, particularly tractors of lower HP. Fertilizers are still very expensive. Cheap electricity is not available and the electricity charges have gone up. All these things have increased the cost of production. This is a fact not only with reference to agriculture, but also with reference to our industry, our railways and to all aspects of industrial production in the country. Now, Sir, I would like to mention about two major industries, that is, the cotton textile industry and the jute industry which are by and large such industries in the country. Now, to this list of two industries, we can add another very very important industry, an agro-based industry, that is, the sugar industry in the country. Sir, in the sugar industry, what is the cost of production? You might have produced more sugar. But the question is how much sugarcane is still standing and getting dried up in the fields and what is happening to it. Is it not a fact that sugarcane is being sold much cheaper, cheaper than fuel in the rural areas? What is happening about this? How are you going to help the poor farmers? Is this the way of helping

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the poor farmers? The sugar mills which were less than five years' old were promised 45 per cent rebate in excise duty. Why has this not been done? Why is there delay in granting this concession to these sugar mills, which they deserve?

Now, another important thing is, as you know, carpet industry in Mirzapur, etc. is a cottage industry. It is understood that this industry is facing a lot of problems, and all the concessions which were given to them for exports are likely to be withdrawn. Besides this, it is also understood that a number of mills are given licences for manufacture of carpets. Carpets produced by mills are going to compete with those hand-made carpets. Therefore, it is necessary that if permission is given for manufacture of mill-made carpets, then there should be a special concession in excise duty to hand-made carpets, otherwise this industry will be completely ruined and destroyed and a large number of people who are employed in this industry will be unemployed and they will be without jobs in the near future.

Sir, the surcharge on electricity and coal is responsible for the hardships to many industries, particularly, small-scale industries, and therefore it is necessary that this surcharge must be removed in the interests of small-scale industries.

I would also like to mention here about the LIC. Now, the LIC is supposed to be a service organisation. But it is really a problem to get loans. If you apply for a loan from the LIC, by the time you get the loan the cost of construction has increased at least by 5 to 10 per cent. Something must be done about it. The LIC people must realise this fact and do something to dispose of loan applications of their policy holders as early as possible.

Sir, we earnestly hope that the various amendments proposed by the hon. Finance Minister, to the Income-tax Act will meet the desired results. But

here I would like to suggest that some simpler methods should be introduced for the people who have got a total income not exceeding Rs. 25000 per annum, so that their cases are disposed of quickly and there is no accumulation of small cases with the Income-tax Department, so that they can concentrate more on bigger cases. This will produce better working results and this will also provide satisfaction to the people whose annual income is less than Rs. 25000

Sir, grave doubts about the advisability of sale of gold reserves have been expressed by many people in the country. This seems to be a very unusual and very unconventional method of disposing of our gold reserves. Here I would like to say that recently at the first auction the reserve price for gold was Rs. 645 for 10 grammes, which is obviously less than the international price. How are you going to stop smuggling if the international price, is less than the price that we have in our country?

Sir, I would suggest more liberal grants for the welfare schemes of the Harijans. They have suffered a lot during the last one year. I suppose it would be in the fitness of things if more liberal grants are provided for them. Now there is a demand that there should be a separate Ministry to look after the Harijans. I think they deserve it. It should be done. I think it would not be a favour of the Government if they do it, but it will be very right to ask for it. Sir, the nationalised banks are expected to play an active role in removing economic backwardness in various parts of the country. How far has this objective been achieved and what is more to be done? I think we must examine this matter and come to some conclusion as to what objectives have been achieved, what is more to be achieved and what is to be done in this regard. Now, this is a very important matter. It is believed that the huge amounts of foreign exchange

are spent in respect of rental accommodation of our Embassies and High Commission. In certain cases, it is believed that the expenditure is one-third or one-fourth of the total expenditure on these Embassies and High Commissions abroad. I suppose there is need for exercising economy measures. Why can we not buy our own land and buildings so that we can reduce the expenditure on rental accommodation of our High Commissions and Embassies abroad?

Another important matter is this. What is the difficulty in fulfilling the promise that was given by the Janata Government about removing the Sales Tax? I want this particularly about the Union Territory of Delhi because the Union Territory of Delhi has got its own distributory character in business and it is very adversely affected by the Sales Tax. Therefore, something should be done to give relief to the business community of the Union Territory of Delhi by reducing or removing the Sales Tax.

Sir, there has been a very big setback to the industrial output and production of our country during the last one year. If I am not incorrect, I suppose the loss in this regard is to the extent of Rs. 500 crores is attributable to unrest in industry, the loss of Rs. 200 crores is attributable to shortage in power supply to the industries and the loss of Rs. 100 crores is attributable to transport bottlenecks. This is a very serious matter and I suppose something important, essential, and urgent will be done to remove these difficulties and see that the industrial production does not suffer in future and something is done to make them pick up again the same momentum and the same speed as they were having about two years ago. Sir, I would make a special appeal to the hon. Finance Minister that the Finance Ministry should come to the rescue of traditional artisans of certain historic arts and crafts which are transferred from the father to the son. The centres of these arts and crafts are places

like Delhi, Agra, Patna, Hyderabad and so many other places. These arts and these artisans are suffering for lack of patronage and it is felt that if nothing is done on an urgent basis, these arts and artisans will wither away into oblivion and we will be losing a very precious heritage of our country.

Similarly, the shoe industry in Agra and Kanpur has suffered very adversely as a result of excise duty. It is necessary, particularly for those people and small shoe makers who supply shoes to the bigger companies, that they must be protected and given rebate and concession so that they can continue in their business and earn their livelihood.

Another important thing about which I would like to speak is the Minorities Commission. This Minorities Commission was set up after a long time. It is very unfortunate that though the Commission has been set up there is no office and there is no regular staff of this commission. I suppose that even the Chairman of the Commission was complaining on this account. Are we not really serious about this Commission? When we could have all the arrangements for other commissions, why has nothing been done about this Commission so far? What is the difficulty and whether the difficulty is financial difficulty or intentional difficulty? I would like to know this. And the same thing about the Backward Classes Commission. I think this must be looked into very carefully and some immediate steps have to be taken. Now, Sir, the Linguistic Minorities Commission. This Commission was set up in 1957. I would like the Government to make an assessment of what useful work this Commission has done and whether those people for whom this was set up have benefited from this Commission and if not, what the idea is of having this Commission. Sir, from the type of reports that we get, it is of no use and it is of no help to those people for whom this Commission was set up. And I suppose

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that the present expenditure on this Commission is really an infructuous expenditure and this has got to be looked into.

Sir, nearer home, I would like to say that Delhi is a fast-growing and expanding city with a population of about 60 lakhs. The basic amenities have been completely outstripped by the requirements in this ancient city. It is necessary that a liberal grant should be provided because Delhi has suffered for a long time as a result of the pressure of population which is increasing at the rate of about 2½ lakhs per year. And unless liberal grants are provided, it would not be possible for the Delhi people to get the basic necessities. For instance, take the hospitals in Delhi. They cater not only to the people of Delhi but also to the people from the various States. People from various States come to Delhi and they get the benefit out of these hospitals.

Sir, I would like to say that huge expenditure is incurred on the PAC and the CRP. These PAC and CRP have no confidence of the weaker sections and the minorities. I suppose that something has to be done so that the people's confidence is restored in them otherwise they should be disbanded because there is no use of having them.

Sir, the public sector undertakings were enjoying commanding heights for the last few years. But, unfortunately during the last year, they had a set back. Therefore, it is necessary that they should get all the encouragement and they should again achieve those commanding heights. Sir, the net profits before tax of the undertakings increased to Rs. 306 crores in 1975-76 from Rs. 20 crores in 1970-71. This is a performance which promises a better performance and, therefore, this needs a special consideration.

Sir, I would like to utter a word of caution. It is still not too late for the Government to face and take up the

challenges that are posed by the political, social and fiscal conditions as they exist today, as they are staring in our face. Unless we take a realistic approach, unless we adopt a realistic attitude, we will not be able to solve these problems. How long are you going to take refuge behind the emergency period? Whatever has happened has happened. But now the people's expectations have not materialised and you have got to give a better account of yourself next year. Otherwise, you can take it from me that you would also go unheard, unwept and unsung. What the country needs for some time is discipline, dedication and hard work in every sector of economic activity. Still there is some hope. Please do something so that we may also be grateful to you. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: Sir, last year I did not speak on the Budget on account of two reasons. The first ground was, as raised by the present Government itself, that the Budget was not their creation. The second ground was that it would not be fair on my part to judge this Government only after a few days or a few weeks of having taken over the administration of this country, after they were placed in power through the ballot. But this year, I am speaking exactly after the lapse of thirteen and a half months, which is not a small period in the term of a Parliament, what is the position? Sir, I may be permitted to go through the relevant paragraph of the Budget Speech of the hon. Finance Minister made on the 28th of February, in this House. In paragraph 86, at page 24, he has stated:

5 P.M.

"...In its report on the Central Direct Taxes Administration, the Administrative Reforms Commission had recommended that amendments to the tax laws should not be rushed through the annual Finance Bill, which needs to be passed before a prescribed date, but made through separate bills whose provisions can

be considered in detail. Pursuant to this recommendation, I propose to introduce separate legislation as early as possible to give effect to the main recommendations of the Chokshi Committee which are acceptable to the Government...."

Naturally, the Finance Minister goes by default. Not only the Finance Minister but much more the Law Minister also goes by default. Only that much I wish to say on this account.

Now, Sir, let us examine Chapter III of the Bill. Chapter III of the Bill relates to Direct Taxes and with regard to that subject there is something strange in this Bill, which has reached this House after getting it probably pushed through or discussed through the Lok Sabha. My hon. friend, who spoke some time earlier, was referring to Clause No. 8 in this Bill. If you will kindly pursue, you will find that there is no clause No. 8. There are two clauses here, both numbered 7. You please examine at page 7 there is a clause numbered 7 and at page 8 also there is a clause numbered 7. Because this is a printed copy of the Bill and because at the top of first page the words "As passed by the Lok Sabha on 29th April, 1978" appear, I do not think this is a mistake.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Mr. Madhavan, for your information, the Secretariat has already circulated a corrigendum, which you may kindly see.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: Sir, I stand corrected.

Let me come to the main points now. I will be very brief and very precise as I usually am. I want to speak about the burden imposed on the newspapers. I have myself been a newspaper man for some time. So, I am compelled to speak even though my speech may not be reported because usually I am blacked out by Press people because I do not meet

them; I do not know the method of meeting them and pleasing them. They may be busy with certain other things. I am not worried about that. I am doing my duty.

Sir, what does clause 8 say? It imposes a tax on advertisements. But strangely enough, of course it exempts small daily newspapers, but I may be permitted to point out a distinction in the sense that there are newspapers of different categories of proprietorship. One category of proprietorship is the big business proprietorship, the big business-owned newspapers, where the newspaper is only incidental to their business or supplementary to their business. But there are certain newspapers that are newspapers themselves, which do not have any other industry. Fortunately, there are a few like that. And the Government, through this Finance Bill, makes a distinction, a very subtle distinction. It is not a distinction, it is a discrimination, a very glaring discrimination exercised in a very subtle manner. That is the most interesting part of it. They charge tax on all sorts of advertisements, of 10 per cent, 12½ per cent, 15 per cent, and so on, as specified in the so-called clause 8. But in the same clause at page 9, we find there are certain other things exempted, like holding or participation in any Press conference, sales conference, and conventions, trade fair, exhibitions, publication and distribution of journals, catalogues or price lists, and then what is more significant is, there are certain things that are not mentioned, by saying, "Such other things as may be prescribed." Prescribed by whom? Probably, it is to be prescribed by the Government from time to time. So part of the powers are grabbed away from this Parliament. It is a very arbitrary method of grabbing powers from the legislators of this great country. This is the sinister way as I can see here. What is this item, "other items as may be prescribed"? These are the methods adopted by big business to influence the people, to influence men of public opinion, to

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influence leaders of public opinions. That is a very intelligent method of the modern big business men to influence important personalities through unholy means, and I repeat 'through unholy means'. I think I need not elaborate on that. What are those unholy means? They are Press conferences accompanied by dinners, liquor, wine, women and so many other things, and also money. That is the method of big business not only in India but everywhere in the world. That is the method that is being adopted here. It has been provided very easily, very cleverly and very cunningly, I say. This is what has been done here. This has been done here so that they can have guest houses, they can have dinner parties, they can have lunch parties, they can have dances and so on. There are so many things. I do not know the names of all those things. The economy of this country is being eaten away and it is being eroded by the big business who have their own strings attached to many people. I was not surprised, when I saw one Member jumping up immediately to defend one newspaper magnate who is also an industrial magnate. Are we not ashamed of this? Are we not ashamed that elected representatives of the people, who claim to be VIPs, raising their heads to defend the big business on the floor of this House? This is the tragedy of the situation. Sir, I may be permitted to read out the editorial of daily, a Malayalam daily, which has got a circulation of more than one lakh. But it has no other business except the publication of books and periodicals. This is what they say:

"It is not a direct control; but a tax on amounts set apart for advertisement and sales promotion that the Government is proposing. But in effect, it will be as good as control."

Then, they say:

"The impact on the newspaper industry of this control is also signi-

ficant. Newspaper is an extraordinary product whose selling price is very much below the cost of production. This is made possible by advertisements. If there is not enough advertisements there will be a fall in the income of the newspapers, and the cost of production will be unbearable. Their economic basis will be shattered."

Naturally, those newspapers will pass on the burden to the readers. Then, the editorial says:

"Provincial newspapers and other publications which even today struggle hard to make both ends meet, will be compelled to close down. Thus, there will be a crisis in the newspaper industry."

Janata Government claims that it is their policy to encourage newspapers, particularly the small ones. It has sworn to protect the freedom of the Press. Control of advertisements is inconsistent with this position. Making the working of the newspapers impossible or hard is, in fact, indirect denial of the freedom of the Press."

Then, they conclude:

"In the circumstances, we hope that the Finance Minister will heed the request of the industrialists and the newspaper interests to abandon the proposal to tax the advertisements."

This is the editorial.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Is that all?

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: One thing more. After all, what is the Press? I have with me the latest edition of the book 'The Press versus the Government' authored by not less a person than Mr. D. R. Mankekar, the well-known journalist. What is the Press? Press is the mirror of public opinion. It is well known. But here

I would say one thing. The Press will have to be in the opposition always.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): But Mr. Madhavan, why don't you say something on the Finance Bill?

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: Yes. The finance is connected with these strings which are unseen.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: Mr. Madhavan, there are so many advertising agencies. Are you against the advertising agencies also being taxed?

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: I do not want to say that, but it will amount to that. I may now be permitted to conclude, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Please conclude now.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: The Press is bound to be in the opposition, though the Government makes a claim that they have liberated them. We know how they have liberated them. The Government want to consolidate their position. We can read between the lines. This is what the author Mankekar has said on page 18 of the book:

"The target of criticism in the democratic process—inevitably, the Government—however tends to get impatient with criticism and would want to plug it off. The Government is often tempted to rationalise its intolerance of dissent and to encroach upon the freedom of the Press and other Fundamental Rights."

Again on page 25 of the same book the author has quoted Jefferson. This is what Jefferson has said:

"Were it left to decide whether we should have a Government without newspapers or newspapers without Government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

This means we would prefer newspapers even without a Government. Finally, I am closing with this quotation of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This is what he has said:

"I have no doubt that even if the Government dislikes the liberties taken by the Press and considers them dangerous, it is wrong to interfere with the freedom of the Press."

This is what Panditji declared in his address to the All India Newspaper Editor's Conference in 1950. This pet idea of Panditji has been undermined by his pet daughter, I do not take pride in the happenings.

One thing more to which probably the Government are resorting to its regarding the All India Radio. I was not listening to the radio; but somebody coming from outside said that the All India Radio has chosen to be silent today. All India Radio has chosen the path of Mahatmaji who used to prefer silence sometimes. Is it not disgraceful? Is this not a very bad method of working?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Yes, please conclude now.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: With these words I conclude. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Yes, Mr. Mathur. You will start today and conclude tomorrow.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : श्रीमान, मुझे आदेश हुआ है कि मैं केवल एक मिनट बोलूँ और कल अपना भाषण जारी रखूँ। इस एक मिनट का उपयोग मैं केवल अपने साथी, वरिष्ठ साथी, श्री भूपेश गुप्त जी द्वारा कही गई बात के बारे में करना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने बोलते हुए मोनोपली कैपिटल का उल्लेख किया, मगर वह भूल गये कि जिन लोगों को उन्होंने क्रिटिसाइज किया, मिसेज गांधी को,



वह उन्ही के बल से बनी थी। केवल एक शेर कह कर मैं खत्म करूंगा। सी० पी० आई० के और आपके बारे में तो है ही। आम जनता की ओर से :

हमे उनसे वफा की है उम्मीद,  
जो नहीं जानते वफा क्या है।  
वह जब आकर यहाँ देशभक्ति की बातें

करते हैं तो मुझे दुःख होता है। अगली बात मैं कल प्रातः करूंगा।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at nineteen minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 9th May, 1978.