

THE FINANCE BILL, 1976— CONTD.

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

श्री बनारसी दास (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
सपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अपनी असमर्थता के लिए क्षमा चाहता हूँ यदि मेरी आवाज सदस्यों को थोड़ी अप्रिय लगे।

श्रीमन् कोई भी बजट सरकार की आर्थिक, राजनीतिक और सामाजिक दर्शन का दर्पण होता है। हमारी सामाजिक, आर्थिक और राजनीतिक नीतियाँ हमारे डाइरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्स आफ दि कंस्टीट्यूशन के अन्दर निहित हैं। इसलिए प्रत्येक वर्ष बजट की समीक्षा करने के लिए आवश्यक होता है कि हम इस बात पर विचार करें कि सरकार कहां तक डाइरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्स की नीतियों को अमल में लाई है।

इस बजट को प्रस्तुत करते समय माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने इस बात का दावा किया है कि पिछले इस वर्ष में कीमतों पर नियंत्रण हुआ है, कीमतें कम हो गई हैं और आर्थिक क्षेत्र की प्रत्येक दिशा के अन्दर प्रगति हुई है। देश के अन्दर जीवन का स्तर बढ़ा है, लोगों को अधिक सुविधायें मिली हैं।

उन्होंने इस बात का दावा किया कि खरीफ की फसल में 65 लाख मिलियन टन का उत्पादन हुआ जिसकी वजह से 16 सौ करोड़ रुपए किसानों की जेब में गए और इसीलिए उनकी क्रय शक्ति भी बढ़ी। श्रीमन् मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यह बात सही है कि इस वर्ष कीमत कुल मिला कर करीब-करीब 7 परसेंट गिरी हैं। यह जो सात परसेंट गिरी हैं इसका मुख्य कारण किसानों की उपज की कीमतों में गिरावट है—फूड ग्रेन में 20.4 परसेंट, पल्सेज में 26.3 परसेंट, खाने के तेल में 34.3 परसेंट और कपास में 22.6 परसेंट की गिरावट आई है लेकिन कारखानों में बनी चीजों के दामों में स्वयं इकोनॉमिक सर्वे के मुताबिक 1.4 परसेंट गिरावट आई है। गवर्नमेंट ने बड़े उत्साह के साथ घोषणा

की थी कि हमने चीजों की कीमतों पर नियंत्रण किया है। यह ठीक है प्राउण्ड नट की कीमत 9 रुपए पर किलो थी जो कि फरवरी में गिर कर 4 रुपए फी किलों हो गई, यानी उसकी कीमत आधे से भी कम हो गई लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या जनता साबुन की कीमत एक रुपए से नीचे गिरी है। जनता के इस्तेमाल की किसी भी चीज की कीमत नीचे नहीं आई है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ जनता को किसी और प्रकार की सुविधा आपने दी है? यदि आप इस वर्ष की रिपोर्ट पर और करें तो जो कपड़ा सन् 1955-56 में प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को 14.4 मीटर मिलता था वह 1974-75 में घट कर 12.9 हो गया। कपड़े का उत्पादन इस वर्ष कम हुआ है क्योंकि स्टॉक जमा है। वनस्पति के अंदर भी 1955-56 के मुकाबले अब एक किलोग्राम की कमी आई है, यानी जनता को एक किलोग्राम कम मिलने लगा है। शूगर 1973-74 में जो जनता को 6 किलोग्राम मिलती थी वह 5 किलोग्राम मिलने लगी है। जितने भी मेट्रोपोलिटन सीटिज हैं—दिल्ली, कलकत्ता, बम्बई आदि यहां की 25 फीसदी आबादी सड़कों पर आसमान की साया के नीचे सोती है। जहां तक बेरोजगारी का सवाल है, अभी एम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेंज की रिपोर्ट शायद हुई है। उसमें कहा गया है कि एक साल के अंदर 10 लाख लोगों की इस इमरजेंसी के पीरियड में वृद्धि हुई है। अभी पारसाल हिन्दुस्तान आई० आई० टीज से जितने एग्जामिनेशन हुए और डा० बोस ने उनका जो एनालिसिस किया उसमें कहा है—

"A more under-privileged class than even the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, at least in technical education, has emerged from an analysis of the Joint Entrance Examination. This class is the entire rural community. Other than the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, few from this class succeeded in last year's examinations whereas among the Sche-

duled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, with the reservation of seats and the lower qualifying standards prescribed for them, nearly half were from the rural areas and three-fourths from the Indian language schools which apparently were lower than those to which other rural candidates went."

इसका मतलब यह है कि इस प्रदेश के मुताबिक हमारे देश की 80 फीसदी देहाती जनता इन टेक्नीकल इंस्टिट्यूशन्स में प्रवेश नहीं पा सकती है और शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और ट्राइब्ज के लिए जो 50 परसेंट का दाखिला निश्चित किया गया है, वह भी अगर उनके लिए रिजर्वेशन नहीं होता तो उनको प्रवेश नहीं मिल सकता था। ऐसी हालत में मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यही डायरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल का कार्यान्वयन है? क्या हम संविधान में दी गई दिशा की ओर जा रहे हैं। क्या इस प्रकार से गांवों और शहरों का अन्तर दूर हो सकता है? मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से कहूंगा और सदन के नेता महोदय से इस बात की दरखास्त करूंगा कि वे इस बात की जांच करने के लिए एक कमीशन बैठायें कि हिन्दुस्तान का शासन कौन लोग चलाते हैं? क्या यह सही है कि इंडियन फौरन सर्विस, आई० ए० एस० और क्लास-1 सर्विसेज इस देश के अन्दर कुछ प्रमुख जातियों का प्रीज्व बन गई हैं? एक तरफ आज फेमिली प्लानिंग की बात कही जा रही है, लेकिन दूसरी तरफ इस बात को नहीं देखा जा रहा है कि आई० ए० एस० और आई० पी० एस० तथा अन्य सेवाओं में भर्ती के समय लोगों को जो समान अवसर प्राप्त नहीं है और इस कारण से लोगों को जो नुकसान हो रहा है, उसके निराकरण के लिए कोई प्रयत्न नहीं किया जा रहा है क्या इसका मतलब यह है कि 80 फीसदी देहात की जनता में कोई प्रतिभा नहीं है। हमारे देश की देहात की जनता जो हमारी सीमाओं की रक्षा करती है, जो अन्न का उत्पादन करती है, क्या उसके शरीर में कोई रक्त नहीं है कि वे भी सेक्रेटोरिएट

में आकर बैठ सकें? जब से हमारे देश में स्वराज्य आया है तब से अब तक स्वयं आप देखते हैं कि हमारे देश में सांस्कृतिक गुलामी बड़ी। हमारे मिनिस्ट्रों को अपनी भाषा में बात करने में और भाषण करने में लज्जा आती है। सन् 1916 में महात्मा गांधी जब काशी में काशी विश्वविद्यालय के शिलान्यास के समय तो हिन्दी में बोले। सन् 1916 में कांग्रेस का अधिवेशन हुआ तो डेलीगेट्स ने कहा कि गांधी जी, आप हमारी सुविधा के लिए दो शब्द अंग्रेजी में जरूर कहें। गांधी जी ने कहा कि आपको एक साल का समय देता हूँ। एक साल के बाद यदि आप मेरी बात सुनना चाहते हैं तो आपको हिन्दी सीखकर आना पड़ेगा। सन् 1946 में शिक्षा मंत्रियों के सम्मेलन में जब मद्रास के शिक्षा मंत्री ने कहा कि आप हमारी सुविधा के लिए दो शब्द अंग्रेजी में जरूर बोलें तो गांधी जी ने कहा कि अगर आप राष्ट्र भाषा हिन्दी नहीं जानते हैं तो आपको शिक्षा मंत्री बनने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है। हमारे देश में आज जो स्थिति है वह किसी से छिपी हुई नहीं है। लोक सभा और राज्य सभा में अंग्रेजी में होने वाले भाषण को देखकर ऐसा लगता है कि मानो ये इंग्लैंड की सभायें हों। ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि इन सदनों में बैठने वाले लोग अपने मातृ भाषा में बोलने में लज्जा अनुभव करते हैं। लाला लाजपत राय ने कहा था कि संसार में सबसे बड़ी गुलामी सांस्कृतिक गुलामी है। इस देश के लोगों को गांधी जी की कृपा से राजनैतिक आजादी मिल गई, लेकिन यहां के लोगों के दिमाग अभी तक अंग्रेजी भाषा से चिपके हुए हैं। जब लार्ड एटबी हिन्दुस्तान में आए तो उन्होंने कहा कि यहां की अंग्रेजी को देखकर तो ऐसा लगता है कि अंग्रेज तो यहां से चले गए, लेकिन अंग्रेजी हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर ज्यादा प्रगति कर रही है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यही डायरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल का कार्यान्वयन है?

[श्री बनारसी दास]

यहां पर बार बार कहा जाता है कि 114 मिलियन टन पैदावार हुई है। क्या यह कोई नई बात है? सन् 1971-72 के अन्दर 108 मिलियन टन की पैदावार हुई। अब कभी अकाल पड़ता है या फसल अच्छी नहीं होती है तो खैदर गौड अर्थात् ईश्वर को दोष दिया जाता है। जब फसल अच्छी होती है, बम्पर क्रोप होती है तो उसका सारा श्रेय सरकार ले लेती है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब खरीफ की फसल में 65 मिलियन टन अनाज पैदा हुआ और 16 सौ करोड़ रुपये किसानों की जेब में गए हैं तो क्या कारण है कि किसानों की क्रय-शक्ति घटी है? गुजरात के अन्दर तो किसानों का दिवाला ही निकल गया और जब कि वहां पर मूगफली के दाम 9 रुपये से घटकर 4) ६० किलो तक गए। किसान की क्रय-शक्ति दो सालों के मुकाबले 50 परसेन्ट रह गई। श्रीमन् इसलिए जो एक बड़ा कारण है कीमतों के गिरने का, श्रेय आप ल सकते हैं, लेकिन किसानों की क्रय शक्ति की कीमत पर किसानों की गरीबी बढ़ी है।

श्रीमन्, मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ अपने इस बजट के अंदर एक्सलैरेटेड ग्रेथ की तरफ, ताकि जरा तेजी से हमारी प्रगति की रफ्तार हो, उसके लिए आपने कुछ कंसेशंस किए हैं लेकिन मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य लगा जब आपने बजट भाषण में कहा कि कारेंबननी कम हो गई है इसलिए हमने कन्सेशन दिया लेकिन ट्रैक्टर की मांग बढ़ती चली जा रही है इसलिए हमने कोई कन्सेशन एक्साइज ड्यूटी में नहीं किया। और अब आपने बड़ी कृपा करके सदस्यों की मांग पर सहानुभूति करके, इसलिए नहीं कि आप तर्क से सहमत थे, आपने केवल टायर, ट्यूब और कुछ स्पेयर पार्ट्स के अंदर एक्साइज ड्यूटी में कंसेशन किया। श्रीमन्, मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ :

क्या ट्रैक्टरों की कीमतें आज तीन-गुना नहीं हो गई हैं? क्या वे किसानों की खरीद की शक्ति के अंदर हैं? पिछले सालों में 5,000 करोड़ फूड सर्विसेडि पर व्यय किया गया और 4,000 करोड़ ६० आपने केवल इरिगेशन पर खर्च किया। तो क्या यही नीति है एक्सीलरेटेड ग्रेथ के लिए, किसानों को स्वावलम्बी बनाने के लिए? आज भी आपका मोह जाता नहीं है। कृषि मंत्री कहते हैं कि अब भी अमरीका से कामशियल ट्रेड को कायम रखने के लिए गेहूँ का आयात इस देश के अंदर बराबर जारी रहेगा। आखिर सन् 1980 तक या सन् 2000 तक, बावजूद फेमिली प्लानिंग की सारी योजनाओं के, क्या आप इस स्थिति के अंदर होंगे कि आप स्वावलम्बी हों श्रीमन् मैं आपसे नम्रतापूर्वक निवेदन करूंगा कि ट्रैक्टरों के ऊपर एक एक्साइज ड्यूटी बिलकुल समाप्त कीजिए। जितने भी स्पेयर पार्ट्स हैं उनकी एक्साइज ड्यूटी समाप्त की जाए और किसानों को ट्रैक्टर जो आज से 4-5 साल पहले 14-15 हजार या 20000 ६० तक मिलता था उस कीमत पर आप मोहैय्या करने की कोशिश करें।

यद्यपि यह कहा गया है कि फर्टिलाइजर की कीमत कम की गई है, जब कि वह तिगुनी हो गई है—थोड़ी कम हुई है—अगर किसान की क्रय शक्ति होती तो फर्टिलाइजर का कंजमशन 20 परसेंट कम क्यों होता? तो यह नीति किसान के हित में आगे बढ़ने वाली नहीं है।

श्रीमन् आपने जो डाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज में कमी की है उसमें भी मैं देखता हूँ आपका पक्षपात और झुकाव ऊपर के वर्ग की तरफ अधिक है। सन् 1974-75 में 8000-10000 ६० के इन्कम ग्रूप पर 12 परसेंट का आय कर था, 1975-76 में वह 17 परसेंट हुआ। अब आपने कृपा करके 15 परसेंट किया—10,000-15,000 ६०

की आय पर 15 परसेंट आय-कर। तो 1974-75 में भी 15 परसेंट तक था और अब भी 15 परसेंट रहा, जब कि 70,000 और ऊपर की स्लैब पर 70 परसेंट से घटा कर आप 55 परसेंट पर आ गए। स्वयं बांचू कमेटी की रिपोर्ट में 65 परसेंट तक लाने की घोषणा की गई थी। आज जब कि मुद्रास्फीति है, तो क्या यह आवश्यक नहीं है—मैं आपसे निवेदन करूँ— कि 10,000 रु० तक की इनकम को कर मुक्त किया जाए और उससे ऊपर 15,000 रु० तक की आमदनी जिस पर आपने 15 परसेंट का कर लगाया है उसको घटा कर 12 परसेंट किया जाए।

(Time bell rings)

श्रीमन्, सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता गरीबों को सस्ती दवा देने की है। 1975-76 की रिपोर्ट में कहा गया कि 400 करोड़ रु० की दवाएं बर्तों और साढ़े 7 परसेंट एक्साइज ड्यूटी थी, 5 परसेंट आपने बढ़ा दी, और कस्टम की ड्यूटी 25 परसेंट से बढ़ा कर 75 परसेंट कर दी उन दवाओं पर जो कि बल्क के अंदर जाती है, जिसका मतलब यह है कि 38 करोड़ रु०, 50 करोड़ रु० की इम्पोर्ट पर, आप गरीब लोगों से लेना चाहते हैं। 5 परसेंट बढ़ा कर, जो आपने कहा 18 करोड़ और 27 करोड़ रु० जो पहले आपको मिलता था, इस तरह से 45 करोड़ + 38 करोड़ हुआ और फिर सेन्ट्रल एक्साइज ड्यूटी, सेन्ट्रल सेल्स टैक्स जो होगा, कुल मिला कर 4,000 करोड़ रु० के उत्पादन पर आप 100 करोड़ रु० की कर-व्यवस्था करना चाहते हैं। इसलिये मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप बीमारी से तिजारत करना चाहते हैं और इन दवाओं से जनता को महारूम करना चाहते हैं। श्रीमन्, मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आप इस ड्यूटी को बिल्कुल समाप्त कीजिये।

इसके बाद मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में डायरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्स के सम्बन्ध में चर्चा हो रही है और इमरजेंसी

में कांस्टीट्यूशन में संशोधन करने के बारे में चर्चा हो रही है। क्या आप आर्टिकल 39 जिसमें यह कहा गया है कि

adequate means of livelihood

और आर्टिकल 42 जिसमें यह कहा गया है कि

effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want.

क्या आप यूनीफार्म सिविल कोड की दशा में बढ़ेंगे और आर्टिकल 47 में जो प्रोहिबिशन की धारा है, उसको कार्यान्वित करेंगे? आजादी के 25 साल के बाद भी आज इस देश में शराब खूब पी जा रही है। पीयो और जीयो, आज जगह जगह दिल्ली में इसी तरह का नारा लिखा हुआ है। आज अगर किसी व्यापारी को कोई काम कराना हो तो वह व्यापारी कहता है कि शराब ही सब से सस्ती रिश्वत है सेक्रेटरीज और अधिकाारियों से काम लेने के लिए और काकटेल पार्टी देने के लिए। अभी मैंने पढ़ा था कि एक मुस्लिम मुल्क में यह लोगों को नोटिस दिया गया है कि जो सरकारी कर्मचारी शराब पीयेगा उसे अपनी जाव से हाथ धोना पड़ेगा। क्या आप इस गांधी के मुल्क में आर्टिकल 47 को कार्यान्वित करना चाहते हैं या नहीं? क्या आप इस तरह की कार्यवाही करेंगे कि कोई भी सरकारी कर्मचारी जो रिश्वत लेगा या शराब पीयेगा उसको सर्विस से अलग कर दिया जायेगा।

उपसभापति : अब आप समाप्त कीजिये।

श्री बनारसी दास : मैंने तो अभी शुरू किया है और मैं थोड़ा सा समय और लूंगा।

उपसभापति : आपकी पार्टी को 15 मिनट का समय दिया गया है और आपने 20

[उपसभापति]

मिनट ले लिया है। अब आप दो मिनट में खत्म कीजिये।

श्री बनारसी दास : अंतिम प्रश्न में यह करना चाहता हूँ कि क्या प्लान्ड, नियोजित इकोनामी और डेमोक्रेसी, दोनों साथ साथ नहीं चल सकती है? जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने जानबूझ कर डेमोक्रेसी और प्लानिंग का रास्ता अख्तियार किया था। चाईना ने रूस का तरीका अख्तियार किया था। क्या आप डेमोक्रेसी के तरीके को हमेशा के लिए खैरवाद करना चाहते हैं? क्या आप यह समझते हैं कि इस देश में वगैर इमरजेंसी के आर्थिक प्रगति नहीं हो सकती हैं? इमरजेंसी का अर्थ प्रेस का गला घोटना है। इमरजेंसी का अर्थ यह होता है कि प्रत्येक व्यक्ति की जमान में लगाम लगाना। श्रीमन्, आप बारबार घंटी बजा रहे हैं और इसलिये मैं अंत में कहना चाहता हूँ कि...

The lust of Government is the greatest lust. Its ability to degrade is no less profound than its ability to elevate. मैं केवल इतना ही कह सकता हूँ कि इसका नतीजा क्या होगा? इस इमरजेंसी का नतीजा क्या होगा? प्रोफेसर लास्की ने यह कहा था :

The abdication from the duty of critical judgement is the real sin against light which all dictatorships impose upon its subjects and it is also the source of the immense risks which all dictatorships, whether of the left or right, necessarily run. For abdication from the duty of critical judgment on the part of its subjects, ever more of its devotees, necessarily means that it becomes rapidly separated from the minds of the masses whom it controls.

Even the closest associates are never secure of their hold, which means that the loyalty upon which he has to rely is rarely, even in the central direction of powers, the spontaneous loyalty of rational conviction.

इसलिए इसका नतीजा वही होगा जो हमारे संत रामतीर्थ ने कहा था :

If force does not create rebellion, it creates decay and death.

आज देश में जिस तरह की स्थिति पैदा हो गई है उसने राष्ट्र के अन्दर नैतिक ह्रास, नैतिक पतन और मृत्यु की स्थिति पैदा कर दी है। मैं अंत में यही निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आप डेमोक्रेटिक मार्ग पर आइये क्योंकि यही एक मार्ग है, नेहरू जी और गांधी जी का मार्ग है और जिस पर चलकर राष्ट्र की प्रगति हो सकती है।

SHRIMATI AMBIKA SONI (Punjab): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, it is with a great sense of privilege and honour that I stand for the first time on the floor of this august House to participate in the debate on the Finance Bill. The Finance Minister has to be congratulated on the practical, pragmatic and positive Budget which I feel, reflects the new mood of the nation. In fact, this Budget is a mirror of the 20-point programme enunciated by the Prime Minister. I feel that this revolutionary programme, coupled with such a practical budget, can really usher in a new era of prosperity. The point really worth noting is that the budget could not have been placed before the House if the atmosphere and the mood of this country had not undergone a vital change. Had indiscipline and anarchy been allowed to prevail as they were, the whole political and economic structure would have fallen.

We have seen that the events in 1975 had been a turning point in our economy. It is due to the fact that this year has also been a momentous

year in our political history. This only goes to prove that major political decisions have a vital impact on a nation's economy. Added to this element of political crisis I spoke about, we are all very well aware of the economic crisis which was prevailing in our country. We have been reading about the galloping inflation, about the price rise, about non-availability and shortage of essential commodities, about the parallel economy running in the form of black money and about the absence of a well-defined public distribution system. There is no doubt today that all these shortcomings and hindrances in the way of progress have undergone a change. We see that the new impact of economy has been felt in all aspects of our national life. Agricultural production in the last kharif and rabi seasons is expected to reach a record level of over 114 million tonnes. Procurement is also proceeding at a level which is almost breaking all records. Industrial production has also picked up considerably and in 1975-76 we found that industrial production had reached a growth rate of 4 to 5 per cent. We have seen that prices have not only been stabilised, but they have been in many cases reduced to levels below those which were reached in 1974-75. The rate of inflation has not only been curbed, but India has the unique distinction in the world of having reduced it to a minus level. Exports have also demonstrated a tremendous spurt. No doubt our import bill has gone up due to the heavy prices for food, fuel and fertilisers. We find that the trade gap in 1975-76 is marginally lower than the previous year. Another commendable feature is that in this revival of agricultural and industrial growth, the public sector has played a very historic role—a very heartening role. I should say. In the production of power, steel, coal, fertilisers and many other basic inputs, the public sector has reached heights never before attained in this country. In fact in the matter of efficiency, public relations, industrial relations, profits, and productivity, public sector in India is now being talked of as a pace-setter.

The success achieved by our country in overcoming the grave economic and political crises in 1975-76 should definitely infuse a greater degree of confidence in the people and the Government. This shows that the war against countries of poverty and stagnation has the victory at last in sight. This welcome change in the basic complexion of our nation owes very much to the sagacious political leadership of the Prime Minister who has not only proved herself to be a champion not only of national interest in our hour of crisis, but also of rock-like and unflinching faith in the capacity of our people to build for themselves a society which is just, which is progressive and which is egalitarian. To draw from the historic statement of that famous British statesman, Winston Churchill, never in the history of mankind have so many owed so much to the encourage and determination of a single individual. Sir, it is ironical that this Budget has been criticised by some people as a Budget which serves the interests of this or that particular class. But a careful study of the salient features of the Budget does bring out the fact that it is probably the first Budget which takes all classes of the society into consideration without sacrificing the interests of any of them. While it gives certain concessions and incentives to the less deprived classes, it also completely safeguards the interests of the millions of the poor and hungry people in our country. While the new economic order has certainly cried a halt to non-productive nationalisation, the Government also has been seen to move very swiftly in the cases of enterprises which are going bankrupt or which are lying idle or which are sick or which are causing problems of unemployment or which are causing losses to the national economy or which are causing industrial unrest. It is true that the Government has given certain tax concessions to the fixed-income and higher-income groups. But it is also true that it has declared a moratorium on rural indebtedness for the benefit of millions and millions of the very poor people

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of this country. It is again true that the Government is giving incentives to young entrepreneurs who are guided by the motive to augment industrial production and it is also true that the Government's programme has opened up new horizons before crores of people who were bonded labour not only by freeing them from the fetters of slavery, but also by giving them new hope and light. If we accept the principle that the 20-point programme is for the upliftment of the poor people of this country, then, Sir, how can the Budget, which is completely in tune with that programme, be called a Budget which is in favour of the rich? Undoubtedly, Sir, the path of our economy is towards socialism: undoubtedly, the path of our economy is towards the removal and narrowing down of the economic disparities; and, undoubtedly, the path of our economy is towards the creation of social justice and it should be so. But it does not necessarily mean that we should completely kill all industrial and commercial incentives. So long as our economy remains a mixed economy, providing employment to millions in the private sector is also necessary and the Budget would have to be pragmatic and not doctrinaire or dogmatic. It would also not be correct to compare the Indian conditions as they exist now to the conditions prevailing in the pre-revolution period in some of the socialist countries. In India, today, we definitely see among the people a new desire to participate and to involve themselves in national reconstruction. This sentiment among the people is there in all age groups and in all income groups, irrespective of any barrier of caste or creed or religion. In fact, I would even say that this new mood in the country today is comparable to the one which prevailed during our days of freedom struggle when the enemy was before us and the goals were defined. Even today, Sir, the enemies of poverty, backwardness, illiteracy and a fast growing population are before us. But we should feel optimistic and strong because of the instruments that we

have to fight these—a determined people, an enthused youth and a dynamic leader and there is no doubt that the instruments that we have are strong enough to fight these enemies and reach the goal which is before us today, namely, democratic socialism. However, it is important to strike a note of caution because, when India was struggling against economic and political crises, in the 60s international capital, backed by neo-colonialist forces, succeeded in a measure in exercising pressure on us in the formulation and implementation of certain economic policies in our country. But, over the years, thanks to the brave assertion of India's personality by our Prime Minister, we have greatly succeeded in neutralising and making ineffective all such influences. Again, Sir, we are seeing today that there is evidence of international capital trying to woo us, trying to be over-solicitous towards our needs. But it is a great thing that we have earned a good chit from the World Bank and other international agencies. But, at the same time, we must guard ourselves against their trying to regain their old grip over the Indian economy by promises of aid. Not only this, but it may lull us into a sense of complacency which will ultimately erode our sovereignty. India's economic and political consolidation can come only through our own efforts. India's efforts can be maximised only when we have social justice and development proceeding apace arm-in-arm.

Three important points require to be taken up boldly for achieving this.

One, India's development cannot derive optimum acceleration if we do not increase the purchasing power of the masses. It is only when the masses begin to consume more that we can successfully expand our production base instead of accumulating production surpluses. The cyclic process of higher production and higher consumption has to be set in motion by putting in more purchasing power in the pockets of the masses.

The second aspect is resource mobilisation. Today there is a healthy climate for stepping up investment. The present realistic Budget should normally result in stimulating savings and investments. Our strategy of resources mobilisation should be such as to ensure that the rate of domestic savings is kept up in such a way as to inhibit consumption at levels where this can be safely resorted to while at the same time not unduly affecting the consumption capacity of the poor. For this what is essential is a radical change in the attitude of the private sector. It can no more remain as a force imbued with profit motive alone. It should not continue with the illusion that it can flourish only under conditions of scarcity. Instead, it should develop a healthy social motivation and must be in a position to mobilise resources and invest them in the development of the country.

Thirdly, the most important and major resource that we have successfully developed in this country since independence is a large reservoir of skilled and semi-skilled man-power. We have millions of educated youth in our country which, by and large, remain unutilised. This can create an explosive situation if we do not take care in time. I would suggest that the Government must work out a number of schemes designed to mobilise fully and effectively this large body of educated youth in the reconstruction of new India.

The Indian Youth Congress has succeeded in enthusing and mobilising the youth all over the country by adopting a constructive programme for the upliftment of the poor and down-trodden and for the eradication of certain evil social practices which impede our social growth. But we are fully conscious of the unemployment problem. I suggest that the Government may undertake these measures to lessen the menace of unemployment.

Incentives and concessions to industries and corporations should be given only when such actions result in the

creation of more and more jobs for our employed qualified youth. However, this also must be watched that the jobs so created do not go to undeserving, unqualified candidates.

More and more jobs should be created in the rural areas so that the tragic rush to the cities is stopped. As the majority of our population is rural, our economy, as has been often stated here and repeated again and again outside the House as well, must have a rural bias. This should not result in making the rich farmers richer. The concept of co-operative farming should be introduced as that creates jobs for the village youth in the villages themselves. In fact, I would like to suggest the development of the co-operative system not only for farming, but also for education, rural industries, banking, etc.

I would also suggest that all high school and college students must be given an opportunity to earn during the long summer and winter vacations. The concept of brigades, so popular in many countries, may be introduced with one or many brigades working on different projects. One of the many such brigades can be used during the year in the task of national reconstruction. We shall see that by using such youth forces, so to speak, we will be able to complete so many of our small and medium scale projects in the country. Above all, we will be able to create in the students a feeling of participation and a feeling of involvement in the building up of the country. I would suggest that the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Finance and the State Governments should chalk out a plan for such youth brigade movement.

Then, the credit facilities should be extended. As the Twenty-Point Programme has laid so much emphasis on credit facilities, the nationalised banks are coming forward with so many schemes for the self-employed youth of our country. What happens is that red-tapism so often puts the young people starting on a new life,

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starting on a long journey off the road and makes them frustrated, disappointed and unhappy from the very start. It is for this reason that I would suggest that forms, certificates, affidavits, stamp paper and other bureaucratic red-tape must be reduced to the minimum extent possible. It is also extremely necessary that the Ministry of Finance undertake a nationwide study of youth economics. This will put the economic problems faced by the youth from all regions and all strata of the nation in proper perspective. I do not think it is at all improper to suggest that the Finance Ministry should have a permanent Youth Cell so that in all its actions and plans and budgets the needs of Indian youth may find proper perspective.

The Ministry of Finance, in consultation with the Ministry of Education and the State governments, should chalk out a nationwide scheme of financial help to all needy students from the Secondary School level up to the post-graduate level. This could be in the shape of uniforms, books, exercise-books, fee concessions and loan scholarships which could be either refundable or non-refundable. I am quite aware that such schemes are already operative. What I am emphasising is that they should be extended all over the country on a uniform pattern and intensive scale. I would also like to suggest the creation of an unemployment assistance scheme which should be introduced so that those young people who have certain minimum academic qualifications, who have worked hard, put in their toil and spent their money in getting those qualifications for earning an honest living and who are continuing to remain unemployed can be given adequate financial help at regular intervals till such time as they find jobs for themselves.

I know, Sir, that the suggestions I have put forward may sound a little idealistic or a little far-fetched considering the shortage of resources in

our country. It is always said, our Prime Minister has said it so often on different occasions and so have said the other leaders of our country that the youth is the leader of tomorrow, the youth is going to inherit the India of tomorrow and so on. If this is really so, I feel that it is in these Finance Bills and Budgets that we must see that the youth has a definite say as to what India he wants to make and what India he wants to inherit. It is not necessary that he inherits something which he is not proud of.

It is with these suggestions, that I would like to say that while we all welcome the development of a new mood, a new enthusiasm, an era of discipline, hard work and determination, there is still no time for complacency. As a representative of the youth movement, certainly I do not think it is time for complacency for the young people of this country because the battle against poverty and stagnation cannot be won in a short span of time. The necessary political will must be sustained and strict discipline exercised. Only then, can we hope to soften the harsh contours of extreme poverty. This is precisely the message of the new Twenty-Point Programme. It is essentially the purpose of the new budget. It is necessary to build on the positive results which we have achieved till now.

With these words, I would like to congratulate the Finance Minister that he has, in his budget, reflected a comprehensive view of the political, economic and social scheme of our nation. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI VISHWANATHA MENON (Kerala): Sir, I oppose the Bill. When the previous speaker was speaking, I was trying to understand why she was so anxious to congratulate the Finance Minister for this new Budget and the Finance Bill. She gave some laudable suggestions about the development of the youth and so on. My humble submission is that those suggestions are out of tune with the

proposals of the new Budget. The Budget itself clearly shows where the Government stands on the question of economic development of the poor and about other material progressive measures. Sir, this is a pro-capitalist Budget with small mercies to the common man. Actually, the Budget has not done any wonderful things for the poor man. Sir, year after year, whenever the Finance Ministers come and present the Budget, they say that we are going to do very good things for the poor and all that. But on the question of facts, on the question of performance, when we look into that, we see clearly that it is all pro-monopolist and pro-capitalist. Here also, neither Mr. Subramaniam nor Pranab Mukherjee has done any wonderful thing. It is actually, if I may be allowed to say, old wine in new bottles . . .

SHRI KALYAN ROY: You find the bottles new. But the bottles are also old.

SHRI VISHWANATHA MENON: Thank you for that comment. I accept that. New people are sitting here like Mr. Pranab Mukherjee. So, I thought of putting it as old wine in new bottles. Anyhow, Sir, I agree with Mr. Kalyan Roy and I appreciate Mr. Kalyan Roy and his party-men if they take up this position in future also . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Viswanatha Menon, there is a saying about wine. The older the wine, the better it is.

SHRI VISHWANATHA MENON: It is a matter of opinion, Sir.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: It is a matter of fact.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: It is a fact.

SHRI VISHWANATHA MENON: Sir, I will accept the opinion of Mr. Kalyan Roy on the question of wines. Sir, in this Budget proposals, concessions of an unprecedented magnitude

have been given to big business and to the big monopolists. After giving all this, coming here and saying that everything has been done to the poor people is actually, I think, laughing at the poverty of the nation. This is a criminal way of treating the people. Anyhow, you have got the propaganda media with you. The censorship is there. So, whatever the critics say will not be published, whatever is being published is in favour of the Budget as if it is a panacea for all the evils of the country. Sir, if there was an iota of direction towards democratic socialism, as the previous speaker put it, I would have been happy to that extent. But here you find neither socialism nor any kind of small favours being given to the poor people. Everything has been done in such a way that the private sector must be pleased. Sir, I am not surprised at this because, during the split period, when the Congress was split into Syndicate and Indicate, the Indicate people used to say that now the Syndicate people have gone, a new era has come and we are going to be progressive, but nothing of that sort has happened. For election purposes they shouted 'garibi hatao' and they got a vast majority. But they did not do anything for the poor people, and naturally the prices increased and the people were starving. There was some kind of revolt among the people. Then came the iron hand, the iron hand of emergency, the iron hand of a dictator.

Now you say that everybody is supporting you. Do you really believe that? If you are really believing it, I say you are living in a fool's paradise. You are not doing anything good for the people. You are doing good only to the big monopoly group. You have not touched them in any way in this Budget also. Sir, I remember a very interesting cartoon by our friend, Mr. Abu Abraham, saying that if Mr. Palkhivala supports this Budget there is something wrong with this Budget. That is how he put it. Really, correct. When the big mono-

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poly groups of this country, when the big bourgeoisie and capitalists and land-owners of this country are supporting this Budget that itself shows that there is something wrong somewhere and in fact everything is actually wrong. Although it is very easy to say that the 20-point programme is a panacea for all the evils in this country, it is very easy to make speeches like that, but do you see anything concrete in favour of the workers and in favour of the poor people of this country in this Budget? What is the performance of the Government? The white money of the common man you took away by the CDS, the Compulsory Deposit Scheme. In regard to black money what have you done? You have brought forth the Voluntary Disclosure Scheme formulated by Shri Pranab Mukherjee. wonderful results. What has actually happened? Everybody knows it. The simple fact is that the people with black money were given a chance to convert it into white money. In spite of that you did not get even half of that. Yet you say that you have done good to this country. In regard to the workers when they ask for parity in wages, when the railway workers ask for parity in wages, when the railway workers ask for parity in bonus on the lines of the industrial workers, you smash their strike and you cruelly treat the working class of this country. In regard to the black money, you bring forward the Voluntary Disclosure Scheme and even now Shri Pranab Mukherjee is not prepared to part with the names of those people who have come forward to declare under the Voluntary Disclosure Scheme. You want to save them. You want to give them dignity. You want to continue them as leaders of the society.

Sir, whatever this Government has done clearly establishes one fact and that is that the interests of this Government are with those of the capitalists and not with the common people. You cannot expect a Budget for the common man from this Government.

Sir, I am very happy that my learned friend, Shri Kalyan Roy, and his party have opposed this Budget and opposed this Finance Bill although at every stage they were supporting this Government. At least on this concrete issue they have opposed this Government. Sir, a Government's character can be seen clearly not from the speeches or lip-sympathy which you can give anywhere about anybody but from the concrete proposals which it brings forth. This has been brought out in this Budget and it clearly states that this Budget is in favour of the big monopoly group, the rich people, the private sector. Sir, in the Lok Sabha when this Bill was being discussed, Mr. Subramaniam very frankly said: No more concessions for the private sector hereafter and whatever concessions I have given you must go and save the economy of this country. Sir, students of economic history in this world can understand that nowhere the capitalists have come forward to save the economy of a nation. They do business for their own purpose and not for the purpose of a nation. That is the basis of scientific socialism and you are not prepared even to read about it. Although you have written a lot of things in the Constitution and you are talking a lot of things on the platform, when it comes to the question of giving service, you are giving concessions to the private sector. My humble submission is, this kind of philosophy—if it is a philosophy—, this kind of...

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Do you understand bonus shares to the multi-millionaires and family planning for the poor?

SHRI VISHWANATHA MENON: I do not want to go into the details of all those things because I have got only a little time at my disposal. I beg to submit that this kind of wrong conception and wrong approach towards the issue must be changed. But I do not think that kind of a change is possibly from this Government because this Government is based on class interests. There may be some

people who may be talking of progressive things inside the Congress. I do not object. But when the question of actual commitment comes, when the question of actual concessions comes, when the question of actual happenings comes, it will always be in favour of the big monopoly groups. Now, the multinational corporations are also playing their part. Sir, the multi-national corporations have played havoc in Chile. They have played havoc in other countries. This Government also knows those facts. I read once even the Prime Minister said something about the multi-national corporations. But what is the attitude of this Budget or the Finance Ministry to these multinational corporations? They are given more concessions so that they can come in and play havoc in this country. I beg to submit in this respect, Sir, even from a nationalistic point of view, leave alone the progressive ideal of socialism and other things, the approach of this Government and the Finance Minister is not in favour of the nationalistic sentiments of this country. Hence, Sir, I oppose this Budget and I oppose this Bill also.

Sir, some small concessions have been thrown to the common man. I have got to say something about that also. Something has been given to the pensioners but actually, Sir, have you gone into their plight? Can you solve their problems and meet their needs by this kind of a small favour? Why not you go deeply into that? The Pensioners' Act which was adopted in the 19th century, still exists in this country. Why don't you do something for those people who have served you, and give them with a grace? You are giving them something by saying: "You eat and be satisfied" and whatever you are giving, you are giving to a particular section, and not to everybody. Why don't you become a little magnanimous about those people who have served you?

Sir, I want to draw your attention to one more point, and that is about the Compulsory Deposit Scheme. You

know, Sir, the Compulsory Deposit Scheme has done nothing good to this country. When the previous speaker was speaking, he said that capacity to purchase must be increased and all that. But, Sir, is it the way to increase the purchasing capacity? The Government asked the people to put their money under the C.D. scheme. Are you going to increase the purchasing capacity by this way? You are actually not approaching the issue in a scientific way. You want to crush the organised working class of this country, the organised working class movement in this country and you want to help the multimillionaires, you want to help the monopolists, the capitalists, you want to help the multinational corporations.

Sir, by the action which the Government has taken and by the stand which the Government has taken in this Budget, the Government has clearly shown that it is with big monopoly.

Sir, I would like to draw your attention to one more point. This is in regard to the proposed amendments to the Constitution. A lot of talk is going on now all over the country on how the Constitution is going to be amended. But who is going to do it? Naturally, the Prime Minister would say that there would be a national debate. But is she doing anything to have a national debate on this question? She has kept all the Opposition leaders in jail. She is not allowing anybody to conduct a public meeting or a seminar or even a symposium on this question. Who is actually doing it? The so-called Constitution Amendment Committee formed by the Congress Party, which is taking evidence of only Congressmen. Is it the way to do it? My party has strong views on this matter. We want the Constitution to be amended. If you are prepared to have a national debate on this question, our party wants to take active part in that. Whenever Shrimati Indira Gandhi says there would be a national debate on the proposed amendments, Mr. Kalyan Roy's friend, Shri Achuta

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Menon, also says 'We should have a national debate. But the fact remains that we are not even given a chance to address a public meeting on this question. The Constitution has to be amended; we agree. But how should we do it? The question is, is it going to be a weapon in the hands of the exploiters or is it going to be a weapon in the hands of the exploited? This is the main point. On this basic point, there should be a national discussion. I do not know whether the Finance Minister, in his reply, would be in a position to announce any policy decision on this question. But I would request, through you, Sir, the Finance Minister and the Government of India to have a national debate on the proposed amendments to the Constitution.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2-15 P.M.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at sixteen minutes past two of the clock.

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

The National Library Bill, 1976

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Sir, I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha signed by the Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha:

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the National Library Bill, 1976, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 18th May, 1976."

Sir, I lay the Bill on the Table.

THE FINANCE BILL, 1976— Contd.

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Finance Bill presented before this august House. Sir, before I start my observations on the Finance Bill I should like to make one or two small comments on the speech made earlier by my hon. friend and colleague, Shri Vishwanatha Menon and the observations made by him with regard to the Finance Bill and the approach of the Budget for this year.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would not betray my feelings when I disclose that I thought Mr. Vishwanatha Menon was thoroughly in the grip of frustration.

AN HON. MEMBER: He is not here.

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI: But certainly his speech is here.

THE MINISTER OF REVENUE AND BANKING (SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE): His speech is there.

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI: But certainly I think he is of clumsy views by not making any good observation about the hard efforts which this Government is making for the last three or four years to give relief to the teeming millions of this country.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I do not know if you had the opportunity of having a stroll in the streets of Delhi last summer, but if you did have that opportunity, you might have seen that the fountains in the streets of Delhi, built with a good expenditure, were not functioning. And after utter frustration when you took the road back to your home, you would also have seen that although the NDMC did not switch off the street lights, still the street lights were off. All this was because of power shortage. You would have sent your servant to a shop to fetch a cake of soap and he would have come back frustrated and said it was not available. The school-