

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I will ask hon. members opposite one thing. Unfortunately, I regret that this came up when most of you were not present. There may be quarrels between us on other issues. But on a matter like this we should all go together. I have been a member of the Privileges Committee for the last twentytwo years...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS) : You have made your point.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The privilege motion is coming. At least that motion should be discussed tomorrow in the House. I request the Chairman to give us consent so that we can come prepared with all the documentations, rules of procedure, conventions and other things to establish in the House, if anybody challenges that It is a clear and gross violation of privilege.

**THE FINANCE (NO. 2) BILL, 1974 —
Contd.**

SHRI D. THENGARI (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir, I do not see which of professed objects of our Government are going to be fulfilled by the introduction of this Finance Bill. It was earlier said that this was a step in the direction of curbing inflation. But now the Government has to admit that this is not going to help curb inflation. It was said that it was not going to hit the common man or the common consumer. But you know, Sir, that the whole burden will be indirectly passed on to the consumers. For example, cigarettes are of course used by the common people. Now, it is true that tyres will be purchased by bus owners. But ultimately fares will be increased and the common passengers will have to suffer. Oils, asbestos, cement, iron rods—these are also commodities which are useful for the common people. Then rubber goods and diesel oil are intermediates for finished goods. That means, the cost of the finished goods will be increased. But

indirect taxation will be there. In the last budget there was an indirect taxation of Rs. 200 crores. Now, this will be added to Rs. 232 crores of this indirect taxation, and the whole will be borne by the common people of the land. Sir, in this respect, it is worthwhile to note that while the luxury goods give a tax return of Rs. 749 crores, consumer goods give a tax return of Rs. 1049 crores.

Now, the increase in taxation rates in the case of sugar rose from Rs. 4419 lakhs in 1960-61 to Rs. 15,300 lakhs in 1974-75. In the case of tea, it rose from Rs. 747 lakhs to Rs. 4140 lakhs. In the case of cigars and cigarettes, it rose from Rs. 112,797 lakhs to Rs. 17,800 lakhs. In the case of motor spirit it rose from Rs. 4046 lakhs to Rs. 40,180 lakhs. In the case of kerosene, it rose from Rs. 892 lakhs to 13000 lakhs. The same is the case with other commodities also. What I mean is that while the consumer goods industries are being discouraged, luxury goods are being encouraged, and thus the pattern of production is gradually being altered in favour of luxury goods.

Sir, our professed projects are not being fulfilled to any extent through this Finance Bill. For example, this is not going to check the price rise. Mr. Cha-van had earlier talked of a package deal. What he means by package deal, I fail to understand, because though he has come with a heavy hand on the working class and introduced through the Compulsory Deposit Scheme not only wage freeze but wage cut, actually, still that is not going to help curbing the price rise. Secondly, this is not going to help generation of employment also. The Government also does not claim that this is going to improve the employment position. Thirdly, it has not been established that the growth rate will increase because of the provisions in this Finance Bill. What he stated is that the deficit will be minimized. That means, while the Government itself is responsible for

the extravagant expenditure, the ordinary people will be asked to pay for the sins of the Government in such irresponsible expenditure. Now, if the Government had suggested that this Finance Bill will have the effect of reducing disparities of income, that was understandable. But this is not going to reduce disparities in income. The Government could have introduced consumption tax. They could have said that any expenditure over Rs. 2000 will bear consumption tax. But they have not done so. All this goes to suggest that this is just a hoax and there is no package deal.

And this dose of taxation is going to increase the prices, is going to cause hardships to common people, is going to hit the pockets of common consumers and it is not just a burden on the rich and the affluent. No effective measures have been adopted to deal with the problem of black money which is the most important problem of our economy. The Government has refused to accept the recommendation of the Wan-choo Committee regarding demonetisation; their measures against hoarders and blackmarketeers are also only farcical. Regarding smugglers Mr. K. R. Ganesh has come with some bravado before the people. It is ridiculous for a Minister to say that he will offer satya-graha. Nevertheless he has chosen to say so. Even against smugglers no effective measures have been adopted. Under these circumstances we have every reason to believe that Government is not very serious about either providing appropriate relief to the unemployed and underemployed or to enhance growth rate or to bring down the prices. They just want to have some sort of patch work. Therefore, I should like to ask whether they can assure us that during this year itself the Finance Minister will not come before this House with another proposal for taxation, direct or indirect. That clarification I seek from him. On all these grounds we are not very enthusiastic in supporting this; rather we

are positively against the provisions of this Finance Bill and we think it is anti-consumer, anti-people and it is against all the professed objectives of our national economy.

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकुमारी चूडावत (राजस्थान):

बाइस चेंबरमैन, सर, जो बजट हमारे सामने रखा गया है, फाइनेन्स बिल नं० 2, मैं सोचती हूँ इसको रखने में हमारे मंत्री जी को भी खुशी नहीं हुई है। जिस तरह से हमारे वित्त की स्थिति खराब होती जा रही है, इसके लक्षण आज से नहीं पहले से ही दिखायी दे रहे थे। यदि हम पुराने इतिहास पर नज़र डालें तो रिजर्व बैंक ने बहुत साल पहले एक रिपोर्ट प्रस्तुत की थी कि यदि इसी ढंग से चलता रहा तो आर्थिक स्थिति को आघात होगा और मैं मंत्री जी का ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूँ उस रिपोर्ट के ऊपर, जिन दिनों हमारे गृह मंत्री सरदार वल्लभभाई पटेल थे, उन्होंने भी उस रिपोर्ट को देख कर चिंता व्यक्त की। अभी मैं पुस्तक पढ़ रही थी उनके कारेस्पॉन्डेंस की, उसमें यह चित्र किया गया है। आज जो कुछ ये बड़े भारी मन के साथ टेक्सेज लगाए गए हैं उनके ऊपर हमें डिसक्शन करना होगा। न मंत्री जी को खुशी है न बजट पर बोलते हुए हमें खुशी है लेकिन एक मजबूरी की हालत में, जो बजट हमारे सामने है, वह पेश किया गया है।

जिस प्रकार ने टेक्सेज लगाए गए हैं उनके ऊपर मैं कुछ अपनी राय जाहिर करना चाहूंगी। जहाँ तक दो-चार टेक्सेज हैं उनका मैं स्वागत करूंगी जैसे कॉपर के ऊपर टैक्स लगाया गया है, जिंक के ऊपर टैक्स लगाया है और कैप्रोलेक्टम के ऊपर जो प्लास्टिक बनाने का राँ मैटेरियल होता है टैक्स लगाया गया है। उसका मैं स्वागत करती हूँ और यह इसलिए करती हूँ कि हमारे मुल्क में भी बनता है और बाहर के देशों से भी इम्पोर्ट होता है। जो देश में बनता है और बाहर से आता है, उनमें 300 परसेंट का भाव में फर्क है; अपने यहाँ जो बनता है महंगा बनता है बाहर से जो आता है वह सस्ता बनता है। व्यापारी लोग बाहर से सस्ते आए हुए को लेकर ब्लॉक

[श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चूडावत]

में बेच कर उससे तिगना पैसा कमाते हैं इसलिए यह जो टैक्स बढ़ाया गया है उसका मैं स्वागत करती हूँ। अब सवाल आता है दूसरे टैक्सेज का जहाँ तक यह बजट है, बजट का मकसद हमें यही बताया गया कि एक तो इससे इन्फ्लेशन को रोका जाएगा और दूसरा, जो बजट में डेफिशिट है उसको पूरा किया जाएगा और उस डेफिशिट को पूरा करने के लिए, रिसोर्सोज इकट्ठा करने के लिए जो टैक्सेज लगाए गए हैं लेकिन मंत्री जी से मैं एक सीधा सा सवाल पूछना चाहूँगी कि क्या इससे इन्फ्लेशन को रोका जा सकेगा? इसका जवाब मिलता है इससे इन्फ्लेशन को नहीं रोका जा सकेगा क्योंकि जो टैक्सेज लगाए गए हैं उनका एक बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा कंज्यूमर की जेब से निकलेगा जिसका मतलब होगा इन्फ्लेशन। अगर डाइविटीज के मरीज को शूगर खाने को देते हैं, तो उसका मतलब और नतीजा यह होगा कि डाइविटीज की बीमारी में बढ़तीरही जायेगी। इसी तरह से टैक्स लगाने का मतलब यह होगा कि हम इनफ्लेक्शन-वे में इन्फ्लेशन को बढ़ाते चले जा रहे हैं। रिसोर्सोज को इकट्ठा करने के लिए अगर आपको टैक्स लगाना जरूरी था, तो बेहतर यह होता कि आप कुछ डायरेक्ट टैक्स लगा दें ताकि कंज्यूमर्स के ऊपर, गरीब आदमियों के ऊपर इसका असर नहीं पड़ना और जिनसे डाइरेक्ट टैक्स लेना वाजिब है उनसे टैक्स भी लिया जाता।

इन टैक्सों के बारे में मैं मिसाल के तौर पर कहना चाहूँगी कि आपने जिस तरह से कंपनीज के खर्चों के बारे में इजाजत दे रखी है, अगर उनके ऊपर टैक्स लगाया जाता, तो फिर टैक्सों की चोरी भी नहीं होती। आपने टैक्सों के सम्बन्ध में इन लोगों को कई तरह की छूट दे रखी है। इतना ही नहीं बल्कि अलग-अलग नामों से वे टैक्स के रूप में अपना रुपया बचा लेते हैं। जैसे गेस्ट हाउस के नाम पर, विज्ञापन के नाम पर, मकान रखने के नाम पर और सी तरह के कई ऐसे ढंग हैं, अगर आप इन

सब चीजों के ऊपर टैक्स लगा दें, तो एक वाजिब बात होती। इस तरह से जो बड़े बड़े इंडर्स लिस्ट हैं, उन्होंने अपने पैसों को बचाने के लिए कई तरीके निकाल रखे हैं। इन लोगों ने सबसिडिरी कम्पनीज खोल रखी है। इन लोगों ने अपने कारखानों के लिए सेल्स विभाग अलग खोल रखा है और परचेजिंग का विभाग अलग से खोल रखा है और इस तरह के कई ढंग हैं जिनके द्वारा ये लोग पैसा बचाते हैं। क्या ही अच्छा होता आप इन लोगों के ऊपर डायरेक्ट टैक्स लगा दें।

इसी तरह से आपने कम्पनी - ला के अधीन कई तरह की इन लोगों को छूट दे रखी है। ये लोग अपने बंगलों को रखने और सजाने पर करोड़ों रुपया खर्च करते हैं और ये चीजें हमारी नजरों के सामने आती रहती हैं। किस ढंग से ये लोग कार्य करते हैं, यह बात मैं अपनी तरफ से न कहकर, आपकी जो कम्पनीज के सम्बन्ध में एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव रिपोर्ट है, उसका एक नमूना आपके सामने पेश करना चाहती हूँ। उन्होंने इस रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि कम्पनी के मालिक अपने आपको इम्प्लॉई कहते हैं। और अपने ड्राइवर को कम्पनी का डायरेक्टर बतलाते हैं। उसको सब तरह का फायदा दिया जाता है और यह सारे का सारा लाभ उस ड्राइवर को मिलता है, लेकिन परोक्ष रूप से मालिक सब कुछ लेता है जो अपने को इम्प्लॉई और ड्राइवर को डायरेक्टर कहता है। एक नहीं अनेक तरीके से ये लोग पैसा बचाते हैं, तो मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि क्यों नहीं इन लोगों के ऊपर डाइरेक्ट टैक्स लगाया जाय?

इन्कम टैक्स की वसुली के सिलसिले में भी मुझे याद नहीं आता है कि अभी तक किसी मोनोपली हाउस पर रेड किया गया हो। आपने एक भी मोनोपली हाउस को अभी तक नहीं छूटा है और इस तरह से इन लोगों के पास ब्लैक मार्केट का पैसा आ जाता है जिसके द्वारा ये लोग ब्लैक मनी द्वारा सरकार के साथ-साथ पैरलल इकोनोमी चला रहे हैं और इसमें सब से बड़ा हिस्सा इन्हीं लोगों का है। इसी तरह से

जो धनाढ्य वर्ग है, जो खेती करने वाला वर्ग है, राज कमेटी के अनुसार उनके ऊपर डायरेक्ट टैक्स लगाने की बात कही गई है। आपने चाहे सीलिंग कम्पलीट की हो या न की हो, लेकिन ऐसी जानकारी आप को भी है और हम को भी है कि कई किसान, जिनकी 10 लाख और 15 लाख रुपये की सालाना आमदानी है इस तरह के जो धनाढ्य किसान वर्ग है, उनके ऊपर डायरेक्ट टैक्स लगा दिया जाता तो बहुत बेहतर होगा।

आपने दो-चार दिन के भीतर जो ये बिल पेश किये हैं, उनसे इन्फ्लेशन मिटेगा नहीं। यह बीमारी तो इतनी जड़ जमा चुकी है, इतनी गहरी हो चुकी है कि जो भी कायदे कानून आप बना रहे हैं, वह एक चूरन की गोली के अलावा उसकी कोई कीमत नहीं है। इसके इलाज के लिए चूरन की गोली की आवश्यकता नहीं है बल्कि जो स्थिति आज हमारे सामने आ गई है, उसके लिए आपरेशन की जरूरत है और वह भी मेजर आपरेशन की जरूरत है। जब तक आप आपरेशन नहीं करते, ब्लैक मनी को जमीनदोज नहीं करते, तब तक ऊपर के तरीकों से, छोटे मोटे तरीकों से कभी कुछ नहीं हो सकता है। आप को हिम्मत करके और ताकत के साथ कुछ ऐसे मजबूत कदम उठाने चाहिये ताकि इस रोग को जड़ से ही समाप्त कर दिया जाय। आप तो केवल पतियां चुनना चाहते हैं और जड़ को काटना चाहते हैं, तो इस तरीके से ब्लैक मनी खत्म नहीं होगी। मेरी समझ में यह बात नहीं आती है कि आप डिमोनोटाइजेशन क्यों नहीं करते। अगर आप 100 रुपये के नोटों का डिमोनोटाइजेशन कर दे तो सारा ब्लैक मनी जो इस समय जमीनदोज हो रहा है, जिस पैसे को भीतर छिपाया जा रहा है, वह बाहर निकल आयेगा। मैं आपको याद दिलाऊं कि दूसरे महायुद्ध के बाद एक विदेश सरकार होते हुए भी अंग्रेज सरकार ने डिमोनोटाइजेशन किया था, हजार-हजार रुपये के नोटों को रोका था। उस वक्त, जहाँ तक मुझे याद है 350 करोड़ रुपये के नोट जो अन्दर बन्द

थे वे निकल कर बाहर आए। उस वक्त भी इन्फ्लेशन था, उस वक्त भी दिक्कत थी, लेकिन आज जिस जमाने से हम गुजर रहे हैं वह उससे सौ गुना ज्यादा भयंकर और कठिन है। इस वक्त इस तरह के मजबूत स्टेप लिए बिना काम नहीं चल सकता। आप जो चाहे करें। जब तक आप एसेंशियल क्मोडिटीज को अपने हाथ में नहीं लेंगे, हर जगह उनको नहीं पहुंचा सकेंगे, उसका वितरण ठीक ढंग से नहीं कर सकेंगे तब तक कुछ नहीं हो सकता। उस वर्ल्ड वार की मैं आपको फिर याद दिलाती हूँ। उन दिनों जब इस तरह की दिक्कत थी तो सरकार ने बहुत सी चीजों का राशन करके वितरण की ऐसी प्रणाली की थी कि जो सरकारी मुलाजिम थे, जो रेलवे में काम करते थे उनको एक मियाद के अन्दर एक निश्चित कीमत पर चीजें मिल जाती थीं। आज आपको कुछ न कुछ ऐसा करना पड़ेगा नहीं तो आप इन ब्लैक करने वाले व्यापारियों पर नियंत्रण नहीं कर पाएंगे। इसलिए मैं आपसे कहना चाहूंगी कि एसेंशियल क्मोडिटीज को आप तुरन्त हाथ में लें। केवल 10, 12, 15 चीजें अपने हाथ में लीजिए जैसे साबुन है, जैसे कोर्स क्लायथ है। मैं नहीं कहती कि आप सारे कोर्स क्लायथ को अपने हाथ में ले लें, जो चला रहे हैं उनको चलाने दीजिए, आप कंट्रोल करें। जो एक-एक चीज पैदा होनी है वह सरकार के पास पहुंचे और फिर उसको आप हर पंचायत में, हर, तहसील में, हर जिले में और हर राज्य में पहुंचा सकें। जो बना रहे हैं उनको बनाने देना चाहिए लेकिन कंट्रोल आपका हो। कारखानों की जितनी हो कॅपेसिटी हो उस कॅपेसिटी तक प्रोडक्शन करने के लिए आप उनको मजबूर करिए, उनको सहायता दीजिए ताकि वे बराबर प्रोडक्शन करें और जो वे प्रोडक्शन करें उसको अपने हाथ में ले लीजिए। इस अन्न के मामले में आपको मजबूत स्टेप लेने पड़ेंगे। ऐसा करिए कि तीन साल तक या चार साल तक लोगों को एक भाव पर अनाज मिले। जिस भाव पर आप किसानों से खरीदे उसी भाव पर आम जनता को बांटें। आज अरबों रुपया विदेशी मुद्रा के रूप

[श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चूडावत]

में विदेशों को देना पड़ रहा है अनाज मंगाने के लिए। ठीक कीमत देकर सरकार किसानों से अनाज खरीदे और उसी भाव से आम जनता को बेच दिया जाय। ऐसे स्टेप लिए बिना यह बीमारी जड़-मूल से नहीं जा सकेगी।

तीसरे, मंत्री महोदय, मैं आपका ध्यान इस ओर दिलाना चाहूंगी कि सरकार जो अनप्रोडक्टिव खर्च कर रही है उनको बन्द कर दीजिए। अरबों-करोड़ों रुपए के खर्च इस प्रकार हो रहे हैं, जिनका लाभ नहीं मिलता, जिनसे फायदा नहीं होता। इस समय जो कुछ आपकी थोड़ी ताकत है, जो कुछ थोड़ी शक्ति है उसको 5-6 महत्वपूर्ण चीजों में पूरी ताकत के साथ लगा दीजिए। इधर-उधर के आपके पचासों जो डेवलपमेंट के काम चल रहे हैं उनको बन्द कर दीजिए और केवल 5-7 बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण डेवलपमेंट के कामों को हाथ में लीजिए। सबसे पहले आप इरीगेशन को लें, पावर को लें, फर्टिलाइजर को लें, अन्न के प्रोडक्शन को लें। इस तरह की 5-7 चीजों को लें जिनसे राष्ट्र बनता है और उनमें सारी ताकत झोंक दी जाय और भाषकी सारी मशीनरी उसमें तेजी के साथ, मजबूती के साथ लग जाय। सारी जनता में आप हाई वर्क करने का एटमासफियर पैदा करिए। आज पूरी शक्ति के साथ न जनता काम कर रही है, न हम लोग काम कर रहे हैं। इसलिए ऐसा अभियान चलाना चाहिए कि हम अपने बल पर मजबूती से इन कामों को कर सकें। ऐसा किए बिना काम नहीं चल सकेगा। चीन ने, जो बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ मुल्क था, इसी तरह की भावना पैदा करके अपने को मजबूत बनाया। उसने आज आगे बढ़ाया जाय। दूसरे मुल्कों में जो बाद में आजाद हुए हैं वह तेजी के साथ, मजबूती के साथ लोग आगे बढ़ रहे हैं, लेकिन आज हमारी भावनायें कुछ ऐसी हैं कि हम जम कर काम नहीं कर रहे हैं। हमारा प्रोडक्शन नहीं बढ़ रहा है। इस लिए मैं चाहती हूँ कि आप सारी को सारी फ्रिजल खर्ची बंद कीजिए और ताकत के साथ मुल्क को बनाने वाली जो चीजें हैं उन को लेकर आगे बढ़िये।

अन्त में ज्यादा न कह कर मैं यह प्रार्थना करूंगी कि प्रशासन में जो अनप्रोडक्टिव खर्च हो रहा है, जिसका कुछ सार नहीं निकलता है उस को आप कम करें और हम सादी के साथ रहें और सरकार की ओर से एक आदर्श उपस्थित हो आस्टैरिटी की ओर जो कुछ खास-खास चीजें हैं उन्हीं पर आप सारी ताकत लगा दें और हम अपनी शान शौकत को ऐश को कम कर खत्म करें और फारेन एक्जेंज को कमाये और इस प्रकार अपनी आर्थिक स्थिति को सुधारे। जब मैं मुल्क में चारों ओर नजर डालती हूँ तो सोचती हूँ कि सरकार ने कई बड़े सुन्दर काम किये हैं, सरकार कई दिशाओं में बड़े सुन्दर ढंग से चल रही है। हम अपनी विदेशी नीति में ठीक चल रहे हैं, पोलिटिकल ढंग से हम ठीक चल रहे हैं, लेकिन हमारे लिए सब से बड़ी दिक्कत की चीज यह है कि हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति आज कमजोर हो चुकी है और हमारे सामने जो परेशानी और दिक्कत की चीज है वह यह कि उसके कारण चारों तरफ तरह-तरह के आन्दोलन हम को परेशान कर रहे हैं और हम आर्थिक तौर पर कमजोर हो रहे हैं और इस स्थिति को जब तक हम नहीं सुधारेंगे तब तक हम प्रगति नहीं कर पायेंगे और पीछे ही खिसकते जायेंगे। इसी बात पर हम को सब से ज्यादा ध्यान देना चाहिए।

DR. K. NAGAPPA ALVA (Karnataka) : Vice-Chairman, Sir, I speak on the Finance (No. 2) Bill, 1974. This fact is an interim budget of heavy taxation to accommodate the excess expenditure needed for 1974-75, the first year of the Fifth Plan, and to contain deficit financing within limits as far as possible. I can only say that the Finance Ministry has made the best out of a bad job because as it is we have to understand the realities of the situation and the problems and the difficulties that the people are facing. There is utter helplessness on the part of the people today to face the situation and to live with self-respect. There is nothing like self-respect left; they cannot, the vulnerable

and the poorer sections in the backward areas cannot live like human beings. The prices are increasing; inflation is increasing so fast, the black money circulation has got the commanding heights and the havoc that is being caused today to the economic of this country has not been understood with the seriousness that is due to the subject because it is not only coming in the way of progress but it is ruining the economy of the country. And the ruin of the economy has been responsible for the fall of empires, for the fall of kingdoms, for the fall of Governments. Sir, the budget has awakened interest even in the common man, the poorer man, the rickshawallah, the taxi driver, the farmer and worker because everytime they see how it affects the living of the people in this country. So there is a warning. I say the revolution has started. Unless the Ministries, the Government and the central leadership take into account all the present-day problems and face the situation and the challenges with courage the future is gloomy and the leaders of today will have to repent for their social sins, for the political and economic crimes they have committed.

Sir, on this occasion it is necessary that I must say something about the Fifth Plan. It is actually in doldrums. There has been undue delay in the finalisation of the Plan. It is necessary that there must be close coordination and understanding even when the Plan is being drawn up between the Finance Ministry and the Planning Ministry. Sir, the Planning Ministry and the Planning Commission have bungled; they have brought the economy of this country to ruin. I wish to humbly suggest the earlier Mr. Dhar is removed and sent as a roving Ambassador, the better it will be for this country. I would also suggest that the younger man, Mr. Mohan Dharia, who is knowledgeable, may be raised to his status. I am saying this in all humility. I know the strength of the Finance Ministry, but they are not

allowed to play their part. So, they do not have courage to go ahead. One question I would like to put on this occasion. The original expectation of foreign assistance was Rs. 4,000 crores and now, I understand, it has gone up to Rs. 7,000 crores. almost double. The Minister has gone to Russia and other Comecon countries. What will be the result? My only fear is that in this mad rush to get money from other countries our entire set-up will be disturbed and even the accepted mixed economy will be disturbed. That is my fear. The current Budget indicates an estimated deficit of Rs. 267.70 crores. An additional expenditure of Rs. 352.7 crores is expected in 1974-75. Food subsidy was Rs. 100 crores before and now it is Rs. 125 crores. The total subsidy is Rs. 225 crores. Dearness allowance is Rs. 112 crores. In relation to the Central Government servants, dearness allowance is not the only thing which you have to consider. A sum of Rs. 75 crores is for the Defence Services. The Railways' deficit will definitely go up by Rs. 200 crores by the end of this year. There are the deficits for which the Government have to work, but what is happening? We have immediately to finalise and recast the Fifth Five Year Plan, whatever be the difficulties, and there must be realistic targets. Actually there is an economic crisis. There is economic wilderness and there is political chaos. This is the point which the Government and leaders must consider. About one thing I was happy. The Finance Minister in his speech, while making certain confessions, has been bold enough to say certain truths. I must congratulate him for that. In this period of history where everything seems to be dark and the future is gloomy, he has said :—

"It is self-evident that controlling inflation is today the single most important task facing the country."

But nothing practically has been done to combat inflation. He says that the causes for the persistence of inflationary pressures are basically rooted in the

[Dr. K. Nagappa Alva] sluggishness of agricultural production. Industrial production which remained virtually stagnant in 1973 continues to be inhibited by shortage of power, etc. There was a recession in 1966-67 which had the worst effect on the people's welfare and that continues. I must say that industrial production has become less mainly because of the low agricultural production. Sir, I must say that the imbalances that now exist in our economy can be removed only through a sustained increase in agricultural production, giving all inputs, encouragement and incentives. Removal of poverty, self-reliance and economic growth with social justice, these three slogans or assurances were given to the people. But do we find those things? I make an earnest appeal with prayer to God—may the leaders of the country today remember Mahatma Gandhi, and let his message be placed before the country. Lai Bahadur Shastri during his regime of one year and seven months gave a slogan and the call 'Jai Jawan, Jai Kishan'. And it is there that we have to put our emphasis, our heart and soul, so that the achievements of the jawans and the kisans in this country rise high and they become the source of strength and inspiration for our leaders to safeguard the sovereignty of this country and also spread the message of peace, progress and plenty to the entire world. Sir, the concept of Gandhiji's social, economic and political ideas have to be understood and implemented. "India lives in the heart of her villages"—that is what he said. But when we see the urban development and the rural development, classes are being created; differences are increasing, inequalities are increasing. There are people neglected, oppressed, any word we can use.

There are certain words that have been coined by the Planning Commission. I do not want to go into details. Certain sectors are to be called the most neglected sectors or the vulnerable sectors. In one place it is said, low priority

sector and low priority schemes. Which are those low priority schemes or low priority sectors? They are fertiliser production, fertiliser distribution, seeds distribution, in this country. What havoc has been done because of black money and all those sorts of things! Again, social services, social welfare and social security measures, health, nutrition of the people of this country, these nowhere come in the vital priority sector, even in the core sector. The latest word that was coined was 'critical sector'. Yes, really the position of our people is critical. The budget levies of February, 1974 and of July, 1974 were officially claimed to have a minimal impact on spiralling prices and menacing continuing inflation. But what are the ways of fighting the inflation? The ways of the Government are the same old ones—taxation, legislations, laws and Acts, deficit financing, printing of notes, bank borrowings, loans and foreign debts. These have been going on. But to day we must have the courage or the decency or the goodness to admit that the taxation structure of this country has to be changed but now it is only a question of tiding over the present crisis. There must be incentive encouragement. In what way that is to be restructured is to be looked into. And for that may I appeal with all humility once again to learn lessons from their own mistakes and also learn lessons from other countries? I have no time to explain. Please go to Singapore, Malasia, Thailand, Germany and Japan. Do not depend on your officers. Take the best of men from outside the political and bureaucratic set up. Go to these countries and find out how they have come out of such muddle and how they have built up economy in their country.

Sir, may I narrate a painful experience while I travelled in a plane about six months back? I happened to meet a big merchant and during the course of conversation he told me that he was a member of the ruling Congress. I told him that I belong to the original Congress.

I asked him why not they all advise the Home Minister, the Finance Minister and the Prime Minister who belong to his party to build up the country's economy and put down corruption and black money? Then he told me : "My friend 40 per cent, of this black money is with the ruling Congress. Ten per cent, is with the other parties. Twenty per cent, is with the bureaucrats and only 30 per cent is with the black-marketeers. And from this it is for the leaders and rulers to draw inspiration and guidance also."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS) : Please wind up.

DR. K. NAGAPPA ALVA : Just two points. I want you to put down these anti-social elements, these black-marketeers, hoarders, profiteers, tax-evaders and smugglers ruthlessly. Use all the laws in your armoury. Only then you can infuse confidence in the people. It is high time that you won the confidence of the people. Your immediate concern should be greater production. There should be unhampered production and money supply should be in relation to production and growth rate. There should be equitable distribution at fair price shops of essential commodities. There should be prevention of exploitation by anti-social forces, opportunist politicians and bandicoots of the cooperatives. Let there be strict enforcement of Acts and laws. There should be honest and efficient administration. There should be accountability of performance of the Government to Parliament and to the people twice a year.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS) : Please conclude now.

DR. K. NAGAPPA ALVA : Last point. I will be failing in my duty if I do not say something about the administrative reforms. I crave your indulgence only for two minutes. In 1960 the Mahalanobis Commission said that the Government's economic policy had con-

solidated the big business. But now by 1974 in addition the Government has consolidated the blackmarketeers, the hoarders and the anti-social elements. And what has happened to the Administrative Reforms Commission? What has happened to the Wanchoo Commission? All these things clearly show that the Government are not sincere or serious about implementing these things.

Finally, only one point about the picture of the Government. I am glad, Mrs. Sushila Rohatgi, a mother is here to hear me.

3.00 P.M.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Jagdish Prasad Mathur) in the Chair]

God has given us eyes to see, ears to hear and mind to know, and it is for the Government to use all these essential God-given things to see the tears flowing from the eyes of millions of mothers because of the cries of their children for food. Sir, just yesterday, I read one headline : A legacy of darkness born of poverty; 4.5 million blind in the country and another 5 million with eye defects and diseases. The world has 15 million blind persons and our contribution is one-third. Also we have 20 million mentally retarded children and 19 million physically defective persons. Sixty per cent of the children suffer from protein deficiency and out of them, 90 per cent are in the backward areas and come under those living below the poverty-line. And the number of those living below the poverty-line has gone up to 60 to 70 per cent in some of the areas. I appeal to the Government and the leaders to make a serious attempt to save this country by fighting inflation, by fighting the parallel economy of black money and also by giving the greatest importance to agricultural production and all encouragement to the rural population, particularly, the small farmers and the marginal farmers. Thank you Sir.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, while speaking on the Finance Bill at the time of the Budget Session this year, I warned the Government that they would not be able to contain the deficit at the level of Rs. 126 crores. And now it has come true. Now, the estimated deficit is Rs. 590 crores and by this Finance Bill (No. 2) and economy measures they want to reduce this deficit to a certain extent, to Rs. 267.70 crores. Even this Rs. 267.70 crores is much higher than the original estimate last time of Rs. 126 crores. But my fear is that the Government will not be able to contain the deficit even at this level, and this warning I give them to-day.

Now, this Bill has been brought in order to mop up surplus money from the market so that the deficit can be reduced as far as possible. Now everybody knows that deficit financing is one of the major factors contributing to the inflationary situation. Indirectly, this Bill is also intended to fight inflation. This was the main purpose. To the extent you are able to mop up surplus money from the market, to that extent you are able to help in fighting inflation. This, I understand, is the purpose of the Bill.

Now, Sir, to fight inflation is the most urgent task to-day. If we cannot fight inflation and stabilise prices, not only will the Plan be jeopardised, not only will there be political turmoils in the country and other turmoils in the society but I am afraid even the very system of democracy will be very severely and seriously threatened. Therefore, the most urgent task for everybody to-day—for the Government, for the people and this Parliament—is to fight inflation by every possible means.

Now, what are the causes of inflation? I shall enumerate only a few. I have already said deficit financing is one of the causes. Some of the other causes are : liberal expansion of bank credit and money supply mostly or mainly for

speculative business; fall in production, weak and faulty distribution system of essential commodities; increase in the prices of imports; black money; conspicuous consumption by sections of people and consequent fall in savings; unproductive expenditure by the Government and also by the private sector; and gross inequalities in income and wages. These to my mind are the basic causes of inflation today. These can be summarised and I would like to summarise them in this way. Actually it is too much money in the hands of too few people chasing too few goods. All these causes that are enumerated may be summarised into three basic things, three basic factors, and to fight inflation we have to take care of them : (1) we must raise production at a very fast rate; (2) we have to strengthen the public distribution system, particularly for the mass consumption goods; (3) we have to control money supply and withdraw the excess money already in circulation.

In the matter of production I do not want to go into details, because there will not be much time. Some priorities must be fixed. We all talk of raising production. We all talk of increasing the growth rate of economy, of the GNP. But the basic question that we have to answer today, the Government must answer, the Planning Commission must answer, is what to produce and how to produce. It is on this question that all the previous Plans faltered and made mistakes. This is the basic question : what to produce and how to produce. I will briefly indicate how we should go ahead. My submission is in the next five years, in the 5th Five Year Plan, utmost and the highest emphasis should be given to production of mass consumption goods. We all know what I mean by mass consumption goods. That is the first priority. Between two sectors, between agriculture and industry, I will give first priority to agriculture and agro-industries, second priority to irrigation, power, transport and communications, third to core sector industries essential

to help production of mass consumption goods, then small-scale industries and then come others. So far as investment is concerned, it must follow the principle of priority. Additional expenditure, additional investment, must be made only in agriculture and agro-industries, in power, in fertilizers, coal, steel and such other industries. So far as other industries are concerned, we should emphasise only on full utilisation of existing capacities. I do not advise or advocate expansion of such industries where their existing capacity is not fully utilised, while I would certainly advise additional investment and additional expenditure in agriculture, in power, in fertilizers, in coal and in steel.

One thing I must say. I know when I say this my friends from the other side may accuse me of being a reactionary, of being a member of a party of the bourgeois, landlord class, of being a member of a party whose policies are anti-labour, and so on and so forth. I know these charges will come from that side. In spite of that, even at the risk of being accused by such epithets, by such adjectives, I would like to submit that if we want to fight inflation, along with other measures, we have to see that the wheels of production are in motion and if wheels of production are to be in motion, we must see that there is no strike and no lock-out. Now when I say there should be no strike. I am not blind to the interests of the working class. I am coming to it. But the basic fact must be accepted by all people, by all trade unions, by all political parties, if we want to fight inflation. Not only we have to withdraw extra money from the market, but we have to raise production at a fast rate; if we have to raise production at a fast rate, strikes and lock-outs must be avoided, must be banned. If possible, they must be avoided by mutual agreement; if it is not possible, I submit that strike and lock-outs must be banned for at least three years in public sector industries. But «=25 RSS/74

people may say it is anti-labour. Therefore, I will submit to the Government that if we want to make it possible and acceptable to the working class, we have to do something else. And that is, we have to look into the income-wage-price-productivity structure. The Prime Minister has given a call that we should have a national income and wage policy. We wholeheartedly support it. But this must be implemented. What about the formulation of such a policy? I will say something about it.

We must evolve an income-wage-price-productivity policy. The first principle of that policy should be that the ratio between the minimum and maximum should be 1:10. Let us come to certain conclusions. Some hard decisions will have to be taken in a situation like this. The situation is desperate. You cannot afford to go on like this. You have to do something. For that you must announce and formulate a policy of income-wage-price-productivity. All these should be integrated. It must be a comprehensive and integrated policy. The first principle of that policy should be that the ratio between minimum and maximum should not be more than 1:10. The other basic ingredients of such a national policy on income-wage-price-productivity are :

- (1) The minimum wage must not be below the poverty line;
- (2) Due share to workers in the fruits of growth;
- (3) Rationalisation of inter-occupational, inter-industrial and interregional wage differentials in a phased manner;
- (4) Elimination of wage differentials between organised and unorganised sectors;
- (5) Appropriate compensation against rise in cost of living;
- (6) To guard against substitution of labour by capital by keeping wages at reasonable level;

[Shri Bipinpal Das]

(7) Incentives for higher productivity and acquisition of skills;

(8) Compensation for exceptional hazards and physical risks.

And now I come to bonus. Here again my friends on that side will not agree with me on this point. I strongly plead that this definition of bonus as deferred wage does not stand any rational test. By any rational argument you cannot bring it under deferred wage. Bonus is a share of profit. Therefore, if all the above points are accepted by the Government, I do not think the working class will object to bonus being accepted as a share in profit. If all these propositions are accepted, I am sure the working class of this country will lend their hand of co-operation and they will not allow any strike or lockout in this country so that the wheels of production may go on. This is a very important matter and Government must move in this direction with courage and determination.

But, Sir, production however much we may try, whether it is agricultural production or industrial production will not be achieved immediately. We won't get immediate results. In agricultural production it will take at least six months; in industry I do not know how long. In the meantime the country cannot wait; the economy cannot afford to wait. So, we have to look to the other two factors. As originally suggested, when there is shortage in this country, we must strengthen the distribution system. Without that this country has no future. Without that we cannot fight inflation. If we leave it in the hands of the traders, then God alone help this country. The second is control of money supply.

In the case of distribution of mass consumption goods, I would like to say a word about procurement. Our procurement policy for the last year was wrong; our procurement policy this year was also wrong. For the procurement policy to be successful the

basic principle to be kept in view is that no middleman should be allowed between the State and the producers. Produce should be directly collected from the producers on the basis of some levy or on the basis of irrigation facility or acreage or inputs or on some rational basis. It should be directly collected from the producers. Only then the procurement policy will be successful.

The second thing which I would like to submit through the Finance Minister to the Minister of Agriculture is about the F.C.I. Please do something about the F.C.I. It cannot continue to be a white elephant in this country any longer. I tell you, the Government has subsidized to the extent of Rs. 353 crores to the F.C.I. Fantastic? It is atrocious. And this must come to a stop. The F.C.I. must be made a working proposition. The pricing policy has also to be so adjusted as to ensure a just price to the producer. He must get a just price.—whatever be just in the circumstances.

The most effective way to control inflation is to control the money supply. This is my major submission to the Government today. Sir, they have taken some steps—for example, the Reserve Bank steps. They have raised the lending rate. But to what extent? How much? Sir, even if you raise the Reserve Bank rate, the bank rate, the lending rate, up to 12% or 15% or 16%, but if the price rise is to the extent of 25% 26%, 27% or 30%, what is the net result? The net conclusion is that as if the nationalized banks are subsidizing black marketing, hoarding, and so on. That is what is actually happening. If you want to control inflation, you cannot do it by raising the bank rate alone. My submission is that if you want to control money supply, the banks must be made to behave. And I am sorry to say that the Reserve Bank has completely failed in controlling commercial banks; I am very sorry to say this.

There is no sense in nationalizing all these banks if you cannot control their behaviour. Then, how to control them? The banks should be allowed to lend only for productive purposes. Banks giving loans or credit for distributive or speculative purposes must be rigidly and strictly controlled. Production should not suffer. But for speculative business there must be a very strict control and very strict regulations. There must be a system of checking. There must be a system of audit and check on the utilization of the credit given to the business community. If you devise some such method, some such system, it is possible to control banks so that they do not give credit for speculative business, for hoarding, for black marketing, and so on... (*Time Bell rings*).

Sir, I am coming to the close very shortly. My Party has still a lot of time...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR) :
There are many speakers.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Still we have.

Now, this is about the most vital question. The other vital question is to reduce deficit financing. Now, this Bill, which has been brought before us, has the objective of reducing deficit financing. Sir, I am not going into the details of this Bill, which I have supported. All our fiscal measures must be selective, and that tax must be imposed on those who can bear the burden. Now, it is said that the burden of the proposed taxes will not fall on the common consumers. Where is the guarantee? Where is that check? Every single pie of tax that you impose on any single item—may be a luxury item or whatever it is—is passed on to the consumer. There is a rise in prices everywhere. Where is the control? Before the Budget is presented to the Parliament, there is general price rise in

the market. Where is the control? Something has to be done about it, otherwise it is no use saying that whatever tax we have imposed will not be borne by the poor man. Everything passes on to the average consumer. To that extent, it helps inflation.

Therefore, in all such measures, law must specifically provide that such fiscal measures, taxation and imposts will not be allowed to be passed on to the consumers. I am told inside the House and outside the House that such a law is possible. It was done in Kerala. It was also up-held by the Supreme Court. Therefore, it is possible to do so. The law must provide that such imposts should not be allowed to be passed on to the consumer. But mere fiscal measures would not help. The most important measure is to reduce your administrative and governmental expenditure. In all humility, I submit, with my experience as a Member of the Public Accounts Committee for two years, that there is a lot of waste in governmental expenditure. There is so much scope for economising. You have done something. I do not deny. Already 200 crores are estimated to be saved. But something more can be done. Therefore, I submit that all unproductive expenditure must be stopped completely.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala) :
They are stopping productive expenditure.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : Steps should be taken to improve the working of the public sector undertakings. There should be drastic reduction in subsidies. There should be a very strong and powerful economy drive in every Department of the Government and vigorous campaign for austerity from the top downwards. (*Interruptions*). Unless you do these things, no serious effort can be made to fight inflation.

[Shri Bipinpal Das]

My final point is that all wastage can be located. The Public Accounts Committee is doing it and additional efforts should be made to locate it. All wastage should be eliminated from governmental expenditure. If you do all this, something will happen. Deficit will come down. Deficit can be lowered not only by additional taxation or mopping up money from the market, but also by lowering the expenditure and economising which is possible but which has not been done unfortunately. I would also say that responsibility should be fixed on officers. If even a single pie is spent for nothing or for unproductive purposes, the officers who are responsible for the disbursement must be held responsible.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: The Minister should be sacked.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: If a Minister is responsible for this, such a Minister should also be punished. Nobody should be excused in this matter. All foreign travels, whether by Ministers or by Members of Parliament or by officers, must be drastically curtailed at least for two years.

If you take these measures, I hope deficit financing can be curtailed, money supply can be controlled and bank credit can be curtailed and production can be raised. Only then, we can claim that we are equipped to fight this menace called inflation.

The ordinance on dividends is all right. As a matter of fact, I wanted these ordinance to be more stringent and stricter. According to the ordinance on extra wages and dearness allowance, fifty per cent is going to be impounded. Very good. You impound 450 crores in the first year and 650 crores in the second year. That is alright. But what is this fantastic idea of giving a high rate of interest amounting to 300 crores of rupees? If you give interest of 300

crores on that impounded money after two years, do you think that your production will rise accordingly? If the production does not rise or is not commensurate with these extra 300 crores of rupees, what happens? Have you thought about that? Therefore, these ordinances must be carefully examined. You have not decided to invest that money for production. If you keep this deposit for two years and then you pay interest, then don't you add to inflation thereby?

I submit this for the consideration of the Finance Minister. I am happy that Mr. Chavan is just now here.

Finally, Sir, one word about black money. Sir, all these measures which I have suggested about production and control of money supply will go a long way to fight black money. Besides this, I would like to say one or two words. The Government have decided to acquire undervalued property. Mr. Ganesh the other day said that the Government have issued notices to 5,000 such cases. The black money is utilised to purchase property which is undervalued. So, this measure will have a good effect. It will be a good deterrent measure. It will have a deterrent effect. It will prevent people in future—I do not know how far—to purchase property with black money. It may have some affect and I do not deny it. But when you acquire that property today and pay in cash, how much cash will go into the market? And if a large amount of cash goes into the market, why do you try to acquire that property? Will that also not help in raising inflation? The Finance Minister is here. To fight black money, I would suggest that house to house checking of property and detection of unaccounted money must be taken up. It may take One year or two years or five years; it does not matter. Let us take it up first in cities and then in important towns and slowly downwards. I would suggest

that depositing money in foreign banks abroad must be made illegal. The practice of Indians earning here and depositing in foreign banks abroad must be declared illegal. I suggest immobilization of 100-rupee notes by 50 per cent and issue of bonds which may be encashed after five years with interest. If you don't want to immobilize fully, at least immobilize part of 100-rupee notes which are in circulation today. You don't immobilize the entire thing. But immobilize at least 50 per cent, of it, which may be paid back after five years with interest. By this, if my calculations are correct, at least 1500 to 1700 crores of rupees will be withdrawn from the market.

And finally, if you want to fight black money, you have to take ruthless administrative action. There should be not only monetary or fiscal measures but also ruthless administrative action against the hoarders, blackmarketeers and smugglers. And you must provide for nonbailable arrests, and a minimum punishment of 10 years rigorous imprisonment. Recently we have passed the Essential Commodities (Amendment) Bill and it is now with the other House. I must say that I am totally dissatisfied with that Bill. If you mean business, all arrests must be nonbailable in the case of hoarders, blackmarketeers and smugglers, and the minimum punishment should be ten years rigorous imprisonment. Otherwise, you cannot curb these activities. If all these measures are taken, I think, we shall be able to fight this monster of inflation and help the economy to come back to normalcy. Thank you, Sir.

श्री रवी राय : (उड़ीसा) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, वित्त विधेयक नं० 2 पर जब हम बहस कर रहे हैं तो मैं चव्हाण साहब से पूछना चाहता हूँ—मैंने मंत्री जी का भाषण पढ़ा और भाषण का सारांश यह था कि मुद्रा स्फीति को रोकने के लिए यह वित्त विधेयक लाए

हैं, और उनके समर्थन में बिपिन पाल दास जी ने, जो शायद यहां से उठ कर चले गए ...

श्री एन० आर० चौधरी : (आसाम) : हम भी हैं।

श्री रवी राय : आप उनकी तरफ से है क्या ? तो उपसभाध्यक्षजी, मैं श्री बिपिन पाल दास को ध्यान से सुन रहा था, इसलिए ज्यादा ध्यान से सुन रहा था कि 10 साल पहले वे हमारे दल के प्रधान मंत्री थे और मैं श्री बिपिन पाल दास से कहना चाहता हूँ, उन्होंने एक बात पर गौर नहीं किया और वह यह कि हम जो सुझाव दे रहे हैं चव्हाण साहब को कि जब अमुक अमुक काम को करेंगे तभी मुद्रा स्फीति को रोक सकते हैं। और जब नहीं करेंगे उस स्थिति में बिपिनपाल दास जी का क्या सुझाव है, यह नहीं बोले क्योंकि बिपिनपाल दास जी खुद महसूस करते हैं कि यह चव्हाण साहब के वश की बात नहीं है—यह उनके हाथ से चला गया है।

श्री बिपिनपाल दास : यह बिलकुल गलत है। मैं कभी नहीं मानता। यह जो रवी राय साहब कह रहे हैं यह कभी नहीं मानता। मैं मानता हूँ, चव्हाण साहब कोशिश कर रहे हैं और उनके हाथ स्ट्रेन्थेन करने के लिए मैंने सुझाव दिए हैं।

श्री रवी राय : उनका काम है चव्हाण साहब को पिछड़ा बनाना, हमारा काम है चव्हाण साहब और उनके मंत्रिमण्डल को हटाना। अब बिपिनपाल दास जी का मन तबदील हो गया है। अब सवाल यह है कि इस पृष्ठ भूमि में, इस आर्थिक पृष्ठ-भूमि में जो इस समय देश के सामने हैं, श्री चव्हाण साहब विरोध के बावजूद भी इस तरह का विधेयक लाये हैं। श्री चव्हाण साहब के कथनानुसार हिन्दुस्तान में 67 प्रतिशत लोग दारिद्र्य की स्थिति में हैं। 38 करोड़ 83 लाख लोग निरक्षर हैं और 8 करोड़ बेघर हैं। 6 करोड़ बच्चे ऐसे

[श्री रबी राय]

है, जिन्हें पौष्टिक आहार प्राप्त नहीं है और जो मौत का इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं। खुद चव्हाण साहब के प्रान्त में तीन दिन पहिले इसी सदन के सामने, जब उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, आप भी मौजूद थे, तो यह कहा था कि उनके राज्य महाराष्ट्र में 200 लड़कियां वेश्यावृत्ति अपनाने के लिए गई हैं। यह बात फेमिन इरेडिकेशन कमिटी द्वारा कहा गया था कि औसतमानाबाद तालुका से 200 लड़कियां वेश्यावृत्ति के लिए बम्बई चली गई हैं। उस इलाके में लोग लगातार अकाल के कारण कब्रिस्तानों से हड्डियां निकाल रहे हैं और फिर उन हड्डियों को अपने खाने का सामान खरीदने के लिए बेच रहे हैं। इस तरह से वहां के लोग अपने घरों के बर्तन, गहने और दूसरी चीजें व्यापारियों के हाथ बेच रहे हैं। इस तरह से आज हमारे उस प्रान्त में दुर्भिक्ष पड़ा हुआ है। यह दुर्भिक्ष केवल एक ही प्रान्त में नहीं है बल्कि सारे देश में है और इसी पृष्ठभूमि में चव्हाण वित्त विधेयक नम्बर 2 लाये हैं।

उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका ध्यान इस बात की ओर खींचना चाहता हूँ कि गांधी जी के पहिले इस देश में दादा भाई नौरोजी थे। उन्होंने एक बहुत बड़ी किताब लिखी है। यह किताब उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान में दारिद्र्य के बारे में लिखी है। हिन्दुस्तान में दारिद्र्य कहां तक है, किस तरह से यह जा सकता है और किस तरह से यह मनुष्य के मन को खत्म कर सकता है। यह किस तरह से आत्मा को बिगाड़ सकता है, इन सब चीजों के बारे में उन्होंने वह किताब लिखी है। इस बारे में हम जानते हैं और श्री चव्हाण साहब भी स्वयं जानते हैं कि 1963 में लोक सभा में स्वर्गीय लोहिया जी ने इस सम्बन्ध में चर्चा की थी। डाक्टर लोहिया के अनुसार हिन्दुस्तान में 27 करोड़ लोगों की दैनिक आमदनी 3 आना से ज्यादा नहीं है। इसमें आपका प्रान्त राजस्थान, उड़ीसा, आन्ध्र प्रदेश और दूसरे पिछड़े हुए इलाके आ जाते हैं। जिस दिन बहस हो

रही थी, उस समय चव्हाण साहब रक्षा मंत्री थे। जब यह बात कही गई तो उस समय सारे सदन में तहलका मच गया। यह क्या हो रहा है और किस तरह से यह दारिद्र्य हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों की आत्मा को खत्म कर रहा है, हिन्दुस्तान के जन-जीवन को खत्म कर रहा है और किस तरह से हिन्दुस्तान तबाह हो रहा है, यह चीज हम लोगों के सामने है।

1967 में आम चुनाव के बाद डा० लोहिया जी ने मृत्यु के पहिले इस सम्बन्ध में हाउस में चर्चा की थी कि इस दारिद्र्य को रोकने के लिए क्या व्यापक उपाय सरकार करने जा रही है? असल में गुन्नारमिडल ने एशियन ड्रामा नामक किताब लिखी है और उसमें उन्होंने कंसपिकुअस कंजम्पशन के बारे में भी लिखा है। डाक्टर लोहिया का सुझाव था कि हिन्दुस्तान में दारिद्र्य को कम करने के लिए खपत में कमी करनी चाहिये और कंसपिकुअस कंजम्पशन पर रोक लगाई जानी चाहिये। महावीर त्यागी जी उस समय लोक सभा में थे यह कैसे करेंगे? आप डेढ़ हजार, दो हजार रुपए कह सकते हैं, जिसकी आमदनी दो हजार रुपए से ज्यादा होगी, उस पर आप रोक लगाएंगे, कोई दो हजार रुपये से ज्यादा खर्च नहीं कर सकता। तब कैपिटल फार्मेशन हो सकता है। असल में इस सरकार के पास मुद्रा स्फीति को रोकने के लिए दारिद्र्य से लोगों को बचाने के लिए, अकाल से बचाने के लिए कोई सोच नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान तबाह हो रहा है सरकार की तरफ से आंकड़ा दिया जाता है कि दुनिया भर में मुद्रा स्फीति है इसलिए हिन्दुस्तान में भी है और इसलिए चिन्ता की बात नहीं है। यूनाइटेड स्टेट्स आफ अमेरिका जापान और जर्मनी आदि में कहीं 8, कहीं 10 और कहीं 11 प्रतिशत मुद्रास्फीति हुई है जबकि वहां की पर-कैपिटल सालाना आमदनी 18 हजार रुपए है, जबकि वहां की पर-कैपिटल सालाना आमदनी 350 रुपए है और वहां मंहगाई 300 प्रतिशत है। इसलिए केन्द्रीय सरकार की तरफ से, प्रधान मंत्री की तरफ से ऐसी जो गलत

बयानी की जाती है कि दुनिया भर में मुद्रास्फीति है, इसलिए हिन्दुस्तान में भी हो गई है, यह असत्य है और इस असत्य का पर्दाफाश करना हम लोगों का कर्तव्य है और इसी लिए मैं इस वित्तीय विधेयक पर बोल रहा हूँ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने चव्हाण साहब से पूछा था इसी सदन में कि आपकी सेमी-बाम्बला के बारे में क्या राय है। सेमी बामला क्या है। हिन्दुस्तान के 130 अर्थ-नीतिज्ञों ने भारत सरकार को याचिका दी कि मुद्रास्फीति को कैसे रोकें। इसी को कहा जाता है सेमी-बामला। इन लोगों ने जो सुझाव दिए थे उनको मैं पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ। इन लोगों ने मुद्रास्फीति को रोकने के लिए जो सुझाव दिए हैं और लोक सभा ने जो हमको नोट दिया है उससे मैं उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ—

This view has been expressed in a detailed memorandum submitted early this year to the Prime Minister by about 130 economists from all over the country diagnosing the causes of the present inflation and suggesting a set of remedies to combat it. The memorandum outlines the leading proximate causes of the current inflation as excessive credit from the Reserve Bank of India and commercial sectors.

'The excessive issue of money in the context of fragmentedly and inefficiently administered control' according to the memorandum 'has led to the proliferation of unaccounted incomes.' The memorandum presents an upper estimate of black income during 1972-73 of the order of Rs. 9,000 to Rs. 10,000 crores and of black money of about Rs. 1,800 to Rs. 2,000 crores.

The Semibombla suggests the following steps to immobilise money stock by 30 per cent.

- (a) All the outstanding currency with the public and the banks as

well as all bank deposits (current accounts only) should be reduced in value by 30 per cent. This should not apply to low denomination notes.

(b) Holders of currency notes of high denomination may be given special savings certificates of the value of the cut, for obtaining which no time limit need be imposed.

(c) Holders of bank accounts should be credited with blocked accounts of the value of the cut.

(d) The above certificates and blocked accounts will be cashed or released after 20 years and should carry interest of five per cent which can be taken in cash or credited to the account of the parties each year.

'In this way,' the memorandum states, 'a significant part of the money supply will go immobilised, though an interest charge of about Rs. 100 crores may have to be paid on the same each year.'

यह याचिका हिन्दुस्तान के 130 इकोनोमिस्ट्स ने प्रधान मंत्री को दी थी। ये विशेषज्ञ लोग हैं, ये सरकार के विरोधी लोग नहीं हैं, ये अर्थनीतिज्ञ हैं और इनकी कुछ सोच है। वांचू कमेटी के चलते जो 10 हजार करोड़ का ब्लैक मनी मौजूद है उसकी भी इन्होंने पुष्टि की है और ब्लैक मनी को निकालने के लिए, उसे व्हाइट मनी में परिवर्तित करने के लिए भी कुछ सुझाव दिए हैं। मैं चव्हाण साहब से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस वित्त विधेयक नम्बर 2 के चलते वे ब्लैक मनी को क्या व्हाइट मनी में परिवर्तित कर सकेंगे। तो जब उनका यह सोच था तो जिस प्रकार की सिफारिश वांचू कमेटी की ब्लैक मनी को निकालने के संवन्ध में थी या जिस प्रकार की इस मेमोरेंडम की सिफारिश थी उस को कार्यान्वित करने में आप को हिचकिचाहट क्या थी। सवाल यह

[श्री रवी राय]

है कि क्या कारण है कि कोई मौलिक परिवर्तन, कोई बुनियादी सोच इस सरकार के पास नहीं है। मैं आप के माध्यम से कहना चाहता हूँ कि योजना आयोग बना और वह जब से बना, आप देखेंगे कि तब से आज तक देश में गरीबी और अमीर की खाई बढ़ती गयी है। दूसरे देशों में जहाँ-जहाँ योजनाबद्ध काम चल रहा है वहाँ बड़े और छोटे का फर्क घटता गया है, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान एक ऐसा अभाग्य देश है कि जहाँ योजना आयोग तो चलता रहा, योजनाबद्ध इकोनामी चलती रही, लेकिन देश में गरीब और अमीर का फासला बढ़ता गया। उन के बीच आर्थिक विषमता और असमानताएं बढ़ती गयी। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब कोई कहता है कि यह सरकार प्रगतिवादी है और कोई प्रोग्रेसिव मेजर्स ले रही है तो मुझे तो लगता है कि सरकार के पास कोई प्रगतिवादी चिंतन है ही नहीं और उस के पास कार्यान्वित करने के लिए कोई विचार भी नहीं है। आप के पास कोई एडमिनिस्ट्रिटिव अपरेटस भी नहीं है कि जिस से आप किसी प्रगतिशील विचार को कार्यान्वित कर सकें। इसलिए देश में ब्लैक मनी बढ़ने का सब से बड़ा कारण यह है कि हमारे क० आर० गणेश जी राज्य मंत्री हैं अर्थ मंत्रालय में और वह कहते हैं कि हम कुली मस्तान को नहीं पकड़ पा रहे हैं। बंबई में स्मगलिंग का एक बड़ा काम उस के पास है, लेकिन हमारे गणेश साहब के पास तो इंटेलीजेंस विभाग है, जहाज हैं और उस के बाद भी वह कहते हैं कि वह वहाँ सत्याग्रह करने वाले हैं। यह अर्थ मंत्रालय आखिर उस को क्यों नहीं पकड़ पाता। कुली मस्तान के अलावा दो और बड़े स्मगलर्स वहाँ हैं। राजनीति विरोधियों के लिए आप के पास पुलिस है। नीरेन घोष और ईश्वर चौधरी पर पुलिस हमला कर देती है, लेकिन कुली मस्तान और दो स्मगलर्स जिन के नाम आप ने बताये हैं उन को आप नहीं पकड़ पाते हैं, उन पर आप को मीसा या डी० आई० आर० लगाने की हिम्मत नहीं है और इसका

सब से बड़ा कारण यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान में मंत्रियों का और स्मगलर्स का आपस में कुछ न कुछ संबंध है, जो हिन्दुस्तान के बड़े-बड़े व्यापारी हैं उन में और मंत्रियों में कुछ गठ-बंधन है और उन के साथ ही यहाँ की नौकर-शाही मिल जाती है और यह त्रिकोण हिन्दुस्तान की अर्थनीति पर दबाव डाल रहा है। और इसी के कारण यह जो विशेषज्ञों ने याचिका दी है इस पर सरकार कोई काम नहीं कर पा रही है। इसलिए सवाल यह है कि यह काम किस तरह से हो। मेरे जैसा आदमी इस सरकार से कोई उम्मीद नहीं कर सकता कि यह सरकार कुछ कर सकती है। जिस काम के बारे में यह कुछ बोलते हैं, जिक्र करते हैं, जिस को यह हाथ में लेते हैं वह नहीं कर पाते हैं और न कभी कर पायेंगे। सवाल यह है कि आज जो कमी है उस के लिए सरकार के रिस्ट्रिक्चरिंग की जरूरत है, सारे आर्थिक ढांचे के रिस्ट्रिक्चरिंग की जरूरत है और वह हो नहीं पा रहा है। इसलिए मेरा कहना है कि आज केन्द्रीय सरकार की नीति के कारण ही आप कांस्पी-कुअस कंजप्शन को नहीं रोक पा रहे हैं और इसी को रोकने के लिये हिन्दुस्तान में हम लोग पिछले 10, 11 साल से बराबर बात करते हैं, लेकिन उस के बाद भी यहाँ छोटे और बड़े का फर्क बढ़ता जाता है और उस के बाद भी संसद में बैठ कर हम जो मुद्दा देते हैं उस को सरकार नहीं मानती है। आज करोड़ों और लाखों की तादाद में भूखी नंगी जनता संसद के बाहर है, आज वह क्या करेगी। सवाल आ जाता है कि राजनीतिक स्तर पर, प्रशासनिक स्तर पर सरकार की इन नीतियों के खिलाफ क्या होना चाहिए। इसलिए अगर हम कहते हैं कि यह कहना निरर्थक नहीं होगा कि इस सारे ढांचे को बदला जाय। 15, 20 साल तक सक्रिय राजनीति से अलग होने के बाद भी श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण जैसे आदमी इस नतीजे पर पहुँचे कि जिस तरह से गरीब अमीर का भेद बढ़ता गया है, जिस तरीके से ब्लैक मनी की राशि बढ़ती गयी है, उसे देखते हुए हर आदमी इस नतीजे पर पहुँचेगा कि आ

सरकार में रिस्ट्रिक्चरिंग की जरूरत है। इस-
लिए भ्रष्टाचार के खिलाफ, भ्रष्टमरी के खिलाफ
प्रशासनिक अन्याय के खिलाफ बिहार में एक
आन्दोलन जारी कर रहे हैं और आप देखेंगे
कि कांग्रेस दल में दो तरह के लोग हैं। आप
देखेंगे कि कुछ लोग प्रधान मंत्री रखे हैं जय-
प्रकाश नारायण के आन्दोलन को कहो कि यह
फासिस्ट आन्दोलन है। कुछ लोग हैं जो मुला-
यम बात करते हैं।

सभापति जी, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सारे
के सारे इस रोग का निदान यह है कि संसद
में जो हम बोलते हैं इसको कार्यान्वित करने
के लिए जनता की शक्ति को बढ़ाने की जरू-
रत है, जनशक्ति की जरूरत है और उस जन-
शक्ति को जगाने के लिए जयप्रकाश नारायण
ने बुनियादी तौर पर एक जन आन्दोलन शुरू
किया है बिहार में और आज यह उत्तर प्रदेश
में भी शुरू कर रहे हैं, इसलिए कि हिन्दुस्तान
का केन्द्र बिन्दु जो है उसमें अगर इस तरह के
आन्दोलन हों कि जो भ्रष्टाचार करते हैं, सर-
कार के खिलाफ इस तरह के आन्दोलन किये
जायें तो इस तरह की झलक हम लोगों के सामने
आ सकती है। ध्रुव तारे की तरह जयप्रकाश
नारायण का आन्दोलन है, हमको लगता है कि
इससे कुछ निकलेगा, क्योंकि शुरू ही में जैसा
मैंने कहा कि कंसोकुअस कंजप्शन ने आर्थिक
जन जीवन को तबाह कर रखा है। इसलिए
मेरा कहना है कि यह जो आन्दोलन बिहार में
चल रहा है, उत्तर प्रदेश में शुरू होने वाला है,
हरियाणा में शुरू होने वाला है यह सही आन्दो-
लन है।

अन्त में सभापति जी मैं कहना चाहता हूँ
कि सारे देश की जनता और सारी संसद जानती
है कि केन्द्रीय मंत्रि मंडल में इस तरह के मंत्री
मौजूद हैं- जिनके ऊपर भ्रष्टाचार के आरोप
हैं। शान्तनु कमेटी की रिपोर्ट सामने है। शान्तनु
कमेटी की राय थी कि 10 विधायक जहाँ लिख
कर देते हैं कि इस मंत्री के खिलाफ इस तरह
की जांच करो तो उसको करना चाहिए। लेकिन

सरकार इस बात को भूल गई। कपूर कमीशन
की रिपोर्ट है। बिहार में कई विधायकों ने
एक याचिका दी है कि ललित नारायण मिश्र
के खिलाफ प्राइम्मा फेसी केस है, लेकिन आप
जानते हैं कि कुछ नहीं हो पा रहा है। अभी
मंत्री मंडल में मौजूद हैं। इस तरह के जो भ्रष्ट
मंत्रिमंडल में मौजूद होंगे वह सरकार
कभी ब्लैक मनी के खिलाफ नहीं लड़ पायेगी।
उसका सोच नहीं होगा। उसका उधर कभी
ध्यान नहीं जाएगा। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता
हूँ कि अगर गंगा को साफ करना है तो पहले
गंगोत्री से साफ नहीं करेंगे तो इलाहाबाद से
या बनारस से वह साफ नहीं हो पायेगी। इस
लिए आज सारे देश में केन्द्रीय मंत्रिमंडल है,
एक संविधान है, लेकिन हमारा केन्द्रीय मंत्री
मंडल ओक्टोपस की तरह है। जब तक केन्द्रीय
मंत्रिमंडल में भ्रष्टाचार का सफाया नहीं होता
है, तब तक हम ब्लैक मनी को रोक नहीं पायेंगे।
इसलिए मेरा कहना है कि ललित नारायण
मिश्र जो केन्द्रीय मंत्रिमंडल में मौजूद हैं उनको
हटाया जाए ताकि लोगों को इस तरह का भरोसा
हो कि जो आरोप हम लगा रहे हैं उसकी जांच
हो रही है और जिनके खिलाफ जांच हो रही
हो वह मंत्रिमंडल में नहीं रहते हैं।

इसलिए मेरा आखिरी सुझाव है कि कंसो-
कुअस कंजप्शन को रोकने के लिए पुंजीपतियों
और नौकरशाही का जो गठबंधन है उसको
खतम करने के लिए इस वित्त विधेयक में कोई
उपाय नहीं है। इसलिए मैं इस वित्त विधेयक
संख्या 2 का विरोध करता हूँ।

**श्री आर० डी० जगताप आवरगावंकर (महा-
राष्ट्र) :** जनाब नायब सदर साहब, यहाँ
इस आयवान के सामने फाइनेंस बिल पर जो
बहस हो रही है उसके बारे में मैं भी अपने नाबिस
खयालात का इजहार करना चाहता हूँ।

जनाब नायब सदर साहब, यहाँ पर जो
मैं बहस सुन रहा हूँ उसमें मैं अक्सर यह देखता
हूँ कि सरकार के ऊपर तनकीद करना और
कीचड़ उछालना, इसके सिवाय इसमें कोई

[श्री आर० डी० जगताप आवरगावकर] कांफ्रीट प्रप्रोजेक्स अपोजिशन की तरफ से नहीं पेश होते। मैं बड़े गौर से जनाब रवी राय साहब की तकरीर सुन रहा था। वह जब-जब अपने ख्यालात जाहिर करते हैं, तब-तब डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया और जयप्रकाश जी के नाम दोहराते रहते हैं और आदत से भजबूर हैं। हमेशा यह बतलाने की कोशिश की जाती है कि यहां के मिनिस्टर भ्रष्ट हैं, यहां के सभी लोग इसके गुनाहगार हैं। मुल्क में जो बुरा होता है वह सब सरकार करती है और जो कुछ अच्छा होता है वह रवी राय जी करते हैं। लेकिन मैं उनसे दखिस्त करूंगा कि मुल्क में जो आमदनी घट गई है उसकी जिम्मेदार न केवल रूलिंग पार्टी है बल्कि उसमें हिस्सेदार अपोजिशन में बैठने वाले लोग भी हैं। कारखाने बंद, रेलवे स्ट्राइक बंद या जो कुछ भी हम देखते हैं और मुल्क में आमदनी के जरिए है उसमें रोड़ा अटकाने का काम हमेशा य मेरे जानी दोस्त करते हैं। यह इनका हमेशा का तरीका है कि जो कुछ यहां पर कहा गया या जो कुछ कहा जाता है अपने असुलों के तहत कहते हैं। जो कोई अच्छी चीज हो उसको अच्छी चीज के रूप में ये लाने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं, मानने के लिए भी तैयार नहीं हैं।

मैं यह जरूर कहना चाहता हूं कि जो भाजशी हालत है उसको कंट्रोल करने के लिए हम सब को कोशिश करने की जरूरत है। अगर पालिटिकल, सियासी नुकतेनजर से इस सवाल को देखेंगे तो यह सवाल हल होने वाला नहीं है। आज जो मुल्क के सामने भाजशी क्राइसिस आए हैं उनको निपटाने के लिए, उनको दुरुस्त करने के लिए हम सब को तैयार रहने की जरूरत है। मुल्क में जो हालात बिगड़े हैं, अगर हम उनका मूआयना करें तो हमें पता चलेगा कि क्यों इस तरह के हालात हुए हैं। बदकिस्मती से हम को तीन जंगों का सामना करना पड़ा है। निर्वासितों का मसला हमारे सामने है और दूसरे जो कूत पड़ा है उससे भी अनाज की कमी हुई है। तीन साल से अभी महाराष्ट्र

में और दीगर इलाकों में कहत की वजह से हमें नुकसान हुआ। बहुत से लोगों को उससे नुकसान उठाना पड़ा। आज जो जराए आमदनी है वह क्यों घटता जा रहा है, इसका यह भी कारण है कि कहत बहुत से इलाकों में हुआ। मेरे आलिम दोस्त जो हैं, उनसे मैं पूछना चाहता हूं : इंडस्ट्रियल डेवलपमेंट जब हो रहा था या हो रहा है उस वक्त भी यहां जिस तरीके से हम सुझाव देते हैं, सजेसंस देते हैं, यहां राय-जाहिर करते हैं, उस वक्त स्ट्राइक करते समय मुल्क की हालत के बारे में सोचना क्या जरूरी नहीं होता है? ऐसे अगर हम सोचेंगे तो आमदनी के जो जराए हैं वे बढ़ सकते हैं, चाहे वह इंडस्ट्री के हों, एग्रिकलचर के हों, वे बढ़ सकते हैं और उसमें हम तरक्की कर सकते हैं। आज यहां पर जो यह फाइनेंस बिल लाया गया है मैं तो समझता हूं बड़े मोके पर, अहम वक्त के ऊपर सरकार ने यह कदम उठाया है और यह जो नेक कदम उठाया है उस बारे में फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब को मैं मुबारकबाद देता हूं कि उन्होंने, जो मुनाफाखोर, जमा-खोर मुल्क में गरीबों को चूस रहे हैं और गरीबों के ऊपर जुल्म ढा रहे हैं, यह फाइनेंसियल क्राइसिस का जो फायदा उठा रहे हैं, उनको कंट्रोल करने के लिए, उनको रोकने के लिए यह कदम उठाया है। मैं इसकी तारीफ करता हूं उनको मुबारकबाद देता हूं।

श्री ओउम् प्रकाश त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आपने बजट पढ़ा भी है ?

श्री आर० डी० जगताप आवरगावकर : जी हां, लेकिन आपके नुक्ते नजरिए से हमने नहीं पढ़ा है। आपका नुक्ते नजर अलग है हमारा अलग है।

श्री ओउम् प्रकाश त्यागी : बड़े पूंजीपति से तो इस बजट का कोई संबंध नहीं है।

श्री आर० डी० जगताप आवरगावकर : ठीक है, आपका कहना हो सकता है। जनाब नायब सदर साहब, जब सरकार सरमायेदार के खिलाफ कोई ऐसा कदम उठाती है जिससे यह मोनोपोली सिस्टम को खत्म करना चाहती

है तो व्यापारी तबका हमेशा जड़ोजेहद करता है और सरकार के ऊपर हमेशा तनकीद करता है और हमेशा यह बतलाने की कोशिश करता है कि जो भी कुछ सरकार की तरफ से कदम उठाया जाता है, वह उनके ऊपर सरकार जुल्म ढा रही है, सरकार उनको परेशान कर रही है। लेकिन मैं कहूंगा कि इस वक्त जो मोनोपली प्रोक्योगमेंट का सिस्टम है उसको तोड़ने के लिए, उसको बिगाड़ने के लिए आज जो व्यापारी कोशिश कर रहे हैं, उसका हम जायजा लेंगे, तो अनाज की जो किल्लत हो रही है, आज लोगों की जिंदगी के लिए जरूरी चीजें जो उनको मिलनी चाहिए वो आज नहीं मिल रही हैं, उसमें अहम हिस्सा इन नफाखोरों का है, उन नफाखोरों का है जो व्यापारी हैं और यह चाहते हैं कि किसी ढंग से अवाम को किसी किस्म की सहूलियत न मिले, बल्कि उनका फायदा हो सके।

जनाब नायब सदर साहेब, मैं इस सिलसिले में कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ। अभी एक माननीय सदस्य ने जो कुछ कहा काश्तकारों के बारे में, उन्होंने यहाँ कुछ गलत बातें कहीं। उन्होंने कहा कि काश्तकार दिन-ब-दिन धनी हो रहा है, उसकी हालत बहुत अच्छी हो रही है, लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ काश्तकारी की जानकारी शायद उनको नहीं होगी इस वजह से उन्होंने कहा है। मैं खुद एक काश्तकार हूँ और जो खुद काश्त करते हैं उनको मालूम है कि काश्तकारी में क्या डिफिकल्टीज आ रही हैं। जहाँ इरिगेटेड लैंड है वहाँ शायद कुछ कोशिश हो सकती है, लेकिन जहाँ इरिगेशन की फसिलिटीज नहीं हैं वहाँ खेती भगवान के भरोसे रहती है और उसमें अगर वक्त पर वारिश न हो तो इसका आप अंदाजा नहीं लगा सकते कि काश्तकार को क्या मुश्किलों का सामना करना पड़ता है। अगर हमको अनाज की ज्यादा पैदावार बढ़ानी है, तो काश्तकार को बहुत सी सहूलियत देनी होगी और इसके बारे में हमको गौर से देखना होगा। आज काश्तकार को जो खाद मिलती

है उसके दाम बढ़ गये हैं। अगर काश्तकार की हालत सुधरनी है, तो उसके खाद के दाम कम करने होंगे। इसी तरह से इन्सैक्टी-साइड और पैस्टीसाइड, ये जो दवाइयाँ हैं, अगर, हम इन्हें सस्ते दाम पर काश्तकार को नहीं देंगे तो कितनी ही अच्छी फसल क्यों न हो, कितनी कोशिश क्यों न दी गई हो, उससे कुछ फायदा नहीं हो सकता है। इतना ही नहीं बल्कि अच्छी फसल आने के बाद भी आज जो उनको दाम मिलते हैं, काश्तकार को जो अनाज की कीमत मिलती है उसके अनाज की, वह उसके मेहनत के मुताबिक नहीं मिलती है। हर व्यापारी और हर इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट जो हैं, वह अपने माल के दाम खुद अपने माफिक तय करता है, लेकिन गरीब मुफलिस काश्तकार जो अनाज पैदा करता है वह कभी भी अपने अनाज के दाम तय नहीं कर पाता है। यह अनाज के दाम तय करना उसके हाथ में नहीं होता है। यही काश्तकार का रोना है। इस नुकते-नजर से अगर हम काश्तकार की ओर देखेंगे, तो फिर उनकी हालत का हम सही तौर पर अंदाजा लगा सकते हैं।

अभी हमारे दोस्त जो काश्तकार के बारे में कह रहे थे, अगर उन्हें थोड़ी भी जानकारी काश्त के बारे में होती तो वे इस तरह की बात नहीं कहते। मुझे बड़े दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जब तक काश्तकारों को ये सुविधाएं और सहूलियतें नहीं देंगे, तब तक देश में एग्रिकल्चर प्रोडक्शन नहीं बढ़ सकता है। इसी तरह से काश्तकार जो हैं, वह जो कुछ भी माल पैदा करता है, जो कुछ अनाज पैदा करता है, उसके लिए उसको मार्केट नहीं मिलता है और उसके सामने बहुत सी मुश्किलें पेश आती हैं। इन मुश्किलों को दूर करने के बारे में हम सोचना जरूरी है। सरकार ने अनाज खरीदने के बारे में जो मोनोपली प्रोक्योगमेंट की स्कीम चलाई है और इस बारे में जो कदम उठाये हैं उसका मैं इस्तकबाल करता हूँ कि यह एक अच्छा कदम है। किसान की हर चीज मोनोपली प्रोक्योगमेंट सिस्टम के ज़रिये खरीद ली

4 P.M.

[श्री आर० डी० जगताप आवरगावकर]

जानी चाहिये और इस तरह से काश्तकार को ज्यादा से ज्यादा मुनाफा देना चाहिये।

जनाब नायब सदर साहेब, कुछ ऐसे पिछड़े हुए इलाके हैं, जहाँ पर काश्तकार के लिए बहुत सी सुविधाओं की जरूरत है। बिजली का सवाल है और जब तक काश्तकार को बिजली मुहैया नहीं की जायेगी, हर गांव में और हर बावली में बिजली नहीं पहुंचाई जायेगी, तब तक अनाज का प्रोडक्शन नहीं बढ़ सकता है; क्योंकि आयरल इंजन से प्रोडक्शन बढ़ने वाला नहीं है और आयरल भी काफी महंगा हुआ है। मैं आपसे दरखास्त करूंगा कि ये जो चीजें आपके सामने पेश हुई हैं, उन पर आप जरूर गौर करें। मुझे उम्मीद है कि जो फाइनेंशियल प्राबलम्स आपके सामने पैदा हुए हैं, उनको दूर करने के लिए आप कोशिश करेंगे। मुझे यह तबक्को है कि फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहेब इन सवालों पर अच्छे तरीके से गौर करेंगे। जिस तरीके से ब मौजूदा हालात को सम्भाल रहे हैं, उसका मैं फिर एक बार खैरमकदम करके अपनी तकरीर खत्म करता हूं।

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to oppose the Finance (No. 2) Bill, 1974. When I oppose this Bill, I have naturally to discuss some of the basic fiscal and economic policies pursued by this Government—policies which are reflected in this Bill indirectly, if not directly.

Despite additional taxation to the tune of Rs. 123 crores and the proposed economy measures of Rs. 200 crores, we will still have a massive budget deficit of Rs. 267.7 crores according to the admission of the Government. I have tried to make a very rough and ready calculation. Naturally I do not have all the machinery for making precise calculation as Shri Chavan, the Finance Minister, has. But according to my estimate, even this estimate of deficit of Rs. 267.7 crores is a gross under-estimate. I charge this Government of fooling the people and taking the country

for a ride again. In fact the deficit in this year will not be anything less than Rs. 800 crores. I am prepared to go into the details and convince anyone that at the end of this year we are going to end up with a budgetary deficit of Rs. 800 crores and this figure of Rs. 267.7 crores is a gross under-estimate in order to hoodwink and befool the people.

Sir, Shri Bipinpal Das, one of the exponents of the Treasury Benches' view, said that the additional taxation will withdraw money supply and reduce the deficit financing and, therefore, it is anti-inflationary. This is an argument handed over to him by the Finance Minister—an argument which he has swallowed without really thinking about it. This is a bogus argument. I will explain why it is so. The effect of money supply on the general level of prices is a very complex phenomenon and it depends essentially on the pattern and distribution of production. It depends on the ownership pattern in industry and agriculture. This Government which professes socialism, which professes *gatibi hatao*, even today continues to play, what I call the politics of camouflage. They fool the entire nation by talking socialism, but in fact helping the 93 big monopoly houses allowing them to increase their super profits, and having increasing collaboration with foreign capital in order to continue on the path of capitalism in this country. They rule in alliance with landlords in the country-sides, exploiting the poor and middle peasants and agricultural labour. These policies are not going to touch the fringe of the problem of inflation. This is my main contention. Therefore, I am prepared to challenge the Government that their argument that additional taxation leads to withdrawal of money supply, and reduces deficit financing and, therefore, becomes anti-inflationary, is a bogus argument—an argument which cannot stand the scrutiny of any expert.

Shri Bipinpal Das prefaced his statement by saying that at the risk of being misunderstood as a reactionary, he is prepared to continue to support the Government's policy. What did he say? He was saying that in order that the wheels of production in the country can move, strikes should be banned. I do not know whether Shri Chavan, the Finance Minister, will listen to me. Would you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, give a direction to the Finance Minister to hear me at least on this point?

Sir, when Mr. Bipinpal Das demands that in order that the wheels of production should move, there should be no strikes, still he claims that his proposal is not anti-labour. He does not accept the concept of need based minimum wage accepted by the 15th Labour Conference. The Government has already accepted in principle, and in fact implemented partially, the system of bonus, minimum bonus of 8.33-1/3%. Bonus has been accepted in this country officially as deferred wage. But Mr. Bipinpal Das would now make a retreat and say that this is profit sharing I found, to my great surprise, that Mr. Bipinpal Das, a "progressive" on the Treasury Benches, is being supported by one of the representatives of a reactionary party, Cong(O), Dr. Alva. Sir, on this question of anti-labour policy, the so-called Socialist Government on this side and the Congress (O) on the other side agree with each others. Sir, there was support from Dr. Alva to Mr. Bipinpal Das's proposal that bonus should no longer be considered as deferred wage, and that it should be linked with profitability. Sir, I think the Government should bow their head *Ha* shame for even having one of their members seeking a change of policy, Which they themselves profess. Sir, I wonder whether he is a disciplined member of his own party.

Sir, I come to the core question regarding the Finance Bill now. Sir, the Finance Bill is primarily concerned with

resource mobilization. The Finance Minister made a statement on 31st July. I quote:

"In the background of great hardships being endured by the common man, there is clearly no case of imposing fresh levies on articles of mass consumption . . ."

Sir, Mr. Chavan has shed crocodile tears. When Mr. Chavan said this thing in the Lok Sabha on the 31st July, he was shedding crocodile tears, because if you really examine his Finance Bill, he is not touching the big business. What is my proof? The best proof regarding the pudding is in the eating. Here is a quotation from newspapers :

"When the Supplementary Budget was presented by the Finance Minister on July 31st, as scheduled, the market heaved a sigh of relief. . . because of the absence of fresh imposts on the corporated sector."

Sir, since in the new Budget there was no fresh impost on the big business, share market behaved very favourably to Finance Minister's budget. He should be given a big award for helping big monopoly companies. And when he told the Lok Sabha on the 31st July that there is no case for imposing fresh levies on articles of mass consumption, he was hoodwinking the people. Again I quote :

". . . The worst fears of the stock exchange fraternity have been belied by the Supplementary Budget . . ." Then:

"The stock brokers who were mauled badly by the Dividend Ordinance not long ago had been waiting for the Budget proposals with unabated breath . . . The Finance Minister has done nothing to add to their worries."

The Finance Minister has done nothing to add to the worries of the big business. On the contrary, the addi-

[Dr. K. Mathew Kurian] tional levies will increase the general level of prices.

Here I would like to make a point. The relationship between a particular levy or taxation on a particular commodity and its price level and the general level of pricing is not a simple relationship of arithmetic. This is a whole complex in terms of inputs and raw materials which enter into the production of other commodities. This Finance Bill will thus increase prices, the general level of prices, by at least 3 to 5 per cent. In fact, the Government, by bringing this Bill, have added insult to injury at a time when the people are suffering because of increasing prices. They are adding insult to injury.

Sir, according to the Finance Minister, this Bill is anti-inflationary, because it is a two-pronged attack on inflation. On the one hand from the supply side he proposes to increase production, especially of wage goods.

Secondly from the demand side, he would like to control the growth of money income and money demand. In fact, the taxation proposals and the three ordinances as a package cannot solve the problem of the people. They will worsen the economic and social conditions of the people. It is true that in the present Bill there are certain goods which are, relatively or absolutely, items which are not of mass consumption. For example, superfine cloth. Nobody objects to that. But if you take the totality, the picture is different. The proposal to raise the auxiliary duty on certain varieties of paper has, its impact on prices of educational materials of students and teachers and on publishing and book industry in general. Sir, if you take the relationship between the new tax proposals and the general level of prices, it is a picture which is contrary to the assertion of the Finance Minister. I know that Mr. Chavan is not a simpleton. He is a clever Finance

Minister because he is trying to confuse the issues by converting a complex phenomenon into a simplistic phenomenon. This is where his cleverness lies. For instance, let us take a few commodities. Take sugar, levies on sugar in 1960-61 amounted to Rs. 44.19 crores. But in 1974-75, the so-called socialist Congress Government has collected from the common people Rs. 153 crores.

Tea is another items of common consumption.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI (Maharashtra): We are earning Rs. 200 crores by way of exporting tea.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: In 1960-61, Mr. Babubhai Chinai and his company were not enjoying superfine profits. In the case of tea, the duty collected in 1960-61 was Rs. 7.45 crores. In 1974-75, it is 41.40 crores. Similar is the case of kerosene. The Finance Minister, by any stretch of imagination, cannot call it an item of luxury consumption. In Bihar where the whole people are in struggle against the corrupt Congress Government, students and teachers in mofussil colleges cannot read their text books at night because there is no kerosene and also because the price is too high. If you pass through the streets of Bombay from where Mr. Chavan comes, it is pathetic scene. In 1960-61, the total duty collected on kerosene was Rs. 8.29 crores. In 1974-75, Rs. 130 crores were collected from the common people. Sir, Mr. Chavan is a pick-pocket, fleecing the common people by additional taxation. This is my charge. They have collected money on soap, cement, paper, matches, etc.

Let us now come to black money. Mr. Chavan is very correct. I looked at the proceedings of the Lok Sabha and found that Mr. Chavan was very correct in his statement. I am prepared to give him credit for accepting a very important fact regarding black money.

He admitted that by demonetisation alone we cannot solve the problem of black money. The existing stock of black money in the form of currency can be cut by demonetisation. But black money, in reality, is a flow of incomes going through the processes of production and ownership which cannot be covered fully by demonetisation. I think he is right. Sir, precisely, this is my point. Black money is a flow, not merely a stock. It is primarily a flow of black income. In this country, black income is generated because of the 93 monopoly houses which are given licences by Mr. Chavan. In this country, the monopoly houses and the black money flourish with political patronage and corruption by the ruling party.

Black money as a flow will continue so long as this corrupt, monopolist, landlords and pro-imperialist Government remains in power. Therefore, the ultimate solution to the problem of containing inflation is the removal of these people from the saddles of power, from the pinnacles of power. Sir, in the case of monopolies, what did they do? In 1966, the Tatas, the biggest monopoly house, had Rs. 505 crores worth of assets. But in 1971, during the rule of *garibi hatao* and socialism, they had assets worth Rs. 711 crores. The Birlas had Rs. 458 crores in 1966 and in 1971, the assets were Rs. 687 crores. I am not going to give the whole list but the list is available for anybody's knowledge.

Mr. Chavan claimed in his statement in the Lok Sabha on 19-8-1974, and I quote : "By reducing the marginal rates of personal taxes, we have reduced the incentive for tax evasion." Sir, Mr. Chavan found a wonderful statement in the Wanchoo Committee report. The Wanchoo Committee said that tax evasion is increasing because the marginal rate of taxation is increasing. Therefore, if you reduce the rate of taxation at the top margin, tax evasion will go.

Sir, this is an argument which I cannot understand despite repeated attempts to understand what they really mean. Do they really mean that the big business in this country, the money bags in this country, would like to voluntarily handover their resources to the Government? Do they believe in them, in their honesty and in their integrity? Sir, if the big business have evaded taxes, it is simply because they would like to retain their income in their pockets. They do not want to part with it and give it to the State exchequer. If that motivation of retaining incomes in their pockets rather than handing over to the Government is the motive behind tax evasion, then by reducing the taxes, the marginal rate of taxation, you are not going to increase the retention of taxes by the Government. You will reduce taxes. That is the Government's retention of taxes will also reduce. Therefore, to say that tax evasion will be reduced because the rate of taxation is reduced is a bogus argument which is against the national interest. The Government has succumbed to the pressure of big business on this question, and the Wanchoo Committee Report came very handy. (*Time bell rings.*) I will conclude in five minutes, Sir.

Sir, Mr. Ganesh, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance, who is now a claimed to be the Minister in charge of smuggling—I am not saying that he is in charge of smuggling, but in charge of anti-smuggling—proposes a campaign against smugglers. But, Sir, in this House, during the last Session, I produced a photograph of a Minister in the Government of Mr. V. P. Naik in Maharashtra, sitting and chatting in an intimate personal way with one of the biggest smugglers in the west coast of India, near Bombay. He is Jhaveri—one of the biggest smugglers in Bombay. He was sitting with a Minister . . .

श्री आर० डी० जयताप आदरगावकर :
आप झूठ बोल रहे हैं ।

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : I can prove it. I showed this photograph to the House. One of the smugglers called Jhaveri has been in contact, in collusion with one of the Ministers. I am not disclosing the name now. I have already disclosed the name to this House. It is on record. The question now I raise is this. Though I raised a number of cases and showed a photographs, what action has Mr. Ganesh taken against the Minister in Maharashtra and against this smuggler, whom I have named. I have also named some officials in his Ministry who were having drinks in a flat in Defence Colony, owned by an ex-Army Officer. I have shown the photograph of the official in charge of tax evasion, in charge of curbing smuggling, sitting with smugglers, and sharing drinks with smugglers.

If the Government has any courage let them come forward and take action on the specific cases which I have brought. Anti-smuggling campaign should not be reduced to a hoax. Let the Government start hard work and be earnest in this matter. Let first things come first, take the records of the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha and take action on the particular cases brought to the notice of the Government.

There is large-scale evasion of Central Excise Duties. It was brought out by the Venkatappiah Report. I am not aware. Whether the Venkatappiah Report was not placed on the Table of the House. Sir, I quote from this Report.

"Large scale evasion of Central excise duties takes place in a wide variety of commodities including sugar, tea, matches, soap, medicines, rayons and art silk."

What action has been taken?

Sir, one more point before I conclude. The Government claims that Rs. 200 crores will be saved by economy measures—economy in expenditure. But, according to one calculation the

picture is different. Here are some examples given of economy in expenditure. Education—they have reduced the expenditure by Rs. 11.76 crores. Agriculture—they have reduced the expenditure by Rs. 13.84 crores. Central assistance to the State Five Year Plans—the expenditure has been reduced by Rs. 93.98 crores. Employment schemes, about which they talk too much—Rs. 34 crores have been reduced. Advance action for the Fifth Five Year Plan—expenditure reduced by Rs. 30 crores. Naturally, there is no need for any advance action or advance planning for the Fifth Five Year Plan because the Fifth Plan is dead before it is born. Sir, it is a still-born baby, still-born under the tender care of Mr. D. P. Dhar.

AN HON. MEMBER : It is a miscarriage.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Yes, it is miscarriage. The planning in this country is dead and Mr. D. P. Dhar is presiding over the cemetery. He is an under-taker of the Fifth Five Year Plan which is dead before it was born.

Sir, I will now conclude by giving some suggestions. Mr. Chavan will say that I have been too critical but what are the alternatives. I have the following alternatives.

Firstly, I say if you have courage in your hands, take over all the monopoly houses—the 93 monopoly houses—and restructure them. Do not only take over these 93 monopoly houses but restructure their production pattern. Maximise production in order to help the production of not only priority items of machinery and raw materials but also goods of mass consumption.

Secondly, nationalise all the foreign private companies without compensation. They have fleeced this country and they have taken away by way of profits and dividends the entire foreign capital several times over. Now, take over the foreign sector without compensation.

Thirdly, drastically change your fiscal policy which relies increasingly on indirect taxes which affects common people and proportionately less on direct taxes. I say, change this policy. Increase direct taxes which fall on the rich. Reduce the taxes on the poor and marginal farmers, poor and middle peasants and the working class. Reduce the taxes on them. Increase the taxes on the rich. Change your policy. In 1950-51 the proportion between direct and indirect taxes was 50 : 50. What is the proportion today? Indirect taxes form more than 83 to 85 per cent of the total taxes.

Fourthly, Sir, introduce monopoly procurement with producers' levy throughout the country. Exempt small peasants and medium peasants. Give them even a bonus, if necessary. But, take over all the entire marketable surpluses of the landlords and distribute them through fair-price shops.

Fifthly, run the public sector not in the interests of the private sector, as they do today, but in the interests of the people. Change the anti-labour policy as we have witnessed during the Railway strike, a policy of victimization and repression and suppression of the people. Change that policy into people's participation in developmental activities.

Sir, the Government today has poverty of ideas. Even if Satan descended on the Government and offered "Semibombla" scheme or a "mini-bom-bala" scheme they would accept it. Today, they have such a poverty of ideas. They have lost many of their pseudo-socialist postures. They are increasingly going on to the road of suppression of people's rights.

Sir, they are in a desperate position and that is why the Government today is a Government of intrigue. There are three sources of intrigue, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, the Finance Minister, Mr. Chavan, and the Defence

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Minister Mr. Jagjivan Ram, the three sources of power intriguing with each other and no coherent economic, social or political policy is possible so long as this type of political system which is corrupt to the core remains. Therefore, I oppose this Finance (No. 2) Bill totally and I demand that a complete reversal of the policy should take place immediately so that this country, this nation can be saved.

SHRI B. RACHAIAH (Karnataka) : Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you for calling me to speak at the fag end of the discussion on Finance (No. 2) Bill. The Finance Minister has explained the circumstances in which he has been compelled to bring before this House another fiscal proposal for acceptance of the House even before completing the process of presentation of the First Finance Bill.

[The Vice-chairman (Shri Bipinpal Das) in the Chair]

Sir, everyone in this House as well as in the other House has accepted that the country is passing through a very critical financial crisis. Inflation is on the increase and the prices are showing a tendency to increase and it is in these circumstances that the people want that the Government should bring down the prices and contain inflationary tendencies.

Sir, the 1974-75 Budget had threefold objectives; one is to cut down the administrative expenditure, secondly to mobilise resources on a massive scale and thirdly to reduce reliance on deficit financing. Let us examine how far the Government had been able to achieve these objectives. As Dr. Ku-rian has said there has been a cut of Rs. 200 crores in administrative expenditure. I am particularly of the view that the cut in the agricultural sector of nearly Rs. 13 crores should not have been made. There are several other items of expenditures in the administrative set-up which could be cut

[Shri B. Rachaiah] down but today we see that expenditure is going on in the same scale in each Department in its own way.

Secondly, the inflationary tendencies are attributed partly due to decline in agricultural production and partly due to sluggishness in industrial growth. Sir, I have had occasion to look into agricultural production in the States. Really there was an increase in agricultural production in the country from 65 million tonnes to nearly 108 million tonnes over a period of five years. It is only from 1971 and 1972 that there has been a decline in agricultural production to about 95 million tonnes. Why is the decline there? We have to look into the causes. The Finance Minister has explained in his speech that we had drought conditions for two consecutive years and there has been unprecedented flood havoc in this country.

During the period between 1955 and 1973 many times there has been flood havoc and there has been damage to life and property to the tune of Rs. 2,400 crores nearly. Again, 72 districts in 13 States have been subjected constantly to drought conditions. So, the increase in Government expenditure could not be foreseen. Naturally they have to take remedial measures so as to give necessary relief to the people. In this context, governmental expenditure could not be curtailed. On the other hand, the deficit, as originally envisaged, has increased. Everyone of us has been seen in many districts and in some parts of the country the flood devastation. Remedial measures have to be bound and the Government has to find money. So far as resources are concerned, it has almost remained stagnant. He has not attempted to raise or mobilise resources on a massive scale, as has been attributed to by Dr. Kurian. There are certain items which can take some more load. Without any receipts Government cannot be

run. Particularly when we have professed and taken oath that poverty has to be removed and necessary amenities have to be provided to the people and when we are a welfare State, naturally we have to take the burden. However unpleasant it may be, we have to tax people and get money. While doing so, we have to choose the priorities. In choosing the items for taxation, he has really taxed those items which can take some more load and which will not directly touch the common man. I am, therefore, in full agreement and lend my support to his proposals.

So far as direct taxes are concerned, he has made two proposals. One is the tax on the interest earned by banks. After all the bank rate is 7 per cent and the increase by way of bank interest is one per cent. When the people can get capital from outside only at a higher rate, why should not the people pay one per cent more for their capital requirements? This is not too much. I have seen in the villages the village money-lenders who lend money to agriculturists even at the rate of 50 per cent. They charge by way of grains for Rs. 100/- one Palla of paddy by way of interest at the time of harvesting. When compared to this exorbitant rate of interest that is being charged by the private sector, the increase in bank's charge by one per cent, I think, is reasonable. We can accept it. Secondly, there has been a concession given in respect of capital gains below Rs. 1 lakh. Does it not give an indication that the Finance Minister has attempted to tax those items which will certainly take the load? In respect of indirect taxes, duties which have been levied are not on items of mass consumption. The items are superfine cloth, nylon, cement, copper wire and alloys. All these items should be taxed. Without money Government cannot run. I feel that these items he has chosen after fully consideration. All these items can be taxed and Govern-

merit can take some money out of them. They do not directly hit the people. So far as the three Ordinances are concerned, one is with regard to the immobilisation of fifty per cent of the increase in dearness allowance.

Some people say that it is not a measure which would encourage the working class. Sir, time and again, both in this House as well as outside, people come out with the argument that the prices are increasing and that there is a case for revision of the dearness allowance and for increasing the emoluments. Even without consulting the States, the Central Government went on increasing the dearness allowance and the emoluments, and it gave a signal to the business class and the traders and the benefit really went to these people and it never helped the working class or the wage-earners. Therefore, this remedy by increasing the dearness allowance and the emoluments to arrest the prices has not proved effective. Effective measures lie elsewhere. To curb the inflationary tendency and to arrest the price rise, production is the only sovereign remedy.

When we think of production, our agriculture has been monsoon-oriented. We always depend upon our monsoon. If it is delayed there is panic among the agricultural classes, and sometimes, the late rains also upset the farmers' budget. In these circumstances, nearly 80 per cent of the people contribute about 47 per cent of the total national income but they are left to the vagaries of nature; they have no fixed income. Therefore, we have no right to ask them to sell their produce at a fixed price, unless we give them the services they require and all the inputs at their doors. This has not been done for the last several years. An attempt now has been made to give them some incentives by way of supplying chemical fertilisers, pesticides, insecticides and some credit too. But if you look at the credit facilities given by the national-

ised banks and the cooperatives, it is only the affluent farmers in the villages that have benefited. Even the technical or scientific knowledge has gone only to those affluent farmers. And the marginal and the small farmers have got some benefits only in recent years. Marginal farmers have been defined as farmers who hold more than one hectare, who hold between one hectare and 2½ hectares. But the farmers who own less than one hectare, they are not taken into consideration for any credit facilities or for any incentives. They form nearly 39.1 per cent of the total agricultural land-holders operating on 9.2 Million Hectares. If there is incentive given to these farmers who are holders of less than one hectare, then intensive cultivation could have been much more and our agricultural production would have been on a much higher scale.

Therefore, in our plans we might see that this class of people who own even less than a hectare of land get all the benefits of the imported fertiliser. The main reason for the decline in agricultural production during the last two years has been the decline in the import of fertiliser. I have been doing farming in Mysore. For want of fertiliser per hectare I have been getting only 6 quintals of paddy. The yield could have been much more if fertiliser could be supplied in time in adequate quantity according to the formula given by the scientists. Therefore, in the absence of proper import of fertiliser, it is not possible to produce adequate quantity of foodgrains. Our country has a capacity of producing 22 lakh tonnes of fertiliser but only 13 lakh tonnes is being produced. Organic manure is only 8 per cent of the total production of manure. Therefore, even if we have to import fertiliser at exorbitant rates, it is better than importing foodgrains. I would, therefore, urge that fertiliser should be distributed properly. When incentives

[Shri B. Rachaiiah] will be given the affluent and even the small farmer will be willing to give surplus foodgrain for the public distribution system.

Moreover, Sir, unless there is effective procurement internally we cannot run the public distribution system effectively with the imports. Therefore, the two things are interlinked. There should be priority to agriculture, irrigation and animal husbandry and other allied subjects. Even in the Fifth Plan only 21.1 per cent is allocated for this purpose. This has to be increased. The priority has to be refixed. With these few words, I support the fiscal measures that have been brought before this House. I thank you, Sir, for giving me the opportunity to speak.

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA (Karnataka): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the very fact that the Finance Minister has to come out with a second Finance Bill within about six months of the first one in which increased taxation has been provided to the extent of nearly Rs. 200 crores, and another Rs. 230 crores, indicates that the situation of our economy is not very good. It indicates the soaring inflationary tendencies which the Government has not been able to handle with all their oft-repeated measures and intentions.

The Finance Minister has come out with the various proposals in the second Finance Bill and also this was preceded by three Ordinances with a view to curbing inflation and stabilise the economy as they themselves indicated. But, Sir, I am very sorry that these measures have not had the desired effect and we find that the economy has been deteriorating and the inflationary tendencies instead of being curbed are on the increase.

Sir, apart from the various curbs and freezes on the profits and dividends and the wages, which were proposed in the

different ordinances, the second Finance Bill proposes various customs and excise duties which come to the extent of Rs. 98 crores for the year and about Rs. 147 crores for the whole year, and this is in addition to the taxes which are to the extent of about Rs. 123 crores for the year and Rs. 210 for the whole year. In spite of this the Budgetary deficit which they anticipated to be about Rs. 127 crores is now estimated to be Rs. 267 crores.

The supplementary demands which were placed in the other House show that the Government, in spite of this massive tax effort, has not been able to hold the deficit at Rs. 126 crores, and it is estimated to come to nearly Rs. 262 crores. Of course, they are thinking of some commendable efforts. From the demands for grants, it is seen that the additional requirement of funds both on the Plan and the non-Plan side will be offset to some extent through reductions in non-Plan developmental expenditure and also through re-phasing of the Plan schemes which have somewhat a different priority. In spite of all this, we find that the desired effect has not been there.

Now, with regard to the taxation as such, even though it is said that it does not hit the common man, the taxes which have been levied on commodities have actually resulted in a cost push and the inflation is eventually passed on to the consumers not only in luxury goods but also in consumer goods. Take for example, the tax on indigenous copper which has been raised from Rs. 1,500 to Rs. 4,000. This has its effect directly on agriculture. Copper is extensively used for the manufacture of copper insecticides and fungicides, and the increase will naturally be passed on to the consumer. As it is, a tonne of copper sulphate costs Rs. 12,000. It has nearly doubled within the last few months or nearly a year. We can understand what the increase in the cost of production will

be on the general agriculture and also on commercial crops. Likewise, the increase on cement, the increase on plastics and the increase on so many other items which have been enumerated here will naturally add on to the cost push. The result of it will be that the consumer will have an element of it passed on to him. Certainly this is not anti-inflationary, and the cost of living index for the time subsequent to the promulgation of the Ordinances, etc., has indicated that there has been a continuous rise. Of course, the Government has its own difficulties. It had to provide for import of fertilisers and foodgrains. It had to make up for the railway loss. Another Railway Budget has come which has added to the misery of the common man. So, I would like to mention here that none of these measures has had much of the desired effect.

Sir, so far as the Ordinances are concerned, I would like to say a few words. The first one is with regard to the curbs on dividends. The intention was that the companies should pay the share holders a dividend of not more than 12 per cent. Of course, when the Ordinance came there was a muddle, first it was said that it would be "before taxation". Eventually it was said by an amendment that it would be "after taxation". This resulted in no company being able to pay a dividend of 12 per cent which they had originally envisaged. In addition to that, as already mentioned by another friend of mine here, the recent amendment to the Company Law makes it obligatory that not less than 10 per cent of the money which can be appropriated for distribution of dividend has to go into general reserves. That will further reduce the money available for payment and dividends. I disagree with my friend Dr. Kurian here. He said fabulous profits and dividends are being paid. Who can pay 12 per cent dividend? Even this 12 per cent is on

the original value of the share. If an ordinary small investor has paid a premium and purchased shares, he would hardly get three or four or five per cent. When the Bank Rate itself has been raised to provide the depositors an interest of 8 to 10 per cent, I do not think there is any justification for saying that the dividends on shares should come down to three or four per cent. It is not always the large shareholders who are to be taken into consideration. There are thousands and thousands of small shareholders and I would plead again that if they want to restrict it, let them restrict it to 12 per cent without any reference to "after tax" or "before tax". Anyway Mr. Chavan has already got 10 per cent through the Company Law amendment, which would go into the reserves; that will be an additional saving.

Sir, so far as the ordinance regarding compulsory deposit of additional emoluments is concerned, I have a few comments to make Sir. the idea is that you immobilise these funds for a period of one year. I would particularly like to plead the case of the daily-rated workers and also of the workmen who are getting very low wages and large number of temporary workers who are employed in State Electricity Departments, Railways, private institutions, plantations and in small establishments. If their daily earnings and small increases of about 50 np. or one rupee which they have gained either by negotiations or by notification of the increase in minimum wages are immobilised for a period of one year, the hardship will be very great for them. It is not possible for them to keep up with the inflationary tendencies and steep rise in the cost of living. I would suggest that as suggested by Mr. Ranganathan and various other trade unions, the Government can think of a certain minimum wage below which they can provide exemptions from the provisions of the Bill. Fortunately, I find in the Bill that an exemption clause

[Shri U. K. Lakshmana Gowda] has been provided in Section 17 where in cases of hardship, exemption can be provided for certain categories of workers. I would earnestly request the Finance Minister to consider this proposal. This will also provide some relief to administration. If these small deposits are to be deposited either in the Provident Fund or in Reserve Bank, then thousands and thousands of accounts will have to be held for a period of 12 months and then they will be returned in 5 instalments of small amounts. This will cause additional administrative difficulties in running the provident fund which is already in difficulty.

Sir, Mr. Rabi Roy has suggested in mobilisation of 30 per cent of bank deposits as a measure to fight inflation. This will not be right. This will immobilise white money and not black money. Suppose somebody has deposited in a bank about Rs. 1000/- or Rs. 2000/- and if you immobilise 30 per cent of it, then what faith will he have in the banking system? On the other hand, our effort should be to immobilise some percentage of the black money which is not on record. We should not immobilise bank deposits which millions of people have either in a medium or a small way. Therefore, I totally disagree with this.

Sir, so far as agriculture is concerned, I have heard many Members from this House suggesting that there should be more resource mobilisation from the agricultural farmers. The latest slogan is the 'rich farmers'. Firstly, their slogans have been monopolists, vested interests and traders. When they have taxed them and not found it satisfactory, they have come to the slogan of rich farmer. Sir, in the next 3 days another constitutional amendment Bill is coming in which you are going to put all the land legislations under the 9th Schedule and then all the land legislations are to be immediately made ef-

fective and implemented. After that, there would not be any person who would be holding more than 10 acres of first class land. Will there be any rich farmer then? If Mr. Chavan is thinking of taxing the rich farmer, then there would be no rich farmer after that Bill. Sir, there is a great fallacy that the farmers are not at all taxed. There are land tax, water tax and now wealth tax on agriculture. Now there is a partial integration of the agricultural income with the general non-agricultural income for taxation. 5.00 P.M. Now, if only you think that you are going to get lot of resource mobilisation from the agricultural sector, I think this will never materialise. There were even suggestions on that side saying that so much subsidy has been given to fertilizers and all this should be withdrawn, and more effort should be made towards procurement. How can we procure unless there is more production? Production has been falling right through and unless more incentives are provided, there is no point in saying that we will be able to mobilise more resources from the agricultural sector-Likewise, so far as industrial sector is concerned, there should be more incentive because unless production comes up, there will not be anything for distribution.

Shri Rachaiah was justifying the 7 per cent tax on gross interest earned by the banks. He forgets that even according to the suggestion in the Bill it gets passed on to the borrowers to the extent of 1 per cent. Very recently bank rate was increased and lending rate was increased. He was saying that usurious money lenders are charging 25 per cent. I would like to mention that even on secure hypothecation loans, nationalised banks are charging 17 to 18 per cent. In the case of others it is even upto 24 per cent. You will be surprised to know that inter-bank borrowing.

when the fluidity was limited, has gone to more than 24 per cent. If that is the situation, where is the point in saying that you pass it on to the borrower. All that will happen is that it will make borrowing more expensive and it will be naturally passed on to the cost of production. This will not hold inflation, but it will only add further to inflationary tendencies. It is a fallacy to say that by making borrowing more expensive you curb inflation. But I certainly agree that the money supply has to be brought down. But this is not the way of doing it. Already railway fares are going up and we are having all sorts of taxes. To try to freeze in certain sectors will make it even more difficult for people to make their living.

So far as the Fifth Five Year Plan is concerned, the total foreign assistance was expected to be Rs. 4,000 crores. In view of the inflation and other subsequent matters, I am told it is going to be Rs. 7,500 crores. When the hon. Finance Minister went abroad for discussion with the Comicon countries, I was told that he was given an assurance that some more aid will be given. What sort of aid will be coming and from what countries will this additional aid be coming? If it is coming from Comicon countries, what will be attitude of the Government? Will part of it be given to the private sector or is it going to be put only in the public sector? This is a matter of vital importance to this country which is having a mixed economy. We will, therefore, have to find out what the position is going to be.

One word about the public sector industry. Now some efforts are being made to make them more profitable. There is a vast investment in the public sector industry and if this entire investment is made to yield 10 per cent return, I am sure quite a lot of mobilisation of resources from the industrial sector will be realised from this single source.

श्री रणवीर सिंह (हरियाणा) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, देश को आर्थिक संकट से निकालने के लिए वित्त मंत्री दूसरा वित्त विधेयक लाए हैं। मैं इसका समर्थन करता हूँ। इसके साथ ही हमें गम्भीरता से सोचना चाहिए कि इस आर्थिक संकट में हम कैसे दाखिल हुए और इस आर्थिक संकट का असल कारण क्या है। बहुत से अर्थशास्त्री, आर्थिक विशेषज्ञ यह मानते हैं कि रुपए का ज्यादा प्रसार होने की वजह से देश में आर्थिक संकट आया। उनसे मैं इतना ही निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि 1943 में देश के अन्दर गेहूँ का भाव कम था, मुश्किल से 8, 10, 11 रुपया मन था जब बंगाल के अन्दर 33 लाख भाई भूख से मर गए थे। तो देश में आर्थिक संकट जो आया है वह खेती की पैदावार में कमी होने की वजह से आया है। हमें सोचना होगा कि खेती की पैदावार क्यों घटी है, इसके लिए किसान दोषी है या इसमें सरकार की मशीनरी दोषी है या यह इन दोनों की शक्ति से बाहर की बात है। आप जानते हैं कि हमारा देश कृषि प्रधान देश है और हमारे देश के अन्दर कोई 75 प्रतिशत भूमि ऐसी है जिसकी खेती भगवान की बारिश के ऊपर मुनहसिर है। भगवान की बारिश के लिए जब कुपित दृष्टि होती है तो देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था खराब होती दिखाई देती है। 70-71 में जब देश के अन्दर ज्यादा अनाज पैदा हुआ तो कुदरत की मदद थी, किसान की मदद थी, सरकार की मदद थी। उस वक्त सबने सोचा कि हमने हरी क्रान्ति पा ली। उस वक्त हमने सोचा नहीं कि जब कुदरत की कुपित दृष्टि होगी तो हम इतना अनाज पैदा कर सकेंगे या नहीं। आज हम देखते हैं कि देश के अन्दर पैदावार की कमी के कई कारण हैं। देश में पैदावार की कमी का कारण बिजली की पैदावार में कमी है जबकि उसकी खपत ज्यादा बढ़ गई है। बचत करने का तरीका सोचा सरकार ने लेकिन पाबन्दी लगाई हरियाणा में पानिपत का थर्मल प्लांट बनने जा रहा है। पंजाब नेशनल बैंक से हमारा सौदा हुआ कि साढ़े 6 करोड़ रुपया उससे ऋण लेंगे। बिजली की

[श्री रणवीर सिंह]

पैदावार कारखाने की पैदावार के लिए जरूरी है, खेती की पैदावार के लिए जरूरी है, लेकिन हरियाणा स्टेट इलेक्ट्रिसिटी बोर्ड के ऊपर पाबन्दी लगा दी गई कि वह पंजाब नेशनल बैंक से कर्ज नहीं उठा सकता। पाबन्दी लगानी चाहिए जहाँ जरूरत हो। अगर बिजली की पैदावार बढ़ाने के ऊपर कोई पाबन्दी लगती है तो आने वाले वर्षों में हमारी हालत और खराब होगी। तो मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि जहाँ पाबन्दियाँ जरूरी हों वहाँ लगाएं, जहाँ खर्चा घटाने की आवश्यकता हो वहाँ घटाएं, लेकिन ऐसी जगहों पर नहीं।

अभी जिक्र किया रवी राय जी ने—अब उन्हें वी० के० डी० का कह, वी० एल० डी० का कहें, सोल्विस्ट कहें...

श्री बाबुसाई एम०चिनाई : कुछ कहो नहीं; ऐसे ही बोलो।

श्री रणवीर सिंह : उन्होंने जिक्र किया रेल मंत्री जी का, भ्रष्टाचार का। मैं उनसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश के अन्दर जितने राजनीतिक तत्व थे कांग्रेस पार्टी को छोड़ कर—कांग्रेस (ओ०) के भाई शायद उनके साथ कुछ थे, कुछ नहीं थे—उन सब ने मजदूरों के हित के खिलाफ देश की आर्थिक स्थिति को तबाह करने के लिए देश के अन्दर रेल हड़ताल कराने की कोशिश की, रेल का पहिया जाम कराने की कोशिश की। अगर इस देश के कानून से किसी को सीधा करना चाहिए तो उन शक्तियों को करना चाहिए जो देश की आर्थिक स्थिति को खराब करना चाहती है ताकि उनको राज्य की गद्दी मिल सके। प्रजातंत्र में किसी की गद्दी सुरक्षित नहीं। हर पांच साल के बाद लोगों के पास जाना पड़ता है। कुछ भाई हैं, उनमें इतनी तेजी है कि वे चुनाव में हार आते हैं, फिर मनगढ़न्त कहानियाँ गद्दी जाती है ताकि पांच साल से पहले ही कुछ उबल-पुबल हो जाये। यह राजनीतिक तत्व हैं, यह भाई हैं कि जिन के लिए

महात्मा जी कह गये कि इस देश के अंदर हम को बच्चों को राजनीति में इस्तेमाल नहीं करना चाहिए, सरकारी मुलाजिमों को राजनीति में इस्तेमाल नहीं करना चाहिए। लेकिन हमारे यह राजनीतिक तत्व जो देश में कांग्रेस पार्टी से मात खा गये वह देश में बच्चों का इस्तेमाल यहाँ की राजनीति में करना चाहते हैं यहाँ क्रान्ति उन के सहारे लाना चाहते हैं। उनका ख्याल है कि सरकारी मुलाजिम ही इस देश में क्रान्ति ला सकेंगे। उन को अपने ऊपर तो अब कोई हौसला रहा नहीं...

श्री बनारसी दास (उत्तर प्रदेश) : 9 अगस्त की रैली में आप ने क्या किया था ?

श्री रणवीर सिंह : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, बनारसी दास जी को पता नहीं कि 9 अगस्त को क्या हुआ था। डा० कुरियन साहब कहते तो बात कुछ समझ में आ सकती थी। 9 अगस्त को देश की आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ने के लिए हम चले थे, उस दिन हम ने अपने घर छोड़ो थे और 9 अगस्त का दिन देश के लिए एक मुतबारिक दिन है और उस दिन एक कोशिश होनी चाहिए कि देश में जाग्रति पैदा हो, जो सुस्ती हममें आ गयी है उस को हटाया जाय। यह कोई बुरा काम नहीं था और अगर इस प्रयास में उस में किसी ने ऐसे तत्व दाखिल कर दिये कि जिन का कांग्रेस पार्टी से कोई संबंध नहीं था, जैसा कि हमारे सरदार अमजद अली साहब ने बतलाया कि उन का अबिल भारतीय यूथ कांग्रेस से कोई संबंध नहीं था, तो वह बात दूसरी है, लेकिन यह 9 अगस्त की रैली किस लिये की गयी इस बात को आप को सोचना चाहिए। क्या हमारा ध्येय गलत था या इस से आप मुतफिक हैं इस बात पर आप सोचें। तो मैं निवेदन कर रहा था कि हम आर्थिक संकट में क्यों फसें, इसलिए कि हमारे खेत की पैदावार कम हो गयी और जब खेत की पैदावार कम हो गयी तो भाव बढ़ने के कारण हम को सरकारी मुलाजिमों को मंहगाई भत्ता देना पड़ा। मंहगाई भत्ता देते हैं तो उस के लिए पैसा चाहिए और सरकारी मुलाजिमों की तन-

ख्वाह का लियो जो है वह सारे देश की आर्थिक स्थिति को दरहम बरहम करने की तरफ ले जा रहा है। बहुत से भाई हैं कि जो एक तरफ कहते हैं कि तनख्वाह बढ़ाइये, दूसरी तरफ कहते हैं कि टैक्स न लगाया जाय और तीसरी तरफ कहते हैं कि रुपये का प्रसार न किया जाय। तो कौन सा जादू का डंडा वह हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी को देना चाहते हैं जिस से टैक्स भी न लगे, रुपये का प्रसार भी न हो और देश की उन्नति भी हो और यहां का खर्च भी कम हो जाय। यह ज्ञान तो शायद उन के ही पास है जिस को वह किसी और को देना नहीं चाहते। हमारे कुरियन साहब कहते हैं कि यह जो मजदूरों के स्ट्राइक बंद करने की बात है यह एक रिट्रोप्रड बात है, यह प्रोग्रेसिव बात नहीं है। मैं उन से पूछना चाहता हूं कि उन का देश जिस की वह बहुत प्रशंसा करते हैं, उस चीन के अंदर क्या रेल के मजदूर को हड़ताल करने का हक है, क्या रूस के रेल मजदूर को हड़ताल करने का हक है। कभी पिछले इतिहास में उन्होंने वहां हड़ताल की है। अजीब हालत है। हम समझ सकते हैं कि बिरला के कारखाने में, टाटा के कारखाने में, जो 93 मोनो-पोली हाउसेज हैं उन में मजदूरों को कभी हड़ताल करनी पड़े तो वह बात समझ में आ सकती है, लेकिन देश का कारखाना, देश के मजदूर और वह अपना फैसला स्ट्राइक से कराना चाहते हैं और तमाम राजनीतिक पार्टियां उन को समर्थन दे रही हैं तो मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूं कि इस देश के अंदर मंहगाई कौन कर रहा है? वही भाई करा रहे हैं, रुपये का प्रसार भी वही भाई करा रहे हैं जो देश के आर्थिक ढांचे को दरहम बरहम करना चाहते हैं। कुरियन साहब ने एक दफा कहा था और कई और दोस्तों का ख्याल है कि शायद हमारी सरकार को शौक है पुलिस की शक्ति बढ़ाने का हमारे देश के अंदर 1950 में जो सेंट्रल रिजर्व पुलिस थी उस पर 3 करोड़ रुपया खर्च होता था, आज उस पर 170 करोड़ रुपया खर्च करने पर सरकार मजबूर हुई और इसी तरह से स्टेट्स की जो पुलिस है उसके ऊपर

1946 में 13 करोड़ रुपया खर्च होता था आज उन के ऊपर 313 करोड़ रुपया खर्च करने पर सरकार को मजबूर होना पड़ रहा है। किस लिए, इस लिए कि कुछ राजनीतिक तत्व इस देश के अंदर जो हमारा संविधान है उस के खिलाफ बातें करते हैं और देश के अंदर ऐसे हालात पैदा करना चाहते हैं जिस से उन को कुर्सी मिल जाय चाहे देश तबाह हो जाय। यही भावना पीछे रख कर आज देश में वे तरह तरह की कहानियां गढ़ते हैं, मन-गढ़त बातें करते हैं एक तरफ कहते हैं स्ट्राइक करो, दूसरी तरफ कहते हैं तनख्वाह बढ़ाओ। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि इस सदन के अन्दर बहुत सारे भाई हैं और खास तौर से हमारे देश के जो अर्थ-शास्त्री या आर्थिक विशेषज्ञ हैं उनका भी एक ख्याल है कि किसान के ऊपर टैक्स बहुत कम है। ऐसे भाई आंकड़ों की बात करते हैं और किसानों की बात कहते हैं। यह देश तो किसानों का है। मैं यह मानता हूं और मुझे बताया कि इस देश के अन्दर कपड़े का उद्योग है, चीनी का उद्योग है, और दूसरे उद्योग हैं। कोई उद्योग प्रोटेक्शन के बगैर बढ़ा है? प्रोटेक्शन देना पड़ा। खेती भी एक उद्योग है, हमारे देश के अन्दर सबसे ज्यादा आदमियों का उद्योग है और फिर एक नई कहानी चलाई जाती है कि किसानों के ऊपर टैक्स बहुत कम है। बड़े बड़े आर्थिक विशेषज्ञ इस बात की कहानी के माध्यम होते हैं क्योंकि बात साफ है। एक तरफ तो वह भाई हैं जिनकी माहवारी तनख्वाह नहीं है, जो मेहनत करते हैं, मजदूरी करते हैं और अपनी मेहनत से रोजी कमाते हैं और दूसरी तरफ वह भाई हैं जिनको महीने के महीने तनख्वाह मिलती है। वह मंहगाई भत्ते की मांग करते हैं, मंहगाई भत्ता उनका बढ़ता है, वह तो आर्थिक दुनिया में सही है और जिनको अपनी मजदूरी नहीं मिलती, किसान के ऊपर टैक्स कम है यह अभी बहुत से भाइयों ने कहा। अभी कुरियन साहब ने बताया कि 83 फीसदी टैक्स जितना हिन्दुस्तान का टेक्सेशन का है वह इंडोरेक्ट टेक्सेस

[श्री रणवीर सिंह]

से आता है। मैं कृषियन साहब से और दूसरे जो विशेषज्ञ हैं उनसे पूछता हूँ कि क्या किसान नंगा रहता है, क्या किसान दूसरी चीजें इस्तेमाल नहीं करता है? मैं मान सकता हूँ कि 83 परसेंट में हमारी आबादी के मुताबिक हिस्सा न हो क्योंकि हमारे कुछ भाई गरीब हैं, लेकिन 83 परसेंट जो टैक्स हैं उसमें से 60 फीसदी टैक्स किसान अदा करता है और यही नहीं जो स्टेट्स के अन्दर टैक्स है वह भी किसान अदा करता है। इसके बावजूद यह मानना कि किसान के ऊपर टैक्स बहुत कम है यह कोई समझ की बात नहीं है।

उप-सभाध्यक्ष (श्री विपिन पाल दास) : अब आप समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री रणवीर सिंह : उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, जैसा आपने कहा था, यह बहुत जरूरी है। आप मुझे पांच मिनट और दें।

उप-सभाध्यक्ष (श्री विपिनपाल दास) : पांच मिनट नहीं, एक मिनट।

श्री रणवीर सिंह : एक मिनट में बात पूरी नहीं होगी।

उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, आज कहा जाता है कि बिजली बोर्डों के ऊपर जितना खर्चा है वह पूरा नहीं कर सकते। बिजली बोर्ड बिजली देते हैं। कूलर के लिए भी देते हैं, घरेलू इस्तेमाल के लिए भी देते हैं। मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से कहूंगा कि जरा उसका टैक्स बढ़ाये। उसका पर यूनिट दर (रेट) बढ़ाये। जब मेरे पास पंजाब में सिंचाई और बिजली विभाग था मैंने उसका दाम बढ़ाने की कोशिश की थी। गरीब आदमी को 34 पैसे यूनिट बिजली देनी पड़ती है। हमने सब को उसी भाव से बिजली देने की कोशिश की थी। हमारे प्रदेश का जो उस समय फाइनेंस सेक्रेटरी था वह भी कहता था कि यह गलत काम करते थे क्योंकि टैक्स लगता था तो उनकी जैब से भी निकलता था। मैं चाहता हूँ कि बिजली बोर्ड का फाइनेंस ठीक हो लेकिन वह ठीक कैसे होगा। वह फाइनेंस

ठीक होगा जब कि इन्फ्लेक्शन कंजंक्शन घरे इस्तेमाल की बिजली के भाव (रेट) को बढ़ाय जाए। उसको इतना किया जाए जितना कि गरीब आदमी से लिया जाता है। बिजली जो ज्यादा खर्चा करता है, जो कमरे को गर्म और ठंडा करता है, जो अपने बर्तन साफ करता है, रोटी पकाता है उससे भी उसी हिसाब से खर्चा लिया जाए तो देखना होगा कि बिजली बोर्ड का फाइनेंस-वित्तीय अवस्था ठीक होगी कि नहीं।

उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, इसी तरह से नहरों के पानी की बात है। इस देश के अंदर अनाज कम पैदा हुआ। देश आर्थिक संकट में फँस गया है। हमको फिक्र है। हम पानी का इंतजाम करके अन्न की पैदावार बढ़ाएँ। इसी तरह देश को फिक्र होनी चाहिए। देश के अन्दर खेती की पैदावार बढ़े और अनाज की पैदावार और दूसरी चीजों की पैदावार बढ़े। ताकि इस देश का आर्थिक ढाँचा अपने पैरों पर खड़ा हो सके और हम आगे तरक्की कर सकें। उसका तरीका यह नहीं है कि किसान को चीजें हम मंहंगी दें। सभाध्यक्ष जी हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार कहती है कि किसान बड़े साहूकार हो गए हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ जो सरकारी स्टेट फार्म हैं उनका क्या हिसाब किताब है, उनकी आमदनी है? देश का करोड़ों रुपया आपने उनको दिया है उतना रुपया आपने किसानों को दिया है? अगर नहीं तो जरा इस बात को सोचा जाए। कुछ भाई कहते हैं कि किसान को बड़ी वचत है और उसके ऊपर टैक्सेशन कम है तो हमारे जो इकानामिस्ट हैं वे इस बात को देखें। मैं आपकी मार्फत मंत्री जी का ध्यान इस बात की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जितने हमारे सरकारी फार्म हैं उन सात फार्मों का जिक्र इसमें किया गया है। जो यह रिपोर्ट है कमेटी ऑन पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग की, इसमें यह लिखा है...

उप-सभाध्यक्ष (श्री विपिनपाल दास) : पॉइन्ट बता दीजिए, इसको पढ़ने की जरूरत नहीं है।

श्री रणवीर सिंह : मैं आपको पोइन्ट ही बता रहा हूँ। यह जो भाई कहते हैं कि किसान को ज्यादा आमदनी है वे बताएं किसानों को क्या इन्वेस्टमेंट है उनके मुकाबले में जो सरकारी फार्म हैं। उनको सरकारी बढ़िया बीज मिलते हैं, सरकार के वहाँ अच्छे विशेषज्ञ हैं। जब वे आमदनी में नहीं हो सकते तो किसान कैसे हो सकते हैं...

उप सभाध्यक्ष (श्री बिपिनपाल दास) : अब काफी हो गया है। अब आप खत्म करिए।

श्री रणवीर सिंह : आप मुझे पढ़ने भी नहीं देते...

उप सभाध्यक्ष (श्री बिपिनपाल दास) : नहीं आप इसे नहीं पढ़ सकते। आपने अपना पोइन्ट कवर कर दिया है।

श्री रणवीर सिंह : मैं इसे जरूर पढ़ूँगा। 118 सफा पर कमेटी आन पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग की रिपोर्ट में है...

उप सभाध्यक्ष (श्री बिपिनपाल दास) : इसको वित्त मंत्री जी खुद पढ़ लेंगे।

श्री रणवीर सिंह : यह बहुत जरूरी है इसे मैं पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ।

उप सभाध्यक्ष (श्री बिपिनपाल दास) : आपके 25 मिनट हो गए हैं।

श्री रणवीर सिंह : आप कहते हैं मैंने 25 मिनट लिए हैं। आप बताइए आपने खुद कितने मिनट लिए हैं। समाप्ति जी यह अन्याय नहीं हो सकता।

उप सभाध्यक्ष (श्री बिपिनपाल दास) : मैंने कहा है आप बैठ जाइए।

श्री रणवीर सिंह : कल को इस बात पर हल्ला होगा। यहाँ पर कुछ लोगों को मोनोपली हाउसिज के खिलाफ गिला है और मुझ को गिला है इस बात की कि यह सदन कुछ सदस्यों के लिए टाइम मोनोपली हाउस बन गया है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS) : I am on my legs. I cannot allow this. I am calling the next speaker. Yes, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we have now a Supplementary Budget. Normally, in an inflationary situation the Budget should be an instrument of at least checking inflation and, to that extent, giving some relief to the people by keeping the prices down. But, here what is happening is exactly the opposite. We have got the Central General Supplementary Budget and we have got the Railway Budget both of which in company with the earlier Budgets give a boost to the rising prices. Therefore, we have reached a situation when the budgetary proposals as well as other economic measures instead of seeking to curb inflation or hold the price line give rise to or give momentum to the inflationary pressures. Yet we are told that all these measures are anti-inflationary. Well, a few months have passed since the General Budget was passed and it is possible to find out by looking at the price indices as to what has happened to the consumer prices and to the living standards of the people. Not only have the prices gone up but in addition essential commodities have become scarce. An artificial scarcity today is a widespread phenomenon, naturally a manmade phenomenon. Now these two Budgets have come. I am now talking about the Supplementary Budget which Mr. Chavan has produced here which again instead of putting a brake on the inflationary pressure gives an additional momentum to inflation. Now either what I am saying is true or it is not and this can be judged by looking at the price movements, the prices at which essential goods are selling in the market. Even if you take into account the few days I have passed since this Budget was presented you would find the prices have shown an upward trend. Now what is the use then on the part of the Government claiming

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] that they are fighting inflation ? I would go a step further and charge the Government with calculatedly evolving a policy and implementing it whose object is to put economic burdens on the common man. Inflation has become now a contrivance and a device in their hands in order to fleece the masses with a view to helping the exploiting classes, the monopolists in particular. The fact that the monopolists have been asked to pay a little more tax on capital gains account or on account of dividends and so on does not at all detract from the fact that by and large they have been earning enormous profits, indeed unprecedented profits, over the past two or three years. That process is protected and maintained basically by the budgetary and economic policies. Well, black money is there and every day we hear very philosophical and sometimes angry talks on the part of the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister and other Ministers big and small who may be out in the reshuffle or may not be so out, that they are all against black money but the fact remains that black money continues to thrive with the blessings of the Government and with the connivance of the Government. I am aware that they are carrying out certain raids on some business houses and offices but that does not alter the basic fact that black money remains well entrenched in our economic life, very active today in controlling and distorting our entire economy. I do not see as to why the Government should hesitate to demonetise the higher denomination notes, Rs. 100 and above; there is no earthly justification for refusing to demonetise. I know it cannot be done by a long parliamentary debate preceding it but surely the Government knows how to do it if it so wishes. Parliament session will be over and if ever there was an ordinance needed it is needed today to order demonetisation of higher denomination notes. Unless this is done you will not

be in a position even to tinker with the problem of the parallel economy called the black money. Well, I do not know how the Government proposes to control black money.

Now, black money thrives not merely because some businessmen, tycoons, profiteers and speculators are corrupt, rapacious, greedy, money-grabbing, unconscionable in their attitude to public life and altogether repressive creatures. That we all know. Black money today could thrive because it has the patronage and support of men in authority and in power and it is with their help and support it operates. Do I understand that the intelligence service of the Government is so poor, including revenue intelligence and other intelligence outfits of the Government of India, that they are not in a position to find out the whereabouts of black money, is *modus operandi* and the chief merchants of black money ? Why cannot some of them be dealt with? We are told that people would be arrested under MISA by an amendment of the law for smuggling. Why should people not be arrested straightway without the amendment, so long as the MISA and the DIR remain against smuggling as well as for operating black money ? You do not go to a court of law to prove the alleged offences one has committed when you arrest a person under MISA for trade union and other political activities. On the other hand, there is accommodation and sympathy for the black-money people. Well, all I can say is that black money is in full collusion with politicians of influence, including some Ministers. That is why black money thrives. Black money has taken possession of certain aspects of our public life, including important individuals, and the financing of elections is only one aspect of its dangerous and anti-national operation. In many other ways it operates.

I think I had better start with one or two things. Well, Mr. Chavan comes

from Maharashtra. May I give him a little example ? Mr. Chavan is no doubt aware of the Himalayan Cooperative Housing in Bombay. There also we are having the same type of land-grab scandal as we had in Delhi and are still having. For his information, may I tell him, without naming individuals, flats are being taken there because of influence and power, sometimes out of turn ? I know a gentleman, a Member of Parliament—I will not name him—who has taken a number of four-bedroom flats, with attached bath, etc. in the name of his two sons and, also a shop he has taken, and many other things against huge cash payment. Where does the money come from ? Somebody should enquire. It should not be unknown to the authorities there because he has very good connections. Then, there is another, Minister of Maharashtra State Government. In fact he is the Minister of Trade of the Maharashtra State Government. He has acquired a flat from the Himalaya Co-operative Housing in Bombay against a cash payment of Rs. 39,686 and on top of it he has secured an advance of a Government loan of Rs. 15,900/- for acquiring this flat.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI :
What is wrong in that ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now, another gentleman, a Congress MLA, is interested in getting a flat there in the name of his son. And then we find that after a meeting on the 17th August, 1971—it happened some years ago—some people had got flats. That meeting was attended by one of the Ministers, full-blooded Ministers, of the State Government. Sons, daughters and relatives are being allotted flats in the Himalayan Co-operative Housing. This has become a scandal, but nothing is being done. The matter has been brought to the notice of the Ministry about income-tax evasion by some such people. In fact, at that time I believe it was brought

to the notice of Mr. R. D. Shah, Chairman of the Board of Direct Taxes, and nothing has been done. This is how things are happening, small incidents, but typical of how black money operates.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI :
Paying Rs. 40,000/- for a flat in the city of Bombay, how does black money come in ? Will you kindly explain ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I do not know.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : Forty thousand rupees in the city of Bombay is a small amount....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I know that ____

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : I want to know how black money comes in. You are accusing a Minister. You are accusing an MLA....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Forty thousand rupees, if it is black money, it is black money.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : How can it be black money ? Are you sure ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It may or it may not be. I know, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Rs. 40,000/- for Mr. Babu-bhai Chinai is no money at all, black or white. I realise. But to me, forty thousand coming from a gentleman who is not supposed to have that money, well, it creates the impression that it must have been a little portion of the huge accumulations of black money. One does not spend the entire amount in a particular way. Well, you may not like it.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : It is not a question of my liking. If you are talking of industrialists and those acquiring posh flats and of ministers acquiring posh flats, I can understand. For

[Shri Babubhai M. Chinai] one small room, living room and one kitchen, nothing more. What do you mean ? A Minister or an MLA....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : For forty thousand it was purchased. Even if it is drawn from the Birlas, nobody will have it in black money because you are all white, and you are particularly white.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : I have not followed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Then, do not try to follow. I say, forty thousand _____

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: On a point of order, Sir. He said something about me. I would like to know if he has got the courage of conviction. Please ask him to repeat. Please repeat.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I will not let courage go. You know it very well. I say _____

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : If there is any greatest coward, it is Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. Please repeat what you have said. If you have got the courage, repeat it outside.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sit down. These capitalists can all threaten and get out. We will come out. *(Interruptions)* Come outside. Stop that rubbish.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : You will not be able to do that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS) : May I ask you to stop it ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What I am saying, I am repeating. Come out into the Lobby. Let us go to Darya-ganj, and I will have you beaten by the workers. Come out. Talking very big, a gentleman of the black money, a stooge of the capitalists, a corrupter of politics, a Member of the Rajya Sabha
(Interruptions)

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala) : Sir, on a point of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS): Please take your seats. He is on a point of order.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Tell him. As a class, we are existing to fight his class. As a class, we exist to fight them physically also. We fight them....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS): Will you please sit down ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He belongs to a class of thugs, of black money, of capitalists.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, I want to say....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I say, you belong to a class of thugs and of black money, these scoundrels of the capitalist world.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: Sir, is there no rule by which you can ask him to sit down ? And he has been saying something which is quite....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS): If senior and experienced Members behave like this, how can the Chair conduct the business of the House ?

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : In this House we have some tradition of good humour and wit. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta did not say anything which is unparliamentary. He said that Mr. Babubhai Chinai is white and he said things in good humour. Of course, it has a political point of criticism. But I think Mr. Babubhai Chinai should not take it too seriously no, should Mr. Bhupesh Gupta get excited unnecessarily.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS): Anyway, there is no point of order.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: I had not listened to what he said. So, I requested him, you please repeat what you have said. At that he became angry. Not only that. When he was standing last, he said, you belong to a corrupt people, you belong to black money.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : As a class. I shall repeat it. I repeat—you belong to the capitalist class, the monopolist class, the corrupt class, by all standards of life. I repeat it. I do not care what you are, but what you belong to, I know. I will repeat it in public meetings. Go and file a defamation suit.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS) : You are a senior-most Member of the House, most experienced parliamentarian. And if you do not allow the Chair to conduct the business, how will the business go on ? Why are you picking up a quarrel with a Member ? You have been continuing it for ten minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I have repeated it. What does that Member want now ? I have shown whether I am a coward or not. Does he want to fight with me ? I am ready for it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS): You fight outside. Nobody prevents you. Now, will you continue your speech?

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, on a point of order. If my friend can say to a colleague that he belongs to a black money class of people is it really fair for the Chair to allow this to go on record ? There are two things. If he insists that he would have his say, then he must also say this outside the House. Here in the House he is protected by law. I would request you and, through you, to Mr. Bhupesh Gupta that I only asked him to repeat it because I did not hear what he said. I never said anything beyond that. . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : You said something else also.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: ... Will you not bear with me for half a minute. I know I am spending most useful time of the House. But this is a question where one has to draw a line. Sir, when he became angry he said something which I did not follow and I asked him to repeat. I asked him to repeat it in the Lobby, outside the House. I said he should-not speak like a coward. I did use the word "coward". I did say that when he accused me like this....

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: What did he accuse you of at that time?

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : You see the record. I am not asking you for anything else.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS): May I tell you one thing ? Let this not continue. If you are agrieved, the entire proceedings will be placed before the Chairman for his opinion. Now let it go to the Chairman.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : I was coming to that. I request you to kindly see the proceedings. If you in your judgment think that what Mr. Bhupesh Gupta said was not proper, then and then it should be expunged; otherwise it can go on record.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS): If you are agrieved I will bring to the notice of the Chairman the entire proceedings.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : You are in the Chair presently.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS): Yes, I am in the Chair. Now let him continue.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I will close this only for your kind help. Not a syllable have I uttered. However, I

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] propose to withdraw. But that would be repeated again on a suitable occasion.

As I was saying, black money is not an amount. Some small people utilise black money for small purposes and big people do it for bigger things. Today black money of the order of Rs. 14,000 crores is operating in the market. All money does not operate, or it does not operate in huge sums of Rs. 10 crores, Rs. 15 crores or Rs. 20 crores. They get it distributed. That is why they are called by the Wanchoo Committee as constituting a parallel economy. In fact, they are a parallel currency; there is an illegal, underworld operating. And tragically, today many people big and small do get involved into it. It is quite possible, Mr. Vice-Chairman, for some big capitalists to advance to me black money, say, Rs. 10,000 out of its huge black money fund to fight election. And it is quite possible for me also to collect Rs. 10,000, open money. The fact that the amount is Rs. 10,000, liable to be collected openly, does not obscure the fact that the black money operator uses big and small sums in order to spread their net to really overwhelm the economy. That was the point I was making. If some one in the House lacks in the knowledge of economics, I cannot help it. But I thought that the point that I was making was valid. That is why I was telling Mr. Chavan to look into it.

The food situation in Maharashtra is extremely serious. Mr. Chavan himself very rightly gave a call for dehoarding and he was joined by another Minister of the State Government, Mr. Madhukar Rao, Finance Minister, who gave a similar call for dehoarding. Dehoarding went on last year, and do you know what happened? Those who conducted the dehoarding campaign, partly enthused by the call of Mr. Chavan and others and partly because of the policies

of their organisation, the Khet Mazdoor Organisation, were arrested, 800 of them.

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair] For Mr. Chavan's information, if he can do something about it, in one case in Jhara in Bhandara district, 16 khet mazdoors, including the leader, Prakash Chikhkade, have been sentenced to 7 years R.I. In another case at Raver, 36 persons have been jailed for six months' rigorous imprisonment. Many cases have been committed to the Sessions. In Maharashtra, where the food crisis is serious and scarcity great, we find that people who have carried out dehoarding campaign are arrested under the technical charge of dacoity, robbery, etc., and sent to jail for seven years. May I ask Mr. Chavan, is that the way to fight hoarding or dehoard hidden stocks with the help of the people? I would ask him to consider those things. I still have some hopes that Mr. Chavan, since I have brought it to his notice, will take up the matter with the State Government. It is a genuine case of dehoarding. I am not going into the technical niceties of law. Well, I can legitimately demand that the Maharashtra Government commute the sentences and release all of them. In this context, Mr. Chavan's intervention is certainly worthy of being asked for.

Now, Sir, monies are being spent. Mr. Chavan, you take money from us. In Calcutta, a new terminal building of the airport has come up; it was erected spending Rs. 2 or 3 crores. It was lying idle all these years. There is a lot of wastage all over and everybody knows that the Calcutta airport has become a centre where monies are squandered by high officials. I will give one example. The Director of the International Airports Authority by name Mr. Pradhan draws Rs. 600 as house rent allowance, but he does not live in a rented house. For the last several months he has been living in the

VIP Lounge in one of the rooms there in the new airport building and one of the rooms is being utilised as his kitchen. Now everybody sees it. Every employee at the airport sees that the Director of the Airports Authority, who draws Rs. 600 as house rent allowance, lives not in a rented house but free of cost in the VIP Lounge rooms, and not only using one of the rooms for his kitchen but also using some of the employees of the airport and Civil Aviation Department for his personal services—washing, cleaning, marketing, shopping and all these things. Should you not enquire into such things ? Now, it is a small thing, you may say, Rs. 600 per month. But it has a very bad impact. As you know, four sweeping machines were brought for cleaning, from abroad. Before the machines were* delivered, an amount of Rs. 10 lakhs was paid. The machines are lying in Bombay and demurrage is being paid. Possibly the demurrage will be higher than the cost of the machines. I can give more examples. But, Mr. Chavan, the money that you propose to raise by this Bill, Rs. 123 crores for the remaining period of this year and Rs. 210 crores in a full year, could have been easily collected by stepping up income-tax realisation, even if we take into account the effective income-tax arrears of Rs. 455 crores not to speak of Rs. 800 crores of gross arrears.

Even if we collect 50 per cent of the effective income-tax arrears we would be in a position to find Rs. 210 crores which is the estimate for a full year and certainly Rs. 123 crores, and such a Budget would not have been necessary at all. But you did not do so. The assessed taxes have not been collected. If the laws are bad, change the laws. If the machinery is bad, change the machinery. If you require a better apparatus, build one apparatus. But you cannot do so because our big business people have become pastmas-

ters in the art of evasion of tax. I know they are a very cunning lot. For example, the other day, Mr. Chavan, for your information a very eminent lawyer who was once the Finance Minister occupying your place, met me and he told me, when he was recently in London people from two British concerns came to him and sought his legal advice, and they said, we want to sell some of our interests in India and we are offered some money in foreign exchange from the accounts of the Indians in England, plus whatever price the Government and the parties in India may fix; should we go through that particular deal? This is how your foreign exchange is being utilised and these people had accumulated huge foreign exchange through underinvoicing and overinvoicing and other kinds of deals, monies which you now very badly need. You have stated in your statement that the situation is better in foreign exchange because IMF advantage you have got. But what about our own reserves, the reserves lying with Indian nationals under cover or openly in foreign banks ? Those should be taken over. I am told Mr. B. M. Birla has been sent to America. Again he has left. What has he gone for ? We should like to know. The capitalists and monopolists should not be allowed to go to countries freely as private citizens. When they go there, they get into all kinds of deals and that costs money to the nation. The Minister should keep a check on it. Mr. Chavan, I say the other day I brought to the notice of the House and I repeat it that Mr. Drobot, the existing Director of the Westing House whom you have hauled up for evading tax and whose antecedents are being investigated, well, there is a move in the Ministry of External Affairs, there is a move in the financial circles and there is a move in the United States of America, to get him out of the trouble on the ground that if you take strident action against Mr. Drobot, it may affecti

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] Indo-US relations when there is an attempt, as they allege, to improve such relations. It has been pointed out to your Ministry, I am told, through External Affairs Ministry by some Americans very clearly that some adverse comments have been made in the American press against the arrest and detention and prosecution of Mr. Drobot, the Westing House Director. Do I take it that we have to roll out a red carpet for Mr. Kissinger on the one hand and deliver Mr. Drobot to the Americans as if he is Caesar's wife, as if he has committed no crime, as if he is one of the angels who flew across the seas, over the seas, and dropped on our city to oblige us? Well, such things are happening. The trouble is in your Ministries, including your Ministry, there are people who are not very sensitive to our national honour or national interest. I do not know why Dr. I. G. Patel, whom you have deputed to the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank or whatever it is, in America, should have gone out of his way to make a statement as to what happened to our rupee without consulting you or without getting your approval. He has not become an American citizen, a person in the employ of America. I believe that we still have to bear the financial and other obligations of Dr. I. G. Patel whose sympathies are very well known. He sympathies are very well known. Why should he make such statements without your approval? You know things get out of the World Bank to your detriment and leak-out takes place.

You have sent another person, I understand, to the Asian World Bank. I may tell that it is said that this person is viciously against even Indira Gandhi. According to that person whom you have sent to the Asian Development Bank - I would name him privately, he belongs to the IAS cadre - Indira Gandhi was a Communist, when the

privy purses Bill was brought here, he is reported to have said that his statement was proved to be correct because abolition of the privy purse proved Indira Gandhi was a Communist. Such a stupid statement. If he has been outside and if I were not in the parliament, I would have called him a rascal. But I cannot say that because it is unparliamentary. But such people should not be sent abroad to represent India in the Asian Development Bank. (*Time bell rings*).

I can give very many instances of this kind. You know how the United Commercial Bank and various other banks behave. I will make one or two suggestions.

Food situation is extremely serious all over the country and your Agriculture Ministry has totally failed. If one Ministry can demand Nobel prize for unprecedented failures, it should go to your Ministry of Agriculture. Unfortunately there is no provision to reward such colossal failures, with Nobel prize. Alfred Nobel did not make such a provision. Had it been distributed for world famous failures, this Ministry should have got it. Can you imagine, this Ministry does not express regret for abandonment of whole sale trade in wheat? This has proved to be a fiasco resulting in national disaster and up-till-now we do not see any of the Ministers of the Government of India including the Prime Minister coming here and apologising to the House for having abandoned a solid policy under the pressure of wholesale traders. On the contrary you are rewarding Kapadias and others. You have put one of them as a Director on the Board by taking back your own Director

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now you will have to wind up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: you are rewarding them all over the country.

Today distress is spreading. Starvation deaths are being reported. Hunger marches are held on the streets. People are coming from the villages as if in the old days of famine to the towns in quest of a morsel of food. We see all these things before our eyes. Our economy is in the red, as some economists put it. The victims are the common men who need all the relief and support and who want to be lifted to a little tolerable and bearable life. These are the people who are being attacked from all sides by the economic policies of the Government...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Yes, you will have to wind up now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:..and by the depredation of the monopolist classes and profiteers and hoarders. Therefore, I say something has got to be done. Something has got to be done and many suggestions have been made. I do not wish to repeat them. Well, you have the monopoly capital in the country. You have to make hoarding and profiteering capital offences.

You have to collect revenues from additional income generated in our agriculture due to develop-6 P.M. ment plans, which would fetch you one thousand crores of rupees. You should collect black money. You have to impose a ceiling on urban property. You have to prevent remittances abroad by foreigners. You have to deal effectively with five hundred and odd multi-national corporations ... (*Time Bell*). You should not allow them to take the money out of our country. You should reduce indirect taxes . . . (*Time Bell*) . . . which have already amounted to three thousand crores of rupees. People cannot bear any more, specially when the prices are rising. What we need today is the reduction of indirect taxes and raising of the direct taxes on higher incomes. Why should not the sugar industry to be nationalized? Why should

not the textile industry and other industries be nationalized? Mr. Chavan, you yourself said, rightly, one day that we cannot ensure public distribution unless we are in physical possession of the essential goods . . . (*Time Bell*). How can you get the physical possession of essential goods if such industries are in possession of big capitalists—these industries which produce consumer goods of an essential nature . . . (*Time Bell*). These must be nationalized, without further delay if the nation has to be saved.

Therefore, I demand that there should be a serious, radical re-thinking on the part of the Government in every aspect of the economy, so that we can shed all our illusions and give up outmoded ideas and evolve a radical policy for a break-through in our economic life . . . (*Time Bell*). You cannot be just good to everybody. This time the top class must be brought down . . . (*Time Bell*) . . . and the poor must be given all succour and assistance and help which they so eminently and richly deserve.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I will try to deal with the points which directly concern the Finance Bill. Sir, many speeches have been made and very important points have been raised. You will excuse me if I don't go through all those very eloquent speeches. The main point that was raised was whether the additional or supplementary effort for resource mobilization was necessary or not.

Sir, I think even those who opposed this Finance Bill very ruthlessly, even they conceded the position, that in the present economic situation there was a likelihood of a larger deficit than that what we anticipated at the time of the Budget in the month of February. Some Members undertook to make a larger assessment. Certainly they are free to let loose their imagination and

[Shri Y. B. Chavan] work out anything they like. But I would only say that the entire effort is to reduce the likely expansion of the deficit financing to a reasonable figure, which I mentioned at the time of the presentation of the Budget last February.

The point that I am trying to make is that if there is more deficit financing, it will be very unhealthy from the point of view inflationary conditions in the country. Therefore, some additional effort was necessary, and this is the basic point I am trying to make that it was inherent in the situation. An additional effort for resource mobilization was called for. As far as the justification of this Second Finance Bill is concerned, I do not think I need any further argument. Even the hon. Member Shri Ranganathan, who spoke, also conceded the point, though he did not agree with the modalities.

The modalities differ with the individuals concerned according to his approach to the problems, as he sees the problems. My modalities may be different. He has agreed to the point that there was a necessity for a second Finance Bill.

Sir, coming to the actual points regarding Budget itself, my main claim is that I have not tried to tax the commodities of mass consumption and I stand by it. People can certainly make comments about the monopoly stranglehold on economy and what we are doing about it. These are certainly very important and interesting points which need to be considered and examined. Sir, I have not made a claim that this was meant for them. My major point is that additional resource mobilisation was necessary. I have tried to do this in a non-inflationary manner. This is my claim.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : This is what I challenge.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : You challenge everything. I do not speak in the spirit of challenging. I am trying to say things in order to support my own case.

Sir, he quoted some figures about the additional excise that we are raising from wage-goods. Sir, statistics is a very dangerous weapon. It can prove and disprove the same thing. I will give certain other statistics.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : You are not disputing my statistics. You are giving some other statistics.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : For what purpose and in what sense, are you using it? Now, look at the statistics that I am presenting to you. Wage goods, as it is understood, include the following 9 items basically : kerosene, sugar, matches, vegetable products, coffee, tea, footwear, soap and cotton fabrics. At least in this Budget, I can say, that except cotton fabrics and that too those cotton fabrics which come into the consumption of upper middle class and the rich class, I have not tried to tax any of the commodities which are supposed to be the wage-goods. Sir, I find that the share of these wage-goods in the total central excise revenue which was 33.5 per cent in 1963-64 came down to 22.2 per cent in 1968-69 and was further scaled down to 17.9 per cent in 1974-75, i.e. on the 1st March, 1974. If we come to the contribution of the wage goods in relation to excise duty or in the totality of excise duty, it is coming down and down and down though the general total collection of excise is going up and up and up. I just leave it there. (Interruptions) I have given you statistics. You better ponder over it and come to your own conclusions. We have not tried to raise excise duty on those commodities which come into the category of mass consumption. This is my claim.

Mr. R. K. Mishra made one point that the excise on copper may create

some difficulty about the economic viability of the Copper Corporation. This is the point that he made. I can only tell him that I am prepared to go into the economics of that thing. If I find that it is ultimately going to affect it, I will have another look at it. According to my present examination, it is not my feeling. If ultimately it comes into the way of the healthy growth of that public sector undertaking, naturally we have to have another look at the matter. I am told that Mr. Babubhai Chinai is not well. I express my feelings for him. But for this excited dialogue, both of them would have been in the House. I wanted to go out. But as I had to speak, I could not do so. He mentioned about excise on fabrics. I can assure you that certainly we had to make an effort for raising excise in the case of fabrics. But we have taken care to see that it does not affect those qualities of fabrics which go into the consumption of the masses as such. Sir, some general points were made by other Members, and as I said in the beginning, I need not go into them. But these were two or three basic points about the taxation measures as such. Sir, I have nothing more to add.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

"That the Bill further to amend the Income-tax Act, 1961 and the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : We shall now take up the clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 and 3 were added to the Bill.

The Schedule (see section 3)

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Sir, I move :

1. That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance

(No. 2) Bill, 1974, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely :—

(1) That at page 3, lines 6 and 7 for the words "Two hundred and fifty" the words "One hundred and fifty" be substituted;

(2) That at page 3, line 90 for the words "Sixty" the word "Twenty-five" be substituted;

(3) That at page 3, line 10 for the word "Twenty-five" the word "Ten" be substituted;

(4) That at page 3, line 15 for the word "Thirty" the word "Fifteen" be substituted;

(5) That at page 3, line 17 for the word "Fifteen" the word "Ten" be substituted;

(6) That at page 3, line 19 for the word "Seventy" the word "Twenty-five" be substituted;

(7) That at page 3, line 21 for the words "Four thousand" the words "One thousand" be substituted;

(8) That at page 3, line 22, for the words "Four thousand" the words "One thousand" be substituted;

(9) That at page 3, line 22 and 23, for the words "Four thousand and five hundred" the words "One thousand and five hundred" be substituted;

(10) That at page 3, line 23, for the word "Twenty" the word "Seven" be substituted;

(11) That at page 3, lines 26 and 27, for the words "One thousand and five hundred" the words "Five hundred" be substituted;

(12) That at page 3, lines 27 and 28, for the words "One thousand and eight hundred" the words "Six hundred" be substituted;

(13) That at page 3, line 28, for the word "Twenty" the word "Ten" be substituted;

(14) That at page 3, line 31, for the word "Twenty-five" the word "Ten" be substituted;

(15) That at page 3, line 32, for the word "Forty" the word "Fifteen" be substituted;

(16) That at page 3, line 32, for the word "Fifteen" the word "Five" be substituted;

(17) That at page 3, line 33, for the word "Thirty" the word "Fifteen" be substituted;

(18) That at page 3, line 41, for the word "Ten" the word "Five" be substituted;

The question was proposed.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Sir, in moving all these amendments, I wish to add only a few points.

Sir, in his reply, the Finance Minister has very conveniently evaded one of the central issues, namely, the structure of taxation that the Government pursues. He used certain figures which are only partial figures. I confronted him and asked him a question as to what the taxation policy of Government is. Is it a policy of increasing the burdens of the people through indirect taxes compared to direct taxes? Does he give an assurance that in the coming years, the proportion of indirect taxes which generally falls on the people will be reduced when compared to taxes which fall on the rich? Will he give that commitment?

Secondly, Sir, I raised a question. I made the estimate roughly that, at least, Rs. 800 crores will be budgetary deficit. He denied it. But I am prepared to challenge him on this question that within six months of time, at the rate at which the expenditure is going on, at the rate at which the control is not effective, we will end up at the end of the financial year with a minimum of Rs. 800 crores of deficit. And I am pre-

pared to wait for so many months before this proved.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : If he is prepared to wait, so am I. And I cannot accept the amendment.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

1. That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance (No. 2) Bill, 1974, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely :—

(1) That at page 3, lines 6 and 7 for the words "Two hundred and fifty" the words "One hundred and fifty" be substituted;

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(5) That at page 3, line 17 for the word "Fifteen" the word "Ten" be substituted;

(6) That at page 3, line 19 for the word "Seventy" the word "Twenty-five" be substituted;

(7) That at page 3, line 21, for the words "Four Thousand" the words "One thousand" be substituted;

(8) That at page 3, line 22, for the words "Four thousand" the words "One thousand" be substituted;

(9) That at page 3, lines 22 and 23, for the words "Four thousand and five hundred" the words "One thousand and five hundred" be substituted;

(10) That at page 3, line 23, for the word "Twenty" the word "seven" be substituted;

(11) That at page 3, lines 26 and 27, for the words "One thousand and five hundred" the words "Five hundred" be substituted;

(12) That at page 3, lines 27 and 28, for the words "One thousand and eight hundred" the words "Six hundred" be substituted;

(13) That at page 3, line 28, for the word "Twenty" the word "Ten" be substituted;

(14) That at page 3, line 31, for the word "Twenty-five" the word "Ten" be substituted;

(15) That at page 3, line 32 for the word "Forty" the Word "Fifteen" be substituted;

(16) That at page 3, line 32, for the word "Fifteen" the word "Five" be substituted;

(17) That at page 3, line 33, for the word "Thirty" the word "Fifteen" be substituted;

(18) That at page 3, line 41, for the word "Ten" the word "Five" be substituted;

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

That the Schedule stand part of the Bill.

The motion was adopted.

The Schedule was added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Sir, I move :

That the Bill be returned.

The question was proposed.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal) : Sir, I first challenge the basic contention of Mr. Chavan. This year, including the railway fare and freight hike, the additional burden imposed comes to Rs. 720 crores. Minus the

Railway Budget hikes, it is Rs. 444 • crores, of which 90 per cent is indirect taxation. Of this indirect taxation, 80 per cent is nonluxury items of common consumption. That is the point which I want to make because he said that it is not so. I gave the figure in percentage. Up to 1973-74, the budgetary allocation has been Rs. 381 crores. And certain figures have been given by Dr. Kurian—Rs. 30 crores for advance actions of the Fifth Plan which was slashed; and a reduction of Rs. 2000 only in the Prime Minister's Secretariat. It is not in crores or lakhs but only a few thousand only. That is an interesting feature. As regards unearthing of black money, etc. in 1972-73, the searches conducted were 532 and the value of the assets seized was Rs. 4.54 crores.

In 1973-74 the number of searches conducted has increased, i.e., 538 searches, but the value of the things seized has decreased to Rs. 4.40 crores. Up to June 1974 the number of searches is 149 and the value seized is Rs. 1.77 crores only. So, that is the pattern. (*Time Bell rings*) Sir, I am finishing in a minute or two. Black money estimate has been given. Highest slab reduction in income-tax has gone down. Revenue losses on that account 95 to 77 per cent. Though in other ways this is a fictitious figure. Tax rebate on holidays, import entitlement — it comes to even in 95 only 40, 77 means only 22, nothing more than that. But, this reduction means a loss of revenue of Rs. 120 crores. Central Excise remissions under various pretexts given to I.C.I.— this is a charge I level — Rs. 241 crores, Imperial Chemical industries excise remissions under various pretexts is Rs. 240 crores and above.

It has been stated that the amount of money, the volume of money, makes for spiralling of prices. That is absurd and absolutely wrong. I give the figures. In 1972-73 money supply in-

[Shri Niren Ghosh] creased by 15 per cent; wholesale price index rose by 9 per cent. In 1973-74 the money supply increased by 14 per cent, *i.e.*, one per cent less, the wholesale price index rose by 26 per cent. It is the velocity of money that counts, not the volume of money. The flow is velocity. So, the immobilisation that has been pedalled about that it will really contain inflation, is an absurd theory and a wrong theory. *(Time bell rings.)* Sir I am finishing.

Sir, the Raj Committee recommendations have not been implemented because much of the black money has found its way into the agricultural sector, into the hands of the kulaks, profiteers, landlords and wholesale dealers; big volume, much of the money has gone into their hands. Well, those who know about it they have told me. Those who are in know of it have told me. So, I am not speaking about it with malice or something like that. The wealth tax on agriculture—do you know what they got? They got Rs. 2 hks only. They could have easily raised Rs. 2,000 crores. The proportion of indirect taxation in 1960-61 was 67 per cent and now in 1974-75 it is 75 per cent. So, that is the picture. I need not go into other things *(Time bell rings)*. Sir I am finishing with certain figures.

Sir, during the last thirteen years up to December 1973, the wholesale prices of jute, raw jute, increased by 23 per cent, of tea by 32 per cent, of minerals by 45 per cent. These things are possessed by certain States, four or five or six States. But, these six States purchase other things from other States. There you see the figure. Rice has gone up by 186 per cent, wheat has gone up

by 145 per cent, pulses by 330 per cent, edible oils by 248 per cent, cotton 125 per cent, cloth 99 per cent. So, in the entire region of the six States, which possess, there is no rise in prices, *i.e.*, those who sell. Those who purchase from other States—there is a 300 per cent rise. One of the economist says that they are managing and their plan is for the overall balanced economic development. Is it balanced economic development? I do not know; the Finance Minister has to explain this.

Then there is that notorious New Friends Co-operative Society; Shri Jagjit Singh Anand with his protege J. P. Bajaj, Lieut.-Col. Kapila, Bokhari, Sen and others, is still carrying on and distributing land. The VIP land grab is still continuing and no hand is being laid on them, no finger is raised against them.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That is all right. The Minister will now reply.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN) : Sir, I have nothing to reply; he has raised some general questions.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

That the Bill be returned.

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at twenty-one minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 27th August, 1974.