

steps taken by Government already and the steps which will be taken by the Government in connection with drought conditions in future also. D.C. Bijapur Divisional Commissioner Belgaum requested the agitators to leave the office premises peacefully. But efforts failed. Hence the agitators were restrained under section 71 M. P. Act at 13 -30 hrs. and were let off at 13-35 hrs."

They were detained only for five minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 2 -00 P.M.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at two of the clock. MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1973-74 {General Discussion}—contd.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, as usual we have been presented with a deficit Budget this year with a further dose of taxation totalling about Rs. 292 crores, out of which Rs. 8 crores are in the form of direct taxes, Rs. 156 crores in the form of customs duties and Rs. 118 crores in the form of excise. All told it comes to Rs. 292 crores. Yesterday I did not have the good opportunity of listening to the speech of Shri Manubhai Shah, the great admirer of Shri Chavan. But I went through his speech and I found that he had paid encomiums to him and had called this Budget as a revolutionary budget that aimed towards the goal of socialism. I am very sorry that this word 'socialism' which has been dinned into our ears for years together has become stale and insipid. About the achievements of this Government during the last 25 years ever since this slogan was formulated, if you go through them, the picture that we get is dismal, to say the least. And what sort of socialism have we achieved ? Nobody can be perfect in achieving socialism but some advance could have been made by now. In 1961 a Committee was formed under the leadership of Shri Jaiprakash Narain and they gave a report. The Study Group on the Welfare of the Weaker Sections of the Village Community headed by Shri

Jaiprakash Narain reported in 1961 that between 40 to 50 per cent of the rural households had an income of less than Rs. 500 per annum and about 80 per cent had an income of less than Rs. 1000 per annum, and also that 20 per cent of the rural households owned no land and about 25 per cent of the households owned less than one acre. It goes on like that. This was the report submitted to the Government and the general public in the year 1961. We are now in 1973. Twelve years have passed. Every year Budgets have been presented. The slogan of socialism is repeated. And what have we achieved now ? Take the statistics collected by our active members of the Congress Committee under the able leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi; they have brought out a pamphlet called An approach to the Fifth Plan—some basic considerations' compiled by the Congress Forum for Socialist Action; they have collected some facts with great pain. It says that in the rural area, the below-poverty-line percentage of the people is 44-57 in the urban area the percentage of the below-poverty-line people is 51-34. So, from 1961 to 1973, it has rather increased, it has not decreased. If this is the achievement, I wonder what we are going to have in the coming future.

And then there is inflation in the country which is terrific. But every year we get the excuse from the Government's side that it is a natural phenomenon that is always found in a developing economy. There are so many other countries in the world which are also having a developing economy. But if you take the rate of inflation which we find here in India and compare it with similarly backward countries, I would rather say that we are far ahead of them in the inflationary percentage; we are in a worse shape than those countries. I base my argument on the basis of the World Bank's assessment as given out a year or two ago.

So, Sir, nothing has been achieved, and we are living in an age of slogans. Slogans are abundantly given. And the pity is that we cannot take them to the people any more because the people have become so poverty stricken and they suffer from an indigestion of such slogans which are fed to them periodically.

[Shri S. S. Ma'isw?.my] Sir, we are told that we have to tighten our belts and that we have to observe austerity, this and that. But let us look at what sort of austerity this Government is practising, as given out by the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Shri Mohsin. He has said that the cost of security arrangements for the Ministers in the year 1970-71 he has given the statistics—was Rs. 5,71,000 odd. In the year 1971-72, it has risen to Rs. 13,50,218. In 1972, from 1st April to 31st December, it has risen to Rs. 11,60,000 odd. He gives out the details, which is the Minister having more security guards and which is the Minister having only sentries. When I went through this statement I was reminded of a book I read years ago by one of our colleagues here, Mr. Sudhir Ghosh. The book is entitled Gandhi's Emissary. In this book he has narrated a small incident which, with your permission, I would like to read out. Mr. Sudhir Ghosh had gone from Delhi to meet Gandhiji who was camping at Naokhali. With great difficulty he had gone to Calcutta. From Calcutta by steamer he went to some village. Then he got into the train. Like that he spent about 4-5 days in reaching his destination. When he reached that village he was told that Gandhiji had moved away to another village, about six miles from there. He had to carry the entire luggage on his shoulder. This is what he has to say :—

"I presented myself to the temporary host of Gandhiji and asked him if I might see his guest. He pointed to the little hut in which a lamp was burning and gave me permission to walk in. I peeped in and there he was, all alone, working away in the light of a kerosene lamp, a hurricane lantern with a broken chimney. My footsteps disturbed him and he looked up and there was the familiar smile of greeting. 'Ah, there you are, he said, 'I was wondering when you would arrive.' So I dumped my suitcase and sat down on a corner of his hard *ooden board ('Takhta-posh' as they call it in Bengali).

"The first thing I said was that I had brought with me letters from Panditji and the Sardar. But, instead of talking about the letters or what was happening in Deihi in the matter of transfer of power from

one great country to another, the first question he asked me was who carried my suitcase all these miles. I said I had carried it on my own shoulders. It pleased him to know that I had carried it myself instead of getting some villager to carry it for me. Then he asked me many detailed questions about my journey from Calcutta to Goalundo and from Goalundo to Chandpur in the river steamer and the food I had on the steamer, and how I travelled the thirty miles from Chandpur to Raniganj and how I crossed the river and how much difficulty I had in finding the village of Chandipur."

It goes on like that. After reading this and comparing the ostentatious life that our demigods are leading today I am afraid we are far, far away from not only the Gandhian way of life but also his socialism. What we profess is something totally different from our practice. As a result the country has plunged in poverty.

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA (Mysore): Are there any security arrangements for the Ministers in Tamil Nadu?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : You have to go and see how the Ministers there live and then you are at liberty to offer your criticism. Moreover, Tamil Nadu Ministers are not the followers of Mahatma Gandhi. That is the difference. He should know that these people are the followers of Mahatma Gandhi.

SHRI MAN SINGH VARMA (Uttar Pradesh): This is for the followers of Mahatma Gandhi.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN I (Kerala) : Why should the Tamil Nadu Ministers go about in imported air-conditioned cars only ?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : There is only one imported car in Madras as compared to the many cars that are plying in Trivandrum. It is nothing but a drop in the ocean.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON (Kerala) : I am not responsible for Trivandrum either, Sir.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : I am glad you are not. Then let us forget about it for the moment. I am not very much interested in the life of the Ministers. I

am drawing the attention of the House to the hollowness of their appeals to us.

Sir, Mrs. Gandhi, our Prime Minister, had appealed to the Opposition parties to co-operate with the Government. She had spoken at great length in Dandi and she is reported to have said that "in spite of the crushing defeat during the last two elections, the Opposition parties were still coming in the way of implementation of the Congress Party's programme and any step in that direction was opposed to them". Finally, "she advised them to wait till the next elections rather than try to overthrow the Government in an undemocratic way". This is the advice she has given to the Opposition parties. She wants all the Opposition parties in the country to go to Bhajan Mutts or Rishikesh or any other place and chant "Hare Rama, Hare Krishna" and keep quiet till the next elections. Sir, I wonder whether that is being practised in any of the democratic countries. It may be possible in Soviet Russia or in East European countries or in Communist China. But in no democratic country an Opposition party will be keeping quiet. Even today in England the ruling party candidate was defeated in the recent election by the Opposition party. That shows that the Opposition parties are much more active than the ruling party. But I do not know from what school of political science, the Madam has condescended to give this advice to the Opposition parties. This is beyond my imagination. I have never read before anywhere, in any book on political science, that the opposition parties should keep quiet. All right, supposing it is made a norm and there is unanimous agreement on that, I am ready to bow my head to that unanimous decision. But what is happening in other places? Her advice is not implemented by her own followers. I have my grave doubts whether her writ runs beyond the Vindhyas. If there is trouble in Andhra or Telengana, the trouble is created by her own people. If there is in-fight in Mysore, it is among her own people. I am told that in Mysore the ruling Congress Party is divided into three groups. My friend, Mr. Lakshmana Gowda will bear me out. What is happening inside their committees is the bazaar talk in Bangalore. So, that is the position there. In Kerala, I am told, the Youth Congress, a wing of the

New Congress, is at logger heads with the elders' Congress.

SHRI V. B. RAJU (Andhra Pradesh) : How many groups are there in the DMK ?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Only one group, only one party. A splinter group went out, believing that it can get your support and thus form a new party. It is in a quandary now and you have to go to their rescue. {Interruptions}. Coming to the point, Kerala is also like that. But what is happening in Tamil Nadu ? While the Madam was speaking at the sacred place of Dandi, where the seed of our independence was sown by Gandhiji in the early thirties, a conference was held in Madras. I am very glad my good friend, Mr. Ganesh, did not go there, but his colleagues Mr. Kumaramangalam and Mr. C. Subramanian! were there.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI K. R. GANESH) : Very undemocratic for them to go there and have a conference of their own party, after all the lectures that you have given on democracy.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Not at all. We welcome them. If you want, you can create a temporary headquarters for them in Dindigul itself. It is not that we are objecting. They are people of Madras and we very much like them. Anyway, the conference was held under the leadership of one Mr. V. Ramaiah. I do not want to say anything about him because I know too much about him. Anyway in the conference, this is what he is reported to have said:

"Delivering the presidential address at the TNCC meeting, Mr. Ramaiah wanted the Central Government to appoint experts to investigate into the budgetary allocations of the Tamil Nadu Government and ascertain whether or not the money was spent properly as allocated."

He doubts the bona fides of the Madras Government. He wants the Centre to appoint somebody to go into the question of whether the allocations are properly spent or are pocketed by them. As somebody said, it reflects his own mental make up say the least. Here is a legally

[Shri S. S. Mari swamy constituted Government with a road roller majority, headed by a popular leader, Mr. Karunanidhi. He attributes motives to the popularly elected Chief Minister. Suppose I turn back and say that all the States should appoint experts in Dehi to go through the allocations, to see whether the allocations are properly spent or are pocketed how would that be taken by my good friend, Mr. Ganesh? Anyway, I quote further, "He wanted Congressmen to take advantage of the present political situation power-cut price rise, growing dissatisfaction among the public- and work towards strengthening the Congress party." He wants to take advantage of the situation prevailing in Madras : one : power-cut; two: unemployment, as if unemployment does not prevail anywhere in India and it is confined within the four walls of Tamil Nadu. And then he wants to build up the party on the basis of these things. What a positive approach to build up the party? No party can be built up on the weakness of another party. A party can come up only on its own ideology and merit. And this wonderful president of the Tamil Nadu wing of the Congress Committee wants to take advantage of the situation. While the Madam has asked all the opposition parties to treat unemployment problem as a national problem, to treat drought as national problem, to treat other calamities as national problems, and she wants all the cooperation of the Opposition parties, my good friend, Mr. Ramaiah, says, "Here is the time for us to join together; and see that the DMK is pulled down because there is power-cut, there is unemployment, etc. etc." I am afraid the Madam's writ does not have any effect on her people in Mad. Suppose I turn round and ask: You have got all these shortcomings. Why not all the Opposition parties here join together and exploit the situation? If I say this will it be all right?

SHRI RANBIR SINGH (Haryana) :
i You have already joined together.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : No, we have no need of joining with anybody. It is for you to join the company of ADMK in Madras, the CPI in Kerala and so on. We do not depend on anybody. Our philosophy is unassailable. Our strength is

unassailable. Our appeal will be commendable. What more do you want? So, Sir, while Mr. Ramaiah has asked the people to take advantage of the situation, the other Ministers, two Ministers, have spoken in this way. I wish Mr. Subramaniam had spoken in this House what he had spoken in the Lok Sabha. If he had done so here, I would have been the first person to move a privilege motion against him. We had a power station at a place called Samayanallore. It is near Tiruchirapalli. That power station was working under loss. Long before the DMK came into power in the year 1965, the Madras Government appointed a committee to go into the administrative expenses of both the Governments and other autonomous bodies. And the committee was appointed under the chairmanship of the Board's chairman. The committee consisted of some experts and eminent people. The committee gave its report and one of the recommendations was* to close down the Samayanallore power station because the power generated there does not constitute even 1 per cent of the total Tamil Nadu grid. Further more, it was a defective generator. The annual loss incurred by the Tamil Nadu Government on this was to the tune of Rs. 50 lakhs per year. The power generated there did not compensate this loss and therefore they recommended unanimously the closure of that power station. In 1967 action was taken in this direction. People were there in the market to buy it. Finally some offer came in April 1972. We called for tenders. Tenders were received and they were opened before the people who had submitted them. The highest bidder was given the tender. We sold it away to him, for about Rs. 50 lakhs or so. This is the case. Now Shri Subramaniam said that the Sanayanellur power station was supplying 30 MW of power. He made this statement in the Lok Sabha. Actually from the very inception of the power plant until it was sold, it was giving only 14 MW. 30 MW is far, far away from the truth. Why did he say so? He wanted to give a wrong picture about Tamil Nadu Government and therefore he said that it was giving 30 MW of power and that too when the fact was known to all the Congressmen. He was actually misleading the House and the country. Then he again spoke in Madras about which I

have already made my comment. I do not want to repeat it.

There is another Minister, Shri S. Mohan Kumaramangalam. He said that Tamil Nadu was experiencing shortage of power and they were wanting coal and he came to know about those only through newspapers. Then he said that he sent the coal to Madras by ship. To say in the Parliamentary language it is a travesty of truth. It does not contain even an iota of truth. Tamil Nadu Government have got all the data here. On the 30th May, 1972, the Chairman of the Electricity Board met the concerned officials in the Union Ministry of Mines, Railway Board and Irrigation and power. The Vice-Chairman of the Central Water and Commission wrote a letter to the Secretary to the Department of Mines and Metals on 3rd June, 1972, to the effect that Immediate action should be taken to send coal from Singareni Coal Mines to Tamil Nadu. On the 30th September, 1972, again the Chairman of the Tamil Nadu Electricity Board urged a conference of Central Department of Mines and Metals, Railway Board and Irrigation Power that the coal supply to Tamil Nadu should be augmented immediately. Again on 7.10.72, 11.10.72, 12-10-72 and 18-1-1973 letters were written by the Chairman of the Tamil Nadu Electricity Board to the Central Government. On 10-2-73, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu himself sent a telegram to Shri Mohan Kumaramangalam to make immediate arrangements to send one lakh tonnes of coal through ships from Bengal and Bihar. In spite of all these, Shri Kumaramangalam says he learnt it only through newspapers. These are all mischievous statements given with a view to blacken the Tamil Nadu Government.

My great friend Shri Bhupesh Gupta—I do not know how he managed to find time to go to Madras and address a public meeting. I have got the report of his speech. He spoke of the arrest of teachers in Madras. He said that such treatment by the Government to the teachers is unheard of in Madras. He says so in his usual bombastic manner. He has addressed a meeting....

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN

:
What is the Chief Minister of Kerala doing.?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: I do not know how much audience was there to hear him. Yesterday the news had come in the Indian Express that 300 Haryana teachers. ..

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal)
On a personal explanation. I mentioned Haryana also.

SHRI S.S. MARISWAMY: It is not reported here.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, on a point of personal explanation. What he said is his party affair. I said that in this respect the DMK Minister and the Haryana Chief Minister are complementary to each other. That is all.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: I am glad that you have included Haryana. Sir, I have no grouse against Shri Bhupesh Gupta because I know him very well. Suppose he goes to Haryana. He speaks there what his local party secretary tells him and if he goes to Punjab, he will speak what his local secretary tells him to speak and

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: And you speak what the DMK Ministry tells you.

SHRI S.S. MARISWAMY: Now, there is another slander against the Madras Government. Sir, there is yarn shortage all over the country and the Government should bear in mind that Madras is a centre where we have larger number of handloom weavers than anywhere in the country. Sir, the yarn shortage in Madras is 80 whereas the all-India shortage is only 20. The present production is 8,000 bales of hank yarn and 8,000 bales of cone and hosiery yarn whereas our requirements are 35,000 bales of cone yarn and 40,000 bales of hank yarn per month. In view of the size of the population engaged in the handloom industry and in view of this shortage, we wanted the Central Government to make arrangements for us to import generators and also to see that the large number of handloom weavers engaged in this work are not put to any hardship and we suggested that the Government should, if possible try to divert supply to Madras and not to take away anything from Madras. This is all what we have said. We never said anything more. But some twist is given to this when we say that the Government cannot take away the yarn from us. The question is not that

[Shri S. S. Mariswamy]
Our shortage is 80% and the people who are engaged in this are much more in number than in any other State. So, sir, we said, do not divert our yarn.....

SHRI A.G. KULKARNI: (Maharashtra): Mr. Mariswamy, on what basis are you saying this? What is the basis of your information? Do you know the resolution passed by the Tamil Nadu Assembly? Do you know the arrangements made by the Industries Minister, Mr. Madhavan? Mr. Mariswamy, I want you to speak on authority.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Kulkarni, you cannot blame him. He is spinning sufficient yarn here. There is no dearth of it.

SHRI A.G. KULKARNI: Mr. Mariswamy Sir, is speaking like a split personality. Mr. Mariswamy, if you do not have correct information, please do not touch the subject. Otherwise, I will have to say so many things.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, he joins in the production of yarn by Mr. Mariswamy.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Sir, it is a local matter and there is absolutely no need for the Central Government to come in-between and try to give a wrong picture of the Government of Madras. If it is an issue between the State Government and the Central Government, then they should have discussed it in camera. What is the earthly use of saying all these things? They take one thing in isolation and say so many things. If there are technical irregularities they can be smoothened out. So, Sir, this is another wrong statement made by them.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Mr. Mariswamy, I do not want to take your time. But I must tell you that you are on wrong premises.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Sir, this morning I was really thrilled on reading the encomiums paid to our Prime Minister by a British journalist who had called her a "Trimurti". I quote :

"Her enemies no less than her admirers liken her to Trimurti : she is Brahma, the creator of new India, Vishnu, the preserver of its democracy and Shiva, the destroyer, as she destroyed the army of Pakistan."

Sir, I am really proud that our Prime Minister was able to get such glowing tributes from others. And I am also very glad that the writer has said that she is the most powerful woman in the whole world. But besides being 'Trimurti'—the Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva—I want her also to be Parvati, Goddess Parvati. According to our mythology, Sir, Parvati would rush to a place where she found any one crying for food. Large multitudes of this country are now crying for food. They are below the poverty line and they are starving. Let her be Parvati also....

{Interruptions}

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : His knowledge of mythology is also very poor.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Kulkarni.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Mr. Mariswami has made some observations. I know he is in a difficult predicament. He has to defend his own State Government, find fault with the Central Government and the Congress Party. I know his predicament..

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You are being unfair to him. He elevated your Prime Minister to the level of Brahma-----

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Sir, coming to the Budget proper, I am supporting the budget. But, Sir, while Supporting the budget....

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMI : I see your predicament now. You have to support it.....

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : I am here for the last 5 years, attacking the policies of the Government which I don't like and appreciating the policies of the Government which I like, without any fear or favour.

Sir, in the Budget, one has to see the different aspects. Particularly, Sir, this year's Budget has to be seen in the background of strains on the economy during the last two years, particularly of the war..

May I know, Sir, how much time you are allotting me?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Fifteen minutes.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : How can I go into all this within 15 minutes ? Give me 25 minutes —

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please try to finish in 15 minutes.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : One has to see the Budget in that background, particularly the drought, the natural calamity. Some of my friends described the budget as a surgeon making the operation. I only want to say that surgeons have usually assistants, to help them, sometimes apprentices from medical colleges who might be under training. They do not know that the patient has got different malaises, like blood pressure and other malaises, gas dialecting which require very careful attention. That's why, in this aspect the Budget has been wisely framed and has been so presented that it will make a dent on schemes which are required for better production, schemes which will generate employment and schemes which will generate production and savings....

Sir, only yesterday I read an observation about U. K. budget. The UK and India have similar types of economies. In U. K., the Chancellor of the Exchequer presents the Budget. In U. K, inflation is there, unemployment is there, and so on. But UK is better poised because of their standard of technology and education. Sir, in this country we are a little bit in a more difficult situation. But, Sir, ultimately it seems that the UK Budget or the Budget presented here is a "holding on" operation. Some expected more onslaughts would be made on monopolies to collect more taxes for bettering the lot of the people in that fair country.

Sir, I have got limited time at my disposal. So I shall try to be brief.

I think the Budget has got many good points. Particularly, they have given concessions for increasing savings, particularly LIC and Provident Fund; I think the limit has been increased from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 2000.

Sir, some concessions have been announced under the Differential Interest Rate Scheme. Here also, though the

Finance Minister is so interestingly talking about the Differential Interest Rate Scheme, he does not know that the whole scheme has been torpedoed by the Custodians of various banks because, if you see, the performance target was about 20 crores of rupees under this scheme and only Rs. 70 lakhs have been disbursed or given. This shows how powerful is the interest against such welfare schemes being implemented.

He has also provided some incentives for research and development for industry and also research of what you call the market intelligence on export development. He has also tried to encourage the investment in the backward areas as well as tried to plug the loopholes in tax by joining agricultural income of certain categories with the Hindu Undivided Family. Having considered all this, I am now coming to some basic problem which need review. In the short time at my disposal, I would say that the budget is not an operation which will make a revolutionary changes in policy of a government in a year. It can do so in a longer perspective. I am appealing particularly to the High Command in the Government and the High Command of my party and the people in this Country that some rational and basic thinking which might be politically difficult, has to take place. I do not think that the growth rate envisaged in the Fifth Plan for industry or agricultural production or the general economy is commensurate to meet the challenges thrown by the unemployment, and by the poverty of the people. I feel that at least in industrial production, the growth rate should have been nothing below 12% and unless we try to attain this growth rate, these types of measures are not going to make any dent in the problems which we have got to face. Particularly, Sir, I say that the investments, surpluses and savings have to be generated. I find that the budget deficit has been kept at 85 crores of rupees notionally. I am aware and every one else is aware that it will be nothing less than 250 crores of rupees because of the Pay Commission's report. The Government has not only to incur a deficit of 250 crores of rupees in the central budget, but they have to carry the naughty babies—I mean the State Governments also. Eleven States have presented their budgets and the

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni]

amount of deficit has come to about 254 crores of rupees. So, Sir, by and large, the deficit is between 500 and 600 crores of rupees at the start of the budgetary year. This is a very large amount and for this purpose, to attain the growth rate in industrial production, in agriculture and in general economy which requires a different type of Budget. Here, Sir, I feel that the basic malaise lies in the unsatisfactory working of the public sector. Time and again, so many colleagues of mine in the House as well as in the Government have said that they are improving the management. Today, Mr. Ganesh, while speaking on the top positions vacant, in the public sector, has given information. I think Mr. Ganesh must not be satisfied himself. But as a representative of the Government, he has to speak what the Government wants him to say. In his own mind, he might be thinking otherwise: Sir, I think that on an investment of about 4000 to 5000 crores of rupees, a return of 1000 crores of rupees must be generated in the public sector. Unless you do it, you will not find money to welfare measures. It has to be gone into whether the public sector has got a malaise only of management deficiencies or whether our friends on the opposite side, particularly these left parties, are creating labour troubles in the public sector which show down progress. I am only appealing to the High Command in the Government that the time is very short at their disposal. Unless the public sector generates a commensurate return, the Government will not find money because money is becoming scarce and people will lose faith in public sector. Sir, wherever direct taxation is considered it has reached its limits. Sir, in view of these deficiencies in the limits on further taxation and management particularly, I want to highlight two or three aspects of this.

I will take, at the outset, the attitude of the Government as regards employment and education. Time and again we see that everybody is criticising that during the last 25 years our educational system has not proved beneficial that it would generate a type of persons who would be interested in labour to get more production and would yield return out of the investment made I

on giving education. Such high is the investment we make in education that I feel higher education should be denied to those persons who cannot afford it on ground of poor standard or who do not deserve it. I find that under our present educational system we are only producing such type of boys who only get degrees like B.A., M.A., LL.B., M.Sc. or B.Sc. and who do not contribute to the economic growth of the country because of so many inhibitions and interest in clerical and administrative jobs. Even if it would be an unpalatable decision, Government will have to take it. In this connection, take for example, countries like Germany or the U.S.A. I know of one case where recently, the son of a friend of mine went to Germany—he is the son of a Minister here. He went to Germany for studies but he was not admitted to the college there at all. Here he was a first class student from an HT. But there in Germany he was asked to work in a workshop for two years before he could be given admission in a college... That is why I say, there is some truth in it. In the U.S.A., there are many matriculates—below the college level. There are many Americans like that. But very few go in for college education and waste the money of their parents as well as the Governments, itself I shall give you an example as to how it affects us. A B.A. here starts in the Government in the scale of about Rs. 100-200 and his brother, who is in the village and works on an agricultural farm gets just Re 1 or Rs. 2 per day. And even that much work is available to him only for about 6 months in a year. After all, every family member is not provided with Government service or service in a bank or in the public sector.

SHRI BALCHANDRA MENON

Why don't you raise his wages to Rs. 5 ?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI.: Where is the money ? This is the type of disparity we have and this is a problem which has to be seriously thought over by the political thinkers.

I shall give you yet another example. In the drought-hit areas of Maharashtra where

I go to see how the relief works are managed I find a muster clerk—who is a matriculate or a B.A. or B.S.c.—who is paid about Rs. 150 or Rs. 200, and his father, who is breaking stones gets hardly Rs. 2 per day. Mr. Balachandra Menon can say "Raise the wages to Rs. 5 or 10" but the point is, the policy of wages and income comes into this perspective and that is why I have suggested that Proper Income and Wages policy has to be gone into.

You take the nationalised banks, for instance. There a sweeper gets Rs. 500; a driver gets Rs. 800. And the Custodian is getting fat emoluments. This is the position. Straightforward decisions have to be taken in this regard by the Government without any favours to anybody. The Government have to take decisions with the backing of the political party, and this is the thing which has to be done in seriousness.

Then, I said about the taxation also. There are two aspects of taxation—corporate sector taxation and individual taxation. Individual taxation has reached such a stage that it is giving not only diminishing returns but black money is also generated due to higher slabs of taxation. Somebody has to put a stop to it. The RBI study has been there. The Raj and the Wanchoo Committee have given certain suggestions on evasion. Because the time is short, I only quote one RBI study as to how the tax evasion takes place. They say : RBI study (February 1972) accounts for 72% of paid-up capital (1965 to 1971). Tax provision has declined from 47.6 per cent to 42 per cent. That means, you have given so many concessions in the corporate sector taxation. Then, Sir, the gap in the effective tax rate has come down from 85 per cent to 60 per cent. It is a big gap. I was just going through a political and economic weekly. They are quite right in saying : "For how, can one explain the revised estimate of receipts from excise duties in 1972-73 falling below the Budget estimate in a year when industrial production is supposed to have risen by about 7 per cent and the prices of manufactured goods have gone up by at least 5 per cent to 6 per cent. This shows that the evasion in tax has been rampant. Personally, I have suggested so many schemes. I do

not want to unloan those schemes again. I only want to draw the attention of Mr. Ganesh to the 'Self removal scheme'. One may say that the Wanchoo Committee has been appointed, you are considering his report.

Then, about excise duty, we have brought to your notice the disparity in the hand processing and the machine processing. Mushroom of hand-processing industry is growing in the country. Crores of rupees of the country's excise revenue is taken away by unscrupulous small gang of persons. So, whether you call it income-tax or the excise tax, but you have done justice only to the black money.

Similarly, there are loopholes in the taxation undivided Hindu family. Now, the larger families will be fragmented into small bits. You should have accepted the Raj Committee's report and withdrawn all the concessions given to the HUF. Why do you keep it ? This is where you are lacking courage so far as the HUF taxation proposals are concerned.

I want to say a word about the agriculture. Particularly, I am coming to the 'tractor problem'. Some of the friends here opposite, who are too radical, may say that the tractor is a luxury and it is only the rich man's vehicle. I only want to bring to your notice, perhaps you might not be knowing the statistics, that 30 to 40 per cent of the peasantry has no bullocks. Out of the remaining, 80 per cent of the peasantry has got one bullock. Out of the available bullock-power only 20 per cent to 25 per cent is being used because of the many hardships. Somewhere the lands are very dry, somewhere there are no canals and somewhere the wells are not energised due to power Shortage. The only ultimate solution is the 'tractor'. Why, therefore, do you impose very high excise duty on tractor, thereby making it very very difficult for a smaller man ?

SHRI M. K. MOHTA (Rajasthan) : Tractor does not have any election slogan, election value. Only bullocks have it.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : That is for you to comment. I only want to say, if you want to develop agriculture, you have to look to the entire integrated programme of how the mechanisation of agriculture can take place and we have to change our habits for that purpose.

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni] There are two more points. I have already stated about the tax evasion, about the Wanchoo Committee report. In this Budget you have only tried to tinker with the problems. What have you done about the black money problem? You say that you are coming in with another legislation. There is no time left. The black money accumulation is rampant in this country and your staggering deficit, increased money supply along with the black money is creating a chaos and I think the time is very much against you if you do not take any action as regards this black money problem.

Now it is seen that total expenditure for 1973-74 is 11 per cent down than plan allocation of last year. Now you say that Rs. 50 crores have been set apart for some advance action. It has got nothing to do with the Budget. The entire provision for the plan next year is 11 per cent down. Now I come to my last point about this unemployment. I remember a discussion I had with Dr. Gadgil before he left the Planning Commission and went to Poona. I had discussed with him about these employment schemes and in his opinion that such ad hoc arrangements for providing employment are not productive. The provision made is something like Rs. 100 crores and it comes to some Rs. 2000/- per person (5 lakh jobs). These ad hoc arrangements do not have any impact on the country's production employment problem. I come from small sector and I know what it is. This policy will result in wasting your money. There will be no addition to the production of wealth in return. Dr. Gadgil's assessment was quite right. Such unemployment relief schemes must be related to the schemes of production. I want to explain this point. Now you have some schemes for the educated unemployed. You provide unemployed engineers with say a lathe. I have helped uneducated boys to have lathes to the boys who pass out of the colleges. I have arranged the loans from the various corporations. After two months they come back again because of lack of ancillary work. Such schemes should really form part of a total scheme of production otherwise there will be no use wasting money like this. Therefore I feel that you are only paying

I lip sympathy in this respect. You say I ancillary production must be developed. But who is going to develop it? Tata or Birla or Mafatlal or Mohta is not going to oblige you. You can only try to persuade them. Even if they oblige they have their own kith and kin whom they will oblige. They do not want to oblige the general public at all. So this Rs. 150 crores which you have provided for employment generation is not going to make any dent on the problem. It is the most unrealistic assessment. I only wanted to draw your attention to this.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now you should wind up.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : I have no time and that is why I am not developing other point. I really have some material with me which I wanted to put before the House so that the House could have considered it. I would only repeat that these ad hoc arrangements would not do. This is what you call a carry-on Budget or what you call a holding operation; I am fully aware that the Finance Minister could not have done anything better in the circumstances. Whatever he has done he has tried to minimise the onslaught on the poor. Luxuries have been taxed to a certain extent although not to the extent I would have liked. By and large this Budget could not have been better. The direction of taxation, taxes on commodities like tractors, the food procurement programme, the food management, employment schemes etc. are not well-knit. They are not part of a total scheme and that is why I say they have very little chance of success. I would request that all these should be again reviewed and a proper solution found.

SHRI M. K. MOHTA : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, India, as is well-known not only inside the country but all the world over, is a poor country trying to accomplish a very difficult task in a very short span of time. It is therefore, all the more necessary for us, as compared to any other developing or developed country, to husband our resources in such a way that for each rupee taxed from the tax-payer and spent by the Government the nation gets full value. That is the most important and most urgent necessity of the present time. Unfortunately the way the Government's finances have been managed over

a period of time, the rupee that is spent by the Government is hardly worth 25 paise in real terms. Unless this is recognised and unless the Government takes really effective measures to see that the resources at its command, the resources that the tax-payers make available to the Government are utilised wisely and correctly, unfortunately no amount of planning is going to eradicate poverty from this country. A close scrutiny of the Budget would reveal that during 1972-73 as against the original deficit of Rs. 247 crores, the revised overall deficit comes to Rs. 550 crores. This is in spite of an additional N collection of nearly Rs. 523 crores over original estimates. Moreover, the market borrowings this year have been stupendous. These were to the extent of Rs. 478 crores more than double the Budget estimate of Rs. 215 crores. In spite of the heavy market borrowings and in spite of more collections from other sources, the overall deficit has increased. Now, it appears that a big dent has been made in the Central Government's finances by the demands made on the Centre by the States. Apart from enforcing fiscal discipline on itself, the Central Government can prevail upon the States a/so to enforce a measure of discipline. Unfortunately this story will be continued from year to year and the deficits or the States will go on getting transferred to the Centre. What has happened last year? A sum of Rs. 503 crores has been doled out to the States—Rs. 150 crores more under the emergency agricultural programme, Rs. 145 crores more than the estimate on relief operations, Rs. 55 crores more on the State Plan and Rs. 153 crores more to meet deficits. Over and above this, the overdraft of the States with the Reserve Bank of India, a part of it, has been taken over by the Centre. The point that I am trying to make is that fiscal discipline on the part of the Centre as well as the States is of the first importance today and unless that is done all the programmes and policies of the Government in respect of development and eradication of poverty in the country will come to nothing very much. In the budget estimates for the year 1973-74 also we find that as much as Rs. 880 crores have been taken into account as gross market borrowings. This is not a small amount of money by any standard. In spite of this stupen-6—M 158RSS/73

dous market borrowing, the year will close with a deficit of Rs. 335 crores, not taking into account the additional taxes imposed by the Finance Minister.

Sir, the way this deficit is sought to be considerably reduced leaves much to be desired. Taxes have been imposed on a variety of goods; some of them are goods of consumption not by the so-called rich, but by the middle class. I will only refer to a few of them, namely, instant coffee, shaving cream, domestic electric appliances, art silk fabrics, linoleum, plastics and plywoods; all these are used not by the affluent or the rich but by the middle class. Therefore, it will be clear that the burden of these levies is going to be shared to a very great extent by the middle class, notwithstanding what has been sought to be made out by the Government.

Then, Sir, a very disturbing part of the levy is in regard to the customs duty on machinery imported into the country. We find that machinery and allied articles will now be subject to an increased duty of 40 per cent ad valorem instead of 30 per cent as before, and this is going to yield a revenue of as much as Rs. 40 crores to the government. What I would like to point out here is that machinery is a capital asset which is imported into the country for developmental purposes. It is not a consumption article, it is something which is essentially needed for developing the economy of the country. It is something like this—a farmer had a little seed grain, he would consume it instead of putting it on the land and expect a better return. Unless we actually give more incentive for the import of capital equipment and see to it that capital investment in the country grows rather than trying to extract, a few crores of rupees for the Government, I am afraid the development process itself will suffer to a very great extent, and this has to be viewed in the proper perspective. Only on Friday, the House was discussing about the export performance of the country and the purchasing power of the Indian rupee in the international markets. Sir, it was brought out than that the Indian rupee has been devalued by something like 20 per cent over the last two years notwithstanding what has been declared publicly

[Shri M. K. Mohta.] by the Government. If we compare the value of the rupee with gold or with the SDR Special Drawing Right, it would be clear that over the last two years, the rupee has been devalued by about 20 per cent. What exactly does it mean ? It means that a piece of machinery which can be bought for Rs. 100 previously would cost Rs. 120 today and the customs duty which was only Rs. 30 would now be 40 per cent on Rs. 120, that is Rs. 48. The cost of the industrial projects of all kinds will go up to that extent, and this will be a net loss to the economy as a whole. I do not think the Government can justify this kind of duty on any plea.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam) : What about the developing indigenous machinery in your own country ?

SHRI M. K. MOHTA : I would request my hon. friend to give a little more thought to it; then the answer will be clear to him. One argument which is usually advanced by the Government in support of the customs duty on the import of machinery is that it will give some protection to the indigenous industry. That argument is extremely thin and would not bear a close scrutiny for the simple reason that the import of machinery is allowed only when such machines are not available in the country; only such machines are allowed to be imported into the country which are not even manufactured in the country. Then why make such a machinery more costly and prevent its import into the country ? Wherever machines are produced in the country, whether the import duty is less or more, they are not allowed to be imported. So this argument does not bear any scrutiny at all. This is one extremely objectionable feature of the tax proposals that the Government has brought forward and I would appeal to the Finance Minister to have a second look at it.

Another important measure in the field of import duties is the levy on raw cotton which has been raised from 10 paise to 40 paise per Kg, again, yielding a revenue of Rs. 40 crores. I have absolutely no objection if the long staple cotton which goes into the production of fine and superfine cloth bears an import duty of not Rs. 40 crores

but Rs. 50 crores even. The only point I want to make is that this cotton contributed a very substantial amount to the export promotion fund of the cotton textile industry which helped in the export of cotton textiles from India. If this duty results in the curtailment of export promotion fund who would be the net loser ? We cannot today afford to have our export suffer on any account at all, and I would therefore request the Government to see to it that the export promotion fund which gets a sizable amount from imported cotton does not suffer to the extent of even a single paisa. Apart from that I have no objection to this levy of duty.

In the field of direct taxation, Sir, there are one or two measures which require a second look by the Government. I am referring to the higher rate tax on closely held companies. Whatever justification there might have been in the past for levying a penal rate of tax on closely held companies, at least today in the present circumstances that justification simply does not exist, particularly, Sir, when such a closely held company is engaged in industrial activity as distinct from other trading activity. I would like the hon'ble Minister to give a little more thought to the problem. What happens when a large business house or a big business man may not be a large business man under that definition, but a big business man floats a company is comparatively easy for him to make a sidely held company because he can issue shares to the public and the public will subscribe to these shares. That is a fact of life whether the Government wants to admit it or not whereas the middle level business man who starts his factory with Rs. 2 lakhs, what is his position. If he wants to offer shares to the public, the public, more often than not, would not subscribe to such shares for the simple reason that he is unknown. His industry that he would be putting up would not be a glamour industry. It would not be a cement factory or a paper factory or a chemicals factory. It would not be manufacturing nylon or terylene or anything like that. Because it will not be a glamour industry, because the man behind the show would be an unknown person his shares would not be sold in the market. What is the net result? The net result would

be it would continue to remain a closely held company for business purposes and would pay a tax rate of 63 per cent. Is it the intention of the Government that these small and middle level business men should be penalised to such an extent even though they are engaged in industrial activity? I do not think this can be the intention of the Government. If the Government wants to plug the loophole so that the already rich would not be able to start closely held companies and thus derive some indirect benefit out of it, there are surely other ways of doing it. You can always provide that if the shareholders of a closely held company are big taxpayers the closely held company would not get the benefit of lower rate of taxation. But the tax laws could be framed in such a manner that the middle-level businessman who today is not in a position to sell his shares in the market, does not get penalised to such an extent, particularly if he is engaged not in trade but in industry. That is my fervent plea to the hon. Minister.

Then in the field of capital gains tax, it has now been provided that unless the capital assets are held for a minimum of 60 months, the lower rate applicable to capital gains tax would not apply, and it will be considered a revenue gain and would be subjected to the full rate of tax. Here I would like the hon. Minister to make a distinction between capital assets consisting of industrial equities and capital assets consisting of other things like land, building, etc., for the simple reason that today it is extremely essential, it is extremely in the interest of the economy as a whole, to encourage share-holding habits among the general public. The leaders of the Government, including the hon. Finance Minister, have gone on record to say that businessmen should go out and popularise their shares among the villagers, among such people who have not been accustomed to investing their monies in industrial equities. Now there must be some kind of incentive to such people, people who have been accustomed to putting their monies into gold or land or some such assets which have not been productive or which have not contributed to the national effort. Now if you want to give some kind of incentive to such persons, particularly when it is not in fashion nowadays'

that industrial equities should entitle the holder to a very large dividend, etc., then you should see that at least whatever capital gain they can get is subjected to the lower rate of tax. That will be at least one incentive to people to purchase industrial equities in preference to other investments. I would, therefore, appeal to the Government that the capital gains arising out of sales of industrial equities should be subjected to the lower rate of tax even though they are held only for two years, as before. This minimum period of five years which has been provided may be kept for land and other assets; I do not mind at all. As far as industrial equities are concerned, relief is necessary, and I would fervently appeal to the hon. Minister to look into it again.

Some relief has been given by the hon. Minister on expenditure for export market development and for research and development. If I may be permitted to say so, the relief is so insignificant that it is like a drop in the bucket. It is no relief at all. If you really want to give relief, it should be substantial. Otherwise, this relief does not make anybody invest more or spend more on either research and development or export promotion. So whether you give such a relief or not, it becomes absolutely ineffective. If relief is to be given, it must be substantial. Otherwise, you might even save a little by not giving any relief. Export promotion is a very difficult task, particularly when the promotion has to take place not for established items like jute or tea but for non-traditional goods, which requires a lot of effort. A little more incentive on the part of the Government would go a long way in making people spend more on such promotion and thereby build up the exports particularly of non-traditional goods. I would, therefore, request the hon. Minister to make it really meaningful by giving a lot more incentive in the field of export promotion.

As regards the development rebate, the Finance Minister had given notice sometime back that the development rebate would be abolished. And in its place, he has now announced that there will be an initial depreciation of 20 per cent on selected industries. I may submit here that initial depreciation is no substitute

[Shri M. K. Mohta] for development rebate. There was a particular rationale for the development rebate. That is, depreciation is calculated on the historical value of assets which were purchased 20 or 15 years ago and which bears absolutely no relation to the present cost of similar capital assets.

Now, since this depreciation was allowed only on the historical value and since their replacement would need much more capital outlay, the Government had thought it fit to compensate the industrial units by giving them a development rebate on the newly purchased assets. Now, what is going to happen to that initial depreciation? What it is going to mean" is only that the tax liability will be deferred for a few years. That is about all, because the Government has not said that the initial depreciation would be over and above the ordinary depreciation. In the first year there will be more depreciation and tax liability will be less. But as time goes on, the depreciation would be lower, tax liability would be higher, and it is only a deferment of taxation; it is not going to compensate for the scrapping of development rebate. The development rebate has played a very useful role in the industrial development of the country. The capital cost of projects has gone up so much. The Government has itself given out figures. Every ten years capital costs go up by a hundred per cent. Perhaps the capital cost will go up even more because inflation is rampant not only in India, but all over the world. And therefore, if that ever-increasing capital cost has to be met, some kind of an incentive on the part of the Government is very essential. Therefore, I would appeal to the honourable Minister that the initial depreciation, if at all it has to replace development rebate, must be much more liberal; otherwise, the kind of industrial development that is envisaged in the Fifth Plan perhaps will never be achieved at least in the private sector. The Government has, of course, ample money at its command. It can spend as much money as it likes. But the public which has comparatively a less amount of investible funds at its disposal, would be really hard put to meet the Fifth Plan targets unless more liberal treatment is meted out by the Government. The Fifth

Plan envisages a growth rate of 5-J per cent. I beg to submit that even though the country has found it difficult to attain even this modest target, the fact remains that the rate of 5 per cent for economic growth is too inadequate for our country for the simple reason that we are racing against time. What other countries have achieved in centuries, we have to do in a few decades only, and we have also to see it in the perspective of our ever-increasing population. If we have to really make a dent in the poverty problem, if we have to really achieve some economic growth worth the name, it is necessary to create conditions, so that our economy advances or grows by much more than 5+ per cent. Perhaps it is necessary for us to have the economy grow at something like 9 or 10 per cent. And that cannot be achieved unless whatever resources are there at our command, whether in the public sector or in the private sector or in the co-operative sector—I am not worried about the various sectors into which the economy has been divided rather artificially—the fact remains that whatever resources are there at the command of the nation, at the disposal of the nation—are put to productive use all the time. We can afford to curtail our consumption needs and it is necessary that all those resources are put into productive use. In order to achieve that, while in the one hand the Government will have to husband its resources in the best possible manner, it is also necessary that more incentives are given to the citizen to consume less and put his money in productive enterprises. For that the rates of taxes at all levels have to be lowered to such an extent coupled with a stipulation that the tax saving is invested into productive enterprises. Unless that is done, I am afraid the development of the country will not take place in the way desired by us—not only desired, but which it is necessary for our country.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise to welcome the approach and the programme enunciated by the Finance Minister in his speech for bringing a significant improvement in the economy. The Finance Minister in his budget speech has made a mention of six immediate tasks for improving the economy. These are containing inflationary pressures by increasing

production and strengthening public distribution, increasing rate of saving and investment, restraining imports and expanding exports, providing more employment opportunities, reducing disparities and providing minimum basic amenities. To these six guidelines, I would like to add one more and that is eradication of administrative delays and wastages. Of all these tasks, the most important is the first one, namely, containing inflationary pressures on the economy. The evils of inflation, as one expert put it, are that it hits the poor hardest; it erodes the capacity and willingness to save and invest productively; it eats into the real value of investment spending; it affects the balance of payment position by making exports relatively more expensive and imports cheaper; and it sets off a wage cost spiral. These are all well known. Therefore, I would request the Government to consider this proposal, namely, to declare the year 1973-74 as an anti-inflation year. It is good that we concentrate on certain steps that we have to take rather than diffuse our energies by taking up so many things. The first two years of the Fourth Plan have gone on well. It is only in the third year, that is, 1971-72, the decline has started. The agricultural production went down. Foodgrains production also went down. And in fact, the prices which were under control till that time, began to show a tendency to rise. The years 1971-72 and 1972-73 have been the most difficult years for this country. Nature had not co-operated to the extent that we expected and our neighbours too have not been very kind to us and had not been friendly with us. So, the war, refugee relief and drought left a lot of pressure on our economy and drained off our resources. But I should say that the tax-payer in this country and the tax collector have stood by the Government. I should compliment them. In these four years, over the level of 1968-69, the tax revenue that is collected is of the order of Rs. 3,000 crores. If it was Rs. 2,000 and odd crores in 1968-69, the amount that is collected over and above that comes to about Rs. 3,000 crores and out of this also, Sir, as was given out this morning in this House, the indirect taxes have expanded or increased by 88% as compared to 1967-68 whereas the direct taxes have increased only by 51 %. This has made the difference to such an extent

that it has contributed to the price rise. Sir, the taxation policy has got to be tuned to the requirements of the economy and it is not merely mobilisation of money, which is the objective of taxation, but it has the bigger objective also, namely, removing certain contradictions and certain imbalances. Therefore, Sir, there is need for the Government to consider whether such acceleration in the increase of indirect taxes is desirable particularly when we find that there is growing unemployment in the country which is a two-fold misery in that there is no purchasing capacity on the one hand and, at the same time, the prices of the commodities have gone up too much. So, Sir, here comes the determination to implement a particular policy by containing the prices of the essential commodities within a particular limit, if necessary, by subsidising them and making them available to the weaker and vulnerable sections of the society. It needs a very determined policy. But, unfortunately, in our country, whenever there happens to be a little improvement in certain things, we develop an attitude to exaggerate it and then think of relaxing controls. In fact, Sir, when many others had praised the action of our late Shri Kidwai in having removed the food controls, I was one of those who opposed it and said that it should not have been done and that in the long run it would create all sorts of difficulties and it has proved correct. Sir, to implement these controls it takes time even if, it is partial control and by merely passing orders or issuing directions these things cannot be done, because we are dealing with human beings. Before the control implementation administration sets in we begin thinking of removing the controls. Therefore, Sir, my view is that for the coming five-year period or for the period of the Fifth Plan, we must have a policy on controls and instead of laying our hands on every item, we must have, in order to give relief to the vulnerable sections of the society, controls—movement control, price control consumption control, in relation to the essential commodities and then, by having the co-operation of the State Governments, we must implement them perfectly.

SHRI M. ANANDAM (Andhra Pradesh): You must include corruption control also.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : Corruption in my view is a relative term.

SHRI SHYAMLAL GUPTA (Bihar) : Yes, it must also be included. He is right.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : Corruption is the product of a particular type of behaviour in society, product of a particular activity and corruption by itself is not an absolute thing and by itself it does not grow or it does not die...

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Because it is productive.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : It is because of a certain behaviour or conduct or certain activity by the people that corruption tends to grow. You change the system. There is scope for corruption to come down. So what I would like to highlight is that we must have a policy of controls, and control administration must be more efficient and more perfect than any other sector of administration.

Now, we talk about production. Can anybody say that production has not been increasing? It might not be increasing to the extent we planned. But with the growing urbanization, the new prosperity has not actually flowed down but is being retained by certain groups and sections in urban areas. And since the purchasing power has been very high, nowadays when a scare is created, they are capable of hoarding and holding goods back. That has happened even with rich farmers in the rural areas. Even cooperative credit has been misused. Some rich farmers hold back certain agricultural produce, without bringing it to the market.

Sir, I now come to procurement of foodgrains, storage and distribution. A scheme is sought to be implemented by taking over the wholesale trade in foodgrains. I would like to draw the attention of the Minister to one glaring fact. The foodgrains are sought to be subsidized to the extent of Rs. 130 crores in 1973-74. You may be interested to know, Sir, that the procurement, storage and other incidentals for one quintal of rice is Rs. 36-51. For wheat it is Rs. 20-45. For rice procurement, the storage interest per quintal is Rs. 12-49. For wheat it is Rs. 2-09. Now we are committed to subsidies to the extent of Rs. 130 crores. And I do not know when you

take up the wholesale trade, what are you going to do? Are you going to reduce the procurement price or increase the issue price? When you store so much of grains, are you going to pay any subsidy or not? I do not know whether this has been taken into account. I would like the Minister to examine whether it is worth while paying Rs. 12-49 interest on one quintal of rice. Sir, we talk in terms of holding buffer stocks. Is it worth while to think in terms of holding 18 million tonnes or 15 million tonnes and paying such huge amount, locking up the capital and paying such amount of interest? With so much interest being charged and so much subsidy being paid, can we really carry on this foodgrain deal business correctly? That is one thing I would like the Minister to examine.

In this connection, may I make a suggestion? Why don't the nationalized banks build up warehouses or godowns and hold the grain on behalf of the cultivator? Any how, when you take over the wholesale trade, nobody else can purchase. Instead, of the Food Corporation mopping it up and paying heavy interest, why should not the cultivator be allowed to keep it with banking organizations?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Free of interest?

SHRI V. B. RAJU : The cultivator will pay the interest. Ultimately, the point is: At what rate would you take it? This is going to come up. My point is that instead of the Food Corporation thinking in terms of having godowns, which is actually unmanageable —

DR. VIDYA PRAKASH DUTT (Nominated) : Every country is to have a buffer stock.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : I am not actually opposing buffer stock but it should be up to a particular limit.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Do you mean to say that the traders who were holding it, were doing it without interest?

SHRI V. B. RAJU : As a matter of fact, the cultivator himself may forego something of his own. He may be inclined to do so. As the banks have promoted a network of branch offices, let the grain be stored at these points and the Food Corpo-

ration can pick it up from the banking organisation. Anyhow, it is loud thinking. I do not know whether the Food Corporation can take the whole lot and whether the Government of India can pay so much of subsidy when the procurement price and the issue price are at a constant figure.

I would like to refer to the present state of affairs about prices. As late as February 10, the figures show that the food articles have gone up by 17-3% compared to last year. The industrial raw materials have gone up by 25-1%. We are expressing a pious desire or a hope that we will be able to contain the prices. How is it possible? In this connection, I would plead whether our levying of import duties on industrial raw materials which come through imports is worthwhile. How far is it correct? Should the scarce raw materials which come into the country from outside be exposed to import duty? I think there should be a reconsideration of levy and the rate of import duty. I think some advance countries adopt a policy of latitude on imports of raw materials and they are not subjected to import duty. Sir, we are in short supply of steel and petroleum and petroleum products. Sir, levying excise duty or import duty on steel and petrol enhances their cost. How much is the Government consumption on this account? If you take the local governments, the public sector undertakings, the State Governments, and the Central Government, a large amount of steel and petrol is being consumed by them. They pay the duty and it is only adjustment in books. The public sector undertakings consume a lot of steel, and particularly the engineering industries which have picked up exports. These industries will be affected. How far is taxing and imposing higher duties on petrol and steel a step in the right direction? For what purpose is it done? Is it to mop up revenues or is it to improve the economy? This has got to be examined, Sir.

Another thing is about money supply. How many minutes can I take, Sir?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Five minutes more.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : Money supply is basically responsible for this inflationary pressure. Mostly, it is the governmental

budgetary deficit which is responsible for it. In the last five years, the average increase in the money supply is about 11%. It is all right if the gap in the growth percentage and money supply is only 2 to 3%. It can be understood and the things can be balanced. But when the gap is wide and when the developmental growth is only 1-5 to 2% and the money supply is 11%, it creates a tremendous distortion. As you know, the deficits have become massive. In 1970-71, it was 424 crores for both the States and Centre. For 1971-72 it is Rs. 738 crores and for 1972-73 it is 971 crores—that is Rs. 550 crores+ 421 crores. All put together it is more than Rs. 2,000 crores in these three years—that is, the budgetary deficits of the States and Centre put together. Now, at this rate where are we actually going?

By 31st March, 1974 the public debt will be Rs. 18,000 crores and in this public debt of Rs. 18,000 crores, for the external debt 30% of our export earnings are being used for debt commitments—that is to say, repayments and interest. Thirty per cent of our export earnings are going for that. Now my view is that there must be some check somewhere on our borrowing—not that we should not borrow. But we are not borrowing free. To what capacity, to what extent can we go towards borrowing? Why is it happening?

The Central Government has taken some items on its shoulders which are really not the Central Government's legitimately. Law and order has to be maintained. The Central Reserve Police is there though policing and law and order are State subjects. Since the States' police is not in a position to maintain law and order, in order to assist them this institution has been promoted. What is it costing us? In 1973-74 it will be costing Rs.130 crores; it may go on increasing. Therefore, certainly it has to be seen what responsibilities the Centre should keep for itself—legitimately and constitutionally—and whatever could conveniently be shifted to the States it should see that they are shifted. In fact, in one of my budget speeches I have said that some departments, particularly Education and other developmental departments are legitimately States' departments and they are not Centre's responsibility. But here they

[Shri V. B. Raju] are going in a big way. Therefore, the time has come when we have to examine the sharing of the burden, the sharing of the load between the Centre and the States. Now, under the new policy the States shall not go in for overdrafts. Does it mean that the burden of deficit budgets of States should be shifted to the Centre budget? Who is controlling the State's expenditure? Who is to control the expenditure on non-productive activity, non-developmental activity?

DR. VIDYA PRAKASH DUTT : The States themselves.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : They are unable to do it...

DR. VIDYA PRAKASH DUTT : Well, they should.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : ... in this federal structure the economy is actually of a unitary character; the economy is not of a federal character. Since actually the States' budgets, States finances and public finance leave an impact on the economy, the States and the Centre have got to be taken as one single whole and studied. I am sorry, I have taken a few minutes more.

Lastly, I would say that savings and investment we get mostly from the households. Our economy is depending mostly on household savings and the trend in the country shows that household savings are directly going into private corporate investment; they are coming as deposits in banks because of a requirement of security. The Government and the private corporate sector are getting money from the banks only. As far as the household savings are concerned, they are quite satisfactory but the savings from the public sector undertakings are deplorable. It is having a negative effect on the public finance. The figures reveal that 34 public enterprises have a net loss of Rs. 120 crores in 1971-72. Out of the 90 or 95 undertakings, 34 undertakings have lost nearly Rs. 120 crores. Among them Hindustan Steel is the one that lost nearly Rs. 45 crores in 1971-72. The Indian Airlines have lost Rs. 4-5 crores. Then we have the Lignite Corporation, Madras, from where Mr. Mariswamy comes. It has lost Rs. 13-33 crores in 1971-72. This is the state of affairs. When is the

management and the performance of those undertakings going to be satisfactory in the eyes of the Parliament? It is a challenge that we should take up and begin to improve upon it.

As I said in the beginning, the inflationary pressure on the economy is the most important thing and it is going to influence considerably our success or failure in future. So, I would like that the Parliament, the Rajya Sabha would agree for declaring the 1973-74 year as anti-inflationary year.

डा० भाई महावीर : उपसभापति जी, बजट किसी देश की अर्थव्यवस्था का एक नक्शा होता है। बजट के अन्दर देश की सरकार अर्थव्यवस्था किस दिशा में ले जाना चाहती है और आर्थिक विकास के रास्ते की रुकावटों को किस तरह दूर करना चाहती है, इसका भी संकेत मिलता है। इन कसौटियों पर कसने के बाद मुझे यह कहते हुए खेद होता है कि इस बजट में या बजट के भाषण में इस तरह का संकेत नहीं दिखाई देता कि वित्त मंत्री को अर्थव्यवस्था की आज की दुरावस्था के बारे में अनुभूति हो, अहसास हो या उसका सही निदान करके ठीक रास्ते पर उसे चलाने के लिए उन्होंने कोई उपयुक्त संकल्प किया हो।
[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM SAHAJ) in the Chair]

मैं उनके भाषण में जब यह आत्मतुष्टि का स्वर पड़ता हूँ, जब वे यह कहते हैं कि हमारे देश का इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्शन और एक्सपोर्ट्स ठीक नहीं बढ़े हैं—

"It must not be forgotten that fluctuations in national income are not an uncommon phenomenon in countries heavily dependent on agriculture. Such fluctuations must not lead us to draw a pessimistic conclusion about the country's basic economic health or its development potential and prospects which are sound".

तात्पर्य यह है कि वित्त मंत्री को लगता है कि हमारे देश की बेसिक इकानामिक हेल्थ बड़ी अच्छी है, विकास की संभावनाएं बड़ी भव्य हैं और जो थोड़ा सा कुछ उतार चढ़ाव

है वह सभी के लिए हुआ करता है और उसके लिए परेशान होने की जरूरत नहीं है। वास्तविकता, उपसभापति जी, यह है कि देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को विनाश के कागार पर लाकर खड़ा कर दिया है, ऐसी स्थिति में पहुंचा दिया गया है कि हारे हुए जुआरी के समान सरकार दांव ज्यादा लगाती जाय और दांव पर ज्यादा जो कुछ है रखती जाय। इसके सिवाय और कुछ चारा भी उसको नजर नहीं आ रहा है। जिस समय 25 करोड़ के करीब लोग ऐसे हों, जिनकी दैनिक आय उनको एक वक्त का खाना देने के लिए पर्याप्त नहीं है, 70 पैसे या ऐसी कुछ आय एक दिन की जिनको प्राप्त है, जिनमें शायद तीन कप चाय के खरीदन सकता हो आज की अवस्था में, 4 करोड़ से ऊपर बेकारों की तादाद होने के बाद जब विकास की दर शून्य से भी नीचे पहुंच रही हो, ऐसी स्थिति में कोई बड़ा साहसी आदमी ही खड़ा होकर कह सकता है कि सब ठीक ठाक है। या उसको साहसी कहना चाहिए या समझना चाहिए कि उसने आंखों पर पट्टी बांध रखी है। वित्त मंत्री जी के लिए यह कहना कि उन्होंने पट्टी बांधी है, यह तो जरा गुस्ताखी होगी, इसलिए मैं उनके साहस की तारीफ करके ही अपना समाधान कर लूंगा। परन्तु, महोदय, वित्त मंत्री जी ने कहा कि कीमतें बढ़ रहीं हैं, कमजोर वर्ग के लोगों के लिए इससे बड़ा कष्ट हो रहा है, इस वास्ते उन्होंने अपने बजट भाषण में कहा है कि सरकार की नीतियों का अधिक जोर इन मुसीबतों को कम करने का है। कहां वह सरकार की नीतियों का जोर है जो इन मुसीबतों को कम करने वाला है। चव्हाण साहब ने कुछ भी ऐसा प्रयास किया है, जिससे कमजोर वर्ग के लोगों की कठिनाइयों को कुछ सहनीय बनाने की कोशिश की गई हो? ऐसा कहीं दिखाई नहीं देता। परन्तु फिर भी मैं यह मानता हूं कि इस बजट के आने के बाद सारे देश के लोगों ने कुछ चैन की सांस ली। उनको लगा कि जितनी मुसीबत आ सकती थी, शायद उससे कम हुई है। इसलिए

मुझे एक शेर की कहानी याद आई, जिसके गले में हड्डी का टुकड़ा फंस गया था। उसने एक बगुले से कहा कि तुम यह हड्डी निकाल दो, तो मैं तुम्हें इनाम दूंगा। उसने हड्डी निकाल दी और कहा कि इनाम दो। तब शेर ने कहा कि तुम्हारी गंदन मेरे मुंह के अन्दर थी, फिर भी मैंने तुम्हें छोड़ दिया। वह कोई कम इनाम है? इससे बड़ा और कौन सा इनाम चाहिए? वित्त मंत्री जी के हाथ में कुल्हाड़ी हो, देश की निरीह जनता, भोली जनता उनके सामने हाथ पांव बांधे खड़ी हो, ऐसी भोली जनता जिसने गरीबी हटाओ का अधिकार देकर इतनी बड़ी सत्ता उनको दी है, जितनी इस देश में क्या, बहुत कम देशों में लोकतांत्रिक सरकार को मिलती है, इतना बड़ा अधिकार मिलने के बाद भी यशवंत राव चव्हाण ने सिर्फ 293 करोड़ के नये टैक्स लगाये, यह उनकी कृपा ही समझनी चाहिए।

वित्त मंत्री ने अपने भाषण में कुछ इमीडिएट आब्जेक्टिव्स की लिस्ट, एक सूची दी है जो तत्काल करने लायक काम है। उन्होंने कहा कि स्फीति की रोकथाम, इन्फ्लेशन को रोकना, सेविस् को बढ़ाना, एक्सपोर्ट्स को सुधारना, रोजगार का सृजन करना, देश में जो आर्थिक विषमताएं हैं उन्हें कम करना और न्यूनतम कुछ सुविधाओं की उपलब्धि करना, यह लिस्ट बनाने के बाद मालूम होता है कि वह कागज उनके हाथ से खो गया, क्योंकि बाकी के बजट में इनमें से किसी चीज पर उन्होंने कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया है। यह मुझे कहीं दिखाई नहीं देता, बड़े दुःख के साथ मैं ऐसा कह रहा हूं।

सबसे पहले उन्होंने कहा कि इन्फ्लेशन कम करने के लिए, स्फीति को कम करने के लिए तात्कालिक लक्ष्य है सरकार के सामने। इस लक्ष्य को पूरा करने के लिए क्या किया गया? क्या सरकार ने जो स्फीति के कारण हैं उनको दुरुस्त किया? स्फीति के जो कारण हैं, उनमें क्या सरकार को यह मालूम नहीं कि मुद्रा का अत्यंत तेजी से बढ़ता हुआ विस्तार यह एक बहुत बड़ा कारण है? क्या मुद्रा की

[डा० भाई महावीर]

इस स्फीति को, मुद्रा की इस करेंसी को, इस बढ़ती हुई मुद्रा को रोकने का कोई प्रयास या लक्षण दिखाई देता है? क्या वित्त मंत्री जी को यह मालूम नहीं कि जो परोक्ष कर हैं, इंडायरेक्ट टैक्सेज हैं उनका बढ़ता हुआ प्रभाव कीमतों को बढ़ाने वाला बड़ा कारण है? क्या उन्होंने इनमें से किसी कर को कम करने की कोशिश की? क्या उनको मालूम नहीं कि हमारे देश में उत्पादन का एक विकृत ढांचा बन गया है, जिसमें विलास की चीजों के ऊपर रुपया ज्यादा जाता है और उसमें विलास सामग्री के उत्पादकों को लाभ ज्यादा मिलता है, चोरबाजारी के जरिए से उनको ज्यादा लाभ मिलता है? इस चीज को देखते हुए क्या प्रोडक्शन पैटर्न को, उत्पादन के ढांचे का परिवर्तन करने की कोई चीज परिलक्षित होती है। यह सरकार अन-उत्पादक व्यय में कोई कमी करने की कोशिश नहीं कर रही है। मुझे इनमें से कोई लक्षण दिखाई नहीं देता। दिखाई यह देता है कि जो डैफिसिट 85 करोड़ का दिखाया गया है जान-बूझकर डैफिसिट के घाटे को छिपाने की कोशिश की गई है। वित्त मंत्री जी ने स्वीकार किया है कि पे-कमीशन की रिपोर्ट आई नहीं है, इसका अभी तक हम कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं कर रहे हैं। पे-कमीशन की रिपोर्ट आने के बाद ढाई सौ करोड़, या तीन सौ करोड़ या साढ़े तीन सौ करोड़ या जितना खर्चा बढ़ेगा, उसके लिए स्वाभाविक है कि या तो वित्त मंत्री करों का एक नया बोझा लाएंगे, नहीं तो डैफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग होगी, जिससे कीमतें आगे बढ़ेंगी।

सरकार की अनप्रोडक्टिव स्पेंडिंग पिछले वर्षों में 14 परसेंट वार्षिक रफ्तार से बढ़ी। चौथी योजना में और कोई लक्ष्य पूरे नहीं हुए। लेकिन सरकार का जो ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव खर्चा है वह सात गुना बढ़ कर के पूरा हुआ है। 2 प्रतिशत के बजाय वह 14 प्रतिशत बढ़ा है। इसके साथ जो खर्च छिपाए गए हैं उनमें

से एक यह है कि पिछले बजट में जितना रक्षा पर, डिफेंस पर, खर्चा था विलकुल वही का वही खर्चा इस बार भी रखा गया है। मैं पिछले साल के बजट भाषण को पढ़ रहा था तो उसमें मंत्री जी ने स्वीकार किया है कि जो नार्मल इंक्रीज हैं, कुछ इन्क्रीमेंट के कारण होगा, कुछ पेंशन के कारण होगा, जो डियरनेस बढ़ रहा है कुछ उसके कारण होगा, उसके लिए कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं किया गया है। वही की वही राशि डिफेंस के लिए रख दी गई है। जिस समय सारे तथ्य सामने आएंगे, उस समय स्फीति पहले से ज्यादा बढ़ेगी और घाटा जितना दिखाया गया है उससे कहीं ज्यादा होगा। सच बात तो यह कि पिछले साल में जो सरकार के आंकड़े गोल मोल करके, छिपा करके दिए गए हैं, जिसको वित्तीय चालबाजी कहा जाना चाहिए, इस फाइनेंसियल विन्डो ड्रेसिंग को छोड़ कर वास्तविकता यह है कि जो नेट मनी सप्लाई है, जो सरकार ने डैफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग की है, यदि नेट बैंक क्रेडिट गवर्नमेंट की स्वीकार की जाय तो पिछले वर्ष 1,443 करोड़ रु० की डैफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग हुई है और इस साल अभी से जो आंकड़े सामने हैं उनके हिसाब से 915 करोड़ रु० की होने वाली है। पे-कमीशन की रिपोर्ट आने के बाद क्या परिस्थिति होगी, यह कुछ दिनों के बाद सामने स्पष्ट हो जाएगा। परन्तु, इस सब के होने के साथ वित्त मंत्री जी ने क्या कहीं बचत करने के प्रोत्साहन के वास्ते प्रयत्न किया। इंश्योरेंस के लिए जिस तरह की रिलीफ, जिस तरह की नाम के लिए कुछ राहत दी जाती है, क्या इंश्योरेंस के प्रीमियम रेट्स कम करने के लिए वर्षों से सरकार आश्वासन नहीं देती आ रही है। इस देश के अन्दर जितना औसत आय था उससे काफी अच्छा होने के बाद अभी तक जो पुराने स्टैंडर्ड से बनाए गए प्रीमियम रेट्स थे वह आज तक कायम हैं; क्योंकि लाइफ इंश्योरेंस कारपोरेशन के बड़े-बड़े अफसर होते हैं, भारी खर्च उनका रहता है और उसके रहते हुए जो मामूली इंश्योरेंस कराने वाला

व्यक्ति है, जो पालिसी लेने वाला है उसको कोई रिलीफ देने के लिए सरकार तैयार नहीं है। अगर इस बात के लिए कोई कोशिश की जाती तो सरकार को कोई बहुत बड़ी मुसीबत का सामना करना पड़ता? लेकिन ऐसी बात की ही नहीं गई। इन्फ्लेक्शन के बारे में रेट्स कम नहीं किए गए और आज जो स्थिति है उसमें कीमतें हर साल लगभग 11 प्रतिशत की रफ्तार से बढ़ती रही हैं और खाद्य की कीमतें 14 प्रतिशत की रफ्तार से बढ़ती रही हैं। क्या इस सारी परिस्थिति में सेविन्स करने वाले लोग बचत करें इस तरह का खाली आह्वान करना, इस तरह की अपील करने से, लोगों को यह कहने से कि देश के लिए, भगवान के लिए, अपने छोटे बच्चों के लिए वे बचत करें, क्या काम चलने वाला है, जबकि लोगों को दिखाई देता है कि बीस, बाईस साल के अन्दर रुपए की जो कीमत थी वह आज केवल 30 पैसे रह गई है। तो बचत करने वाले व्यक्ति को अपने रुपए को बचा कर रखने में क्या उस रुपए की कीमत घटती हुई नजर आएगी या नहीं। हम सोचें और फिर उस के बाद लोगों को अपील करें बचत करने के लिए।

प्रधान मंत्री जी और सरकार के दूसरे नेता सूखे के ऊपर सारे दोष को लगा रहे हैं कि सूखे ने आकर हमारा सारा बना बनाया खेल बिगाड़ दिया। सूखे ने हमारे साथ बड़ा अन्याय किया है, यह शायद मैं मान सकता हूं, परन्तु मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि आज आजादी की पचीसवीं वर्ष गांठ के अवसर पर क्या हमारी कुल जमीन का जो तीन चौथाई भाग है, वह वर्षा पर निर्भर नहीं करता है? क्या यह हमारी योजनाओं की सफलता की निशानी है, क्योंकि आज भी 68.2 प्रतिशत भूमि हमारी अनइरिगेटेड है? क्या इसको इरिगेटेड बनाने की जिम्मेदारी किसी और पर थी? योजनाओं में खेती को प्राथमिकता देने की बात हम कहते रहे? लेकिन सब कुछ करने के बाद इन 20 वर्षों में 42 परसेंट सुधार हुआ है इरिगेटेड भूमि के आंकड़ों में।

श्री महावीर त्यागी : अगले फाइव इयर प्लान में भी कोई पूरा इंतजाम नहीं होने वाला है।

डा० भाई महावीर : जी हां, नहीं होने वाला है, बल्कि जिस दिन डा० राव से यहां पर प्रश्न पूछा गया कि सिंचाई की व्यवस्था आप इतनी कम कर पाए, क्या आपको इससे समाधान है? तो उन्होंने बड़े दावे से और बड़े गर्व से कहा कि हम ने जितनी सिंचाई बढ़ाई है वह अनपैरेलल्ड है और अनुपम है। वह अनुपम किस हिसाब से है यह मैं नहीं जानता, लेकिन इतना जरूर जानता हूं कि एक छोटा सा देश इजरायल है, उसके पास जितनी भूमि थी और पानी के जितने साधन थे, पिछले बीस वर्षों में उसने उनका इस्तेमाल करके अपनी सिंचाई वाली भूमि को पौने छः गुना बढ़ाया है, पर हम दावा करते हैं कि हमारे इतना दुनिया में किसी और ने करके नहीं दिखाया है। वास्तविकता यह है कि हमारी खेती आज भी जो वर्षा पर निर्भर रही है, उस के कारण ही हम को यह घबका लगा है और उसे वर्षा पर निर्भर रखने की जिम्मेदारी सरकार की, योजना आयोग की और योजनाओं की प्राथमिकता तय करने वाले व्यक्तियों के सिवाय और किसी की नहीं होनी चाहिए। इसके अलावा मैं इजरायल की बात इस लिए कहता हूं कि उसके पास रेगिस्तानी भूमि थी, लेकिन उसमें से उन्होंने गेहूं का उत्पादन 6 गुना बढ़ाया और स्टेट्स का उत्पादन 5 गुना बढ़ाया केलों का उत्पादन 18 गुना बढ़ाया और बाकि फलों का उत्पादन 22 गुना बढ़ाया। इतनी तरह का वह उत्पादन कर सकें केवल इसलिए कि उन्होंने अपने सिंचाई के साधनों को ठीक किया। वित्त मंत्री जी ने कहा है कि यह जो सूखे की आज दुर्वस्था है उस के बारे में:

It is a pointed reminder of the urgent need to expand the area under irrigation.

घन्य है। अजेंट रिमाइंडर मिल गया, इसलिए चन्हाण साहब ने खुश हो कर इस बारे में घोषणा कर दी कि इरिगेशन के एरिया को

[डा० भाई महावीर]

बढ़ाने का अरजेंट रिमाइंडर उन को मिल गया। लेकिन इस के लिए व्यवस्था क्या है? इस बजट में मल्टी परपज रीवर स्कीम्स पर 1972-73 में 70.8 करोड़ खर्च होने थे और इस साल के बजट में 69 करोड़ खर्च होने की व्यवस्था की गई है। अगर अरजेंट रिमाइंडर न होता वैसा रिमाइंडर होता जैसे कि सरकार की फाइलों में आया करते हैं तो यह 69 करोड़ के बजाय शून्य हो जाता, लेकिन क्या यह सिचाई व्यवस्था को सुधारने का हमारा रास्ता है? क्या इस तरीके से हम अपनी इकोनामी को ठीक कर सकेंगे, जो हम समस्याओं को बार बेसिस पर हल करने की बातें किया करते हैं। क्या यही उसका तरीका है और यह 69 करोड़ 15 प्रतिशत हीममें बढ़ने के बाद है? क्या इस 69 करोड़ को हम 15 प्रतिशत घटा कर अपने लक्ष्यों को पूरा करने के लिए एक प्रयास मानें? यह परिस्थिति खाली सिचाई में ही नहीं है। वेजगुड्स की अवेलेबिलिटी बढ़ाने की बात है। एक साधारण आदमी जिन वस्तुओं से इस्तेमाल करता है, उनकी उपलब्धता बढ़ाने के लिए कुछ बातें कहना बड़ा अच्छा है, लेकिन वास्तविकता क्या है? हमारे पास आंकड़े हैं। जब से श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी माइनिंग हाइट्स पर पहुंची हैं और यह माइनिंग हाइट्स सरकार का बड़ा प्रिय शब्द है, तब से 1969-70 से लेकर आज तक के आंकड़े मेरे सामने हैं। अन्न की पर कैपिटाविलेबिलिटी पर डे 401.2 ग्राम से घट कर 175.8 ग्राम्स रह गई। पल्सेज 49.3 ग्राम से घट कर 44.3 ग्राम हो गई और डेबिल आयल्स 2.70 से घट कर 2.5 हो गया किलो ग्राम्स। यह पर ईयर है। पेट्रोल का 6.1 पर ईयर से कम होकर 5.4 है। यह माजिनल है। काटन क्लायथ 5.2 मीटर पर ईयर पर-हैंड से कम हो कर 12 मीटर्स पर-ईयर, पर-हैंड हो गया है। यह वेज-गुड्स की अवेलेबिलिटी को बढ़ाने

का वायदा करने वाली सरकार क्या इन आंकड़ों को देख कर के इस प्रवृत्ति को बदलने और सुधारने का कोई इरादा रखती है। बजट में कहीं कुछ दिखाई देता है। महोदय, मुझे कहीं दिखाई नहीं देता।

वायदा किया जा रहा है, वही वायदे हैं, वही नीतियां हैं, लोगों का मन बहलाने के लिए वही फुलझड़ियां हैं, लेकिन इस प्रश्न का उत्तर नहीं है कि जो अब तक नहीं हुआ वह आगे कैसे करेंगे। जो आज तक की गलतियां हैं, उन्हें कहीं सुधारा है। श्री चव्हाण भगवान पर भरोसा करने लग गए। "If there is a God he will be kind to us." मैं भी चाहता हूं कि भगवान हम पर कृपालु हों, लेकिन क्या भगवान की कृपा के ऊपर हमारी योजना बन रही है? क्या हमारा बजट भगवान से एप्रूव कराके यहां पर पेश किया जा रहा है या इस बजट के आंकड़ों के अन्दर फिर गड़बड़ी होगी तो फिर सारा जो इल्जाम है वह भगवान के दरवाजे पर रख करके निश्चिन्त हो जाएंगे? जो कुछ वायदे किए गए हैं, महोदय, उन वायदों के लिए एलोकेशंस हैं इस प्लान के अन्दर और प्लान के एलोकेशंस में से मैं आपके सामने कुछ तथ्य रखना चाहता हूं कि कितनी-कितनी राशि किस-किस चीज को दी गई है। यह जो बजट एट ए ग्लान्स है इसके आखिरी पन्ने पर है। एग्रीकल्चर एंड एलाइड प्रोग्राम्स का 1972-73 ई० में 278 करोड़ था और इस बार 250 करोड़ है। इंडस्ट्री एंड मिनरल्स का 545 करोड़ था। इस बार 510 करोड़ है। ट्रांसपोर्ट एंड कम्युनिकेशंस का 465 करोड़ था अब 429 करोड़ है। सोशल सर्विसेज में 385 करोड़ रु० था अब 445 करोड़ रु० है, लेकिन इस 445 करोड़ रु० में 100 करोड़ रु० वह है जो कि स्पेशल प्रोग्राम है, एजुकटेड अनएम्प्लायड का उसमें है, उसको निकाल दिया जाय तो 385 करोड़ रु० के बजाय 345 करोड़ रु० रह जाता है। ये आंकड़े जो स्पेशल एलोकेशंस किए गए हैं, उनके अन्दर है और इन एलोकेशंस के बाद आज देश के अन्दर जो पावर शॉर्टेज

है जिसके कारण देश का सारा जीवन, सारी इंडस्ट्री सारा कृषि बिलकुल अपंगु हो रहा है, उस पावर के लिए केवल 88 करोड़ रु० से 115 करोड़ रुपए की व्यवस्था की है, इससे ज्यादा व्यवस्था बजट के अन्दर नहीं है और वह भी उधर आटमिक एनर्जी के अन्दर 13 करोड़ रुपया कम कर दिया गया है, 69 करोड़ से 56 करोड़ रु० कर दिया गया है। महोदय, उत्पादन बढ़ना चाहिए, छोटे आदमियों के आवश्यकता की चीजों की अवेलेबिलिटी से ज्यादा होनी चाहिए, लेकिन इसके लिए क्या किया गया है? फर्टिलाइजर्स को सस्ता करने की जो आवश्यकता है उसको क्या किया है? क्या पावर पम्प के ऊपर जो ड्यूटी लगाई गई है उसको हटाने की कोशिश की है? क्या एग्जीक्यूटिव इम्प्लीमेंट्स सस्ते हुए? इसकी कोई व्यवस्था की गई है। कहीं नहीं की गई है।

और साथ ही साथ जो लोगों की आय गलत दिशाओं में जा करके, गलत चीजों में लगती है, जो लक्जरी गुड्स पर, विलास की वस्तुओं पर खर्च होती है, उसको रोकने की कोई व्यवस्था है। कहीं नहीं है। ब्लैकमनी के बारे में, चोर बाजारी के बारे में मंत्री जी कहेंगे कि हम आगे बिल लाने वाले हैं, उसका इंतजाम कर लेंगे। लेकिन इस समय कॉस्पिकुअस कंजम्पशन के ऊपर भारी टैक्स लगा कर उसको रोकने की व्यवस्था की है। आडम्बर को, विलास को, भोंडे प्रदर्शन को, विवाह शादियों के ऊपर जो सजावट वगैरह पर पचास-पचास हजार रुपए खर्च किए जाते हैं, उसको रोकने के लिए व्यवस्था की है। क्या इस पर पाबन्दी लगाई है? क्या आप इस तरह रुपए को बर्बाद करने वाले लोगों को रोक नहीं सकते थे? उनको रोकने के साथ-साथ कुछ रुपया सरकार को राजस्व के रूप में मिल जाता और उससे आप दूसरी तरफ क्या कुछ राहत नहीं दे सकते थे, लेकिन कॉस्पिकुअस कंजम्पशन को रोकने के लिए कोई उपाय नहीं किया है। इनडायरेक्ट टैक्सेज को बढ़ा रहे हैं, वह कीमतों को बढ़ा रही हैं। 293 करोड़ रुपए नए टैक्सेज

के रूप में लगाया गया। मैं नहीं समझ पाता कि हर साल पहले से ज्यादा टैक्स लगाने की सरकार को जरूरत पड़नी क्यों चाहिए। सरकार कौन सी ज्यादा नई सुविधा देती है, कौन सा ज्यादा लोगों के हित के लिए प्रबन्ध करती है। जहां पहले की सुविधाओं से भी सुविधा कम होती जाती हो, जीवन की सुरक्षा तो पहले से और भी घटती जाती हो, वहां पर टैक्सों का बोझ हर साल बढ़े और दिखाई यह देता है कि इस साल पिछले सालों में भी टैक्स जितने लगाए गए, उनसे ज्यादा लगाया गया। वास्तव में आजादी के बाद, लड़ाई से पीस टाइम बजट देखा जाए तो इस साल जितना एक्स्ट्रा बोझ डाला गया है, उतना किसी भी बजट में अब तक नहीं डाला गया और ये आंकड़े हमारे सामने आते हैं। पेट्रोल की कीमत बढ़ाई गई है, रेलवे फ्रेट और रेलवे ट्रेवल पर बढ़ाया गया है, इस्पात और लोहे ऊपर ड्यूटी बढ़ाई गई है, जिसके कारण 2 दिन के अंदर 40 रु० प्रति टन बाजार में लोहे की कीमत बढ़ी है। इसका असर क्या अमीरों पर पड़ेगा? किसान के फावड़े की कीमत घर के चिमटे की कीमत, तवे की कीमत, वह सब बढ़ जाएगी आपके लोहे की कीमत की वजह से।

संचार मंत्री (श्री एच० एन० बहुगुणा) : नए घर थोड़े ही बन रहे हैं, सब पुराने घर बन रहे हैं...

डा० भाई महावीर : बहुगुणा जी का तवा अभी घिसा नहीं है। मुझे पता नहीं आपका तवा कितने का आता है। या कभी आपने बाजार में पूछने का कष्ट भी किया हो? आपके तो चपरासियों को भी तवे की कीमत पता नहीं होगी।

श्री के० आर० गणेश : जैसे आप ही बाजार में पूछने को जाते हैं...

डा० भाई महावीर : मैं बाजार में भी जाता हूं। खरीद कर भी लाता हूं...

श्री के० आर० गणेश : सब जाते हैं। हम भी गरीबों को रिप्रेजेंट करते हैं।

डा० भाई महावीर : गणेश जी, आप देश को जितना अच्छा रिप्रेजेंट करते हैं उसी की गोल में खोल रहा हूँ। इसलिए आप धीरज से मुनिए। आपके खाली इन्टरप्ट करने से कोई दलील नहीं झुठलाई जा सकेगी। आपकी कितनी इफिशिएन्सी है, क्वेश्चन आवर में देख सकते हैं। आज के दिन ही पता चला के पब्लिक सेक्टर यूनिट्स के लिए चेयरमैन और डायरेक्टर अपाइन्ट करने के लिए तीन-तीन वर्ष सरकार को लगे। वह सरकार गरीबी को क्या दूर करेगी। यह तो सरकार ने हठधर्मी का एक सबूत हो सकता है, राष्ट्र-हित की बात नहीं कही जा सकती।

श्री के० आर० गणेश : वह तो समझने की बात है।

डा० भाई महावीर : हाँ, बिलकुल। और समझने की मोनोपोली सरकार की है और उस सरकार में श्री गणेश की है।

श्री धर्म चन्द जैन (बिहार) : अरे भाई, श्री गणेश से तो हर काम शुरू होता है।

डा० भाई महावीर : वह गणेश कभी मिट्टी में होते हैं, कभी गोबर के भी होते हैं। अब कौन से हैं, मैं नहीं जानता।

कपास के ऊपर जो बढ़िया कपास है, ड्यूटी बढ़ाई गई है। उसके कारण घटिया कपास की कीमत बढ़ने की आशंका है और इसके कारण जो गरीब आदमी के ही इस्तेमाल में कपड़ा आता है, उसकी कीमत भी ज्यादा होगी। प्लास्टिक के राँ मैटीरियल के ऊपर भी ड्यूटी बढ़ाई है। प्लास्टिक इन्डस्ट्री के लोग मुझसे मिले थे—छोटी इन्डस्ट्री है, वह कोई ज्यादा धन-सेठ नहीं है। धन-सेठों ने बात इस समय मैं कहना नहीं चाहता हूँ तो गणेश जी को तकलीफ हो सकती है। किन प्लास्टिक के राँ मैटीरियल्स के ऊपर तनी ड्यूटी लगाने के कारण कितनी वस्तुएँ तो आम आदमी के इस्तेमाल की हैं, छोटी-

छोटी साबुनदानी से लेकर रोजमर्रा इस्तेमाल आने वाली पेंसिलें और कलमें तक, सभी की कीमतों पर परिणाम होगा। अंदाज़ा यह लगाया गया है कि इस बजट प्रपोजल्स के बाद, इस वर्ष में 8-10 प्रतिशत से कम कीमतें बढ़ने की संभावना नहीं है, परन्तु यह सब होने के बाद भी गणेश जी कहेंगे कि गरीबों ने वोट उनको दिए हैं, इस वास्ते उनको अधिकार है कि उनका खून जितना चाहें निचोड़ दें। मैं उनके इस अधिकार को चुनौती नहीं देता; क्योंकि जिस तरह से तिकड़म लगा कर वोट लेकर ये आए हैं, उसको देखते हुए जब तक ये गद्दी पर विराजमान हैं, उनके बजट बनाने का अधिकार हमारे हाथ में नहीं आएगा।

ग्रेटर सोशल जस्टिस की बात कही गई। पिछड़े वर्ग के लोगों को शिक्षा के मामले में कितनी सुविधाएं दी गईं। मेरे पास आंकड़े हैं कि विलेज और स्माल स्कूल इन्डस्ट्रीज में पिछले साल 24 करोड़ रु० की व्यवस्था थी, जो इस साल 19 करोड़ की है। यह ग्रेटर सोशल जस्टिस की बात हो रही है। पोस्ट्स एन्ड टेलीग्राफ्स में 53 करोड़ रु० से घटा कर 11 करोड़ रु० की राशि दी गई है। एजुकेशन में 55 करोड़ से घटा कर 51 करोड़ रु० कर दिया गया। सोशल वेलफेयर में 26 करोड़ से 22 करोड़ रु० कर दिया गया। वेलफेयर आफ वैंकवर्ड क्लासेज—गणेश जी, आप सुन रहे हैं, आप कहिएगा ये सब आंकड़े गलत हैं।

श्री के० आर० गणेश : मैं सब सुन रहा हूँ। But I know what is the worth of the statistics that you are giving. They have to be read in their proper prospective. Don't think you are being very wise.

वैसे आप जो चाहिए, बोलते जाइए।

श्री महावीर त्यागी : मैंने तो पहले ही कहा, गणेश जी के सामने बैठ कर हम अपने आप को अक्लमंद कैसे कह सकते हैं लेकिन

गणेश मिट्टी का है या गोबर का है इसको देखने के लिए अक्ल चाहिए।

श्री के० आर० गणेश : जब आप जवाब सुनेंगे तब कहेंगे। आप की बर्थ कितनी है, वह हम जानते हैं। आप पहिले क्या थे और कांग्रेस पार्टी के अन्दर कम्युनिस्ट स्ट्रेटजी के अनुसार विस्फोट करने के लिए आप आये। आज आप...

श्री के० आर० गणेश : जनसंघ वालों को तो यही दिखलाई देता है। अगर आप के हाथ में देश की बागडोर होती, तो यह देश कहां चला जाता, यह हम अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं।

(Interruption)

डा० भाई महावीर : कहां चले जाते, यह तो जब फिर मौका आयेगा तब ही आप को पता चलेगा। आप जो इस समय देश की दुर्गति कर रहे हैं, उस दुर्गति में आपको इतना भी धीरज नहीं है कि आप हमारी बात दस मिनट भी सुन लें।

(Interruption)

श्री के० आर० गणेश : इन्हें तो हर जगह कम्युनिस्ट ही दिखलाई देते हैं।

(Interruption)

डा० भाई महावीर : मैं इन तरीकों को अच्छी तरह से जानता हूं। आप हर मिनट पर उबल रहे हैं जैसे जैक इन दि वाक्स उबलता है। (Interruption) अगर मंत्री जी इसी तरह से बोलते रहेंगे तो मैं भी उनको जवाब दूंगा। आप उनको अच्छी तरह से यह बात समझा दीजिये।

(Interruption)

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Sir, I protest against the behaviour of the Minister. The Minister must be more dignified.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : I am hearing for the last four hours. When he is speaking like that then I will also have to speak like that.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : But why are you shouting ? Being a Minister you must be more dignified.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : I am not here to hear everything that he says.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : No, you should not say like that.

डा० भाई महावीर : आपकी कृपा से और आपकी मेहरबानी से हम यहां पर नहीं बैठे हैं। अगर आप हमारी बात नहीं सुनेंगे तो हम भी आप की बात नहीं सुनेंगे।

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : The Minister must know how to maintain dignity.

डा० भाई महावीर : हर मिनट पर और हर कदम पर अगर आप इस तरह से बोलेंगे तो उसका जवाब देना ही होगा। मेरा तो समय बरबाद हो रहा है।

(Interruption)

SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA : An interruption has to be taken in its true spirit. Some interruptions do take place.

मैं तो बहुगुणा जी की स्प्रिट की बात कह रहा हूं।

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : 'I know the worth of what you are talking, I know the worth of your statistics'.

SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA : The honourable Member need not misunderstand him. The honourable Member has enough worth. But statistics do have no meaning sometimes.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Please ask your comrade also to behave like that.

SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA : My comrade is behaving all right.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : I have been hearing speeches. This is not the first speech. There have been speeches for the last four hours. We have been hearing them. But now the honourable Member while speaking made some point to my colleague here. On that this particular discussion came. He is very touchy when something is said about him. And when he says something about us, we should sit

[Shri K. R. Ganesh] and listen quietly and there should be no question of interrupting him and that is his right to speak. It is my responsibility to hear. But he becomes very touchy; when something is said here, he too has to hear. He must also take it in its right spirit.

डा० भाई महावीर : बहुगुणा जी ने ने कहा कि लोग तो तबे खरीद चुके हैं और नये तबे खरीदने नहीं है।

श्री एच० एन० बहुगुणा : रोज कोई तबा नहीं खरीदता है।

डा० भाई महावीर : मैंने कहा ठीक है, आपको तो बाजार में जाकर खरीदना नहीं है। इस चीज को तो श्री बहुगुणा जी ने अपना अपमान नहीं समझा, लेकिन श्री गणेश जी ने अपना अपमान समझ लिया। अगर यह अपमान है, तो मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि कोई ऐसा शब्द है जिसके कारण शर्मिन्दा होना चाहिये।

श्री एच० एन० बहुगुणा : अगर आप बजट पर वक्त लगायें, तो बेहतर होगा।

(Interruption)

डा० भाई महावीर : आपने कुछ कहा और मैंने उसका लाइट मूड में जवाब दे दिया।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम सहाय) : अब आप अपना भाषण जारी रखें।

डा० भाई महावीर : वैंलफेयर बैंकवर्ड के बारे में जो आंकड़े हैं, उसमें 15 करोड़ से घट कर 12 करोड़ रुपया कर दिया गया है। लेबर वैंलफेयर त्रैफ्ट्समैन ट्रेनिंग के लिए तीन करोड़ से दो करोड़ रुपया कर दिया गया, हाउसिंग के लिए 53 करोड़ रुपए से 21 करोड़ रुपया कर दिया गया। एटोमिक एनर्जी के लिए 59 करोड़ रुपये से 56 करोड़ रुपया कर दिया है। स्पेस टेक्नोलॉजी के लिए भी कम कर दिया है। लेकिन ग्रेटर सोशल जस्टिस के बारे में बात है और उसके बारे में कुछ आंकड़े देना चाहता

हूँ। महोदय, सोशल एंड डेवलपमेंट सर्विसेज, जिसमें एजुकेशन है, एजुकेशन के लिए जो 72-73 में व्यवस्था थी 113.9 करोड़ की वह 112.5 करोड़ हो गई, कोआपरेशन में 2.76 से 1.74 करोड़ हो गया, पब्लिक हेल्थ में सवा 7 से कम होकर 6.7 करोड़ हो गया, एनीमल हसबेन्डरी में 6.19 करोड़ से 5.45 करोड़, कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट, नेशनल एक्सटेंशन सर्विस, लोकल डेवलपमेंट वर्क्स पर 2 करोड़ से कम करके 1 करोड़ 67 लाख कर दिया गया है। इन सब चीजों में कमी करने से यदि यह समझा जाता है कि देश के अन्दर जो हमारे लक्ष्य हैं ग्रेटर सोशल जस्टिस के या छोटे आदमियों को ज्यादा फैसिलिटीज देने के वे पूरे हो रहे हैं, तो मुझे खेद है कि मैं इसे स्वीकार नहीं कर सकता।

पानी की उपलब्धि के बारे में क्या हम कोई लक्ष्य रख कर हर गांव के अन्दर पीने का पानी उपलब्ध कराने के बारे में निर्णय नहीं कर सकते थे? एक वक्त था बम्बई में कांग्रेस पार्टी के अधिवेशन में कांग्रेस पार्टी के विभाजन के बाद जो प्रस्ताव इस सम्बन्ध में पास किया गया था, उसके शब्द मैं पढ़ता हूँ :

— a sense of urgency in the implementation of drinking water programme so that by the end of the Fourth Plan no village should remain without this basic requirement of human existence.

श्री महावीर त्यागी : यह इलेक्शन से पहले की बात है।

डा० भाई महावीर : उस समय चौबी योजना के अन्दर हर गांव को पानी देने की बात थी, लेकिन विधान नगर में उसके तीन साल के बाद जो स्टेटमट है वह क्या है—

Every possible effort should be made to provide facilities for at least 28,000 villages by April, 1974.

योजना का जो लक्ष्य था उससे तीन साल बाद हम उसके एक बटा दस लक्ष्य पर पहुंचे हैं और इसमें भी 'एज फार एज पासिविल' जितना सम्भव हो उतना किया जाय। यह हमारे बादों की हालत है।

श्री महावीर त्यागी : वह इलेक्शन में पहले का था, वह इलेक्शन के बाद का है।

डा० भाई महावीर : भूमि सुधारों के सम्बन्ध में पटना में वह सत्तारूढ़ दल ने यह कहा था

All cultivable land available with the Government will be distributed to the land-less labourers before the end of 1971.

71 गया, 72 गया और 73 के भी तीन महीने बीत गए और इसके बाद भी आज क्या हालत है, आन्ध्र प्रदेश में जितनी भूमि फालतू निकली है सीलिंग के बाद उसमें से एक एकड़ भी डिस्ट्रीब्यूट नहीं की गई है। बहुत सारे राज्य ऐसे हैं जहां कानून बन रहे हैं और सरकार की तरफ से जवाब दिया जाता है कि डिफरेंट स्टेजेज आफ लेजिस्लेटिव प्रासेसेज अभी तक उनकी हैं। यह स्थिति बताने के बाद आज इस बात पर आप्रह किया जा रहा है कि एम्प्लायमेंट जेनरेट करने के लिए 5 लाख लोगों को रोजगार देने का फैसला किया गया है और उसके लिए 100 करोड़ रुपए की व्यवस्था हो गई है। इस तरह का फैसला 5 लाख लोगों को एम्प्लायमेंट देने का पटना अधिवेशन के वक्त भी किया गया। उस 5 लाख लोगों को रोजगार देने के इरादे का क्या हुआ, लेकिन अब जो 5 लाख लोगों को रोजगार देने के सम्बन्ध में 100 करोड़ रुपए देने की बात की जा रही है, उस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह बता दूँ कि रिजर्व बैंक आफ इंडिया की रिपोर्ट के अनुसार एक जाब क्रिएट करने के लिए लगभग 7 हजार रुपए चाहिए।

श्री एच० एन० बहुगुणा : किस तरह का जाब ?

डा० भाई महावीर : एजुकटेड जाब के लिए लगभग 7 हजार रुपए जाब क्रिएट करने के वास्ते इनवेस्टमेंट चाहिए। उस हालत में 5 लाख लोगों को जाब्स देने के वास्ते 350 करोड़ रुपए का इनवेस्टमेंट चाहिए। 100 करोड़ से कैसे होगा यह हम समझ नहीं पाए। इसका भी समाधान सरकार की तरफ से आ जाय।

श्री महावीर त्यागी : बहुगुणा बता सकते हैं।

श्री एच० एन० बहुगुणा : हम बता सकते हैं। लेकिन ये बुरा मान जाएंगे।

डा० भाई महावीर : हम बुरा नहीं मानेंगे, अगर आप बता सकते हैं तो बता दीजिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम सहाय) : आप मेहरबानी करके समाप्त करिए।

डा० भाई महावीर : समय सभापति जी देंगे, लेकिन अगर आप बता सकते हैं तो इसमें बढ़ कर सौभाग्य की बात नहीं हो सकती।

सेल्फ रिलायेंस की बात कही गई— मुझे पता नहीं है हमारे मंत्री इतनी जल्दी गुस्सा क्यों खाने लगते हैं, किस बात के कारण— इस बजट के भाषण में सेल्फ रिलायेंस के लिए कोई सीधे तौर पर उल्लेख भी नहीं किया गया, लेकिन इतना उल्लेख आया है कि यदि आत्म-निर्भरता सही रूप में प्राप्त होनी है तो यह होना चाहिए, “उर्वरकों, लोहा, इस्पात जैसी आयात की जाने वाली महत्वपूर्ण वस्तुओं का उत्पादन देश में काफी बड़े पैमाने पर जब होने लगेगा तब हम आत्म-निर्भर सही रूप में होंगे”। पर हम कब आत्म-निर्भर होंगे, कब उर्वरकों का हम इतना उत्पादन कर पाएंगे? पिछले दिनों में एक प्रश्न के उत्तर में श्री बरुआ ने बताया था कि हम कोई तिथि तय नहीं कर सकते कि हम अपनी उर्वरकों की आवश्यकता कब अपने देश में पूरी कर सकेंगे। मैंने पूछा था यांत्रिकी के बारे में कि 25 साल हो गये सिंदरी को और कहा जाता

[डा० भाई महावीर]

है कि—हमारे फॉट लाइजर कारपोरेशन के चेयरमैन कहते हैं कि—हम खुद फॉटलाइजर प्लांट लगा सकते हैं। लेकिन सब होने के बाद भी बाहर से कोलाबोरेशन करके लगता है तो कहते हैं कि ठीक है हमारे यहां भी है टेक्नालाजी, मगर बाहर और बढ़ गई है। तो 25 साल के अन्तर हम थोड़ा सा बढ़े हैं, बाकी दुनिया बढ़ गई है, इसलिए हमें कोलाबोरेशन करना है। 25 साल के बाद कहा जाएगा कि दुनिया और भी आगे बढ़ गई है, फिर हमें कोलाबोरेशन करेंगे। हजारों साल के बाद भी हम वहीं के वहीं रहेंगे। फिर देखिये, कोलाबोरेशन किन-किन बातों में होता है? महिलाओं के अधो-वस्त्र बनाने के लिए सरकार को कोलाबोरेशन एप्रूव करना हो, यह सरकार की आत्म-निर्भरता की कल्पना में कैसे सही बैठता है? कम से कम मोटी अक्ल के हमारे जैसे लोगों को समझ में नहीं आता। महोदय, फारन-एड अगर सचमुच कम करना है तो इन आंकड़ों के बारे में क्या किया गया है, यह मैं 'बजट, ऐट ए ग्लॉस' में से पांचवें पृष्ठ से पढ़ रहा हूं।

1972-73 में विदेशी सहायता 373.76 करोड़ थी, 1973-74 में 399.61 करोड़ है। यह बढ़ती हुई आत्म-निर्भरता है। फारन-एड भी बढ़ रही है, लेकिन आत्म-निर्भरता भी बढ़ रही है। इन दोनों को हम एक साथ कैसे बढ़ा रहे हैं? यह तो ज्ञायद सरकार ही बता सकेगी, मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। लेकिन नेट बोरोइंग में भी बढ़ोत्तरी हुई है, ग्रास बोरोइंग में ही नहीं। पिछले वर्ष नेट बोरोइंग 251.97 करोड़ था और इस वर्ष 262.19 करोड़ है। नेट बोरोइंग भी बढ़े हैं, ग्रास बोरोइंग भी बढ़े हैं, फिर भी दावा है कि हम आत्म-निर्भर हो रहे हैं और सरकार का बड़ा दृढ़ संकल्प है आत्म-निर्भरता प्राप्त करने का। महोदय, यह अपने देश का अपमान ही नहीं, अपने आपको धोखा देने की कोशिश की गई है। मैं नहीं समझता कि किसको धोखा देने की कोशिश हो रही है, किसको

धोखा देने का प्रयत्न हो रहा है। हम कहें कि दस साल के बाद हम इसके लिए प्रयत्न कर सकेंगे। लेकिन हम दावा यह करें कि हम बढ़ रहे हैं और साथ ही हमारे आंकड़े हमारे दावों को झुटलाने जाएं, यह हमारे लिए अच्छी स्थिति नहीं है।

एक्सपोर्ट्स की बात कही गई। चव्हाण साहब ने कहा कि एक्सपोर्ट्स बढ़ना चाहिए। लेकिन एक्सपोर्ट्स बढ़ाने के लिए कांदला को जो फ्री ट्रेड ज़ोन है, उसकी जो चलाने वाली हालत है, वह किसने की है? क्या कांदला के अन्दर परिस्थिति पैदा हुई, वहां के उद्योगपति जो वहां काम शुरू करने के लिए गए और आप अपने कारखानों में ताला लगा कर चाबियां लिए घूम रहे हैं कि किसको दें, प्रधान मंत्री को दें या गुजरात के मुख्य मंत्री को दें। लेकिन 7-8 वर्ष के बाद हम उनकी मांगों पर विचार कर रहे हैं, सलाह कर रहे हैं कि कमेटी, ऐडवाइजरी कमेटी, हाई पावर्स कमेटी रियारिंग ग्रुप या अन्य नए नए-गब्ब बूढ़ करके हम वास्तविकताओं के ऊपर पर्दा डालने की कोशिश में लगे हुए हैं। एक्सपोर्ट्स को बढ़ाने के लिए हमारे पोर्ट्स का विकास होना चाहिए, हमारे बन्दरगाहों का सुधार होना चाहिए। पोर्ट्स के बारे में आउट-ले कितना है? पिछले साल 4.94 करोड़ था, इस साल 5.24 करोड़ है। शिपिंग और टर्कर्स पर पिछले साल 1.63 करोड़ आउट-ले था, इस साल 36 लाख है। क्या इससे हम अपने निर्यातों को बढ़ाने की आशा रखते हैं?

एक आखिरी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूं वह मितव्ययिता के बारे में है। चव्हाण साहब ने कहा कि डेवलपमेंट और हाई वर्क के बिना हम तरक्की नहीं कर सकेंगे। लेकिन क्या हमने इकानामी के लिए केवल एक पासिंग रेफरेंस छोड़ कर कुछ किया? हर साल पासिंग रेफरेंस आता है कि नान-प्लान डेवलपमेंट एक्सपेंडीचर को रोकने की कोशिश की गई है। लोगों से यह दिया जाय कि आप इसको मान लें। इससे

क्या संतुष्ट हो जाएगी? आप बताइए कहां खर्चा कम किया गया? कहां आपने आयोजना से भिन्न मदों के अन्दर कोई कमी लाई? मुझे कहीं दिखाई नहीं देता। तो मैं एक बात की तरफ इशारा करता हूं, महोदय, कि हमारा जो एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के ऊपर होने वाला खर्चा है, मेरे पास इस समय आंकड़े हैं, मंत्रियों के ऊपर 5 करोड़ रुपए का वार्षिक खर्चा होता है मोटे तौर पर। फिर उनके पास मोटरों की कतारें होती हैं, उनके पास जो जो अहम कार है, सेना, ए० डी० सी०, पुलिस, आर्मी, सेक्रेटरीज, गार्ड्स, प्लान्ट गार्डनर्स, ये सब होने के बाद फारेन कार आती है, बगैर ड्यूटी उनके लिए। फिर कोई कस्टम ड्यूटी उतको नहीं देनी पड़ती जो व्यक्तिगत उपयोग के लिए, या परिवार के लिए या दोस्तों के लिए सामान बाहर से मंगवायें। फिर इंटरटेनमेंट के लिए लगभग सवा 3 लाख रु० तमिलनाडु में, 5 लाख रु०, महाराष्ट्र में, पौने 4 लाख रु० वेस्ट बंगाल में इनकी पर्मिटेड है। फिर इनके लिए किस तरह के निवास का प्रबन्ध है। शाहजहाँ ने जो महल बनवाया था अहमदाबाद में उसमें हमारा गवर्नर रहे, बंगलौर में जहाँ ब्रिटिश रेजिडेंट रहता था वहाँ हमारा गवर्नर रहे। भुवनेश्वर में 33 कमरों का गवर्नर का राज्य भवन है। बम्बई के अन्दर 19 हैक्टर में बना हुआ राज भवन है। कलकत्ता में 64 हैक्टरों का राज भवन है इन 64 कमरों के अन्दर राजपाल क्या करते हैं, मैं नहीं जानता।

लखनऊ में नवाब के महल में राज्यपाल रह रहे हैं। मद्रास में ब्रिटिश गवर्नर के 260 एकड़ में फैले हुए राज भवन में हमारे गवर्नर रह रहे हैं गोवा में जहाँ पुर्तगाली गवर्नर जनरल रहता था वहाँ पर हमारे ले० गवर्नर रहते हैं। यह स्थिति क्या इस बात को प्रगट नहीं करती कि यहाँ पर जितनी सादगी आनी चाहिए, जितना कम खर्चा किया जा सकता है

उसको करने के लिए सरकार कोई यत्न नहीं कर रही है।

प्रधान मंत्री जी इस पर नाराज जरूर हैं। अभी वे डंडी यात्रा पर गईं उसकी एनिवर्सरी पर और वहाँ उन्होंने फिर विरोधी दलों को कोसा और कहा कि विरोधी दल जो हैं वे केवल विरोध के लिए विरोध करते हैं। डंडी मार्च जहाँ गांधी जी चले थे वे वहाँ चल कर के आईं, क्या इससे गांधी जी का जो अनुकरण है वह हो गया? यहाँ पर जो पुराना बिड़ला भवन था जहाँ आखिरी गांधी जी ने यात्रा की प्रार्थना सभा के लिए, वहाँ पर उनके पद चिन्हों को बचा कर रखने की कोशिश हो रही है। क्या गांधी जी के पद चिन्हों को बचा कर रखने से गांधी जी के आदर्श इस देश के अन्दर जीवित रहेंगे? वैसे तो गांधी जी के खड़ाऊं भी हैं। उनका चश्मा भी है। वह चश्मा लेकर के अगर मैं यह सोचूं कि मुझ को गांधी जी की दृष्टि प्राप्त हो गई तो इससे बढ़ कर मूर्खता क्या होगी। परन्तु, महोदय, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि गांधी जी की बची हुई भौतिक वस्तुओं को पकड़ कर के या जहाँ वे चले थे वहाँ पर चले कर के उनके आदर्श को जीवित रहने का प्रयास बेमानी है। वास्तविकता यह है कि अगर हमारी सरकार स्वदेशी को महत्व दे सकती है या सादगी को महत्व दे सकती है या मनुष्य की महत्ता को स्वीकार करके सारी योजना के केन्द्र में मनुष्य को बिठा सकती है तब तो कहना चाहिए कि गांधी जी की शिक्षा हमने कुछ प्राप्त की, नहीं तो अगर हम ऐसे हैं कि एक व्यक्ति के ऊपर सैकड़ों ज़िम्मेदार लोगों की तरफ से भ्रष्टाचार के आरोप भी लगते रहें, फिर भी हम उसके खिलाफ जांच करने से डरें, व्यक्तिगत कमजोरियों और दोषों को छिपाएँ, उन पर पर्दा डालते रहें, तो इससे हम समझते हैं कि हम गांधी जी की आत्मा को संतुष्ट नहीं कर सकते।

महोदय, मेरा निवेदन यह है कि आज सरकार बलि का बकरा बनाना छोड़े, बलि का बकरा ढूँढ़ने की कोशिश छोड़े और अपनी असफलताओं को, अपनी कमजोरियों को स्वीकार करे और बजट के अन्दर जो इन कमियों को दूर करने का प्रयास हो सकता था, उसको करने का प्रयत्न करे।

अनाज का सरकारीकरण किया जा रहा है। राजनैतिक निर्णय करके इसके ऊपर सरकार ज़ोरों से चल रही है, लेकिन यह नहीं बताया गया कि इससे हित किसका होगा। क्या इससे किसान का हित होगा जिसको आज बाज़ारों में जा कर ज्यादा से ज्यादा कीमत मिल सकती है? आप मानोपली प्रोक्योरमेंट करके किसान को एक कीमत देंगे और उसको उसी पर बेचना पड़ेगा। उपभोक्ता को जो अनाज मिलेगा वह कैसा मिलेगा, यह हम नहीं जानते। उसको अनाज घटिया भी मिलेगा और महंगा भी मिलेगा और इसके लिए 500 करोड़ रु० लगेंगे या 1,500 करोड़ रु० लगेंगे या 3,000 करोड़ रु० लगेंगे, कई तरह के आंकड़े हैं, सरकार की तरफ से भी कई आंकड़े आ रहे हैं। इतना रुपया खर्चा करके क्या इस गरीब देश के पास इतनी पूँजी है कि इतना रुपया केवल अनाज के व्यापार के लिए हम उसके अन्दर फंसा कर रख लें? मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार को व्यावहारिक दृष्टि से समस्याओं को सही दृष्टिकोण से देख कर उनका सही निदान करने का यत्न करना चाहिए। इस बजट के अन्दर दुर्भाग्य से ऐसे कोई लक्षण दिखाई नहीं देते। इस वास्ते बड़े दुःख के साथ मैं इस बजट के इन दोषों की ओर ध्यान दिलाना अपना कर्तव्य समझता हूँ और अगर इस ध्यान दिलाने में हमारे मित्र श्री गणेश को कष्ट हुआ है तो उसके लिए मैं क्षमा चाहता हूँ।

श्री के० आर० गणेश : मुझे कोई कष्ट नहीं हुआ। सिर्फ कष्ट यह हुआ कि इतनी

भारी स्पीच के बाद फिर आ गए इस पर कि फूड ग्रेन ट्रेड नहीं लेनी चाहिए। तो फिर कैसे समस्या हल होगी? आखिर, उनका जो असली मक्सद है उसी पर आ गए। इससे समस्या हल नहीं होगी।

डा० भाई महावीर : फूड ग्रेन ट्रेड जोवर करनी चाहिए या नहीं करना चाहिए, मैंने यह शब्द नहीं कहे। (Interruption) मैंने जो कहा उसे सुनिए। आपको अपने कानों पर जितना भरोसा करना चाहिए, उससे ज्यादा आप कर रहे हैं। मैंने कहा कि आप यह किस के हित में कर रहे हैं, यह बताइए। क्या श्रोत्र के हित में यह है, क्या कंजुमर के हित में यह है? नहीं है, नहीं है। यह धोखा। आप सारे देश को धोखा दे रहे हैं। आप सारी इकोनामिक पावर अपने हाथ में रखना चाहते हैं ताकि जो आप में डिफर करे आप उस का गला घोट सकें।

श्री महावीर त्यागी : मेरी एक प्रार्थना यह है कि आप मेहरबानी करके मिनिस्टर साहब को यह हिदायत कीजिए कि वह इस तरह से दखल न दें जिम्मेदारी के साथ चीजों को सुनें, सब के साथ सुन लें और जब जवाब दें तो उस का जवाब दें।

श्री के० आर० गणेश : बीच में नहीं, आखिर में मैंने अपनी बात कही है। शायद आप को मेरे दखल देने पर ही इतना बहू होता है। (Interruption)।

डा० भाई महावीर : आप ने जो किया है उस का बदला हम भी दे सकते हैं। आप ने जो इंटरप्शन किया है वह हम समझते हैं।

श्री महावीर त्यागी : मैं समझता हूँ कि मिनिस्टर को अपनी डिमिटी मेण्डेन करनी चाहिए। इतने सारे और भी मिनिस्टर हैं।

श्री उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम सहाय) : अब आप खतम कीजिए।

श्री के० आर० गणेश : मेरा एक पर्सनल एक्सप्लेनेशन है। भाई महावीर अपनी स्पीच खत्म कर चुके थे और खत्म करने के बाद उन्होंने कहा कि मुझे अगर वह बात टीक न लगी हो, कष्ट हुआ हो तो वह माफी चाहते हैं। मैंने उनके खत्म करने के बाद कहा कि आपकी बात को मैं सुन चुका हूँ।

(Interruptions)

श्री महावीर त्यागी : अगर आप वर्दाज़न कर लगे तो क्या होगा।

श्री के० आर० गणेश : मेरे खड़े हो जाने से आप को तकलीफ हो जाती है।

श्री नवल किशोर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं दरखास्त करूंगा अपने मित्र बहुगुणा जी से कि थोड़ा-सा अपना हुस्ने इस्त्राक मिनिस्टर साहब को दे दें।

श्री एच० एन० बहुगुणा : वह आप के हिस्से में चला गया है।

SHRI H. M. TRIVEDI (Gujarat) : Sir, with all the heat that has been generated, I wonder whether a quiet soul like me is going to be listened to. However, before I come to the Budget, I would like to refer to a very important subject, which has cropped up only lately and that is the external value of the rupee. In 1966, we voluntarily devalued the rupee by 57½%. Since this was done under international pressure, devaluation acquired a bad political odour. The Finance Ministry, however, has consistently desired to fix a realistic value of the rupee and in fact, since 1966 it would appear that, although unannounced, there has been a process of practical devaluation of the rupee by 20 per cent. In August, 1971, the U.S.A. suspended convertibility of the dollar. It was clear that all major currencies would float upwards against the dollar. India then chose to link the rupee to the dollar on the specious plea that Government favoured fixed parity which gave a constant value in terms of gold. Subsequently in December, 1971,

the monetary crisis was resolved by the Smithsonian Agreement which fixed new currency parities. India then changed horses and linked the rupee to the pound-not the old pound which was worth Rs. 18 but the last value of the floated pound which was Rs. 18966. The rupee was in effect devalued by 5¼ per cent. At that time the practice of expressing the value of the rupee in terms of gold was abandoned. In June 1972, the pound sterling was again floated. It was obvious that it would float downwards. The Government then chose to retain the pound-rupee link so that the rupee would float downwards. In doing so, it abandoned its declared preference for fixed parities and tied the rupee to the only major currency which was afloat. In effect, it is clear that the net effect of these three events has been to devalue the rupee by nearly 20 per cent. This is clear from the fact that the dollar which used to be worth Rs. 750 in early 1971 is now worth Rs. 761 of the devalued dollar.

We are now faced with another currency crisis with the joint float by the EEC except the pound against the dollar. I have referred to this subject because I would like to make a suggestion. It has been suggested that the link between the rupee and the pound should be abolished. I am afraid this is easier said than done. As far as India is concerned, the pound happens to be the only currency in which we will have sufficient reserves to use as the intervention currency for settlement of our international transactions. It has, however, surprised me that the Reserve Bank has been unwilling to use the 2½ per cent band on either side of Rs. 18'80 which Government had permitted. This monetary crisis will continue. I doubt whether any common action by developing countries as a group in this situation is possible. To protect our own interests we are left with only two alternatives : (1) to operate a dual exchange rate system if we can competently manage it, that is, mainly to protect the intrinsic value of our bilateral rupee trade; or (2) to operate a rupee floating in sympathy with the pound but with an operative band on either side such as has been thought of.

Coming to the Budget proper, I trust the hon. Minister will not mind my drawing

[Shri H. M. Trivedi] attention to some disturbing features. It appears that of the total receipts both on revenue and capital account in 1973-74 of something like Rs. 7,300 crores, Rs. 3,000 crores in both accounts are civil expenditure; Defence expenditure is Rs. 1,600 crores, leaving in effect, Rs. 2,700 crores for, what may be called, essentially development expenditure. The surplus on revenue account is down to mere Rs. 37 crores in 1972-73. For 1973-74 it is only 79 crores of rupees. The capital deficit in 1973-74 is anticipated at Rs. 414 crores after much larger gross market borrowings of Rs. 880 crores against Rs. 770 crores in 1972-73. The obliteration of distinction between revenue and capital receipts and expenditure side has led to the disastrous consequence of taking the lid of control on revenue expenditure of non-development character. Resources raised by taxation are indiscriminately used for either revenue or capital. The budgetary distinction is now no more than a formality of classification by budget heads. The inevitable corollary is that even deficit financing is raised; deficit finance resources raised by deficit financing are also used for non-developmental expenditure.

The most important sector in terms of its budgetary implications on our economy is agriculture. What is happening in this sphere ? There are essentially four main aspects as far as agriculture is concerned—production, procurement, distribution and prices. On the production front after series of good harvests we are unfortunately faced with a drought. The green revolution has touched only wheat. There has not been any breakthrough in rice or other coarse grains. For fifteen years now the production of pulses and oilseed has remained stagnant. The green revolution has touched only some States. Its benefits have not spread widely. There is no break-through in jute and only a minor break-through in cotton. With one major failure of rains and production the entire economy goes out of gear while the settlement of several inter-State river disputes has been pending for over fifteen years. One can only pray that the coming rabi and kharif crops will yield more. What is the picture on the side of procurement. Against a procurement target of four

million tonnes, hardly 23 million tonnes will probably be procured. In coarse grains, out of a total production of something like 16 to 17 million tonnes, only 150,000 tonnes will probably be procured. Sir, in the middle 60s procurement was sustained by a compulsory levy of grains on holdings above a certain size. The suggestion to bring back the producer-levy has been repeatedly made but the Agriculture Ministry continues merely to exhort the States for efficient procurement. The question of reimposing the producer-levy has been side-tracked. With an overall stock of something like 5 million to 6 million tons procured and 2 million tons of import, even a partial failure of the monsoon can lead to grievous consequences. Even when we had a 9 million tons stock, the Government is unable to exercise a stabilising influence on prices. It could have done so if it had not haphazardly released stocks to be taken up by traders and merchants for hoarding. No stringent action was taken against hoarding. The availability now in the free market of food at fancy prices is indicative of this phenomenon.

On the distribution front, the system has already shown signs of stress in the recent past. It has occasionally broken down in pockets. The increase in the off take from the public distribution system from 71 million tons in January-November 1971 to 96 million tons in January-November, 1972 is accounted for by traders and rich farmers with holding stocks from the market and not from the success of the distribution system. The takeover of wholesale trade in grains, while a welcome measure, would serve the purpose only if the machinery for implementation is fully geared, and the surplus States play the game. It is confined only to marketed surplus and not marketable surplus, which immediately gets related to price. And finally, what is the situation on the price front? The failure last autumn to adjust the procurement price of wheat as recommended by the Agricultural Prices Commission indicates what is in store in the future when production is lower and the base-level of prices itself is higher. The Economic Survey tells us that the prices of foodgrains can be controlled only if procurement prices are controlled and issue price is raised. Is

there any possibility of either of these wise dictums being implemented ? With foodgrain prices having already risen by 16.1 per cent in the current year, within anxiety to acquire at least a workable emergency stock, with surplus States and rich farmers demanding their price, the net result is likely to be a further increase in foodgrain prices. The subsidy to the Food Corporation was raised in 1972-73 from Rs. 100 crores to Rs. 117 crores revised and is placed at Rs. 130 crores in 1973-74. In fact, it may end up at a much higher figure. Viewed overall the picture on the foodgrain front demonstrates a lack of political will and courageous exercise of political power. Even if the rural elite continues to be significant political power base of the party, there is no reason why we should not be able to cajole or pressurise it rather than be led by the nose by it.

The second aspect I would like to touch upon is the Plan outlay. It is stated that taking the Central Plan and State Plans together, the Plan outlay in 1973-74 is Rs. 4,356 crores against Rs. 4,011 crores in the current year. It is also stated that the Plan provision in the Budget of 1973-74 taking Central and Union Territories as well as Central assistance to State Plans is Rs. 2,844 crores against Rs. 2,624 crores in 1972-73. These figures have been accepted by several speakers without questioning and they have been hailed. On the face of it, they seem to indicate an increase. A much closer analysis of the Budget figures indicates that the allocation for specific programmes for social justice is only Rs. 125 crores for 1973-74, the same as in the current year. Adjusted for price rise, it represents a reduction in real terms. A separate allocation of Rs. 100 crores has been suggested for creation of half a million jobs and Rs. 150 crores have been allotted for advance action on the Fifth Plan. It is not clear in which sectors this is to be spent. It is also not clear as to what is to happen to the many Fourth Plan programmes which are now incomplete. Mr. Vice-Chairman, the fact is that the Central Plan outlay including Central Plan plus Central assistance for State and Union Territories as a proportion of the total revenue and capital receipts of the Central Government will, in fact, decline from about 40 per cent in 1969-70, the first year of the Fourth Plan.

to 38 per cent in the last year of the Fourth Plan. Excluding the Rs. 100 crores for employment generation and Rs. 150 crores for advance action the outlay in the Central Plan in 1973-74 is Rs. 1,674 crores compared to Rs. 1,787 crores in the current year, a cut of about 7 per cent. The allocation for power, industry, minerals and transport is Rs. 1,054 crores compared to Rs. 1,098 crores in 1972-73. The proposed investment in 1973-74 in four major Ministries, namely Heavy Industry, Industrial Development, Petroleum and Chemicals and Steel and Mines, is Rs. 488 crores only compared to the revised estimate of Rs. 602 crores for 1972-73, a decline of practically 20 per cent. The allocation to the shipping Development Fund is placed at Rs. 614 crores against Rs. 4550 crores revised for 1972-73. This additional allotment does not even take care the rise in prices of ships between the two years. In fact, with this allotment the tonnage acquired in 1973-74 will be less than that acquired in 1972-73. It seems to me, Mr Vice-Chairman, that the Plan outlay in the last year of the Fourth Plan does not constitute a very happy augury for the start of the Fifth Five Year Plan.

Sir, the Finance Minister has stated that he gives the highest priority to containment of inflationary pressures. Let us examine the budgetary figures. The deficit of Rs. 550 crores in the revised estimates does not show the real inflationary impact of Government expenditure. Repayments by parties other than the States and Union Territories were Rs. 530 crores revised against a provision of Rs. 269 crores in the Budget of 1972-73. In other words it yielded something like Rs. 190 crores from parties other than States and Union Territories. Rs. 200 crores of commercial bank finances were funnelled in via the Food Corporation. A more reliable index than the budgetary deficit of the inflationary pressures operating in the economy is the expansion of net bank credit to Government. Sir, it has been repeatedly stated that 1971-72 was an extraordinary year with influx of refugees and war with Pakistan. This I think is dominantly true but that does not explain the whole truth. The aggregate money supply and total monetary resources were bulging continuously for

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three years from 1969-70 to 1971-72 when the rate of growth of real national income was declining. Taking the three years together the money supply with the public and the total monetary resources rose by 40 per cent and 48 per cent respectively. In the same period national income at 1960-61 prices rose by only 13 per cent and the per capita income by only 6 per cent. During the current financial year up to February 9, expansion in money supply with the public is Rs. 786 crores against Rs. 722 crores in the corresponding period of 1971-72. The unprecedented growth of net bank credit to Government which was Rs. 973 in 1971-72 is surpassed in the current year where the net bank credit to Government is Rs. 1,209 crores. Even Reserve Bank credit in 1972-73 is Rs. 671 crores compared to Rs. 493 crores in 1971-72. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am afraid we have completed a rather vicious circle of Reserve Bank credit to Government, surfeit of liquidity with commercial banks, relatively slack demand for bank credit from the commercial sector, with Government mopping up liquidity by borrowing from commercial banks and finally commercial banks in turn unloading Government securities on to the Reserve Bank. What is the effect of this mode of financing? It has led to a substantial rise in prices which is already too well-known for me to narrate, is this trend likely to be arrested? I doubt it. Firstly, the proposed excise levies would lead to a sympathetic rise in prices of goods not subjected to excise. Secondly, deficit financing will play its role. Thirdly, the wholesale trade in foodgrains will require a considerable expansion of bank credit. The only slender hope seems to be a good harvest, a reasonably good distribution system and industrial production maintaining the 7 to 8 per cent growth. If these things happen, the rise may then be confined to 6 to 8 per cent. The projection by Government spokesman of 0.4 per cent is wholly unrealistic. I would now like to touch upon the subject of Centre-State financial relations. The current year's account of the Central Government were upset by having to provide to the States Rs. 150 crores for minor irrigation under the emergency programme and Rs. 220 crores in place of

Rs. 75 crores for natural calamities. Then, there was a further assistance for closing the non-Plan gaps. In spite of the Centre's effort to bridge the non-Plan gaps of certain States, the overdrafts of the States continued to rise. They were cleared by "ways and means advances" of which only a small portion has been cleared. But the recovery of the balance Rs. 421 crores has been transferred as a deficit to the Centre. There is a continued pressure for subventions from the Centre to meet not development but non-Plan expenditure. Several States have already presented their Budgets. Something like Rs. 250 crores deficit Budgets have been presented by the different States. None of them has made any effort at further resource mobilisation. With the appointment of the Sixth Finance Commission, all of them are engaged in evolving sophisticated arguments for a parochial pursuit of increased subventions from the Centre and altering the formula for Central assistance. Sir, this is another illustration of a lack of political will on the part of the Centre.

Practically for half a century there has been no innovation in our tax system. Revenues come from customs, excise, income and corporate taxation. Even within the taxation system there are no innovations. It is commonly suggested that the limits have been reached. One may or may not subscribe to this view. The several suggestions of the Wanchoo Committee deserve full consideration.

The present flat rates of income-tax, seemingly progressive in incidence as a table, are, in fact, slowly transferring the fixed income groups in the middle-classes to the lower middle-classes and the lower middle-class into the poor. Fiscal policies appear to favour the old upper class way of life and penalise the middle-class and the fixed income groups. Raw Silk yields nothing to the excise collector, but art silk fabrics are liable to duty. The rich can have carpets and mahogany in their homes, but linoleum, plastics and plywood are subjected to duty. Sir, tax-exempt educational allowances and medical expenses are better than the provident fund and life insurance inducements offered in the Budget.

The Finance Minister has suggested stiffer rates of income and wealth taxes for Hindu undivided families having one or more members with independent incomes exceeding the exemption limit. The Wanchoo Committee has clearly stated that the Hindu undivided family is really a device for avoiding taxation. The simple and straightforward solution of abolishing the Hindu undivided family as a unit of assessment and the adoption of the nuclear family hinted at by the Prime Minister in the Budget of 1970-71 has not been adopted. I wish it was adopted. The Raj Committee also favoured this amendment. It seems to me that this amendment will be neutralised by Hindu undivided families being further divided and sub-divided into smaller units.

Sir, the major recommendation of the Raj Committee was the agricultural holdings tax and not the partial integration of agricultural and non-agricultural incomes for taxation. Inspired reports were published suggesting that the agricultural holdings tax was not practicable. I can only hope that this major recommendation has not been sidetracked. It was previously argued that there was difficulty in taxation of agricultural income because it required a constitutional amendment. The Raj Committee's recommendation does not require such an amendment. The assessment of rateable value of the agricultural holding is only a step further to the inquiry which is necessary for implementing even the land ceiling legislation. Without this source of revenue in the future, the Plan resources cannot be raised. We can only hope that the proposed Taxation Laws (Amendment) Bill will take care of this suggestion.

The further set of concessions to industry for going to the backward areas are not likely to work. The existing concessions have not been availed of, and are, in fact, abused. We are already told by the industry that the new concessions are not enough until the Government provides the entire infra-structure similar to developed areas. There is little doubt that the private sector industry will not go to the backward areas except on the basis of a coercive industrial licensing policy. So long as the industry is allowed to be established without restraint in develop areas without counter-

part investment in the backward areas, the backward areas will remain undeveloped.

Sir, the Finance Minister has given an indication that as a substitute for development rebate an initial depreciation allowance of 20 per cent is intended to be given for selected industries for plant and machinery acquired after May, 1974. In this particular case, I would like to refer to one particular industry, shipping, of which I have intimate knowledge. Let me state rightaway that the proposed concession is entirely inadequate as far as shipping is concerned. The Finance Minister has indicated that the concession is to be spelt out in separate legislation. I hope that he will then adopt the unanimous recommendation of the statutory National Shipping Board permitting to shipping depreciation on replacement cost or free depreciation to the extent to which profits in a particular year permit. Except on that basis the target and tonnage in the Fifth Plan will be entirely unattainable.

Sir, in conclusion, I would not want to attempt a definition of socialism. But let us admit that we are not engaged yet in altering the basic property relationships in society or controlling the means of production. But even to the extent to which we wish to increase the marginal consumption of the poor, I suggest that control on prices and control on inflation are a must in the coming year.

श्री भूपेन्द्र नारायण मंडल (बिहार) :
 उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, जो बजट अभी इस सदन के सामने प्रस्तुत किया गया है, उसे प्रस्तुत करते हुए वित्त मंत्री ने अपना बहुत दुःख जाहिर किया कि आज देश के गरीबों को बहुत कष्ट है। कष्ट का कारण उन्होंने बतलाया कि यहां जो सूखा पड़ा, उसके पहले जो हिन्दुस्तान में लड़ाई बरगूह हुई; इस सबके कारण से यह स्थिति आज हम लोगों को भुगतनी पड़ रही है। देश में महंगाई बहुत बेशी बढ़ गई है और यह महंगाई कैसे रोकी जाए, गरीबों की तकलीफ को कैसे दूर किया जाए, इसके लिए उन्होंने अपनी कुछ स्कीम

[श्री भूपेन्द्र नारायण मण्डल]

रखी है, कुछ स्कीम तो पहले से चली आती थी, कुछ नई स्कीम भी जो उसमें उन्होंने जोड़ी हैं। उसके लिए भी प्रोवीजन किया गया है। लेकिन असल मामला आज जो देश के सामने है, वह इंफ्लेशन का है। डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग होगा तो इंफ्लेशन होगा और उस पर अगर मनी सप्लाई वैसी हो जाए तो इंफ्लेशन और भी বেশी बढ़ जाएगा। वही काम इस देश में होता गया है। एक तरफ तो प्रोडक्शन जितना बढ़ना चाहिए था उतना नहीं बढ़ा, दूसरी तरफ मनी सप्लाई को बढ़ाया गया है और बजट में डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग किया गया है और इस वजह से देश में यह तकलीफ हो गई है। उस तकलीफ का क्या चित्र है, इसके बारे में मैं कह सकता हूँ कि इस साल सभी वस्तुओं का दाम बढ़ गया है। जब कि 1961 में 100 पाइंट था, वह बढ़ करके 1972 में 13.7 हो गया। खाने की चीजों का दाम 19.5 बढ़ गया। दाल का 25.1 बढ़ गया। चीनी का 38.5 बढ़ गया। पेय तम्बाकू का 20.5 बढ़ गया। यानी जितनी चीजें गरीब से गरीब आदमी अपने इस्तेमाल में लाता है उन सारी चीजों के दाम इतने বেশी बढ़ गये जिस की वजह से लोगों को असीम कष्ट इस बीच में भोगना पड़ा है।

फिर इधर इंडस्ट्रियल सेक्टर और ऐग्री-कल्चर सेक्टर, दोनों का उत्पादन भी कम होता चला गया। उसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि हमारी राष्ट्रीय आय भी बराबर कम होती चली गई। जो राष्ट्रीय आय 1969 में 7.1 परसेंट बढ़ी वह 1970 में 4.8 परसेंट रह गई और 1971 में 2.9 परसेंट रह गई और 1972 में उससे भी कम यह हमारी राष्ट्रीय आय की हालत हुई। जिस देश में 2.5 प्रतिशत आदमी प्रति वर्ष बढ़ते जाते हैं उसमें अगर इकोनामिक ग्रोथ न हो तो क्या उसका नतीजा हो सकता है यह भली

भांति समझा जा सकता है। उस पर अगर मंहगाई বেশी बढ़ती जाय उससे और भी लोगों का कितना कष्ट बढ़ जाता है यह भी भली भांति समझा जा सकता है।

इस देश के गरीब के बारे में जो कुछ मुझे मालूम है उससे मालूम पड़ता है कि इस देश में आज भी 20 हजार बच्चों की मृत्यु प्रति मास पोष्टिक आहार न मिलने के कारण हो जाती है। 10 आदमी में 4 आदमी ऐसे हैं जिन की महावारी आमदनी देहात में 15 रु० और शहर में 24 रु० होती है। बिहार और यू० पी० दोनों मिला करके जिन को अत्यंत गरीब कहते हैं जो कि 40 परसेंट के अन्दर गरीब आते हैं उनको अगर 100 मान लिया जाय तो बिहार और यू० पी० में ऐसे गरीबों की प्रतिशत संख्या 30 परसेंट है। एक एक राज्य का लिया जाय तो उड़ीसा में वैसे गरीबों की संख्या 64.7 प्रतिशत है। अरुणाचल में 57.4 प्रतिशत है, नागालैंड में 52.9 प्रतिशत है और बिहार में 49.4 प्रतिशत है। ज़मीन मिलकियत की यह हालत है कि जो खेती करने वाले आदमी हैं उनमें सात करोड़ किसान बेज़मीन के हैं। 10 परसेंट होल्डिंग ऐसी है जो एक एकड़ से भी कम है। जब कि अमरीका में 5 परसेंट जो खेती करने वाले आदमी हैं वे प्रति आदमी पर 42 सौ डालर उपज करते हैं और हिन्दुस्तान में जो 73 परसेंट ऐग्रीकल्चरल लेबर कोर्म है वह 80 डालर ही सिर्फ उपज कर सकता है।

फिर हमारे यहां घर की हालत यह है कि सौ में 27 आदमी के पास कोई घर ही नहीं है। देश में जो गांव हैं उनमें साढ़े 6 करोड़ घर हैं जिनमें 5 करोड़ से বেশी घर ऐसे हैं जो रहने लायक ही नहीं हैं। बम्बई जैसे शहर में जो सेंसस किया गया तो देखा गया कि वहां पर 5 फ्लेट में से 4 फ्लेट में सिर्फ एक आदमी के लिए 25 स्क्वयर फिट जमीन है। और जेल में जो स्पेस दी जाती है किसी एक कैदी को, वह 40 स्क्वयर फीट होती है। इस तरह की

हालत देश की है और उस का इकोनामिक मैनेजमेंट जिन लोगों के हाथों में है उन लोगों ने जिम इंग का प्रबन्ध शुरू से आज तक किया है उस का यह नतीजा निकला है कि आज भी इस देश में समस्याएँ हल नहीं हुई हैं। अंग्रेजों के जमाने में इस देश से जितना धन बाहर जाता था, आज भी देश से धन का ड्रेन होता बंद नहीं हुआ है, बल्कि वह पहले से कहीं अधिक बढ़ गया है। एक किताब हम ने देखी थी जिस से मालूम हुआ कि 600 करोड़ से कुछ ज्यादा रुपया नेट एक साल में विदेश चला जाता है। हम समझते हैं कि हमारी राष्ट्रीय आय का जो हिस्सा 1947 में बाहर जाता था उस से कहीं ज्यादा हिस्सा इस समय भी इस देश से बाहर जा रहा है। मैंने जिक्र किया था वित्त मंत्री जी के सामने इस बात का एक कमेटी में और उन्होंने कहा था कि वह उस वारे में फीगर्स सप्लाय करेंगे और मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस बजट के सिलसिले में वह फीगर्स क्या हैं यह बताया जाय। 1947 में जो रुपया (धन) ड्रेन होकर बाहर चला जाता था, उस तरह से आजकल कितना बाहर जाता है उसके फीगर्स आप हमें दे दें और देश की नेशनल इन्कम का वह कौन सा हिस्सा है यह हमें मंत्री जी बतलावें। 1963 से लेकर 1972 तक जो मंहगाई हुई है वह अमूमन करीब 40 परसेंट के हिसाब से दूसरे देश में हुई है, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान में वह मंहगाई 80 प्रतिशत हो गयी है और खाने की जो चीजें हैं उनमें मंहगाई बहुत ज्यादा है, वह करीब-करीब 95 प्रतिशत हो गयी है। 1924 करोड़ रुपये का प्लान में प्राविजन किया गया है केन्द्रीय सरकार के लिए और जो केन्द्र से राज्यों को मदद में मिलेगा वह 810 करोड़ की रकम है और यूनियन टेरिटरीज के लिए 110 करोड़ की रकम है, कुल मिलाकर 2844 करोड़ रुपये के प्लान का यह बजट है। गरीबों के लिए जो स्पेशल काम करने के बायदे किये गये हैं वह हैं जरूरतमंदों और गरीबों की भलाई के लिए और आर्थिक, सामाजिक न्याय के लिए और कुछ कार्यक्रम जो रखे गये हैं वह

इस प्रकार के हैं। उन में बच्चों के लिए पोषक आहार का कार्यक्रम है गरीबों की जलपूर्ति की कुछ योजनाएँ हैं, औद्योगिक कर्मचारियों के लिए सामाजिक सुरक्षा के लिए, ग्रामीण रोजगार की योजनाएँ हैं, शिक्षित और अशिक्षित बेकारों के लिए विशेष रोजगार की व्यवस्था, गंदी अस्तियों का सुधार और गांवों में घर बनाने के लिए गरीबों के लिए जमीन की व्यवस्था, गांवों में जलपूर्ति आदि के लिए 125 करोड़ रुपये रखे गये हैं। इसके अलावा 518 करोड़ जो पब्लिक इंटरप्राइज सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के हैं उनका इंटरनल वचन है। 518 करोड़ रुपये जो है वह भी छोड़ दिया गया है उन्हीं लोगों के लिए। इस तरह से बेसी रुपये उनके पास रहेंगे जिससे वह अपना इंतजाम कर सकेंगे।

अब मैं आपसे यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश में जो इतनी मंहगाई है इसका क्या कारण है, क्या इसका कारण सिर्फ वही है जो कि कहा जाता है कि पैदावार कम हुई ! वही कारण है या दूसरा भी कारण है ! लेकिन हम समझते हैं कि सिर्फ वही कारण नहीं है क्योंकि इधर जो अन्न की पैदावार हुई थी वह 108 मिलियन टन्स थी उसके बाद 104 मिलियन टन्स हुई और लास्ट में जो 100 मिलियन टन्स हुई उसके बाद में जो जमा किया गया था वह अन्न भी सरकार के पास में था, फिर भी जिस इंग से मंहगाई आई इसका क्या कारण हुआ ! इसका एक कारण तो यह है कि रुपये का बहुत प्रसार हुआ और दूसरा कारण यह है कि अन्न को बांटने के लिए देहातों में जो सरकारी मशीनरी चाहिये वह मशीनरी ठीक से काम नहीं करती थी ! काम ठीक से क्यों नहीं करती थी उसका भी कारण है। चूँकि जानबूझ कर फुडकारपोरेशन के जरिये ऐसा किया जाता था कि जब वहां से अन्न निकाला जाता था तो उसे निकाल करके उस मशीनरी के जरिये से फेयर प्राइस शाप्स के जरिये से, वह गरीबों के पास नहीं पहुंचाया जाता था बल्कि वह भ्रष्टाचार से

[श्री भूपेन्द्र नारायण मण्डल]

वनिया के यहां चला जाता था और फिर वहां से ब्लैकमार्केट में उन चीजों की बिक्री होती थी और इस तरह से और भी मुनाफा उनको हुआ करता था। जो हिन्दुस्तान का पूँजीपति है उसको क्यों इतनी छूट दी जाती है कि इतना मुनाफा खोरी करे। इसका कारण है। आज जो सरकारी पार्टी है वह सरकारी पार्टी अपनी पावर को रखने के लिये पूँजीपतियों से चुनाव के टाइम में या दूसरे टाइम में जो पैसा लेती है उसी के बदले में इतनी छूट देती है, नहीं तो कम्युनिस्ट कंट्री बगैरह में भी डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग होती है, हैवी इंडस्ट्री को करने के लिये वहां भी ऐसा करना पड़ता है लेकिन जब चीजों की शार्टेज रहती है तो उस वक्त जो इंतजाम किया जाता है उस इंतजाम के जरिये से जो स्केयर्स चीजें हैं वह करीब-करीब सभी लोगों को पेयर ग्राइस शाप से थोड़ी बहुत उचित मूल्य पर मिल जाती हैं लेकिन यहां पर जानबूझ कर पूँजीपतियों को मौका दिया जाता है कि दाम बढ़ाकर के तुम लोगों को लटो। इस तरह से उनकी पूँजी भी बढ़ जाती है और दूसरी ओर जो सरकारी पार्टी है वह भी अपना काम चलाने के लिये उस पूँजी का इस्तेमाल करती है। यह एक प्रधान कारण है जिस वजह से हिन्दुस्तान में आज इतनी मंहगाई हो गई है और जिससे कि सभी लोगों को आज कण्ट हो रहा है।

DR. M. R. WAS (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the world over any Finance Minister has always an unevitable job particularly that of one who, as in our country, has to draw from very little but has many mouths to feed. On the floor of (his House there have been several criticisms. Some have felt that what they are going to get is too little. Some feel that the taxation should be higher. Some feel that the taxation should be lower. The reasons vary. Some feel aggrieved on behalf of a section of the community and some for a section of the country. Everyone is right from his or her angle. But the hon. Finance

Minister has to be just and try his best to meet all the different demands. The hon. Finance Minister deserves special congratulations that in spite of stringency and hardship he has been able to accommodate a substantial increase in the budget for our defence which you know is a very important and vital matter. However, as the hon. Finance Minister himself has said in his speech, budgeting in India is not merely a question of equating incomes with expenses. There should be a proper perspective. But when you consider these words, you come to feel that the Finance Minister has not done justice to the aims that he has himself outlined. As one of the speakers before me mentioned the traditions and track of our budgeting have been more or less the same during the last two decades. I venture to say that it has remained almost unchanged since the time of Sir Jeremy Raisman, who presented his budget almost 40 years back in this very House. Only you find words and slogans of social equations, socialists goal, weaker sections, balanced growth, etc. All these phrase* have cropped up though the overall picture is that we are making headway in ^opposite direction.

We find that after 25 years of budgeting as an independent nation, Messrs Drought and allied agencies are still the managing agents of our budgeting. Still they dominate our economic life and every time there is a drought of severe nature, entire the budgeting gets unbalanced. I think this is not a very satisfactory state of affairs. What are we trying to do? I am afraid we are making a socialist budget with a capitalist frame. In other words, we are trying to fit a square peg in a round hole. What else can we say who when we see that since 1961 our wholesale prices have increased by 150 per cent in respect of foodstuff and by 120 per cent for all commodities put together? Since 1961 our net per capita income has increased only by 14 per cent. At the same time our budget has grown by 400 per cent. The per capita consumption of cereals has gone down from 431 grammes per head to 428 grammes and similarly cloth consumption has remained more or less static. These are only a few instances. Many more have- already been cited by speakers before me. I would not therefore make a repeated attack on the same ground.

However, I would all the same like to say that through our Plans we have not produced result which we have desired and this budget is the biggest culprit. To say it in crude terms, what our Plans strive for, our budget has destroyed. That is what has been happening for the last twenty years.

In this context, let us see what are the objectives that are outlined by our fifth Plan. I would read some of the extracts. Regarding financial resources, the Plan Approach paper says:

Deficit financing would be kept down to the level at which the consequential increase in money supply with the public will not exceed the level of the economy.

Again on page 50 of the same Plan Paper we have another very important statement on prices, wages and incomes. It says:

Inflation is inconsistent with the objectives and strategy of the Fifth Plan.

Reading the same Plan document, we find another, very important statement and namely the statement of the position of the growth of population in our economy. It says, "The high rate of growth of population constitutes an important constraint on progress towards removal of poverty". These very words are greatly euphemistic and yet they are very strong in their own implications and if you look at these words and if you look at the Budget, you will find that there is a big discrepancy in what we are trying to achieve and what our Budget is actually striving to do.

Now, Sir, what are the handicaps of our economy today? One is the black money and other is the accumulation of gold in private hands. These are the two things which seem to escape the attention of our Finance Ministers time and again. Now, let us examine the Budget in the light of these two factors.

Conceding that a heavier taxation on cigarettes and some of the luxury items may not contribute towards inflation, there can be no doubt that the increase in the duties, on imports, which principally form the

basis of our production, and the simultaneous increase of our excise duty on steel, copper and iron are bound to raise the price level in the country in the course of the next few months. This rise in the structure of prices will get an added impetus by the higher freight rates imposed by the railways. Even the higher duty on petrol will be passed on the consumer or to the Government as a sizeable number of vehicle using petrol are owned by firms and companies or by persons who can pay because all these expenses will be on their expense account, which is borne partly from their income-tax returns. Therefore, quite independent of the impact of any deficit financing—I am not referring just now to any deficit financing—that may arise these levies will add 5% increase in the prices in the course of the next twelve months. Higher government spending on relief measures and on measures for unemployment relief schemes and such other measures will again push up the prices. I would, therefore, not be surprised if the price rise again this year will be to the extent of 7% to 8% at the minimum. If there is higher spending than anticipated, then the rise in price may be up to 10%. Now, this is a sort of self-generating inflation as such. Our Plans say that there should be no inflation. But we have a budgeting system, which by itself brings advance information about the inflation that is likely to arise. Now, Sir, this sort of inflation is inevitable in a kind of Budget, like ours, which relies on raising capital in a general way by taxation. Now, the index number of the Net National Product has increased since 1960-61 from 100 to 257 at the current prices while the Budget levies have increased at double the speed. It means that whatever you produce you add a rupee value to it. In that case, how can you prevent inflation from arising if you are adding values to what you have produced already? This means that we are raising resources for our plans by added values, namely, taxation, levies, etc. and not by corresponding amount of savings. That is why I maintain that our entire approach to budgeting is contrary to the aims of our planning and that is also the reason why our net growth rate has been so low.

Sir, in our Budget we must distinguish between resources for the government

[Dr. M. R. Vyas] expenditure and expenditure on development accounts. I firmly believe that in order to achieve our overall objectives, taxation should be mainly for this purpose of meeting government expenditure and only means other than taxation should be adopted for raising the resources for planned development. Of course, partly this is being done and in addition, in the present budget, the Finance Minister has given concessions for premium on life insurance, etc. But this is totally insufficient. We must have more imaginative methods. I would suggest by way of example a few things.

First, we can invite the public to subscribe by preferential shares for public projects. The Government may not want to make the general public shareholders, in something which is owned by the State. But we can have preference shares for public projects. We do have a loan system. But we do not a system of inviting shares or contributions for individual projects. If we do that, the efficiency of the project will go up, because the shareholders may not be voting shareholders, but they will be effective shareholders and they will expect some returns from this. I do not see any reason why the people would not be willing to invest in projects like Bokaro.

At the same time, we should make issue of local loans or taking of local loans for projects which are locally situated compulsory. Now the State Governments are most unwilling to raise loans at the local level.

The Budget has offered no solution to the question of black money. Of course, the Finance Minister has announced the introduction of some special legislation at a later date in this respect. However, as we have seen in the case of Gold Control, Act, legislations cannot undo a social evil. Hence the mere passing of a law will not solve this question. In particular, I would appeal to the Government against the advisability of demons demonetisation. I am sure that under the conditions prevailing in this country, most of the owners of black money will manage to get out of the implications and a large number of our ignorant unsuspecting masses will become the victims. Furthermore, what is to be tackled is the

root cause of this evil, and not the solution after the evil is done. The evil lies in wrong approach of levying taxation at a high rate, which becomes very profitable for those who want to evade it. I am not saying that we should not have greater share in the wealth of the rich. I would suggest that taxation may be lowered, but at the time a new levy be simultaneously put for development a/c. and in which the party contributing to it should have a sort of share and return on the capital that he is asked to part with for national development.

Similarly, Sir, I would touch upon the question of gold. Now, this is a very ital question. India is very much short of capital. I do not have to say it. And yet, I think there is no country in the world today, which has so much gold in private hands as in this country. Unless we take up this question of getting rid of this gold or making people buy less gold, we are going to face the question of capital for all the time. I would suggest that we should go in for free sale of gold, under Government control, instead of imposing a total ban. If anybody says how we can import gold, I say that even today gold worth a minimum of about Rs. 1300 crores is being smuggled into this country. And we pay for the same by illegal exports. In both the transactions we lose a lot of foreign exchange. Even the price of gold can be reduced by importing it. I am sure the habit of hoarding gold will also go down to a great extent. It is also a social evil. I am sure if the Government takes measures by education and also by social implications, and if the government tries to impress upon the people that gold is not wealth but a cause of the ruination of the country the question of inflation will also be tackled in a big way. And the last point is about Government's apathy towards population growth. Sir, our development is being handicapped on account of population growth. The Fifth Five Year Plan says so and everybody knows it. Even then the budget provision has been reduced from 7-27 crores to 6-03 crores. Is this the way of developing this country? This population growth with gold and inflation are the major problems of this country.

SHRI K. B. CHETTRI (West Bengal);
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, nothing is perfect in this world. Despite a great endeavour

an the part of humanity, we cannot achieve perfection. This budget presented by the Finance Minister is also not perfect. Still I welcome it. I welcome it not because this budget brings about a complete social justice but because it has certainly gone into the depth of it. The result may not be far-reaching, but the spirit of the budget is quite heartening and lively.

Sir, in this country, regional imbalances have become a curse for all people in all walks of life. Every region has its own peculiarities and difficulties in social, economic and political spheres. But definitely the eastern region is the most backward region in comparison with the other regions. So, a special budget provision should have been made for this region in order to keep it in balance with the other regions. Mr. Chavan has shown a great interest for the development of the backward regions. A preferential tax treatment is shown for the industries set up in the backward regions. The ceiling on investment eligible for subsidy has been raised from Rs. 50 lakhs to Rs. one crore and the rate of subsidy has been increased from 10 per cent to 15 per cent besides many other concessions. I really congratulate him for this. He has given a great incentive for development in the village areas of the hill districts and especially in the backward areas. But we have to see whether these incentives actually work or not. If they do not work, then I would like to request our Finance Minister to come forward with more incentives so that the economy in the backward areas may be improved a lot.

The transport cost is very heavy in all the hill districts of Assam, U.P., Himachal Pradesh and West Bengal. Unless the road transport is subsidized by the Government I do not think that the industrialists will come forward with an open heart. This road subsidy should cover the whole hill districts of the backward areas including the district of Darjeeling. I am laying much emphasis on this because I have seen that in the past the Government have become partial in sanctioning loans, grants and subsidies in different regions of the hill districts. Subsidies, loans, grants and everything else should be uniform as far as the question of hill areas is concerned.

There should be equal treatment for equal justice to all. The Government machinery has to be geared up to a great extent. The most disturbing feature in the administrative sphere is the lack of co-ordination between the Central Government and the State government on the one hand and, between the state level and the district level on the other. To acquire a far reaching effect I would like to suggest that a development cell in each hill district of the backward areas has to be created, preferably headed by a non-official member and it should work in collaboration with the State Government and the local M.L.As. and M.L.Cs. An officer deputed by the Central Government must be there in each development cell, who should act as an ex-officio member and whose specific duty must be to supervise the various schemes sponsored by the Central Government and to report its developments to the Government. Special funds must be allocated to each development cell through the State Planning Board.

Now let me come to the other side of the picture. The budget envisages a total outlay of Rs. 4,831 crores. This is really quite a big budget in comparison with the previous year, but the question is how to mobilise the resources. Unless we have enough resources and unless we mobilise these resources without affecting the common man and the middle-class people, the whole idea of achieving socialism will be ruined. The budget has not taken into account the advances of Rs. 421 crores to the States and Rs. 478 crores loans floated by the Government. The amount of deficit that may come up after the third Pay Commission's Report is not shown. So, including all this we will be having a deficit of nearly Rs. 250 crores. Besides, money supply has shown an increase of Rs. 924 crores as against Rs. 823 crores resulting an 11.19% rate of increase.

There is a heavy dose of taxation. Indirect taxation is there to the tune of Rs. 274 crores. All these factors will ultimately bring in rise in prices and it will definitely lead to an inflationary pressure on our economy. The whole impact in the long run will be the middle-class people. So, it would have been better for the Finance Minister if he had cut his coat according to his cloth: then everything would have

[Shri FC. B. Chctui]

gone on well. In my opinion this budget seems to be a little hasty affairs. We are expecting a very good monsoon, no doubt but from our past experience we have been seeing the miscalculations of the astrologers and therefore we should not rely on that very much. The only thing we can rely on is in industrial growth and production. If production cannot keep pace with the rise in prices then our whole endeavour of planning to bring social justice will not be achieved. For this I would like our Finance Minister to come forward with more incentives, if needs be. or to curtail some of the plans themselves for the present so that those plans may be incorporated in the future when the climate will be healthier. No doubt, enough attempts have been made to mobilise resources, from the Hindu undivided families, short term capital gains, aggregation of agricultural income with non-agriculture income and so on and so forth. But a very bad attempt has been made to mobilise resources by imposing an increment of tax on petrol.

The people would have surely appreciated had the lax been imposed on liquor. We will surely appreciate the withdrawal of the Bangla Desh levies but the imposition of a levy on the motor spirit, setting aside the human spirit free really looks like a game of chess.

Coming to the allocation of Central funds to the States, the State of West Bengal is earning the maximum export earnings by exporting jute and tea but for the last several years, it has not received its due share. The result has been that it could not go ahead to implement its projects in an easy way. For the past two decades, many large industrial projects have not been taken up by the Central Government in the public sector in the State of West Bengal. Most of the existing big industrial

houses come directly under the MRTP act, and are not allowed to expand. I would like to make a strong plea to the Government either to take over all the big industrial houses of the State of West Bengal particularly tea and jute industry or to set up a few big new projects in the field of electronics, tyre manufacturing, Petro-chemical and cement factories. Particularly, one watch factory in the district of Darjeeling is a must to save the fettering economy of the State of West Bengal.

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

THE COMPANIES (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1972.

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

"That this House do recommend to Rajya Sabha, that Rajya Sabha do appoint a member of Rajya Sabha, to the Joint Committee on the Bill further to amend the Companies Act, 1956, the Securities Contracts (Regulation) Act, 1956, and the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1969, in the vacancy caused by the resignation of Shri K. V. Raghunatha Reddy from the membership of the said Joint Committee and do communicate to this House the name of the member so appointed by Rajya Sabha to the Joint Committee."

MR. VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM SAHAJ): The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow, the 14th of March, 1973.

The House then adjourned at fifty-three minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday the 14th March, 1973.